

Illustrations of *Doutrina*: Artwork in the Early Editions of Marcos Jorge's *Doutrina Cristã*

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Abstract

Marco Jorge's *Doutrina Cristã* was the most popular *doctrine* written in Portuguese. It was repeatedly reprinted in Portugal and translated into several other languages. This article, after making the distinction between *doctrine* and *catechism*, gives a short account of the history of this *Doutrina* and of its translations, and provides a brief description of the illustrations used in its several editions.

Resumo

A *Doutrina Cristã* do padre Marcos Jorge foi a doutrina mais popular alguma vez escrita em português. Foi reimpressa repetidamente em Portugal e traduzida para várias outras línguas. Este artigo, depois de fazer a distinção entre *doutrina* e *catecismo*, apresenta uma curta história desta *Doutrina* e das suas traduções, e faz uma breve descrição das ilustrações usadas nas suas várias edições.

要約

マルコス・ジョルジェ著『ドチリナ・クリスタン』はポルトガル語で書かれた最も一般的なドクトリンであった。ポルトガルにて繰り返し刊行され、様々な言語に翻訳された。本稿では、教理書「ドチリナ」と「カテキズモ」を区別した後、このドチリナの翻訳を紹介し、同時に諸版で用いられた挿絵についての素描を提供する。

Keywords キーワード

Doctrine, catechism, Jesuits, Marcos Jorge, illustrations

Doutrina Cristã, catecismo, jesuítas, Marcos Jorge, ilustrações

ドチリナ キリシタン、カテキズモ、イエズス会、マルコス・ジョルジ、挿絵

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1. Introduction

The *Doutrina Cristã* by Marcos Jorge, S.J. (1524–1571), was first published in Lisbon in 1566. This book would become the most popular *doctrine* ever published in Portugal. Moreover, in a short period it would be translated also into other European and non-European languages such as Congolese, Amharic (Ethiopia), Tupi (Brazil), Konkani, Malabar and Tamil (India), Japanese and Chinese, thus achieving a global reach that few other books could have achieved at that time. Most of these editions had some artwork, either to illustrate some of the teachings expounded, or at least to signal their origin as the corporate work of the Society of Jesus. However, there was only one edition of this title that was profusely illustrated, published in 1616 in Augsburg. The purpose of this illustrated edition was, as we can read in its preface, to allow the unlettered to learn through pictures what the learned could read in the texts.

The objective of the present article is to present a short account of the history of this *Doutrina* and of its translations up to first quarter of the 17th century, and to provide a brief description of the illustrations used in its several editions made during this period. The next section introduces the distinction commonly made in the sixteenth century between *doctrine* and *catechism*. This is followed by a short account of the life of Marcos Jorge and a brief description of the first Portuguese editions of his *Doctrine*. In section 4 attention is drawn to some aspects of the artwork used in the early editions of Jorge's *Doutrina Christã*.

2. What is a *Doctrine*?

Since its early days the Church has considered that one of its most important missions is to teach the doctrine of Jesus Christ to all people.² This teaching could take two different modes, depending on who were the hearers.³ One was preaching to non-believers, usually adults, who were being prepared to receive baptism. Its objective was to propose the core Christian beliefs (monotheism and trinity, creation and fall, incarnation and redemption,

² Church, in this article, means the Christian Church, and especially the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The original commandment to preach to all peoples can be found in Mt. 28, 19-20.

³ For more detailed presentation of these two modes of Christian teaching see G. S. Sloyan, "Catechetics", *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1967, pp. 220-225; G. S. Sloyan, "Catechisms", *op. cit.*, pp. 225-231; and Pietro Braido, *Lineamenti di Storia della Catechesi e dei Catechismi: dal 'Tempo delle Riforme' all'età degli Imperialismi (1450-1870)*, Leumann, Elle Di Ci, 1991.

etc) so that the prospective convert would accept them, be convert and be baptized. Generally, this type of preaching would not take the Bible or Christian dogmas as the basis of its arguments, as it recognized that these had not yet been accepted as authoritative by the non-convert. Instead, it would start its reasoning on common sense or commonly accepted philosophical principles, or try to establish shared ground if these did not exist or could not be relied upon to start the conversation. Sometimes it would begin with a critique of beliefs held by the members of the audience, if these were incompatible with Christian doctrine. This was, for example, the scheme that could be found in the catechism written by Francis Xavier (1506-1552) to be used in Japan, and in the *Catechismus Christianae Fidei* (1586) of Alexandro Valignano (1539-1606).⁴ This preaching was called *catechesis* and the books it gave rise to were called *catechisms*.

A second type of Christian education was the teaching of the basic tenets of the faith to those who had already accepted them, at least implicitly, either children born into Christian families or to Christian adults who for some reason had not yet received proper religious instruction. This instruction to the already baptized sometimes would have as its basis common forms of prayer such as the *Our Father* and the *Credo*, the Ten Commandments and the sacraments, sometimes even some well-known texts of the Bible. The purpose of this kind of teaching was not to make these formulas and texts accepted but to explain them so that the hearers could have a better understanding of their faith and be able to better incorporate it into their daily lives. It would include topics also found in catechesis, such as creation and salvation, but not spending as much time with them as catechesis did. This type of teaching was usually called *doutrina* in Portuguese (*doctrine* in English) and the books used by teachers and pupils in these classes, of which Marco Jorge's popular work is one of its best examples, were called *doutrinas*. The degree of elaboration of these written *doutrinas* could vary widely. They could be simple statements of truths and prayers, and lists of commandments, sacraments and works of mercy. In this case they would presumably serve simply as script to the teacher, who would orally explain and expand these contents, and as aide-memoire to the students.⁵ Or they could

4 Concerning Xavier's Japanese catechism see Neil Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity. The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan*, New York, 1991, especially pp. 19-20; Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, his Times*, vol. II, India (1542-1545), Rome, Jesuit Historical Institute, 1977, pp. 218-224; and Hubert Cieslik, S.J., "Zabieru no Kyōri Setsumei: Shodai Kirishitan no Senkyō ni Kansuru Ikkōsatsu to sono shiryō" 「ザビエルの教理説明—初代キリシタンの宣教に関する一考察とその資料」, *Kirishitan Kenkyū* 『キリシタン研究』, vol. 15, 1974, pp. 113-141. For Valignanos's catechism see Urs App, *The Cult of Emptiness: The Western Discovery of Buddhist Thought and the Invention of Oriental Philosophy*, UniversityMedia, 2012. See also Ide Katsumi 井出勝美, *Kirishitan Shisō-shi Kenkyū Josetsu: Nihonjin no Kirisuto-kyō Juyō* 『キリシタン思想史研究序説—日本人のキリスト教受容』, Tokyo, Perikan-sha, 1995, pp. 10-20 for the distinction made by Valignano between "pre-evangelization" and "catechesis".

