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Sacred Historiography and its Rhetoric in Sixteenth-Century Japan:

An Intertextual Study and Partial Critical Edition of *Principio y progresso de la religión christiana en Jappón* [...] (1601~1603)

by Alessandro Valignano

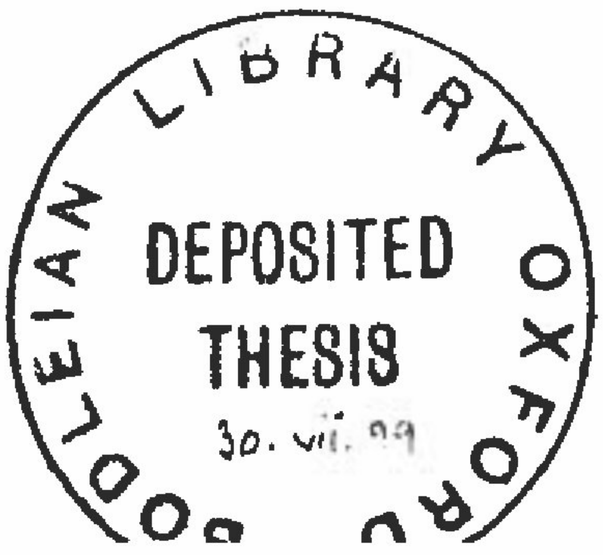
Volume 1:

An Historical Study of the Author and the Text



M. Antoni J. Üçerler, SJ
Campion Hall

Michaelmas Term 1998



In memory of my beloved grandmother,

Dr Maria Szaniawska Wojciechowska

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Short Abstract

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This thesis investigates the polemical and deliberative functions that *sacred history* came to serve among European Jesuits in late sixteenth-century Japan, and the way in which this new genre of 'mission histories' reflected developments in European historiography. Focus is provided by the work of the Italian Jesuit missionary, Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), who was one of the most influential foreigners in Japan in his day. In 1601-03 he produced his last major work, *Del principio y progresso de la religión christiana en Jappón* [...], whose purpose was to vindicate the Jesuit enterprise by offering an authoritative interpretation of the mission's history. This came in response to the criticisms of the Spanish Franciscan Friars, who challenged the Jesuit and Portuguese monopoly over the mission. In his *Principio*, Valignano set out to *persuade* his European audience as to the 'right' interpretation of the *present* turmoil in the East by calling the *past* to the witness-stand. This strategy, taken from forensic rhetoric, is the most original feature of his work.

The present thesis provides for the first time a *critical edition* of a substantial part of his history (*ca.* 60% or 65000 words), presented in general accordance with the criteria of the Anglo-American school of textual criticism. An editorial essay precedes the edition of the text in volume 2. Volume 1 consists of an historical/literary study of Valignano's history and is divided into four chapters. The Introduction examines the problematic relationship between 'fact' and 'fiction' and proposes *rhetoric* as a valid tool of analysis of a work like *Principio*. Chapter Two deals with the life and times of the author, whereas Chapter Three concentrates on the historical context in which Valignano's history was actually composed and the *intertextual* relationship between *Principio* and the polemical writings of his adversaries. Finally, the fourth chapter analyses the rhetorical techniques employed by Valignano in his chronicle and relates them to the *loci communes* associated with historiography in the aftermath of the Reformation and the Council of Trent.

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Long Abstract

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This thesis explores the various functions that *historia sacra* fulfilled in sixteenth-century Japan among European Jesuits, and how this new genre of vernacular 'mission histories', reflected new trends in European historiography. More specifically, it examines the work of the Italian Jesuit missionary, Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), who was among the first to contribute to this new brand of history. Appointed to the office of *Visitador* of the Jesuit missions of the *Indias Orientales* (India, Japan, and China) by the General Superior of the Society of Jesus, Everard Mercurian, in 1573, Valignano came to be one of the most influential Europeans in Japan at a time when the country was undergoing a process of social upheaval, transformation and unification. Although his activities fell principally within the boundaries of the ecclesiastical administration of the Portuguese *Padroado*, his presence was felt beyond the religious sphere in the political, economic, and even military matters regarding the Iberian presence in East Asia. Very few religious questions were, in fact, completely disentangled from, or had no bearing on, the secular domain in the sixteenth century, and the affairs of both merchant and missionary in the East were no exception.

Valignano is perhaps best known for his lasting contribution to the development of a new model of Christian expansion. His bold and controversial ideas concerning the necessity to respect fully and adapt to the highly developed cultures of Japan and China to which he sought to bring the Christian faith were to have a lasting effect on all subsequent missionary enterprises in the region and produced some startling results at the level of cross-cultural encounters. In fact, he helped shape to a considerable degree the perceptions that Europeans and Japanese came to have of each other. In view of his influence, it is perhaps not surprising that his approach did not go unchallenged for very long. With the arrival of the Spanish Franciscan Friars in Japan in 1584 and again in 1593 rivalry flared up between Spain and Portugal, Jesuit and Friar, each camp defending its respective interests and privileges. The conflict was intensified following the union of the two Iberian Crowns in 1580 under Philip II. As a result of these political and ecclesiastical controversies, Valignano, a prolific writer and correspondent, composed a monumental *Apologia* in 1598, in which he attempted to vindicate the Jesuit way of proceeding in Japan. This came in the aftermath of the first general persecution of

Christianity by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1509-98), which ended with the execution of twenty-six Christians; among them were six Franciscan friars and three Jesuits.

Three years later, convinced that an *apologia* was not enough and that the only way to justify the Japanese missionary enterprise was to study and interpret the characters and events that had marked the first five decades of the Jesuit presence in that country, he decided to compose a comprehensive history of the mission, entitled *Del principio y progresso de la religión christiana en Jappón* [...]. Although he initially envisaged a five-volume work, which would have been his most important intellectual accomplishment had he been afforded the opportunity to complete it, he was only able to finish the first part of his *historia sacra* of Japan. It is this volume that provides the focus for the present thesis. The desire to record these events for posterity would appear to be a relatively simple task. A closer analysis reveals, however, that, Valignano's purpose went beyond simply the desire to *inform* his readers as to what had happened or to *correct* factual mistakes recorded in previous reports and historical accounts. His aim was clearly rhetorical: he wanted to *move* and to *persuade* his audience, and especially the authorities in Rome, Madrid and Lisbon, that his was the 'right' interpretation of the *present* religious and political turmoil in the East. In order to achieve this goal, he ingeniously called the *past* to the witness-stand to tell its story. The belief that *history* held the key to resolving religious disputes was born in the aftermath of the Renaissance and the Reformation. How Valignano assimilated this idea and the way in which his own work reflects in an original way these developments in European intellectual history is one of the main issues addressed in my study of the text.

The present thesis presents for the first time a ***critical edition*** of a substantial part (*ca.* 60% or 65000 words) of the manuscript text of *Principio*. In its presentation it generally conforms to the criteria followed by the Anglo-American school of textual criticism. The application of these criteria to the recension of the three extant *Principio* manuscripts is discussed in an extended essay on Editorial Principles, which serves as a preface to Valignano's text (**volume II**).

The **first volume**, on the other hand, is divided into four chapters and aims at providing the reader with the interpretative framework in which to understand Valignano's historical project. Establishing a critical perspective or *locus enuntiationis* is a particularly urgent task, since the intrinsic value and reliability of texts written by European observers in the sixteenth century concerning lands in Asia or the New World has been seriously questioned in recent times by post-colonial historians. Furthermore, contemporary debates regarding the historiographical method in general and how it should be applied to texts such as these made it all the more necessary to reflect on the *criteria* that informed my reading of Valignano's history.

The ***first chapter*** thus attempts to examine the relationship between 'fact' and 'fiction', 'history' and 'literature', and inquires into which method of analysis, historical

or literary, is most appropriately applied to a text such as *Principio*. I argue that the Rankean empiricist approach is not necessarily helpful in an evaluation of Valignano's history, since it fails to view his work on its own terms. Instead, I briefly outline the Classical antecedents of rhetoric and history-writing, and in particular Cicero's conception of a rhetorical historiography in his *De oratore*, with which a sixteenth-century writer like Valignano would have been familiar. Referring to the work of scholars like Hayden White, Chaïm Perelman, and Nancy Struever, who have reclaimed rhetoric as a valid instrument with which to study all forms of human discourse, regardless of genre, I propose the application of a *topological* rather than *tropological* analysis of Valignano's narrative. Finally, I conclude that besides these *literary-rhetorical* elements, the *historical-empirical* aspect also needs to be accounted for, lest the study of *Principio* remain disconnected from the context in which the Visitor's work was actually written. The heuristic tool which I choose to bridge the gap between the literary and historical modes of study is that of *intertextuality*, which builds on the assumption that texts do not exist in a vacuum but stand in a dynamic relationship to other texts, to which they either allude in a positive or negative fashion.

In an attempt to illuminate Valignano's perspective in his writings, the ***second chapter*** considers the intellectual background of Valignano and provides a biographical synopsis of his activities in Europe and in Asia. This is achieved by referring to his copious correspondence and various other works which he composed in the course of his journeys throughout the lands of the Portuguese *Padroado*. Some of the salient features of his missionary approach become clearer in this context.

The purpose of ***Chapter III*** is to investigate more specifically the *intertextual* relationship between his *Principio* and the writings of his religious opponents in Europe and in Asia. A careful reconstruction of the complex web of events surrounding the Franciscan presence in Japan and the Philippines reveals various aspects of this rivalry and conflict, and how it came to be reflected specifically in the writings of Fray Martín Ignacio de Loyola, Fray Martín Aguirre de la Ascensión, Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, and other friars, to which Valignano was responding indirectly in his historical narrative. Support for, and opposition to, the Visitor's policies among fellow Jesuits and at the Courts of the Pope in Rome and the King in Madrid are also taken into consideration.

In the ***final chapter*** the analysis turns to determining the basic structure of the *Principio* narrative (*dispositio rerum*) and attempts to identify specific patterns of argumentation (*inventio*) that emerge from Valignano's text. Special attention is paid to the principal *topoi* which he employed to support his arguments. I note that, although he claims to have followed the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Caesar Baronius as a model for his own chronicle, a number of substantial differences exist between the way the two authors organized their respective histories. Most notable among these is Valignano's interruption of his historical narrative with thematic chapters that discuss geographical, political, economic, cultural, and anthropological aspects of Japan. A closer examination

of chapters 13-16, which provide a *theological* interpretation of the mission's history, shows that they conform to strategies found in *judicial rhetoric* and serve a polemical purpose. To support his main thesis, namely that the Japanese Church has always been orthodox in her doctrine and practices, he argues that it is possible to compare the early Japanese Christian community with that of the Early Church of the Apostolic age. What is most remarkable here is the parallel that can be drawn between Valignano's way of inventing and arranging his arguments and that of the Reformers and Catholics, who were engaged in a similar debate over the relationship between the Early Church and the Church in their own time. Besides the commonplace of the 'Primitive Church', which he appears to have assimilated from this controversy, he also introduces the *locus theologicus* of 'Divine Providence'. With this *topos* he explores the meaning for the mission of the marked absence of extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, such as the power to work miracles and to prophesy. He infers that this lack of special assistance from above must be interpreted as a sign that the missionaries were called to rely on their own imagination and find new ways to accommodate the Faith to Japanese culture.

In this context, it becomes clear how the chronological sequence of events recounted in the remaining chapters, and presented in *epideictic* terms, provides Valignano with the authoritative *exempla* or *probationes inartificiales* which support his main argument. Moreover, what emerges from this study is the underlying *deliberative* purpose of his history: to persuade the secular and ecclesiastical authorities in Europe, who had decided to abolish the long-standing Jesuit monopoly in Japan, that they should continue to follow the example set by the founders of the Japanese mission. Convinced that his own way of proceeding was a faithful reflection of the intentions of the early missionaries, Valignano was anxious to see his own policies implemented in full. There was also, nevertheless, a more personal dimension to these deliberative objectives in his writing. The mission's history had, in fact, been a favoured point of reference for Valignano since his first visitation of Japan over twenty years before; he had reflected on the successes and failures of the past and sought to reassess continually his own administration by learning from these experiences.

In the end, it was Valignano's decision to turn to *history* as a privileged witness ('testis temporum') and a beacon for future decisions ('lux veritatis') that made his *Principio* an original expression in the Asian context of new historiographical trends that had already firmly taken root in sixteenth-century Europe. Thus at the more general level of early modern intellectual history, by inquiring into how the Visitor engaged in *inventio* to write his chronicle of the Japanese mission not only do we gain a better idea of his polemical and deliberative purposes in the specific context of Japan but also discover the extent to which his mind-set and methods reflect the rhetorical function of history and the conception of *sacred historiography* that were current in the wake of the Reformation and the Council of Trent.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume I: An Historical Study of the Author and the Text

Short Abstract iii
Long Abstract iv
Acknowledgements viii
Key to Bibliographical and Archival Abbreviations xiv

Preface xix

I. Introduction: ***Historical or Literary Criticism?*** 1

The Modern and Contemporary Debate 1
The Classical Antecedents 9
The Methodological Dilemma: A Tentative Solution 19
The Thesis: An Intertextual Study and Partial Critical Edition of the MSS 24
Post scriptum 27

II. Alessandro Valignano: Man, Missionary, and Writer 29

The First Years 29
'Visitador' of Jesuit Missions in the Portuguese East Indies 31
Valignano's Voyages and Activities: An Overview 40
Africa and Asia seen through the Eyes of an Italian 48
The Question of Missionary Method: Accommodation and Education 56
The Intellectual Roots of His Vision 64
Conclusion 76
Appendix: **BAL**: *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-IV-56, fols 203^{v} and 193^{r}:
'Facultates a Nostro Patre Generali Praeposito Patre Everardo concessae Patri Alexandro Valignano, Visitatori Indiae Orientalis' 77

III. ***Principio*** **and Intertextuality: Sacred Historiography in Context** 79

Merchants and Missionaries in the East 81
A Century of Iberian Rivalry 'ultra Gangem' 82
Jesuits and Friars in East Asia 84
The Mendicants and Japan 91
Diplomats, Missionaries, and Martyrs 95
Praise and Blame in the Aftermath 100
Sed contra respondeo: The Friars' Reaction to Jesuit Opposition 109
Nemine discrepante? Mixed Reactions among the Jesuits 118

Conclusion 123

IV. *Principio* and its Rhetoric in Sixteenth-Century Japan 125

Valignano on his Aims and Method in composing 'Principio' 126
'Principio' and its languages 135
Caesar Baronius and his 'Annales' as Historiographical Model 136
Renaissance antecedents 141
Baronius and Valignano contrasted 144
The Narrative Structure of 'Principio': 'Dispositio rerum' 149
The Narrative Structure of 'Principio': 'Inventio' 152
The 'genus iudiciale' in chapters 13-16 152
'Ecclesia primitiva' as 'locus theologicus' 159
The 'minor premise' and its 'status' 162
Divine Providence as theological commonplace 163
Deliberative and Epideictic Elements 168
In fine 170

General Conclusions 172

Select Bibliography 179

Volume II: A Partial Critical Edition of *Principio*

Key to Bibliographical and Archival Abbreviations vi
Key to Resolved Abbreviations xi
Key to Abbreviations in the Critical Apparatus, Textual Apparatus, and Endnotes xii

Preface on Editorial Principles: xiii

Aim and Method xiii

Part I: *Principio*: The Extant MSS xv

I. London: British Library, *Additional MSS*, 9857 [=MS. ***B***] xv
I.1 Bibliographical Data xv
II. Lisbon: Biblioteca do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-IV-53, fols 244^{r}-419^{r} [= MS. ***A***] xvii
II.1 Bibliographical Data xvii
III. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co. (formerly *Phillipps MSS*, 3065) [= MS. ***T***] xviii
III.1 Bibliographical Data xviii

II. The Collation of the MSS and the Stemma xix

I. The Collation xix
II. The Stemma xxxi

III. General Editorial Principles xxxv

I. Copy Text, Emendation, and the Selection of Substantive Variants xxxvii
I.1 Copy-Text xxxvii
I.2 Emendation of the Copy-Text and Selection of Substantive Variants xxxix

II. Valignano's Sources xli
II.1 *Biblical quotations* xli
II.2 *Patristic quotations* xli
II.3 *16th- and early 17th-century publications* xlii
II.4 *Jesuit Letter-books and Histories* xlii
II.4.1 *Giovanni Pietro Maffei's Latin version of the Letters* xlii
II.4.2 *The Castilian Edition of the Letters* xlvi
II.4.3 *Giovanni Pietro Maffei's 'History of the Indies'* xlviii
II.4.4 *Orazio Torsellino's 'Life of Francis Xavier'* xlix
II.4.5 *João de Lucena's 'History of the Life of Xavier'* li
II.4.6 *Luís Fróis's 'History of Japan'* lii

III. The Present Edition liv
III.1 *Folio Numbering* liv
III.2 *Spelling* liv
III.2.1 *Castilian and Latin* liv
III.2.2 *Japanese* lvi
III.3 *Accentuation* lvii
III.4 *Capitalization* lvii
III.5 *Division of words and parts of words* lviii
III.6 *Abbreviations* lviii
III.7 *Punctuation* lviii
III.8 *Paragraphing* lix
III.9 *Chapter Divisions and Headings* lix
III.10 *Repetitions* lix
IV. Annotation lx
IV.1 *The Critical Apparatus* lx
IV.2 *Textual Notes* lxii
IV.3 *Endnotes* lxii

Appendix: The History of the *Principio* Manuscripts lxiv

I. London: British Library, *Additional MSS*, 9857 [= MS. ***B***] lxiv
II. Lisbon: Biblioteca do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda,

Jesuítas na Ásia, 49-IV-53, fols 244ʳ-419ʳ [= MS. ***A***]
and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co. (formerly, *Phillipps MSS*,
3065) [= MS. ***T***] lxvii

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Libro Primero. Del Principio y progresso de la Religión Christiana en Jappón, y de la especial providencia de que Nuestro Señor usa con aquella nueva Iglesia
(TEXT)

Title-Page	1
Tabla de los capítulos del primero libro desta obra	2
Epístola dedicatoria para Nuestro Padre General	5
Proemio al Lector	9
Appendix: Letter of Alessandro Valignano to the General, Claudio Acquaviva in Rome (Macao: 24.I.1604) in **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 14 I, fols 156ʳ-57ʳ	15
Capítulo 1	19
Capítulo 7	29
Capítulo 8	43
Capítulo 13	55
Capítulo 14	63
Capítulo 15	74
Capítulo 16	83
Capítulo 22	102
Capítulo 23	119
Capítulo 24	133
Capítulo 25	147
Capítulo 26	158
Endnotes	165

Key to Select Bibliographical and Archival Abbreviations

A_{88}, I-II/A_{89}, I-II	Cesare Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici* [...], I-II (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1588-89; Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana, 1589).
Adiciones	Alessandro Valignano, *Adiciones al Sumario de Japón (1592)*, ed. by José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz (Tokyo: 1954).[1]
AFH	*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, vol. 1 (1908)-
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
AHSI	*Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, vol. 1 (1938)-
AGIS	Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
AHEIL	Arquivo Histórico do Estado da Índia, Lisbon
AIA	*Archivo Ibero-Americano*, Madrid, 1st series, vol. 1-119 (1914-35); Madrid, 2nd series, vol. 1 (1941)-.
APO	*Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, ed. by J. H. Cunha Rivara, 10 vols (New Goa/Madras: Imprensa Nacional/Asian Educational Services, 1861; repr. 1992).
Apología	Alessandro Valignano, *Apología en al qual se responde a diversas calumnias que se escrivieron contra los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús de Jappón y de la China* [...] (1598), ed. by José Álvarez-Taladriz as *Apología de la Compañía de Jesús de Japón y China* (1598) (Osaka, Eikōdō, 1998).
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome.
BAL	Biblioteca do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon.
BCJ	*Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, ed. by Aloys and Augustin de Backer and Carlos Sommervogel, 9 vols (Brussels/ Paris: Oscar Schepens / Alphonse Picard, 1890-1900, repr. 1960).[2]

BL	British Library, London.
BM	*Bibliotheca Missionum*, ed. by Robert Streit and Johannes Dindinger, 30 vols (Munster i. W./Aachen: 1916-75); IV (1928): *Asiatische Missionsliteratur 1245-1599*; V (1929): *Asiatische Missions-literatur 1600-1699.*
BNL	Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon.
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
BNR	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome.
C_{65}	*Copia de las cartas que los Padres y hermanos de la Compañía de Iesús que andan en el Japón escrivieron a los de la misma Compañía de la India y Europa, desde el ano MCXLVIII que començaron hasta el passado de LXIII* (Coimbra: João de Barreira & João Álvares, 1565).
C_{70}	*Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus que andão nos Reynos de Japão escreverão aos da mesma Companhia da Índia e Europa, desdo anno de 1549 até o de 66* (Coimbra: António de Mariz, 1570).
C_{75}	*Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús que andan en los Reynos de Iapón escrivieron a los de la misma Compañía, desde el año mil y quinientos y quarenta y nueve hasta el de mil y quinientos y setenta y uno* [...] (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Íñiguez de Lequerica, 1575).
C_{98}	*Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Reynos de Japão e China aos da mesma Companhia da Índia e Europa, desdo anno de 1549 até o de 1580*, vol. I (Evora: Manoel de Lyra, 1598).
CDIF	*Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla, por D. Pedro Torres y Lanzas* [...] *precedido de una Historia General de Filipinas, por el P. Pablo Pastells, S.J.*, 9 vols (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1925-34).
CRJ	*Cartas y relaciones del Japón*, ed. by Lorenzo Pérez, in *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 4-19 (1915-23).
DCECH	*Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*, ed. by

	J. Corominas and J.A. Pascual, 7 vols (Madrid: Gredos, 1980-91).
DFJ	*Documentos franciscanos de la cristiandad de Japón (1593-1597). San Martín de la Ascensión y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira. Relaciones e Informaciones*, ed. by José Álvarez-Taladriz (Osaka, 1973).
DHMPPO	*Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do Oriente: Insulíndia*, ed. by Arturo Basílio da Sá, 6 vols (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1954-88).
DI	*Documenta Indica*, ed. by Josef Wicki, Monumenta Missionum, MHSI, 18 vols (Rome: IHSI, 1948-88).
DJ_{I-II}	*Documentos del Japón, 1547-1557* and *Documentos del Japón, 1558-1562*, ed. by Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, MHSI, 137 and 148 (Rome: IHSI, 1990, 1995).
E_{71}	Giovanni Pietro Maffei, *De Iaponicis rebus epistolarum libri IIII* [...] *in latinum ex hispanico sermone conversi.* = Appendix to: *Rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum ad annum usque a Deipara Virgine MDLXVIII Commentarius Emanuelis Acostae Lusitani recognitus et latinitate donatus* (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1571).
E_{88}	Giovanni Pietro Maffei, *Selectarum epistolarum ex India libri quatuor* [...] (Venice: Damiano Zenaro, 1588).
Fróis, I-V	Luís Fróis, *História de Japam*, ed. by Josef Wicki, 5 vols (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1976-84).
GS	Georg Schurhammer, *Gesammelte Studien*, ed. by László Szilas, Biblioteca IHSI, XX-XXIII, 4 vols (Rome/Lisbon: IHSI/Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962-65).
H_{88} / H_{89}	Giovanni Pietro Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI*, 1st edn (Florence: Filippo Giunta II, 1588; repr. Venice: Damiano Zenaro, 1589).
Historia (1542-64)	Alessandro Valignano, *Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales (1542-1564)*, ed. by Josef Wicki, Bibliotheca IHSI, II (Rome: IHSI, 1944).
IHSI	Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu.

IHI	Josef Franz Schütte, *Introductio ad historiam Societatis Iesu in Iaponia, 1549-1650* (Rome: IHSI, 1968).
JOUFS	*Journal of Osaka University of Foreign Studies* [*Osaka Gaikokugo Daigaku Gakuhō*]
MHI	*Monumenta Historica Iaponiae I: Textus Catalogorum Iaponiae. Aliaeque de personis domibusque S.I. in Iaponia informationes et relationes, 1549-1654*, ed. by Josef Franz Schütte, MHSI, 111, MM, 34 (Rome: MHSI, 1975).
MM	Monumenta Missionum
MMex	*Monumenta Mexicana*, ed. by Felix Zubillaga and Miguel Ángel Rodriguez, 8 vols (Rome: IHSI, 1956-91).
MN	*Monumenta Nipponica*, Sophia University, Tokyo, vol. 1 (1938)-.
MP	*Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*, 7 vols, ed. by László Lukács (Rome: IHSI, 1965-92).
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca* [...], ed. by J.-P. Migne, 161 vols (Paris: 1857-1866).
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus* [...] *Series Latina* [...], ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Garnière, 1844-64).
PN	Leo Magnino, *Pontificia Nipponica. Le relazioni tra la Santa Sede e il Giappone attraverso i documenti pontifici*, Bibliotheca Missionalis, V (Rome: Officium Libri Catholici, 1947).
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
SB	*Studies in Bibliography*, Journal of the Bibliographic Society of the University of Virginia, edited by F. Bowers, vol. I (1948)-.
Sumario	Alessandro Valignano, *Sumario de las cosas de Japón (1583)*, ed. by José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, Monumenta Nipponica Monographs, 9 (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1954).
TLC	Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española según la impresión de 1611, con las adiciones de*

Benito Remigio Noydens publicadas en la de 1674, ed. by Martín de Riquer (Barcelona: S. A. Horta, 1943).

VMJ-E, I/1-2 — Josef Franz Schütte, *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, Vol. I/1: *From His Appointment as Visitor until His First Departure from Japan. Part I: The Problem (1573-1580)*; Vol. I/2: *Part II: The Solution (1580-1582)*, trans. by John J. Coyne (Gujarat Sahitya Prakash: Xavier Díaz del Río, 1980-1981).

VMJ-G, I/1-2 — Josef Franz Schütte, *Alexandro Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan*, Vol. I/1: *Von der Ernennung zum Visitator bis zum ersten Abschied von Japan (1573-1582). I. Teil: Das Problem (1573-1580)*; Vol. I/2: *II. Teil: Die Lösung (1580-1582)* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1951-1958).

X_{94} — Torsellino, Orazio, [...] *de vita Francisci Xaverii. Qui primus e Societate Iesu in India, et Iaponia Evangelium promulgavit* [...], 1st edn (Rome: Typographia Gabiana, 1594).

X_{96} — ------, [...] *de vita Francisci Xaverii. Qui primus e Societate Iesu in Indiam & Iaponiam Evangelium invexit. Libri Sex. Denuo ab ipso authore recogniti, & pluribus locis vehementer aucti.* [...], 2nd rev. edn (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1596).

[1] Note: *Adiciones* and the *Sumario* have consecutive page-numbering and were printed at the same time; the former volume, however, was distributed privately but never officially published.

[2] Note: three supplementary volumes were published subsequently; see Bibliography for details.

Preface

When a Portuguese *nau* was driven off course by a storm and shortly thereafter ran aground off the shores of Tanegashima in 1543, an unexpected encounter between Europe and Japan was born. This otherwise unlikely meeting of cultures was destined to have far-reaching political, cultural, economic, as well as religious consequences not only for Japan but also for Europe itself. With the arrival in 1549 of the first Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier, a Spanish nobleman, Christianity was introduced to the country for the first time. The 'Southern Barbarians' (or *namban*) - as the Japanese came to refer to their Western visitors - were at once fascinated and alarmed by their hosts, and soon set about recording their experiences in writing in order to report to the religious and secular authorities back in Italy and the Iberian Peninsula. A substantial number of these copious and colourful reports composed during the first fifty years following the arrival of the Portuguese , which include correspondence with Europe and other outposts in Asia, as well as histories and treatises, were penned by the missionaries. Both historians and ethnographers have long acknowledged the importance of these writings as an invaluable source of information about Japan and her people; moreover, they are of interest in that they reveal no less about the mind-set of their European authors struggling to come to terms with a new and 'exotic' world.

Among these numerous sources, the writings of Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), an Italian Jesuit missionary in Japan during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, are of particular interest. Valignano, arguably one of the most influential Europeans in Japan at the time, not only made a lasting contribution to Christian theology through his bold and controversial ideas concerning the necessity to respect fully and adapt to the culture to which he sought to bring the Christian faith, but he also helped shape to a considerable degree the perceptions that Europeans and Japanese came to have of each other. An historical study of his activities is greatly facilitated by the fact that he was a very prolific correspondent. Besides the hundreds of letters, official and private, his writings also include treatises, policy

statements, and historical works. His influence was not limited, however, to purely religious matters. This is perhaps unremarkable, as very few religious questions were completely disentangled from or had no bearing on the secular sphere during the sixteenth century; the missionary enterprise of the *Indias Orientales* was no exception. Hence, whilst carefully devising and implementing his mission policies, he often found himself caught up in the political, economic, and even military affairs of both the Europeans and the Japanese. Among such practical concerns, maintaining good relations with local warlords, whose political interests often determined the fate of the Church, was one of his top priorities.

Another central issue he had to face was the dangerous intensification of Portuguese-Spanish rivalry and the growing hostility between Jesuit and Friar following the unification of the two crowns under Philip II in 1580. To complicate matters, this conflict was tragically played out in the aftermath of the first wave of nation-wide persecution of Christians in 1587, which happened to coincide with a further centralization and consolidation of political power by the Japanese Regent, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98). The arrival in Japan of the first Spanish friars soon thereafter shattered Valignano's hopes of maintaining the Jesuit monopoly of the mission which had gone virtually unchallenged under the Portuguese *Padroado*. Fearing that the fledgling Church could not survive both persecution and what he saw as the potentially disruptive introduction of a radically different approach to the transmission of the Christian faith, Valignano did not hesistate to use all diplomatic as well as canonical means at his disposal in an attempt to remedy a situation that he perceived as a grave threat to the whole enterprise. Precarious as it already was, the situation took another unexpected and disastrous turn for the worse when in 1596 Hideyoshi ordered the confiscation of the cargo of the gold-laden *San Felipe*, a Spanish ship on passage from Manila to New Spain, which had been caught in a storm off the coast of Urado in Shikoku. Once again inclement weather was about to turn the tides of Japanese history. What followed was the first public execution of missionaries and Japanese Christians in February, 1597, among whom were six friars from the Spanish Philippines. Why Hideyoshi decided to take such drastic action at the time is debated among both European and Japanese historians to this very day. Recriminations were rife among friars and Jesuits, Spaniards and Portuguese as to the cause of the martyrdoms and the reasons behind what appeared to be a sudden

downward spiral in Spanish-Japanese relations. In short, the friars accused the Jesuits of resentfully colluding with their Portuguese patrons against the right of the Spanish crown to determine all matters related to Japan, whether secular or ecclesiastical. Both sides produced much polemic literature in an attempt to set the record straight, as they saw it. In response to several specific treatises composed by the Spanish friars and circulated in Europe as well as in Asia, in 1598 Valignano put the finishing touches on a monumental *Apología*, which reflects his training in civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence, and is a brilliant piece of forensic rhetoric.

The Church was afforded some respite from persecution as the political situation settled following the death of Hideyoshi. Nevertheless, the controversy among the Europeans raged on intensely, and so in 1601 Valignano decided to put forth his views in a different form and argue his case indirectly through the medium of *historical* discourse in what was to be his last major work, entitled *Del principio y progresso de la religión christiana en Japón y de la especial providencia de que Nuestro Señor usa con aquella nueva Iglesia*. It is this unpublished history that provides the focus for the present thesis. The primary purpose of this work, according to its author, is to recount significant events related to the entire history of the Christian Church in Japan, beginning with the arrival of the Portuguese in 1543 and the establishment of the first Christian community by Francis Xavier six years later, and ending with events in Valignano's own time. Although he originally envisaged writing five volumes, each of which was to focus on events during the administration of one of the mission's superiors, death caught up with Valignano just as he was about to begin work on the second volume. What remains is his account of the first twenty-seven years of the mission, which come to a close in 1570 with the death of Xavier's successor, Cosme de Torres.

The desire to record these important years for posterity would seem straightforward enough a task in terms of ecclesiastical historiography. A closer analysis reveals, however, that there is much more to Valignano's history, both in terms of content and form, than the modern reader might initially expect. Valignano himself provides the first clue in the second part of the title of the chronicle, which mentions Divine Providence. A further indication of his purpose can be found in the *Proemium to the Reader*, where he states that one of the

reasons that compelled him to compose a new history was the abundance of inaccurate statements regarding the progress of the mission in many of the previous published accounts. In fact, beyond its descriptive content and traditional annalistic format, an underlying rhetorical structure and intentionality can clearly be discerned. Ultimately, Valignano composed *Principio* not only to *inform* the reader by simply re-presenting the essential facts in yet another chronicle or to *correct* the factual mistakes he claims to have spotted in other histories but also to *move* and to *persuade* the reader, and more specifically the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome, the mission's administrators in Lisbon, its new royal patrons in Madrid, and ultimately, his European audience at large, as to the 'right' interpretation of the present religious turmoil and adverse political circumstances of the preceding few years. In his view, in order to understand the present and determine the *modus procedendi* for the *future* one must turn for guidance to the *past*, and specifically to the *historia sacra* of Japan. This simple idea that the past and present of the mission are inextricably connected informs the entire rhetorical 'superstructure' of his history, and therein lies the originality of *Principio*.

The present thesis presents for the first time a critical edition of a substantial part of the text of *Principio* (with a view to the publication in the future of the entire work). In the final preparation of the text I have taken into account developments in both the Anglo-American and European schools of textual criticism and applied them insofar as possible to the three extant manuscripts of Valignano's history.

The edition is preceded by a study that takes into consideration a number of historical issues as well as literary aspects of the text. Rather than attempting an exhaustive historical commentary on the *dramatis personae* and events depicted in the narrative chapters of *Principio*, my principal purpose has been to explore Valignano's *method* in history-writing, including the intellectual categories he employed, and the extent to which he conforms to the historiographical standards of his time.

This task is achieved in part by presenting a fairly detailed reconstruction of the turbulent historical *context* within which the work was written, based on contemporary primary source material. Secondly, it endeavours to analyse some of the narrative strategies and rhetorical structures of argumentation employed by Valignano in the text as a specific response to that context. Thirdly, it attempts to place those strategies in a wider intellectual

horizon by first defining and then examining the similarities and differences between Valignano's historical method and the new developments in the methodology and function of sacred historiography current in sixteenth-century Europe in the aftermath of the Reformation and the Council of Trent.

Finally, these objectives pose the more general question of method, namely whether in the pursuit of these goals it is more appropriate and useful to apply 'literary' or 'historical' criticism to the text. It is to this fundamental issue that we now turn in the Introduction.

Chapter I

HISTORICAL or LITERARY CRITICISM?

The Modern and Contemporary Debate

One of the most engaging intellectual debates of the past several decades among literary critics and historians has been concerned with the relationship of history and literature, and the specific function of rhetoric *vis-à-vis* historical texts and their interpretation.[1] Or, to put it in different terms, scholars have tried to reassess what has been seen as the problematic relationship of *content* and *form* in history-writing. For centuries history was considered a branch of literature and closely related to rhetoric. Lionel Gossman points out that even as late as the eighteenth century prominent historians such as Voltaire and Gibbon did not see the two fields as fundamentally opposed to each other but as rather engaged in a positive tension.[2] With the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, these views were gradually abandoned in the attempt to create a more 'detached' and 'scientific'

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[1] There is an abundance of literature on this subject. In this brief overview I have referred to the following: Stephen Bann, 'Analysing the Discourse of History', *Dalhousie Review*, 64/2 (1984), 376-400; David Cohen, 'Classical Rhetoric and Modern Theories of Discourse', in *Persuasion: Greek Rhetoric in Action*, ed. by Ian Worthington (London/New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 69-82; Antony Easthope, 'Romancing the Stone: History-Writing and Rhetoric', *Social History*, 18/2 (1993), 235-49; Charles W. Fornara, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Berkeley/London: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 194-201; Gérard Genette, 'Rhetoric Restrained', in his *Figures of Literary Discourse*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), pp. 103-26; Lionel Gossman, 'History and Literature: Reproduction or Signification' in his *Between History and Literature* (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 227-56; Peter Munz, 'The Historical Narrative', in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. by Michael Bentley (London/New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 851-72. See also the numerous articles on historiography in *History and Theory*.

[2] See Gossman, *Between History and Literature*, pp. 233-44; 255.

historiography.[3] The central tenet of the new approach, which is often referred to as 'historical positivism', was its claim that the 'real' could be objectively reflected in historical discourse. Historical fact *and* its meaning could be established - as Leopold von Ranke contended in what has become a well-known commonplace - 'wie es eigentlich gewesen ist', provided that such research be based on accurate textual criticism of relevant archival evidence.[4] Within this new view of history's task founded on the distinction between primary and secondary sources, rhetorical and literary aspects of history held little or no ultimate significance. As a consequence, questions concerning the actual *process* whereby historical writing was produced and the literary *form* of the final product of this process, were relegated to mere considerations of style. They were replaced by the 'more relevant' questions regarding the epistemological value of the *content* of history. Thus, the medium of historical representation, the historian's text, came to be viewed not as a specific construct, an interpretation, or a *re-presentation* of the past composed by a particular historian, but rather as an unmediated and objectively binding *reflection* of the past. Although this historical 'realism' has been seriously undermined in our own age, it has had a lasting impact on twentieth-century historiography and its allure continues to exert considerable influence on the methodology adopted by many contemporary historians, Anglo-Saxon and German scholarly circles being no exception.[5]

Nineteenth-century historical positivism and empiricism did not go unchallenged, however. A substantial attempt to disentangle history from the stranglehold of 'objectivity', as it was conceived in the natural sciences, was made by Wilhelm Dilthey, who insisted on a necessary distinction in methodology between the natural sciences (*Naturwissenschaften*) and the human sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*) and a different definition of knowledge for the two sciences. Friedrich Nietzsche, on the other hand, was to adopt a much more radical

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[3] For a discussion of nineteenth-century historiography and its development see Alan Richardson, *History Sacred and Profane*, Bampton Lectures for 1962 (London: SCM Press, 1964), pp. 103-64.

[4] Leopold von Ranke, *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1535*, (Leipzig/Berlin: Bey G. Reimer, 1824), p. vi.

[5] Carr contends that positivism in historiography 'fitted in perfectly with the British empiricist tradition which was the dominant strain in British philosophy from Locke to Bertrand Russell'; see E. H. Carr, *What is History?*, ed. by R. W. Davies, 2nd edn (London: Penguin Books, 1990), p. 9.

stance and attacked the validity of historical rationalism in his claim that all language was fundamentally rhetorical. He thus advocated the rehabilitation of the Sophistic tradition and, from a philosophical point of view, effectively inaugurated the age of epistemological relativism and perspectivism. His thought had a profound impact on philosophers during the first half of this century, among whom Heidegger occupies a special place. Inspired by Nietzsche, he reflected on the contingent nature of human existence and knowledge, and came to postulate all being as 'being-in-the-world' (*in-der-Welt-sein*), a predetermining condition which defines human existence as a 'thrownness' (*Geworfenheit*) into the world from which there is no escape, thus depriving us of a vantage point from which to assess knowledge objectively.[6] Heidegger's reflections, together with those of philosophers of subsequent generations, provided the impetus and paved the way for a complete re-definition of the cognitive and ontological status of *interpretation*, which in turn led to the development of a whole new field of philosophical enquiry, *hermeneutics*. One of the most prominent representatives of this new approach has been Hans-Georg Gadamer, who not only has rehabilitated the concept of 'pre-judice' or 'fore-understanding' (*Vorurteil* and *Vorverständnis*) but has gone so far as to suggest that it is a constitutive factor of our 'finite, historical mode of being'.[7] Accordingly, true knowledge can only be grasped by a process of becoming aware of our projection of interpretations on to reality and engaging in a constant review of our 'fore-project' and 'fore-meanings'. He claims that 'this constant process of new projection is the movement of understanding and interpretation.'[8] Gadamer eloquently summarises his views on 'prejudice' and his criticism of 'historicism' in the following terms:

> This recognition that all understanding inevitably involves some prejudice gives the hermeneutical problem its real thrust. By the light of this insight it appears that historicism, despite its critique of rationalism and of natural law philosophy, is based on the modern enlightenment and unknowingly shares its prejudices. And there is one prejudice of the enlightenment that is essential

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[6] See Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. by J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1967), p. 174 and §38, pp. 219-24.

[7] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. by G. Barden and J. Cumming (New York: Crossroad, 1984), p. 246.

[8] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, p. 235.

> to it: the fundamental prejudice of the enlightenment is the prejudice against prejudice itself, which deprives tradition of its power.[9]

This distrust of 'objectivity' was subsequently reflected in the natural sciences by Thomas Kuhn, who noted that even scientific knowledge is 'relative' in that it is also subject to the human construction of paradigms which attempt to explain rationally the 'real'. We have, in fact, no direct access to nature 'in itself', except through the paradigms we put forth to explain limited aspects of it.[10]

It is then in the light of these modern and contemporary epistemological debates that recent developments in literary theory and historiography come into focus. In the study of literature, which was extended to include history, structuralists, inspired by the fundamental linguistic and anthropological insights of De Saussure and Lévy-Strauss respectively, have attempted to provide a new theoretical grounding for the study of historical texts by turning (or *re*turning) to rhetorical analysis. Structuralist and post-structuralist criticism of the *naiveté* of historical realism consists in the assertion that every text must first and foremost be approached as a linguistic construct, which, by definition, constitutes a secondary level of meaning. In other words, according to Roland Barthes in his seminal *Discourse of History*, it is false to reduce historical discourse to a semantic schema solely consisting of two terms, the referent or 'reality' and the 'signifier' or linguistic sign that transparently reflects or copies that reality. There is always the intermediate level of the 'signified', which transcends the individual sign. The *signified* is the *meaning* which the historian assigns to events through discourse, thus creating an imaginary construct which lends unity to the set of signs that have been employed. As Barthes notes:

> Historical discourse is in its essence a form of ideological elaboration, or to put it more precisely, an *imaginary* elaboration, if we can take the imaginary to be the language through which the utterer of a discourse (a pure linguistic entity) 'fills out' the place of subject of the utterance (a psychological or ideological entity).[11]

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[9] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, pp. 239-40.

[10] See Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, International Encyclopedia of Unified Science. Foundations of the Unity of Science, 2/2, 2nd rev. edn (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1970), p. 70.

[11] See Roland Barthes, 'The Discourse of History', *Comparative Criticism - A Yearbook*, 3 (1981), 3-20 (p. 16).

Within such a definition of historiography not even the basic building blocks of history-writing, namely 'facts' or 'events' can escape this all-embracing semantic field, for 'the fact can only have a linguistic existence'.[12] Having made his point, Barthes says of historiography,

> This type of discourse is doubtless the only one in which the referent is aimed for as something external to the discourse, without it ever being possible to attain it outside this discourse. We should therefore ask ourselves in a more searching way what place the 'real' plays in the structure of the discourse.[13]

These theoretical considerations prompted the prominent American historiographer, Hayden White to define the issue of '*realistic* representation' as '*the* problem for modern historiography'.[14] This has led to a renewed interest in rhetoric as a legitimate instrument of analysis of historical narrative.

Among historiographers and literary critics alike, White's work has been especially provocative, as it has claimed that in fact *all* history is rhetorical.[15] In a complex analysis based mainly on styles or *tropes* employed in narrative, he recounts how nineteenth-century historians succeeded in discrediting the florid style of the previous century as well as that of the Romantics and replacing it with a plain style. He states that, far from eliminating rhetoric from the equation and advocating 'transparency',

> what actually happened was a shift from one set of rhetorical conventions to another - but in such a way as to obscure the problem of linguistic encodation [...] This stylistic change leaves the rhetorical structure of the discourse intact, but now moves it to the interior of the discourse, buries it behind the surface of a style that is 'plain' only in appearance. It is the birth, or rather rebirth, of the myth of literalness, of the dream of a nonfigurative language, a language which is - as nearly as possibly - purely denotative.[16]

This basic contention with regard to the process whereby historians produce historical writing

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[12] Barthes, 'The Discourse of History', p. 17.

[13] Barthes, 'The Discourse of History', p. 17.

[14] See Hayden V. White, *Metahistory : The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore/London: John Hopkins University Press, 1973).

[15] See Hayden V. White, 'Rhetoric and History', in *Theories of History. Papers reads at a Clark Library Seminar, March 6, 1976*, ed. Hayden White and Frank E. Manuel (Los Angeles, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1978), pp. 3-25.

[16] White, 'Rhetoric and History', p. 6.

is more fully discussed in his main work, *Metahistory*, which focuses on historians of the nineteenth century. White begins by defining history as a creative 'poetic act' divided into various separate and distinct conceptual operations. Once the raw data have been ordered chronologically and transformed into a 'story' with 'a discernible beginning, middle, and end', three principal narrative operations follow: an initial 'mode of emplotment', a 'mode of argument', and a 'mode of ideological implication'. Each of these operations, in turn, can be subdivided into four main tropes.[17] At a higher level of linguistic generalisation, he then reduces the rhetorical strategies which 'prefigure' or predetermine all forms of poetics, including history, to four paradigmatic tropes: metaphor, metonymy, synechdoche, and irony.[18]

Having stimulated much debate, it is not surprising that White's work also engendered much criticism.[19] The nature of the objections raised has often varied depending on whether the critic is an historian or a literary critic. The former group has concentrated its attacks on White's epistemological relativism with regard to the referent of historical discourse or historical facts. In this vein, the classical historian and historiographer, Arnaldo Momigliano objects to what he sees as White's apparent lack of concern with what every historian must assume as his principal task, i. e. 'historians are supposed to be discoverers of truths.'[20]

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[17] White, *Metahistory*, p. 29: (1) mode of emplotment: romantic, tragic, comic, and satirical; (2) mode of argument: formist, mechanistic, organicist, and contextualist; and (3) mode of ideological implication: anarchist, radical, conservative, and liberal.

[18] See White, *Metahistory*, p. 31. White discusses the 'tropological conception of nonscientific [...] discourse' in reference to, among others, the work of Roman Jakobson and Claude Lévy-Strauss. (pp. 31-33, note 13).

[19] For a cogent overview of these criticisms see Maurice Mandelbaum, 'The Presuppositions of *Metahistory*', *History and Theory*, Beiheft 19 (1980), 39-54. For further discussion of White's historical method also see Hans Kellner, 'A Bedrock of Order: Hayden White's Linguistic Humanism', *History and Theory*, Beiheft 19 (1980), 1-29 and Gabriella Valera, 'Le ragioni della storia. Ermeneutica, "linguistic turn" e storiografia nella reazione italiana a *Metahistory* di Hayden White', *Storia della storiografia*, 25 (1994), 121-52.

[20] See Arnaldo D. Momigliano, 'The Rhetoric of History and the History of Rhetoric: On Hayden White's Tropes', *Comparative Criticism - A Yearbook*, 3 (1981), 259-68 (p. 260). Momigliano also takes issue with those who do not accept the genuine historical consciousness of classical Greek historians; see his essay, 'The Herodotean and the Thucydidean Tradition' in Arnaldo D. Momigliano, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*, (Berkeley/London: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 29-53.

Reasserting a strong degree of what has been previously referred to as historical 'realism', Momigliano defines the fundamental difference between history and literature in the following terms:

> But what has come to distinguish historical writing from any other type of literature is its being submitted as a whole to the control of evidence. History is no epic, history is no novel, history is not propaganda because in these literary genres control of the evidence is optional, not compulsory.[21]

One of the most cogent criticisms of White's rhetorical analysis as well as that of many contemporary proponents of a 'semiotic' or 'rhetorical' turn of mind has been the claim that it has impoverished rhetoric by reducing it to only one of its constituent parts, i. e. style or *elocutio*, which is normally limited to the application of tropes and figures. Nancy Struever, an historian of the Renaissance, sees White's use of rhetoric as dissonant with both the tenets of rhetoric itself and those of contemporary historical methodology. She argues that

> White loads a heavy epistemological burden on a tropological framework never meant to bear it [...] Figure is not cognitive strategy, but an argumentative tactic; its purpose is not to make things intelligible but *more* intelligible [...] White has made a mistake of category in seeing historical narrative merely as a literary form, a generic convention. [...] it is the duty of the more active historian to argue narratives, not simply narrate arguments.[22]

Rejecting such a 'tropological reduction' as fundamentally misguided, Chaïm Perelman has advocated the need for a 'new rhetoric' which is not centred simply on *elocutio* but reasserts the importance of *inventio* and *dispositio*, i. e. a rhetoric which establishes itself as the art of argumentation and is concerned with topics or *loci*, thus acknowledging and re-establishing the inextricable relationship between rhetoric and dialectic as originally defined by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric*.[23] Perelman notes that for Aristotle dialectical arguments, unlike their analytical counterparts,

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[21] See Momigliano, 'The Rhetoric of History ...', p. 261.

[22] See Nancy S. Struever, 'Topics in History', *History and Theory*, Beiheft 19 (1980), 66-79, (p. 74).

[23] See Chaïm Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric* (Notre Dame, IN/London: Notre Dame University Press, 1969), pp. 2-3. For a full exposition of his arguments regarding the relationship between dialectic and rhetoric see Chaïm Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric. A Treatise on Argumentation*, trans. by Wilkinson, John Weaver, Purcell (Notre Dame, IN/London: Notre Dame University Press, 1969).

> are *not* made up of a series of valid and compelling inferences; rather they advance *arguments* which are more or less strong, more or less convincing, and which are never purely formal.[24]

Perelman goes on to identify the beginnings of this reduction of rhetoric to only one of its constituent parts, *style*, in Peter Ramus's failure to distinguish between analytical and dialectical judgements, a shortcoming that led to a separation of philosophy (dialectic) and rhetoric (style). This, he believes, accounts for the persistent tendency to reduce rhetoric to tropes in literary criticism until the advent of the 'new rhetoricians'.[25] Such a state of affairs is also denounced by Gérard Genette, who traces the beginnings of this reductionism and 'restraint' placed on rhetoric as far back as the Middle Ages.[26]

It was conceivably, then, this misunderstanding that led many historians since the nineteenth century to consider rhetoric and history not only as distinct but also as incompatible genres. Such an interpretation is not, however, without its own important historical precedents that stretch further back than Ranke, the Renaissance, or even the Middle Ages. These discrepancies with regard to the definition of rhetoric and the exact relationship between oratory and historiography can be traced back to intellectual debates of Classical Antiquity itself. In fact, there has always been, since the beginning of Greek culture, disagreement and ambiguity as to the epistemological status of rhetoric and its place *vis-à-vis* philosophy and history. Among the numerous ancient philosophers and rhetoricians who grappled with these questions, Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle, in Greece, and Cicero and Quintilian in Rome, occupy positions of particular prominence and influence from a theoretical point of view.[27]

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[24] See Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric*, p. 2.