5 An example of these very summary doctrines made by the Portuguese Jesuits is *Doutrina Christã que se diz em ho colegio da companhia de Iesu nesta cidade de Coymbra. 1559*. Printed by Ioam de Barreyra in December 1558. It is printed in only 16 folios.

be more elaborated and include besides basic statements their explanation, sometimes to great length.⁶

This distinction between *catechism* and *doctrine* was especially clear in mission countries such as Japan.⁷ In the documents written by the missionaries working there during the 16th and 17th centuries, *catechism* was reserved for the teaching to non-Christians and *doctrine* was used to the teaching of those already Christian. Here are just two examples of this usage. The first is taken from Frois' *História*:

"With him [Yofo Paulo, 養方軒], the catechism used to preach to the gentiles was ameliorated throughout time with the information that he gave us about the sects and antiquities of Japan, because he was very learned in these matters."⁸

From this passage it is clear that "the catechism" was "used to preach to the gentiles" not to the already baptized. The second example is also taken from Frois' *História*:

"There were then, at Shimabara, among the Christians, some two hundred boys, of which some 70 would come to the [lessons of] doctrine, and all of them well dressed, because they were sons of rich men; almost every day they had an argument about the law of God with the pagans, and were so able in their replies to the questions posed by the pagans that it surprised all those who saw them, because all were at the same time kind and sharp, so that Father Cosme de Torres used to say that those were children in age but old men in wisdom."⁹

As it is apparent from this text, it was Christian boys, not pagan children seeking pre-baptismal instruction, who went to the lessons of doctrine.

However, this clear cut distinction was not always and everywhere observed in practice. Sometimes not only *catechisms* were used in the instruction of Christian children, but also *doctrines* were used in the teaching to non-believers. This became possible because, after the Council of Trent (1545–1563), both *catechisms* and *doctrines* started converge in

6 An example is the "Short Catechism of the Doctrine" or *Cathecismo pequeno da doutrina e instrução que os xpãos han de crer e obrar pera conseguir a benaenturança eterna*, Lisboa, Valenti Fernández alemã e Iohã Boõhomini de Cremona, 1504, written by the bishop of Viseu D. Ortiz Vilhegas (ca. 1457–1519), and one of the earliest doctrines to be printed in Portugal. The author states in his preface that he had written a "Long Catechism", now probably lost. Given the extension of this "Short Catechism of the Doctrine" one wonders how long must have been the "Long Catechism".

7 Piere Humbertclaude, "Myôtei Mondô: Une Apologétique Chrétienne Japonaise de 1605," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 1(2), 1938, pp. 515-548, writes: "Les missionnaires du Japon distinguaient deux sortes de livres pour l'instruction des fidèles: le Catéchisme proprement dit, destiné à détourner des idoles et à amener à la foi les néophytes; et la Doctrine Chrétienne reserve aux seuls baptisés."

8 "Com elle pelo discurso do tempo se foi depurando o Cathecismo que se prega aos gentios com a notícia que nos dava das seitas e antiguidades de Japão, por nestas materias ser mui rezoluto." P. Luís Fróis, S.J., *Historia de Japam*, I, Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1976, p. 172

9 "Havia então em Ximabara, somente entre os christãos, como duzentos meninos, dos quais vinhão 70 à doutrina, e todos mui bem vestidos, por serem filhos de homens ricos; quazi cada dia tinhão disputa sobre a ley de Deos contra os gentios, e andavão tão destros em responder às perguntas que soem fazer os gentios, que admirava a quem os via, por todos a huma mão serem discretos e agudos, dos quaes dizia o P.º Cosme de Torres que aquelles erão meninos na idade e velhos no saber." Frois, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 315-316.

their contents to a hybrid type of manual, that could be used to teach both *doctrine* to the already Christian and catechesis to the not yet converted, and thus could be called either way. Since then, in the past few centuries, this distinction has become more and more blurred so that the word *doctrine*, with the meaning given above, has almost disappeared from Church usage, and has been displaced by the term catechism, which now means teaching both to Christian children and non-Christian adults.¹⁰

Finally, it should be noted that, in the 16th century, Christian doctrine was not taught only in *doctrine* classes, or only through *doctrine* manuals. Often, Christian doctrine was used as material to teach children to read and write by primary school instructors. This can be inferred from the existence of another kind of books, called *cartilhas* in Portuguese, which together with texts explaining Christian doctrine, used to teach reading and writing, included other materials to be learned, such as the basics of arithmetic.¹¹ One should remember that it was through the teaching of reading and writing to young men that Jesuits and other missionaries frequently taught the basics of the Christian faith not only to the sons of Portuguese settlers overseas but also to the sons of the most important indigenous families in their mission fields.¹²

3. Marco Jorge and his *Doctrine*

Many *doctrines* and *catechisms* were written since the early days of Christianity. But it was in the 16th century that they were composed in extraordinary numbers. Many reasons have been given to this phenomenon but two of them stand out. The first was the invention of the press in the previous century, which made the production of books much faster, easier and cheaper. The second was the advent of the Protestant Reformation and the ensuing controversies, which made instruction of the common people an urgent matter to both sides of the divide.

¹⁰ One early example of this phenomenon is given by the also widely read *doctrine* written by D. Fr. Bartolomeu dos Mártires (1514-1590), *Catechismo ou Doutrina Christã & Praticas spirituaes*, Braga, 1564. This *doctrine*, contemporaneous with that of Marcos Jorge, had eleven editions in Portuguese and two in Spanish until the end of the seventeenth century. Notice that the title bears the ambivalence of the author in how to classify his work: whether *catechism* or *doctrine*. In the end he chose to include both. However, in the text, the references made are always to *doctrine*, never to *catechism*, what was in accordance with traditional usage and reflected better his purpose, as this "Catechism or Doctrine" had as its primary public the parochial priests and curates of his diocese of Braga and, through them, their Christian flock.

¹¹ One early example of this type of manual (still without a section dealing with arithmetic) is: *Cartinha pera esinar leer: cõ as doutrinas da prudencia e regra de viuer em paz*, Lixboa, Germã [Galharde], published in the early 16th century.

¹² For example, in a letter written from Salvador de Baía, Brazil, on August 10, 1549, by the Jesuit Manuel da Nóbrega, to a professor at Coimbra University, Dr. Martin de Azpilcuete Navarro, we can read: "Estes [homens] são cá os nossos pregões. Onde nos achamos, convidando aos rapazes a ler e escrever, e desta maneira lhes ensinamos a doutrina e lhes pregamos [...]" ,Serafim Leite, S.J., *Cartas do Brasil e Mais Escritos do P. Manuel da Nobrega*, Coimbra, Universidade, 1995.

In the 16th century the newly founded Society of Jesus was an institution that played a major role in the Church efforts to spread out the basics of Christian doctrine among the common people in Europe and also in making it known to the inhabitants of the newly accessible lands of the American, African and Asian continents.¹³ It was thus only natural that a large proportion of the *doctrines* and *catechisms* printed in the 16th century had Jesuits as authors. What is extraordinary is that so many of the most popular *doctrines* and *catechisms* had Jesuits as authors. Jerónimo Ripalda (1536-1618), Gaspar Astete (1537-1601,) Edmond Auger (1530-1591), Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) and Peter Canisius (1521-1597) are among the Jesuits who wrote some of the most popular *doctrines* and *catechisms* of that age. And even the very influential *doctrine* of Juan de Ávila (1500-1569), who has not a Jesuit, was in fact edited and printed through the efforts of his Jesuit disciples.¹⁴

Marcos Jorge was one of these Jesuits who authored a very successful *doctrine*. He was born in Oliveira do Hospital, near Coimbra, in the central part of Portugal, from humble parents. His father was a mason. This did not prevent him from studying law at University of Coimbra, where he obtained his first degree. In 1548 he was admitted into the Society of Jesus where he spent the remaining of his life as an educator: as a university professor, as a preacher and as teacher of doctrine. When the Colégio de Évora was founded in 1553, he was amongst its first professors. In 1556 he moved to the Colégio das Artes, a Jesuit controlled school that was part of the University of Coimbra, to become philosophy professor.¹⁵ He received his Master of Arts from this University in 1557 and obtained his Doctorate in Theology in 1560 from the University of Évora. He certainly was an extraordinary university professor if we are to believe in the documents which refer to his renown among students and academic authorities of the two Universities where he taught.¹⁶ Further, in 1562 he was singled out by Jerónimo Nadal (1507-1580), then General of the Society, together with Pedro da Fonseca (1528-1599), Cipriano Suarez (1524-1593) and Pedro Gomez (1535-1600) to prepare a commentary to the books of Aristotle dealing with natural philosophy.¹⁷ This work would later develop into the famous *Comentarii*

¹³ For a description of the activities developed by the Jesuits in these areas see, for example, John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1993.

¹⁴ *Doctrina Christiana que se Canta: 'Oídnos Vos, por Amor de Dios'*, Valencia, 1554. See Luis Resines, *San Juan de Ávila: Doctrina Christiana que se Canta*, Khaf, 2012, or the conference "El Catecismo Desaparecido de San Juan de Ávila" by Luis Resines in <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fFrpqSHk7Lc>, (last accessed on April 12, 2015).

¹⁵ On the foundation and development of this institution see Mário Brandão, *O Colégio das Artes*, 2 vols., Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1924-1933.

¹⁶ See, for example, Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu (MHSJ), 10, *Litterae Quadrimestres*, IV, p. 521 and p. 532; M. Balthazar Tellez, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesus na Província de Portugal*, I, Lisboa, Paulo Craesbeeck, 1645, p. 374.

¹⁷ See MHSJ, 13, *Epistolae P. Nadal*, I, p. 599-602.

Colegii Conimbricenses.¹⁸ Although in the end Jorge's contribution to this work would not amount to much, because of his untimely death in 1571, this designation is indicative of the reputation he had as a scholar. It can be added in support of his reputation that from the Colégio de Goa was sent a letter asking that he be sent there "to answer all queries and questions that [people] from all over India come asking to this college," and that he was one of the Jesuits proposed to become the first bishop of Japan and China.¹⁹

Besides his academic activities Jorge dedicated much of his time to teach Christian *doctrine* to children. Whenever he could, after discharging his duties at the university or at the college, he would go down the streets ringing a bell inviting children to his classes of *doctrine*.²⁰ This he did wherever he happened to be living and, again, he did it with considerable success.²¹ It was because of his reputation as an able and experienced teacher of *doctrine* that his superiors at the Society of Jesus asked him to compose a *doutrina* to be used by all Jesuits in Portugal.²² The result was a *doctrine* in dialogue, between a Master asking questions and a Disciple answering them. The dialogue was lively, with short sentences and very simple language. This made it easy to follow, easy to understand, and easy to memorize. However, the author did not expect that his readers would be children. As he mentions in his preface, this was a book destined to help those who taught *doctrine* to children. This is also apparent from the text, where at certain points Jorge advises the Master on additional explanations, admonitions, songs and other pedagogical activities.

It is not certain when and where the first edition was published.²³ However, the oldest editions for which there are copies extant are:

1. *Doctrina Christã ordenada a maneira de Dialogo, pera ensinar os meninos, pelo Padre Marcos Iorge, da Cõpanhia de IESV, doctor em Theologia, Lisbon, printed by Francisco Correa, 1566.*²⁴
2. *DOCTRINA CHRISTAM, Ordenada a maneira de Dialogo, para ensinar os meninos, pello Padre Marcos Iorge, da Companhia de IESV, Doctor em Theologia. Acrescetada*

¹⁸ Concerning the authority the *Comentarii* exerted over most of Europe well into the mid-eighteenth century see Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1983.