[25] Although not mentioned by Perelman, another example of a similar distinction between invention and topics (dialectic) and rhetoric (style and delivery) is that of Rudolph Agricola (1444-85), who influenced the views of many humanists, including Philipp Melanchthon and Juan Luis Vives. See George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), pp. 84; 208-10.

[26] See Gérard Genette, 'Rhetoric Restrained' in his *Figures of Literary Discourse*, trans. by Sheridan, Alan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), pp. 103-26.

[27] For the following excursus regarding the epistemological status of rhetoric, see: Renato Barilli, *Rhetoric*, trans. by Giuliana Menozzi, Theory and History of Literature, 63 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), pp. 1-37; Stephen Halliwell, 'Philosophy and Rhetoric', in *Persuasion:*

The Classical Antecedents

Undoubtedly the greatest attack against the methods and legitimacy of rhetoric, as it was being practised in the ancient world by the Sophists, was launched by Plato in a number of his dialogues. In the *Gorgias*, he has Socrates polemically denying rhetoric any claim to the truth. The Sophists are portrayed as masters of 'flattery', i. e. manipulators of *opinion* (*doxa*), which is fluid and changeable, in contrast with true knowledge (*episteme*), which is always immoveable and unchanging. The opposition of *doxa* and *episteme* is best understood in terms of the differences between rhetoric and dialectic. According to this view rhetoric does not even merit to be classified as an art (*techne*):

> He who knows not the truth, but pursues opinions, will, it seems, attain an art of speech which is ridiculous, and not an art at all.[28]

This sharp distinction and incompatibility between opinion and knowledge, appearance and reality, lies at the very heart of Platonic epistemology. Moreover, it also has fundamental ethical consequences which bring into focus Plato's primary concern in both the *Gorgias* and the *Phaedrus*. While dismantling the morality of rhetoric in the former work, in the latter he takes a slightly more lenient view, and rather than completely discredit oratory prefers to distinguish between a 'good' and a 'bad' use of rhetoric. Nevertheless, rhetoric can become a useful instrument of discourse, in his view, only insofar as it is subordinated to dialectic[29], and its purpose is that of leading the individual soul to the contemplation of eternal truths.

Greek Rhetoric in Action ed. by Ian Worthington (London/New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 222-43; Thomas M. Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1990), pp. 1-28; George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, pp. 41-85; Idem, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 11-64. Brian Vickers, 'Territorial Disputes: Philosophy versus Rhetoric', in his *In Defense of Rhetoric*, 3rd rev. edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 148-213; Jane Sutton, 'The Death of Rhetoric and its Rebirth in Philosophy', *Rhetorica*, IV/3 (1986), 203-26.

[28] *Phaedrus*, 262c. All references are taken from Plato, I, trans. by Harold North Fowler, Loeb Classical Library, 36 (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1914; repr. 1995).

[29] *Phaedrus*, 276e-277c.

This process Plato calls 'psychagogy' (*techne psychagogia*).[30]

Plato's ethical objections are also a primary concern of his contemporary, Isocrates, who is often considered the father of liberal education in view of his comprehensive programme for the training of youth based on a humanistic curriculum which he developed over many years. Nevertheless, unlike Plato, Isocrates does not believe in the distinction between philosophy and rhetoric and merges the two into one:

> **For the power to speak well is taken as the surest index of a sound understanding, and discourse which is true and lawful and just is the outward image of a good and faithful soul.[31]**

In his view rhetoric, however, is inevitably confined to and operates within the realm of *probable* knowledge based on experience rather than unchanging static truths; moreover, it is principally directed at solving *practical* problems and establishing the best possible course of action in any given situation. This leads Isocrates to criticise what he considers the false conception of philosophy held by his detractors:

> **They characterize men who ignore our practical needs and delight in the mental juggling of the ancient sophists as "students of philosophy", but refuse this name to those who pursue and practise those studies which will enable us to govern wisely both our own households and the commonwealth - which should be the objects of our toil, of our study, and of our every act.[32]**

Furthermore, he too adopts a polemical attitude towards the Sophistic practices of his day and stresses that to be of any genuine use to society true eloquence *must* be informed by sound ethical principles: 'I do hold that people can become better and worthier if they conceive an ambition to speak well.'[33] He also believes that 'the stronger a man's desire to persuade his hearers, the more zealously will he strive to be honourable (*kalos kagathos einai*) and to have the esteem of his fellow-citizens.'[34]

Aristotle, to whom we owe the most systematic and comprehensive synthesis of

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[30] *Phaedrus*, 261a.

[31] *Antidosis*, 255. All references are taken from Isocrates, II, trans. by George Norlin, Loeb Classical Library, 229 (Cambridge, MA/London/Harvard University Press, 1929; repr. 1992).

[32] *Antidosis*, 285.

[33] *Antidosis*, 275.

[34] *Antidosis*, 278.

rhetorical theory in antiquity, attempts to address the issues raised by Plato's critique of the Sophists but ultimately rejects his rigid dualism.[35] The solution Aristotle offers is, nevertheless, quite different from what he deems the epistemological 'relativism' of Isocrates.[36] In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle begins by defining rhetoric as a counterpart (*antistrophos*) of dialectic[37], hence recognizing its status as an *art* (*techne*) and giving it a solid rational foundation. Rhetoric is no longer seen as the facile manipulation of discourse which misleadingly persuades the hearer into accepting uncertain propositions and which Plato described as 'rhetoric effecting persuasion'[38] but rather as the means 'to find out in each case the existing means of persuasion.'[39] In practical terms, these 'persuasives' (*ta pithana*) are also referred to as 'proofs' (*pisteis*). Rhetorical argumentation is thus acknowledged to be a specific type of *rational* demonstration. Such a conclusion is made possible by a more encompassing view of knowledge than the one we find in Plato. Aristotle differs from his master in that, whereas Plato identifies all theoretical knowledge with dialectic, Aristotle allows for two distinct levels of reasoning. Analytical demonstration (*apodeixis*), which is based on scientific premises and leads to *knowledge* of universals (*episteme*), is distinct from dialectic, whose premises consist of 'generally accepted opinions'[40] or probabilities. This epistemological distinction notwithstanding, *both* analytical *and* dialectical demonstration are forms of 'theoretical' knowledge, and are distinct from the

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[35] The importance of Aristotle's contribution to rhetoric is universally recognized. See especially William M. A. Grimaldi, 'Studies in the Philosophy of Aristotle's Rhetoric', *Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*, Einzelschriften: Heft 25 (1972), 1-150 (pp. 1-17) and Friedrich Solmsen, 'The Aristotelian Tradition in Ancient Rhetoric', *American Journal of Philology*, 62/1 (1941), 35-50 and 62/2 (1941), 169-90.

[36] See Grimaldi, *Studies in the Philosophy of Aristotle's Rhetoric*, pp. 16-17.

[37] *Rhetoric*, I.i.1:1354a. All references are to: *The 'Art' of Rhetoric*, in Aristotle, XXII, trans. by John H. Freese, Loeb Classical Library, 193 (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1926; repr. 1994).

[38] *Gorgias*, 453a. All references are to: Plato, III, trans. by W. R. M. Lamb, Loeb Classical Library, 166 (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1925; repr. 1996).

[39] *Rhetoric*, I.i.14:1355b.

[40] *Topica*, I.i, in Aristotle, II, trans.by E. S. Forster, Loeb Classical Library, 391 (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1960; repr. 1997).

other two branches of 'practical' and 'productive' knowledge. Whereas the difference between analytic and dialectic *logos* is quite clear, the distinction between dialectic and rhetoric remains more elusive. From Aristotle's writings what does emerge is that dialectic is a more formal type of debate among individuals concerning general, philosophical, and abstract questions. The argumentation is often complex and is rigorously based on the syllogism. Rhetoric, on the other hand, is a continuous form of discourse delivered in the presence of a group and concerned mainly with practical and particular questions; the type of issue at hand determines whether the speech will be *judicial* (*forensic*), *deliberative* (*symboleutic*), or *demonstrative* (*epideictic*), which are also known as the three *genera* or *causes* in rhetoric.

There are two principal means of rhetorical argumentation: the semi-deductive or incomplete syllogism (*enthymeme*) and the semi-inductive example (*paradeigma*), from which a generalisation can be derived. The enthymeme fulfils several important functions. Besides being the crucial link with dialectic or the rational *logos*, it also incorporates the other two means of persuasion, ethical considerations (*ethos*) and emotional appeal (*pathos*). In most cases, arguments are grounded in 'commonplaces' (*koinoi topoi*), which, as the term suggests, appeal to a common rationality and offer the framework for the first stage of rhetorical activity, invention (*heuresis*). A discussion that would do justice to the complexity of Aristotle's thought on oratory lies beyond the scope of the present study. Nonetheless, the importance of the Aristotelean rhetorical tradition cannot be overestimated, as it was endorsed to a large extent by the greatest of Roman orators, Marcus Tullius Cicero, and through him continued to exert considerable influence for centuries.[41]

There is no denying that Cicero's eclectic views on rhetoric and, more specifically, on its relationship to historiography left their mark on Western intellectual history in general, and Renaissance humanism in particular. Although Cicero was certainly not completely forgotten during the Middle Ages, after Petrarch's call for a renewal of *bonae litterae* had resounded throughout Europe, both poet and scholar alike felt compelled in a new way to

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[41] Friedrich Solmsen contends that it was Cicero who did most to revive Aristotelian ideas and concepts about rhetoric and to ensure that the tradition continued. See his concluding remarks in 'The Aristotelian Tradition in Ancient Rhetoric', 169-90 (pp. 189-90).

assimilate Ciceronian ideals of eloquence and to emulate more closely than in previous ages his flawlessly elegant Latin style. As a consequence, Cicero's vast corpus was carefully studied by humanist historians such as Coluccio Salutati, Leonardo Bruni, and Lorenzo Valla, to name but a few. In the mid-sixteenth century, his writings also found a place at the heart of the humanist curriculum of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*.

Like Aristotle, Cicero was also acutely aware of the existing rift or 'absurd and unprofitable and reprehensible severance between the tongue and the brain.'[42] His ambition was to bridge this gap between eloquence and wisdom, *verba* and *res*, by means of a flexible and eclectic approach that went beyond simply providing a 'long string of precepts'[43] like those found in the Hellenistic handbooks, an approach for which he does not hide his total disdain. For Cicero, a true Roman of the republican era, rhetoric was never divorced from the *practical* issues (*negotia*) of civic life. Far from being limited to skills of verbal ornamentation or *elocutio*, rhetoric demands of its practitioners first and foremost great erudition:

> To begin with, a knowledge of very many matters must be grasped, without which oratory is but an empty and ridiculous swirl of verbiage [...] For it is from knowledge that oratory must derive its beauty and fullness.[44]

On the other hand, knowledge or *res*, however specialized, must always be aptly conjoined with the appropriate form or *verba*: 'if anyone should wish by speaking to put these same arts in their full light, it is to oratorical skill that he must run for help.'[45] This means that 'every speech consists of matter and words, and the words cannot fall into place if you remove the matter, nor can the matter have clarity if you withdraw the words.'[46] According to this scheme, *res* and *verba* are afforded equal importance. Oratory must observe this careful

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[42] *De oratore*, III.xvi.61. All references from this work are taken from *De oratore*, I-II, in Cicero, III, trans. by E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, 348, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1942; repr. 1996) and *De oratore*, III, in Cicero, IV, trans. by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, 349 (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1942; repr. 1997).

[43] *De oratore*, I.vi.23.

[44] *De oratore*, I.iv.17; v.20.

[45] *De oratore*, I.xiv.61.

[46] *De oratore*, III.v.19-20.

balance if it is to become the privileged *medium* through which knowledge is communicated; this is regardless of whether the ultimate purpose is to win over the hearts and minds of one's audience through 'instruction, or persuasion, or appeal to the emotions.'[47] It is not surprising in this context to find that historiography is discussed in conjunction with the pursuit of rhetoric in the *De oratore*, II.xii.51-xv.64, for, according to Cicero, history represents a particularly important branch of *practical* knowledge, replete with didactic, moral, and advisory functions.[48] Having defined history as 'testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis', Cicero has Antonius ask the crucial question: 'Whose voice but the orator's can entrust her [i.e. history] to immortality?'[49] Antonius immediately goes on to note that this voice remains yet to be heard in Roman historiography.[50] It is noteworthy that his criticism of Roman chronicles consists in the denunciation of a style of writing that, in his view, has provided the 'bare records' but is devoid of any 'rhetorical embellishments' (*sine ullis ornamentis*)[51] Cicero appears to be suggesting that history will be unable to perform its specific function of inspiring virtuous

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[47] See *De oratore*, II.lxxvii.310: 'Et quoniam, quod saepe iam dixi, tribus rebus homines ad nostram sententiam perducimus, aut *docendo* aut *conciliando* aut *permovendo* ... [*my italics*].' Cicero uses a wide range of terms in the *De oratore* to describe the three main persuasive functions of an oration; compare his statement cited above with: II.xxvi.115; II.xxix.128-29; and III.vi.23.

[48] For my assessment of the controversial relationship between rhetoric and historiography in the Greek and Roman traditions I have principally referred to the following: T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics. Three Studies in Greco-Roman Literature* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), pp. 27-53; Idem, 'The Origins of Roman Historiography' in his *Historiography and Imagination. Eight Essays on Roman Culture*, Exeter Studies in History, 33 (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), pp. 1-22 (pp. 16-22); Idem, 'Practice and Theory in Roman Historiography', *History*, 66 (1981), 375-93; A. J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography: Four Studies* (London/Portland Or.: Croom Helm/Areopagitica Press, 1988); Robert W. Cape, Jr, 'Persuasive History: Roman Rhetoric and Historiography', in *Roman Eloquence. Rhetoric in Society and Literature*, ed. by William J. Dominik (London/New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 212-28; C. S. Kraus and A. J. Woodman, *Latin Historians*, Greece and Rome: New Surveys in the Classics, 27 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 1-9; and Riccardo Vattuone, '*Oran ta legomena.* Retorica e storia nella storiografia greca del IV sec. a. C.', *Storia della storiografia*, 25 (1994), 3-21.

[49] *De oratore*, II.x.36.

[50] *De oratore*, II.xii.52-54; also see *De legibus*, I.i.4-5, in Cicero, XVI, trans. by Clinton W. Keyes, Loeb Classical Library, 213 (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1928; repr. 1994).

[51] *De oratore*, II.xii.53.

conduct in the future if it does not use the appropriate means to communicate *eloquently* to its audience in the present the relevance of *exempla* from the past.[52] It is in this sense that one should understand his famous definition of history as 'the most oratorical [...] of all forms of composition (*opus* [...] *oratorium maxime*).'[53]

Having thus established history's 'foundations' (*fundamenta*) in terms of its first and second laws: 'that an author must not dare to tell anything but the truth' and that 'he must make bold to tell the whole truth,'[54] Cicero then proceeds to speak of its rhetorical 'superstructure' (*exaedificatio*), and tells us that it 'rests upon' not only the style (*verbis*) but also upon the content (*rebus*).[55] In the judgement of A. J. Woodman, these remarks suggest that Cicero was advocating the use of rhetorical *inventio* in the composition of historical narrative, in which he clearly distinguished between a 'hard core' of factual truth and the 'embellishments' of rhetoric.[56] Secondly, Cicero seems to be referring to truth not in *positive* empirical terms, as historians would define it today, but rather in *negative* terms, i. e. truth as the absence of 'partiality' and 'malice'.[57] If this interpretation of Cicero's views is correct, it would require a substantial shift and realignment of our conception of historiography in Ancient Rome.[58]

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[52] See the discussion in Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics*, pp. 37-40.

[53] See *De legibus*, I.ii.5.

[54] *De oratore*, II.xv.62.

[55] *De oratore*, II.xv.63.

[56] See Woodman, *Rhetoric in Ancient Historiography*, pp. 83-94.

[57] In fact, in *De oratore*, II.xv.62, with reference to the obligations of the historian, he says 'that there must be no suggestion of partiality anywhere in his writings, nor of malice [*Ne qua suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis*].'

[58] Woodman thus rejects the views of P. A. Brunt, 'Cicero and Historiography' in his *Studies in Greek History and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993; repr. 1997), pp. 181-209 (p. 188), in which the author likens Cicero's conception of history-writing to those of the modern political scientist. On the question of 'truthfulness' and how it was conceived in ancient Roman and Greek historiography also see the discussions in J. L. Moles, 'Truth and Untruth in Herodotus and Thucydides' in *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, ed. by Christopher Gill and T. P. Wiseman (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1993), pp. 88-121 and T. P. Wiseman, 'Lying Historians: Seven Types of Mendacity' in *Idem*, pp. 122-46.

As for the *verba*, or style to adopt in history-writing, it is clear that neither that of the courts (*forensic*) nor of the forum (*deliberative*) is deemed to be appropriate.[59] Is Cicero thus implying that the appropriate style in historiography can be only that of *demonstrative* rhetoric? Various remarks of Quintilian suggest that such a conclusion may in fact represent an oversimplication of the issue. In his *Institutio oratoria* he points out that rigid distinctions between the rhetorical genres are not always helpful, nor do they reflect the actual practice of oratory. For him each of the three genres 'contains the whole of rhetoric'[60], and 'all three kinds rely on the mutual assistance of the other.'[61] As a consequence, when epideictic or demonstrative rhetoric is applied to *practical* matters and does not exclusively function as *display* oratory, its line of argumentation will often fulfil both forensic and deliberative functions.[62] Quintilian explains this intermingling of genres by contrasting the Greek and Roman understanding of the function of epideictic oratory. He claims that Aristotle completely separated it from practical affairs and reserved it 'solely for the delectation of audiences', whereas 'Roman usage on the other hand has given it a place in the practical tasks (*negotiis*) of life.'[63] Cicero's definition of historiography can be therefore legitimately linked to the demonstrative *genus* of rhetoric insofar as the latter is not confined to the ceremonial performance of a panegyric.[64] Defined within this broader perspective wherein the emphasis is predominantly on the practical value of history, such an interpretation of the function of the *causa demonstrativa* is not inconsistent with the writings of other prominent

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[59] *De oratore*, II.xv.64 and *De legibus*, I.i.4. See also *De oratore*, II.xiii.55: 'Nemo enim studet eloquentiae nostrorum hominum, nisi ut *in causis atque in foro* eluceat [*my italics*].'

[60] *Institutio oratoria*, III.iii.14. All references are taken from Quintilian, I-IV, trans. by H. E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library, 124-27 (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1920-22; repr. 1993-96).

[61] *Institutio oratoria*, III.iv.16.

[62] For the *forensic* function see *Institutio oratoria*, III.iii.6; III.vii.2; for the *deliberative* function see *Institutio oratoria*, III.iv.14; III.vii.28.

[63] *Institutio oratoria*, III.vii.2.

[64] See Woodman, *Rhetoric in Ancient Historiography*, pp. 41-42; 95-98. The author points out that Cicero explicitly links historiography and epideictic in *Orator*, xi.37 and xix.66; see Cicero, V, trans. by H. M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library 342, rev. edn (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1939; repr. 1971).

Greek historians such as Herodotus, Thucydides, and even Polybius. In fact, at the beginning of his *Histories*, Polybius stresses the *pragmatic* function of historical knowledge:

> The soundest education and training for a life of active politics is the study of History, and the surest and indeed the only method of learning how to bear bravely the vicissitudes of fortune, is to recall the calamities of others.[65]

If it is thus plausible that the rhetorical nature of classical historiography grew out of the practical functions it was expected to fulfil in the life of the *polis* and that it was not limited to any one genre, it is also true that the relationship between oratory and history-writing inevitably remained an ambivalent one.[66] T. P. Wiseman describes the dilemma in the following terms:

> The orator provides a style worthy of the material, but also a technique that cannot help but distort it. Just as the criteria that apply to historical narrative are contaminated by those that apply to rhetorical *narratio*, so the *exempla* that help the individual to form his moral judgements become fatally confused with the *exempla* that help the orator to make his case persuasive.[67]

Back in Ancient Rome, it was perhaps Quintilian who was most acutely aware of this crucial dilemma inherent to all forms of oratory. Although it is true that ethical concerns had also occupied Isocrates and Cicero before him, Quintilian takes a far more radical and uncompromising stance with regard to the ethical dimension of the art.[68] His endorsement of Marcus Cato's definition of the orator as a *vir bonus dicendi peritus*[69], which later became one of the foundations of the Renaissance ideal of eloquence, must be interpreted in the light of his other statements where morality becomes a *sine qua non* condition of rhetoric. He claims that

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[65] *The Histories*, I.i.1, in Polybius, I, ed. and trans. by W. R. Paton, Loeb Classical Library, 128 (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1922, repr. 1992).

[66] Arnaldo Momigliano quotes Polybius (VIII.viii.4-8) among others to underline this ambiguity in Classical intellectual history; see his 'The Rhetoric of History ...', 259-68 (pp. 267-68); also Riccardo Vattuone, '*Oran ta legomena...*', pp. 3-21.

[67] See Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics*, p. 38.

[68] See Aubrey Gwynn, *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), pp. 230-41.

[69] *Institutio oratoria*, XII.i.1.

> The rhetoric [...] which I am endeavouring to establish and the ideal which I have in my mind's eye, that rhetoric which befits a good man and is in a word the only true rhetoric, will be a virtue.[70]

The reader is left with no room for doubt as to the meaning of this inextricable relationship between rhetoric and virtue, when Quintilian bluntly states that 'we concede the possession of oratory to none save the good man [*rationem dicendi a bono viro non separamus*].[71] Quintilian, truly eclectic in his thorough study of the history and practice of oratory in ancient Greece and Rome, thus ensures that morality does not become a secondary concern to those engaged in the art.

This brief survey of classical rhetoric, and especially Cicero's remarks on history-writing in his *De oratore*, has served a two-fold purpose. Firstly, it has allowed us to put both modern literary criticism and historiography into a more focussed perspective by highlighting the differing emphases in the two methods with regard to the interpretation of historical texts. Moreover, it has roughly delineated some of the problematic issues related to the various genres of rhetoric *vis-à-vis* historiography that need to be explored in the writings of early modern historians, including Valignano, inasmuch as they made efforts to follow Classical models. In other words and more specifically, these questions are of primary relevance to the present study, in view of the unequivocal decision of Jesuit scholars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to adopt eclectically and adapt pedagogically the rhetorical methods of Aristotle, Quintilian, and Cicero. Their ultimate goal, in fact, remained the pursuit of an *eloquentia sacra* for the present by means of a faithful emulation of the *eloquentia perfecta* of Cicero, whom they considered the greatest among Latin orators of the past.[72]

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[70] *Institutio oratoria*, II.xx.4.

[71] *Institutio oratoria*, II.xvii.43.

[72] For the place of Cicero and other Classical authors in Jesuit education see the following by Marc Fumaroli: *L'Age de l'éloquence. Rhétorique et 'res literaria' de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique*, Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie de la IVe section de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, V. Hautes Études Médiévales et Modernes, 43 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1980), pp. 179-202; 'Cicero Pontifex Romanus: La tradition rhétorique du Collège Romain et les principes inspirateurs du mécénat des Barberini', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome, Moyen Age, Temps Modernes*, 90/2 (1978), 797-835; 'Définition et description: scolastique et rhétorique chez les jésuites des XVIe et XVIIe siècles', *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature*, 18/2 (1980),

With respect to both literary and historical criticism, it is curious to note how the two extreme positions, i.e. historical rationalism or 'historicism' of the Rankean or British empiricist kind on the one hand, and the more radical forms of linguistic or rhetorical 'reductionism' and 'relativism' such as that of Hayden White on the other, reflect to a remarkable degree in our age the epistemological battles between the Platonic and Sophistic schools in the past. The former model attributes a *referential* function to history, in that it presupposes a *correspondence* between the facts and their record in historical writing. The ultimate aim of history according to this approach - and it will settle for nothing less - is objective and certain knowledge, i.e. 'historical truth'. The latter model, on the other hand, builds its argument on two fundamental premises: firstly, that knowledge of the past is always communicated through the all-embracing medium of language, which re-*presents* rather than re-*produces* events; and secondly, that knowledge of facts *in themselves* is unattainable.[73] On this basis it then defines historical writing as a 'story' or an 'ideological construct', which is of its nature artificial and relative, as it reflects reality only indirectly. According to this view, history is identified with rhetoric, but the latter is often reduced to only one of its constituent elements, *elocutio*, in effect eliminating the *res* provided by *inventio* and concentrating solely on the *verba*.

The Methodological Dilemma: A Tentative Solution

Both the modern and classical debates thus seemingly confront us with an unsatisfactory choice with regard to our interpretation of historical narrative *qua* 'history':

37-48. See also Barbara Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica' im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*, ed. by Wolfgang Harms, Mikrokosmos: Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Bedeutungsforschung, 18 (Frankfurt am Main/Bern/New York: Peter Lang, 1986); Paul Richard Blum, '*Apostolato dei Collegi*: on the Integration of Humanism in the Educational Programme of the Jesuits', *History of Universities*, V (1985), 101-115; Jean Dietz Moss, 'The Rhetoric Course at the Collegio Romano in the Latter Half of the Sixteenth Century', *Rhetorica*, IV/2 (1986), 137-51; Joseph S. Freedman, 'Cicero in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Rhetoric Instruction', *Rhetorica*, IV/3 (1986), 227-54.

[73] Peter Munz, in his 'The Historical Narrative', in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. by Michael Bentley (London/New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 851-72 (p. 857) describes this as the postmodern view in which 'there are not three elements - the story, the historian, and the event; but only two elements, the historian and the story.'

either we must embrace the strict canons of empirical historiography and disregard literary analysis as irrelevant to historical scholarship, thus advocating a strict separation of the two disciplines; or conversely, we must succumb to the restriction of historical works to their stylistic or 'literary' merits and, as a consequence, abandon the notion that such texts refer to a *reality* in the past that transcends them. Anthony Easthope, in his discussion of the relationship between history and rhetoric, proposes to resolve the issue differently and rejects the gridlock resulting from such rigid dualism:

> Both realism and anti-realism presuppose a point at which Knowing might stand outside of Being. There is no such point, therefore this epistemological debate is not resolvable. [...] Truth cannot escape participation in both fact and fiction, both a form of reference and a discursive construct, both logic and rhetoric.[74]

A similar view is also reflected in Ann Rigney's study of historical narratives of the French revolution and its aftermath, wherein she has demonstrated that it is possible to reconcile the demands of an historical study with those of contemporary literary analysis. Thus, while acknowledging the signifying role of language or 'discourse which actually constitutes the events as signifiers', she states that 'the authority of the discourse itself, as *historical* discourse, always remains grounded in the extra-textual events which it represents.'[75] This does not deprive rhetoric, however, of its important hermeneutical function, for historical narratives are never geared exclusively to a detached reconstruction of the *past* but remain firmly rooted in the *present*; they are always addressed, in fact, to an audience that must be persuaded that the representation is a valid one.[76] To the question, 'What is history?', E. H. Carr responds by stating that: 'it is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past.'[77] The key question that remains unanswered is how one reconciles *in practice* the presence of *fact* and *fiction*

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[74] See Easthope, 'Romancing the Stone', 235-49 (p. 238). On the impossibility of a so-called 'objective point of view', see also Gossman, *Between History and Literature*, p. 230.

[75] See Ann Rigney, *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation. Three Narrative Histories of the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 12.

[76] See Rigney, *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation*, p. 18.

[77] See Carr, *What is History?*, p. 30.

(hard core and *exaedificatio*) in an historical narrative and in one's own interpretation or 'emplotment' of that narrative.

Peter Munz argues that the historian's construction is never simply arbitrary but is invariably constrained by 'generalisations' which govern the way one fact is linked to another to form a *narrative*. He then goes on to introduce the distinction between *explanatory* and *interpretative* narratives. The former makes use of generalisations which would have been familiar to the people who are the object of the study and to their contemporaries, whereas the latter uses generalisations which normally belong to a later period. The 'new science' of Giambattista Vico and the interpretation of history proferred by Karl Marx are two examples of the latter model. Finally, Munz offers a practical criterion to distinguish between fictional and non-fictional accounts, whereby the *truth* of a narrative consists in the correspondence of the story to verifiable generalisations and not simply to the particular facts.[78]

A similar distinction is put forward by C. Behan McCullagh, who distinguishes between *descriptive explanations* and *historical interpretations*. In both authors, and especially McCullagh, the boundary between the two types of narrative is acknowledged to be fluid, as it is difficult, in practice, to distinguish rigidly between *explanation* and *interpretation*. Moreover, the question of *truth* can and must be applied to both 'categories' of narrative.[79]

In the present study I have thus chosen to apply mainly but not exclusively the *descriptive-explanatory* model to Valignano's history in an attempt to recover the generalisations or, to use the classical term, 'topics' that formed the basis of his historical representation and interpretation of early Japanese Church history, and that would have appealed to the minds and hearts of his contemporaries. In my rhetorical analysis I have therefore chosen to concentrate specifically on *inventio* and *dispositio*. *Inventio* in history-writing I define as the *process* or *strategy* whereby the author gathers data, identifies particular 'topoi' related to the types of arguments he intends to develop and which are familiar to his audience, and finally applies these commonplaces to the specific historical

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[78] See Munz, *The Historical Narrative*, pp. 863-66.

[79] See C. Behan McCullagh, *The Truth of History* (London/New York: Routledge, 1998), especially pp. 62-133.

circumstances of his own time. *Dispositio* I define as the actual *way* he subsequently arranges the various arguments and data within the history for maximum effect.[80] These are the two stages that immediately precede the 'construction' of the narrative itself, which the historian hopes will be persuasive to a contemporary audience as a true representation of the past. Thus, the present thesis does *not* consist in a factual verification of everything Valignano is saying by means of a collation of all relevant independent sources. At the same time, Valignano's text is not approached exclusively from a 'literary' point of view. Historical criticism remains a key element in the study. This is carried out by placing the text in its proper *temporal* context. A key heuristic tool I have used is that of *intertextuality*, which posits every text as containing traces of other texts within itself.[81] The most explicit form of such interdependence is the presence in a text of explicit quotations from or allusions to other texts. At another more implicit level, the content and form of text α may be determined to varying degrees either by the content or form (or both) of text β. If the dynamic is positive, text α may imitate or build upon the arguments presented in text β. On the other hand, if the intertextual relationship is a negative one, text α will try to undermine the validity of text β by either *directly* contradicting its conclusions or *indirectly* presenting counter-arguments that question its premises. In Valignano's *Principio* traces of both positive and negative intertextual dependence can be discerned throughout the text. I have attempted to make his narrative more intelligible by identifying the numerous implicit references to people, places, and events in his history that we can contrast with and weigh

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[80] See Struever's definition of history as 'argument' in her 'Topics in History', 66-79 (p. 67).

[81] There is much literature on intertextuality, which was first introduced as an interpretative category by Julia Kristeva in her essay 'Word, Dialogue, and Novel', reproduced in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. by Toril Moi (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986; repr. 1995), pp. 34-61. It has subsequently been defined in a number of different ways. For a discussion of the *status quaestionis* see *Intertextuality. Theories and Practices*, ed. by Michael Worton and Judith Still (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 1-44. For studies of intertextuality in the Renaissance and its aftermath see: Paul Zumthor, 'Le Carrefour des rhétoriquers. Intertextualité et Rhétorique, in *Poétique. Révue de théorie et d'analyse littéraires*, 27 (1976), pp. 317-37; François Lecercle, 'Le Texte comme langue. Cicéronianisme et pétrarquisme', *Littérature*, 55 (1984): *La Farcissure. Intertextualités au XVIe siècle*, pp. 45-53; and R. J. Schoek, *Intertextuality and Renaissance Texts*, Bamberger Schriften zur Renaissanceforschung, Heft 12 (Bamberg: Kaiser, 1984).

against references found in other contemporary narratives. This strategy should make it easier to appraise the internal and external coherence of the history as a whole.

As to which method of analysis, literary or historical, is most appropriately applied to Valignano's history, it is now possible to suggest that both are in fact necessary and complementary to each other. This will be true insofar as ***rhetorical analysis*** is applied in order to illuminate the categories or matrix of *sacred history* that allow the author to link his facts and arguments in a persuasive fashion into a coherent narrative. Furthermore, ***historical criticism*** will consist in an ***intertextual*** reconstruction of the context wherein Valignano's own 'rhetorical act' of history-writing actually occurred. Such an approach attempts to bridge the gulf between *form* and *content* created by an exclusive adherence to either 'historical' or 'literary' criticism.

The validity of *rhetoric* as a key to interpreting Renaissance, Tridentine, and Post-Tridentine texts has been demonstrated by numerous studies over the past twenty-five years. The rebirth of Classical oratory in Rome in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries was the focus of John O'Malley's seminal work on epideictic rhetoric at the papal court.[82] More recently, Frederick McGinness has extended the study of the pivotal role of oratory at Rome and the profound impact it had on theological culture to include subsequent decades, which were dominated by the doctrinal polemics of the Counter-Reformation.[83] The ambivalent and uneasy balance between oratory and history has been explored at length in the context of the work of Florentine Renaissance historians by Nancy Struever.[84] The importance of rhetorical *inventio* in historiography has been shown, however, to extend beyond the borders of Italy to both the Iberian peninsula and Northern Europe. Maria Scaramuzza Vidoni and Thomas F. Earle have examined the works of Pero Mexía and Afonso de Albuquerque written in Castilian and Portuguese respectively. In addition, John

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[82] See John O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome. Rhetoric, Doctrine and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521*, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 3 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1979).

[83] See Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

[84] Nancy S. Struever, *The Language of History in the Renaissance. Rhetorical and Historical Consciousness in Florentine Humanism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).

Tinkler has analysed the historical method adopted in England by Francis Bacon.[85] Although not directly related to history-writing as such, a study of the function of rhetoric in English recusant literature by Ceri Sullivan has also provided illuminating insights into the specifically ecclesiastical use of oratory at the close of the sixteenth century.[86] These are but a few representative studies among many others that explore similar questions in the work of historians throughout Europe as late as the early eighteenth century.

The Thesis: An Intertextual Study and Partial Critical Edition of the MSS

The method I have outlined in this introduction allows us to liken Valignano's history to a piece of '*secondary* rhetoric', namely a *written* oration, which presupposes a *subject*, the orator, an *object*, the theme of the oration, and and *audience*, the group that the orator, or in this case Valignano *qua historicus*, is trying to persuade.[87] In this vein, E. H. Carr has suggested that 'when we take up a work of history, our first concern should be not with the facts which it contains but with the historian who wrote it.'[88]

The second chapter thus begins with Valignano himself and recounts some of the formative experiences which determined at least in part the intellectual world he inhabited. In the biographical sketch that follows I have chosen to concentrate mainly on his initial clash

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[85] Mariarosa Scaramuzza Vidoni, *Retorica e narrazione nella 'Historia Imperial' di Pero Mexía*, Letterature Iberiche e Latino-Americane, 20 (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1989); Thomas F. Earle, 'History, Rhetoric, and Intertextuality', in *Albuquerque. Caesar of the East. Selected Texts by Afonso de Albuquerque and His Son*, ed. by Thomas F. Earle and John Villiers (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1990), pp. 25-49; and John F. Tinkler, 'The Rhetorical Method of Francis Bacon's "History of the Reign of King Henry VII"', *History and Theory*, 26/1 (1987), 32-52.

[86] Ceri Sullivan, *Dismembered Rhetoric: English Recusant Writing, 1580-1603* (London: Associated University Press, 1995).

[87] The subject-object-audience relationship is discussed at length in William J. Kennedy, *Rhetorical Norms in Renaissance Literature* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1978) in his introductory chapter on 'Rhetorical Criticism and Literary Theory', pp. 1-19. The term 'secondary rhetoric' has been used by George A. Kennedy to signify 'the apparatus of rhetorical techniques clustering around discourse or art forms when those techniques are not being used for their *primary oral* purpose [*my italics*]'; see his *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, p. 5.

[88] See Carr, *What is History?*, p. 22.

with the Jesuits in Portugal immediately preceding his departure for the East. This is followed by a discussion of his general assessment of the peoples of Asia. Particular attention is given to the contrast in his judgement of Africa and India *vis-à-vis* China and Japan. Within this framework, I have focussed on select events, writings, and policies that reveal his mentality and the extent to which he was and was not a 'man of his times.'

The third chapter concentrates on the 'object' or 'content' of the discourse and its relationship to the European 'audience' to which it is addressed. It is here that I have attempted to reconstruct intertextually the historical context, marked by political and religious tensions and controversy (internal and external to the Society), within which *Principio* was composed. The discussion centres around the polemical writings of the Spanish Franciscans and, to a lesser degree, the opposition Valignano encountered among some of his fellow Jesuits.

The fourth and final chapter turns to Valignano's own reflections on how history should be written. As he claims to be following Caesar Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici* as a model for his own writing, I have included a brief outline of some of the key issues in secular and sacred historiography that emerged during the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Counter-Reformation. This is followed by a short description of the narrative structures of *Principio* as well as an analysis of some of the more important arguments and rhetorical *loci communes* Valignano employed in his *historia sacra* of Japan. I have tried to show how his choice of such commonplaces is thus inextricably linked on the one hand with key themes of sixteenth-century sacred historiography with which he was familiar and on the other hand with the difficult political situation and religious controversy that Valignano faced in Japan. Such a perspective allows us to identify both similarities and differences between Valignano's approach and that of Baronius. Finally, the conclusion provides a summary of some of the things that Valignano's history can tell us about sacred historiography, as it was practised in his time, and its specific function with regard to the Asian missionary enterprise under the ecclesiastical administration of the Portuguese *Padroado* and the Spanish *Patronazgo*.

With regard to the critical edition of the text, the constraints of the present undertaking have allowed me to present only a partial edition of the text from the original manuscripts.

The choice of chapters to be edited was indeed a difficult one, as the work does not lend itself to simple and clear-cut divisions. Valignano's *Epistola Dedicatoria*, the methodological *Proemium,* and the Introductory Chapter (chap. 1), in which he begins his historical narrative with the 'discovery' of Japan, were included, as they set the tone for the entire work. Subsequent chapters on the exploits of Xavier (chaps 3-4), already discussed at least in part in Valignano's previous *Historia (1542-64)*, have been omitted.[89] This also holds true for the highly original and interesting descriptive chapters (2, 5, and 6), which have already been published (though not in a critical edition) as appendices to various chapters in Valignano's *Sumario* of 1583 and the *Adiciones* (to the *Sumario*) of 1592 together with an extremely detailed and erudite commentary by José Álvarez-Taladriz.[90] The two descriptive chapters that I have included in this edition are chapters 7 and 8, which present Valignano's final revision of his assessment of the Japanese and their customs. Another significant part of the text that has been edited here consists of chapters 13-16.[91] These central texts represent Valignano's particular outlook on Japanese missionary history and are the primary focus of my analysis of the Visitor's historiographical-rhetorical method. As to the rest of the historical narrative, I have edited the final five chapters of the text, i.e. 22-26. The reasons for this choice are relatively straightforward. Firstly, the abovementioned chapters deal principally with events that are *not* discussed in Valignano's previous *Historia*, which comes to a close with the year 1564, whereas the final chapters of *Principio* effectively recount the

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[89] For Xavier's arrival and activities in Japan see Valignano's *Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales (1542-1564)*, ed. by Josef Wicki, Biblioteca IHSI, II (Rome: IHSI, 1944), Part I, chapters 16 (pp. 119-26); 20-21 (pp. 164-79); and 23 (pp. 188-95). Henceforth this work is referred to as *Historia (1542-64)*.

[90] For *Principio*, chapters 2 and 5 see Valignano's *Sumario de las cosas de Japón (1583). Adiciones del sumario de Japón (1592)*, ed. by José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, Monumenta Nipponica Monographs: 9, I (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1954), pp. 375-92, 393-409; for chapter 6 see Idem, pp. 318-30. Henceforth the two works are referred to for short as *Sumario* and *Adiciones*. The latter volume has been printed separately but follows the same pagination as the former; hence, *Adiciones* begins on p. 349.

[91] Chapters 14 and 15 have been partially transcribed and published in *Sumario*, pp. 283-91; short excerpts from these chapters have also been reproduced in Jesús López Gay, *El Catecumenado en la misión del Japón del s. XVI*, Studia Missionalia: Documenta et Opera, 2 (Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University, 1966), pp. 208; 211-12.

history of the mission during the years 1565-70.[92] Secondly, material included in chapters 22-26 (and especially in chapters 22 and 25) provide us with Valignano's reflections on the phenomenon of religious persecution, a key to understanding his *Angst* as an historian. He strives to *persuade* his readers that such trials and apparent setbacks constitute an important paradigm for the correct interpretation of events in the early Japanese Church.

Post scriptum

Having engaged in this research project for a number of years, I am perfectly aware that I inevitably bring my own 'pre-conceptions' and 'pre-judices' (*Vorverständnisse* and *Vorurteile*) - in the Gadamerian sense - to the object of my study. Hermeneutics has taught us, however, that this need not paralyse our efforts, provided that we are willing to see objectivity as an on-going pursuit rather than a static point attained once and for all. Perelman likens this process to a dialogue in which

> l'idée d'un progrès dans l'objectivité historique peut se concevoir, comme la marche infinie, dans la confrontation de thèses opposées, vers une synthèse jamais achevée et toujours perfectible.[93]

It goes without saying that Cicero's warning against partiality and malice (*gratia* and *simultas*) is as valid now as it was in his own time.

Finally, if the undertaking is to succeed, we must also be mindful not to fall into the temptation of evaluating and judging the contribution as well as shortcomings of Valignano - or that of any other historian for that matter - solely on the basis of what we perceive to be either their *proximity* to or *distance* from our contemporary understanding of history and historiography. The debate on the conception of truth and its relation to history in an author such as Cicero exemplifies both the need to evaluate the historian within his own framework

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[92] An example of similar material that can be found in both histories is chapter 20 in *Principio*, which recounts for the most part the same events for the years 1563-64, i. e. the exile of Don Bartholomé (Ōmura Sumitada). See also the account of the destruction of the port of Yokoseura in chapter 17 of *Historia (1542-64)*, pp. 460-69.

[93] Chaïm Perelman, 'Sens et catégories en histoire', in *Les Catégories de l'histoire*, ed. by Chaïm Perelman, Travaux du Centre National de Recherches de Logique (Brussels: L'Institut de Sociologie - Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1969), pp. 133-47 (p. 147).

of reference and the danger of misinterpretation that lurks beneath attempts to force the past to conform to the present. In practice, this means that every effort must be made to discover the criteria that inform the choice of 'facts', the form in which they are presented, and the explanations that are offered by an historian, whether it be Herodotus, Fernão Mendes Pinto, or Toynbee. Consequently, to discredit early modern historiography on account of rhetorical structures with which the contemporary reader may no longer be familiar is not only to fail to acknowledge that rhetoric was a privileged tool of rational discourse in the hands of humanists of the Renaissance, for whom true learning and *sapientia* could not be divorced from *eloquentia*, but also to misapprehend the fundamental semiotic dynamics that define the process of history-writing in general.[94] Surely, an 'anti-rhetorical' stance would run the risk of dismissing as insignificant the very lessons that as proponents of 'modern history' we claim to have learned, for it was precisely the rejection of such forms of methodological *anachronism* by Lorenzo Valla that heralded in a new age in historiography.

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[94] See Cesare Vasoli, '*Loci communes* and the Rhetorical and Dialectical Traditions', in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform*, ed. by Joseph McLelland (Ottawa: Wilfred Laurier Press, 1980), pp. 17-28 (pp. 19-20); see also by Vasoli, 'Filologia, critica, e logica in Lorenzo Valla', in his *La dialettica e la retorica dell'Umanesimo. "Invenzione" e "Metodo" nella cultura del XV e XVI secolo*, Saggi e Biografie, 174 (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1968), pp. 28-77 (pp. 32-37).

Chapter II

Alessandro Valignano: Man, Missionary, and Writer



The First Years

Son of Giambattista Valignano and Isabella de Sangro, Alessandro was born in February 1539 into a noble family in Chieti, a city in the Abruzzi region of central Italy and part of the Kingdom of Naples under Spanish domination.[1] Very little is known about his

[1] For more complete biographical information on Valignano as well as a description of his activities in Asia see Daniello Bartoli, *Del Giappone,* 3 vols (Turin: Giacinto Marietti, 1825), I (= vol. X), 136-69; 248-78; 347-86; II (vol. XI), 137-145; III (vol. XII), 134-55. This work was originally published as *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Giesù: Il Giappone. Seconda Parte Dell'Asia* (Rome: Ignatio de' Lazzeri, 1660); Matteo Ricci, *Storia dell'Introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina* in *Fonti Ricciane: Documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579-1615)*, ed. by Pasquale M. D'Elia, 3 vols (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1942-49), I, 140-48; 221-23; II, 362-67; Luis de Guzmán, *Historia de la missiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesús para predicar el Sancto Evangelio en la India Oriental y en los reynos de la China y Japón*, 2 vols (Alcalá: Viuda de Juan Gracián, 1601); Ferrante Valignani, *Vita del Padre Alessandro Valignani della Compagnia di Giesù* [...] (Rome: Gaetano Zenobi and Giorgio Placho, 1698). Among contemporary writers, the following are of special value: Josef Franz Schütte, *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, Vol. I/1: *From His Appointment as Visitor until His First Departure from Japan. Part I: The Problem (1573-1580)*; Vol. I/2: *Part II: The Solution (1580-1582)*, trans. by John J. Coyne, 2 vols (Gujarat Sahitya Prakash: Xavier Diaz del Rio, 1980-1981); Alessandro Valignano, *Sumario de las cosas de Japón (1583). Adiciones del sumario de Japón (1592)*, ed. by José Luis Alvarez-Taladriz, Monumenta Nipponica Monographs, 9 (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1954); see the introduction, 1*-205* (pp. 1*-17*); Alessandro Valignano, *Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañia de Jesús en las Indias Orientales (1542-1564)*, ed. by Josef Wicki, Biblioteca IHSI, II (Rome: IHSI, 1944); see the introduction, pp. 1*-108* (pp. 42*-49*); Pietro Tacchi-Venturi, 'Valignani (Valignano), Alessandro', in *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 44 vols (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, 1929-81), 34 (1937), 923; J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits. Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (London / New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 20-28. See also the chapter entitled *Alessandro Valignano* in Andrew C. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed. The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), pp. 32-46; and Joseph B. Mühlberger, *Glaube in Japan. Alexandro Valignanos Katechismus, seine moralteologischen Aussagen im japanischen Kontext* (Rome: Pontificia

early years as a boy in Chieti, except that 'during his upbringing he was engaged [...] in the study of Latin and exercises of chivalry.'[2] The first significant fact in his life as a young man that we know of for certain is that he was a student of law *in utroque iure* at the University of Padua, a renowned centre of Renaissance learning and the principal university of the Republic of Venice. It was at the *studio di Padova* that he was awarded the title of Doctor of Civil Law in 1557.[3] Having completed his studies, he returned briefly to Chieti and received the tonsure before departing for the Eternal City, where he hoped to take advantage of his connections at the Papal Court and gain promotion in the world. While in Rome, he spent several years under the patronage of two powerful men, Pope Paul IV (Gianpietro Carafa), who had been a good friend of Valignano's father whilst Archbishop of Chieti, and Cardinal Sittich von Hohenems (d'Altemps), nephew of Pope Pius IV. Unfortunately, we know little or nothing with regard to the activities of the young Valignano during this first Roman sojourn. In 1562 he returned to Padua, where on the night of 28 November, brandishing a knife, he is alleged to have slashed the face of Franceschina Trona, a young lady with whom he had presumably had a violent altercation. This accusation, to which Valignano later pleaded innocent in court, landed him in prison in Venice, where he languished for over a year and a half until March 1564. Were it not for his rapidly deteriorating health, his status as a nobleman, and, above all, the intervention on his behalf with the Magistrates of powerful acquaintances such as Charles Borromeo and the Papal nuncio in Venice, his enforced sojourn in the *Serenissima* would have undoubtedly brought

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Universitas Lateranensis, Academia Alfonsiana: Institutum Superius Theologiae Moralis, 1994), pp. 129-38.

This is by no means a complete list of primary and secondary sources related to Valignano. A wealth of unpublished manuscript material regarding his activities in East Asia can be found in **ARSI** (and especially in the *Iaponica-Sinica* collection, henceforth referred to as *Iap.-Sin.*). For published manuscript material from **ARSI** (mainly from the *Goa* collection) see *Documenta Indica*, ed. by Josef Wicki, Monumenta Missionsum, 18 vols (Rome: IHSI, 1948-88); henceforth these volumes are referred to as *DI*, followed by the date of publication of the volume in parentheses. Despite some minor lacunae, the most comprehensive list to date of manuscripts of Valignano's writings is that of Josef Franz Schütte in *VMJ-E* (see above), I/1, 402-28.

[2] See Ferrante Valignani, *Vita del Padre Alessandro Valignani della Compagnia di Giesù* [...] (see above, note 1), p. 2. All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

[3] Unfortunately, the list of doctorates in law for the years 1545-79 has gone missing from the University Archives. See Schütte, *VMJ-E*, I/1, 32, note 101.

his career to an abrupt end. Having regained his freedom after payment of a substantial fine and on condition that he accept banishment from the Republic for four years, he journeyed once again to Rome, where he made the decision that was to change his life definitively: he asked for admission into the Society of Jesus. His request was granted by the third General Superior of the newly founded order, Francisco Borja, former Duke of Gandía, and Valignano entered the novitiate at the Sant'Andrea al Quirinale Professed House on 27 May 1566. After a year of initial formation as a novice, he took his religious vows and moved on 10 May 1567 to the Roman College, where he spent three years studying philosophy and theology. He made his solemn religious profession of three vows on 12 February 1570 and was ordained a priest at the Lateran in Rome by William Chisholm II, Roman Catholic Bishop of Dunblane, on 25 March 1571, during his second year of theological studies. What followed was a short period as master of novices at the Quirinale, where Matteo Ricci had just entered the Society, and a four-month trip to the Abruzzi region with the purpose of exploring the possibility of founding a Jesuit college in his native city of Chieti. Upon his return, he resumed his study of theology at the Collegio Romano until 1572, when he was appointed Rector of the Jesuit College in Macerata.

'Visitador' of Jesuit Missions in the Portuguese East Indies

Like many of his brethren, Valignano had written to the General manifesting a desire to be sent to the 'Indies' as a missionary. Little did he know that, the following year in August, the new General Superior of the Order, Everard Mercurian, would take one of the most important decisions of his time in office and appoint him *Visitador*, i. e. personal delegate, to all Jesuit missions in the *Índias Orientais*, which at the time included places as diverse and distant from each other as Mozambique, Malacca, India, Macao, and Japan.[4] On 8 September 1573 he took his solemn religious profession of four vows. Less than two weeks later he departed for Genoa, whence he continued his voyage soon afterwards for Alicante. As he had been authorized by Mercurian to gather a group of suitable candidates

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[4] The official letter of appointment dates 24.IX.1573 [**ARSI**: *Historia Societatis*, 61, fol. 3] reproduced in *DI*, IX (1966), 1-2.

for the Asian missions before his departure for India, he spent nearly two months in Spain visiting many cities, including Toledo, Cuenca, Alcalá, and Madrid, and conferring with the Jesuit Provincial Superiors of Toledo, Aragón, and Castile. By the time he crossed the border into Portugal in late December, he had already assembled a group of over twenty Spanish Jesuits, who accompanied him on the journey through Evora and on to Lisbon.[5] After Christmas Valignano presented himself at court in Almeirim, where the young King, Dom Sebastião, granted him an audience on New Year's day, 1574. The meeting between monarch and missionary could not have been more successful, with the King graciously agreeing to all of Valignano's requests for financial support to cover the expenses of the missionaries' passage to India. The King also made further generous grants with which to support the Jesuit missions in Malacca and Japan.[6]

Besides moments of diplomatic success, his time in Portugal was also marked by conflict and divisions within the Society that had a direct bearing on his new mission. His numerous meetings with the three most important men of the Portuguese Jesuit province, Jorge Serrão, Leão Henriques and Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, before and after his audience with the King, proved in fact to be very difficult and ended in open confrontation. Curiously, whilst the court had not raised any major objections to the Visitor's plans, his fellow Jesuits displayed much zeal in their attempt to dispel what they viewed as a threat to the prerogatives of the *Padroado Real*, which, as various papal Bulls had previously stipulated, gave the Portuguese crown exclusive rights to govern the affairs of the Church in all the lands belonging to their *conquista*, i. e. east of the Cape of Good Hope.[7] Moreover, perhaps even

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[5] See *Sumario*, p. 11*-17*.

[6] On Valignano's meeting with Dom Sebastião and the Cardinal Infante, Dom Henrique, see the following letters, all written from Almeirim to the General: Jerónimo Costa (31.XII.1573) [**ARSI**: *Lusitania*, 65, fol. 304ᵀ] in *DI*, IX (1966), 48; Alessandro Valignano (6.I.1574) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 III, fol. 174ᵀ] in *Idem*, 55;Valignano gives a detailed list of 'Le cose che si sono dimandate al Re et si sono state concesse' in his letter of 7.I.1574 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 III, fol. 176ᵀ] in *Idem*, 60-61; Jorge Serrão (9.I.1573) [**ARSI**: *Lusitania*, 65, fol. 115ᵀ] in *Idem*, 71. The King made even more generous provisions the following month. In a letter to Mercurian (Lisbon: 8.II.1574) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 II, 194ʳ; 195ᵀ] in *Idem*, 153; 156, he informs the general that he has enough money for 35 men to go to India.

[7] For an account of the *Padroado* and its workings see Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (London: Hutchinson, 1969; repr. Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1997),

more important for these men was the fact that Portugal had been the first country to have an independent Jesuit province established by the founder of the Order, Ignatius of Loyola, as early as 1546.[8] Another closely related factor that contributed to their sceptical attitude was the moral and spiritual authority enjoyed by Valignano's main detractor, Gonçalves da Câmara, who had been a close personal acquaintance of Ignatius and is best known for having recorded the founder's autobiography for posterity.[9] He had also been a royal tutor to Dom Sebastião, who came to depend - some would say to an unhealthy degree - on his Jesuit mentor. Thus, it is not surprising that such a man, endowed with exceptional intellectual gifts, spiritual authority, and influence at court, resisted what he perceived as concerted attempts by Valignano to undermine the position of predominance that his fellow countrymen enjoyed in the mission field of the Indies. He was certainly not accustomed to being contradicted - as he repeatedly was - by a young and brash foreigner, who was obviously lacking in experience of government within the Order.[10]

One cannot gauge the intensity of this disagreement without a proper understanding of what the office of *Visitor* entailed within a religious Order as centralized as the Society of Jesus. As Mercurian's personal delegate in the Indies, Valignano had been, in fact, granted an extraordinarily wide range of powers to oversee and govern with authority the mission as he saw fit.[11] This meant that, within his area of jurisdiction, the young Visitor had the

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pp. 228-48; see also Emma Falque, 'Bulas alejandrinas de 1493. Texto y traducción', in *Humanismo latino y descubrimiento*, ed. by Juan Gil and José Maria Maestre (Cadiz/Seville: Universidad de Sevilla/Universidad de Cádiz, 1992), pp. 11-35.

[8] For an account of the missionary enterprises of the Portuguese Jesuits, see the monumental work by Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise. The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 24-38.

[9] For a fascinating revisionist account of Câmara's 'transcription' of Ignatius of Loyola's 'autobiography' see Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Loyola's Acts. The Rhetoric of the Self* (Berkeley, CA/London: University of California Press, 1997).

[10] For details of this conflict see Schütte, *VMJ-E*, I/1, 64-91 and Andrew C. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed. The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), pp. 37-40.

[11] The original document containing the faculties or special powers granted by Mercurian (25.IX.1573) appears to have been lost; see Schütte, *VMJ-E*, I/1, 5-12; 48; and 52. I have, however, discovered a partial 18th-century apograph copy produced in Macao in **BAL**, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-IV-

authority to accept and dismiss members from the Society, send any member to any place where he judged that a man might be of use for a particular mission, change local superiors, and implement new mission policies whenever and wherever he deemed it necessary. He was *not*, however, under any obligation to heed the counsel of the Portuguese provincial. In places like Japan, the furthest missionary outpost of the *Padroado*, and where until 1596 there was no bishop in residence, this amounted to virtually complete control of the activities of the Church. He was bound, nevertheless, to give the authorities in Rome and Portugal a detailed account of his activities and policies, and the General Superior could always overrule any of his decisions. In view of the immense distances between Asia and Europe, and the uncertainties of epistolary communication, the system remained remarkably flexible. In fact, on occasion even the General found himself overruled by the Visitor, when the latter judged that a decision that had been taken in Rome two years before could no longer be implemented in light of new circumstances in Asia without serious detriment to the mission.[12] Such boldness on the part of Valignano can be explained by the confidence he had in the trust placed in him by Mercurian and his successor, Claudio Aquaviva, who had been a close friend since their time together as fellow students at the Roman College. It also serves to highlight how much power Valignano wielded in the day-to-day running of the ecclesiastical affairs of the East Indies.

At a practical level the clash between the Portuguese Jesuit leadership on the one hand and Valignano on the other centred around three sensitive issues: firstly, the way the new Visitor should carry out his duties in India, *citra* and *ultra Gangem* and the extent to which

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56, fols 203^{v} and 193^{r} that lists 20 (out of a total of 32?) of the Visitor's faculties. This document is reproduced in full in the Appendix to this chapter. Valignano suggested emendations to this list sometime before 25.X.1573 whilst still in Genoa; see **ARSI**: *Goa*, 24 I, fols 76^{r-v} in *DI*, IX (1966), 5-8. He acknowledges receipt of the emended list of faculties on 6.II.1574; see Schütte, *VMJ-E*, I/1, 48-55.

[12] An example of Valignano overruling an important order issued by Aquaviva is the former's suspension of the General's appointment on 10 April 1597 of Francesco Pasio to replace the ailing Vice-provincial, Pedro Gómez. In a letter to Aquaviva (Nagasaki: 20.II.1599) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 13 II, fol. 255^{r}] the Visitor notes that the Governor of Nagasaki, Terazawa, favours Gómez; he also expresses his fear that the appointment of yet another Italian superior in Japan would be an intolerable affront to Portuguese pride. For Valignano's letter see José Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Cinco cartas de religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús misioneros en Japón (1594-1599)', *Sapientia. The Eichi University Review*, 7 (1973), 73-105 (pp. 95-6).

he should rely for guidance on the Portuguese province; secondly, the spirit that should inform religious life in the newly founded Society of Jesus; and thirdly, Valignano's determination to take so many Spaniards with him to the East despite the protests of the Portuguese.

From the outset Valignano made it clear that, having received clear instructions from Mercurian, he did not intend to allow the Portuguese Jesuits to dictate to him how he should run the mission. Valignano interpreted the authority invested in him as an attempt by the General to release the Indian mission from the stranglehold of the Portuguese province and bring it under the more direct control of Rome. He did not ignore the fact that his independence represented a direct threat to the *status quo* in Lisbon.[13] He notes with irony how the leaders of the Portuguese province

> mentre pensarono di cathechizar me et addoctrinarmi al lor modo acciò che governasse l'India con questo spirito che aqui tengono, mi scuoprirono tante cose che essi ne rimasero li cathechizati.[14]

An even more fundamental point of contention was the question of the spirit in which the Society of Jesus was to be governed. Again, Valignano expressed his reservations as to the way of proceeding among the Jesuits in Portugal and made it clear that he did not share his brethren's views in this regard. He repeatedly complained to Mercurian about the unreasonably harsh and rigorous regime, characterized by a spirit of fear, that the Portuguese Jesuit leadership had imposed on its members, and which, in his opinion, painfully contradicted the 'spirito soave della Compagnia'.[15] To compound the problem, it was public knowledge that some of the superiors had even gone so far as to accuse openly the Jesuits in Rome of having abandoned the true spirit of the Order. Valignano can scarcely hide his frustration and impatience as he relates how in governing the province

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[13] See Valignano to Mercurian (Lisbon: 8.II.1574) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 II, 196] in *DI*, IX (1966), 162: '[...] apertamente ho conosciuto che questa andata mia *independente da loro* et con tanta authorità gl'è grandemente dispiaciuto [...] In somma non possono inghiottire questo boccone che gli sia così *levata la potestà dell'India dalle mani* [*my italics*]'.

[14] Lisbon: 28.I.1574 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 III, fol. 186] in *DI*, IX (1966), 110-111, also cited in *VMJ-E*, I/1, 72. All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

[15] See Valignano's two letters from Lisbon to the General: (12.I.1574) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 III, fols 179^{r-v}] in *DI*, IX (1966), 83-88; and (28.I.1574) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 III, fols 186^{r}-187] in *Idem*, 111-115. For the above cited expression used frequently by Valignano see the second letter in *Idem*, 110.

> il primo principio che tengono è che il modo di governar di Roma non sia buono et che il spirito della Compagnia sia destrutto in Italia, et questo oltre che me lo ha più volte insinuato il P. Luis Gonzalez, si prova manifestamente, primo perché hanno per un detto tra loro molto commune che li nostri in Italia hanno l'essentiale, ma pocho si curano dell'accidentale.[16]

Thirdly, with regard to Valignano's concrete preparations for the mission, their objections had concentrated on the question of personnel, both in terms of recruitment and assignment. Valignano intended to travel with forty missionaries; the King, they claimed, would never agree to finance such a large group, especially as the majority were *Spaniards.*[17] Furthermore, many of the men chosen by the Visitor were 'new Christians' or *confessi.* Such a decision, they were convinced, would not be acceptable either to the court or to the Portuguese in India. Moreover, all of the recruits had been destined for India, whereas the General had promised them that a group would also be sent to Brazil.[18] To the accusation that he was inconsiderate towards his patrons in that he appeared to favour the Spaniards at every turn, he bluntly retorts: 'I am an Italian; and between Castilians and Italians there is naturally a greater antipathy than between Castilians and Portuguese.'[19] In another letter he writes to the General about how, at the height of the conflict, he was forced to threaten them with public scandal, telling them that

> se o in un modo o in un altro era impedito, me ne ritornarei con tutta la mia gente in Italia [...] perché sono sempre stato forte dicendo che, se il Re o me impediva o non me dava quanto era per questa navigatione necessario, io lo

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[16] See Valignano to the General (28.I.1574) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 III, fol. 186ʳ] in *DI*, IX (1966), 111.

[17] For a list of objections and criticisms of Valignano's way of proceeding, see the letter of the Portuguese Provincial, Jorge Serrão, to Everard Mercurian (Lisbon: 11.II.1574) [**ARSI**: *Lusitania*, 66, fols 55ʳ-58ᵛ] in *DI*, IX (1966), 178-85; he specifically mentions the question of Spaniards on fol. 58ᵛ (pp. 183-84).

[18] Valignano writes to Mercurian about their objections in several letters from Lisbon: (28.I.1574) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 III fol. 188ᵛ-89ʳ] in *DI*, IX (1966), 118-19; and (8.II.1574) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 II, 195ʳ] in *Idem*, 156. He also relates with much anguish the situation regarding the *confessi*; see (12.I.1574) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 III, fols 108ʳ. 181v] in *Idem*, 90-93; and (28.I.1574), in *Idem*, 117-18.

[19] Cited in English translation in *VMJ-E*, I/1, 90, note 171; for the original letter see Valignano to Mercurian (Chorão: 30.X.1576) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 I, fols 37ᵛ-38ʳ] in *DI*, IX (1966), 577. These remarks were made in response to a vitriolic letter by Pedro da Fonseca, Portuguese Assistant in Rome, in which the latter berates the Visitor for stubbornly persisting in his 'anti-Portuguese' stance and having grossly overstepped the bounds of his authority; see Fonseca to Valignano (Rome: 7.I.1575) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 12 I, fols 268ʳ-70ᵛ] in *DI*, IX (1966), 574-78.

> pigliarebbe con loro, et per tale l'harei fatto cognoscere a tutta la Compagnia et a Vostra Paternità.[20]

As neither Dom Sebastião nor Cardinal Henrique had seriously challenged any of the Visitor's plans, and as he continued to enjoy Mercurian's full support, Valignano ultimately prevailed, and the Portuguese leadership was left with no choice but to give in at least temporarily to his demands. The final blow, however, was delivered when the Visitor, in accordance with written orders he had received from Mercurian, announced the nomination of Alessandro Vallareggio, another Italian, to the office of Jesuit Procurator of the Indian mission in Lisbon. His main task was to act as a liaison between Europe and India and, among his other duties, he was to ensure that the correspondence to and from the missionaries in India was not tampered with by the Portuguese, who had previously reserved for themselves the right to open all letters. Understandably, more objections were forthcoming from the Jesuits in Lisbon, but to no avail.[21] By the time Valignano set sail for Mozambique on 21 March 1574 together with his forty-one recruits[22], whom he had put through an intense programme of preparation at the Jesuit Residence of São Roque in Lisbon, effective control of the Jesuit enterprise in the *Indias Orientales* by the powerful conservative faction of the Portuguese Jesuit province, led by Gonçalves da Câmara, had been significantly reduced.

In order not to overdramatize the conflict between the new Visitor and some of his Jesuit brethren in Portugal, it must be remarked that Valignano continued to rely heavily on Lisbon for both manpower and for a significant part of his funds, and, all told, was far from being anti-Portuguese. In fact, despite his stinging criticisms of the *modus gubernandi* of the Jesuits in Portugal and the Lusitanian administration in India, he always strove to maintain friendly relations with his patrons, both on the Iberian peninsula and in India, Malacca, and Macao. Both his writings and those of others clearly show that he never faltered in his efforts

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[20] Lisbon: 8.II.1574 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 II, fol. 195ᵀ] in *DI*, IX (1966), 157.

[21] Valignano discusses Gonçalves da Câmara's objections in the letter cited above, [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 II, fols 195ʳ-96ᵀ] in *Idem*, 158-62.

[22] In the end, Valignano's *équipe* consisted of seven Italians (besides himself), twenty-four Spaniards, and ten Portuguese. For a complete list of these men see *Catálogo dos Padres e Irmãos* [...] (Lisbon III.1574) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 24 I, fols 73ʳ·ᵛ] in *DI*, IX (1966), 237-44 and Alessandro Vallareggio to Mercurian (Lisbon: 23.III.1574) [**ARSI**: *Lusitania*, 66, fols 91ʳ-93ᵛ] in *DI*, IX (1966), 245-50.

to uphold the Society's firm support for Portugal's exclusive right to govern the East Indian missions. Surprisingly, even after the unification of the two Iberian crowns under Philip II, in 1580, he was adamant that Spanish missionaries be admitted to the territories of the *Padroado Real* only with the explicit permission of Lisbon. He was thus opposed to any direct contact between Japan, New Spain, and the Philippines. The Visitor was not, however, opposed to the recruitment of Spaniards as such as long as they respected the terms agreed to at the Union of Tomar in 1581, which upheld the principle of separate administration for the territories of the two crowns. Nevertheless, Valignano's compromise remained an unsatisfactory solution for the Portuguese, who proved to be unrelenting in their efforts to halt Spaniards from being sent to the East Indies altogether. As a result of such pressure, the General complied, and no more Jesuits from Spain left for India during the years 1575-80. Mercurian even went as far as trying to recall all Spanish Jesuits working in the Indies, *ultra Gangem*, i. e. in Malacca, Macao, and Japan.[23] The King himself had written to Mercurian asking him to ponder carefully the disadvantages or difficulties (*inconvenientes*) related to 'os Padres da Companhia de Jesu estrangeiros que vão às partes da Índia'.[24] The court was particularly concerned about Spanish Jesuits providing Madrid with information about China and endangering Portuguese interests in that region, as the two crowns were at odds at the time over the line of demarcation of their respective spheres of influence.[25]

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[23] Mercurian's original instruction has not survived. Valignano acknowledges having received such an order, dated 28.X.1575 at the beginning of his letter to Mercurian (Chorão: 30.X.1576) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 I, fol. 36ᵀ] in *DI*, X (1968), 569.

[24] See Dom Sebastião to Mercurian (Almada: 21.VII.1575) [**ARSI**: *Epp. Ext.*, 27, fol. 301ᵀ] in *DI*, IX (1966), 660. The new Portuguese Provincial, Manuel Rodrigues, mentions in two letters to Mercurian that neither the Dom Sebastião nor Cardinal Henrique think it wise that Spaniards be sent to the East Indies: (Coimbra: 8.VIII.1575) [**ARSI**: *Lusitania*, 7, fol. 160ᵛ] in *DI*, IX (1966), 670-71 and (Braga: 27.IX.1575) [**ARSI**: *Lusitania*, 7, fol. 202ᵛ] in *Idem*, 688-89. Of much the same opinion as Rodrigues is Francisco Porres, Procurator at the court of Philip II, in his letter to Mercurian, in which he mentions that the Portuguese Ambassador in Madrid, Eduardo Castelo-Branco 'ha dicho que no conviene vayan Padres castellanos a la India de Portugal [...] porque los castellanos por fuerça han de favorescer a los castellanos'; see (Madrid: 1.VI.1575) [**ARSI**: *Hispania*, 124, fol. 103ᵀ] in *Idem*, 645.

[25] See above, Francisco Rodrigues to Mercurian (Coimbra, 8.VIII.1575) [**ARSI**: *Lusitania*, 67, fol. 160ᵛ in *DI*, IX (1966), 670 and Alessandro Vallareggio to Mercurian (Lisbon: 22.VII.1575) [**ARSI**: *Lusitania*, 67, fols 136ᵛ-37ᴿ] in *Idem*, 661-64.

In response to the whole controversy, in a long and very detailed letter to Mercurian, written from Chorão on 30 October 1576, Valignano argues that the General should seriously reconsider his decision to recall the 'castigliani' from the East and revoke his order in view of the sheer impracticality of such a move, the damage it would inflict on the missionary work, and the fact that these men - in the Visitor's opinion - did *not* pose any threat to the national interests of Portugal.[26] Most telling is his argument that none of this makes any difference whatsoever in the case of Japan, which

> né il Re di Portugallo né il Re di Spagna insieme hanno in queste parti potere per conquistarlo [...] perché quella gente è molto bellicosa e continuamente exercitata nelle arme [...], e non sonno de la maniera de l'altre genti che in queste Indie sonno, di modo tale che poco inporta che i Padri che stanno nel Jappone siano portughesi o castigliani.[27]

He wryly adds that even if one of the two Iberian empires had the power to conquer Japan, it would still be of no consequence to the national interests of either country whether the Jesuits there were Portuguese or Spanish, as such affairs are settled with soldiers and arms and 'non con persuasioni delli Padri, i quali hanno in Jappone tanto potere che è necessario ogni giorno che fugano co li lor fardelli a spalle.'[28] Times and circumstances change and, as we shall see, Valignano was later to make every effort to prevent Spanish Jesuits from New Spain and the Philippines from coming to Japan.[29]

I have purposely chosen to dwell at length on Valignano's initial confrontation with his Portuguese brethren and its wider political implications, since the way he handled the situation reveals a great deal about the man and his convictions. Not only does it throw light on his his strong character and at times obdurate temperament in the face of opposition, it

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[26] See **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 I, fol. 36^{v}-39^{v} in *DI*, X (1968), 571-84. He deals with the same issues in a previous letter to the General (At sea between Cochin and Goa: 4.XII.1575) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 47, fols 42^{v}-43^{v}] in *Idem*, 149-152.

[27] See Valignano to the General, Everard Mercurian (Chorão: 30.X.1576) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 I, fol. 37] in *DI*, X (1968), 573.

[28] See *DI*, X (1968), 573-74.

[29] See two letters written by Valignano from Goa; one to the General, Claudio Aquaviva (1.IV.1585) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 10 I, fols 25^{v}-26^{r}] in *DI*, XIV (1979), 10-11; and the other (8.IV.1585) to the Rector of the Jesuit Mission in the Philippines, Antonio Sedeño [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 10 I, fol. 28] in *Idem*, 21-22.

equally serves as a basis for interpreting his complex relations with the Portuguese and the Spanish, both in the secular and ecclesiastical spheres. The 'Iberian problem' was possibly the greatest single hindrance the Visitor faced in carrying out his reforms of the missions in the East, and it continued to engender much hostile controversy and haunt Valignano throughout the thirty-two years he spent in Asia. Finally, his stance in the face of opposition in Lisbon serves to highlight his pragmatism, independence, and willingness to challenge the ultra-conservative understanding of religious life that he encountered in the 'home country', whose Jesuit missions he was to govern.

Valignano's Voyages and Activities: An Overview

After a successful journey of nearly four months, with a short stop-over in the Canary Islands and another fortnight in Guinea, Valignano reached Mozambique on 14 July 1574.[30] On 9 August he was back on board the captain's ship, the *Constantina*, which, after an uneventful journey, sailed into the port of Goa on 6 September.[31] He spent the next three years travelling to the various cities and outposts in India where the Jesuits were engaged in everything from the running of colleges to preaching among the people of the Fishery Coast. Having concluded his visit to India, and taking advantage of the monsoon, he left Goa on 20 September 1577 and journeyed further east to Malacca, where he arrived a month later. He remained there for approximately nine months before continuing his journey to Macao, which he reached at the beginning of September, 1578. His stay in the Portuguese port known as the 'Cidade da Madre de Deus' on the south China coast lasted another nine months. It was from there that he finally embarked for Japan, landing safely at the small port of Kuchinotsu on the island of Kyushu on 25 July 1579 after a journey of eighteen days. Exactly thirty years had passed since the arrival of Francis Xavier, who had established the first Christian

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[30] See Valignano to Antonio Possevino (Mozambique: 4.VIII.1574) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 III, fol. 219r] in *DI*, IX (1966), 375.

[31] SeeValignano to Mercurian (Goa: 25.XII.1574) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 7 I, fol. 295r] in *DI*, IX (1966), 483.

community in Japan in 1549.[32] His first long-awaited visitation to the country that he had always considered the most important enterprise of the Society in the Orient was to last for nearly two and a half years. During this time he was to devote himself to a complete reorganization of the mission. He was greatly dismayed to find, however, that the reality of the mission in Japan did not seem to conform to his expectations, and he was beset with many doubts as to the best way of proceeding in view of the disconcerting circumstances. It was only at the end of his stay that he regained a sense of self-confidence and issued a series of instructions (*Regimentos*) for the Jesuits in Japan that were to change the very nature of the missionary enterprise in that country.

When he finally set sail from Japan in February 1582, he did not, however, leave alone. Briefly before his departure, he had arranged for four Japanese youths to accompany him in what was to be the first diplomatic expedition ever from Japan to Europe. The Japanese were to represent the Christian feudal lords, Ōmura Sumitada, Ōtomo Yoshishige (Sōrin), and Arima Harunobu at the papal court in Rome as well as at the royal courts in Madrid and Portugal. The boys who were chosen were *Martinho* Hara, *Julião* Nakaura, *Mancio* Itō, and *Miguel* Chijiwa.[33] Many reasons were cited for the sending of the embassy, but they can be summarized as a carefully concerted effort on the part of the Visitor to organize on a grand scale a 'public relations' event that would be played out on both the secular and ecclesiastical stages of Europe. Put simply, his purpose was to impress Europe with the tangible successes of Jesuit efforts in Japan by presenting them with living examples

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[32] Altogether Valignano spent a total of approximately ten years in Japan. His first sojourn (25 July 1579 - 20 February 1582) coincided with the reign of Oda Nobunaga; his second (21 July 1590 - 9 October 1592) with the reign of Toyotomi Hideyoshi; and his third and last stay (5 August 1598 - 15 January 1603) with the reign of Tokugawa Ieyasu.

[33] For a brief account of the embassy see Schütte, *VMJ-E*, I/2, 257-66. See also Valignano's description of the backgrounds of the four boys in his *Apología en al qual se responde a diversas calumnias que se escrivieron contra los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús de Jappón y de la China. Hecha por el Padre Alexandre Valignano de la misma Compañía en el Collegio de Machao en Henero del año 1598. Y después revista y acrecentada en Jappón por el mismo Padre en Octubre del mismo año.* This work has been recently published posthumously in an edition by José Álvarez-Taladriz entitled, *Apología de la Compañía de Jesús de Japón y China* (1598) (Osaka: Eikōdō, 1998). As this printed edition is not widely available, in all references to the *Apología*, besides the page number in Álvarez-Taladriz's edition, I also give the folio number in **ARSI** (*Iap.-Sin.*, 41). Álvarez-Taladriz used this manuscript as his 'base-text' and reproduced its folio numbering in his own text. For the above reference, see pp. 56-7 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 41, fols 20^{v}-21].

of noble and pious youth from that country. And on the other hand, he was equally keen to impress the Japanese youth with the glories of European Christendom so that they in turn might influence the views of their fellow countrymen to whom they would recount their experiences upon their return.[34] Valignano was painfully aware that since the very beginning both the Japanese and the Europeans had heard conflicting and even false reports about the true character of each other's kingdoms. This embassy is of particular significance with regard to a proper reading of *Principio* inasmuch as it illustrates the extent to which the Visitor was convinced of the importance of *persuading* his audience that the Jesuit way was the 'right' way of proceeding.

After nine more months in Macao, Valignano returned with the young ambassadors to India. The party arrived in the port of Cochin on 7 April 1583. Half a year later the Visitor received a letter from the new General, Claudio Aquaviva, appointing him Provincial of India and confirming his position as Visitor to the East Indies. In practice, this decision meant, however, that he would not be continuing the voyage to Europe with the Japanese embassy. Valignano thus had no choice but to remain in India, where for four years he awaited their return. At the insistence of the Portuguese court and as a result of the embassy, which to Valignano's chagrin had given the authorities in Europe the impression that Japan was well on its way to becoming a land dominated by Christians, the first Japanese bishopric was created by papal bull on 19 February 1588 in the city of Funai (Bungo). The new see was dependent on the archdiocese of Goa and thus fully part of the Portuguese *Padroado*.[35]

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[34] Valignano says that there were 'three principal reasons' for sending the embassy; see his *Apologia* (1598), pp. 53-6 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 41, fols 20^{r-v}].

[35] With regard to the creation of a diocese in Japan and the appointment of a bishop see Hubert Cieslik, 'Zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Hierarchie in der alten Japanmission', *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 18 (1962), 42-58; 81-107; and 177-95. See also João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, 'Em torno da criação do Bispado do Japão', in *As relações entre a Índia portuguesa, a Ásia do sueste e o Extremo Oriente: Actas do VI seminário internacional de história indo-portuguesa (Macau, 22 a 26 de outubro de 1991)*, ed. by Artur Teodoro de Matos and Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz (Macao/Lisbon, 1993), pp. 141-71 (pp. 141-42; 167-71) and Jesús López-Gay, 'Don Pedro Martins, SJ (1542-1598), primer obispo portugués que visitó el Japón', in *O século cristão do Japão: Actas do colóquio internacional comemorativo dos 450 anos de amizade Portugal-Japão (1543-1993) (Lisboa, 2 a 5 de Novembro de 1993)*, ed. by Roberto Carneiro and A. Teodoro de Matos (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos dos povos e culturas de expressão portuguesa da Universidade Católica Portuguesa/Instituto de História de Além-Mar da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da

Valignano had long reflected upon the possibility of a bishop for Japan but had ultimately come to oppose the idea. Nevertheless, the embassy's success ironically led Rome to take decisions regarding the ecclesiastical administration of Japan that were least in accord with Valignano's overall plans for the Japanese church. Had Valignano been allowed to travel to Rome and make use of his powers of persuasion instead of remaining in far-away India, things might have taken a different turn.

In the spring of 1588 he left Goa together with the young Japanese ambassadors for Macao. On board was a printing press with moveable type that Valignano had instructed his fellow Jesuits to bring from Europe so that books could be printed in China and Japan. What came to be known as the *Jesuit Mission Press* was, however, first put to use whilst still in Goa to print an oration delivered by Martinho Hara in Latin about their trip to Europe.[36] In 1590 in Macao, another work commemorating the embassy's voyages and experiences in Europe was printed in Latin. The book was entitled *De missione legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam curiam, rebusque in Europa, ac toto itinere animadversis dialogus.* The carefully crafted text was probably composed in Castilian prose by Valignano himself and subsequently recast into Latin dialogue form by the Portuguese Jesuit and Latinist, Duarte de Sande. Not only was it to serve as a textbook for Latin education in Japan, it was also a brilliant work of humanist-style rhetoric recounting the adventures of the four boys in the context of an elaborate comparison of the cultures of Europe and Japan.

The exuberant mood of the delegation in Macao was nevertheless overclouded by the precarious political situation and gloomy prospects of the Christians in Japan. When Valignano left India he was no longer formally travelling as a missionary but rather in his official capacity as ambassador of the Portuguese Viceroy in India, Duarte de Meneses. The Japanese Regent, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, had formally banned all public Christian missionary activity in the country in July 1587. Hence, regardless of his role as mentor and guardian to the four Japanese youths, the Visitor would not have been able without this diplomatic pretext to enter the country. Even with his credentials, the Visitor and his company were forced to postpone their trip to Japan until June 1590, when a ship became available and

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Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1994), pp. 79-94.

[36] See *Oratio habita a Fara D. Martino Iaponio* (Goa: Jesuit Mission Press, 1588).

Asano Nagamasa, an influential *daimyō*, wrote to Valignano informing him that it was finally safe to undertake the journey. Needless to say, the single most important task the Visitor had to attend to as he began his second visitation of Japan was his audience with Hideyoshi, which took place at the Regent's magnificent Juraku-dai palace in Miyako on 3 March 1591.[37] The Taikō was in an exceptionally good mood that day, and appeared to be both delighted with and proud of the apparent success of the Japanese embassy to Europe. The four youths even went so far as to perform a quartet on western musical instruments in his honour. Despite the cordiality and good humour he displayed on that memorable occasion, the Regent continued to harbour strong suspicions as to the ultimate purpose of the Visitor's diplomatic mission to Japan and had no intention of abrogating his previous anti-Christian decree. He simply chose not to enforce it with vigour for the time being, a strategic move that suited his political purposes insofar as it enabled him to keep the Europeans, both missionary and merchant, off balance and under control. Six months later, the Portuguese Jesuit, João Rodrigues 'Tçuzzu' [Interpreter], was summoned to court to assure Hideyoshi yet again that the Valignano's embassy had been genuine. As a consequence, Valignano was left with very little room for manoeuvre and had to act with utmost caution during the two years he remained in the country lest he provoke the wrath of the unpredictable *Kampaku*.

At the end of October 1592 the Visitor finally returned to Macao, where he remained until the autumn of 1594. Before continuing his voyage to India in November of that year, he succeeded, albeit with great difficulty and amidst much opposition from his Portuguese brethren, in establishing a college for the training of Japanese students in the Chinese port. Valignano reports that the Portuguese, among other things, especially feared that the new college would undermine the position of the College of St. Paul in Goa, and that it would become an excuse for Spaniards from New Spain to bypass India in order to study in Macao, whence they could easily gain access to Japan and China.[38] As usual, Valignano was determined to see his project through to completion, and on 1 December 1594, shortly after

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[37] See Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter. An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (New York/Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1974; repr. 1994), pp. 75-82.

[38] See his letter to Aquaviva (Macao: 27.XI.1595) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 12 II, fol. 321ᵛ] in *DI*, XVII (1988), 324-25.

his departure for India, the newly built 'Colégio de São Paulo' began its academic activities; within three years it was conferring its first degrees in the Arts and Theology. It thus effectively came to be the first European-style university college in East Asia, where for decades to come many Japanese were to study.[39]

In the meanwhile, the Visitor's detractors had continued to write letters to Rome asking that Valignano be relieved of his responsibilities as Visitor to India. One of their most urgent complaints was that he was taking away too many able men from India and sending them all to Japan. These and other complaints notwithstanding, Aquaviva continued to have confidence in his old friend but decided that it would be best for Valignano to relinquish his responsibilities *vis-à-vis* the Indian province. Upon reaching Goa in the spring of 1595, Valignano officially resigned from his post of Visitor to India in the presence of Francisco Cabral. The latter, who disagreed profoundly with Valignano's policies in general and his running of the Indian province in particular, had been mission superior of Japan until 1583, when he asked to be relieved of his responsibilities and returned soon thereafter to Macao. After Valignano left office as Visitor to India, Cabral became Provincial of India and Nicolao Pimenta was subsequently appointed as the new Visitor. With these changes, some confusion arose as to Valignano's official position, and a heated debate ensued between Valignano and Cabral as to whether the former had been appointed vice-provincial of Japan, and hence *subject* to the new Provincial of India (Cabral), or whether Valignano was to stay on in a new capacity as 'Visitor to Japan and China', and hence *independent* of the Indian Province.[40] They finally agreed that a committee [*consulta*] of 'experts' from among the Fathers in Goa should clarify the issue regarding their respective authority and status. As a result, it was established that, according to the correspondence that had come from Rome, the General did in fact intend Valignano to continue his work as Visitor to Japan and China. Moreover, in

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[39] For a brief history of this foundation see Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, 'Macao: The First Western University in the Far East', *Review of Culture* (Instituto Cultural de Macau), 21, 2nd series (X-XII.1994), 5-25.

[40] Valignano colourfully describes this debate in his twelfth letter to Aquaviva (Goa: 27.XI.1595) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 12 II, fols 323r-24v] in *DI*, XVII (1988), 329-38.

their view, he was *not* vice-provincial, and therefore was *not* subject to Cabral.[41] Valignano was thus free to carry out his duties as Visitor in accordance with the new terms restricting his authority to the Far East, an office he held until his death nine years later.

In April 1597 he left India and travelled via Cochin, Malacca, and Macao to Japan for the third time. In Macao he was informed of the crucifixion of the twenty-six Christians in Nagasaki by order of Hideyoshi two months before. Among those executed were six Franciscan friars from the Philippines, seventeen Japanese lay Christians, and three Japanese Jesuit *irmãos*. It was also brought to his attention that various Franciscans in Japan, including Fray Martín Aguirre de la Ascensión, who was among those executed, had compiled various *relaciones* in which they accused the Jesuits in Japan of hindering the missionary efforts of the friars in order to conceal their own scandalous life-style and unorthodox religious behaviour. It was these and other writings that occasioned a lengthy response by Valignano in the form of an *Apologia*, which he started to compose in Macao but only found the time to complete the following year, in October 1598.[42]

Soon thereafter, Valignano carried out his last visitation of the Jesuit mission in Japan, which began with his arrival on 5 August 1598 and lasted for four and half years. Hideyoshi had died a few months earlier and the mood among the missionaries was one of relief if not cautious optimism. After Tokugawa Ieyasu emerged as the new leader at the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, the Christian community and the Jesuits were plunged into uncertainty yet again, as some of the Christian lords had backed the unsuccessful side in the dispute between Ieyasu and his chief opponent, Ishida Mitsunari. The Christian lord, Konishi Yukinaga, also known as Don Augustino, a benefactor and protector of the Jesuits, was one of those singled out for public execution (as he refused to commit ritual suicide, *seppuku*).[43] Although his death dealt a severe blow to the mission in general and to the Jesuits in

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[41] See (Goa: 31.X.1595) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 32, fols 559^{r}-60^{r}] in *DI*, XVII (1988), 97-100. The 'consulta' refers to two letters by Aquaviva that had initially engendered the misunderstanding: the first to Francisco Monclaro (Rome: 14.I.1595) [**ARSI**: *Gall.*, 44, fols 25^{v}-26^{r}] in *Idem*, 30-31; and the second to Francisco Cabral (Rome: 17.I.1595) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 32, fol. 559^{r}] in *Idem*, 41-42.

[42] For the full title of this work and its recent edition, see note 33 above.

[43] See Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter*, pp. 193-94.

particular, Ieyasu decided that it was politically expedient to continue to be on friendly terms with the Jesuit missionaries and gave them limited freedom to preach openly for the first time since 1587. He was, in fact, anxious to maintain good trade relations with both the Portuguese and the Spaniards, and suspected that the missionaries might still be needed as mediators. This was to change only several years later when the Portuguese Jesuit, João Rodrigues, was replaced as official interpreter at court by Will Adams, the first Englishman to set foot in Japan when he arrived in 1600 aboard the Dutch ship, *De Liefde*.

With regard to the circumstances of the mission at the turn of the century, a perusal of Valignano's correspondence from this period shows that he was relatively pleased with the new developments following the demise of the Taikō, and was counting on a more tolerant stance from Ieyasu.[44] His letter to Robert Bellarmine in Rome, written from Nagasaki on 16 October 1601, is of special interest with regard to this period. His aim was to inform the Cardinal as to the latest vicissitudes of the Japanese Church in the hope of stimulating both interest and support for the affairs of the Far East. Some of the statistics provided in the letter are especially valuable. The Visitor lists the following figures: 107 Jesuits in Japan besides the Jesuit bishop, Luis Cerqueira; 23 houses and residences of the Society; 250 Japanese lay assistants or *dōjuku*; three hundred thousand Christians, of which one hundred and fifty thousand are in the kingdoms of Arima and Ōmura and eighty thousand reside in the kingdom of Higo. Besides these numbers, he also mentions another important and historic event in the history of Christianity in Japan, the ordinations to the priesthood of the first two Japanese Jesuits, Sebastião Kimura and Luis Niabara, in Nagasaki in September, 1601.[45] Two years later, on 15 January 1603, Valignano left Japan for the last time and spent the final three years of his life in Macao, where among other occupations he set about revising his *Principio*, his last word on things Japanese. The first draft had been written while still in Nagasaki in the spring of 1601. Death finally caught up with the Italian

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[44] See his numerous letters in **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 14 I.

[45] See Valignano to Bellarmine (Nagasaki: 16.X.1601) in **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 14 I, fols 81^{r}-82^{v}.

missionary and nobleman on 20 January 1606; he died at the age of sixty-seven, an old man for his day.[46]

Africa and Asia seen through the Eyes of an Italian

Wherever he travelled beyond the boundaries of Europe, Valignano, like many others before him, was confronted with new peoples, unknown and exotic customs, as well as complex social, political, and religious circumstances. Fortunately, the Visitor's intellectual struggle to come to terms with these experiences is well recorded in his copious and detailed reports, including his final reflections in the *Principio*. What made his interpretation of what he saw so significant in terms of the missionary enterprise as a whole in the East was the close link between his assessment of the situation and the policies he subsequently devised in response to his positive or negative evaluation, since he had the authority to implement the necessary changes on the basis of those perceptions. Japan is certainly the most notable case in this regard.

Although Valignano was usually quick to form a judgement, his views often underwent radical change over the years as he gradually grew more knowledgeable about his environment. In some cases, he even came to reverse completely or at least revise his previous assessments, and this is especially true with regard to his interpretation of people and events in Japan and China. However, some of the opinions he formed on the basis of his first impressions outside of Europe, such as those regarding Africa, remained unaltered till the very end of his life because of his lack of a prolonged experience in that region.

During his brief interlude in Mozambique, his first encounter with a non-Caucasian people, Valignano writes to Mercurian describing the Monomotapa tribes but can scarcely find anything to say to commend them:

> Questa gente di Manopotappa [...] è di pochissima capacità [...] mi dicono che è incapacissima della nostra santa lege et costumi [...] il che non solo si causa

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[46] For an interesting anonymous panegyric of the Visitor's life see **BAL**, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-5, fols 67^{v}-70^{v} and 49-VI-8, fols 85^{r}-88^{r}. For an English translation with commentary, based on the first of these two MSS, see J. M. Braga, 'The Panegyric of Alexander Valignano, S. J. (Reproduced from an Old Portuguese Codex) with an Introduction and Notes', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 5 (1942), 523-35.

> per la bassezza d'ingegno che naturalmente hanno [...] ma aggiuta molto la barbarie et ferocità di vita et vitii che tengono, poiché vivono come huomini bestiali.[47]

Valignano's main concern is to underline their lack of *rational ability*. Without a *natural aptitude* to assent to the faith, he is convinced that the prospects of missionary work among them are indeed bleak. Augustinian overtones dominate the argument he employs to resolve the issue. He concludes that such fundamental deficiencies manifest an inevitable if not mysterious judgement of divine providence, whereby that land

> per giusto giuditio, ancorché occulto, di Nostro Signore è lasciata in questa quasi incapacità et riputata come terra infruttuosa et sterile et riprobata, non dà speranza per molto tempo di frutto nesuno.[48]

Consequently, he feels that it will be more fruitful to concentrate missionary efforts in India and further East. His reflections on the African tribes are well summarized in his first *Historia* of the Indies, written in 1583. Having already visited India, Malacca, Macao, and Japan by that time, he is in a position to make comparisons and concludes that the people of Mozambique

> hé gente [...] de tão estranhos e bárbaros costumes que são tidos de menos capacidade e entendimento de quantas nações há neste Oryente.[49]

With regard to India, his appraisal is slightly more positive, although he seemingly contradicts himself when, in speaking of the low level of learning among the people of the subcontinent, he affirms that

> es también toda la gente ygnorante, como quien no tiene ninguna suerte de letras ni de sciencias, aunque comúnmente en todas las naciones saben leer y escrevir en su lengoa. Y escriven en unas ojas de palmeras de las quales hazen libros.[50]

It would at first appear difficult to reconcile the Visitor's remarks on 'ninguna suerte de letras' with his claim that there is a widely diffused ability to read and write and his

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[47] See Valignano to Mercurian (Mozambique: 7.VIII.1574) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 12 I, fol. 197ʳ] in *DI*, IX (1966), 402. For a partial English translation of this text see *VMJ-E*, I/1, 131.

[48] See Valignano to Mercurian (Mozambique: 7.VIII.1574) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 12 I, fol. 197ʳ] in *DI*, IX (1966), 404. Valignano is here echoing Augustine's *Sermo*, 301, chap. 3 in ***PL***, XXXVIII, 1481 (cited in *Idem*, 404, note 31).

[49] See Valignano, *Historia (1542-64)*, 394.

[50] See Valignano's *Sumario Índico*, II (Shimo: VIII.1580) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 6, fol. 5ᵛ-6ʳ] in *DI*, XIII (1975), 146.

acknowledgement of the existence of books in the various regional languages. An explanation may perhaps be found in his humanist conception of 'letras' as a higher form of literary culture that transcends the basic levels of literacy. Obviously, he was unaware of the vast corpus of Indian literary and philosophical works when writing these words. As with the African tribes, he reflects on the aptitude of the Indians to become Christians. He fears that the task will be exceedingly difficult:

> Y como no se mueven *por razón* son dificílimos para se convertir [...] y comúnmente ninguno se convierte por *moción interior* del spiritu ni *por razón* [*my italics*].[51]

An evaluation presented in such terms would seem to allow us to speak here *literally* of a *preiudicium* in Valignano's mind, and which is repeated time and time again in his writings regarding the peoples *citra Gangem*, in that he never fails to contrast their shortcomings with the extraordinary potential of the 'white people' *ultra Gangem* , i.e. of Japan and China. In view of his rather disappointing experiences, this would be relatively unremarkable were it not for the fact that he is singing the praises of Japan and China even *before* having sailed east of Malacca. This is plainly illustrated in his comparison of the peoples of Asia written two years before first setting foot on Japanese soil:

> È commune a tutta questa gente (non parlo hora della Cina né del Giapone che è gente como si è detto bianca) l'essere di poco primore et di poca capacità et più tosto (como dice Aristotele) di sua natura nata per servire che per commandare.[52]

In his attempt to distinguish the civilized man from the barbarian and the respective roles assigned to each by virtue of *nature*, Valignano falls back on the criteria set forth in Aristotle's *Politics*:

> Authority and subordination [*archein to archesthai*] are conditions not only inevitable but also expedient; in some cases things are marked out from the moment of birth to rule or to be ruled.[53]

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[51] See *DI*, XIII (1975), 146.

[52] See *Idem*, 144.

[53] See the *Politics*, I.i.8: 1254a22 in Aristotle, XXI, trans. by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, 264 (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1932; repr. 1990).

> For he is by nature a slave [...] who participates in reason so far as to apprehend it but not to possess it.[54]
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> It is manifest therefore that there are cases of people of whom some are freemen and the others slaves by nature [*fusei*].[55]

Such are the considerations that informed Valignano's initial assessment of the Indies. The above descriptions are taken from his first systematic attempt to write a work on the state of affairs in the Indies of the Portuguese *Padroado* for the benefit of the General in Rome. He composed the first draft of this work over a period of several weeks (22 October - 8 December 1577) during his stay in the port of Malacca. His principal aim was to explain in far greater detail than in his previous letters the present circumstances of the Indian Province. Originally divided into thirty-four chapters, the work is called the *Sumario de las cosas que pertenecen a la Provincia de la India Oriental y al govierno della*, and is also often referred to simply as the *Sumario índico*. The summary underwent several subsequent revisions, the most important of which was that of 1580, which coincides with his first visitation of Japan. In this later version of the *Sumario índico* several new chapters were added: one on China, three on Japan, and another on Ethiopia. What is characteristic of the *Sumario índico* as well as of his later *Sumario de las cosas de Japón* is the way in which he combines detailed descriptions with numerous recommendations as to how to improve the administration of the Jesuit enterprise in the region. In rhetorical terms, the vast majority of his writings thus display a *deliberative* function, linked invariably to the pursuit of proper government. The questions, *quid faciendum* and *quomodo faciendum* inform his style of argumentation throughout.

In spite of his initial pessimism at the sad state in which he found the Indian mission, writing in 1583, he has come to modify to a considerable extent his views with regard to the natural ability of the people in India:

> Es comúnmente de *poco entendimiento* esta gente, por ser ruda y que ninguna manera tiene de sciencias [...] aunque hay muchos entre ellos que saben mucho y son de *muy delicado entendimiento* [...] algunos hay también, que saben alguna cosa de astrología y medicina, y saben tan a punto los eclypsis como nosotros. Comúnmente saben escribir, y componen sus livros de historias y de canciones en prosa y verso; y finalmente es gente que, aunque

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[54] *Politics*, I.ii.13: 1254b21-23.

[55] *Politics*, I.ii.15: 1255a1.

> comparada a los de Europa son viles y baxos, todavía *son hombres racionales* [...] y tienen su manera de saber y policía: y después que se hazen christianos, si son bien cultivados, *son capaces de enseñança y doctrina* [*my italics*].[56]

Consequently, he was determined to promote the formation of a local clergy, which he believed to be an essential condition for the development of the Church in that country. The first step was the establishment of 'seminarios' for children and 'colegios', where the future clergy could study the liberal arts and theology. In his *Sumario índico*, chap. 35, he lists three principal reasons for this policy. Besides the two practical reasons, namely the inability of the Society to sustain the whole mission on its own and the general shortage of clergy, he gives another more compelling reason, which reflects the more fundamental issue of the assimilation of the faith by the natives:

> hasta que los naturales no se hagan clérigos, y no se acostumbren al culto divino, y no aprendan por sciencia las cosas de nuestra fee, está en todas las partes la christiandad colgada por un hilo, sin fundamento ny raíz interior para se poder conservar mucho tiempo.[57]

Once again the rational and free act of faith, based on a solid foundation of doctrinal knowledge, is, in Valignano's view, the only guarantee of true assimilation of Christianity. What is new is his belief that the Indians will be able to take on this arduous task of constructing a local Church by themselves, provided that they receive the necessary training.

In contrast with the 'deficiency' in natural potential to become good Christians among the inhabitants of Africa, and the serious limitations he perceived in the peoples of India, *citra Gangem*, the Japanese are placed in a completely different category. The reason for this enthusiastic interest in Japan emerges from his observations on the national character and religious inclinations of the Japanese. Among the numerous reports he compiled, the *Sumario de las cosas de Japón*, written in 1583, is particularly significant, as it provides both a summary of his assessment of the situation of the Japanese and the Church at the end of his first visitation of that country as well as detailed proposals for resolving the major problems he encountered in the administration of the mission. From this point of view, the Japanese *Sumario* is undoubtedly one of the most original works if not the most important one that he

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[56] *Historia (1542-64)*, p. 30.