¹⁹ See MHSJ, 74, *Documenta Indica*, III, p. 158; *ibidem*, 86, VI, p. 199; *ibidem*, 86, VI, p. 717.

²⁰ See Fernandes-Vieira, *A Doutrina Christam do P. Marcos Jorge*, Doctoral Thesis, Pamplona, Universidad de Navarra, 1981, p. 93.

²¹ Tellez, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

²² See Tellez, *op. cit.*, p. 331, Francisco Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, I, Porto, Apostolado da Imprensa, 1931, p. 459, and also Jorge's preface to the 1566 edition.

²³ See discussion in Manuel Fernandes-Vieira, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-143; from this discussion it seems most likely that its first printing was in 1566, what does not preclude that manuscript versions of this work did not circulate before that date amongst Jesuits.

²⁴ There is one copy at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (Rar. 4012).

- pollo padre Inacio Martinz da mesma Companhia, Doctor Theologo, Lisbon, printed by Manoel de Lyra, 1592.*²⁵
3. *Doctrina Christã. Ordenada a maneira de Dialogo, pera ensinar os mininos, pelo Padre Marcos Iorge da Companhia de IESV, Doctor em Theologia. Acrescetada pelo Padre Ignacio Miz, da mesma Companhia, Doctor Theologo, Lisbon, printed by Pedro Crasbeck, 1602.*²⁶
 4. *Doutrina Christam de Padre Marcos Iorge da Companhia de Iesu Representada por Imagens, Avgusta, printed by Christoual Mangio, 1616.*²⁷

Putting aside the possibility that there were one or more editions before that of 1566, it is known with certainty that during the fifty year period after this 1566 edition, there were at least three other editions printed in Portugal that are lost: those of Braga in 1566,²⁸ Lisbon in 1609²⁹ and Coimbra in 1614.³⁰ From then on the *Doutrina Christam* continued to be re-printed, with small and large adaptations and changes, in Portugal until the end of the 19th century.³¹ After the 1592 edition, some re-editions of Jorge's *Doctrina* were accompanied by a set of additional material, written by Inácio Martins, S.J. (1530-1598) about spiritual life. While many exemplars of the editions of the 16th century

²⁵ There is one copy at the library of Universidad Complutense de Madrid. A digitalized copy, made on August 17, 2007, is available at Google Books (http://books.google.pt/books/download/Doctrina_christam_ordenada_a_maneira_de.pdf?id=azFtNLTft6oC&hl=en&source=ge-books-fe&capid=AFLRE70Ldk4FRSdtgiDml6C0PpkQJ3P4EUkOGPsWwmaZD1jpTOq7S2-sALGFr9_8omqHh8FMxAh46OZVjTM3muyfVoWzrCZiLQ&continue=http://books.google.pt/books/download/Doctrina_christam_ordenada_a_maneira_de.pdf%3Fid%3DazFtNLTft6oC%26hl%3Den%26output%3Dpdf%26source%3Dge-books-fe; last accessed on April 21, 2015).

²⁶ There is one copy at the British Museum which is reproduced in Kamei Takashi 亀井孝, Hubert Cieslik, and Kojima Yukie 小島幸枝, *Nihon Iezusu-kai Han Kirishitan Yori: Sono Honhan Oyobi Honyaku no Jittai* 『日本イエズス会版キリシタン要理—その翻案および翻訳の実態』, Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1983.

²⁷ There are copies at the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (catech. 376), and Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma. A digitalized copy of this last one, made on January 15, 2014, is available at Google Books (http://books.google.pt/books/download/Doutrina_Christam_De_Padre_Marcos_Iorge.pdf?id=uOM_AAAAcAAJ&hl=en&source=ge-books-fe&capid=AFLRE73FAaGUNE0VjULWH-Mnu3SxBwcKVqRRivH-JNag9rKCq0mpABXfyLQ61GCYHCSBxVpdYfUaVrqqYsTiYfEatl6yWXqr8g&continue=http://books.google.pt/books/download/Doutrina_Christam_De_Padre_Marcos_Iorge.pdf%3Fid%3DuOM_AAAAcAAJ%26hl%3Den%26output%3Dpdf%26source%3Dge-books-fe; last accessed on April 21, 2015).

²⁸ Printed by António de Mariz: see Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, IV, Bruxelles, O. Schepens, 1893, col. 821.

²⁹ See Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana Historica, Critica, e Cronologica*, III, Lisboa, Ignacio Rodrigues, 1752, p. 407, Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, col. 821, and Hartelius' authorization to the 1616 edition.

³⁰ Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, col. 821. As the title is in Spanish, it is probable that this is the first printing of the Spanish translation.

³¹ See Fernandes-Vieira, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-190. On one count there were twenty-four editions in Portuguese until the end of the 19th century: see José Miguel Pinto dos Santos (ed.), *Doutrina Cristã: Escrita em Diálogo para Ensinar Meninos*, Lisboa, Paulus, 2016.

were exported to Brazil and India, some reaching Japan and China, very soon translations started to appear in these regions.³²

The first notice we have of a translation of *Doutrina Christam* into a non-European language is into Konkani and dates from 1573.³³ A second translation was made into the same language by the English Jesuit Thomas Stevens (1549-1619). It was printed in 1622.³⁴ In 1579 it was translated into Malabar by a Portuguese Jesuit.³⁵ During the first half of the 17th century it was translated into Tamil by Manuel Martins, S.J. (1598-1656).³⁶ On the other side of the world, there is notice of a translation into Tupi, the language of an indigenous people of Brazil, in 1574.³⁷ A bilingual edition, Congolese and Portuguese, was printed in Lisbon, in 1624 by Geraldo da Vinha.³⁸ Further, a *Cartilha por Perguntas* based on Marcos Jorge's *Doutrina* was composed in 1604 in Amharic, followed in 1607 by a translation with some adaptations into the same language.³⁹ Back to Asia, the *Doutrina* was translated into Japanese and this translation was printed both in Japanese script in 1591 and in *romaji* in 1592. This translation was refined over the years and was printed again in 1600.⁴⁰ Some years later a translation was also made into Chinese and printed around 1519-1523.⁴¹

32 For some examples of letters acknowledging the reception and use of Jorge's Portuguese *Doctrina* in India see MHSJ, 89, *Documenta Indica*, VII, p. 49, p. 141 and p. 385.