[57] See *Sumario índico* (Shimo, Japan: VIII. 1580) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 6, fol. 49ᵛ] in *DI*, XIII (1975), 290. See also his remarks in the first draft of the *Sumario* (Malacca: 22.XI-8.XII.1577) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 31, fol. 375ᵛ] in *Idem*, 115.

ever wrote. In chapter six, entitled 'De la importancia de esta empresa y del grande provecho que se hace y está para hacer en Japón', he confidently states that

> entre todas estas gentes de Oriente, hasta ahora, vemos que solamente los japones se mueven a hacerse cristianos de su *libre voluntad*, convencidos de la *razón* y con *deseo* de su salvación, siendo común a todas las demás gentes de este Oriente moverse a recibir nuestra fe por respetos humanos y por sus intereses, de lo cual se sigue que reciben los japones mucho mejor nuestra doctrina y *hácense capaces* de ella y de los sacramentos en breve tiempo [*my italics*].[58]

With regard to the question of 'religious inclinations', writing almost twenty years later, in *Principio*, chapter 8, he is inspired to compare Japanese religion with that of the ancient Romans. This is of particular interest inasmuch as it shows his concern for Classical models, a central *topos* in humanist thought.[59] In the following text, a rare instance in which he comments on Buddhism in *Principio*, Valignano defends some of the teachings of the Bonzes with whom he is elsewhere constantly taking issue:

> se puede con verdad dezir que ninguna gentilidad (entrando también en este número los Romanos, quando eran gentiles) fue tan modesta y honesta como son los Japones, porque, aunque no falten muchos peccados entre ellos, todavía, en la verdad, no hay entre ellos las deshonestidades públicas y autorizadas como huvo siempre entre otras gentilidades. Porque ni las sectas de sus Bonzos cuentan de sus Fotoques [=*Hotokes*, i. e. Buddhist deities] las deshonestidades de Júpiter, de Venus, y de Cupido, y de otros Diozes bien deshonestos que adoravan aun los Romanos. Porque, aunque digan muchas fábulas dellos, todavía todas son de virtud y de honestidad, y ellos encomiendan en sus sectas mucho el apartarse de los sentidos y de las cosas deste mundo, y dan también mui buenos preceptos morales. Aliende desto, no hazen ninguna manera de fiestas ni de otras cosas en público que parescan deshonestas, como hazían los Romanos la fiesta de Flora su Deosa, de Venus, de Priappo, de Bacho, y de otros demonios torpes, porque en Japón todas sus fiestas son modestas y honestas en lo exterior.[60]

Valignano is quite explicit in stating that he believes that there are aspects of Japanese religion that are equal to or even superior to their European Classical counterparts. Although

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[58] See *Sumario*, p. 132.

[59] For the importance of classical models in a Europe struggling intellectually to come to terms with the unfamiliar peoples of America, see Sabine MacCormack, 'Limits of Understanding: Perceptions of Greco-Roman and Amerindian Paganism in Early Modern Europe', in *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*, ed. by Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 79-129.

[60] See *Principio*, 8, fols 36^{v}-37^{r} (= vol. II, 52). Note: all references to *page numbers* in *Principio* are to my edition of the text in volume II of the present edition).

the Visitor did not attempt to engage in what today would be called 'inter-faith dialogue', he acknowledged the importance of studying Buddhist doctrine in order to acquire the skills necessary to participate in philosophical and theological disputations with the Bonzes and other learned men of Japan.[61] Thus, the Visitor's approach to Japan's native religions, though critical, is not one of total rejection or disapproval.

At the same time, Valignano was not blind to what he perceived as the defects in character of the Japanese. These are spelt out in full in the correspondence to Europe during his first stay in the country, and in particular in the above-mentioned *Sumario de las cosas de Japón* and in his first history of the Jesuit missions in the Indies, the *Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales*, both composed in 1583. What is noteworthy is that, whereas his initial assessments tend to be harsh as a result of having taken the *costumbres de Japón* at face value, he goes to great lengths in his later works, and especially in *Principio*, to adopt a more subtle and even apologetic approach towards customs that he had previously condemned. An intermediate phase between the *Sumario*, his first *Historia*, and *Principio*, is represented by the *Adiciones del Sumario de Japón*, which he penned in 1592 with the purpose of bringing up to date some of the descriptions of Japan and the policy recommendations found in his *Sumario*. The change of tone in his writing over the years is evident in that he often shifts from a severe judgement to a more moderate interpretation of the same phenomenon. This tendency is eloquently illustrated in his comments concerning the natural cruelty of the Japanese and their widespread practice of infanticide and abortion.[62]

La 4ª calidad [mala desta gente] es que son muy crueles y fáciles en matar [...] porque por levíssimas causas matan a sus súbditos y no estiman en más cortar a un hombre de medio a medio que si fuera un perro [...] y lo que aun es más cruel y contra todo orden	**La 4ª qualidad mala es que son muy crueles y fáciles en matar, porque por leves cosas matan a sus súbditos, y no estiman en más cortar a un hombre la cabeça o de medio a medio que si fuera un puerco [...] y lo que aun es más cruel y contra todo el orden de**

[61] Although he regarded Japanese religions as distortions of the truth, he did acknowledge positive elements in them. Furthermore, and of greater significance, was his willingness to engage in an intellectual dispute with Shintoist and Buddhist doctrines. For this purpose he composed the following work: *Catechismus christianae fidei, in quo veritas nostrae religionis ostenditur, et sectae Iaponenses confutantur* [...], 2 vols, *Liber primus* (Lisbon: António Ribeiro, 1586); *Liber secundus* (Lisbon: Manoel de Lyra, 1586).

[62] See also Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, pp. 95-101.

de naturaleza, las mesmas madres muchas vezes matan a sus hijos, o en su vientre, tomando cosas para mover, o poniéndoles los pies en en el pescueço, ahogándolos después de nacidos.
[*Historia (1542-64)*, chap. 18, pp. 140-41]

la naturaleza, las mismas madres muchas veces matan a sus hijos, o en su vientre tomando cosas para mover o poniéndoles los pies en los pescuezos, ahogándolos después de nacidos.
[*Sumario*, chap. 2, pp. 30-1]

> Aunque no se puede negar que los Japones con la profession que hazen de soldados y con las continuas guerras no sean fáciles en matar, con todo esso, en la verdad, no se pueden llamar hombres crueles y bárbaros [...] Y quanto a matar los hijos rezién nacidos, no hazen esto comúnmente, sino gente pobre y que les parece que no tienen modo para los sostentar, pareciéndoles que es menos crueldad matarlos quando son niños que dexarlos vivir toda la vida en continua pobreza y miseria.
>
> [*Principio*, 8, pp. 53-4]

Conversely, there were also positive qualities of the Japanese, such as their alleged ability to learn to read and write more easily than Europeans and their general level of intelligence, that Valignano realized he had exaggerated. Whereas in the *Sumario de Japón*, he extols the extraordinary talents of Japanese children, in *Principio* he takes a more moderate view and admits that, although it is true that they are in fact very industrious and clever, such comparisons are generally misleading and are best avoided.

Es gente muy capaz y de buen entendimiento, y los niños son muy hábiles para deprender todas nuestras ciencias y disciplinas, y decoran y aprenden a leer y escribir en nuestra lengua mucho más fácilmente y en menos tiempo que nuestros niños de Europa; ni en la otra gente baja hay tanta rudeza y incapacidad como en nuestra gente, antes comúnmente son todos de buenos entendimientos, bien criados y expertos.

[*Sumario*, chap. 1, p. 5]

Quanto a lo que dize que los Japones también exceden en el ingenio y memoria, no sólo a los demás orientales mas también a los Europeos, y que aprenden nuestras letras latinas y las artes más depriessa que los Europeos, estas comparaciones, como dixe, son odiosas, y ésta en la verdad fue demasiadamente encarecida [...] y aunque también es verdad que ella es gente de mui bien ingenio y buena memoria, todavía, como hasta agora no tuvieron sciencias ni están sus entendimientos exercitados en la especulación dellas como están los de Europa, no se puede en ninguna manera dizir que tienen más ingenio y habilidad para aprenderlas que los de Europa, mas basta dezirse dellos que tienen habilidad para las aprender.

[*Principio*, 8, p. 39][63]

[63] See Moran, *Idem*, pp. 151-3.

What these limited examples reveal is that for the most part, with some notable exceptions, the Visitor succeeded in keeping an open mind and was willing to modify his judgements and decisions when experience taught him that his previous assessment of the situation had simply been wrong. This was certainly true in the case of India and Japan. Unfortunately, we shall never know whether a prolonged stay among the people of Monomotapa would have compelled him to find positive and redeemable elements in a culture that he had found deficient in almost every respect.

The Question of Missionary Method: Accommodation and Education

We now turn to the central issue of how Valignano's numerous experiences were reflected in concrete policies through which he attempted to reorganize the mission in Japan. Soon after landing in the small port of Kuchinotsu, near Nagasaki, at the beginning of his first visit to Japan in July 1579, one of Valignano's first official acts was to convoke a 'Consulta', the principal forum for discussion among the missionaries.[64] Its purpose was to provide the mission Superior with a clear and detailed picture of the situation so that he could make the necessary decisions concerning the work of individuals as well as the objectives the Jesuits needed to pursue as a group. The consultation took place at three different venues over a period of two years. The first group assembled in Usuki (Bungo) in October 1580. The second gathering took place in Azuchi (Gokinai) in July 1581. The final assembly, which reconsidered some of the questions discussed during the previous two meetings, was held in Nagasaki in December 1581. The whole process was thus prolonged, 'porque os Padres se não podérão ajuntar todos em hum lugar pera se fazer esta consulta.'[65] Before his departure from the country on 20 February 1582, he officially endorsed the decisions which

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[64] Several manuscript copies of the deliberations of the Consult have survived: see **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 2, fols 42^{r} -69^{r} (1ª vía); Rome: Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emmanuele, *Fondo Gesuitico*, MS. 1482/3611/nr. 29 (2ª vía); and **ARSI**, *Iap.-Sin.*, 2, fols 4^{r}-34^{v} (3ª vía). This third and definitive version has the following title: *Consulta feita em Bungo pollo P.^{e} Alexandro Valignano Visitador da Ýndia no mês d'outubro de anno 1580 acerca das cousas de Japão.* For a complete list of MSS see *VMJ-E*, I/1, 407; 409.

[65] See the acts of the *Consulta* in **ARSI**: *Iap.Sin.*, 2, fol. 3^{v}.

he had taken as a result of the two-year long consultation and which were called 'resolutions' (*resoluções*) of the Visitor.[66] The two most significant events during this first visitation were the establishment of colleges for the education of Japanese youth in Funai in 1580, an outcome of the *consultas*, and the donation of the port of Nagasaki to the Society of Jesus by the Christian lord, Ōmura Sumitada, in the same year.[67]

Despite the bold policies that the Visitor was to implement as a result of these meetings, the consultations were a particularly difficult time for Valignano, whose first visit to Japan was marked from beginning to end by much uncertainty and disappointment. His initial experiences left him painfully disillusioned and shattered the image he had previously formed of a flourishing mission in Japan. He openly vents his frustration in a letter to the General in which he complains about the misleading and uncritical reports that had led him to idealize the situation of the Church in Japan.

> **En verdad puedo decir a Vuestra Paternidad que la differencia entre lo que yo encuentro en Japón por experiencia propia y las informaciones que me dieron en la India y aun en la China es tan grande como de lo blanco a lo negro.[68]**

He was especially troubled and confused in that, while he was relieved to see that the Japanese were truly a capable people, he felt forced to acknowledge that he had grave misgivings about some of their moral qualities. Unable to reconcile the reality with his perhaps unrealistically high expectations of the people whom Xavier had referred to as 'the best that have as yet been discovered', Valignano became depressed and was overwhelmed with feelings of anxiety as to what he should do to improve the situation.[69] Despite his initial pessimism, by the time the *consulta* began the following year, Valignano had recovered his sense of balance and was able to judge the situation with greater clarity. He concluded that much of the blame for what he perceived as the sadly inadequate state of the Jesuit mission

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[66] The Visitor signed the 'Resolutions' on 6.I.1582. For the text of the Resolutions there are several extant copies; see, for example, **ARSI:** *Iap.-Sin.*, 2, fols 70^{r}-86^{v} and 49, 223^{r}-38^{v}. For a list of other MS. copies see *VMJ-E*, I/1, 409.

[67] For more on the donation of Nagasaki see Diego Pacheco [=Yūki Ryōgo], *The Founding of the Port of Nagasaki* (Macao: Centro de Estudos Marítimos de Macau, 1989), pp. 29-45.

[68] Valignano to Mercurian (Kuchinotsu: 5.XII.1579) [**ARSI:** *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 I, fol. 242^{r}], cited in *Sumario*, p. 65*.

[69] See *VMJ-E*, I/1, 271-80.

lay with the methods adopted by Francisco Cabral, a zealous preacher and ex-soldier who had been sent to Japan in 1570 to succeed Cosme de Torres as superior of the mission. Writing to Aquaviva almost twenty years after his first visit to Japan, Valignano looks back at his own decisions and contrasts them at length with the policies of Cabral that in his opinion had been particularly detrimental to the Japanese mission. The Visitor identifies seven 'principles' (*principios*) that Cabral had followed in his dealings with the Japanese and which he is convinced were at the root of the problem: firstly, Cabral's adherence to strict disciplinarian methods, based on the belief that the Japanese brothers should be treated harshly (*in virga ferrea con açotes y palabras duras*); secondly, his belief that the Japanese and the Portuguese should always be treated differently; thirdly, his insistence that the Japanese should accommodate themselves to the foreigners and not vice-versa; fourthly, Cabral's continuous criticism of Japanese customs; fifthly, his conviction that, in order to ensure that the Japanese should not lose respect for their European superiors, they should not be taught either Latin or Portuguese or any other academic disciplines; sixthly, his refusal to establish seminaries or colleges where the Japanese could be trained for the priesthood; and finally, his opinion that the missionaries need not waste time learning the Japanese language except for the bare rudiments required for survival in the country.[70]

In an earlier communication to Mercurian, composed at the time of the first session of the consult in 1580, Valignano reports how Cabral's attitude had created profound resentment, disunity, and aversion (*grandísima desunión y aversión*) between the Japanese *dōjuku* and the European missionaries. Valignano, on the other hand, insists that the only way to undo the damage is to adopt exactly the opposite attitude and treat the Japanese as equals and with respect. Time and time again he speaks of adopting a kind manner (*il modo soave*) when dealing with others.[71] Moreover, he notes that those engaged as lay assistant catechists had been given little or no support in their religious life and practically no intellectual formation. Valignano points out the inherent contradiction in expecting them to

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[70] See Valignano to Aquaviva (Goa: 23.XI.1595) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 12 II, fols 315^{r-v}] in *DI*, XVII (1988), 261-64.

[71] Valignano speaks of the importance of 'il governo soave' in many letters. See for example Valignano to Mercurian (At sea between Cochin and Goa: 4.XII.1575) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 47, fol. 42^{r}] in *DI*, X (1968), 147.

be preachers and teachers [*predicadores y doctores*] to their own people, and at the same time denying them the means to prepare themselves for the task through proper studies [*no havían de tener ni saber ni sciencia*].[72]

What is strange about this controversy is that it was Cabral who had first made a case several years before Valignano's arrival in Japan in favour of the admission of Japanese into the Order and the creation of a centre where they could be trained to carry out their duties.[73] Upon receiving Cabral's requests, Valignano despatched a letter from India instructing him to hold a discussion on various matters pertaining to the government of the mission, including the status of the Japanese. A consultation of Jesuits working in the Ōmura and Arima districts was convened sometime in the latter part of 1576. Most participants agreed to forward proposals to the Visitor in favour of incorporating some of the *dōjuku* into the Society.[74] Their plans were temporarily put on hold, however, by Valignano and others in India, who felt that more information and consultation was needed before any decisions could be prudently reached with regard to such an important matter.[75] It therefore remains unclear what ultimately prompted Cabral to change his mind and oppose so vehemently less than five years later Valignano's plans, which were in part based on some of his own recommendations. Schütte notes that from the outset Cabral's proposals had, in fact, cautiously sidestepped the issue of allowing the Japanese brothers to be promoted to the study of humanities and philosophy.[76] Whilst acknowledging the necessity of working together with the Japanese, it would seem that Cabral had had a much less daring scheme in mind, and

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[72] See Valignano to Mercurian (Usuki: 27.X. 1580) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 I, fols 298^{r-v}] in *VMJ-G*, I/2, 488-90.

[73] See *VMJ-E*, I/1, 221-22; 230-38.

[74] For Cabral's report to Valignano on the consultation held in the port of Kuchinotsu, see **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 II, 13a-d, cited in *VMJ-E*, I/1, 231, note 192.

[75] See 'Pregunta 44: Se se ha de hazer collegio en Malaca o en la China o en Japón' of the Indian Mission Consult (Chorão: 6-18.XII.1575) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 47, fols 29^{v}-30^{r}] in *DI*, X (1968), 292-93.

[76] See *VMJ-E*, I/1, 237.

certainly had never intended for the Japanese *irmãos* to be afforded an equal standing within the Order.[77]

Valignano soon came to the conlusion that a solid religious formation and education in the humanities for the native Japanese *irmãos* held the key to overcoming what he saw as a crisis which he feared would otherwise lead to the imminent 'ruin of the Society of Jesus'.[78] One recalls how he had proposed an almost identical solution to the development of the Church in India in spite of certain misgivings about the intellectual and moral aptitude of the native populations of the subcontinent. Unlike India, however, he strongly advocated the admission of Japanese into the Society of Jesus. In a report to the General written on 27 October 1580 Valignano justifies this historic decision by reiterating his conviction that -

> quando los Jappones fueren desta manera tratados y pasaren por las probationes del noviciado y aprendieren las sciencias nesasarias, saldrán muy buenos obreros, y tales que no les harán ventaja los de Europa. Porque, a la verdad, ellos son muy capaces y de grande ingenio, y tienen naturalmente subjecto pera inprimir el Spíritu del Señor en ellos muy grandes cosas [...] y son en las adversidades y trabajos muy sofridos y pacientes, y en estudiar muy assiduos y diligentes.[79]

In fact, both he and those who attended the *consultas* were convinced that this was the only viable way of ensuring the continuity of the mission ['éste era único y verdadero remedio para la conversión y conservación de Japón'].[80] As a result, a 'seminario' was set up in Arima in the spring of 1580. Around the same time, another seminary was founded in the Gokinai region (Azuchi) on a plot of land donated by Nobunaga himself. The establishment

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[77] See Cabral's bitter denunciation of Valignano's admission of too many Japanese into the Order and the imminent disaster he foresees as a result in his letter to the Portuguese Assistant, João Álvares (Goa: 10.XII.1596) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 32, fol. 585^{v}; 586^{r}] in *DI*, XVIII (1988), 610-11; 613-14.

[78] See Valignano to the General (Usuki: 27.X.1580) in **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 I, fol. 298^{r}, published in *VMJ-G*, I/2, 487.

[79] See *Idem*, fol. 299^{r}, in *VMJ-G*, I/2, 492.

[80] See especially the following questions (*preguntas*) discussed at the *Consulta*: 'Pregunta 5^{a}: si se deben hacer seminarios de los naturales japones' (see *Sumario*, p. 172 for the above citation); 'Pregunta 8^{a}: si es bien hacer en Japón algunas casas en las quales los Nuestros vivan juntos a manera de colegio'; 'Pregunta 10^{a}: si se deben recibir los jappones en la Compañía' [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 2, fols 49^{r}-50^{v}, 54^{r}-56^{r}, and 57^{v}-58^{r}], published respectively in *Sumario*, pp. 172-74, 106-110, and 181-83. These decisions were subsequently incorporated into chapters 12-14 of Valignano's *Sumario de las cosas de Japón*, in which discusses at greater length the same issues.

of a 'collegio' in Funai followed in October, and the novitiate was inaugurated on Christmas Eve of the same year. Whereas the novitiate was to initiate suitable candidates into the religious life, the purpose of the seminaries was to provide a general education in the 'humanities and other sciences [*humanidad y más sciencias*]. This included learning to read and write in Latin and Japanese, proper behaviour [*buenas costumbres*], and the etiquette, customs, and ceremonies [*cortesías, costumbres, y ceremonías*] proper to Japan. The entire programme was to be informed by a pursuit of virtue and sound doctrine [*buena doctrina*].[81] The college, on the other hand, was to provide higher-level studies in both European *and* Japanese humanities. Although a further discussion of the vicissitudes of the Japanese colleges exceeds the scope of the present study, it is important to note that education was one of the cornerstones on which Valignano chose to build his missionary policy.[82]

This went hand in hand with another equally important strategy, namely the Visitor's determination to avoid presenting the Christian message in an exclusively European cultural format. Although he had already rejected such tendencies in Cabral's methods and mentality, the Visitor was still in search of practical and viable alternatives. It was at this time that he came into contact with several Japanese Christian noblemen, namely Ōmura Sumitada (Don Bartolomeu), Arima Harunobu (Don Protásio), and Ōtomo Yoshishige (Don Francisco). These were the most prominent figures of the Japanese Church, without whose continued support the very existence of Christianity would have been virtually impossible. And thus, when Valignano saw they agreed in their criticisms of the behaviour of the missionaries, he knew that he would have to take their grievances seriously and find an acceptable solution. The Japanese noblemen seem to have been unanimous in their insistence that, if the Jesuits were going to succeed at all in bringing the faith to the people of Japan, they would have to adopt the customs and etiquette of their host county.[83] Don Francisco, in particular,

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[81] See *Sumario*, pp. 170-75.

[82] For a more detailed exposition see my 'Jesuit Humanist Education in Sixteenth-Century Japan: The Latin and Japanese MSS of Pedro Gómez's "Compendia" on Astronomy, Philosophy, and Theology (1593-95)' in *The Latin and Japanese MSS of Pedro Gómez's Compendia*, ed. by Kirishitan Bunko, Sophia University, 3 vols (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1997), III, 11-60.

[83] Valignano quotes what these three lords told him in a letter to Aquaviva (Goa: 23.XI.1595) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 12 II, fols 315^{v}-316^{r}] in *DI*, XVII (1988), 266-68.

impressed the Visitor with his sophisticated artistic and literary tastes, as well as his skills in local government, and convinced him that Japanese formality had to be respected lest the missionaries become the laughing stock of the samurai class and end up damaging their cause even further. Ōtomo also did not hesitate to remind Valignano that he had personally heard Cosme de Torres say that Xavier had always enjoined the missionaries to accommodate themselves insofar as possible to the ways of the Japanese.[84] Thus, it is not implausible to say that Ōtomo's influence was decisive in what the Visitor did next. Persuaded by the arguments he had heard from both the Japanese and his fellow Jesuits, he decided to compose a set of guidelines that would carefully regulate the way the Jesuits behaved both within their own houses of residence among themselves and in their dealings with others.

An area of special concern was the proper observance of etiquette when receiving guests and paying visits to the houses of the Japanese. Every effort was to be made to respect local customs or *katagi* (from which the term *catangues* was coined), especially with regard to forms of courtesy. These norms, composed in Bungo in October 1581, were entitled *Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumes e catangues de Jappão*. The work is extremely detailed and offers a practical guide to everyday life, including dress, food, table manners, cleanliness, and the use of honorific forms when addressing people of a different rank from one's own. Not only does it reflect a detailed knowledge of Japanese life, it also advocates the imitation within the Society of Jesus of the social organisation and structure of the leading Zen temple in Kyoto, the Nanzenji.[85] Although these rules were formulated as a result of the discussions of the *consulta* of 1580, which had expressed the need for greater adaptation to local circumstances, it is unlikely that the Fathers were prepared for what Valignano finally presented them with.[86] When Aquaviva in Rome read a copy of the *Advertimentos e avizos*,

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[84] See *Sumario*, p. 130*.

[85] This work has been edited and translated into Italian by Josef Franz Schütte, as *Il Cerimoniale per i missionari del Giappone*, Raccolta di studi e testi, 13 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1946). This edition is bilingual and also provides the original Portuguese text. For more on this work see Schütte's introduction, pp. 1-115 and his description of this work in *VMJ-E*, I/2, 155-90.

[86] See Questions 17-19, published in *Sumario*, pp. 241-48 and chapter 23 of the *Sumario de las cosas de Japón* (1583): 'Del modo que han de guardar los Padres en Japón, así en casa como fuera' in *Sumario*, pp. 230-49.

he was not altogether pleased with some of the more creative aspects of Valignano's guidelines, such as the close adherence to Buddhist temple ranks. As a result, on Christmas Eve, 1585 he sent a long letter to the Visitor expressing some of his more serious doubts with regard to the *Advertimentos e avizos* and the potentially negative impact they might have on religious life in the Society. The first chapter of the treatise proved to be, in effect, the most controversial and was subsequently redrafted by Valignano. It carries the title, 'Do modo que se ha de ter pera aquirir e conservar autoridade tratando com os Jappoens' and is centred around the careful consideration of one's own dignity [*dignidade*] and rank *vis-à-vis* the Bonzes. The General reminds the Visitor that it is not honour but rather the simplicity and poverty of Christ crucified that should inform the Jesuit way of proceeding, especially when preaching the Gospel among non-Christians.[87] Valignano promptly wrote back and tried to justify some of the more problematic passages by reassuring the General that the guidelines he had drafted were not meant to contradict the fundamental values of religious humility and poverty. A long period of revisions and adjustments followed until finally in 1592, at the end of the first Provincial Congregation of the Jesuits in Japan, the *Advertimentos e avizos* were superseded by a new set of norms that covered similar ground but dropped completely the conformity to Buddhist ranks and the pursuit of 'dignidades e homrras'.[88] Valignano's original and bold attempt to redefine the very framework within which religious life functioned by giving precedence to structures and institutions alien to traditional western Christianity had certainly alarmed Rome, and thus his experiment was ultimately abandoned. It was undoubtedly Valignano's initiatives in Japan, such as that of the *Advertimentos e avizos*, that also gave impetus to developments in China. From the outset he had encouraged Matteo Ricci to study the language and etiquette of the mandarins and become fluent in their Classics. Ricci acknowledges the authorship of this novel approach, to which he was to lend his own personal genius, when he refers to the Visitor as 'the first founder of this enterprise of China.'[89]

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[87] See Schütte, *Il Cerimoniale*, pp. 37-41.

[88] See the *Regulae Provinciae Iaponiae* in **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 2, fols 88r-148r.

[89] See Matteo Ricci, *Storia dell'introduzione del cristianesimo in Cina*, II, 362, nr. 774, line 4. See also *ibid.*, I, 221, nr. 275, lines 19-20, where he calls Valignano 'the first author of this mission

In more general terms, we may ask what all this is telling us about Valignano and his impact on the development of the mission in Japan. The conscious choice by the Visitor to implement a policy of *cultural accommodation and adaptation* to Japanese culture and customs may very well be taken for granted today and deemed relatively unremarkable, but such an approach was nevertheless quite pioneering and even revolutionary for his time. In this regard, it seems safe to say that Cabral's 'intransigent' attitude and his apparent unwillingness to compromise, far from being unusual, represented the norm rather than the exception among European missionaries in Asia during the sixteenth century. It has been pointed out how by that time 'Europeanism' had become 'so deeply entrenched and the principle of accommodation so little understood' that 'the identity of Christianity and European cultural forms and social customs was taken for granted.' In such an intellectual milieu, 'slight concessions to non-European usages or attitudes ran the risk of being regarded as a betrayal of the faith.'[90]

The Intellectual Roots of his Vision

But how did Valignano's missionary strategies and policies described above fit in with the world in which he was living, and to what extent were they a reflection of the intellectual trends and controversies of his time? In commenting on Valignano's writings and policies, and especially his insistence on adaptation to Japanese culture, most authors mention his 'humanist' mindset as a determining key factor in his assessment of Japan and his reactions to the peoples of Asia. An example of his 'humanism' is often sought in the apparent contrast between the Visitor's approach to Japan and that of his principal detractor, Francisco Cabral. The Japanese historian, Ide Katsumi, has, in fact, suggested that the disagreement between the two missionaries was rooted not simply in conflicting strategies but in divergent conceptions of humanity itself. In his view, Cabral, the Portuguese soldier turned missionary, interpreted what he judged negatively in Japan as *inherent* and incorrigible defects in the

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[il primo autore di questa missione]'. For the full bibiliographical reference see note 1 above.

[90] See G. H. Dunne, *Generation of Giants. The First Jesuits in China* (Notre Dame, IN/London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962), p. 228. See also Andrew C. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, p. xv.

character of the people. Valignano, the Italian with a humanist education, on the other hand, was supposedly able to see not only the defects of the Japanese, which he considered *extrinsic* and therefore reformable, but also their *intrinsic* natural goodness and *potential* for human perfection through openness to divine grace.[91] In fact, a comparison of the writings of Valignano and Cabral would seem to justify the notion that they did *not* share a common anthropological world-view. But it is also true that, whereas Valignano sees the defects of the Japanese as *extrinsic*, he appears to judge the defects of the black tribes of Mozambique, and to a lesser extent those of the Indian people, as *intrinsic*, i. e. part of their very nature. How then did Valignano's background in the the humanities, law, philosophy, and theology contribute to this difference between his view of the Japanese and of the rest? And to what degree are his views consistent?

At the level of philosophical presuppositions and argumentation, his judgements clearly reflect an Aristotelian framework. This can be accounted for at least in part by his legal training at the University of Padua, which was the foremost centre for Aristotelian studies during the Italian Renaissance, and his studies at the Collegio Romano, where Aristotle occupied a privileged position in the philosophical curriculum.[92] In spite of the deep dissatisfaction with Aristotle expressed by leading Italian humanists like Petrarch, Bruni, and Valla, he was arguably still the single most studied philosopher during the *Rinascimento* inasmuch as his ideas continued to dominate many of the intellectual debates

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[91] See Ide, Katsumi, 'Higashi Indo Junsatsushi A. Varinyano no Nihonjin-kan' [= The Japanese in the eyes of A. Valignano, Visitor of the East Indies], *Kirishitan Kenkyū*, 12 (1967), 377-442 (p. 381).

[92] See C. B. Schmitt, 'Aristotelian Textual Studies at Padua: The Case of Francesco Cavalli', in *The Aristotelian Tradition and Renaissance Universities* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984), xiii, pp. 287-314 (pp. 287-88); B. Brugi, 'La scuola padovana di diritto romano nel secolo XVI', in *Studi editi dall'Università di Padova a commemorare l'ottavo centenario dalla origine dell'Università di Bologna* (Padua: Tipografia del Seminario, 1888), III, 1-77 (pp. 43-44); P. Henrici, 'L'insegnamento della filosofia' *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 29 (1991), 33-41. For the place of Aristotle in the *Ratio Studiorum*, see *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*, 7 vols, ed. by László Lukács (Rome: IHSI, 1965-92), V (1986): *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu, 1586 1591 1599*, pp. 94-110; 279-84; 397-402 (Henceforth this series will be referred to as *MP*). See also the study by D. Bartlett, 'The Evolution of Philosophical and Theological Elements of the Jesuit "Ratio Studiorum": An Historical study, 1540-1599' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of San Francisco, 1984).

of the time.[93] It is thus perhaps not surprising that Aristotle's thought was often used to defend diametrically opposed theses.

It should suffice to recall the famous debate held in Valladolid, during which the Spanish jurist, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, availing himself twenty-five years earlier of the exact same text as in Valignano's *Sumario índico*, vigorously argued that it was legitimate to apply Aristotle's doctrine of natural slavery to the 'barbarous' Amerindians, against whom, in his opinion, the Spanish King had every right and even obligation to wage a 'just war'. On that occasion, even that great defender of the native peoples of the New World, Bartolomé de Las Casas, did not openly attack the validity of Aristotelian criteria for natural servitude but rather argued that the Indians met the necessary requirements for recognition as free men, and that therefore Sepúlveda's contentions were misconceived.[94] With regard to the issue of slavery, where did Valignano stand intellectually? Despite his statement upholding slavery on natural grounds, the Visitor appears to have taken a much more flexible view, unlike the unbending and fanatical convictions of Sepúlveda. In a letter dated 2 November 1569, Mercurian's predecessor, Francisco Borja, had explicitly instructed the previous Visitor to the East Indies, Gonsalvo Álvares, to do away with all slaves in the provinces of the Portuguese Assistancy of the Society. Yet only a few years later, Valignano overrode this decision and maintained that a relatively 'mild' form of servitude was a

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[93] On Aristotelianism and anti-Aristotelianism during the Renaissance see Paul O. Kristeller, 'The Aristotelian Tradition' in his *The Classics and Renaissance Thought*, Martin Classical Lectures, 15 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955), pp. 24-47. On Aristotelianism and Padua see also by the same author 'Thomism and Italian Thought of the Renaissance' in *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning*, ed. and trans. by Edward P. Mahoney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), pp. 27-91 (pp. 52-56; 71-77).

[94] For a detailed account of this debate see Lewis Hanke, 'The Great Debate at Valladolid, 1550-1551: The Application of Aristotle's Theory of Natural Slavery to the American Indian' in his *Aristotle and the American Indians. A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (Bloomington, IN/London: Indiana University Press, 1971), pp. 44-61. See also the following by Anthony Pagden: *Lords of All the World. Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France, c. 1500-1800* (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 97-102; 'The "School of Salamanca" and the "Affair of the Indies"', *History of Universities*, I (1981), 71-112; and *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination. Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory 1513-1830* (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 27-32.

practical and inevitable necessity.[95] He justified the practice on the grounds that the running of the colleges and residences in India would be almost impossible without these 'servants' or 'bondsmen'. He came to such a conclusion in spite of his own initial shock at finding so many slaves working in Jesuit houses and institutions throughout India. In response to the grievances that a number of Jesuits had voiced concerning the treatment the slaves were receiving and the dubious legitimacy in many instances of their state of servitude, he recommended that the legal status or 'title' of each slave should be scrupulously checked ['se examinen los justos títulos de los esclavos'] to ensure that abuses were not committed. He also gave orders that the slaves should be well treated, instructed in the faith, allowed access to the sacraments, and that those who had served for a long time should be given back their freedom in due course.[96] He thus attempted to resolve the issue to the satisfaction of the majority and did not find his decision particularly difficult to reconcile with his own ethical ideals or those of the Society of Jesus.[97] In the case of Japan, the Visitor did not approve of the slave trade, but he also did not completely exclude the possibility of legitimate slavery in the case of prisoners of war. He continued nonetheless to have grave misgivings about foreign involvement in the trade, which the Japanese found most repugnant. As a consequence, in 1598, the Jesuit Bishop, Luis Cerqueira, prohibited the Portuguese under pain of excommunication from buying Japanese slaves.[98] The question of slavery, though peripheral to this study, is a good example of Valignano's pragmatic rather than speculative approach to concrete problems.

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[95] See Valignano's Annotations to Letters from Generals (Chorão: 3.XI.1576) [**BNR**: *Mss Gesuitici*, 1255/n. 16, fol. 285r] in *DI*, X (1968), 638-39.

[96] See Valignano to Mercurian (At sea in between Cochin and Goa: 4.XII.1575) **ARSI**: *Goa*, 47, fols 55v-56r] in *DI*, X (1968), 214-15; Indian Mission Consult (Chorão: 6-18.XII.1575) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 47, fol. 23v]: 'Pregunta 20: Si podemos estar sin moços y esclavos en los collegios y residencias' in *Idem*, 265-66 and Valignano's Instructions for the Superiors of India (Goa?: April?, 1576) [**ARSI**: *Fondo Gesuitico*, 721 II 2, fol. 1v] in *DI*, X (1968), 522-23.

[97] On slavery and the Society of Jesus in the territories of the Portuguese *Padroado* see Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise* [...], pp. 502-27.

[98] See J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits* [...], pp. 106-110 (pp. 109-110).

With regard to this specific issue as well as other questions, the search for a *common rationality* as the foundation on which to build the Christian communities in Asia was an intellectual concern that invariably dominates the Visitor's *Weltanschauung*. It was, however, a preoccupation that he shared with many other missionaries on various continents struggling to come to terms with 'new' peoples and their 'strange' customs. The anxiety of Europeans to uncover similarities among themselves and the 'exotic' inhabitants of the New World is a well-known example.[99] Valignano was not unaware, in fact, of developments in the Americas. He mentions that he has read and holds in high regard the writings of his fellow Jesuit, José de Acosta, provincial superior of Peru.[100] It is interesting to note that his evaluation of the differences between the peoples of Africa, India, and Japan closely resembles and is consistent with the three categories of 'barbarians' mentioned in Acosta's famous missionary tract, *De procuranda Indorum salute*, published in Salamanca in 1588. According to this classification, the highest class of 'barbarians' are, in Acosta's estimation, the Chinese and Japanese, who have stable government, laws, magistrates, cities, and writing. In the second class are those like the Mexicans and Peruvians, who, though they do not possess the art of writing, still manifest many of the hallmarks of civility such as some form of common government, stable places of residence such as villages, organized self-defence resembling an army, and solemn religious rites. Finally, the third class is made up of those who barely rise above the level of bestiality, among whom no form of law and order can be discerned and who barely distinguish themselves from wild animals. Such barbarians live in many parts, including Brasil, Florida, Paraguay, and the Moluccas. All three groups merit the title 'barbarian' insofar as they fail, to varying degrees, to conform to the *recta ratio*. This does not mean, however, that the method of evangelization should be the same for all three groups. On the contrary, a different level of *conformity to reason* called for a different approach on the side of the missionaries. Thus, among the Chinese and the Japanese the

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[99] On the insistent search for a 'commonality' betwen Europeans and the inhabitants of the New World by thinkers such as Las Casas, who sustained the idea of the universality of rationality, see the remarks of John H. Elliott, 'Final Reflections. The Old World and the New Revisited', in *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*, ed. by Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), pp. 391-408 (pp. 398-99; 403).

[100] See his *Apologia* (1598), pp. 78-80 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 41, fols 27^{v}-28^{v}].

'proper' method, in Acosta's view, is that which the Apostles of the primitive Church employed among the peoples of Rome, Greece, and Asia minor.[101] With respect to this last group, we are immediately reminded of Valignano's opinion in *Principio*, cited earlier, that in many respects the Japanese can even be considered superior to the ancient Romans and Greeks. In this regard, he follows a line of reasoning similar to that of Las Casas, who was convinced that comparisons among the peoples of the ancient world and the Indies were not only valid, but often worked to the advantage of the inhabitants of the New World.[102] Whether it be Las Casas, Acosta, or Valignano, it would appear that, although the Golden Age of Antiquity remained a privileged point of reference and comparison, there was at the same time a rapidly growing realization that the peoples and customs of the ancient Mediterranean did not necessarily always provide the best model of civility. This intellectual 'discovery' had important repercussions on the controversial question of missionary methods. Under attack on various fronts during his third visitation of Japan as to the right way of preaching the Gospel, the Visitor deals with the issue indirectly in *Principio*, where he is anxious to show from an *historical* perspective that the Society has, in fact, conformed in Japan to the orthodox missionary way of proceeding of the Apostles, and that it was right to imitate them *in Japan* in the first place. His arguments are based on the underlying conviction that the Japanese are equal to if not better than the people of ancient times, and that therefore, if the Apostles respected Greek culture, then the missionaries were equally obliged to respect the civilizations of Japan and China. We shall see in Chapter IV how many of the *loci* he employs in his *historia sacra* of Japan and the arguments he presents as to the 'right' interpretation of that history are thus closely related to Acosta's own thought and historiographical style.[103] Where Valignano parts company with Acosta is over the latter's application of the term 'barbarian', even within the strictly defined limits of the *De*

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[101] See José de Acosta, *De procuranda Indorum salute (Predicación del Evangelio en las Indias)*, trans. and ed. by Francisco Mateos (Madrid: Ediciones España Misionera, 1952), pp. 45-9.

[102] See John H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970; repr. 1996), p. 48.

[103] On Acosta's theological anthropology see Claudio M. Burgaleta, 'The Jesuit Theological Humanism of José de Acosta (1540-1600): A Study in the History of Theology' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Boston College, 1996), pp. 175-242.

procuranda, to the Chinese and the Japanese. Valignano repeatedly makes it clear that such a designation cannot be used to describe the peoples of these two Asian nations.

This leads to another more general consideration with regard to Valignano's theological background. Not surprisingly, the Visitor exhibits many traits common to the early Jesuits of his time. The most fundamental of these was an intellectual *eclecticism* that did not consider classical humanism and scholasticism as incompatible schools of thought.[104] In using the term 'classical humanism' I follow the general definition given by Paul Oskar Kristeller: 'the scholarly, literary, and intellectual activity that centres around the *studia humanitatis*, that is, the study of the classical languages and literature, and the fields then labelled grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy.'[105] The acceptance by Valignano and his fellow Jesuits of the classical intellectual heritage as normative rested on the conviction that, from a Christian perspective, many moral and religious values to which they were committed, could be found in the pagan authors of Classical Antiquity.[106] Which came first, the acceptance of the intrinsic value of the *studia humanitatis* or the utilitarian recognition of the didactic and ethical value of such learning for preaching and education, is hard to determine, though it was probably the latter.

Whereas in their studies and teaching of the humanities, the Jesuits had invested heavily in this 'classical humanist' curriculum, which was subsequently enshrined in the various drafts of the *Ratio studiorum*, in theology Ignatius of Loyola had insisted from the outset that both *scholastic* and *positive* theology be taught, a recommendation that was incorporated into the Constitutions of the Order.[107] 'Positive' theology embraced the study of Scripture, the Fathers of the Church, and the decrees of the Councils. The teaching and

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[104] John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993; repr. 1995), p. 254.

[105] Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'The Contribution of Religious Orders to Renaissance Thought and Learning', in *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning*, ed. and trans. by Edward P. Mahoney, 2nd rev. edn (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), pp. 95-114 (p. 107).

[106] See John O'Malley, 'Renaissance Humanism and the Religious Culture of the First Jesuits', *Heythrop Journal*, 31 (1990), 471-87 (p. 485).

[107] See especially the annotations in the Constitutions, Part IV, chapters V, XII, and XIV, in *MP*, I (1968): *1540-1556*, pp. 215-17; 280-81; and 294-97.

interpretation of 'scholastic' theology, on the other hand, came to be influenced by the reforms that had been carried out by the Dominicans, Francisco de Vitoria, Domingo de Soto, Melchor Cano, and others who belonged to what is commonly referred to as the 'School of Salamanca'. The impact of this new method in Thomistic theology on the Society was such that in later years, among those who carried on the tradition of this school into the seventeenth century, we also find Jesuits, such as Francisco Suárez, and Luis de Molina. The first to introduce these ideas to the Collegio Romano in the sixteenth century was almost certainly another renowned Jesuit scholar, Francisco de Toledo. The main innovation that these theologians proposed, and that the Society showed an eagerness to adopt, was a more 'open' Thomism, based directly on the text of the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas rather than on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, which were soon relegated to a secondary role in Jesuit theological education.[108] Another equally important feature of this approach was the view held by the Dominicans in Salamanca, and which the Jesuits readily endorsed, that one need not follow Thomas's doctrines and argumentation *ad litteram*. In the *Ratio studiorum*, there are numerous references recommending that Thomas be followed in most cases, as his doctrine is both approved and secure. There is, however, always the accompanying proviso stating that this does not imply a prohibition against dissent from his thought. The 'Rules for the Professor of Scholastic Theology' of the *Ratio* of 1599 are a good example; therein, referring to the teaching of Aquinas's theology, the rule recommends that

> **non sic tamen Sancti Thomae astricti esse debere intelligantur, ut nulla prorsus in re ab ea recedere liceat; cum illi ipsi, qui se thomistas maxime profitentur, aliquando ab eo recedant; nec arctius nostros Sancto Thomae alligari par sit, quam thomistas ipsos.**[109]

These rules reflect what had already been advocated half a century earlier by Ignatius Loyola's secretary, Juan de Polanco, who, quoting Horace, voiced an important principle when he stated that those who study theology should follow Thomas's doctrine but *non*

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[108] See Candido Pozo, 'La facoltà di teologia del Collegio Romano nel XVI secolo', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 29 (1991), 17-32 (pp. 19-26); Riccardo G. Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù (1773)*, Analecta Gregoriana, 66: Series Facultatis Historiae Ecclesiasticae, Sectio A (n. 2) (Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University, 1954), pp. 111-15.

[109] See *MP*, V (1986), 386. The same is conveyed in the *Commentariolus* to the 1586 version of the *Ratio*; see *Idem*, 19.

tamen iurando in verba magistri so as to exclude other more valid opinions in a given instance.[110] Furthermore, Jerónimo Nadal, whose theological learning and insight had a decisive influence on Loyola's formulation of the early Society's *modus procedendi*, insisted that Jesuits should beware of reducing theology to pure abstraction and empty speculation, and called for a 'mystical theology', which was to be at once spiritual, from the heart, and practical ('spiritu, corde, practice').[111] His influence on Ignatius ensured that the warning not to preach in the 'scholastic fashion' was mentioned explicitly in the Constitutions of the Order.[112] During Valignano's last year of theological studies at the Collegio Romano in 1572, in a document entitled, 'De sacrae theologiae studiis', under the heading, 'modus docendi scholasticam theologiam', we read

> Cum inciderit locus, ubi utendum sit doctrina doctorum scholasticorum, non tractet scholastice, sed more doctorum sacrorum, et accommodate ad Scripturam.[113]

In view of these insistent and repeated warnings not to be a rigid Thomist, one may wonder in what way the Society's theologians were adhering to the other general principle, namely that they should follow Aquinas in most cases. It has been suggested that the early Jesuits most clearly reflected the thought of Thomas in the emphasis they gave to the compatibility between nature and grace.[114] The belief that grace cannot but build on nature certainly appears to be reflected in Valignano's near-obsession with establishing the level of *rationality* of the peoples with whom he came into contact and the degree to which he thought they were capable of making a *free* choice. If the Japanese people were worthy, in his judgement, of having the Gospel preached to them in the same way as the Apostles had preached it to the Greek diaspora and beyond, it was because of their *natural* ability to

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[110] See his 'Síguense 12 industrias con que se ha de ayudar la Compañía para que meior proceda para su fin', in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu (1540-1556)*, ed. by László Lukács, MHSI, 92 (Rome: IHSI, 1968), pp. 29-37 (p. 34).

[111] Jerónimo Nadal, *Comentarii de Instituto Societatis Iesu*, ed. by Michael Nicholau, MHSI, 90: Epistolae et Monumenta P. Hieronymi Nadal, V (Rome: IHSI, 1962), pp. 227-31, cited in O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 251.

[112] See O'Malley, 'Renaissance Humanism and the Religious Culture of the First Jesuits', p. 477.

[113] *MP*, II (1974): *1557-72*, p. 269.

[114] This has been repeatedly pointed out by John O'Malley; see his 'Renaissance Humanism and the Religious Culture of the First Jesuits', pp. 477 and 485; and *The First Jesuits*, pp. 249-50.

receive the necessary *grace* and to embrace the faith according to their own *free will.* The Japanese could be *persuaded* whereas others could not.

This approach would seem to suggest that the Visitor shared at least the same theological presuppositions as his fellow Jesuits in Europe. There is still, however, the question whether his ideas concerning the 'right' method in preaching the Christian faith in the East can also be said to conform to a more general Jesuit 'way of proceeding'. In other words, what were the recommendations relating to this matter formulated by the first Jesuits in the 1540s and 1550s and how far were Valignano's strategies and initiatives in harmony with them? John O'Malley has pointed out that, whilst the founding members of the Society may not have spoken of their approach in such terms, what pervaded all their ministries was a pronounced 'rhetorical *forma mentis*' that sprang precisely from this optimistic assessment of the relationship between nature and grace. Hence, if there was such a thing as a defining element in their *modus procedendi* and a primary concern of theirs in the pulpit and in the classroom, it was the rational appeal *and* the emotional impact of the message that they sought to convey.[115] As a consequence of this attention to persuasion, there could be no rigid rules to govern what the missionaries should or should not do or say in a given instance. The Constitutions of the Order thus impressed upon all members of the Society the importance of adapting their way of proceeding to the *place, time,* and *circumstances* in which they found themselves and to the *persons* who formed the 'audience' that they were addressing. The need to adapt the *form* that the message would take was the unifying criterion for all Jesuit activities, regardless of whether the ministry was among the prostitutes of Rome, the *indios* of Peru, or the samurai lords of Japan. From the beginning the Constitutions had been intended as a set of general principles that could be applied to very different contexts and not as a casuistic *vademecum* with ready-made solutions to every situation. Their structure reflected and built upon a similar precept already expressed in the *Spiritual Exercises*, which were both a prime vehicle and a blueprint for the ministry of the Society. In this sense, we can safely say that, for the most part, Valignano's missionary 'experiments' appear to be consistent with and fall within the boundaries of the framework that the Jesuits of the preceding generation had defined as normative. Moreover, the Visitor's insistence in

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[115] See O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, pp. 255-56.

Portugal and later in Japan on avoiding a rigorous manner in dealing with others and promoting instead a 'governo soave' also conform to what other Jesuits before him had advocated. It should suffice to mention the prominence given to 'flexibility' as a highly desirable character trait in candidates to the Society by Juan de Polanco and the call for a 'tender fashion' in the government of the Order by Francis Xavier.[116]

But if the Jesuit 'way of proceeding' was so well defined, why then did Valignano spend a good part of his life waging battles with fellow Jesuits? Several factors undoubtedly contributed to this situation. Firstly, the founding fathers had recently died and were no longer available for guidance and comments on their own vision for the Society. Secondly, as the Order rapidly expanded, new problems arose and the proper application of the Constitutions to the new circumstances became a question of interpretation. In conjunction with this need for clarification of what the founders *had* intended or *would have* intended, there were a number of influential members of the Order who held considerably divergent views. This was compounded by the fact that, during the 'second generation', most Jesuits felt justified in boldly expressing their own understanding of what the Order was meant to be. An established tradition did not yet exist and there was ample room for argument and disagreement. Finally and perhaps most significantly, the above-mentioned freedom which the Constitutions allowed individuals in experimenting with novel approaches in differing circumstances and parts of the world inevitably engendered much debate and controversy. Thus it is not surprising to see Valignano engaged in disputes with members of his own Order. Obviously, there were other reasons for this type of friction between the Visitor and his fellow Jesuits. Some of these have already been mentioned; others are discussed in the next chapter.

A final lingering question that has been voiced recently by a new generation of scholars of Asian and Latin American colonial history is that of the apparently narrowminded Eurocentrism of explorers and missionaries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who adopted 'classicist' criteria to judge and incorporate completely different civilizations into their *own* world.[117] The basic contention underlying many of these revisionist histories is that

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[116] See O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, pp. 81-2.

[117] Besides Edward Said's well-known work, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), on Latin America see Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy,*

such a mind-set inevitably led even the most enlightened European expatriates to produce writings in which they unwittingly provided the ideological impetus and justification for political domination and conquest. It is undeniable that Europeans often went to great lengths to justify present or future conquests and couch them in acceptable philosophical or theological language. Sepúlveda is but one example. The Spanish Jesuit, Alonso Sánchez, who in the 1580s composed over forty *Memoriales* in his tireless efforts to persuade Philip II to conquer China, is another. Nevertheless, this *conquistador*-style fervour does not seem to account for the whole picture.

Fermín del Pino has recently argued that with the coming of the Renaissance and a return to the serious study of the authors of Classical Antiquity, the humanists succeeded in broadening their intellectual horizons to the point where they were able to acknowledge the intellectual challenge posed by the experiences of the 'New World' and respond positively to it. He contends that as empirical evidence displaced and undermined the authority of ancient texts, many Europeans, far from clinging rigidly to old models, realized that new criteria were needed to explain adequately the physical and cultural phenomena they were observing. As a result, many scholars overcame to a considerable degree their previous ethnocentric perceptions. What is important, in his view, is to recognize that it was the dynamism and rigour inherent in the *studia humanitatis* that provided this impetus to search for new paradigms with which to redefine the world. How else, he asks, can one account for the major contribution made by chroniclers and missionaries to the development of a new anthropology and ethnography?[118]

But can one really compare the way Europeans reacted to the 'New World' with the way they behaved in Asia? After all, Europe could not claim that it had 'discovered' a new continent in the East Indies. This undeniable and qualitative difference in the very nature of their experience on the two continents notwithstanding, the encounter with Asia *also* called for a readjustment of previously held beliefs and the stretching of mental horizons. In the case of China, until the sixteenth century European knowledge had been limited to foggy

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Territoriality, and Colonization (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

[118] See Fermín Del Pino Díaz, 'Humanismo clasicista mediterráneo y concepción antropológica del mundo: el caso de los jesuitas', *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia*, 56/1 (1996), 29-50 (pp. 35-8.

notions of a semi-mythical kingdom of Cathay, as it had been described in the accounts of Marco Polo. Japan was even more remote and exotic and, until the arrival of the Portuguese in 1543, 'Zipangu' was little more than the name of a distant isle about which practically nothing was known. Thus, when the missionaries arrived in Japan and China, they too had no choice but to redefine their vision of the world. What caused them the greatest headache was their struggle to account for these highly civilized cultures *vis-à-vis* Europe's idea of absolute cultural superiority. It was the first time that they had come into contact with cultures that appeared to conform in almost every respect to the European ideal of civilization. As we have seen in the case of Valignano, this mental construction of a 'new world-view' is reflected in the gradual change that took place in his evaluation of the Japanese people and their customs and his bold programme of cultural eclecticism in writings like the *Avizos e advertimentos*.

Conclusion

This overview of Valignano's life and thought has brought together what might seem like an unlikely mix of people, events, and writings. Although the character sketch that emerges remains incomplete, it has hopefully helped to identify some of the more salient features of the *personage*. Perhaps the most important of these is the apparently discordant coexistence of conservative ideas with a vigorous determination to carry forward the missionary enterprise along new and uncharted paths. In the Visitor's career moments of uncertainty alternate with somewhat unusual expressions of self-confidence, persistence, and even authoritarianism. Hence, it was perhaps inevitable that Valignano's strong views and original experiments did not go unchallenged for long. A number of events in Europe and Asia came to alter completely the carefully devised mission strategies and policies of previous years. The criticisms of the Jesuit way of proceeding that emerged as a result of major political changes and upheavals in both the secular and ecclesiastical spheres in the 1580s and 1590s had an impact on Valignano's later writings, and especially on his interpretation of history, that cannot be overlooked. The ensuing controversy is examined in the following chapter.

Appendix

BAL: *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-IV-56, fols 203^{v} and 193^{r}:

[203^{v}] Facultates a Nostro Patre Generali Praeposito Patre Everardo concessae Patri Alexandro Valignano, Visitatori Indiae Orientalis.[1]

1. Poterit eligere ex Provinciis, per quas transierit, ultra eos quorum nomina scripta sunt in sua instructione, sex aut octo quos idoneos in Domino propter Indias iudicaverit, et hoc consentientibus eorum Superioribus.
2. Poterit ad professionem quattuor votorum, quam cautissime promovere quos tantum iudicaverit necessarios, modo sint idonei iuxta Constitutiones.
3. Poterit etiam promovere duos ad professionem trium votorum, si causae legitimae id postulare videbuntur.
4. Consultores suos habebit Provincialem et Consultores Provincialis cum commode poterit, et suum Socium, qui erit admonitor, et consultor, et quos alios re Domino commendata iudicaverit ad maiorem gloriam Dei et bonum Societatis expedire.
5. Poterit ad Societatem admittere quoscunque in Domino iudaverit idoneos.
6. Poterit cum admittendis dispensare in omnibus, praeter quam in essentialibus primis quinque impedimentis.
7. Poterit mittere ad Reverendum Patrem Generalem quemcunque iudicabit in Domino expedire, modo id non sit aliis scandalo.
8. Poterit dimittere ex Societate praeter professos, quoscunque alios iuxta 2. p. 9.
9. In iis qui accidunt, poterit dispensare eo modo, quo Generalis iuxta id quod p. 9. cap. 3, §8 Constitutionum et decretum.
10. Sic ubi aliqua ordinatione opus erit, poterit re diligenter perspecta, et cum suis consultoribus tractata, constituere prout in Domino videbitur, ac ea de re Generalem monere quam primum opportune poterit.
11. Si contingeret, quod Deus avertat, Patrem Alexandrum Valignanum, huius officii sui tempore mori, aut ita impediri, ut nulla ratione officio suo fungi posset, eius loco succedet P. Emmanuel Lopes: et si hic non posset.[2]

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[1] Valignano's suggested emendations are in (Genoa: before 25.X.1573) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 24 I, fols 76^{r-v}] in *DI*, IX (1966), 5-8.

[2] This sentence is incomplete and no further indication is given elsewhere in this regard.

12. Rectores, Superiores, ac Consultores, et Admonitores mutare eligere [193ᵛ] confirmare ac deponere poterit, cum necessarium in Domino iudicaverit, etiam Provincialem[3], et in eorum locum alios sufficere, re tamen prius diligenter examinata iuxta modum in exercitiis spiritualibus et cum consultoribus prius communicata.
13. Poterit sepulturam in nostris Ecclesiis concedere, sed meminerit decreti Societatis in Congregatione 1.ª nec facilis sit ad hanc ianuam aperiendam.
14. Poterit erigere domum professorum in Iapone, et seminarium in Malaca iuxta id quod in instructione ei declaratum est.
15. Ex facultatibus et patrimoniis eorum qui ex nostris in India erunt, poterit disponere habita ratione conditionum in instructione positarum.
16. Quae ad seminaria et studiorum ac scholarum rationem pertinent, poterit instituere quos opus erunt iuxta rationem nostri Instituti.
17. Poterit de studiis nostrorum quorumcunque disponere, sive applicando sive removendo.
18. Poterit quoscunque <digo> quosvis contractus facere de rebus ad Societatem in India Orientali pertinentibus, etiam si ad annos multos sint faciendi, exceptis fundationibus collegiorum, et dummodo illa sint in evidentem utilitatem, servata forma nostrae Bullae.
19. Poterit quamlibet litem intendere adhibita equitate ac moderatione Decreti 2.ae Congregationis.
20. Donationes quasvis Societati factas admittere poterit, ac de iis disponere in evidentem Societatis utilitatem, modo graves conditiones non apponantur donationi. Poterit aedificia extruere pro domibus et Ecclesiis a nostris habitandis et colendis, et curet consultorum, quos commode habere poterit, ac peritorum sententiam in eis habere et sequi quatenus iudicaverit expedire, et ab urbe Roma aut e Lusitania designationem ac lineamenta Collegii secum portet in charta, ut ad eam designationem aedificia extruantur quatenus convenire iudicabit.

Everardus Mercurianus.

E quanto à declaração e extenção dos poderes desta concessos, vide supra fol. 4.º a n.º 1.º, que concordam com as cartas dos PP. Geraes, Everardo e Claudio.

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[3] I have emended the MS. reading 'Provincialis' to 'Provincialem'.

Chapter III

Principio and Intertextuality: Sacred Historiography in Context.

In the previous chapter mention was made of Valignano's appointment as Visitor to the East Indies in the midst of Spanish-Portuguese rivalry on the Iberian peninsula and further afield in East Asia. We now explore in greater detail some of the political and ecclesiastical ramifications of this conflict. Not only did Valignano personally participate in these events but, as I hope to show, his later writings in general and his historiographical project in *Principio* in particular reflect this controversy to a significant degree. In fact, one of the main contentions of this thesis is that it is impossible to understand fully either the historical significance of *Principio* or its somewhat unusual narrative structure without first exploring the context in which it was written. The length of the exposition that follows and the degree of detail which I impose on the reader's patience is justified, in my opinion, by two factors: the controversial nature even today of the complex web of events in question and the need to refer to a large number of key primary sources, many of which have yet to be published and are not easily accessible.

The heuristic concept that comes to our aid in this endeavour is *intertextuality*, a term first employed by Julia Kristeva in her provocative and seminal essay 'Word, Dialogue, and Novel'.[1] In describing the interpretation of narrative, inspired by the work of Mikhail Bakhtin, her fundamental insight was to postulate that no proper understanding of the meaning of a text could be achieved without uncovering the intimate interdependence that has always existed between texts, where the 'literary word' is to be conceived as a dynamic

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[1] The essay in English translation is published in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. by Toril Moi (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986; repr. 1995), pp. 34-61.

dialogue between the writer of the text, its addressee, and its cultural context.[2] In other words, as Thomas M. Greene has succinctly stated: 'Since a literary text that draws nothing from its predecessors is inconceivable, intertextuality is a universal literary constant.'[3] The same, I argue, holds true of historical texts, where our aim is to strike a delicate balance between the identification of 'literary' or 'narrative' structures and strategies (*synchronic* dimension) and the placement of the text in its proper 'historical' context (*diachronic* dimension).[4] The present chapter thus analyses the latter dimension, whereas Chapter IV looks more closely into the former.

It is precisely because we can claim no *direct* access to events and historical truth, as Barthes, Kristeva, and White have demonstrated, that we must search for concrete traces of the past in the text we are interpreting and attempt to uncover the nature and degree of its relationship to other texts at our disposal. In this process, one common methodological fallacy that needs to be dispelled at the outset is the limitation of intertextual analysis to the study of quotations and literary allusions, commonly referred to as *Quellenforschungen* or *source criticism*.[5] Although such an approach remains valid and can still be applied profitably to *Principio*, which is marked by numerous direct quotations from and allusions to published texts from missionary correspondence or historical accounts of Europeans in Asia as well as Scripture and the Fathers of the Church, the intertextual character of the Visitor's history encompasses an even more subtle phenomenon, that of clearly framing its

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[2] See Kristeva, 'Word, Dialogue, and Novel', p. 36.

[3] See his *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 16, cited in R. J. Schoeck, 'Intertextuality and the Rhetoric Canon', *Bucknell Review*, 31/1: *Criticism, History, and Intertextuality*, ed. by Richard Fleming and Michael Payne (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1988), 98-112 (p. 100).

[4] For more on intertextuality see the essays in *Intertextuality. Theories and Practices*, ed. by Michael Worton and Judith Still (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); Gérard Genette, *Introduction à l'architexte*, Collection Poétique (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1979); R. J. Schoeck, *Intertextuality and Renaissance Texts*, ed. by Dieter Wuttke, Gratia. Bamberger Schriften zur Renaissanceforschung, Heft 12 (Bamberg: Hans Kaiser - Verlag, 1984), pp. 11-22; 40-82; 106-111; and Neil Wright, *History and Literature in Late Antiquity and the Early Medieval West: Studies in Intertextuality* (London: Variorum Press, 1995); see preface, pp. vii-xii.

[5] See John Frow, 'Intertextuality and Ontology', in *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*, pp. 45-55.

arguments in response to the content of other texts without either quoting from or alluding to them directly. These texts include both written and oral sources and relate mainly to accusations levelled by the Spanish Friars against the Society of Jesus's way of proceeding in Japan, as well as other complaints and criticisms of Valignano's own policies coming from closer quarters, i.e. from his fellow Jesuits. With few exceptions, these texts are *manuscript* sources that were not published during Valignano's day. Among them we find private correspondence and polemical treatises, together with royal decrees and papal bulls. In spite of not having reached the printing press, many of these texts, and in particular the polemical works of the Friars and the official documents issued by the papal court in Rome and the royal courts in Lisbon and Madrid, in this case with their respective Viceroys in Goa and Governors in Manila, would have been widely circulated. The sheer number of documents involved, scattered today in archives around the world, is a good indication of the intensity of the debate and the importance given to the disputed questions by both the secular and religious authorities in the East and in the West.

Merchants and Missionaries in the East

As the eminent historian of the Philippines, James Robertson, remarked about the nature of Iberian Church affairs in the East in the sixteenth century:

> The ecclesiastical history of the Portuguese in the Orient, and this is true also of the Spanish, cannot be considered apart from the political history. The two are inextricably bound together, and both have close connection to commerce.[6]

One soon discovers, however, that this assertion requires further qualification and careful study. The complexity of the political and ecclesiastical situation reveals itself in the form of an intricate web of intertwining relationships that are worth briefly enumerating: (i) Spanish-Portuguese relations in the Iberian peninsula before and after 1580; (ii) Spanish-Portuguese relations in the East (Goa and Macao *vs.* Manila) after 1565; (iii) Spanish-Japanese relations in and through Manila; (iv) Portuguese-Japanese relations (through Goa,

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[6] James A. Robertson, 'Bibliography of Early Spanish Japanese Relations. Compiled from Manuscripts and Books in the Philippine Library, Manila', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 43, Part 1 (1915), (i-iv) 1-170 (p. i).

Macao, and Nagasaki); (v) Jesuit relations with and influence at the royal courts in Madrid and Lisbon; (vi) Jesuit 'local' relations with and influence upon the Viceroy and the archbishop in Goa, the *Capitão-mor* and the bishop in Macao, and the Governor and the archbishop in Manila; (vii) The Friars' relations with the same authorities listed in (v-vi); (viii) The Jesuits' and Friars' respective influence at the papal court in Rome; (ix) Jesuit internal relations, alliances and conflicts, in particular among Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians; (x) The Friars' internal relations among Portuguese and Spaniards.

Although it is impossible to explore in full and do justice to each of these areas, what this outline suggests is that there is a real risk of oversimplification in the presentation and interpretation of these different types of rivalry. Furthermore, a perusal of the primary sources, whilst allowing for the above *general* categorization of relationships, shows that there were also *individual* interests, alliances, and clashes that at times determined or at least significantly influenced the outcome of key events in the life of the Church in the East Indies. Hence, without denying that for the most part the conflict can be defined in terms of Spain *vs.* Portugal and Jesuit *vs.* Friar, I have tried not to lose sight of the important role played by concrete people who did not always fall into these convenient historical 'compartments'.

A Century of Iberian Rivalry 'ultra Gangem'

The first papal pronouncement in favour of Portuguese spiritual jurisdiction was granted to the Order of Christ as early as 1456.[7] The beginnings of rivalry among the missionaries in the East in the second half of the sixteenth century can be traced back more than a hundred years to events in the year 1493, when Alexander VI divided up the New World between the two maritime empires of Spain and Portugal by promulgating a number of Bulls in which the terms of navigation, exploration, and conquest of new lands was defined. This division was subsequently formalized with the ratification of the Treaty of Tordesillas on 7 June 1494.[8] Rome continued to grant various ecclesiastical privileges such

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[7] See C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, p. 229.

[8] The Bulls are: the *Inter caetera* and *Eximiae devotionis* (both 3.V.1493), a second *Inter caetera* (4.V.1493) [a revised version of the previous Bull of the same name which explicitly sets the so-

as the right to appoint bishops to the two Iberian nations for centuries to come.[9] It was a convenient arrangement for Rome, as the Pope could not have otherwise financed or manned the newly established Christian communities in places as far apart as Peru, Mozambique, and Japan. Nonetheless, this state of affairs was not without its critics. As Anthony Pagden has pointed out, there was strong opposition within Spain itself by the jurists and theologians of the School of Salamanca against a Caesaro-papist world-view, wherein the Pope, or spiritual *dominus mundi*, became the final arbiter of secular affairs, even having jurisdiction over pagan nations. Neither were such papal political aspirations to the liking of the courts of Charles V or Philip II.[10] Nevertheless, in the specific case of Japan, both the authorities in Spain and their missionaries in the Philippines continued to make use of the 'demarcated line' argument whenever they felt it would be to their advantage in their repeated attempts to enter that country.[11] The same can be said of the Jesuits and their Portuguese patrons, who were more anxious than their Spanish counterparts to uphold the validity of the division between the two kingdoms. In rhetorical terms the Bulls of 1493 thus appear as a forensic *argumentum* on both sides.

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called 'demarcated line' between the two countries for the purposes of conquest at 360 leagues to the west of Cape Verde] and the *Dudum siquidem* (26.IX.1493). For these texts see Emma Falque, 'Bulas alejandrinas de 1493. Texto y traducción', in *Humanismo latino y descubrimiento*, ed. by Juan Gil and José Maria Maestre (Cadiz/Seville: Universidad de Sevilla/Universidad de Cádiz, 1992), pp. 11-35. Julius II approved the terms stated in the Treaty of Tordesillas in his Bull, *Ea quae pro bono pacis* (23.I.1506).

[9] For a short overview of the Portuguese *padroado* and its influence on missionary disputes, see Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. I/1: *The Century of Discovery*, 9 vols (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1965; repr. 1994), pp. 229-44. For more specifically on rivalry in Japan see also João Paulo Oliveira e Costa and Victor Luís Gaspar Rodrigues, *Portugal y Oriente: El proyecto indiano del Rey Juan*, Colección Portugal y el mundo (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992), pp. 318-25; and Takase Kōichirō, 'Royal Patronage and the Propagation of Christianity in Japan', *Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*, 22 (1972), 1-17.

[10] See Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World*, pp. 46-52.

[11] For a brief discussion of the Spanish system of royal patronage (*patronazgo real*) see Pablo Fernández, *History of the Church in the Philippines (1521-1598)* (Manila: National Bookstore, 1979), pp. 98-107.

Jesuits and Friars in East Asia

The Society of Jesus, with the backing of the Portuguese Crown, enjoyed a virtual monopoly and complete control of missionary activities in Japan for approximately fifty years, from the time when Francis Xavier set foot in the archipelago in 1549 until the Franciscan Friars, led by Fray Pedro Bautista Blázquez, settled in Japan for the first time in 1593. The question of whether the Jesuits should encourage other religious Orders to come to Japan had already arisen, however, almost twenty years before the Friars' arrival. As early as 1576, whilst still in India, Valignano had voiced his opposition to the idea.[12] This *preiudicium* on the Visitor's part undoubtedly influenced the proceedings at the Mission Consultation that he convened in 1580-81, when the issue of extending an invitation to other missionaries was discussed at length in the context of the lack of clergy. Various reasons were adduced against this proposal, such as the difficulty these Orders would find in maintaining themselves in a country that was very poor and thus incapable of sustaining a large number of missionaries. The imprudence of multiplying the number of outsiders in a country like Japan, whose independently-minded people were unlikely to tolerate foreigners in control of Church affairs for very long was another argument that was cited. The main objection, however, that Valignano never failed to stress in all subsequent letters and reports was that the presence of missionaries from more than one religious group would introduce an element of inevitable discord not dissimilar to that experienced among the religious Orders in Europe at this time. But unlike the situation in Europe, these differences, in his opinion, could not be easily resolved in Japan since the Spanish Crown had neither secular nor ecclesiastical jurisdiction there. He was convinced that the introduction of such unnecessary disputes would undermine the greatest advantage that the Christian missionaries had hitherto enjoyed over their Buddhist counterparts, namely the uniformity in preaching and religious practices:

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[12] See Valignano, *Adnotationes ad epistolas Generalium, 1543-73* (Chorão: 3.XI.1576) [**BNR**: *MSS Gesuitici*, 1255, no. 16, fols 284^{v}-85^{r}] in *DI*, X (1968), 638 and Valignano to Mercurian (Goa: 10.XI.1576) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 I, fols 51^{v}-52^{r}] in *Idem*, 688-90.

> Japón es tierra de gentiles [...] adó están quinze, diez y seis maneras de sectas de su falsa religión que están todas tenidas en grande cuenta, y como es gente de mucha capacidad, una de las razones principales que los convierte es ver las grandes diversidades de sus religiones y la unidad de la nuestra, quedando convencidos que, pues ellos dizen cosas tan contrarias y nos todos dezimos una misma cosa, es nuestra religión verdadera y falsa la dellos; y veniendo agora otras Religiones, con diversos hábitos y diverso modo de proceder y en muchas cosas encontrándose y contradeziéndose unos a otros (aunque no sea en las cosas de fee) [...] corre mucho peligro que también la religión christiana pierda con los Jappones el crédito que tiene agora, pareciendoles que como somos diversos en los hábitos, lo seremos también en las sectas, y las nuestras cosas son también invenciones de los hombres, assí como nos le dezimos que son las de sus sectas.[13]

At the end of the Consultation, having listed this as well as several other reasons against inviting other religious Orders to work together with the Society in Japan, he comes to the following conclusion in his *Resoluciones*, signed on 6 January 1582:

> Sin duda me parece que venir a Japón otras Religiones no solamente no será buen remedio, mas será grande escándalo y perturbación para esta nueva Iglesia, especialmente por[que] la cualidad y disposición de Japón no es capaz del modo de proceder que tienen las Religiones en Europa.[14]

He considered this matter to be of such importance that he devoted an entire chapter of his *Sumario* of 1583 to what he saw as a potentially grave problem: 'Como no conviene ir a Japón otras religiones'. Almost identical arguments were also formally reiterated during the first Jesuit Provincial Congregation in Japan, held at Nagasaki in 1592. Article 24 is entitled, 'Non expedire modo Iaponicae regioni varietatem Religionum' and covers the same ground.[15] It is worth noting that in his *Sumario* he adds a new *political* reason for not allowing the Friars to comes to Japan:

> Hasta ahora muchos señores de Japón tuvieron grande recelo de que nosotros maquinásemos en Japón algún mal, y que si ellos permitiesen hacerse sus reinos cristianos, podríamos después levantarnos con ellos por el rey que en Japón nos mantiene [...] ésta es una de las cosas que predican contra nosotros

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[13] See the acts of the *Consulta* (Azuchi/Nagasaki, 1581) for 'Pregunta 2ª: Si fuera conveniente venir otras religiones para ayudar en la conversión de Jappón' in **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 2, fols 43ᵛ-45ᵛ (fol. 44ᵛ). See also *Consulta* (Usuki, 1580) in *Idem*, fols 5ʳ-ᵛ.

[14] See his *Resoluciones* to the questions of the *Consulta* in **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 2, fols 70ʳ-86ᵛ and **BL**: *Additional MSS*, 9852, fols 89ʳ-96ᵛ; the above excerpt is printed in José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, 'En el IV centenario del Breve "Ex Pastorali Officio" (1585-1995)', *Sapientia. The Eichi University Review*, 20 (1986), 93-115 (p. 100).

[15] See *Sumario*, chapter 9, pp. 143-9 and the Acts of the Congregation, reproduced in *Sumario*, pp. 715-6.

> los bonzos; y si, ahora que saben que se unieron los reinos de Castilla y Portugal, viesen ir a Japón otras religiones a ellos extrañas, se aumentaría en ellos mucho esta sospecha y los podría mover a hacer algún mal juego contra los cristianos y contra nosotros.[16]

As a result, he recommends to the Jesuit General, Aquaviva, that he petition both the Pope and the King so that members of no other religious Orders besides the Society of Jesus be allowed to travel to Japan for the time being:

> Me parece bien que se alcance orden de Su Magestad y Bula de Su Santidad: que sin su expresa licencia ningún religioso, si no es de la Compañía, vaya a Japón, por las dichas razones; y que esta orden se mande publicar en Macao, puerto de la China, que es la escala para ir a Japón, y en las islas Filipinas, que llaman Luzones.[17]

The Friars were not the only ones, however, that the Visitor was determined to keep out of Japan. He was equally adamant that no Jesuits from New Spain or the Philippines be allowed to enter the country via Manila.[18] A number of letters addressed to Aquaviva by Juan de la Plaza, the Provincial in Mexico, and Hernán Suárez show that, in view of Philip II's decision in 1583 to establish the *Audiencia* of the Philippines and appoint Santiago de Vera as *Oidor*, the Jesuits in New Spain were convinced that all hitherto Portuguese ports of call in the East such as Nagasaki, Macao, Malacca, and the Moluccas were soon to be opened up to Castilian navigation, and that the voyage to Japan would no longer be made via Lisbon

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[16] *Sumario*, p. 147. For a discussion of this and other reasons for not allowing Friars into Japan, see Ana Maria Prosérpio Leitão, 'Os primórdios das rivalidades entre franciscanos e jesuítas no Japão em finais do século XVI. A questão da vinda de outras congregações religiosas', in *Actas do Congresso Internacional de História: Missionação portuguesa e encontro de culturas*, vol. 2: *África Oriental, Oriente e Brasil* (Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa/Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses/Fundação Evangelização e Culturas, 1993), pp. 343-58.

[17] *Sumario*, p. 148. See also *Idem*, p. 180 and Valignano to Aquaviva (Macao: 17.XII.1582) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 9 I, fols 110^{r}-116^{v}], reproduced in Álvarez-Taladriz, 'En el IV centenario del Breve', p. 101; see also his remarks to the same effect in the following letters: Valignano to Aquaviva (Cochin: 28.X.1583) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 9 II fols 173^{r}-76^{v}], reproduced in *Idem*, pp. 101-2; Valignano's Instruction for Nuno Rodrigues (Goa: 12.XII.1583) [**ARSI**: Iap.-*Sin.*, 22, fol. 54^{v}] in *DI*, XIII (1975), 422-23; Valignano to Aquaviva (Goa: 13.XII.1583) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 9 II, fols 216^{r-v}] in *Idem*, 436-7; Valignano to Sebastião de Morais (Goa: 15.XII.1583) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 9 II, fol. 224^{v}] in *Idem*, 457; and Valignano to Aquaviva (Cochin: 12.XII.1584) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 13 I, fol. 210^{r}] in *Idem*, 578-9.

[18] See Valignano to Aquaviva (Goa: 1.IV.1585) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 10 I, fols 25^{v}-26^{r}] in *DI*, XIV (1979), 10; and Valignano to Antonio Sedeño (Goa: 8.IV.1585) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 10 I, fol. 28^{r}] in *Idem*, 21.

and Goa but via Acapulco and Manila.[19] Particularly revealing are Suárez's remarks on trade and evangelization as two sides of the same coin:

> Se entiende que el comercio del Japón y de Cantón [...] será por las Philippinas; y que por este comercio, sin otra cosa alguna, entrará el evangelio en la tierra firme [...] sin guerras ni escándalos, como fue conquistado este Nuevo Reyno [*i. e. Mexico*] y las Philipinas.[20]

Aquaviva, however, ordered the Jesuits to stay in the Philippines until it became clear whether or not the *carrera de Japón* would be opened to those travelling through the Spanish *Indias occidentales*.[21] Despite their disappointment and frustration at being told that they could not take part in the Japanese mission, the Jesuits in the Philippines, headed by Antonio Sedeño, obeyed the General's instructions and did not attempt to sail east from Manila.

Finally, the Visitor strongly argued - and most of his fellow Jesuits in Japan agreed - that it would be detrimental to the mission in Japan were a bishop allowed to reside in the country. This was another key question that had been put to the members of the *Consulta* of 1580-81 and the Visitor subsequently repeats their views in his *Sumario* of 1583.[22] The discussion revolved around the following issues: the problem of financially supporting a bishop and the many men who would be part of his administration and entourage; the inability of the bishop to exercise full jurisdiction in a country divided into sixty-six separate kingdoms and where no recourse to a supporting secular arm was possible; the lack of secular clergy with which to man the mission; and the problems that would emerge were the bishop to rely exclusively on religious like the Jesuits, over whom he did not have full canonical control. These and other objections notwithstanding, the bishopric of Funai, established in

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[19] See Juan de la Plaza to Aquaviva (Mexico: 26.X.1583) [**ARSI**: *Hispania*, 129, fol. 199ᵀ] in *MMex*, II (1959), 182; and two letters by Hernán Suárez to Aquaviva (Mexico: 31.I.1583) [**ARSI**: *Hispania*, 129, fols 119ʳ·ᵛ] in *MMex*, II (1959), 207-8 and (Acapulco: 7.III.1584) [*Hispania*, 129, fols 135ʳ·ᵛ] in *MMex*, II (1959), 239-40. For a more detailed discussion see João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, 'A rivalidade luso-espanhola no Extremo Oriente e a querela missionológica no Japão', in *O século cristão do Japão. Actas do Colóquio Internacional Comemorativo dos 450 anos de amizade Portugal-Japão, Lisboa 2-5.XI.1593* (Lisbon, 1994), pp. 477-524 (pp. 485-9).

[20] See Suárez's letter dated 31.I.1583, cited in previous note.

[21] Aquaviva to Antonio de Mendoza (Mexico: 15.III.1584) [**Archivo de Ysleta, Texas, USA**, *Vol. I*, fol. 6ᵀ], in *MMmex*, II (1959), 277-8.

[22] See the acts for the *Consulta* (1580-81) in **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 2, fols 5ᵛ-7ᵛ and 45ᵛ-48ʳ and *Sumario*, chapter 8, 138-42.

1588, was ironically in great measure the result of the sensational success of the Japanese Embassy to Europe, which Valignano himself had promoted. His public relations triumph thus backfired insofar as it emboldened Rome to appoint a bishop earlier rather than later in spite of the Jesuits' carefully argued reasons against such a move. What the authorities in Rome did acknowledge was that a bishop might run into problems governing a mission that already had a superior and a Visitor in charge. The most obvious compromise was to appoint a Jesuit bishop and this was what the Pope ultimately did. Valignano remained dissatisfied, however, as he himself had envisaged such a solution in his *Sumario* but had rejected it as impractical.[23] Despite the arrangements made in Europe, it was not until 1596, the year when Pedro Martins arrived in Japan, that a prelate had ever actually resided in the country.[24] Valignano did not lose time in criticizing Martins' way of proceeding and was soon confirmed in his view that even a Jesuit superior and a Jesuit bishop could not successfully run the mission at the same time.[25] One cannot in any case avoid the impression that Valignano believed that he was better qualified than any prelate to assess the needs of the Christian community in Japan. As we have seen, he had painstakingly devised a new missionary strategy for Japan and was determined to carry out his reforms without outside interference.

Turning now to other developments in the region, the Viceroy in Goa, Duarte de Meneses, issued an order on 12 April 1586 prohibiting all but members of the Society of Jesus from travelling to China and Japan.[26] Curiously, the wording of the Viceroy's document makes use almost verbatim of Valignano's aforementioned arguments against

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[23] See *Sumario*, pp. 140-42.

[24] For more on the establishment of a bishopric in Japan, see chapter 2, pg. 14*, note 35. Also see Jesús López-Gay, 'Don Pedro Martins, SJ (1542-1598), primer obispo portugués que visitó el Japón' in *O século cristão do Japão*, pp. 79-94.

[25] See José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Semblanza de don Pedro Martínez, S.J., obispo de Japón, por el Padre Alejandro Valignano, S.J., Visitador de Japón', *OUJFS*, 29 (1973), 439-68.

[26] For a copy of this document dated 29.IV.1586 see **Evora: Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital**, cod. CXVI/2-5, fol. 72, listed in Isabel Cid, *Macau e o Oriente na Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrial de Évora (Séculos XVI a XIX)* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1996), p. 29, nr. 1.4.1.

allowing the Friars into those lands.[27] The Viceroy's actions came as a result of the Papal Bull, *Ex pastorali officio*, which Gregory XIII had granted to the Jesuits on 28 January 1585, securing for them at least on paper a virtual monopoly of the mission territories in the East with the exception of the Philippines.[28]

In spite of Valignano's apparent diplomatic success, the promulgation of the Bull did not resolve the question whether other religious Orders had the right to conduct missionary work in the territories of the *conquista de Portugal*. On the contrary, it brought to the fore a controversy that would rage on for several decades both in Asia and in Europe and continue beyond Valignano's own lifetime. One serious problem with the Bull was that Philip II, according to the account given by the Jesuit Gabriel Afonso, Procurator for the Society at the Spanish Court, had not been consulted before it was promulgated. This would have indeed been a grave oversight in that it would have violated a fundamental principle of the *patronato* system, the *placet* or *regium exequatur* (also referred to as the *pase regio*), i. e. the right of the King to play an active role in the ecclesiastical administration of his territories by giving his approval to any decisions made in Rome that had a direct bearing on the Church in those lands.[29] Afonso's comments are an indication that the King did not object to the Bull's contents but that his primary concern in the matter remained the preservation of his royal prerogatives *vis-à-vis* Rome:

> El Secretario [i. e. Cristóvão de Moura] responde con el primer sentimiento de Su Magestad que es no se le aver primero dado cuenta [...] las quexas del Rey más son por la puerta que se abre a Su Santidade si él no rehuza que no por este Breve se passar.[30]

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[27] See *Sumario*, pp. 148-9.

[28] For the text of the Bull see Leo Magnino, *Pontificia Nipponica. Le relazioni tra la Santa Sede e il Giappone attraverso i documenti pontifici*, Bibliotheca Missionalis, 5-6, 2 vols (Rome: Officium Libri Catholici, 1947-48), I, 26-7; henceforth referred to as *PN*. Aquaviva wrote to Valignano about the Bull in two letters: (Rome: 28.I.1585) [**ARSI**: *Epistolae NN*, 1, fol. 173r] in *DI*, XIII (1975), 829; and (Rome: 10. II.1585) [**ARSI**: *Epistolae NN*, 1, fol. 174r] in *Idem*, 832-3.

[29] See Álvarez-Taladriz, 'En el IV centenario del Breve', p. 105 and his *Documentos franciscanos de la cristiandad de Japón (1593-1597). San Martín de la Ascensión y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira. Relaciones e Informaciones* (Osaka, 1973), pp. 57, 91, 123, and 170; henceforth this edition of documents is referred to as *DFJ*.

[30] See Gabriel Afonso to Aquaviva (Saragossa: 29.VI.1585) [**ARSI**: *Hispania*, 130, fol. 196r] in *DI*, XIV (1979), 37; see also his earlier letter to Aquaviva (Saragossa: 1.IV.1585) [**ARSI**: *Hispania*,

Valignano's own remarks suggest that his intention had been to use the Bull to put pressure on the Friars in the ecclesiastical sphere without promulgating it immediately; the Pope's order could be kept quiet until a specific group of Friars had to be stopped from travelling to Japan. He blames Afonso for having brought up the matter of the Bull's publication with the King in the first place:

> Quanto al Breve que dio Su Sanctidad [...] no havía para que se tratasse con Su Magestad para se hazer publicar en España y Portugal, como el P.e Gabriel Afonço me escrive que trató, de lo qual se causou ahí algún enfadamiento.[31]

Such efforts notwithstanding, Valignano failed to separate the ecclesiastical from the political consequences of the Bull. Many years later, in his *Apología*, he denied that the King had not been duly informed and added a new legal twist to his argumentation. He states now that, insofar as the two kingdoms of Portugal and Castile remained separate, there had been no need for the Bull to pass through the Council of Castile as this was not the custom of the Crown of Portugal:

> Aunque en la corona de Castilla fuese necesaria licencia de Su Magestad para publicar este breve, no lo es ni Su Magestad pretende que lo sea, en la corona de Portugal, y en ella no hay uso de esto, y como Japón perteneció siempre y pertenece a la corona de Portugal, y como tal Su Magestad lo gobierna, no quedava el breve inválido por no ser registrado en el Consejo de Castilla. Finalmente digo que la Compañía antes de se publicar este breve no dejó de dar información a Su Magestad de ello y de las [causas] por las quales Su Santidad lo había despachado, y Su Magestad quedó muy satisfecho de ello, como me lo escribió Nuestro Padre General por una carta escripta en Roma, a los 24 de diciembre del año de 1585.[32]

In spite of Philip's annoyance, he ultimately decided that it was politically expedient for him to support the Bull and calm the fears of his Portuguese subjects in Goa and especially in Macao, where the presence of Spanish missionaries had been perceived as a poltical threat to what was already a precarious existence under the watchful and ever suspicious gaze of the Chinese mandarins. This is clearly illustrated by the orders he

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130, fol. 10v], partly printed in *DI*, XIV (1979), 32, note 3.

[31] See Valignano to Aquaviva (Goa: 17.XII.1585) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 10 I, fol. 96r] in *DI*, XIV (1979), 91-92.

[32] See his *Apología* (1598), p. 118 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 41, fols 44r-v]. Note: 'causas', here in line 7, is mistakenly given in Álvarez's edition as 'cosas'; I have emended the reading on the basis of the original ms.

subsequently issued in this regard when the Friars did not desist from their efforts to gain entry to China and Japan.[33] In 1589 he voiced his displeasure at Fray Martín Ignacio de Loyola's attempts to enter China [34] and in 1591 informed Matías de Albuquerque, the Viceroy in Goa, that he had instructed his *Ouvidor* in Macao, Ruy Machado, to see to it that

> não ficasem em Macao senão os portugueses [...] por se atalhar o perjuyzo que nisto recebião meus vasalos portugueses [...] e que [...] restituise aos religiosos de São Francisco da Custódia da Índia a cassa que em Macao tinhão Frey Martim Inaçio e seus companheiros.[35]

As late as 1594 we still find the King issuing stern prohibitions to the captains of ships against taking Castilian missionaries to Macao or Malacca.[36] In this respect the King remained firm in his resolve to avoid antagonizing further the Portuguese in India and Macao.

The Mendicants and Japan

While Valignano was using all his legal and diplomatic skills to prevent anyone but Jesuits from travelling to Japan, four Friars, on their way from Manila to Macao, were blown off course and on to the shores of Hirado Island in July 1584, where they were welcomed by the local *daimyō*, Matsuura Takanobu.[37] Two were Franciscans, Juan Pobre Díaz Pardo and

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[33] For one of the King's first letters regarding this issue see Philip II to Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, Governor of Manila (San Lorenzo: 9.VIII.1587), reproduced in José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Pro y contra de la línea de demarcación' misional en Oriente', *Journal of Osaka University of Foreign Studies*, 38 (1977), 1-23 (p. 18, note 26); the journal is henceforth referred to as *JOUFS*.

[34] See Philip II to Duarte de Meneses (Viceroy, 1584-88), (Lisbon: 6.II.1589) [**Arquivo Histórico do Estado da Índia, Lisbon (AHEIL)**: *Livro das Monções*, 3-A, fols 323^{r-v}] in *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do Oriente: Insulíndia*, ed. by Arturo Basílio da Sá, 6 vols (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1954-88), V (1958): *1580-95*, p. 133; this collection is henceforth referred to as *DHMPPO*. Duarte de Meneses had already died in Goa when Philip addressed this letter to him.

[35] See Philip II to Matías de Albuquerque (Viceroy, 1591-96), (12.I.1591) [**AHEIL**: *Livro das Monções*, 3-B, fols 450^{v}-51^{r}] in *DHMPPO*, V (1958), 195.

[36] See Philip II's *cédula real* (Madrid: 9.III.1594) [**AHEIL**: *Livro das Monções*, no. 1, fol. 38^{r}] in *DHMPPO*, V (1958), 223-4.

[37] On the arrival of the Friars in Japan and their activities, see Lorenzo Pérez, *Origen de las misiones franciscanas en el Extremo Oriente* (Madrid: López del Horno, 1916); C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan (1549-1650)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951; repr.

Diego Bernal, and two were Augustinians, Francisco Manrique and Pablo Rodriguez. These Friars remained in Japan for two months before continuing on their way. Matsuura saw this as a unique opportunity to lure some of the lucrative trade away from Nagasaki and into his own port of Hirado. He therefore composed a letter to the Governor of the Philippines, Santiago de Vera, asking for missionaries and the establishment of trade links. Fray Manrique hastily interpreted this as signifying that the Japanese lord had of his own volition become a vassal of the King of Spain.[38] In a report to Philip II, the *custos* of the Franciscans in the Philippines, Juan de Plasencia, mentions this request from a Japanese 'king' and also from the Jesuit superior in Japan, Gaspar Coelho, for the sending of friars.[39] These events coincided with the promulgation of the pro-Jesuit Bull in the Cathedral in Manila by Archbishop Domingo de Salazar on 2 July 1586. This caused much consternation among the friars and created a dilemma for the Archbishop, who was himself a Dominican. Shortly thereafter, Salazar addressed a letter to the Jesuits in Manila in which he replied to the various 'objecciones de los Padres Teatinos [i. e. Jesuits]' against the sending of friars to Japan and expressed his grave doubts about the reasons that had prompted the Pope to issue *motu proprio* what to him appeared to be a groundless and unreasonable Bull.[40] The negative impact of the Roman document was compounded by the arrival of a group of Japanese Christians in Manila who brought with them a letter from Gaspar Coelho seeking military

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Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1993), pp. 137-87; B. Willeke, 'Die Ankunft der ersten Franziskaner in Japan', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, 43 (1959), 166-76; Idem, 'Saisho no furanshisuko-kaishi no raichō [The Arrival of the First Franciscans in Japan]', *KK*, 8 (1963), 249-65; Thomas Uyttenbroeck, *Early Franciscans in Japan*, Mission Bulletin Series, 6 (Himeji: Committee of the Apostolate/Catholic Church, 1959); A. Schwade, 'Saisho no furanshisuko-kaishi no raichō ni kansuru hōkoku hosoku [Further Notes regarding the Arrival of the First Franciscans in Japan]', *KK*, 8 (1963), 266-71; José Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Notas para la historia de la entrada en Japón de los franciscanos', in *España en Extremo Oriente. Filipinas, China, Japón. Presencia franciscana, 1578-1978*, pp. 3-32.

[38] See Manrique to Philip II (Macao: 1.III.1588) [**AGIS**: *Filipinas*, 79, 2, no. 18] in Gil, *Hidalgos y samurais*, pp. 28-30.

[39] See Juan de Plasencia to Philip II (Manila: 18.VI.1585) in **AGIS**, *Filipinas*, 84, R. 2, N. 67, 1^{r}-2^{v} [fols 1^{r-v}].

[40] See Domingo de Salazar to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus (Manila: 1586), reproduced in Álvarez-Taladriz, 'En el IV centenario del Breve', pp. 107-11.

assistance for the Christian lords in Japan in order to preempt any hostile designs against the Church by the Regent, Hideyoshi.[41] The Japanese delegation also renewed in the presence of the Archbishop the request for Friars to be sent to help the Christian communities in Japan. In view of these new developments, Salazar had official documents drafted between July and November 1587 setting out the circumstances of the Church in Japan. In his own response to the delegation, he promises to inform both the Pope and King of the situation, because 'no se tenía en España tan clara noticia del Japón como ahora tenemos'. He also assures them that

> ahora que se sabe la verdad y lo mucho que importa que vayan ministros de otras Ordenes, sin que de ello se sigan los inconvenientes que algunos han pensado sino mucho provecho y grande acrecentamiento de la fe, Su Sanctidad sin duda revocará el dicho mandato y encargará al rey nuestro señor que envíe a aquellas islas tantos ministros que basten a convertir los infieles y sustentar los convertidos.[42]

On 24 June 1590 the Archbishop belatedly made good his word and wrote to Philip II asking for the Bull to be revoked. Another letter urging the King to allow the Friars free entry into Japan and China was more speedily forwarded to Spain from Macao by the Franciscan, Martín Ignacio de Loyola and the Augustinian, Francisco Manrique.[43] However, while Bishop Salazar was busy taking sworn testimony from the Japanese in Manila, Hideyoshi issued on 25 July 1587 the first nation-wide decree banning all missionaries from preaching Christianity in Japan. This unexpected turn of events, far from weakening the resolve of the

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[41] Antonio Sedeño reprimanded Coelho for his imprudence in a letter (Manila: 22.IV.1586) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 10 I, fols 154'-55'], published in José Álvarez-Taladriz, 'De cómo el Visitador Valignano se pasaba de raya para guardar la de demarcación portuguesa', *Tenri Daigaku Gakuhō*, 118 (1979), 209-33 (pp. 218-25).

[42] These documents dating from 1587, as well as later petitions for Friars signed by Japanese in Manila in 1590, have been published in José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Notas para la historia de la entrada en Japón de los franciscanos', p. 22. For the above quotation see *Respuesta del Obispo a la petición antedicha* (Manila: 16.XI.1587) in the same article, pp. 22-3. Yūki Ryōgo has argued against the authenticity of other letters allegedly written by the Japanese in 1591 asking for Friars to come to Japan. See his '1591-nen ni Nihon no shinto wa Sei Gonzaro Garushia ni tegami wo okutta de arō ka [Did Japanese believers send a letter to S. Gonzalo García in 1591?]', *KK*, 28 (1988), 209-26.

[43] See Francisco Manrique and Martín Ignacio de Loyola to Philip II (Macao: 6.VII.1587) [**AGIS**: *Filipinas*, 79, 2, no. 17] in Gil, *Hidalgos y samurais*, p. 28; for the full text of the letter see Lorenzo Pérez, 'Origen de las misiones franciscanas en el Extremo Oriente', *Archivo Ibero-Americano* (henceforth *AIA*), 15 (1916), 387-412 (pp. 408-12).

Spanish missionaries in the Philippines, convinced the Franciscans that, if the Jesuits had now been expelled or were going to be exiled, it was all the more urgent to send other missionaries to take their place, regardless of the risks involved. Thus, Fray Antonio Cayado, who had briefly landed in Japan in 1589 on his way from Macao to New Spain, as cited by Valignano in his *Apologia* of 1598, states:

> Por cuanto los frailes de San Francisco habían sabido que Kampakudono [i. e. Hideyoshi] había levantado en Japón persecución contra la cristiandad y los Padres de la Compañía, por temor de la muerte y de ser martirizados, se habían salido todos de Japón y huido dejando la cristiandad desamparada, era tiempo en que los frailes de San Francisco habían de dar sus vidas para acudir a tan gran desamparo, y que por esto pedían les diesen licencia para poder ir a Japón para ayudar a los cristianos y dar sus vidas en servicio de nuestro Señor.[44]

In fact, not all the Jesuits had left Japan; many had gone into hiding to avoid being forcefully deported. A year after Cayado's trip, Valignano himself arrived in Japan in his official capacity as Ambassador of the Viceroy in Goa; he had, however, to wait until 3 March 1591 to be received by Hideyoshi, who, as was mentioned earlier, remained suspicious of the authenticity of his diplomatic mission. The embassy was not a great success from the Visitor's point of view, as Hideyoshi was unwilling to revoke his decree prohibiting Christian missionary activity throughout the land.[45] To make matters worse, Valignano found himself being criticized for the manner in which he had conducted the interview, and in particular for the expensive gifts that he had presented to Hideyoshi on that occasion. The Jesuit Francisco Vieira, writing to Aquaviva from the College of St. Paul in Goa, complained that it was almost certainly the pomp and circumstance of Valignano's embassy that triggered Hideyoshi's suspicions against the missionaries.[46]

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[44] See *Apologia* (1598), p. 307 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 41, fol. 125ᵀ]. For more on Cayado's trip to Japan see José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, 'La primera misa franciscana en Japón (1589)', *Tenri Daigaku Gakuhō*, 75 (1971), 54-72.

[45] For Hideyoshi's letter in response to the Viceroy in Goa see Fróis, V, 375-77.

[46] See Francisco Vieira to Aquaviva (Goa: 23.IX.1593) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 14, fol. 108ᵛ] in *DI*, XVI (1984), 432.

Diplomats, Missionaries, and Martyrs

The situation was further complicated when that same year Hideyoshi, persuaded by Harada Kiyuemon, a Japanese merchant and Christian convert, that he should take advantage of his military power and subjugate the Philippines, drafted a letter to the Governor in Manila threatening an invasion unless the Governor recognize his sovereignty:

> **Abatid luego la bandera y reconoced [mi] señorío, porque si huviere tardança y no venierdes luego a me hazer reverencia y prostraros delante de mi pecho por tierra, luego sin duda os haré destruyr y assolar; mirad que después no os arrepintáis.**[47]

Needless to say, this letter, which Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas received on 31 May 1592, caused much alarm in Manila, where the Governor immediately reported the situation to Philip II and asked for reinforcements to be sent from New Spain. Dasmariñas also decided to detain Harada Magoshichirō, who had delivered the message from Japan, and in his response to Hideyoshi said that he had not understood the Japanese ruler's letter very well and that therefore he had decided to send a personal envoy, Fray Juan Cobo, to ascertain the Regent's intentions. The reason he gave for arresting his envoy was that he doubted that so great a 'king' as Hideyoshi would have entrusted so important an embassy to a man of such low rank as Harada Magoshichirō.[48] We shall unfortunately have to forego a discussion of Cobo's eventful embassy. It should suffice to say that, despite the friar's success in obtaining

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[47] See Hideyoshi to Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas (Tenshō 19, 7th Month, 25th Day= 1.XI.1591?); for the original Japanese version see *Ikoku ōfuku shokanshū. Zōtei ikoku nikkishō* [*Collected Documents on Foreign Conquest with Additional Foreign Chronicles*], ed. by Murakami Naojirō (Tokyo: Sunnansha, 1929), pp. 29-31. There are several extant Spanish translations of Hideyoshi's letter. The two versions that I have consulted differ substantially from each other in their wording and suggest that there was more than one Japanese draft of the letter. See **AGIS**: *Filipinas*, 18-B, 2, no. 12-A, printed in Gil, *Hidalgos y samurais*, pp. 40-1 and **RAHM**: *Cortes*, 2665, fols 201^{r-v}. The above excerpt is taken from the latter, fol. 201^{r}. For an English translation see James A. Robertson, and Emma H. Blair, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803: Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as Related in Contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, Translated from the Originals*, [...], 55 vols (Cleveland, OH: A. H. Clark, 1903-1909), VIII (1903), 260-1.

[48] Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas to Toyotomi Hideyoshi ('rey del Japón'), (11.VI.1592) [**AGIS**: *Filipinas*, 67-6-18 (= old classification)], printed in *CDIF*, III (1927), cclx-cclxii.

a less threatening letter from Hideyoshi to Dasmariñas, Cobo's mission did not fulfill its purpose. In fact, the Dominican perished in late 1592 on his return journey in a shipwreck off the coast of Taiwan. On the other hand, Harada Kiyuemon, who had departed for the Philippines at the same time as Cobo but on a different vessel, sailed safely into Manila in April 1593. When the Governor saw that Kiyuemon had arrived without Cobo and without proper credentials, he became suspicious and immediately decided to dispatch another embassy to Japan to find out what had happened.[49] This time the Franciscan, Pedro Bautista Blázquez, was chosen for the sensitive diplomatic mission, and the question of whether Friars could travel to Japan was temporarily resolved.[50] Although the Jesuits in Manila, represented by Antonio Sedeño, protested his appointment, the Governor was too concerned with the diplomatic crisis at hand and the security of the Philippines to engage himself in the dispute over the Bull of 1585 and its interpretation.[51]

Pedro Bautista and his three companions were thus able to leave for Japan and presented themselves as well as Dasmariñas's letter to Hideyoshi at his Nagoya headquarters in Kyūshū in August, 1593. In his response to the Governor, which was taken back to Manila by the Portuguese Captain, Pedro Gonçalves de Carvajal, Hideyoshi once again mixed threats together with promises of friendly relations with the Philippines.[52] The Friars, taking advantage of this temporary delay in their diplomatic mission, requested that they be allowed to visit his capital while they awaited the reply of the Governor to the Regent's most recent letter. Hideyoshi granted permission for them to stay on condition that they refrain from engaging in any type of missionary activity. That such an explicit prohibition against preaching was issued is clearly stated by Maeda Geni Hōin, one of the Governors of Miyako

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[49] See Dasmariñas's letter to Hideyoshi (Manila: 20/28.V.1593) [**AGIS**: *Filipinas*, 67-6-6 (=old class.)], printed in *CDIF*, III, cclxxxvi-vii.