33 "Muitos delles, alem da doutrina communa, sabem tambem as perguntas principalmente, sobre os artigos de fee, as quaes hum Irmão dos que sabem a lingoa lhes mudou em canarim." MHSJ, *Monumenta Indica*, IX, p.305.

34 There is a copy at Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon: *The Doutrina Chistam em Lingoa Bramana Canarim. Ordenada amaneira de Dialogo, pera ensinar os mininos. Cõposta pollo Padre Thomas Esteuaõ da Companhia de IESVS. Natural de Lõdres. Empresa no Collegio de Rachol da Cõpanhia de IESVS Anno .1622.* Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, II, col. 468-469 makes the following note: "Ce serait la traduction de l'opuscule portugais du P. Ignace Martins: *Cartilha de doutrina Christaa*." Justin E. Abbot, "The 'Arte de língua Canari', the 'Doutrina Christam', and the 'Adi' and 'Deva Puran' of Thomas Stevens", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, III, 1923-25, pp. 159-164, mentions an edition printed in 1640.

35 In a letter of 1579 we can read: "Tengo nuevas de allá que el Pe. Henrique Henriquez há trasladado la doctrina del Pe. Marcos Jorge de portugués en lengua malavar, y que se está imprimiendo en nuetro collegio de Cochim por el P. João de Faria." MHSJ, 103, *Documenta Indica*, XI, p. 696.

36 Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, V, col. 652-653.

37 "El P. Leonardo compuso este ano (1574) una doctrina en la lengua del Brasil quasi trasladando la que hizo el P. Marcos Jorge de Nueva memoria." In *Historia de la Fundación del Colegio de la Bahía de Todos los Santos y de suas Residencias*, cited in Fernandes-Vieira, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

38 Two exemplars are extant at Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon.

39 See Andrew Martinez d' Alós-Moner, *Envoys of a Human God: The Jesuit Mission to Christian Ethiopia, 1557-1632*, Brill, 2015, p. 355.

40 For two perspectives on the Japanese translation of Jorge's *Doutrina Christam* see Ebisawa Arimichi 海老沢有道, *Kirishitan Nanban Bungaku Nyūmon* 『キリシタン南蛮文学入門』, Tokyo, Kyobunkan 教文館, 1991, especially pp. 89-127, and Ikuo Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan: Kirishitan Belief and Practice*, Leiden, Brill, 2001.

41 Marcia Reed, Paola Demattè, *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works From the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, Getty Publications, 2011, pp. 168-169, describe the *Tianzhu Shenjiao Qimeng*, Nanjing, ca. 1619-23, as follows: "The *Tianzhu Shenjiao Qimeng* has an inscription that states, in Chinese "Translated and written by João da Rocha, priest of the Society of Jesus of the Extreme West. [...] The text itself is in fact a creative translation of the *Doutrina Christã ordenada a maneira de*

4. Artwork in the editions in Portuguese of the *Doutrina Christam*

Doctrines printed in the 16th century usually exhibited some artwork. This was, however, restricted in most cases to the title page and to some capital letters at the start of a chapter.

On the title page it was not unusual the use of an image signaling the authority of the author to write such a book. This could be the coat of arms of the writer, as would happen in the case he was a bishop. An example of this is the title page of the above mentioned *Short Catechism* (1504) by the bishop of Vizeu, D. Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas (ca. 1457 – 1519). Another instance is the doctrine authored by the archbishop of Braga Bartolomeu dos Mártires printed in 1564 (see Figure 1). If the author were not a bishop this figure could be



Fig.1 – Title page of *Catechismo ou Doutrina Christã & Praticas spirituaes* (1564) with the coat of arms of Bartolomeu dos Mártires (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, cota F.R. 1184)

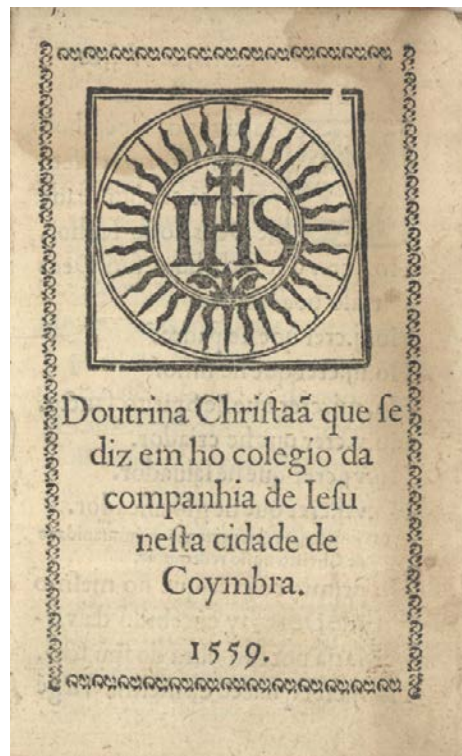


Fig. 2 – Title page of the *Doutrina Christã* (1559) published by the Jesuits in Coimbra with Christogram (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, cota res-5944-p)

dialogo pera ensinar meninos (Christian doctrine arranged as dialogue to instruct children, 1566) also known as the *Cartilha* of the Jesuit Marcos Jorge (Portuguese, 1524-71), later expanded by Father Ignacio Martins (Portuguese, 1530-98)."

an image representing the religious order he belonged to. Figure 2 shows the front page of the *Doutrina Christã* published by the Jesuits in Coimbra in 1559 with a Christogram with the letters IHS, representing a Latinized version of Christ's name in Greek.

Decorated capital letters were for the most part purely decorative, as shown by the example of an "O", also from this *Doutrina Christã* by the Jesuits of Coimbra (see Figure 3).