[50] For more on the individual Franciscans who travelled to Japan in the sixteenth century see Bernward H. Willeke, 'Biographical Data on Early Franciscans in Japan (1582 to 1640)', *AFH*, 83 (1990), 162-223.

[51] See the 'Testimonio acerca de la embajada de religiosos de S. Francisco [...] y contradicción que le hizo Antonio Sedeño [...]' (Manila: 10.VI.1593) in **AGIS**, *Filipinas*, 6, R. 7, N. 103.

[52] See Hideyoshi to Dasmariñas (1594), in **AGIS**, *Filipinas*, 6, R. 8, 110, printed in *CDIF*, III (1927), cccxxiv-v.

and trusted confidant of the Regent. In a letter addressed to Pedro Gómez, Vice-provincial of the Jesuits in Japan, he relates the exchange that took place between the Friars and Hideyoshi, including the latter's warning against proselytizing.[53]

The Friars, nevertheless, interpreted Hideyoshi's permission to remain in Japan, albeit temporarily, as an indication that, in spite of his misgivings about Christianity and his edict of 1587, he was in fact willing to tolerate the newly arrived missionaries.[54] Most reports from this period portray the Friars as actively involved in a public display of the Christian faith, including processions and liturgies in their house in Miyako. Their own correspondence and subsequent reports reveal a sincere belief that, unlike the Jesuits, they enjoyed the special favour of Hideyoshi, who had taken them under his protective wing and become like a 'father' to them in Japan.[55] They were severely reproached, however, by Maeda and the other Governors of Miyako, who warned them that they were going against Hideyoshi's explicit orders. Ultimately, their activities were reported to the Taikō by Harada Kiyuemon, who, perhaps fearing that his own intrigues might be discovered, decided that it was in his best interests to dissociate himself from the Friars by being the first to point out to the Regent their non-compliance with his wishes.

The Jesuits, also wary of the Regent's volatile mood, lost no time in castigating the Franciscans for what they considered to be extremely dangerous and naïve behaviour. They warned them that their actions could result in a widespread persecution and even total destruction of the fledgling Christian communities by Hideyoshi, who had on numerous occasions shown his penchant for flying into a rage and severely punishing those whom he suspected of disobedience to his orders. The Friars, for their part, lost no time in voicing

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[53] See Maeda Geni Hōin to Pedro Gómez (Miyako?: Bunroku 2, 8th Month, 8th Day=3.IX.1593) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 31, fols 85^{v}-86^{r}]; both the original Japanese version and the Portuguese translation are printed in José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Una carta inédita de Maeda Geni (1593) al P. Pedro Gómez, S. J.', *JOUFS*, 16 (1966), 1-26 (pp. 18-21).

[54] A hitherto unpublished account of the Friars' arrival, including the embassies of Juan Cobo and Pedro Bautista, is given in *Breve relación de todo lo succedido de los Frailes de San Francisco en Jappón* (Manila?: *ca.* 1597), in **Yūshōdō Booksellers MS., Tokyo**, fols 180^{r}-98^{r}. This MS. corresponds to item no. 4 in the Maggs Bros Catalogues, *Bibliotheca Asiatica. Manuscripts of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries on Japan*, Part III, 515 (1929), 12-20.

[55] See Fray Martín Aguirre's comments in *DFJ*, p. 97.

their own criticisms of the Jesuits for the manner in which they were conducting themselves in Japan. They argued that many of the practices introduced by the Society in the administration of the sacraments were unusual and did not conform to the general guidelines of the Church. These and other points of contention are discussed in greater detail by the Italian Jesuit, Francesco Pasio, who composed a report in 1595 in which he relates many of the points of contention among the missionaries from both sides.[56] The Franciscans responded to the Jesuits' criticisms in their own prolific correspondence in which they gave detailed accounts of how they perceived the spiritual and temporal situation of the Church in Japan, their present and future role in that land, and the shortcomings of the Society of Jesus's way of proceeding.[57] The Friars were unable, however, to stop the Jesuits from putting obstacles in their way, wherever they went in Japan. This prompted an exasperated Pedro Bautista to pen a blunt letter to the Jesuit superior, Pedro Gómez, in which he declares:

> **Sepa Vuestra Paternidad que yo estoy en Japón con licencia de Dios y del Papa, y con la del Rey D. Felipe y de Taikosama, emperador de Japón, y con la de Foin, Gobernador de Meaco. Cesen ya las contradicciones que tan injustamente se hacen a nuestra religión, y si no cesan, sepa Vuestra Paternidad que tengo de ir en persona o embiar al Rey y al Papa a dar cuenta de lo que pasa en Japón.**[58]

Bautista's self-confidence in the matter was not only the result of his own status as

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[56] See Pasio's report to Aquaviva (Nagasaki: 12.II.1595): *Relación de lo que ha pasado en Jappón con los frailes descalzos de la Orden de San Francisco, desde Marzo de 1594, en que partió la nave para la China y los navios para los Luçones hasta el mes de Hebrero del anno de 1595* [**ARSI**: *Iap.Sin.*, 31, fols 108-114], published in José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Relación sobre los Franiscanos en Japón hecha en Nagasaki el año 1595 por el Padre Francisco Pasio de la Compañía de Jesús', *JOUFS*, 20 (1968), 25-48 (pp. 27-45).

[57] See the Friars correspondence in Lorenzo Pérez, *Cartas y relaciones de Japón* (henceforth *CRJ*), in *AIA*, 4-19 (1915-23). After the martyrdoms of 1597 Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira wrote a more systematic response to the Jesuits' objections against the Friars in *Queixas que os Padres da Companhia que estão em Japão* [...] *publicarão ter contra os Frades Descalços de São Francisco* [...], *as quais responde hum douto Frade da dita Ordem* [...] (Manila?: *ca.* 1598), published in Álvarez-Taladriz, *DFJ*, pp. 165-228. He also composed a shorter version of the above at a later unspecified date, entitled *Memoria de las cosas de Japón*, in *Idem*, pp. 231-47. The Jesuits in Goa had Ribadeneira's *Queixas* formally condemned by the Inquisition in that city; see the *Precatório dos Inquizidores de Goa contra hum libello feito contra o Bispo e ministros da conversão do Jappão no anno de 98* (Goa: 14.VIII.1598) [**RAHM**: *Cortes*, 2666, Maço 16, fols 117^{r}-19^{v}], printed *DFJ*, pp. 153-4.

[58] See Pedro Bautista to Pedro Gómez (Nagasaki: *ca.* 1595), printed in *AIA*, 6 (1916), 219-22 (p. 220) and *AFH*, 21 (1928), 304-30 (pp. 308-9).

ambassador of the Governor in Manila. His actions also reflected his interpretation of a papal Bull, *Dum ad uberes fructus*, that the Friars had obtained in 1586, in which the Pope granted them the right to establish conventsin ipsis Insulis Philipinis, quam in aliis quibusvis terris, et locis Indiarum praedictarum, ac regnorum de China nuncupatorum.[59]

Although no mention is made here of Japan, the Friars saw the Pope's Bull as a vindication of the right of the members of the Philippine Province of St. Gregory to travel and work in the *whole* of the East Indies, the only exceptions being Siam, Malacca, and Cochinchina, which were explicitly mentioned in the document.

While these disputes continued during the years 1593-96, storm clouds were gathering over the Japanese Church. With the suspicion that Valignano's embassy in 1591 had been fraudulent still lingering in Hideyoshi's mind, Pedro Martins, who had been appointed Bishop of Funai in 1592, departed from Goa for Japan as a delegate of the Viceroy in the hope of dispelling the Japanese ruler's misgivings about the Jesuits' true intentions. He sailed into Nagasaki on 14 August 1596 and, thanks to the offices of the Portuguese Jesuit, João Rodrigues, was received by Hideyoshi at his palace in Fushimi on 16 November. It turned out that he could not have come at a worse time. Several weeks before this meeting, on 19 October, the Spanish galleon, *San Felipe*, full of valuable cargo and returning from the Philippines to New Spain, ran aground off the coast of Shikoku. The highly controversial events that followed ended in the confiscation of the ship's cargo and the condemnation to death by Hideyoshi of twenty-six Christians, among whom there were six Franciscan Friars residing in Japan, three Japanese Jesuit Brothers, and seventeen Japanese laymen. After having been first exposed to public derision in Miyako, Fushimi, and Sakai, they were crucified on Nishizaka in Nagasaki on 5 February 1597.[60]

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[59] See *PN*, I, 36-9 (p. 37).

[60] With regard to the politics of Hideyoshi that lead to this specific instance as well as for a more general study of his life and times, see the authoritative biography by Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi*, Harvard East Asian Monographs, 146 (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1982); see especially pp. 207-17; 223-28; 278; and 280-1.

Praise and Blame in the Aftermath

Without delving into all the historical questions that still divide scholars as to the reason Hideyoshi ordered this first mass execution of Christians, foreign and Japanese, for our present purposes it should suffice to point out three contentious issues. Firstly, there was what came to be known as the 'San Felipe affair', which preceded the martyrdoms.[61] The question came to revolve around the issue of whether the pilot of the galleon *San Felipe*, Francisco de Olandía, had, as alleged by the Portuguese and the Jesuits, told Mashita, one of the four governors (*bugyō*) of Kyoto, that it was common practice for the Spanish King to send missionaries as envoys before dispatching his soldiers to conquer a new land.[62] It was supposedly this controversial claim that Mashita related to Hideyoshi when he arrived at Fushimi on 8 December and which precipitated the latter's decision to have all Christians in his realm put to death. Hideyoshi himself hinted at such a motive in his response to the Governor in Manila, Francisco Tello de Guzmán, who had sent his envoy, Luis Navarrete Fajardo, to reclaim the cargo of the *San Felipe* and to enquire why the Friars had been executed:

> Los Religiosos dessos Reinos, tornados acá, discurrían por las villas y lugares predicando su ley a gente baxa, a siervos e esclavos; oyendo yo esto y no lo

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[61] This incident has been discussed at length by many scholars. A detailed account of the circumstances that led Hideyoshi to act as he did is beyond the limited scope of the present historical account. What is of interest is rather the *reactions* of the various parties involved to this traumatic event and the *polemic* that resulted from it. For a brief outline of the events see: Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 163-9; 415-24; Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues, the Interpreter. An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (London/New York: Weatherhill, 1974; repr. 1994), pp. 132-62; and George Elison (Jurgis Elisonas), *Deus Destroyed. The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, Harvard East Asian Series 72 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 136-41; 425-8.

[62] The pilot's comments to Mashita are mentioned by Valignano in his cited letter to the Provincial of Toledo (Macao: 22.XI.1597) [**Archivo de la Provincia Toletana de la Compañía de Jesús, Toledo**: *Legajo*, 1051, n. 9, Doc. 7, fol. 1ʳ], published in José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Documentos de 1597 del P. Alejandro Valignano para el estudio de su *Apología* (1598)', *Sapientia. The Eichi University Review*, 10 (1976), 49-67 (pp. 58-59). The Visitor repeats his criticisms of Olandía in his letter to Diego García, Visitor of the Philippines (Nagasaki: 15.X.1602) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 14 I, fol. 102ʳ], published in José Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Contra la pluralidad de ordenes religiosas en la misión japonesa (1602), *JOUFS*, 40 (1978), 1-18 (p. 4).

> pudiendo sufrir, los mandé luego matar; porque *tengo por información que en esos vuestros Reynos la promulgación de la ley es un ardid y engaño con que sugetáis los reinos extraños* [...] lo que yo pienso y creo es que, como vos por esta via, hechando fuera al Señor antiguo dese Reino, os hiziste nuevo señor dél, que *ansí pretendéis quebrar mis leyes y destruirlas con la vuestra y apoderaros deste Reino de Japón* [*my italics*].[63]

Blame is also placed squarely on the shoulders of the pilot by an independent source, Antonio de Morga, Captain General of the Philippines from 1595 to 1603, who discusses this incident as well as subsequent events in his own history of the Philippine islands.[64] Be that as it may, the reasons that led to the *San Felipe* disaster and the death sentence issued by Hideyoshi continued to be contentious to the point that both the Jesuits and Friars felt obliged to produce detailed accounts in which they called upon numerous witnesses to corroborate in the presence of notaries and under oath their respective interpretations of what had happened. The Jesuits concentrated on Olandía's remarks, whereas the Friars denied these accusations and alleged that the Jesuits and the Portuguese were the real culprits insofar as they had provided Hideyoshi with a false picture of the Iberian political scene by deliberately concealing that Philip was also King of Portugal. In their judgement this made the Jesuits directly responsible for the Regent's fury against the Spaniards.

Secondly, and in conjunction with the loss of the *San Felipe*, there was the Franciscan claim that the Jesuits in Japan and Bishop Pedro Martins, filled with anti-Spanish sentiment and desperate to get rid of the Friars at any cost, had made no attempt to use their diplomatic connections either to help the Spaniards recover their ship or to avert the death of the Franciscans. Moreover, they insisted that it was the Portuguese who had falsely accused the Spaniards of having come to prepare a 'conquista de Japón' and that therefore they alone, and

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[63] See Hideyoshi to Francisco de Tello (Japan: 8.IX.1598) [**BNR**: *Fondo Gesuitico*, 1469-3598], published in *CDIF*, IV, lxxxvi-vii. The Taikō's letter is also reproduced in Valignano's *Apologia* (1598), pp. 332-5 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 41, fols 132^{v}-33^{v}]. As Álvarez's edition has heavily emended the text of this letter according to printed sources, I have reproduced the original version as it appears in *Iap.-Sin.*, 41. Cooper cites another version of this letter dated 28.VIII.1598 in **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 45, I, fols 207^{v}-208^{r}; see *Rodrigues, the Interpreter*, p. 160.

[64] See his *Sucessos de las islas filipinas*, trans. and ed. by J. S. Cummins, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, no. 140 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 108-9.

not Olandía, were responsible for the whole tragedy.[65] This impression on the side of the Friars may well have resulted from the actions of two of the governors of Miyako who were well disposed towards the missionaries, Maeda Geni Hōin and Ishida Mitsunari. These in fact succeeded in having Hideyoshi's original order to execute *all* missionaries *and* Christians in the country partly revoked the following day. They persuaded the *Kampaku* to include in his order *only* those who had been placed under arrest on 8 December. Ishida apparently convinced the Regent that the Jesuits had obeyed his ordinances and should therefore not be punished, and that it would be wrong to treat the Portuguese and the Spanish as if they belonged to the same group.[66] It is clear that Valignano had no intention of being identified with the Spanish Friars in the eyes of Hideyoshi, and he even went so far as to see it as an act of Divine Providence that while the Taikō was busy crucifying them

> **ninguno le hablase contra los Nuestros y que muchos los favoreciesen grandemente en aquella ocasión hasta que él mismo llegó a decir bien de los Nuestros y declarar que no quería que se les hiciese mal.[67]**

Whatever the Portuguese did or did not say about the intentions of the Spaniards, one cannot but wonder what Fray Martín Aguirre was actually expecting from the King in political, ecclesiastical, and military terms, when, in his second *Relación*, he advocated making Macao 'subject to the spiritual and temporal governance of Manila', proposing also that 'the bishops of Japan should be suffragans of the Archbishop of Manila and not of Goa', and that 'the Bishop of Macao should be suffragan of the Archbishop of Manila.'[68] Moreover, he exhorts the King to take decisive action in the case of Japan:

> **Su Magestad ponga la mano en esta conversión de Japón, poniendo todos los medios necessarios y posibles para ella, y de que venga a poder amparar y defender esta cristiandad, se seguirá gran utilidad y provecho temporal y espiritual, así a los españoles como a los naturales de estos reinos, porque se**

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[65] See the testimony of the Friars in *Relación del martirio que padecieron en el Japón y en la ciudad de Nangasaqui el año de 1597 seis frayles de San Francisco y otros 20 japones christianos* **[Biblioteca Alessandrina, Rome**: *Codice*, 9, p. 2ª, fols 588-91], published in *AIA*, 16 (1921), pp. 101-105.

[66] See Uyttenbroeck, *Early Franciscans in Japan*, pp. 17-20.

[67] See Valignano to Aquaviva (Macao: 10.XI.1597) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 13 I, fol. 92ʳ], in Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Documentos de 1597', p. 56.

[68] See *DFJ*, pp. 137-8; 140.

> conservaría la paz y tranquilidad política y justicia, se quitarían las guerras que cada día tienen unos con otros, las injurias, agravios y tiranías que hacen los señores a sus vasallos, las opresiones de los pobres [...].[69]

The sense of 'medios' and 'justicia' here becomes clear when he speaks of the governance of those who have already received baptism:

> Es necessario que haya *brazo seglar que les pueda compeler* a vivir conforme a lo que han profesado en el bautismo y en lo demás que hubieren recibido de la Iglesia según las leyes y costumbres de ella [*my italics*].[70]

It is therefore a matter of duty, the Friar concludes, that the Jesuits should do all in their power to help rather than hinder the Spanish to bring about this 'new order' in Japan:

> Y si los Padres quisieren dar favor a Su Magestad, como leales vasallos suyos, con mucha facilidad lo podían hacer que *el rey fuese señor de hecho de Japón como lo es de derecho* [...] Y así en sólo Nagasaki podían armar 30,000 arcabuceros todos cristianos [...] Y con esta gente *podían los cristianos y españoles*, con ayuda de Dios y *con la industria y disciplina militar española conquistar y pacificar a todo Japón* [*my italics*].[71]

It remains unclear whether the Portuguese had heard Fray Martín Aguirre or other Friars express such ambitious plans and had decided to vent their anger or at least protect themselves from recrimination by informing the Japanese authorities about an imminent Spanish conquest. In any case, Fray Martín's official recommendations make it difficult to assume that this most sensitive issue was never mentioned in the public forum where the Japanese could have overheard the two groups arguing over its viability.

Thirdly, there was the Jesuit counter-accusation, forcefully expressed by the Visitor, that the Spaniards had brought the tragedy down upon themselves through their own imprudent behaviour. In his view, the Friars had failed to heed the repeated warnings they had received from various quarters that their public ministry conducted under Hideyoshi's nose would ultimately spell disaster not only for themselves but for the whole of the Christian community in Miyako and beyond. In the aftermath of the executions, he wrote to Aquaviva about the present state of persecution in Japan:

> Las causas que concurrieron para se mover a hacer esto [i. e. persecution] fueron diversas, aunque todas se reducen a una sola que fue la ida delos frailes descalzos a Jappón [...] porque si ellos no fueran allá, ni por pensamiento

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[69] See *DFJ*, p. 135.

[70] See *DFJ*, p. 126.

[71] See *DFJ*, p. 137.

> **pasara a Taicosama agora esta persecución, porque estaba ya muy aplacado y pacificado con los Nuestros.**[72]

Finally, what was perhaps most scandalous and painful for the Friars was Valignano's initial refusal to recognize those who had been put to death among them as authentic martyrs to the faith. The Visitor responded that, insofar as the Friars had come to Japan despite the Pope's explicit prohibition, they had died without the blessing of the Church and in any case had largely brought about the tragedy by their own rash behaviour.[73] Such claims deepened the outrage that some of the surviving Friars such as Marcelo de Ribadeneira, Juan Pobre de Zamora, and Jerónimo de Jesus already felt as regards the Jesuits. As we shall see, this delicate issue ended by also dividing the members of the Society among themselves.

The Portuguese Jesuit, João Rodrigues (the 'Interpreter'), wrote to Aquaviva that, when a meeting was held to discuss the matter, the participants could not agree; the Spaniards *all* believed that those crucified *were* martyrs, whereas *all* the Portuguese were convinced, with two exceptions (he being one of them), that they were *not*. Likewise, the Italians *all* agreed that they were *not* martyrs; the only exception among them was Francesco Pasio, who, like Rodrigues, had been an eyewitness at the executions.[74] The most violent denial of their status of martyrs came from the Italian Jesuit, Organtino Gnecchi-Soldo, who worked in Miyako and had had many confrontations with the Friars in the capital during their stay. He informed Aquaviva in no uncertain terms that

> **Esta vez Dios les ha dado el castigo adecuado siendo crucificados y expulsados fuera de Japón por un gentil [...] Y aparte de esto porque se entendía que el rey no les había mandado crucificar por odio del Evangelio, mas pensando que enderezaban la predicación del Evangelio a la adquisición del reino con intención de sujetarlo a la corona de España [...] ya que habían venido a Japón**

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[72] See Valignano to the Provincial of Toledo? (Macao: 22.XI.1597) [**Archivo de la Provincia Toletana de la Compañia de Jesús, Toledo**: *Legajo*, 1051, n. 9, Doc. 7, fols 1ʳ-3ᵛ (fol. 1ʳ)], published in Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Documentos de 1597', 58-61 (p. 58).

[73] See his *Apología* (1598), pp. 340-44 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, fols 135ᵛ-37ʳ], where he presents his 'dudas' as to their status as martyrs.

[74] See João Rodrigues to Aquaviva (Nagasaki: 7.V.1599) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 13 II, fol. 304ʳ], printed in José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Ratificación o rectificación dentro de la Compañía de Jesús de la "Apología" del Visitador Valignano', *Sapientia. The Eichi University Review*, 25 (1991), 245-63 (pp. 253-4).

> **no como promulgadores de nuestra ley mas como espias que no tenian sino fines de conquista.**[75]

Curiously, Pedro Martins, whose relations with the Franciscans had always been acrimonious, not to say violent, proclaimed them to be martyrs within moments after their death and signed 'ex officio' documents to that effect, but at the same time blamed them for the event. In response to Fray Jerónimo de S. Lourenço, whom he identifies as the 'custódio dos religiosos capuchinos da Ordem do bemaventurado S. Francisco nestas partes do Sul', he wrote a glowing report in which he speaks of the 'bemaventurada e gloriosa morte' of the Friars and the 'grande edificação dos fieis saberem de certo a sanctidade e triumpho da sua morte.'[76] This report, written on 16 November 1597, was followed, however, by another letter composed the next day, where, without denying the merit of their deaths, he points to their actions as the ultimate cause of their deaths:

> **Certifico mais que a causa e ocasião da morte dos frades, além do que está dito, ellos mesmos a derão pollo modo com que procederão na conversão e esta é verdade: porque, como se mostrarão desprezadores das prohibições de Quambaco contra a promulgação de nossa ley, e como também nunca fizerão caso dos avisos que lhe derão Guenifoyin e Gebunoxo, governadores de Meaco acerca disto: que não fizessem christãos tão publicamente, vierão a ter todos por seus inimigos.**[77]

Luís Fróis, who had also opposed the presence of Spanish Friars in Japan, composed his own report on the martyrdoms in which he lauds these heroic deaths.[78] A valuable document, it was frequently cited by the Friars but was utterly rejected as misleading and unreliable by Valignano, who called for it to be completely rewritten.

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[75] See Organtino to Aquaviva (Nagasaki: 15.II.1598) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 13 I, fols 126^{v}-27^{r}], published in Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Cinco cartas', pp. 84-6.

[76] See his *Certidão que o Bispo de Jappão, Dom Pedro Martins, passou acerqua da morte dos Religiosos e christãos crucificados em Japão no anno de 1597, a qual os Religiosos de S. Francisco lerão em toda a Índia nos púlpitos como Bulla de Canonização* [Macao: 16.XI.1597] in **BL**: *Additional MSS*, 9858, fols 79^{v}-80^{v} (fol. 79^{v}).

[77] See his report: *Incipit*: *Dom Pero Martins, Bispo do Japão e do Conselho de S. Magestade, certefico nesta presente* [...] [Macao: 17.XI.1597] in **BL**: *Additional MSS*, 9860, fols 55^{r}-56^{v} (fol. 56^{r}).

[78] The printed version of Fróis's account is entitled *Relatione della gloriosa morte di xxvi posti in croce per comandamento del Re di Giappone, alli 5. di febraio 1597* [...] *fatta in Italiano dal P. Gasparo Spitilli di Campli* (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1599). There were several other editions printed in Europe in different languages between 1599 and 1628.

The Visitor did nevertheless adopt a more conciliatory tone in the *Proemio* of his *Apología*, where he appears to grant Fray Martín Aguirre de la Ascensión at least indirectly the status of a martyr:

> **Por una parte me fue el escribir esto carga muy pesada, por ser pasado de esta vida el Padre Fray Martín [...] porque confio que nuestro Señor le tendrá perdonada la culpa que en esto tuvo y que ahora está en el cielo gozando de aquel sumo bien [...] pues *dio en Japón la vida en servicio de nuestro Señor,* habiendo sido crucificado por orden de Taikosama [...] *con título de predicador del Santo Evangelio* [*my italics*].[79]

Once the initial storm caused by the executions at Nagasaki had subsided, there were few Friars left in Japan; one who remained active was the Portuguese, Jerónimo de Jesus de Castro.[80] Though forced to leave the country shortly after the executions, he managed to return in 1598 and make contact with Tokugawa Ieyasu. This powerful ruler of Kantō was surprised that he had survived the executions and enquired how he had succeeded in returning to Japan. He also reassured Fray Jerónimo that he had nothing more to fear and expressed an interest in opening trade relations between the region under his control and Manila. A pragmatic man, he saw the Franciscans as a convenient and strategic means of attracting ships from the Philippines. Jerónimo de Jesus, eager to keep Japan open to Spanish missionaries, willingly took over the role of mediator and travelled to Manila on Ieyasu's behalf to negotiate the possibility of trade. Despite Jerónimo de Jesus's efforts, the Friars' attempts to re-establish themselves in Japan suffered a setback when the *Audiencia de Filipinas* decreed on 12 July 1599 that no more missionaries should travel to Japan for the time being.[81] That same year, Aquaviva wrote to the Provincial superior in New Spain that he did not think it the right moment for Jesuits from Mexico to leave for Japan via Manila.[82]

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[79] See *Apología* (1598), p. 5 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 41, fol. 2ᵀ]. The phrase 'con título do predicador del Santo Evangelio' is a variant addition that does not appear, however, in *Iap.-Sin.*, 41.

[80] For Fray Jerónimo de Jesus's correspondence from this period see Lorenzo Pérez, 'Fray Jerónimo de Jesus, restaurador de las misiones del Japón. Sus cartas y relaciones', in *AFH*, 21 (1928), 304-30. Valignano describes the exploits of the Friar in his own correspondence. See his letters to Juan de Ribera in Manila (Nagasaki: 13 and 17.III.1600) in **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 14 I, fols 22ʳ-23ᵛ and 24ʳ-25ᵛ; and to Aquaviva (Nagasaki: 20.X.1600) in **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 14 I, fols 32ʳ-33ᵛ.

[81] See *CDIF*, IV (1928), 73.

[82] See Aquaviva to the Provincial of Mexico, Francisco Vaez (Rome: 2.III.1599) [**Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de México, Mexico City**, *Colección de MSS*, I, fol. 194ᵛ] in *MMex*, VI

The political situation changed dramatically in Japan in 1600 when Ieyasu consolidated his power and eliminated any remaining opposition to his rule by defeating his enemies at the battle of Sekigahara. The process of the unification of Japan that had begun with Nobunaga and Hideyoshi was all but complete. The situation of the Church unexpectedly improved in the immediate aftermath of Ieyasu's victory, but the relative peace and freedom enjoyed by the missionaries was only to last for a few years. Jerónimo de Jesus returned again to Japan on 29 June 1601 and was well received by the shogun, but soon thereafter fell ill and died on 6 October. As for the response in the Philippines to this Friar's diplomatic mission, Pedro de Acuña, the new Governor, wrote to Ieyasu on 1 June 1602 promising to ask the Viceroy of New Spain to authorize direct commercial links with Japan.[83] Acuña also wrote to Philip III ten days later to say that he judged it politically expedient to do so.[84] His communication, however, indicates no enthusiasm for establishing anything more than *pro forma* trade relations with Ieyasu. The Spanish in Manila had not forgotten Hideyoshi's actions of a few years before, and the Governor does not hide here the fact that his main purpose is to avoid any antagonism that could result from denying the Japanese a semblance of friendly relations through a modicum of trade.[85] Thus, a few ships were dispatched to Japan, but each time adverse weather prevented them from reaching the Kantō region. When the Tokugawa shogun saw that serious trade had repeatedly failed to materialize but the number of Friars in Japan steadily continued to increase, he began to grow impatient, and Valignano, writing to Diego García, Vice-provincial of the Philippines, voiced

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(1976), 564-5.

[83] See Acuña to Hideyoshi (Manila: 1.VI.1602) in **AGIS**, *Filipinas*, 19, R. 3, N. 35, fols 1-8.

[84] For this letter see Lorenzo Pérez, 'Fr. Jerónimo de Jesús, restaurador de las misiones del Japón. Sus cartas y relaciones', *AFH*, 16 (1923), 507-44 (pp. 543-4). More complete documentation of the correspondence between Acuña and Ieyasu is published by Pérez in *AFH*, 22 (1929), 139-62.

[85] The importance that Manila attributed to the opening of a trade route with Japan is also discussed in an anonymous document entitled *Acerca de que se abra la carrera de Jappón* (Manila: *ca.* 1606), in **Yūshōdō Booksellers MS., Tokyo**, fols 148^{r}-49^{v}. Probably drafted by the Friars, this document makes a much stronger case for trade than Governor Acuña's half-hearted agreement to it recognises.

his fears that the arrival of too many missionaries would arouse the new leader's suspicions.[86] He mentions the arrival of the first Dominicans in 1602 in response to the invitation of the *yakata* of Satsuma.[87] That same year Augustinian Friars had also come to Japan. Valignano's predictions proved to be correct. In words reminiscent of Hideyoshi's in 1587, Tokugawa Ieyasu now reminded Acuña that 'esta región se llama Xincocu [i.e. land of the gods] and consequently 'de ninguna suerte conviene que en Japón se promulgue ni predique vuestra ley.'[88] The scene was being set for the new wave of persecution that would begin to consume the Church less than a decade later during the reign of the third Tokugawa shogun.

In the meanwhile, the political tide was turning against the Jesuits not only in Japan but also in Europe. Oliveira e Costa has noted how Prince Philip, writing in 1598 on behalf of his ailing father, made it clear that he would no longer support the Society of Jesus's claim to exclusive rights in Japan on the basis of the Bull of 1585.[89] Moreover, as soon as he learnt of the martyrdoms, Philip III petitioned the Pope to recognize publicly the Friars who had died in Nagasaki as true martyrs of the Church.[90] It is perhaps not surprising, in view of the pressure coming from both the Friars and the King, that Clement VIII finally issued the Bull *Onerosa pastoralis officii* on 12 December 1600 allowing the Mendicant Orders access to

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[86] See Valignano to García (Nagasaki: 15.X.1602) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 14 I, fol. 102], in 'Contra la pluralidad de ordenes religiosas', pp. 3-4.

[87] See J. S. Cummins and C. R. Boxer, 'The Dominican Mission in Japan (1602-1622) and Lope de Vega', in *Jesuit and Friar in the Spanish Expansion to the East*, ed. by J. S. Cummins (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986), II: 5-88. For a contemporary Dominican account see Jacinto Orfanel and Diego Collado, *Historia eclesiástica de los sucessos de la Christiandad de Iapón, desde el año 1602, que entró en él la Orden de Predicadores hasta el de 1620* [...] (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1633), fols 1^{r}-5^{v}.

[88] See Lorenzo Pérez, 'Fray Jerónimo de Jesús, restaurador de las misiones del Japón', *AFH*, 16 (1923), 507-44 (p. 539).

[89] See the letter written on behalf of the King by Diogo Velho to Francisco da Gama (Lisbon: 30:III.1598) in *APO*, III (1861; repr. 1992), 880, cited and discussed in Oliveira e Costa, 'A rivalidade luso-espanhola', pp. 498-99.

[90] See Philip III to his ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Sessa and to Clement VIII (both from San Lorenzo: 22.IX.1600), printed in *CRJ*, III, in *AIA*, 14 (1920), 200-2.

Japan.[91] All restrictions were subsequently lifted on 11 June 1608 when Paul V issued a new Bull, *Sedis Apostolicae Providentia*, in which he effectively granted free access to Japan through both the East *and* the West Indies.[92] In 1628 Philip IV tried to reestablish the Society of Jesus's monopoly in Japan, but by this time the persecution in Japan had intensified to the point where the disputes became a secondary issue as the Church struggled for its very survival.[93] Hence, we see in retrospect that, though Philip II had made commendable efforts to strike a careful balance between the interests of his Portuguese and Castilian subjects in the East, and though Philip III and Philip IV had both personally intervened in the affairs regarding the Church in the *Indias orientales*, albeit in pursuit of diametrically opposed policies, they were all too far away to have any decisive impact on the events that unfolded in Japan.

Sed contra respondeo: The Friars' Reaction to Jesuit Opposition

In view of the massive efforts of the Society of Jesus to exclude all other religious Orders from Japan, it is not surprising that the Friars, who had travelled to the ends of the known world in pursuit of their own highly successful missionary endeavours, responded with a considerable corpus of letters, treatises, and other apologetic works in which they countered one by one the objections that had been put forward against them by the Jesuits. Here we shall concentrate on a limited number of questions raised by the Friars that have an especially direct bearing on the type of historical argumentation employed in Valignano's *Principio*.

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[91] For Clement's Bull see *PN*, I, 64-7. Philip III had dealt with the question of Friars going to Japan the year before the Pope's Bull was promulgated. See *Sobre o que se escreveo pollo Conselho de Índias ao Duque de Sessa acerca dos religiosos que pollas Filipinas passão a China e Japão contra o que Sua Magestade tinha mandado ao dito Conselho* (Madrid: 6.X.1600) in **BL**: *Additional MSS*, 28, 432, fols 39^{r}-40^{v}.

[92] For Paul V's Bull see *PN*, I, 69-71.

[93] See Oliveira e Costa, 'A rivalidade luso-espanhola', pp. 508-10. For Philip IV's letter to the Pope (1628) [**BAL**: 51-VIII-18, fols 240^{v}-41^{v}] see *Idem*, pp. 519-20.

One of the earliest and most significant texts is that of Martín Ignacio de Loyola and his companions, composed in Macao in 1587, in which the Friars took their first public stance against the 1585 Bull of Gregory XIII.[94] There are also the numerous letters written by Pedro Bautista and his companions to Rome and Madrid during the years 1590-97 as well as the correspondence related to their martyrdoms that stretched well into the first decade of the seventeenth century. Of all the polemical writings that emerged from the pens of the Friars during this period, none was as important and influential as the two *Relaciones* of Fray Martín Aguirre de la Ascensión[95] (1596), written several months before his execution at Nagasaki, the *Relación* of Fray Jerónimo de Jesus (1597), one of the few Friars to survive Hideyoshi's round-up of missionaries, and the *Queixas* (*ca.* 1598) of Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, who also went on to produce an important history of the Franciscan mission in the East in 1601, the same year in which Valignano sat down to record his own account of the Jesuit enterprise in Japan.[96]

Fray Martín Aguirre's two reports had a specific purpose. The first *Relación*, finished on 11 November 1596, was dedicated to the General Commissioner of the Indies in Madrid, Fray Francisco Arzubiaga, who had requested that 'le avisasen de las cosas de la conversión', and discusses the missionary disputes within the more general context of issues related to the life of the Japanese Church. The second *Relación*, on the other hand, is much shorter and is

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[94] See the *Resposta e contradição de Fray Martinho Ignácio de Loyola contra a bula de Sua Sanctidade e provisão do Visorey* (Macao, 1587) in **RAHM**, *Cortes*, 2666, fols 50^{r}-51^{v}; for a complete Spanish translation of the above see, Álvarez, 'Pro y contra de la línea de demarcación', pp. 7-11.

[95] One must be careful not to confuse Fray Martín Aguirre de la Ascensión with Fray Martín Ignacio de Loyola, who later went on to become bishop of Río de la Plata in Peru. The names of the two Friars are often mistaken even in the contemporary sources (e. g. *Certidão que o Bispo de Jappão, Dom Pedro Martins, passou acerqua da morte dos Religiosos* [...], in **BL**: *Additional MSS*, 9858, fol. 80^{r}, where Martín Aguirre's name is given as 'Fr. Martim de Loiala'. Moreover, one occasionally comes across the name 'Martín de la Assumpción', which is an erroneous form for Martín de la Ascensión'. On this question of names and identities see Marco de Alcalá, *Vida maravillosa de S. Martín de la Ascensión y Aguirre, Proto-Mártyr* [...] *disertación histórica de la identidad de patria, y appellido etc...* (Madrid: 1739), pp. 285-95.

[96] The two *Relaciones* of Martín Aguirre have been published by Álvarez-Taladriz in *DFJ*, pp. 39-145. The *Relación* of Jerónimo de Jesus has been published by Lorenzo Pérez in *AFH*, 18 (1925), 90-113; 559-84; *AFH*, 19 (1926), 385-417; and *AFH*, 20 (1927), 575-88. For Ribadeneira's *Queixas*, see note 57 above.

addressed to Philip II. It betrays a greater sense of urgency, which, in Álvarez-Taladriz's opinion, is explained by Fray Martín Aguirre's hope to pre-empt or overturn any legal measures adopted by the *Consejo de Indias* in Madrid that might prove to be detrimental to the development of the Franciscan mission in Japan.[97] Moreover, the *Relación* to the King, written in September 1596, concentrates on issues related to the *Patronato Real*. From general historical premises outlining the privileges granted to the Castilian monarchs by the Popes for the good of the Church in the Indies, Fray Martín quickly moves on to the specific obligations of the King with respect to the critical situation of the Church in Japan. The *Relación* of Fray Jerónimo de Jesus also shows a concern for justifying the missionary methods of the Franciscans, not unlike Fray Martín Aguirre's report to Francisco Arzubiaga, but is mainly directed at presenting as accurately as possible the circumstances immediately preceding and following the martyrdoms of 1597. Finally, Ribadeneira's *Queixas* is devoted to a defence of both the Friars' status in Japan and their way of proceeding; in this relatively short work, he mentions one by one the 'complaints' or 'queixas' of the Society of Jesus and then proceeds to refute each one of them.

The *Relaciones* of Fray Martín Aguirre and Fray Jerónimo de Jesus came under direct attack by Valignano in his *Apologia*, completed in October 1598. In this work of 165 folios, the longest ever written by the Visitor, we find a carefully constructed legal and historical rebuttal, point by point, argument by argument, of the Friars' numerous accusations. In the *Apología* Valignano's method mainly consists in first quoting copiously from the Friars' text and then presenting his own side of the argument, by which he attempts to disprove or at least discredit the opinion presented by the Friars. Whether one accepts the Visitor's arguments or not, the *Apología* is clearly the work of an experienced and competent lawyer, engaged in publicly presenting and arguing his case. Ironically, the Franciscan reports might never have seen the light of day, and Valignano might never have written his response to them, were it not for a Portuguese friend of Fray Martín Aguirre, Miguel Roxo de Brito, to whom the Friar had entrusted his writings shortly before his death. In a letter addressed to Brito on the eve of his execution, Fray Martín beseeches his friend to *destroy* the *Relaciones* should

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[97] See Álvarez-Taladriz's introduction to the *Relaciones* in *DFJ*, pp. 11-37 (pp. 20-7).

they be deemed in any way harmful to the mission as a whole.[98] Brito, nevertheless, upon reading the documents, felt that the Jesuits should be forewarned as to their contents and decided to hand them over to the Society. Valignano immediately realized that the allegations made against the Society's practices in Japan, as well as their challenge to the legitimacy of the Jesuit monopoly, were serious enough to warrant an official and detailed response. Fearful that other copies, unbeknownst to the Jesuits, had already been sent to Europe for circulation in Rome and Madrid, he concluded that he had no choice but to compose a document that persuasively argued the opposite side of the case and clearly presented the point of view of the Society of Jesus.[99]

It is useful to go back more than a decade before the time when the *Apologia* was written to the initial reaction of the Friars to Gregory XIII's pro-Jesuit Bull, as expressed in Fray Martín Ignacio de Loyola's *Resposta* of 1587, which was mentioned earlier. The objections listed in this very short document are particularly significant as they provide us with most of the framework for the subsequent debate. Essentially, the arguments can be broken down into two major categories: theological and canonical. The latter were employed to undermine the legal validity of Gregory's 1585 Bull, it being claimed that the Pope had *not* acted *ex certa scientia* in that he had been *misinformed* of the true circumstances of the Church in the East. On these grounds, the Friars argued that the Bull did not fulfill the necessary conditions to be regarded as legally binding in that it had been obtained by the Society of Jesus by means of *subreptio*, i. e. under false pretences:

> Dezimos que a sobredita provisão parece aver cido impetrada imformando falsamente ao Senhor Visorrey e surrepticiamente, e hé cousa averigoada que todo o rescrito ou provisão ou breve, seja de qualquer príncipe secular ou ecclesiástico, ainda que seja do Summo Pontífice, impetrado surreticiamente e com falsas imformações, hé nulo e de nenhum efeito e vigor [...][100]

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[98] See his letter to Miguel Roxo de Brito (On route to Nagasaki: I.1597) in **BL**: *Additional MSS*, 9858, fols. 57^{v}-58^{r} (apograph copy).

[99] Valignano explains why he wrote the *Apologia* in his letters to Aquaviva (Macao: 10.XI.1597) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 13 I, fol. 91^{v}] and (Macao: 22.XII.1597) [**RAHM**: *Cortes*, 2666, Maço 22, n. 1, fols 279^{v}-80], both published in Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Documentos de 1597', pp. 55 and 64-5 respectively.

[100] See *Resposta e contradição de Fray Martinho*, in **RAHM**, *Cortes*, 2666, 50^{r}; also see Álvarez, 'Pro y contra de la línea de demarcación', p. 8. See also Ribadeneira's *Queixas* in *DFJ*, p. 171,

This canonical issue was the object of many learned discussions among the Friars. Most notable was the declaration of the various religious Orders at the University of Mexico in 1594, which echoed Martín Ignacio's objections and debated them in greater detail.[101] The Jesuits took note of Martín Ignacio's document as well as the arguments put forward by the scholars in New Spain and defended their own position at a meeting which probably took place in Macao *ca.* 1595.[102] It goes without saying that the canonical question also occupied an important place in the *relaciones* of Fray Martín Aguirre and the *Apologia* of Valignano.

Political and legal considerations apart, it is the Friars' objections to the Jesuit *modus procedendi* that are of particular interest and relevance to this study of *Principio* in that they set many of the parameters within which Valignano subsequently chose to frame his interpretation of the *historia sacra* of Japan. One of the threads that binds the many polemical 'verba' of the Jesuit-Friar controversy to the historical 'res' in *Principio* was the reference to Church *tradition.* The crucial question centred on what it meant *in Japan* to be faithful to the example provided by the Church's glorious past. Thus, the most important argument put forth in defence of the Friars' participation in missionary work in Japan and China was the claim that the Mendicants' way of proceeding, unlike that of the Society of Jesus, strictly conformed to the recognized *praxis* of the Primitive Apostolic Age, as reflected in Scripture and the teachings and actions of the early Fathers of the Church. The long-established missionary tradition of the Mendicant Orders around the world 'entre moros, herejes y gentiles, en Africa, Asia y Europa y en el Nuevo Mundo y en las islas occidentales y meridionales' was invoked as *historical* proof that they had always faithfully followed this *orthopraxis* and that there was therefore no reasonable cause to doubt that they would

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where the Friar also used the phrase 'por subrepticio' to describe the *motu proprio* of Gregory XIII.

[101] For the opinions of the various Religious Orders at the University of Mexico to this question see 'Pareceres de los letrados assí de la Nueva España como de las Philipinas acerca de la yda de los religiosos de San Francisco a los reynos de Japón'[Colección Francisco de Montilla, fols 321^{r}-28^{r}], published in 'Miscelánea', *AIA*, 12 (1919), 445-52; see also *DFJ*, pp. 91-92.

[102] See *Consulta que se fez em Macao* (Macao: *ca.* 1595) [**RAHM**, *Cortes*, 2666, fols 60^{r}-63^{v}]; for a complete Castilian version see Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Pro y contra de la línea de demarcación', pp. 13-22.

continue to adhere to their tradition in Japan and China, regardless of the undeniable hardships and difficulties involved in that mission.

> E das mais Religiões, tão antigas, fundadas con tantos Sanctos canonisados, milagres y sangre derramado por esta mesma pregação, e antes que ouvese Padres da Companhia, pregárão a ley evangélica en todas as partes do mundo, confirmando sua católica doutryna com muitos milagres e com perfeição de vida evangélica, guardando a forma que Christo nosso Senhor mandou que se guardase neste alto ministéryo, *ymitando suas sagradas pisadas e vida de seus sanctos Apóstolos e discípulos*, os quais predicárão a fee com pobreza e desnudez [*my italics*].[103]

That the Church in Japan could be legitimately compared to that of the primitive Apostolic Age is reiterated repeatedly in the writings of both the Franciscans and the Jesuits. An anonymous document produced by the Friars in Manila *ca.* 1606 illustrates this point eloquently:

> Y se haze la más gloriossa conversión que en nuestros tiempos se a visto, tanto que parece una primitiva Yglessia [...] donde el Catecúmeno, antes de ser baptizado, se haze Predicador de otros ynfieles de lo que a él le ban enseñando, y se ofrecen con tanto ánimo y alegría al martyrio que admira hasta los niños.[104]

A particularly controversial argument employed by the Friars to prove that the Jesuits did not comply to the standards of the Apostolic Age was the official status of the Jesuits in Japan *vis-à-vis* Hideyoshi. An anonymous Franciscan document introduces the question with a simple comparison:

> La orden de los Menores está a título de embajadores [...] La Compañía está en el Japón a título de mercaderes gruessos.[105]

The issue, needless to say, was money. In their opinion, the approach adopted by the Society in the financing of the mission was not only questionable but reprehensible. At one point in his first *Relación*, Fray Martín makes the exaggerated but colourful claim:

> El convento de Nagasaki es como la casa de la aduana de Sevilla, adonde se registran todas mercaderías que vienen de las Indias.[106]

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[103] See *Resposta e contradição de Fray Martinho*, in **RAHM**, *Cortes*, 2666, fol. 50^{r}; also see Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Pro y contra de la línea de demarcación', p. 9.

[104] See *Acerca de que se abra la carrera de Jappón* (Manila: *ca.* 1606), in **Yūshōdō Booksellers MS., Tokyo**, fol. 148^{v}.

[105] See *Los Reinos del Japón que tienen Christianos, y los an tenido antes de aora, y no tienen Padres de la Compañía, o, si tienen, es de poco acá, son los siguientes* (Manila?: *ca.* 1604), in **Yūshōdō Booksellers MS., Tokyo**, fols 199^{r}-221^{v} (201^{r-v}).

[106] See *DFJ*, p. 72.

Others besides the Franciscans in Japan appear to have taken issue with Valignano's decision of many years before to participate actively in the Macao silk trade. In his report to Philip II, written on 24 June 1590, Domingo de Salazar, Archbishop of Manila, does not question the Jesuits' legitimate desire to procure the necessary funds for their work. What he does object to is the unfortunate link that he sees they have established between trade and missionary activity, and he regrets the political consequences of that misguided decision:

> El motivo que aquel Rey tyrano [i.e. Hideyoshi] tubo para hechar de allí a los predicadores no fue porque predicaban el Evangelio [...] sino porque aquellos Padres, aunque con buen zelo, por no ser costosos a los jappones, que es gente muy pobre, han usado la mercancía en aquellas Islas [...] Este modo de predicar, ni le enseñaron los Apóstoles, ni lo han usado los varones apostólicos, entrando a predicar con mercancías sino con el menosprecio de todas las cosas, y mostrando con su exemplo a los que predicaban lo poco en que havían de tener las cosas del mundo.[107]

Closely related to this use of 'mercaderías' was the equally important question of religious poverty and its value as a means of proclaiming the Gospel. Having listed several 'razones' in his *Queixas* for the existing contrast between the Friars and the Jesuits, Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira rests his case with an indirect rhetorical question:

> La cuarta razón de disconformidad entre los Frailes y los Padres podía ser el modo de vivir entre los infieles [...] en el modo de vivir eran diferentes, por eso quién predicaba más propriamente el santo Evangelio e imitaba a Jesucristo crucificado y pobre, júzguelo quien los Padres quisieren.[108]

Fray Martín Aguirre takes this one step further in his *Relación* by stating that the real reason behind the Jesuits' efforts to exclude others from Japan was to prevent the Christians there from experiencing the authentic apostolic ideal of poverty represented by the Friars lest they turn away from their former mentors and embrace the way of life taught by the Franciscans:

> La causa que los movió a estos Padres a procurar este breve, entre otras, entendemos que fue porque [...] dos frailes descalzos de San Francisco [...] vinieron a Nagasaki y Hirado [...] adonde, como los vieron los cristianos naturales descalzos, pobres, remendados y de la manera que les habían predicado Jesucristo, nuestro Señor y sus Apóstoles, era tanta la devoción que

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[107] See Domingo de Salazar to Philip II (Manila: 24.VI.1590), printed in Lorenzo Pérez, 'Memoriales y otros documentos del P. Francisco de Montilla, Procurador de la Provincia de S. Gregorio en las cortes de Madrid y Roma', *AFH*, 16 (1923), 383-409 (p. 407).

[108] See *DFJ*, p. 228.

> les tomaron los naturales, que les besaban el suelo donde ellos pisaban y les tomaban pedazos del hábito por devoción.[109]

This disparity between Friar and Jesuit with regard to poverty accounts for what Aguirre judges to be a need on the part of the Jesuits not only to hide the Franciscan lifestyle from the native Christians but also to conceal their own lifestyle from the outside world. Nevertheless, this Jesuit lack of adherence to the evangelical precept of poverty is, in the Friar's opinion, a relatively recent development and cannot be attributed either to Ignatius of Loyola or Francis Xavier, who 'imitando a la vida de Cristo y sus apóstoles [...] con su vida y ejemplo habían hecho gran fruto en la conversión de los naturales.'[110]

Because the Jesuits had been the only missionaries to preach in Japan for decades, Aguirre alleges that they had drifted away from orthodox methods and failed to teach the Christian doctrine in its entirety:

> De aquí es que como en Japón haya habido solos los Padres de la Compañía [...] adonde nadie los ve, en la conversión de él han hecho y hacen muchas cosas muy diferentes y han tenido y tienen muy diferente modo de proceder de lo que comúnmente se usa en las demás conversiones, muy diferentes opiniones de lo que comúnmente tienen los doctores, con much facilidad dispensan en las ceremonias y costumbres que haya usado la Iglesia desde el principio hasta agora, y así, en la administración de los sacramentos muchas ceremonias han dejado.[111]

A similar claim is made by Ribadeneira, in his *Memorias de las cosas de Japón*, where he mentions that the Jesuits have tried to justify their own actions by referring back to the *praxis* of the Primitive Church:

> Dicen los Padres que, presupuesto que en la Iglesia primitiva no hubo muchedumbre de preceptos humanos, como agora hay, y la Iglesia de Japón es primitiva, y así no se han de dar preceptos privativos sino sólo los Diez Mandamientos, como los Padres hacen. Por lo qual no dan ayuno, domingo ni fiesta ni confesión ni comunión de precepto.[112]

He is convinced, however, that the Fathers have erred in their understanding of what the Primitive Church intended to do. In fact, many of the common practices of the Jesuits were, in the Friars' view, incompatible with the rules or 'preceptos positivos' of the Church. The

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[109] See *DFJ*, pp. 59-60.