4.1 *Doctrina Christã* of 1566

Similarly to these other sixteenth century *doctrines* just mentioned, the 1566 edition of Marcos Jorge's *Doctrina Christã* was not illustrated, but it was decorated with some images. In the title page we find a Christogram with the letters IHS on the center, and surrounded by the inscription SOCIETAS IESV. It was common for many books produced under the aegis of the Society of Jesus to have a variant of this Christogram on their title page. So common in fact that, from the second half of the 16th century onwards, almost anyone opening a book on its title page could tell if it had anything to do with the Jesuits just by seeing whether it displayed a variant of this symbol. This one was very simple, a circumference inside a square with a minimum of symbolic elements besides the letters IHS: the cross above the letters, and three arrows trespassing a heart below. The



Fig. 3 - Capital letter "O" in fl. 1v of the *Doutrina* (1559) published by the Jesuits in Coimbra (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, cota res-5944-p)



Fig. 4 - Title page of the *Doctrina Christam* of 1592 with Christogram (Google Books, accessed December 30, 2009)

circumference bears the inscription: *Societas Iesv*. This square Christogram is flanked by two columns of grapevine leaves.

Besides this image on the title page, the other images appearing in this 1566 edition are only the decorated capital letters of the first word of each chapter. These images are merely decorative and do not appear to have any relationship with the topic at hand. In most instances the image seems to be the representation of a Latin word starting with that letter. For example, the capital D in *folio* 19, at the beginning of the chapter dealing with the articles of faith, represents a house or *domus*. It could have represented a church, the house of faith, but the house represented here has no obvious resemblance with the architecture of a church. For some of the decorated capital letters that appear more than once these images are repeated: this same image for the capital D is also used in folios 10v, 13 and 43. However, for some other capital letters, different images are used for the same letter. This happens for letters A appearing in folio 3 and in folio 6. While the drawing encasing "A" in folio 3 may represent the Original Sin, with Adam and Eve reaching for the forbidden fruit on a tree, which, it must be noted, has no relation to the contents of the Lord's Prayer, the topic of that chapter, that of folio 6 seems to be purely decorative. We may thus conclude that the images in this edition were used just for ornamental purposes, and didn't serve any obvious pedagogical function.

4.2 *Doctrina Christam* of 1592

The *Doctrina Christam* of 1592 was not only decorated, it was also, although sparingly, illustrated. In the front page there is also a Christogram, but this was not only larger than that of the 1566 edition, it was also more elaborated. It consisted of the image of a tabernacle on the center of which a Christogram is placed (see Figure 4). This Christogram is oval in shape and its outer bound represents the flaming Sun, an image of Christ, an element lacking in that of the 1566 edition. At the center there are the core elements of every Christogram, the initials of Christ's name, in this case IHS. It is completed with a cross above and three arrows trespassing a heart below. At the four corners of the rectangle that encompasses the oval figure there are four images representing the physiognomy of four angels.

In addition to this and other decorative elements spread over the work there are three illustrations in the catechism proper. In the page after the preface and just before the first chapter there is the illustration of the Descent of the Holy Spirit, with a dove, representing the Third Person of the Holy Trinity, descending upon the Virgin Mary and the Apostles (Figure 5). Between chapters seven and eight there is a representation of the Holy Trinity, symbolized by the crowned Father, the crucified Christ and the descending Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove. Below this illustration there is the short prayer, "*Sancta Trinitas vnus Deus, Misserere Nobis*" used as a caption (Figure 6). Finally, inserted in chapter ten, which deals with the Seven Deadly Sins, there is an illustration of the Temptation of Christ, with the Devil holding out one stone to Christ, tempting Him to transform it into bread, with the caption "*Ductus est IESVS in desertum, vt*



Fig. 5 - Representation of the Descent of the Holy Spirit in the *Doutrina Christam* of 1592 (Google Books, accessed December 30, 2009)



Fig. 6 - Representation of the Holy Trinity on the *Doutrina Christam* of 1592 (Google Books, accessed December 30, 2009)

tentaretur à diabulo.”⁴² We might say that these three images represent the Church, God and the human nature of Christ. These are central ideas to the *Doutrina Christam*, and thus the choice of these illustrations for this book has nothing strange. However, their pedagogical value was certainly limited by there being so few, and by their not having an obvious relation to the adjoining text.

As was referred above, in the 1592 edition to Jorge’s *Doutrina* were added three additional sections by Inácio Martins: “Five Treatises,”⁴³ “Four Litanies,”⁴⁴ and “How to

⁴² See Mt. 4, 1.

⁴³ “Cinco Tratados muito deuotos, & proueitosos.” However, it should be noted that there are actually only four treatises: “How a Christian should spend his day” (“Ordem Como Hvm Christão deue gastar o dia”), “How one should hear Mass, together with other reminders concerning Mass” (“Como Se Ha de Ouir Missa, com outras lembranças pertencentes à Missa”), “How a Christian should confess” (“Como Se Ha De confessor o Christão”), and “How a Christian should receive communion” (“Como Ha Hvm Christão de comungar”).

⁴⁴ “Qvatro Ladainhas muito deuotas .s. do Sanctíssimo Sacramento, & do suauíssimo nome de IESV & do Spiritu Sancto, & outras de nossa Senhora, que se costumam cantar na sua sancta casa Angelical de Loreto.”

Pray the Rosary to Our Lady.”⁴⁵ Each of these parts is self-contained and independent of the others. All of them begin with a front page similar to the title page of a book: these pages have the title and an image, which, in the first two, is a Christogram. These pages only lack the name of the printer as well as the place and date of printing to be true title pages. This might suggest that the possibility of printing these three parts as independent booklets might have been considered. Another characteristic that sets these three sections, added by Inácio Martins, apart from the first part of book, is that they are more profusely illustrated than Jorge’s *Doctrina*: not including the image on their title page, the “Five Treatises” has four illustrations, the “Four Litanies” has another four illustrations, and “How to Pray the Rosary to Our Lady” has fifteen illustrations. Moreover, contrary to the three illustrations found in the *Doutrina*, all of these gravures illustrate the text adjacent to them. Consequently, we may say that they were more pedagogically apt than those used in the main body of the *Doutrina*. It might be added that later editions of *Doutrina Christam* that included these three additional parts by Inácio Martins, such as the one printed by the *Officina Craesbeeckiana* in 1655, include no illustrations for the catechism, but continued to present an abundance of figures for the text by Martins.