[110] See *DFJ*, p. 71.

[111] See *DFJ*, pp. 51-2.

[112] See *DFJ*, p. 242; see also pp. 211 and 222.

dubious legitimacy of granting permission for 'mixed marriages' (i.e. of a Christian to a non-Christian), the frequent dispensation from the use of consecrated or 'holy oils' at baptism, and the insufficient degree of preparation required by the Fathers before a catechumen was admitted to the sacrament of baptism, were all cited as concrete cases in which the Society had fallen short of the requirements of the Church. With regard to the last example, the Franciscans objected that the Jesuits allowed people to be baptized with almost no preparation and without having first carefully examined the candidate and determined whether he was living in polygamy or engaged in concubinage.[113] In view of these criticisms, it is not surprising that Valignano felt obliged to dedicate an entire chapter of his *Apología* to refute the contention that in the administration of the sacraments the Jesuits were not following the *orthopraxis* of the Church.[114]

Finally, beyond and above such practical concerns, there was the more general theological question of the role of *Divine Providence* in Japanese history and, more specifically, the question of when and how it could be invoked to explain the numerous persecutions which the Church had suffered in that country. Jerónimo de Jesus is convinced that the expulsion of the Jesuits that followed Hideyoshi's anti-Christian edict of 1587, the arrival of the Friars in Japan in 1593, and the martyrdoms of the Franciscans, are all an expression of a higher providential plan for Japan:

> El mesmo año o quasi el mesmo en que los Padres solicitavan y trabaxavan en Roma para que no entrassen otros religiosos de otras Ordenes en el Japón, en esse mesmo tiempo permitió el Señor levantar o que ellos levantassen o favoresciessen a un gentil que los desterrasse de Japón con un pregón público [...]Hay mucho que considerar [...] la gran providencia que tiene Dios en su Yglesia y en particular en las Religiones, que de varones apostólicos se hallan cada día en estas conversiones de las Yndias [...] Onde en absencia y falta de los Apóstoles, promete el Señor embiar a su Yglesia y criar hijos que suplan la falta de los padres y en tal manera la suplan que quien los viere, le parescerá que vee apóstoles; y assí parescieron estos santos Mártires, apóstoles de Japón.[115]

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[113] See *DFJ*, pp. 223-5

[114] See *Apología* (1598), chapter 22: 'De la cuarta cosa principal en que quiere dar a entender cuán mal se han los Padres de la Compañía en Japón en la conversión de los gentiles y en doctrinar los cristianos, poniendo diversos yerros que hacen', pp. 244-60 [ARSI: *Iap.-Sin.*, 41, fols 100r-107r].

[115] See Jerónimo de Jesus, *Relación* ..., in *AIA*, 18 (1925), pp. 568; 570.

What made such a reading of history relevant to the present circumstances were the conclusions for the future that could be drawn from it and the consequences that it would have for the missionaries. In effect, this key *topos* was often used by both sides as a polemical argument, as we shall see in the following chapter. Valignano himself shows a growing concern with making historical-theological sense out of the destruction wrought on the mission just when it seemed that the Church in Japan was beginning to flourish. This is especially true in *Principio*, where the interpretation of *divine providence* and the meaning of *persecution* are two central historical issues that he discusses at length.

Nemine discrepante? Mixed Reactions among the Jesuits

In the long and emotionally charged debate that took place over the presence of Friars in Japan, beginning with the *Consulta* in 1580 and lasting more than two decades, Valignano liked to portray the Jesuits' opinion as a united and monolithic 'block'. He claimed that everyone agreed, *nemine discrepante*, that *no* other religious should be allowed into the country for the foreseeable future. He also repeatedly mentions that no one had ever voiced a discordant opinion concerning this issue, and that the Jesuits had unanimously reiterated their opposition to the Mendicants during the first Provincial Congregation in Nagasaki in 1592.[116] As far as disagreeing with the Visitor was concerned, it appears that few Jesuits dared to do so openly; what they secretly wrote to Rome, nonetheless, was another matter altogether.[117] Thus, hard though the Visitor tried to convey this impression of united determination among the Jesuits, the correspondence from Japan clearly shows that, instead,

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[116] See his *Apología* (1598), p. 412 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 41, fols 164^{r-v}]: 'Los nuestros todos, y aun los mismos de los que él [i. e. Fray Jerónimo de Jesus] aquí nombra, fueron siempre de un mismo parecer que no era este tiempo para venir frailes de las Filipinas a Japón, y así lo firmaron de su nombre antes de su venida y después en la Congregación [i. e. in 1592] que hicieron, y ellos mismos me dijeron que nunca les dijeron lo contrario de esto.'

[117] Both Antonio Francisco Critana and Diogo de Mesquita informed Aquaviva that Valignano had put tremendous pressure on dissenters to sign documents against the Franciscans; see respectively (Nagasaki: 26.II.1599) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 13 II, fols 278^{v}-79^{r}], printed in José Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Opinión de un canonista de la Compañía de Jesús sobre los Franciscanos en Japón (1598-99)', *Tenri Daigaku Gakuhō*, 84 (1972), 1-23 (p. 14) and (Nagasaki: 7.III.1599) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 13 II, fols 305^{v}-306^{r}], printed in *Idem*, 'Cinco cartas', pp. 103-4.

there was doubt and division. In fact, one finds Jesuits taking every possible position in the spectrum: some sympathized with the Friars, others questioned both the legal and practical arguments put forward by Valignano, while a few even actively and without apology lobbied for the Friars to come to Japan.

This state of *desunión* among Jesuits was reported to the General by Luís Fróis and Affonso de Lucena, who both saw the turmoil as an unfortunate but inevitable result of Luso-Castilian rivalry, at the religious and commercial levels.[118] An example that lends support to this interpretation are the diametrically opposing points of view of the Portuguese Jesuit Rector in Nagasaki, António Lopes, and the Spanish Jesuit, Melchior Mora, whose arguments are clearly coloured by their respective national backgrounds. Lopes, to whom Miguel Roxo de Brito had handed Fray Martín's *relaciones*, was bitterly opposed not only to the Friars but to Spaniards and their methods in general and was convinced that 'llevar adelante la conversión por conquista es cosa de riza y el más cercano camino para echar todo a perder.'[119] Mora, on the other hand, resented this anti-Spanish stance of his fellow Jesuits from Portugal and complained that the Spanish Jesuits were being unjustly blamed for the whole situation - from showing too much sympathy towards the Friars to planning a military invasion of Japan. He was especially disturbed by the attitude of the Father Visitor, 'el cual [...] lo hizo así [...] alterándose contra los Padres castellanos, reprehendiéndolos públicamente como gente culpada y mostrándoles el rostro más severo de lo que convenía'. In his report to Aquaviva, Mora is quick to point out that it was none other than the *Portuguese* Jesuit, Gaspar Coelho, and *not* the Spanish, who had written to Manila asking for troops to defend

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[118] See Affonso de Lucena to João Álvares (Nagasaki: 10.X.1595) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 12 II, fol. 266ᵀ], printed in José Álvarez-Taladriz, 'La Reconstrucción de la Iglesia de Nagasaki y la llegada de religiosos franciscanos (1593-1594)', *JOUFS*, 51 (1981), 129-34 (p. 134); and Luís Fróis to Aquaviva (Nagasaki: 20.I.1596) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 12 II, fols 347ʳ-48ᵀ] and *Idem* to Francisco Cabral (Nagasaki: 31.I.1596) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 12 II, fols 355ʳ-56ᵀ], both printed in José Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Dos cartas del Padre Luís Fróis, S.J. sobre la desavenencia hispano-portuguesa en la Compañía de Jesús (1596)', *JOUFS - Estudios Hispánicos*, 3 (1973), 1-24 (pp. 3-10 and 10-17).

[119] See António Lopes to Aquaviva (Nagasaki: 10.X.1597) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 13 I, fol. 73ᵛ], in Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Cinco cartas', p. 82.

the Christian rulers in Japan.[120] A calmer note is adopted by the Spanish Jesuit theologian, Pedro de la Cruz, who in a lengthy and carefully reasoned letter to the General refutes one by one Valignano's arguments against allowing Friars to partake in the work of conversion in Japan; he is convinced, moreover, that their presence would be a great asset to the expansion of the mission.[121] As for the Spanish Vice-provincial, Pedro Gómez, who did not hide his reservations towards the Friars' way of proceeding in Japan, it becomes clear from various reports that he went to great pains to act with moderation and be of assistance to the Franciscans whenever possible.[122] Among the Spaniards there was also Pedro Morejón, whose initial resistance turned to reverential admiration when he learnt that the Friars had been condemned to death. In an emotional and heart-wrenching letter addressed to Pedro Bautista and his companions on the eve of their execution he praises their courage, expresses his 'vehementíssima embidia' that they have been chosen to bear witness to Christ through martyrdom, and asks for forgiveness for his past opposition to them.[123]

While the importance of Iberian rivalry as a key factor at the root of the conflict, which some of the above examples illustrate, must be fully recognised, the Jesuit dividedness regarding the Mendicant Friars did not run exclusively along national lines. The Portuguese Jesuit, Diogo de Mesquita, flatly denies Valignano's oft-repeated contention that the differences in lifestyle and preaching between Friars and Jesuits would confuse the Christians

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[120] See Melchior de Mora to Aquaviva (?: 4.II.1599) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 13 II, fol. 24ᵀ], in Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Cinco cartas', p. 90-1.

[121] See Pedro de la Cruz to Aquaviva (Nagasaki: 25.X.1593) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 12 I, fols 108ʳ-11ᵀ], published in José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Opinión de un teólogo de la Compañía de Jesús sobre la pluralidad de Ordenes religiosas en Japón (1593)', *Tenri Daigaku Gakuhō*, 71 (1971), 1-18 (pp. 2-12).

[122] Gómez's kindness towards the Friars is reported by Marcelo de Ribadeneira in his *Historia de las islas del archipiélago y reynos de la gran China, Tartaria, Cuchinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboxa y Jappón; y de lo sucedido en ellos a los religiosos descalços de la Orden del seráphico padre San Francisco de la provincia de San Gregorio de las Philippinas* (Barcelona: Gabriel Graells y Giraldo Dotil, 1601). I cite the modern edition of this work edited by Juan R. de Legísima, Colección España Misionera, 3 (Madrid: Católica, 1947), p. 335. Also see Ribadeneira's praise of Gómez in his *Queixas*, in *DFJ*, p. 167.

[123] See Pedro Morejón to the six Friars condemned to death (Osaka: ?.1597), printed in *AFH*, 21 (1928), 311.

and that their presence would only make the Japanese authorities more suspicious as to the missionaries' real intentions:

> **Y creo de cierto que ver él [i. e. Hideyoshi] que ellos profesan la misma ley y doctrina que nos, le ha quitado la sospecha que tenía de nuestro fin, scilicet, de que no pretendemos salvar ánimas sino con esta capa usurpar los reinos y hacernos señores de ellos, como pretendía una secta de Bonzos [...] Creo que no solamente no son impedimento [i. e. los frailes], mas aun son ayuda no pequeña. Porque, como digo, los Cristianos se confirman más en la fe con la abundancia de los testigos de ella, y los gentiles pierden la sospecha que tenían de nuestro intento y fin.**[124]

The disagreement among the Jesuits was not, nonetheless, limited either to the question of Friars coming to Japan or to the controversy mentioned earlier surrounding their status as authentic martyrs. Objections similar to those that had been raised by the Mendicants against Jesuit missionary *praxis* were being echoed by members of the Society of Jesus itself in Japan and India, and were often directed *ad hominem* against the Visitor's policies and actions. Criticisms of Valignano's 'flamboyant' methods focused on financial matters and their relation to religious and even doctrinal issues. It is typical in many of these writings, including those of Valignano himself, to jump from a financial premise or question to a theological conclusion or solution. Among such issues, there was, above all, the long-standing controversy regarding the Society's involvement in the silk trade in Nagasaki and Macao as a means of financing the mission. We have seen how the Friars seized upon this as proof that the Society was not following an authentic apostolic model. Another point of contention was the considerable expenses incurred by the Jesuits in the purchase of gifts that the Visitor felt that the Society had to present to local officials in keeping with Japanese custom. Both practices were seen as problematic at best and as a scandalous departure from religious poverty at worse.[125] Moreover, there was the delicate issue, not unrelated to the question of poverty, of whether Valignano's policies had led the missionaries to preach a

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[124] See Diogo de Mesquita to Aquaviva (Amakusa: 26.X.1594) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 12 II, fol. 207], published in Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Una carta inédita de Maeda Geni', p. 23-4; also see his previous letter to Aquaviva (Nagasaki: 12.XI.1593) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 12 I, fols 120^{r}-22], published in José Álvarez-Taladriz, 'El Padre Diogo de Mesquita, S. J. entre la obediencia y la conciencia', *Sapientia. The Eichi University Review*, 15 (1981), 97-106, in which he argues in favour of the presence of other Religious in Japan and the disadvantages if the Society continues to deny them access to the mission.

[125] For a discussion of the silk trade see Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, pp.79-94; 115-128.

version of Christianity that played down the 'scandal of the Cross' for fear that it could have a potentially negative impact on prospective converts, especially among the samurai class that like to be flattered and showered with exotic presents. As early as 1585 Aquaviva had reminded the Visitor in no uncertain terms of the duty of every missionary to proclaim without fear or hesitation Christ crucified:

> Nè pare che si debba temere che doppo tanto tempo siano i principali et prudenti della natione per scandalizarsi et stimare in poco le cose nostre, se pure, como è necessario, è stato predicato loro l'Evangelio, perché ivi havran veduto Christo Nostro Signore dispregiato, povero et finalmente ignudo in Croce, et gli Apostoli poveri anch'essi et bisognosi d'ogni cosa et maltrattati dal mondo. Hora, chi questa dottrina predica, non so perché debba nascondere tanto lungamente la virtù della Croce et la imitatione di Christo che predica per Dio, il quale et consegliò et mostrò con esempio la volontaria povertà et il dispregio d'ogni cosa mondana.[126]

Ten years later Valignano is still grappling with similar criticisms. In a letter to the General written in 1596 he rejects these charges but acknowledges that reservations had been expressed with regards to his methods not only in the East but regrettably also in Rome: 'Parecía que nos íbamos apartando mucho del Instituto y espíritu de la Compañía y de nuestras Constituciones.'[127] No one single-handedly contributed to this impression more than his chief Jesuit antagonist, Francisco Cabral, whose strongly-worded objections challenged Valignano's very interpretation of what it meant to preach the Gospel in a non-Christian environment:

> Em Japão, onde Deus claramente tem mostrado quanto lhe desagrada o modo de seu governo [i. e. of Valignano] em aquella Christandade, levando-a por suas traças próprias e não pollas que Christo N. Senhor deixou a seus Apóstolos e elles a seus socessores, fundadas em humildade e pobreza e não em honras e dignidades como o Padre deixou introduzido quando a primeira vez tornou de Japão.[128]

It is remarkable to note how similar in tone Cabral's arguments are to some of those formulated by Fray Martín Aguirre in his *Relaciones*. The example of the Apostles and of

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[126] See Aquaviva to Valignano (Rome: 24.XII.1585) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 22, fols 88^{r-v}], printed in Schütte, *Il Cerimoniale*, p. 320.

[127] See Valignano to Aquaviva (Goa: 26.XI.1596) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 13 I, fol. 31^{r}], printed in José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Valignano sobre su II plan misionero en Japón (1596)', *Tenri Daigaku Gakuhō*, 112 (1978), 1-11 (pp. 2-3).

[128] Francisco Cabral to Aquaviva (Goa: 10.XII.1596) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 32 fol. 585^{v} in *DI*, XVIII (1988), 608.

the Primitive Church, characterized by humility and poverty, emerges yet again as the privileged point of reference for judging the Society's own activities in Japan. Cabral comes to the conclusion that it was Valignano's *lack* of conformity to such apostolic ideals and his love of 'grandes fábricas, tão desnecessárias em Japão' that ultimately led to the persecution of the Society in Japan, a charge not unlike that voiced by the Franciscans:

> **Foi huma das cousas principaes que moveo a Combacondono a nos perseguir, parecendo-lhe que quem sostentava toda esta máchina, a poucos lanços intentaria também tomar-lhe a terra, como já intentárão outros bonzos.**[129]

Conclusion

Looking back from the vantage-point of the early years of the seventeenth century, Valignano undoubtedly realized just how much had changed since he first set foot in the country in 1579. Oda Nobunaga, an unlikely patron, had offered his support and protection, allowing the missionaries to expand their activities to the maximum extent, whereas his successor, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, had remained hostile to the Church during his entire reign, issuing an anti-Christian edict in 1587 and ordering the execution of Christians in 1597. Moreover, it had been the Regent's demand for the submission of the Philippines to his rule that had prompted the arrival of the Friars in 1593 as ambassadors of the Governor in Manila. The Visitor had thus found himself embroiled in a bitter controversy with other religious Orders from which he emerged exasperated and ultimately defeated. We cannot be sure whether he was surprised or simply annoyed by the growing opposition that he had had to face from among members of his own Order, who vigorously challenged his policies and even his understanding of what it meant to be a Christian missionary. In the midst of all these quarrels, the year 1600 became a turning point in the history of the Japanese mission. It was the year in which Rome, under pressure from Philip III, decided to allow Friars as a matter of principle to enter Japan, thus bringing to an end in both secular and ecclesiastical terms, the Jesuit missionary monopoly in that land. It was also the year when Ieyasu's newly established political order redefined the ground rules that were to be followed by foreigners in all future relations with Japan. All aspects of the encounter with the 'southern barbarians'

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[129] *Idem*, fol. 586^{ar-av}, in *DI*, XVIII (1988), 617-8.

were thereafter firmly controlled by a new political dynasty that would eventually sever all ties with the outside world.

To what extent did these individual alliances and rivalries among Europeans in Japan during the final decade of the sixteenth century contribute or lead to the isolationist policies adopted by the Tokugawa regime in 1649? Although their impact on the fate of the Christian community and the missionaries can hardly be denied, one should not lose sight of the internal transformation and upheaval that characterized Japan as it rapidly moved away from the pattern of 'warring states' and towards political and economic unification. Historians generally agree that in this process uniformity of political ideology *and* of religion became a key concern to the Tokugawa regime. Lothar Knauth draws an interesting parallel between the policies of the Japanese rulers and those of the 'Reyes Católicos', Ferdinand and Isabella, who soon realized that the imposition of strict religious uniformity in Spain was an important means of consolidating their newly acquired power.[130]

In reconstructing anew this complicated web of events, the purpose of this chapter has been to explore two levels of *intertextuality* that have a direct bearing on the content and form of *Principio* and that can be likened to two concentric circles. The *outer circle* is the general historical *context*, i. e. the events preceding Valignano's writing of *Principio*. While many of these 'facts' are undisputed and straightforward to establish, an equal number are 'emplotted' in documents that are highly polemical and whose contents remain difficult to assess even today. It is these latter written accounts that form the *inner circle* of texts to which Valignano's historiographical strategies and his rhetoric in *Principio* are directed. What is significant is his growing awareness that legal and canonical arguments were not sufficiently *persuasive* and that the ultimate battle over the Society's legacy would be fought on the field of the mission's *history*. Hence, in *Principio* his concern is not to provide the reader with a sterile chronicle of what happened in the past but, beyond that, to uncover what meaning those events can convey for the present and the future of the Japanese mission. Engaged on all sides by religious and political controversy, he realizes that history can and even must be invoked as a persuasive witness in defence of one's actions.

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[130] See Lothar Knauth, *Confrontación transpacífica. El Japón y el Nuevo Mundo Hispánico, 1542-1639* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1972), p. 141.

Chapter IV

Principio and its Rhetoric in Sixteenth-Century Japan

In the previous chapter much attention was paid to the rivalry among Europeans in Asia at the end of the sixteenth century. The importance of these conflicts at the individual, ecclesiastical, and national levels cannot be overstated in that they defined the *context* in which Valignano was prompted and provoked to take up his pen and compose many a letter, report, treatise, or even a full-length history such as his *Principio*. The closer we look, on the one hand, at the *events* integral to those conflicts, and at the Visitor's *writings* on the other, the more evident it becomes that one can speak, perhaps paradoxically, of an *intertextual* link existing between the two. For we are especially concerned with the events of those conflicts as presented in and by a considerable number of *textual witnesses*. The purpose of the present chapter then will be to enquire more specifically into the relation between the events recounted in chapter III and the degree to which Valignano's historical 'emplotment' of the 'facts' of the first decades of the Japanese Church in *Principio* was shaped as a response to other texts. What makes such a study particularly interesting in terms of Valignano's intellectual strategy is that no evident connection exists in itself between the historical events that are presented to the reader in *Principio* and the continuing conflictual circumstances in which he found himself at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The effort to create such a link must thus be seen as an act of *historical interpretation* on his part. The result of this operation tells us a great deal not only about the *mentalité* of Valignano as an individual but also reveals the ideas and values of the 'audience' to whom *Principio* was ultimately addressed, or at least those ideas and values as he believed them to be.

It is precisely to this *rhetorical* process of *inventing* the connection between the 'res' of the past and the distinct 'res' of the present, and to the matter of the choice of appropriate

'verba' with which to express that relationship, that we must turn our attention now. Insofar as the result of Valignano's labours was not limited to the mechanical compilation of a simple chronicle or list of facts, there is ample scope to analyse what Cicero in his *De oratore* referred to as the *exaedificatio* or superstructure, within which the *res* and *verba* are brought together, and this with sufficient persuasive and didactic force to communicate effectively the historian's message. The principal aims of rhetorical discourse - *movere*, *docere*, and *delectare* - were in fact an integral part of the strategies employed by Valignano in composing *Principio*. But before we ask which rhetorical procedures and genres he chose for presenting the history of the Japanese Church to his contemporaries, we must first allow the Visitor to speak for himself about his intentions as an historian. His gives an assessment of his own efforts in his *Epistola dedicatoria*, the *Proemio al lector*, and in a letter written from Macao to the Jesuit General, Claudio Aquaviva, in 1604, by which time he had completed the revision of his final draft of *Principio*.[1] In these three short texts he also provides a brief explanation of the historical method he adopted in writing about the *res gestae* of his missionary precursors in Japan.

Valignano on his Aims and Method in composing 'Principio'

The Visitor begins his dedicatory epistle by pointing out the 'grandeza y difficultad' of his undertaking, that is, to recount objectively the history of a land whose 'propiedades y qualidades son tan estranhas y el modo de governar su república tan differente y las costumbres y modo de vivir tan peregrinas y agenas de las nuestras.'[2] He humbly declares his 'insufficiencia de [...] ingenio y falta de eloquencia' for such a task. By acknowledging from the outset his own inadequacies as a writer, he is hoping to win over his readers and gain their trust (*docilem parare*). While we have here the common rhetorical technique of *captatio benevolentiae*, which authors often used to introduce themselves, these words also served to emphasize the gravity of the discourse he was about to deliver to his readers and

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[1] See my text, vol. II, 5-18. All references to 'vol. I' or 'vol. II' followed by the page number(s) are to the corresponding volume of this thesis.

[2] See *Epistola*, vol. II, 5.

so stimulate curiosity, thereby making them more attentive (*attentum parare*). We are also informed here that he had been asked many years before by both Mercurian and Aquaviva to compose a comprehensive and coherent historical account of the progress of the missions of the Society of Jesus in the East Indies. He was much relieved, however, to be able to limit his efforts to examining the beginnings or 'principio y progresso' of the Church in *Japan*. Having succeeded twenty years before in bringing to completion the first two parts of his *Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales*, which covered the years 1542-1564[3], he found himself unable to continue that chronicle for lack of 'informaciones verdaderas'; there had been no way of verifying with any thoroughness or 'de raíz' the many 'facts' he had gathered from various sources. He expresses satisfaction, however, with the recent publications of Giovanni Pietro Maffei, who in his opinion was the most reliable and eloquent historian in Europe of the Society's endeavours in Asia. He was also pleased with the two most recent biographies of Francis Xavier by Orazio Torsellino and João de Lucena, which had allowed him to narrow his scope and so focus exclusively on the missionary endeavours of the Society in Japan, foregoing any further research on Jesuit history in India or other parts of South-east Asia.[4]

Besides the many occupations of his office that had significantly hindered his writing, it was also, he points out, the constant changes and dramatic upheavals in Japan that made it close to impossible to convey to his readers an accurate and up-to-date picture of the situation of the Church in that country. He was here referring to the internecine warfare that had plagued Japan all throughout the sixteenth century, a period which came to be known as that of the 'Warring States' [*sengoku jidai*]. He notes that such unfavourable circumstances had obviously had considerable impact on the development of the fledgling Christian community.

As to what he hoped to achieve by composing a new history, we can identify a fourfold purpose in his historiographical project: (i) *to correct previous uncritical reports*, (ii) *to provide a reliable history of the Japanese Church*, (iii) *to defend the Society's reputation and refute the 'calumnies' put forward by the Franciscan missionaries*, and (iv)

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[3] For more on his *Historia (1542-64)* see vol. II, XLVIII-XLIX.

[4] A reference to Maffei's $\mathbf{H}_{88}$ and Torsellino's $\mathbf{X}_{94}$ and $\mathbf{X}_{96}$; see vol. II, XLVIII-LI.

to edify his readers. It was, in fact, genuine *edification* that was the ultimate aim of his labours. Nevertheless, Valignano's understanding of what he called 'edificación de los próximos' was quite different from that of many of his contemporaries, whose writings he found for the most part unreliable and of questionable value. His idea was even further removed from the *lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, a genre which began to flourish in ecclesiastical literature in the seventeenth century and was notorious for its inclusion of apocryphal stories about the heroic deeds of fervent Christian missionaries in far-away and exotic lands. Many of these accounts were far from presenting a reliable version of the events narrated. In contrast, the Visitor was convinced that if the whole truth and that alone could be established and then clearly presented to the reader, in such fashion that he could interpret it in an appropriate way, edification would follow as a matter of course.

In order to accomplish his undertaking he made it his first task to clear up the 'perplexidad y confusión' that the publication of the 'letters from the Indies' seemed to have produced among readers in Europe ever since they first began to appear in print in 1545. He identifies several factors that contributed to this unfortunate state of affairs. Firstly, many of the letters were written as private correspondence and had not been originally intended for publication. Moreover, their missionary writers all too often betrayed insufficient knowledge and experience of the new lands that they were attempting to describe. To make matters worse, their ignorance was compounded by the tendency to exaggerate or embellish their descriptions of places or distort the sequence and nature of events in the early years of the Church. Many such writers had simply not bothered to verify whether their version of things strictly corresponded to reality, often relying merely on hearsay rather than on trustworthy information.[5] Thus these letters, in print, offered a considerable number of contradictory accounts concerning the same subject. Writing himself to Aquaviva regarding the composition of his own history, Valignano admits that he is ashamed ('tengo vergonça') of the many exaggerations found in the published accounts of the life of Francis Xavier: 'en vida de Sanctos' such a slack way of writing 'parece cosa desconveniente y muy mal hecha.'[6] It was thus his ambition to *correct* such inaccuracies by investigating any 'facts' that

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[5] See *Epístola*, vol. II, 7-8.

[6] See vol. II, 17.

appeared to be problematic. He promised to examine thoroughly his own sources and select them with great care. Eager to justify this method of proceeding, he sets down a guiding principle for his own work: 'mal se puede dar gloria a Dios con falsedades y mentiras'.[7] Valignano had made an almost identical comment twenty years earlier in a letter to the General, where he explained the great caution he had exercised in writing about Xavier in his first *Historia (1542-64)*, and why he had judged it prudent to omit many of the miraculous happenings related to Xavier that, in the opinion of Manuel Teixeira, had been reported uncritically in Pedro de Ribadeneira's biography of Ignatius of Loyola:

> Mas la verdad es la que se escrive en la dicha Historia [i. e. in his *Historia (1542-64)*], y no se halla otra cosa que se pueda escrevir por cierta ni aun por probable; y lo que en ella se dize, assí como es verdad cierta, assí *basta para glorificar N. Señor en la vida de su Sancto sin acrecentarse para esso cosas apócrifas y inciertas* [*my italics*].[8]

It may be worth considering further why the Visitor felt compelled to state so forcefully his concern for, and commitment to, producing a 'true' version of the mission's history.[9] The problem of trustworthy reporting can be traced to the administrative operation of the Society of Jesus, which heavily relied upon the reports that all Jesuits, regardless of where they happened to be in the world, were expected to write on a regular basis to the General Superior of the Society of Jesus in Rome. The purpose of these long and detailed *litterae* was to give the General and his assistants in Rome sufficient information with which to make any important decisions concerning the work of the Society as a whole so as to formulate directives with regard to concrete questions that needed to be addressed in individual provinces. This system had been introduced by the Order's founder as an effective means for governing and for creating an *esprit de corps* or - to use a phrase oft-repeated by Ignatius himself - an 'unión de corazones' among members who were dispersed all over the world and engaged in very diverse activities. Ignatius and his successors were convinced that

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[7] See vol. II, 13.

[8] See Valignano to Aquaviva (Cochin: 16.I.1585) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 13 II, fol. 254^{v}], in *DI*, XIII (1975), 818.

[9] The problems related to the writing of a critical life of Francis Xavier are discussed in Georg Schurhammer, 'Historical Research into the Life of Francis Xavier in the Sixteenth Century', in *Gesammelte Studien*, ed. by László Szilas, Biblioteca IHSI, XX-XXIII, 4 vols (Rome/Lisbon: IHSI/Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962-65), III: *Xaveriana* (1964), 90-114.

such correspondence was essential lest different parts of the Order cease to have anything in common with each other. In view of the difficulties involved with travel and communication, letter-writing was in fact sometimes the only way of ensuring that this tenuous link between the central authorities in Rome and the rest of the Society was maintained.[10] When the practice was first introduced, superiors had been encouraged to draft these letters as often as possible, sometimes even on a weekly basis. Moreover, the *Constitutions* themselves enjoined the local superior to compose *litterae quadrimestres* whose purpose was that of edification.[11] At the Second General Congregation of the Order, which convened in Rome in 1565, this was changed, however, to the more realistic practice of *litterae annuae*.[12] Further emendations were made by the Third General Congregation in 1573.[13] The system was not, however, without its own problems. The length of time it took for letters to come and go to and from Asia (3-4 years through the *carreira da Índia*) inevitably diminished the influence and impact of decisions not only of the Jesuit General but even of higher authorities such as the Pope or the King of Spain. An even more fundamental problem, however, was how far what was being reported was to be relied on. Especially in the early years, such reliability appears to have varied a great deal. Men like Juan de Polanco, who had become secretary of the Order in 1547 and had drawn up many of the rules regarding how the letters to Rome were to be written[14], Peter Canisius and Jerónimo Nadal, were soon confronted with

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[10] See John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, pp. 62-3.

[11] See the *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, Pars 8, Caput 1, M in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, 3 vols (Rome: Typographia a SS. Conceptione, 1892-93), II (1893): *Examen et Constitutiones, Decreta Congregationum Generalium, Formulae Congregationum*, pp. 115; 117-18. For a modern scholarly English translation see *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, trans. by George E. Ganss (St. Louis, MI: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), pp. 292-3 (§§[673],[675]).

[12] See the 'decretum 54' on the 'Formula Scribendi', in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, II (1893), 205.

[13] See the *Formula Scribendi*, printed in the *Regulae Societatis Iesu* (Lyon: Iacobus Roussin, 1606), pp. 134-42. The original version printed in Rome in 1580 is reproduced in *DI*, IX (1966), 717-22. That the General should make such emendations to the *Formula* was approved in decree 33 (= MS. decree 53) of the Congregation. See *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, II (1893), 226.

[14] See Juan de Polanco to the Society of Jesus (Rome: 27.VII.1547) [**ARSI**: *Epist. Polanci*, fols 362^{v}-65^{r}] in *Monumenta Ignatiana* [...] *Epistolae et Instructiones*, 12 vols (Madrid: Gabriel López del Horno, 1903-11), I (1903), 542-9.

the inaccuracies of the first editions of the printed letters from the Indies. To their credit, they made continual efforts over a period of several decades to have the offending editions of such letters either emended and reprinted or suppressed altogether.[15]

Valignano was well aware from his own disappointing experiences in India and Japan that a substantial number of the reports being written in these countries simply did not reflect with any accuracy the situation there.[16] Specifically referring to Manuel da Costa's *Rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum* [...], published together with a collection of *epistolae indicae* in 1571,[17] he complains that 'ci è molto che dire, perché la maggior parte di esse furono scritte *in fervore spiritus*.' And as for the Japanese letters, 'non si potranno emendare si non gionto che sarò in quelli luoghi.'[18] The issue was brought up by Valignano during the deliberations of the Indian Province which took place in Chorão between 6 and 18 December, 1575. 'Pregunta 33' addressed the problem of how the 'cartas annuas' were to be written. All the participants agreed that

> **las cartas que se escriviessen desta Provincia en las quales se escriven cosas pertinentes a hystoria, se vean con diligentia por los superiores para que se escrivan cosas ciertas y verdaderas.**[19]

These recommendations were accepted later that month during the First Provincial Congregation of the Indian Province and were subsequently approved by Mercurian in the response he sent to India on 31 January 1577. The General confirmed his wish that the *litterae iaponicae* be sent independently of the Indian letters and asked the Jesuit superior in Japan to write to Rome if he had any further suggestions with respect either to the way the

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[15] See vol. II, XLIII-XLIV. Also see Josef Wicki's introduction to his edition of *Historia (1542-64)*, pp. 19*-31*.

[16] See above in this volume, pp. 57-8.

[17] See vol. II, XLIII-XLIV.

[18] See Valignano to Mercurian (In between Cochin and Goa: 4.XII.1575) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 47, fol. 56'] in *DI*, X (1968), 217.

[19] See the 'Deliberationes Patrum veterum et Superiorum de pluribus quaestionibus Provinciae Indiae' (Chorão: 6-18.XII.1575) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 47, fol. 26'] in *DI*, X (1968), 280-1.

annual letter was to be written or to its content.[20]

In such difficult circumstances Valignano's characteristic approach was to take swift and decisive action. Having already dealt with the same problem in India, one of his first official acts during his visitation of Japan was to reform the guidelines for how the Japanese *litterae annuae* should be compiled.[21] His instructions were formalized in writing in 1582 before his departure and subsequently included in his *Obediências* or 'Orders' for the Japanese province.[22] The main innovation was to have either the superior of the mission - or another man appointed specifically for this task - compose a coherent account of the facts only after he had carefully read each of the individual reports from the various residences. This gave the 'editor' of the *litterae annuae* the opportunity to make enquiries with regard to any conflicting information he might have received *before* he drafted the final version and forwarded it to Europe. Writing to the General in 1579 from Japan Valignano states again his belief that 'si può fare una delle buone historie di grande edificatione per la Compagnia e gloria di N. Signore che se sieno fatte fin'hora *descrivendosi la pura verità delle cose* [*my italics*].'[23] That Valignano had explicitly demanded such an approach to reporting is confirmed in a letter written by Enrique Enriques, a veteran missionary in India, to Giovanni

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[20] See 'Quaesita a Congregatione prima Provinciali Indiae P. Everardo Mercuriano [...] proposita' (Chorão: 28.XII.1575) [**ARSI**: *Congregationes*, 42, fol. 329ᵛ] and 'Responsa R. P. Everardi Mercuriani [...] ad Congregationem primam Provinciae Indiae' (Rome: 31.I.1577) [**ARSI**: *Congregationes*, 93, fol. 201ʳ], both in *DI*, X (1968), 341-2.

[21] For a detailed account of the circumstances which led to Valignano's decision to draft clear guidelines for the way letters should be written and dispatched to Rome see *Sumario*, pp. 63*-8*; *VMJ-E*, I/1, 271-8; and Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, pp. 29-41.

[22] See his *Regimento pera os Padres que estão nas residências de Japão* [...] (November, 1581) in **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 49, 240ʳ-51ʳ and his *Regimento para o Superior das partes do Ximo* [...] (12 February 1582) in **ARSI**, *Fondo Gesuitico*, 721 V A, fols 4ʳ-6ᵛ. For his 'Orders' see chapter 14: 'Do modo que os Padres hão de ter em escrever aos Superiores, e a outras pessoas, e em dar os pontos para a Ânnua' in *Obediências do P.ᵉ Alexandre Valignano* [...], in **BAL**, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-IV-56, fols 146ʳ-170ʳ (fols 162ᵛ-63ʳ) and chapter 12: 'Do modo que os Padres hão de ter em escrever aos Superiores e dar os pontos para a Ánnua', in *Extrato das Obediências dos Visitadores, feito para os Padres das Residências e mais partes de Japão pello P.ᵉ Francisco Pássio, Visitador da Província de Japão no anno de 1612*, in *idem*, fols 27ʳ-39ʳ (fol. 33ʳ).

[23] See Valignano to Mercurian (Kuchinotsu: 5.XII.1579) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 II, fol 243ʳ] in *Historia (1542-64)*, p. 482.

Pietro Maffei about the instructions they had received from the Visitor in 1579:

> Quando o mesmo Padre [i.e. Valignano] mandou da China, que os Padres velhos escrevéssemos o que soubéssemos, mandava que déssemos relação mui certa das cousas, *sem nenhuma ampliação nem incerteza, dizendo que sobre todas as cousas importava que a ystória fosse verdadeira* [*my italics*].[24]

Even the biography of Xavier, written by Manuel Teixeira, a reliable eyewitness whom Valignano had met in India, was not published until it had been carefully checked several times.[25] The Visitor later acknowledged the value of Teixeira's work and made extensive use of it for his own account in *Historia (1542-64)*, as Josef Wicki has shown in his edition of Valignano's chronicle.[26]

By going to such great pains to adopt a genuinely *critical* approach to the reporting of Jesuit endeavours in Asia in general and of Xavier's exploits in particular, Valignano hoped to succeed in fulfilling his principal aim - that of providing his readers for the first time with a reliable account of the progress of the Church in Japan. Previous attempts had fallen short of the ideal, for 'no se escrivieron por modo de historia ni con la claridad y distinción que era necessario para poderse bien entender.'[27] This is why, he believes, still in his own day 'no se tiene en Europa plena ni intera noticia desta nación de Japón.'[28] Despite the difficulties involved in such an ambitious historiographical project, he claims that he enjoys a great advantage over other writers in that he has much personal experience of Japan as well as access to first-hand accounts of the events of the early years from surviving 'testigos de vista que no me dejarán mentir.'[29] This perhaps explains the way in which Valignano handles the published sources that he chooses to quote in his text. Unlike other authors in Europe, who would not have had access either to the people or places described in their histories,

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[24] See Enrique Enriques to Giovanni Pietro Maffei (Punnaikâyal: 15.XII.1583)[**ARSI**: *Fondo Gesuitico*, 644, n. 30, fol. 1ˉ], in *DI*, XII (1972), 947.

[25] See Rui Vicente, Provincial of India's two letters to Mercurian: (Cochin: 3.I.1581) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 13 I, fol. 55ˉ] in *DI*, XII (1972), 206 and (Goa: 30.III.1581) [**ARSI**: *Goa*, 47, 174ˉ] in *Idem*, 281.

[26] See Wicki's introduction to *Historia (1542-64)*, pp. 58*-89*.

[27] See *Epistola*, vol. II, 7.

[28] See *Epistola*, vol. II, 8.

[29] See *Proemio*, vol. II, 14.

Valignano is confident in his ability to offer an assessment of the accuracy of such sources. Thus he does not hesitate to make emendations to the texts in question, explaining in each instance his reasons for doubting the veracity of specific statements. At times he even goes so far as to state what he believes had led the author of the published text to commit a factual error in his account. This detached attitude towards his sources is one of the original features of Valignano's *Principio*.[30] Although he comments on only a relatively limited number of the 'Indian' and 'Japanese letters', there is no other Jesuit historian of the period who to the same extent as Valignano attempts to assess systematically the documentary value of the published reports and to state explicitly his conclusions concerning them.

Having thus presented the problems related to the sources on which he has relied, he turns to another key issue regarding his work: the different 'géneros de cosas' or 'topics' which he has chosen to include in his re-telling of the events. These are briefly outlined in his *Proemio al lector* under five separate headings: the secular monarchy of Japan; the discernible hand of Divine Providence in the foundation and development of the Japanese Church and the similarities that exist between the Christian community in Japan and the Primitive Church of the Apostolic Age; the innumerable persecutions and difficulties suffered by the missionaries in the propagation of the faith; the way in which the Jesuit missionaries in Japan had faithfully adhered to and imitated the example of the Apostles and other saints of the Primitive Church; and finally, questions arising from various accusations and 'diversas calumnias que se escrivieron y publicaron contra los Padres de nuestra Compañía', to which he hopes to provide an appropriate response.

The themes thus taken into consideration are pre-eminently theological, for, as he reminds his reader, his history is intended to be 'ecclesiástica y no profana solamente'.[31] He is also careful to point out that these 'géneros de cosas' are relevant to the *entire* fifty-year span of Japanese Church history and will therefore be discussed in *all* five volumes of his history rather than each topic being confined to a different volume. As to the content of each

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[30] See for example Valignano's emendations to Torsellino's *Life of Francis Xavier* in chapter I (vol. II, 21) and to Maffei's *History of the Indies* in chapter 7 (vol. II, 32-3). He also adds numerous comments to Maffei's descriptions throughout chapter 8 (vol. II, 43-54).

[31] See vol. II, 10.

of these volumes, he has decided to divide them according to the period of rule of each of the various Jesuit superiors of the Japanese region, beginning with the arrival of the Portuguese in 1542 and Francis Xavier in 1549 in Volume One, and ending with events in his own day in Volume Five. As far as we know, the only part of this projected work that was actually completed was the first volume, which is the object of the present study and covers a period of twenty-eight years (1542-1570). These topics are critical to our study, for they provide us with a blueprint for Valignano's process of *inventio* for his history as well as the key to understanding the rhetorical aims behind his whole project.

'Principio' and its languages

Why did the Visitor decide to use Castilian to compose his history? The justification he gave as early as 1577 for the use of Spanish in his official correspondence can almost certainly be applied to most of his later works, *Principio* being no exception. Writing from Goa to Mercurian, he mentions that it would be most natural for him to write in Italian, but he no longer has amanuenses capable of taking dictation in his native tongue. As for Latin, the language that Antonio Possevino has urged him to write in, he regrets that he does not have the time to compose his letters in proper Latin prose. He admits that he is no longer sufficiently 'exercitado' in composition, nor is his style 'tan elegante.' In the circumstances, Portuguese would be his natural preference, but as his letters are mainly addressed to people in Rome, he fears that 'portugués [...] no se entiende ni sirve nada en Italia.' He therefore has no choice but to write in Spanish: 'Y queda que la más común y más intelligible lengua en que yo pueda escrivir es la castellana.' His own linguistic shortcomings ('soy bien ruin castellano'; 'tengo hecho una confusión de tres lenguas') are compounded by the inability of many of his Portuguese-speaking scribes to take dictation properly in Spanish.[32] Similar remarks about his inadequate knowledge of languages are contained in his letter to Aquaviva

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[32] See Valignano to Mercurian (Goa: 16.IX.1577) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 I, fol. 172ᵀ] in *DI*, X (1968), 905-6.

regarding the composition of *Principio*.[33] There he also mentions that his initial intention was to have the Rector of the Jesuit college in Macao, Valentim Carvalho, renowned for his training in the Classics, translate his history into elegant Latin, but the latter had not found the time even to begin the task.[34] He stresses how he had wanted a *Portuguese* Jesuit to make the translation in order to avoid any accusations of bias on his part against the national interests of Portugal. Such allegations had been made more than once by various Portuguese Jesuits who disagreed with his policies. Carvalho would thus be offered the chance to censure anything that he or his compatriots might find objectionable in Valignano's version of the facts. Despite these plans, Carvalho had not been able to work on the translation, so the question of who was to revise his final draft became moot, and he was left with no choice but to send to Rome his Castilian version which, he adds, 'no servirá para más que para dar la materia ordenada y cierta para se le poder dar ahý antes de se imprimir mejor forma.' Curiously, he leaves the Latin quotations as they stand without translating them back into Spanish. This may suggest that he believed that in the end *Principio* would be translated into Latin and published in that language. These considerations notwithstanding, and regardless of the language in which the Jesuit authorities in Rome ultimately printed his *Principio*, his primary concern remained that the history 'salga escrita con toda verdad.'[35]

Caesar Baronius and his 'Annales' as Historiographical Model

How - in the Visitor's belief - was he to produce such a 'true' and reliable account? In his letter to Aquaviva, he says that he thought it expedient to take the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Caesar Baronius as his historiographical model and guide, rather than be content with writing what he calls a *historia simplex*. He does not elaborate on the meaning of this expression, but we are given a clue to its meaning when he promises - in contrast to the

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[33] See vol. II, 16: 'por no saber hablar sino bien mal la lengoa castellana ni aver en estas partes quien la pudiesse enmendar con la elegancia que conviene, va toda la *Historia* escrita muy groseramente y con palavras improprias, y sin ninguno estilo bueno.'

[34] See vol. II, LXIV and 16.

[35] See vol. II, 16.

historians who had written such histories - to 'verify' (*averigoar*) and to 'prove' (*provar*) his statements.[36] It would appear therefore that it was this 'critical' approach that he was speaking of when he made reference to Baronius. A comparison of many of Valignano's above-mentioned remarks with Baronius's Preface to the first volume of his *Annales* soon reveals, in fact, a number of significant parallels with regard to the issue of 'critical' history-writing. Baronius states that, in his study of 'ecclesiastical matters', no effort will be spared to investigate ambiguous reports and to discard dubious documentary evidence:

> For ourselves, however, we are not dealing simply with ancient history but most particularly with Church history, in which not only must truth itself lay claim to first place - as in other forms of historical writing - but to have departed even a hair's breadth from the truth is a matter of conscience [...] For truth has never kept company with dissimulation [...] In order that this same truth may shine forth ever more clearly, we shall never leave anything unexamined which we will have judged to be doubtful or contrary to the truth [...] For in writing all this we have not been following learned fables but relied on most trustworthy witnesses.[37]

This solemn declaration of his commitment to enquire into the truth and to present it faithfully was common among historians of the period. Whether they were engaged in writing secular or sacred history, all felt obliged to repeat in some form in their prefaces the Ciceronian pledge to abide by the 'prima lex historiae', i. e. to relate nothing but the 'truth'.[38] From a closer reading of his work it soon becomes clear, however, that Baronius's eloquently stated promise not 'to depart even a hair's breadth (*unguem ab ea recessisse*) from the 'truth itself' was more than simply a way of paying tribute to that long accepted Classical ideal. The force with which it is asserted came in response to those who in Baronius's day no longer took such a commitment for granted. The 'truth' and 'validity' of the very foundations of ecclesiastical tradition, as embodied in the Roman Catholic Church, had been

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[36] See vol. II, 17.

[37] See his *Annales Ecclesiastici* [...], 12 vols (Rome: Typographia Vaticana et al., 1588-1607; Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana, 1589-1609), I (Antwerp, 1589), 3-6: Nos autem, quoniam non tantum res antiquas sed Ecclesiasticas potissimum pertractamus, in quibus non solum, ut in caeteris historiis, ipsa veritas primum sibi vendicare locum debet; sed vel latum unguem ab ea recessisse, religio est. [...] Numquam enim [...] veritas sectata est fucum [...] Ut magis magisque eadem veritas elucescat, indiscussum nihil, quod ambiguum, vel veritati contrarium esse senserimus, uspiam relinquemus [...] Non enim doctas fabulas secuti sumus, haec scribentes, sed gravissimis usi testibus.

[38] See Cicero, *De oratore*, II.xiv.62.

seriously called into question by the Protestant Reformers. More specifically, it was the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Flacius Illyricus and his companions, also known as the Magdeburg Centuriators, to which Baronius intended to deliver a definitive riposte in his voluminous *Annals*.[39] What the compilation of these two monumental works clearly indicates is that it had not taken long for scholars on both sides of the confessional divide to acknowledge that abstract theological argumentation was no longer an effective tool in the battle to justify their respective positions. Whilst the use of dialectics in controversial issues was never completely abandoned, it was *history* that emerged as one of the privileged *topoi* with which to engage religious opponents in disputes over the validity of one's understanding of the true Faith. Theologians realized that it was difficult if not impossible to argue that one's interpretation of Christianity was correct and that of the other side erroneous without referring to the genesis and history of those beliefs. As Donald Kelley has observed concerning strategies of polemic argumentation during the sixteenth century: 'History became the principal mode of explanation, justification, criticism, and especially partisan controversy in the age of reformation and counter-reformation.'[40]

Among the first Reformers to have explicitly made this connection between *vera religio* and *vera historia* was Philipp Melanchthon. He grasped fully the importance of integrating historical arguments into a new reformed theological method - unlike Luther, who was at first reluctant to do so. This development was particularly significant, for it allowed Protestant scholars, who were committed to the religious principle of *sola scriptura*, to reclaim select elements of ancient Church history and make them the basis of their own reforms. Whilst rejecting the existence of any continuity *ipso facto* between the past and the present, Protestant historians were nevertheless able to identify numerous cases where outstanding individuals and churches had adhered faithfully to the Word of Scripture. Having been found pure in doctrine and moral practice, these could then be put forth as

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[39] See Matthias Flacius Illyricus et al., *Ecclesiastica historia, integram Ecclesiae Christi ideam* [...] *secundum singulas centurias perspicuo ordine complectens* [...] *per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgica*, 13 vols (Basil: Iohannes Oporinus, 1560-74).