4.3 *Doctrina Christã* of 1602

The Portuguese edition of 1602, *Doctrina Christã*, has no illustrations accompanying the text, and only the title page includes an image. Atypically this is not a Christogram, but it is instead an image of the Virgin with the Child.

4.4 *Doutrina Christam* of 1616

Although, as we have seen, previous editions of the *Doutrina Christam* were not devoid of images, it was only the edition of 1616 that was profusely illustrated. Images, as the preface to the 1616 edition notes, citing St. Gregory (ca. 540-604), were always used as a catechetical tool by the Church, the reason being that “what the lettered read in the scriptures do the ignoramus find in the pictures; because in these they see what they should follow, and in these they see what they do not understand in the letters.”⁴⁶ However, as already noted, the great majority of *doctrines* printed in the sixteenth century had no images, and the same happened with those of later ages which were also, as a rule, devoid of pictures.

It should be noted that the illustrations of this edition were not made on purpose for it. In its preface Georg Mayr, S.J. (1565-1623) explains: some time before, Giovanni Battista Romano⁴⁷ “had made to be printed in a small book the principal things of the

45 “A Maneira de Rezar o Rosayro de nossa Senhora.”

46 “Quod legentibus scriptura, hoc Idiotis prastat pictura cernentibus: quia in ipsa etiam ignorantes vident quod sequi debeant: in ipsa legunt, qui literas nesciunt.” Fl. 1.

47 Also known as Giovanni Battista Eliani (1530-1589), had converted from Judaism, where he had been known as Elijah Eliano, and entered the Society of Jesus. For more biographical information see

[Christian] faith, all represented with their own illustrations, all very good to make them well understood."⁴⁸ However, these books being no longer available he had decided to make new engravings, although not as good as the former ones, so that *Doutrinas* could be printed with illustrations. He further notes that having already printed illustrated *doctrines* in German, Latin, Greek, French, Italian, English, Bohemian, Slavic, Hungarian and Spanish it had come the time to have them printed in Portuguese so they could be used in the East.⁴⁹ To that end the *Doctrina Christam* of Father Marcos Jorge had been chosen, as it was widely used by the Portuguese Jesuits, he tells his readers. In the printed authorization of Melchior Hartelius, the superior of the Jesuit Province of Higher Germany, giving permission to the printing of Jorge's *Doutrina Christam* with illustrations, it is made special reference that the *Doutrina* to be printed should be the same as the one printed in Lisbon in 1609, although no reasons are given to this choice. It should also be noticed here that the 1616 edition does not include the three additional parts of Inácio Martins which are found in the 1592 edition.

This edition has a total of 105 illustrations, not counting three Christograms. These Christograms are on the title page, at the end of the preface on page 4, and at the middle of the first chapter on page 7. The illustration with Christogram on the title page is perhaps the most elaborated of those to be found in any of the editions of the *Doutrina*: it is presented surrounded by a multitude of children and angels in its veneration.

Almost no topic dealt with in the *Doutrina Christam* is left without illustration in this edition. There are illustrations for the Sign of the Cross, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Credo, the Decalogue, the Commandments of the Church, the Seven Capital Sins, the Sins Against the Holy Spirit, the Sacraments, the Works of Mercy, etc. Moreover to each of these subjects is appended an adequate number of images. For example, as there are seven petitions in the Lord's Prayer so there are seven images, each illustrating one of the petitions. As the Hail Mary is composed to two short parts there are two drawings representing them, and as there are fourteen Works of Mercy so there are fourteen illustrations to represent them. This thoroughness, where for each elementary concept and precept there is one illustration, made the 1616 edition a much better pedagogical tool than the preceding editions.

the article by Cesare Ioly Zorattini in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 42, in [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-battista-eliano_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-battista-eliano_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (last accessed in December 31, 2013).

48 "[T]omou o Padre Ioam Bavtista Romano da nostra Companhia em fazer stampar num pequeno liuro, as principaes cousas de nossa santa fe, representadas todas com próprias Imagens, e mui a propósito pera as darem a entender." This small book was *Doctrina christiana nella quale si contengono li principali misteri della nostra fede rappresentati con figure per istrutione de gl'idioti et di quelli che non sano leggere...*, Roma 1587.

49 For example the Spanish edition was Ripalda's *Catecismo*, which was also printed in Augsburg in 1616. The same images are used, but they are fewer in the Spanish edition. Without doubt this is because Ripalda's text is also much shorter than Jorge's.



Fig. 7 - Representation of the Holy Trinity in the *Doutrina Christam* of 1616 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Signatur: Catech. 376)



Fig. 8 - Representation of the Descent of the Holy Spirit in the *Doutrina Christam* of 1616 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Signatur: Catech. 376)

Although as a rule each main idea has one illustration, there are cases where it is represented more than once. For example, there is one illustration dedicated to the Holy Trinity on page 14 (see Figure 7), but the Holy Trinity is also represented in some other images, as in the one used to show how to make the Sign of the Cross, on page 12, and in another used to represent Paradise, on page 155. Any of these representations is more elaborated than that used in the 1592 edition to represent the Holy Trinity (compare figures 6 and 7). So is also the depiction of the Descent of the Holy Spirit on page 42 (see Figure 8; compare with Figure 5) than that used in the 1592 edition. Besides being more carefully designed, the illustrations of the 1616 edition are certainly much more vivid and able to make an impression on the reader. One additional example: although in the 1616 edition there is no illustration with the Temptation of Christ as main topic, in the representation of the Fourth Commandment of the Church, to fast on prescribed days, a fishmonger is shown in which hall there is the depiction of the Devil presenting a stone to Christ (see Figure 9).



Fig. 9 – Representation of the fourth Commandment of the Church (to abstain from meat and to fast on prescribed days) in the *Doutrina Christã* of 1616 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Signatur: Catech. 376)



Fig. 10 – Title page of the *Doutrina* in Konkani of 1622 (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, F.175)

4.5 The Japanese editions

The art-work of the Japanese editions of the *Doutrina* was restricted to their title pages and was more elaborated in the earlier editions of 1591 and 1592 than of those of 1600. The title page of the edition in *romaji* of 1591 had a full-body portrayal of Christ standing in front of a town, making with His half-closed right hand the symbols of the Holy Trinity with three bent fingers and of His two natures with two stretched fingers pointing up to heaven, and holding a globe surmounted by a cross with His left-side hand. A caption, in small letters, just below the image, states in Latin: “Ego sum via et veritas et vita”.⁵⁰ The edition in Japanese script is similar: a close up image of Christ also pointing up to heaven with two fingers of his right-side hand and holding an armillary sphere surmounted by a cross with his left-side hand, but without the background scenery. The same quotation from the Gospel of John in Latin and in large letters surrounds this depiction. The title pages of the editions of 1600 are graphically much simpler. The *romaji* edition has an oval Christogram inside a rectangle, and the edition in Japanese script presents a circular Christogram inside a square.

⁵⁰ John 14, 6.

4.6 The Konkani edition of 1622

On the other hand, the Konkani edition of 1622 depicted a Christogram on its title page, albeit a very plain one (see figure 10): the letters IHS with a cross above and three arrows below, all inside a simple rectangle. However, one should not think that this simplicity might be due to lack of skilled engravers in the Jesuit mission in India. Two elaborated pictograms, one for the Virgin Mary (see figure 11), at the start of the chapter dealing with the Hail Mary, and another for the Holy Sacrament (see figure 12), in the middle of the chapter dealing with the Ten Commandments, show that the Jesuits could print more complex images in their Indian press.

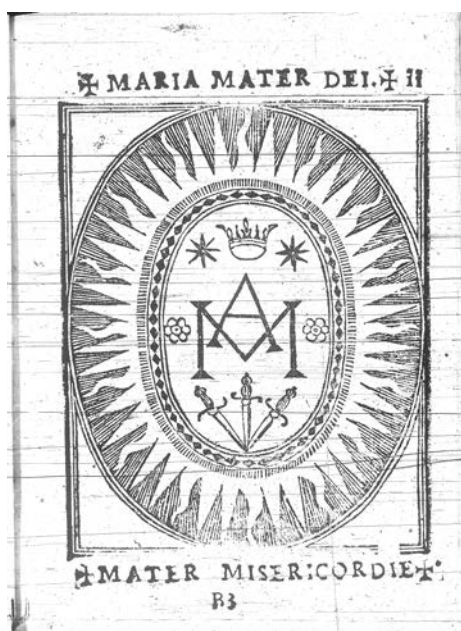


Fig. 11 - Marian pictogram in the *Doutrina in Konkani of 1622* (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, F.175)

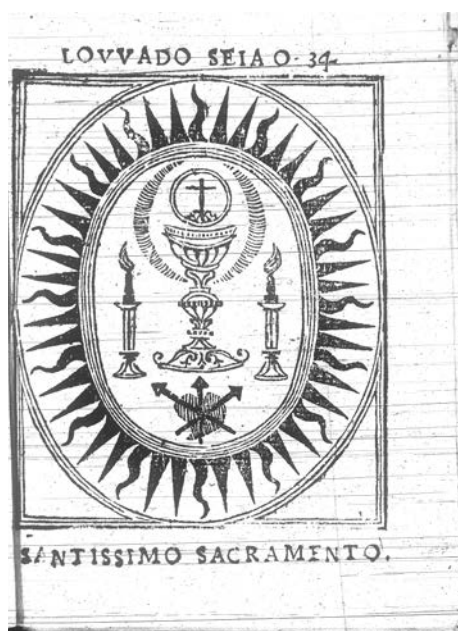


Fig. 12 - Blessed Sacrament pictogram in the *Doutrina in Konkani of 1622* (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, F.175)

The Marian pictogram has the letters AM, for *Ave Maria*, intermingled at the center and flanked by two flowers. Above it there is a crown and two stars, standing for *Stella Matutina* and *Stella Maris*, two frequently used titles for Mary. Below it there are three daggers, symbolizing Mary's suffering during the Passion of Christ. All this is surrounded by a flaming oval, representing the Sun, an image for Christ, also present in many Christograms used by the Jesuits. Above and below the rectangle that frames the oval there two other usual titles for Mary, in Latin: *Maria Mater Dei* and *Mater Misericordie*.

The Eucharistic pictogram represents the Holy Sacrament in its two species, the body by a holy host with an imprinted cross, and the blood by a chalice. The cup, on the upper part of the chalice, and the holy host are surrounded together by a halo signifying holiness. The chalice is flanked by two candlesticks, signifying the prayers of the faithful, and below it there is a heart trespassed by three arrows, representing the sorrows of Christ during His Passion. These figures are then enclosed in a flaming oval Sun, which is in turn framed in a rectangle. Just above the upper edge of this rectangle, and just below its lower edge, there is in Portuguese the short prayer *Louvado seja o Santíssimo Sacramento*.

None of these pictures is explained in the text, and it would not be expected that non-Christians who came to see them could understand them. However, it is possible that the teacher of doctrine could either ask his pupils to explain the pictograms to him, or explain their meaning to them. In this case these pictograms would serve also a pedagogical function, besides their decorative role.

4.7 The *Doutrina* in Congolese

The interlineal Congolese-Portuguese edition of 1624 does not have any artwork besides the Christogram on the title page (see Figure 13). The curious element in this figure is that the outer boundary of the encircling oval is constituted by a decorative chain, and the whole of the Sun, flames included, is inside the oval. The monogram IHS, as well as the cross and the three arrows, are inside the Sun.

5. Concluding remarks

Illustrations in books can serve many purposes: amuse, make clearer a point, make memorable an idea. The illustrations on the 1616 edition of *Doutrina Cristã* served well their pedagogical purpose because their number not only assured variety but also ensured comprehensive coverage of the contents presented in the text. Although illustrations had served, for a long time, Christian teaching, their inclusion in a doctrinal text was innovative.



Fig. 13 – Title page of the *Doutrina* in Congolese of 1624 (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, cota F. 1397)