[40] See Donald R. Kelley, 'Johann Sleidan and the Origins of History as a Profession', in *The Writing of History and the Study of Law* (London: Variorum, 1997), III: 573-98 (p. 581).

exempla for the present age.[41] Such examples were particularly important for rulers to have before their eyes. In the dedicatory letter to Archbishop Sigismund von Magdeburg, written by Melanchthon in 1558 as a preface to the *Chronicon Carionis*, he reiterates this point:

> **Est omnino necessaria singulis hominibus historiae cognitio, sed maxime gubernatoribus, quae sine temporum serie, sine gentium distinctione et non monstrato imperiorum ordine lucem non habet.[42]**

Such knowledge, he hastens to point out, must be transmitted to the reader in proper form. In fact, the task of the historian requires a thorough knowledge of the subject-matter, based on reliable primary sources, *as well as* rhetorical skills:

> **Legendi sunt fontes, et historiae, quae extant sapienter scriptae, cognoscendae sunt integrae, quantum fieri potest. Est omnino excellentis sapientiae et eloquentiae opus historiam recte scribere.[43]**

It was undoubtedly this keen interest in eloquence that accounts in part for Melanchthon's formulation of a new theological method in rhetorical terms, i. e. *loci communes* or topical headings which included both scriptural and historical matter.[44] He even went so far as to postulate a fourth distinct *genus* of rhetoric, the *didascalicum*, specifically intended for the teaching of Christian doctrine.[45] Thus, we find in Melanchthon a highly original intellectual strategy, in which *doctrine*, *history*, and *eloquence* all play an important part in the study and

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[41] See Bruce Gordon, 'The Changing Face of Protestant History and Identity in the Sixteenth Century', in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History, ed. by Bruce Gordon, 2 vols (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), I: *The Medieval Inheritance*, pp. 1-22 (p. 13). See also Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought. Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1948), 29-59 (pp. 47-8).

[42] See 'Chronicon Carionis latine expositum et auctum, Teil 1 (1558): Epistola dedicatoria an Erzbischof Sigismund von Magdeburg und Einleitung', in Heinz Scheible, *Die Anfänge der reformatorischen Geschichtsschreibung. Melanchthon, Sleidan, Flacius und die Magdeburger Zenturien*, Texte zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte, Heft 2 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1966), pp. 26-33 (p. 27).

[43] See *Idem*, p. 28.

[44] See his *Loci communes seu hypotheses theologicae* [...] (Strasbourg: Iohannes Knoblochus, 1525).

[45] The importance of a genre for teaching sound doctrine is taken up by Melanchthon in his *Elementorum rhetorices libri duo* [...] (Paris: Simon Colinaeus, 1532), 6-7. See John W. O'Malley, 'Content and Rhetorical Forms in Sixteenth-Century Treatises on Preaching', in *Renaissance Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. by James J. Murphy (London/Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 238-52 (p. 242).

expression of the true Faith.[46] Cesare Vasoli has noted how the considerable efforts on the part of theologians to reform the foundations of their own scholarship by means of identifying such *loci* was part of a more broadly reaching 'methodological revolution' that was concurrently taking place in many other disciplines in the sixteenth century.[47]

On the Catholic side of the confessional divide, a similar attempt to redefine theological method in terms of 'headings' or 'commonplaces' was carried out by various scholars, including John Eck, Melchior Cano, and Robert Bellarmine. The work of Melchior Cano (1509-1560), who was a disciple of Francisco de Vitoria, is of special interest in this regard, as he was determined to carry out a reform of scholasticism by proposing a framework that was in keeping with the most recent developments of humanist scholarship and thus couched in Classical rhetorical terminology. In his most famous work, the *Locorum theologicorum libri duodecim*, which was published posthumously in 1563, Cano devotes Book XI, entitled 'De historiae humanae auctoritate', to the discussion and clarification of the relationship of history to theology and doctrine. For Cano the significance of history in theology in general and in doctrinal controversies in particular lay in its inherent potential to clarify the terms of the dispute itself, namely to distinguish clearly between truths that belonged *sensu stricto* to the *depositum fidei* and were non-negotiable and propositions that were plausible and therefore subject to debate and open to further elucidation, or even re-formulation. Hence, if history had any claim to 'authority' in theological matters, it consisted precisely in its power to persuade and bring about intellectual assent by means of concrete evidence.[48] An analogous approach was advocated by Robert Bellarmine, who was undoubtedly one of the most astute Roman controversialists of the sixteenth century and

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[46] For a general exposition of the role of sacred oratory, Protestant and Tridentine, in the sixteenth century, see Debora K. Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric. The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 64-89.

[47] See Cesare Vasoli, '*Loci communes* and the Rhetorical and Dialectical Traditions', in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform*, ed. by Joseph McLelland (Ottawa: Wilfred Laurier Press, 1980), 17-28 (p. 17).

[48] See Melchor Cano's reflections on the 'usefulness of history written by men for theology', in his *L'autorità della storia profana. (De humanae historiae auctoritate)*, trans. by Albano Biondi, Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di scienze politiche dell'Università di Torino, 28 (Turin: Giappichelli, 1973), pp. 7-12 and the editor's introduction, pp. vii-liv (pp. xii-xviii).

whose interpretation of Tridentine theology in his most important work, *De controversiis Christianae Fidei*, published between 1586 and 1593, was held by many to be definitive for its time and complementary to the work of Baronius. Like Cano, he was deeply aware of the importance of the *loci communes* for theology and promoted the application of such categories to theological debate in place of the outdated and abstract modes of argumentation of the schoolmen.[49] His interest in 'theologia positiva' and his acceptance of the system of *loci theologici* also accounts for his long-term interest in historical scholarship. His own contribution to the field was marked not only by his frequent reliance on history as an argument for polemical purposes but also by a major work that was specifically historical in content, namely the *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, published in 1613.

Renaissance antecedents

It is worth mentioning, nevertheless, that the function of history as a means of argumentation and persuasion was by no means an invention of sixteenth-century sacred historians and polemicists and can be traced back to the beginnings of the Renaissance itself. The rediscovery of the central importance of history for the good of society was, in fact, one of the most notable intellectual achievements of the period.[50] Humanists came to acknowledge at a very early stage that the study of history potentially benefited not only individuals but also local government and even diplomacy. As Myron Gilmore has perceptively pointed out with regard to the earliest stages of Renaissance historiography, 'the consequences of Petrarch's approach to historical studies' was that 'there was no gulf between the study of history and the marketplace, no divorce between culture and politics.'[51]

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[49] See Edward A. Ryan, *The Historical Scholarship of Saint Bellarmine* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1936), pp. 127-56.

[50] This was reflected in the place afforded to history in the humanist curriculum. See Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy. Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore/London: John Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 255-63.

[51] See Myron Gilmore, 'The Renaissance Conception of the Lessons of History', in his *Humanists and Jurists. Six Studies in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press - Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 1-37 (p. 20).

Such practical concerns provided the main stimulus for the the historical scholarship of men such as Flavio Biondo, Leonardo Bruni, Niccolò Machiavelli, Francesco Guicciardini, and Lorenzo Valla.[52] As Guicciardini remarked about the value of history, 'Past events throw light upon the future.'[53] It is not surprising therefore that many historians of this period were personally involved in politics at the highest level.[54] But if history was to fulfil the purpose these men were anxious to assign to it, namely that of 'philosophy teaching by example'[55] and 'magistra vitae'[56], it was not enough for it to be limited to a sterile repository of knowledge about long-forgotten generations. In order to contribute in a tangible way to good government and the building up of the *civitas*, it would have to do two things: communicate effectively its wisdom to the present generation and *move* those responsible for the *res publica* to concrete action.[57] This concern to stimulate hearts and minds towards selfless patriotism accounts for the widely-shared conviction among humanists that history should *not* be presented 'incondita' and without appropriate form lest it fail to achieve its ultimate purpose. Thus, as early as the fourteenth century we find humanist scholars such as Coluccio Salutati keen to underscore the close relationship that, in his opinion, existed between the *ars*

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[52] See B. L. Ullman, 'Leonardo Bruni and Humanistic Historiography', in his *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 2nd edn, Storia e Letteratura. Raccolta di Studi e testi, 51 (Rome: Edizioni Storia e Letteratura, 1973), pp. 321-43.

[53] See Francesco Guicciardini's, *Ricordi*, cited in Donald R. Kelley, 'Humanism and History', in *Renaissance Humanism: Its Sources, Forms and Legacy*, ed. by A. Rabil, 3 vols (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), II, 236-70 (p. 252).

[54] For an interesting survey of the different professions and activities in which writers of history during were engaged during the Renaissance see Eric Cochrane, 'The Profession of Historian in the Italian Renaissance', *Journal of Social History*, 15 (1981), 51-72.

[55] The phrase is that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ars rhetorica*, XI.2.19-21. I have referred to the following edition of what is considered today to be a pseudo-Dionysian work: *Dionysii Halicarnasei quae fertur Ars rhetorica*, ed. by Hermann Usener (Leipzig: Teubner, 1895), p. 124.

[56] Cicero, *De oratore*, II.ix.36.

[57] For a study of the importance of *exempla* in Renaissance culture see Timothy Hampton, *Writing from History. The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature* (Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 1990).

historica and the *ars rhetorica*.[58] If one accepted the underlying epistemological assumption that 'sapientia' and 'veritas' could not be separated from 'vera eloquentia' in the specific case of 'historia', it followed that history and rhetoric were inseparable and that the three *genera* of rhetoric were applicable to the writing of history.[59] Nonetheless, it is also true that not all historians of this period agreed with this definition of history as *opus maxime oratorium*.[60] Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, for example, adamantly emphasized that it was the *cognitione del vero* that was the primary concern of the historian rather than the elegant and persuasive style of presentation of the material. This line of reasoning was developed further by Jean Bodin, who endeavoured to transform the parameters of historiography by reflecting on the appropriate *method* of enquiry and how, in practice, it could attain the knowledge of the truth that Patrizi had set as one of the defining criteria for the discipline.[61] Although present-day writers on historiography have tended at times to adopt a convenient bi-partite scheme, in which they contrast the 'uncritical' historiography of the 'rhetoricians' of the early Renaissance with the 'scientific' historical method of those who rejected rhetoric in favour of a more objective approach during the second half of the sixteenth century, such a generalization is not without its problems. The carefully argued distinction between the respective domains of history and oratory in the rhetorical work of George of Trebizond, for example, clearly suggests that even among the humanists of the fifteenth century there was

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[58] See Cesare Vasoli, 'Osservazioni sulle teorie umanistiche sulla storiografia', *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 76/2 (1992), 495-516 (p. 497-98). See also Jerrold E. Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism. The Union of Eloquence and Wisdom, Petrarch to Valla* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 63-98; 137-69.

[59] For an exhaustive study of the controversial relationship between history and rhetoric see the highly original work of Nancy S. Struever, *The Language of History in the Renaissance. Rhetorical and Historical Consciousness in Florentine Humanism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 63-100.

[60] Cicero, *De legibus*, I.ii.5.

[61] For a brief overview of Bodin's understanding of historiography see Marie-Dominique Couzinet, *Histoire et méthode à la Renaissance. Une lecture de la 'Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem' de Jean Bodin*, Philologie et Mércure (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1996), Introduction, pp. 19-30.

an awareness of these differences.[62] What has been said about the attempts on the part of humanists to integrate or even identify 'wisdom' with 'eloquence' in all fields of learning, including history, also accounts for the attention paid to the use of the *loci communes*, which were at the heart of rhetorical method.[63] Thus, it is not difficult to see how some of the key trends in sacred historiography had their roots in earlier developments in Renaissance intellectual history.

Baronius and Valignano contrasted

How then does Baronius and his work fit into these developments in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century historiography, characterized by a growing awareness of the political and social function of history, the primacy of a critical spirit of verification, and the necessity of eloquence? In a number of ways his *Annales* are both an expression and a repudiation of these trends. Firstly, the practical aim of history-writing is clearly recognised in the way he views his own task, namely the refutation of the claims put forward by the Magdeburg Centuriators.[64] In order to counter their attacks against the authority of the Church of Rome, he was certain that he needed to demonstrate the *continuity* between the Church of the first centuries, to which the Reformers themselves were beginning to turn for inspiration, and the

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[62] See Donald R. Kelley, 'The Theory of History', in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 746-61 (p. 749).

[63] For a study of how the *loci* were applied in the various disciplines during this period, see Joan Marie Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplace: An Historical Investigation of the General and Universal Ideas Used in All Argumentation and Persuasion, with Special Emphasis on the Educational and Literary Tradition of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (New York: Pageant Press, 1962).

[64] On Baronius and his historiographical method see Georgiana Davidson, 'Divine Guidance and the Use of Sources: A Case from the *Annales* of Caesar Baronius', *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques*, 15, no. 1 (1988), 117-29; Pontien Polman, *L'Élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVIe siècle*, Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis. Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica consequendum conscriptae. Series II. Tomus 23 (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1932), pp. 527-45; Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 457-63; Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius. Counter-Reformation Historian* (London/Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp. 145-77.

Church in his own day, which they rejected. In the organization of the massive amount of documentation that he included in his narrative, he made strenuous efforts to demonstrate that the Church had been *semper eadem* throughout the centuries, and that the Reformers' contention that the Roman Church had broken away from orthodoxy and orthopraxis sometime between the fourth and sixth centuries was manifestly false. As to the method that he used in his compilation, Baronius offers the following summary:

> It was my intention first and foremost to put forward nothing that had not been established as certain, and to be totally dedicated to the the truth, which is the first rule of history; then I arranged everything in order according to the years and the seasons, which is the only way that history is most clearly explained. As for my method of writing, I have followed that which I have long since found most satisfactory in ecclesiastical history: which is, of course, to copy out the opinions of writers in just as many of their words as are found in the sources from which we have taken them.[65]

To what degree did Valignano's *Principio* actually conform to the model of Baronius's *Annales*? There are two similarities which can be immediately pointed out. First, there is the chronological scheme that both authors follow in their presentation of events. Secondly, Valignano follows Baronius's example in the way he quotes extensively from *primary* sources, i. e. from letters written by eyewitnesses of the events in Japan that he is describing. This is significant, for it is in marked contrast to his previous *Historia (1542-64)*, where he does not seem to be concerned to validate his account by quoting from and evaluating his sources.

These similarities are accompanied, nevertheless, by even more significant differences between the two histories. Firstly, there is the scope of their respective projects. Baronius would settle for no less than a comprehensive history *ab Incarnatione*, whereas Valignano was content with presenting his readers with an history *a fundatione* of the Japanese Church alone. Secondly, and in conjunction with this first difference, there is Baronius's

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[65] See Baronius's Letter of Dedication to Cardinal Felice Montealto in his 'Vita Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi a Caesare Baronio Sorano presbytero Congregationis Oratorii collecta' in *Operum Sancti Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis*, 6 vols (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1580-86; Typographia Vaticana, 1587), VI (1587), i-ii: Id mihi in primis propositum fuit, ut nihil, nisi exploratum, afferrem, et veritati potissimum, quae prima historiae est lex, inservirem: deinde omnia per annorum et temporum seriem ordine digessi, qua una re maxime historia illustratur. Eam vero scribendi rationem, quae mihi iam pridem in historia ecclesiastica maxime probatur secutus sum: nimirum ut scriptorum sententias, et quorum fontibus hausimus totidem illorum verbis transcriberem.

determination to provide a coherent version of universal history and its events and, more importantly, the appropriate theological 'filters' through which to interpret those events. The key to understanding sacred history is to see how, throughout the centuries, Divine Providence had guided the Church, which he views as a monarchical institution firmly established upon the throne of Peter and his successors. In a similar fashion, we find Valignano adopting Divine Providence and the Will of God as the unifying principle that accounted for and gave meaning to the turbulent events that had marked the beginnings of the *historia sacra* of Japan. However, and in stark contrast with Baronius, Valignano is extremely reluctant to invoke hierarchical authority at all. Instead, his arguments are carefully centred on a critical hagiography of the most prominent among the 'apostles' of the Japanese Church, namely Francis Xavier, Cosme de Torres, Juan Fernández, Lorenço Ryōsai, and Luís d'Almeida. By concentrating on these figures alone and avoiding any mention of the connection between Japan and, for example, the ecclesiastical administration in India, on which the mission was partly dependent, he skilfully sidesteps any awkward questions that might arise concerning the absence of a resident bishop during the first four and a half decades from the founding of the first Christian community in Kagoshima. He had, in fact, used this precedent of the 'independence' of the Church in Japan before as a justification for maintaining the *status quo* and opposing the appointment of a bishop for the country. Thirdly, Baronius states that he is writing *annals*, whereas Valignano insists that he is writing *history*. Both are referring to the distinction, popularized by Aulus Gellius in his *Noctae Atticae*, between *historia*, whose scope was limited to events that the author had either witnessed or heard about from other eye-witnesses during his own lifetime, and *annales*, which included all other events that had taken place before the author's lifetime and to which the historian no longer had direct access.[66] On their part, humanist scholars underscored the difference between the two in terms of a year-by-year bare chronicle or compilation of events as contrasted with a critical, well-written, and interpretative history that focused on causes.[67]

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[66] See Aulus Gellius, *Noctae Atticae*, V.18, in *A. Gelii Noctium atticarum*, ed. by C. Hosius, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1903; repr. 1959), I, 234-36. Gellius's source for this distinction was Asellio Sempronius, who was influenced by the *Histories* of Polybius.

[67] See Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, p. 258.

Valignano believed that it was precisely because he had been able to interrogate a substantial number of eyewitnesses before writing his own *history* and had endeavoured to illumine thoroughly both the human and divine causes of events that *Principio* was an authoritative account rather than just another compilation of *annals*. Fourthly, there is a divergence in opinion between the two with regard to the role of eloquence in historical narrative. Whereas Valignano acknowledges the importance of elegant literary style and apologizes at the outset for his lack of it, Baronius does just the opposite. He is quick to dismiss 'locutiones illas, per longiorem periphrastice circunductas, orationesque summa arte concinnatas, et fictas, ex sententia cuiusque compositas, ad libitumque dispositas.'[68] He implies that the use of such artistry in writing history, including 'collectiones, enthymemata, definitiones, omniaque illa ornamenta' can only obscure rather than reveal the truth, and contends that rhetorical embellishment diminishes the value of a historical work. He is therefore convinced that his account must follow a simpler pattern, each statement supported by 'the most trustworthy witnesses' (*probatissimis testibus*), whose words he must faithfully report without regard for stylistic considerations. He realizes that such an approach may cause his narrative to appear to be 'unadorned' or 'rough' (*horridula*) and 'disordered' (*incomposita*)[69], but this is a price he is willing to pay in order that the truth may shine forth unobstructed by any clever devices.[70] This uncompromising disdain for the techniques of rhetoric, genuine or feigned, was unusual in an age when, as Frederick McGinness has shown, the search for a Christian eloquence became a defining feature of post-Tridentine Rome, where sacred oratory flourished at the papal court of Gregory XIII and bishops were expected to excel in the *ars concionandi*.[71]

In view of these numerous and substantial differences, it does not seem implausible

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[68] See the *Ad lectorem* in vol. I of his *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1589), 4.

[69] See *Idem*, 4-5.

[70] Despite this anti-rhetorical stance, Christian Mouchel has argued that in fact Baronius does put considerable effort into making his *Annales* more persuasive by subtlely adopting various rhetorical techniques. See 'Éloquence et méditation dans la première Centurie des Annales Écclesiastiques de César Baronio', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 54/1 (1992), 81-110.

[71] See his *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Universiy Press, 1995), pp. 1-28.

to suggest that, rather than the scope, the style, or the method of compilation, it was the polemical and apologetic context and strategies embedded in Baronius's monumental project that appealed to the Visitor's own frame of mind. In other words, Valignano undoubtedly perceived his starting point or *locus enuntiationis* in a way similar to that of Baronius *vis-à-vis* the Magdeburg Centuriators. Like Baronius, who had taken upon himself the scholarly burden of showing how the Roman Church was the one and true Church and that an unbroken continuity existed between the early centuries and his own time, so too Valignano was anxious to defend and vindicate the Jesuit enterprise in Japan by illustrating the substantial similarites between the first Japanese Christian community in Japan founded by Francis Xavier and the Early Church of the Apostolic Fathers. The application here of what was fundamentally a Protestant-Catholic paradigm of intellectual, religious, and historical debate to the controversy between two religious Orders that strongly disagreed as to how new Churches in missionary lands should be guided to the truth Faith, is perhaps the most original aspect of Valignano's *Principio*. This is a further notable example of what Simon Ditchfield, in a recent ground-breaking work on Italian ecclesiastical historiography, has shown of how local Tridentine and post-Tridentine historians became aware of the possibility of using history as an effective means of argumentation in disputes taking place *within* the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. As a result, a number of 'local Baronios', each anxious to study and defend the liturgical and hagiographical traditions of his own Church, were actively engaged in history-writing throughout Italy in the sixteenth century.[72]

On the basis of what has been said about Valignano's explicit and implicit reasons for choosing Baronius as a model and the similarities and differences between the two authors, we must consider in greater detail to what degree Valignano's *apologetic* intent in his *Principio*, informed intertextually by the context of controversy and 'calumnias' of the Friars, actually determined [i] the structure or *dispositio* of his narrative; [ii] the relationship between the content of the *narratio* in his *Principio* and the three *genera* of persuasive discourse; and [iii] the choice of specific types of arguments or *topoi* with which to 'emplot'

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[72] Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy. Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For the role of Baronius, see pp. 6-7; 273-85; 335-40.

or 're-present' the past. Such an overview will allow us to clarify further the way in which Valignano's narrative both adheres to and departs from Baronius's model.

The Narrative Structure of 'Principio': 'Dispositio rerum'

Although *invention* necessarily precedes *arrangement*, it will be useful to reverse the order of presentation and begin with a general outline of the narrative before examining its contents. It may also be helpful to consider the *dispositio rerum* according to Quintilian's five-part division of forensic discourse: *exordium*, *narratio*, *probatio*, *refutatio*, and *peroratio*.[73] According to this scheme, the *exordium* or introduction corresponds to both the *Epistola dedicatoria* and the *Proemio al lector*, in which Valignano explains the reasons that inspired him to write yet another history. This is followed by the beginning of the historical *narratio*. The reader who glances at Valignano's Table of Contents for Book I of *Principio* expecting to find a continuous chronological narration of events (*rerum gestarum*) is immediately confronted, however, with a different arrangement from, for example, that of Baronius's *Annales*. In fact, we can distinguish four distinct types of material in Valignano's *Principio*: (i) an *annals*-based *chronicle* of events; (ii) a fourfold *description* of Japan, geographical, political, economic, and cultural; (iii) a *theological* interpretation of the events contained in the narrative; and (iv) an *apologetical* treatise that builds on the preceding theological chapters.

The first type of *res* consists of a chronicle of the history of the Church in Japan, which opens in chapter 1 with a short account of the unexpected discovery of Japan in 1542 by the Portuguese and the voyage of Francis Xavier to Japan. Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to Xavier's activities in Japan from the time of his arrival in August 1549 until his departure in November 1551. Thereafter, in chapters 9-12 and 17-26, the chronicle relates the arrival of other Jesuit missionaries and the successes they enjoyed; it relates also the difficulties they faced in establishing Christian communities throughout the island of Kyushu and in the environs of Miyako (Kyoto) betweeen 1551 and 1570. Chapter 26 brings the first book of *Principio* to a close with a moving description of the death of Cosme de Torres, who was

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[73] *Institutio oratoria*, III.ix.1.

responsible for the Japanese Church following Xavier's departure from the country. This annalistic narrative constitutes the main body of Valignano's work.

As for the events recounted therein, the chronicle is selective and tends to highlight the social and political causes that were behind either the 'opening of the doors to the Holy Gospel' (e.g. the conversion of influential feudal lords such as Ōtomo Yoshishige and Ōmura Sumitada in Kyushu) or the 'invincible difficulties' that hindered the progress of Christianity (e.g. the persecution that began in Kyoto as a result of the assassination of the shogun, Ashikaga Yoshiteru on 17 June 1565). Yet this fairly straightforward chronological scheme is interrupted at different points with five chapters, each of which constitutes a substantial *digressio* from the main historical narration. Valignano justifies these breaks by reminding his readers that without more general knowledge about the country it is not possible to understand the circumstances in which the Church developed and subsequently found itself confronted with growing hostility and persecution.

The first such shift from an historical to a thematic narration comes in chapter 2, where Valignano produces a detailed geographical description of Japan and discusses the division of the country into sixty-six separate kingdoms. This is followed by remarks on the climate and its effects on agriculture as well as a brief historical survey of the state of European knowledge about the country. Valignano then moves on in chapter 5 to a presentation of the complex hierarchy within the Japanese monarchy and nobility, the purpose of which is to explain how the country is administered and the respective spheres of influence of the courts of the Emperor and the shogun. In chapter 6, Valignano provides us with what was probably the first comprehensive non-Japanese account of the major land reforms carried out by Hideyoshi in the 1590s, which affected the system of land ownership and the method used to calculate income.[74] These two chapters on political and economic aspects are followed by chapters 7 and 8, where the Visitor turns his attention to the customs of Japan and reflects within a more anthropological and moral perspective on the positive qualities as well as defects of the Japanese people. His aim, however, extends beyond offering a list of strange and curious customs to the European reader. What is most

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[74] These two chapters have recently been published in partial English translation in Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, pp. 30-3 and 193-200.

significant is that he finds room for a re-assessment of controversial practices such as ritual suicide (*seppuku*) and infanticide that he had uncompromisingly condemned in his previous writings. Although he still finds such customs abhorrent and reprehensible, rather than just condemn them, he is eager in *Principio* to seek out the motives behind such behaviour. In intellectual terms, this represents a significant step forward in that he not only acknowledges that some of the views that he had expressed about Japanese customs in his *Sumario de las cosas de Japón* (chapters 1-3) and his *Historia (1542-64)* (chapters 15-17) were in need of substantial revision but also attempts to go beyond simple description and engage in an *analysis* of the customs in question.

The historial narrative is interrupted for the last time with theological considerations in chapters 13-15, which function as a kind of judicial *probatio* or *confirmation* of his argument. Finally, in chapter 16, he launches into a defence of the Society of Jesus's way of proceeding in Japan, which can be interpreted as an indirect form of *refutatio* of the accusations levelled against the Jesuits by the Franciscan friars. I leave a more detailed discussion of these key chapters to the following sections below. A formal conclusion, or *peroratio*, is missing from Valignano's work. We can only assume that it would have been appended to the end of Book V of his *Principio*, which he presumably never composed.

Even from this simple outline of the narrative structure of *Principio*, it is possible to discern another crucial difference between the *Annales* of Baronius and the work of Valignano. The former clearly states that he has decided to forego discussions concerning the history of individual countries and cultures ('[de] historicis ethnicis')[75]; the latter, on the other hand, repeatedly interrupts his narrative with descriptive and theological chapters whose purpose is to supply the reader with what he believes are the necessary tools for understanding his history. Ironically, Valignano's inclusion of such additional material, and in particular his theological reflections, are not dissimilar from the thematic structure of the *Magdeburg Centuries*. Whilst organizing their history chronologically according to individual 'centuries', the Centuriators nevertheless sub-divided each century into sixteen categories or themes for consideration, which are gathered together at the beginning of volume I under the heading: 'Methodus historici operis singulorum capitum metae'.

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[75] See the *Ad lectorem* in vol. I of his *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1589), 4.

Valignano's discussions of Japanese politics, the doctrine Jesuits taught to their converts, and the liturgical practices they established in Japan, bear resemblance to various sections of Flacius Illyricus's work such as *de loco et propagatione ecclesiae* (caput II), *de persecutione et tranquillitate Ecclesiae* (caput III), *de doctrina ecclesiae* (caput IV), *de ceremoniis seu ritibus Ecclesiae* (caput VI), including themes such as *de congressibus publicis*, *ritus circa baptismum*, *ritus circa coenam Domini, Festa*, and *ritus sepulturae*, and *de mutationibus politicis in imperiis* (caput XVI).[76] Similar topics occupied Baronius as much as they did Illyricus or any other Church historian for that matter; nevertheless, the former is reluctant to devote entire chapters to descriptive material or to contentious issues and prefers to present his case cumulatively by citing at length from a great number of authorities. And though it is not possible to trace either the composition or arrangement of Valignano's narrative directly to the topical scheme of the *Centuries*, it is interesting to note how, in view of the polemical nature of his writing, he employed analogous categories or *loci* to those of the Reformers from Magdeburg.

The Narrative Structure of 'Principio': 'Inventio'

The 'genus iudiciale' in chapters 13-16

Having thus outlined the 'dispositio' or arrangement of material in *Principio*, we must now account for the content and form of the *narratio* and elucidate Valignano's use of specific *topics*. While it is possible to discern an interplay between all three rhetorical *genera* in *Principio*, it soon becomes evident that the dominant *genus* to which all others are subordinated is the *genus iudiciale* or forensic cause. This view is supported by the specific 'géneros de cosas' listed in the *Proemio*, with which Valignano promised to explain how divine intervention had guided the Church in Japan and why the accusations levelled against the Jesuit administration of the Christian community in that country were misguided.

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[76] See Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy*, pp. 274-5. For the complete 'Methodus' of the Centuriators, see their *Ecclesiastica historia*, I (1560). In the edition of Basel, which I consulted, the outline of topics is given after the preface without any page-numbers.

Although these general topics are taken up throughout his work, they are discussed at greater length in chapters 13-16, which form the central core of book I of his *Principio*. In contrast to both the chronological and the descriptive chapters, it is here that one perceives Valignano's urgent need to *persuade* his readers that *his* interpretation of history was the correct one. In order to achieve this goal, he chooses to craft his arguments according to the commonplace of *comparison* (*locus a comparatione*), which he applies to two fundamental themes: the actions of Divine Providence (both *positive*, in the form of successful propagation of the faith, and *negative*, failures, exile, and persecution) and the Primitive Church of the early centuries of Christianity.

Chapter 13 is dedicated to illuminating the similarity ('semejança') between the way Divine Providence guided the Primitive Church during the Apostolic age and the Japanese Church during its first five decades. Although he concedes that no other Church can match the graces received by the Primitive Church, nevertheless the Church in Japan suffered 'tribulationes, angustias, y persecuciones' not unlike those inflicted on the Christian communities of the first centuries. And if no missionary could equal the achievements or sanctity of the Apostles, this did not prevent God from choosing Francis Xavier to be the 'cabeça de toda esta sementera y [...] sabio architecto de toda esta fábrica' and bring the light of the Gospel to the peoples of the East, in a fashion not unlike the way in which He had chosen Paul to be the 'Doctor de las gentes'.[77] Moreover, while Xavier, like Paul, had been a learned man, many of the former's successors in Japan were 'gente de pocas letras' in much the same way as most of the Apostles had been simple fishermen. After proposing these parallels between *persons*, he then compares the *circumstances* in which they strove to preach the Gospel. He finds that there is a significant similarity in the kind of persecution to which both Churches were subjected. He believes that the opposition which the Apostles faced from the scribes and pharisees can be compared to the resistance of the bonzes to the preaching of the missionaries. In the same vein, the 'persecución universal' instigated by Hideyoshi in 1587 can be said to resemble the persecution suffered by the Christians in Rome under the Emperor Nero. Another similarity exists between the type of calumnies that were circulated among the Church's enemies in Rome and those that were imputed to the

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[77] See chapter 13, vol. II, p. 56.

Christians in Japan. Valignano points out how both Churches had been accused of being the cause of various natural calamities and of practising secret cannibalistic rites. He brings the chapter to a close by stating that in neither case had these accusations succeeded in destroying the integrity of the Church.

Having tentatively justified the bold comparison that he has proposed, Valignano feels that in chapter 14 he will have to clarify 'una duda y questión' that may have formed in the minds of his readers: why had the Japanese Church not been afforded the gifts of the Spirit such as 'lenguas de prophecía y de hazer milagros' in the same way as the Primitive Church? He infers that the main reason for this dissimilarity lies in the difference between the Apostles, who had been called to be the 'piedras fundamentales' and 'pastores universales' of the Church and to preach to many nations, and the Jesuit missionaries, who were only 'ministros particulares' of a single nation which spoke but one language. Another reason was the nature and intensity of the opposition faced by the Apostles, who would not have been able to survive the onslaught of their enemies without special graces such as the ability to prophesy and to work miracles. In Japan, on the other hand, the authority of the bonzes among the ordinary people could not be compared to that of the powerful Jewish elders with whom the Apostles had had to contend. Neither were the Japanese 'affecionados a sus deoses' to the same degree as the Roman emperors had been. Furthermore, the Japanese Church had not yet faced the type of ferocious and cruel persecution that had been inflicted on the Primitive Church almost from the very beginning. Finally, unlike the Apostles, the missionaries in Japan did not have to struggle with the divisions and contentions caused by heresy that had plagued the Early Church. He is quick to point out the reason for such unity and harmony among Japanese Christians:

> Hasta agora no huvo otros que predicassen el Evangelio y tuviessen cuidado desta nueva Iglesia sino los Nuestros, que siendo todos de una *misma Religión*, fueron siempre tan conformes ansí en la doctrina como en el modo de proceder con los gentiles y Christianos y en el govierno desta nueva Iglesia [*my italics*].[78]

In this context, he briefly mentions the 'controversia' that erupted as a result of the arrrival of other religious Orders and implies that their presence had *not* been helpful to the Church

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[78] See vol. II, p. 68. Valignano may be playing here on the meaning of 'religión', which can signify both 'religion' and 'religious Order'.

in Japan. Despite all of these difficulties, he concludes that the numerous 'contrariedades' encountered by the Christians in Japan did *not* warrant or require direct divine intervention. In these reflections it is difficult to ignore the intertextual connection between Valignano's reflections and chapter 9 of José de Acosta's *De procuranda indorum salute*, entitled '¿Por qué no se hacen milagros como antiguamente en la conversión de los infieles por los predicadores del Evangelio?'.[79] In this work, Acosta admits that many historians have felt 'tormented' to come up with a convincing answer to this question. Among the various reasons he adduces to explain this strange phenomenon of Providence, he mentions that in the New World, 'aquellos a quienes se anuncia la fe son en todo muy inferiores en razón, en cultura, en autoridad', and that therefore 'en los tiempos antiguos eran necessarios [los milagros] y en los nuestros no lo son tanto.'[80] Valignano was clearly inspired to consider the question posed in Acosta's treatise and adopt it for his own purposes, but did not think that the latter's conclusions on the 'inferior' races of America were applicable to the Japanese. Another more convincing solution would have to be found.[81]

Valignano is aware that at this point he has still not solved the problem satisfactorily and needs to dispel any remaining doubts as to whether the comparison between the two Churches is indeed possible, if Divine Providence has *not*, in fact, granted the Japanese Church the same gifts as the Primitive Church had received. To set his audience's mind at ease, he assures them that God has nevertheless chosen to bestow ten special graces ('gracias y mercedes') on the missionaries in Japan.[82] These are listed in chapter 15 as follows: (i) the desire to travel to such a distant land; (ii) the perseverance to put up with many hardships, including the effort to adapt oneself to the strange customs of the country; (iii) the gift of

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[79] See his *De procuranda indorum salute* (Madrid, 1952), pp. 175-79.

[80] See *Idem*, pp. 177-8.

[81] López Gay has examined the question of Valignano's understanding of charisms in the Early Church with reference to chapters 13-15 in *Principio*; see his *El Catecumenado*, pp. 190-228.

[82] This enumeration of graces or 'consolaciones' is not new in Valignano's writings. In fact, another eloquent parallel is found in a letter written to Aquaviva (Nagasaki: 6.X.1591) in which he describes his diplomatic mission to Hideyoshi; see **ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 11 II, fols 245^{v}-47^{r}, published in José Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Relación del P. Alejandro Valignano, S.J. sobre su Embajada a Hideyoshi (1591)', *JOUFS*, 28 (1972), 43-60 (pp. 47-50).

chastity in the midst of the many temptations of Japanese society; (iv) the esteem enjoyed by the foreign missionaries among people like the Japanese and Chinese, who normally 'aborrecen todas nuestras cosas'; (v) Divine Protection in time of persecution; (vi) the willingness of Japanese Christians to risk their lives to defend the missionaries, though it had never been their custom to contradict the wishes of their feudal lords; (vii) instances in which people had been miraculously freed from unclean spirits; (viii) the inclination among foreigners to apply themselves with diligence to the study of the Japanese language; (ix) the courtesy and good will shown to the missionaries by various Japanese and Chinese officials, despite their belief that 'todos los demás estrangeros son bárbaros y sin saber y policía'; and (x) the material sustenance that had allowed the missionaries to survive. Here Valignano points out that, although the monies received from the Pope and the King of Spain, together with the profits from the silk trade in Macao, provided for only *half* of the expenses incurred by the mission, Divine Providence had always taken care of all their needs; and this, he concludes, 'la tengo por obra milagrosa de Dios.'[83]

The main gist of the following chapter (16) consists of a concrete illustration of how, in Valignano's judgement, the missionaries of the Society of Jesus 'had followed in the footsteps and doctrine of the Apostles and Saints of the Primitive Church.' In contrast to the three preceding chapters, where Valignano concentrated on God's actions on behalf of the Japanese Church and on external circumstances beyond the control of the missionaries, here he investigates the Jesuits' response to Divine Providence and tries to show how their catechetical as well as doctrinal practices strictly conformed to those of the Primitive Church. He begins by noting that the catechism composed by the Jesuits for instruction of catechumens in Japan followed an exposition of Christian doctrine very similar to that of Paul's preaching on the Areopagus in Athens. He then mentions a number of practices, similar to those of the Primitive Church, encouraged by the Jesuits among the Christians in Japan, including the sharing of a meal on Sundays, the solemn celebrations for the feast of All Souls, at which the missionaries preached about the immortality of the soul, the singing of hymns, psalms, and other prayers by choirs of children, and the various processions and penitential rites organized during Holy Week with the purpose of instilling respect and

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[83] See vol. II, p. 81.

veneration for Christ's passion and Cross. He also emphasizes the public penance in the form of self-flagellation (*more hispanico*) that both men *and* women inflicted upon themselves with great devotion in order to participate actively in the commemoration of Christ's sufferings. Referring to these practices in a clear allusion to the Franciscan accusations that the Jesuits had tried to avoid preaching about the Cross, he retorts: 'De manera que bien se entiende que los Padres predicavan en Japón a Jesu Christo crucificado y muerto, como lo encomienda San Pablo.'[84] Furthermore, he observes the particular inclination of the Japanese to receive the sacraments of Confession and the Eucharist. Hinting once again at Franciscan criticisms that the Jesuits had allowed Christians to partake in the Eucharist without sufficient preparation, he stresses that the Fathers had always taken great care to examine the disposition of the newly converted before admitting them to any of the sacraments. After giving several other illustrations of the Jesuit way of inculcating devotion among Christians, he concludes that it is evident that in guiding the Church in Japan the Fathers had imitated the example set by the Apostles, though not, of course, with the same degree of perfection and virtue.

In Valignano's thematic presentation of Japanese Church history in chapters 13-16 there are a number of features that deserve our attention. Firstly, his arguments do not refer exclusively to the chronological narrative of Book I of *Principio* (1542-70), since he also mentions the general persecution of Hideyoshi in 1587. This is an indication that these chapters were to serve as a theological framework for the entire five-volume history, of which we have only the first part. Secondly, in the comparison he proposes between the Japanese and Apostolic Churches, he readily admits that there is a *discontinuity* between the two as well as a continuity. This is relevant if we look back to Baronius's *Annales*, where such a distinction is not so evident. It was obviously not a useful difference to underscore in a work committed to the defence of the papacy and the Roman Catholic interpretation of sacred history. Thirdly, in spite of any discontinuity, the focus is on the past and its value as a model for the present. This preoccupation was in keeping with a tradition that can be traced back to the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea at the very beginning of sacred historiography. Momigliano remarks that in 'no other history does precedent mean so much as in

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[84] See vol. II, p. 95.

ecclesiastical history.'[85] As to the manner in which Valignano put 'precedent' to use for supporting his statements regarding the Japanese Church, we find the four chapters punctuated by numerous quotations from Patristic sources as well as Baronius. These texts are cited as 'authorities' or 'witnesses', which in judicial rhetoric come under the heading, *probationes inartificiales*. They differ from *artificial proofs* in that, unlike the former, they do not require the application of the art of rhetoric for their discovery.[86] In other words, they are 'those which have not been furnished by [the author].'[87] They are also called *examples* and are used as a form of *inductive* demonstration. The author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* notes that examples are used with the same rhetorical motives in mind as comparison. This seems to fit in with Valignano's strategy in the above chapters.[88]

According to Aristotle, *exemplification* is, however, one of two types of common proof; the other, *deductive* in its method, is the *enthymeme*, or rhetorical syllogism.[89] This type of proof can also be found in the structure of chapters 13-16, where all the *exempla* cited are directed towards the demonstration of a specific thesis, namely that the Church in Japan, under the guidance of Divine Providence and her Jesuit pastors, had faithfully emulated the example of the Early Church. This proposition can be summarily expressed in the following terms: *The Japanese Church is orthodox because it has conformed to the practices of the*

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[85] See Arnaldo D. Momigliano, 'The Origins of Ecclesiastical Historiography', in his *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Berkeley, CA/London: University of California Press, 1990), 132-52 (pp. 136). See also his study of 'Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D.', in *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), pp. 107-26.

[86] See Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric. A Foundation for Literary Study*, ed. by David E. Orton and R. Dean Anderson (Leiden: Brill, 1998), §350, p. 161.

[87] See Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I.ii.2. The Latin term comes from Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, V.i.1. The terms *pisteis atechnoi* and *entechnoi* (*probationes inartificiales* and *artificiales*) are translated into English either as 'nonartistic/artistic proofs' or 'inartificial/artificial proofs'.

[88] See *Rhetorica ad Herennium* [= Pseudo-Cicero, *Ad C. Herennium, de ratione dicendi*], Cicero 1, Loeb Classical Library, 403 (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1954; repr. 1989), IV.xlix.62.

[89] On the two kinds of common proof see Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, II.xix.1-2; on *enthymemes* and their function see *Idem*, I.i.11; I.ii.8 and III.xvii.5. On the latter see also Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, V.x.1-3; V.xiv.1-3.

Primitive Church. This is a demonstrative *enthymeme*, i. e. an incomplete syllogism, which, as Aristotle notes, is a form of argument particularly suited to forensic oratory. There was no universal agreement with regard to the use of this term and, as Quintilian points out, many authors would call an argument that based its conclusion on consequents (*ex consequentibus*) an *epicheireme*, whereas they would limit the use of *enthymeme* to an argument whose conclusion was drawn from incompatibles (*ex repugnantibus*).[90] The *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, on the other hand, does not explicitly mention enthymemes but does present a more complex scheme of argumentation to describe the epicheireme.[91] Putting aside debates over terminology and adhering to the general definition given in Aristotle, we can say that one of the characteristics of an enthymeme that distinguishes it from other kinds of scientific demonstration (*apodeixis*) or dialectical syllogism is the simplification of the argument and the use of probable rather than certain and universally accepted premises.

If we were to translate Valignano's enthymeme into a full syllogism, it could be expressed in the following terms:

Any Church that conforms to the practices of the Primitive Church is orthodox.

The Japanese Church has conformed to the practices of the Primitive Church.

Therefore, the Japanese Church is orthodox.

In *Principio*, we can see that Valignano constructed his argument on the assumption that the first or 'major' premise would be taken for granted by his readers. This was therefore the part of the argument that was in need of no further demonstration and could be omitted. But where does the idea expressed in the first premise come from, and was it universally accepted in his time? This question can be clarified by examining the theological commonplace of the 'Primitive Church' on which the premise rests.

'Ecclesia primitiva' as 'locus theologicus'

The idea of an *ecclesia primitiva* was not new to theologians in Valignano's time. The term had been used as early as the fifth century by John Cassian (*ca.* 365-435) to indicate

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[90] See Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, V.x.1-3.

[91] See *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, II.xviii.28.

a model for the formation and reform of monastic life in the West and referred principally to the kind of common life shared by Christians in Apostolic times. By the Carolingian period we also find it referring to the ideals and spiritual dynamism of the early community. In later centuries it came to be associated with a number of divergent concepts ranging from the neutral historical designation of anything associated with the Church during the first centuries to a papacy-oriented understanding of the term in the late eleventh century, when 'Roman' and 'Apostolic' became almost interchangeable. Finally, there was even a pejorative connotation, which was given to the phrase by Gregory VII, who implied that 'Primitive' was to be interpreted as meaning 'immature'.[92] During the Reformation, one of the most important criticisms of the Roman Church was that it had betrayed the true Faith and no longer reflected the ideals of Christian life. Owing in part to Melanchthon, who had brought the *history* of the Church back into the theological equation, this contention was ingeniously translated to indicate a *discontinuity* between the life of the Church of Rome and that of the *Primitive Church*. Once the rejection of the present age had been justified in terms of such a comparison, others like the Magdeburg Centuriators were free to explore the implications of this falling away from the ideals of a purer and better age. Moreover, the return to the doctrines and practices of the *ecclesia primitiva* offered a solid criterion with which to carry out reform. It was precisely to this argument that Calvin turned in his debate in 1539 with Cardinal Sadoleto, who had tried to persuade the Genevans to return to the fold of the Roman Church. In his reply Calvin states: 'As to our doctrine, we hesitate not to appeal to the ancient Church'.[93] And with regard to the practices of the Christian life, he asks: 'Where, pray, exist among you any vestiges of that true and holy discipline which the ancient bishops exercised in the Church? Have you not scorned all their institutions?'[94] Such accusations stimulated a revival of Roman interest in the place of their Church *vis-à-vis* the Apostolic

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[92] For this overview of the various meanings of *ecclesia primitiva* in the Middle Ages see Glenn Olsen, 'The Idea of the *Ecclesia primitiva* in the Writings of the Twelfth-Century Canonists', *Traditio. Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion*, 25 (1969), 61-86.

[93] See Calvin's reply to Sadoleto (Strasbourg: 1.IX.1539), published in *John Calvin and Jacopo Sadoleto. A Reformation Debate. Sadoleto's Letter to the Genevans and Calvin's Reply*, ed. by John C. Olin (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 49-94 (p. 64).

[94] See *Idem*, p. 63.

model. While acknowledging that there existed indeed a fundamental difference between the moral excellence of the Primitive Church and that of the present age, sixteenth-century Roman Catholic theologians like Baronius and Bellarmine denied, nevertheless, that there had been a *substantial* break between the two; in their view, the tradition of the Church remained unbroken and consistent with its origins.[95]

Hence, when Valignano chose to compare the 'principio de la religión christiana en Jappón' with that of the *ecclesia primitiva* of Apostolic times, he was aware that this theological *topos* was frequently used as a criterion to distinguish between orthodoxy and heresy, orthopraxis and abuses in liturgy and the administration of the sacraments. It was not in *Principio*, however, that Valignano employed this category for the first time. As early as 1579, in a long report to Aquaviva, he refers to the policies of the Apostles in the Early Church as a criterion for his own decisions. He finds it reassuring that, in matters related to 'positive law', i. e. prescriptive obligations, the Apostles had refrained from imposing too many burdens on the converts from Judaism (Acts 15. 29); the same principle, he believes, should be followed in dealing with Japanese Christians.[96] His unwavering conviction that the Japanese Church represented another Primitive Church *sui generis* in his own time accounts for Valignano's reluctance and even resistance to moulding the Church in Japan so as to fit into European categories of ecclesiastical organization. It may also explain the boldness with which he proposed alternative models, such as those laid out in his *Advertimentos e avisos*.

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[95] On the interpretation of tradition see John W. O'Malley, 'Reform, Historical Consciousness and Aggiornamento', in *Rome and the Renaissance. Studies in Culture and Religion* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), XV: 573-610 (pp. 591-95).

[96] See Valignano to Aquaviva (Kuchinotsu: 10.XII.1579) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 8 I, fols 244ʳ-47ᵛ], partly reproduced in *VMJ-E*, I/1, pp. 294-305 (p. 298). For his reflections in later years see his letter to Aquaviva (Nagasaki: 27.X.1591) [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 11 II, fol. 254ʳ] and his *Apologia* (1598), p. 248 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 41, fol. 102ʳ]. The excerpt from his letter to Aquaviva is reproduced in *Apologia* (1598), pp. 248-49.

The 'minor premise' and its 'status'

With this first premise thus accounted for, Valignano was able to concentrate all his attention on demonstrating the second or 'minor' premise. This was the crux of his argument and the controversial part of the enthymeme, as the validity of the Jesuit missionary approach had been contested by the Franciscans and was *not* taken for granted even by some of his fellow Jesuits. It was here that the Visitor fell back on his legal training and theological knowledge to prove his case. Valignano was well aware that in judicial rhetoric one could not proceed without first establishing the precise *cause* under debate. In the Classical tradition, a case before the courts was invariably defined in terms of its *status* or *constitutio*. The first proponent of what is commonly referred to as *stasis* theory was thought to have been the rhetorician Hermagoras of Temnos.[97] According to the system he developed, a case fell under one of four general categories: *coniecturalis* (which asks the question: *an fecerit*?), *legitima* (*quid fecerit?*), *iuridicalis* (*an iure fecerit*?), and *translationis* (which questions the jurisdiction of the court to hear a specific case). In *Principio* we can observe how Valignano organized both the historical evidence (*exempla* or inartificial proofs) and his own arguments (artificial proofs) so that they provided an answer to the following question: Has the Church in Japan conformed to the ideals of the Apostolic Age? Or, recast in negative terms: Have the Jesuits in Japan broken away from the ideals of the Primitive Church? In either form, according to *stasis* theory, it falls into the first category or the *constitutio coniecturalis*, where the issue is to determine whether a certain action has taken place or not. In arguing his case in chapters 13-15, he hopes to show that external circumstances, both positive (*God's gifts*) and negative (*persecution*) justify a comparison with the Primitive Church. Chapter 16 then proceeds to illustrate how, on their side, the Jesuits have responded to Divine Providence by conforming to the doctrines and practices of the Early Church. He thus

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[97] See Malcolm Heath, 'Invention' in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period, 330 B.C.-A.D. 400*, ed. by Stanley E. Porter (Leiden/New York: Brill, 1997), pp. 89-119 (pp. 100-103; 106-117). On the legal uses of *stasis*-theory during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance see Ian Maclean, *Interpretation and Meaning in the Renaissance. The Case of Law*, Ideas in Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 75-82. See also George A. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, pp. 98-101.

pursues the discussion here without ever deviating from the conjectural status, whose aim is simply to affirm or deny the presence of an action.

In order to avoid confusing his readers and weakening his argument, the Visitor is, in fact, careful to confine himself in chapters 13-16 in *Principio* to a discussion of various *undisputed* customs of the Church in Japan. This is a different strategy from that adopted in chapter 22 of his *Apologia*, where he sets out to defend some of the more controversial practices of the Jesuits, such as the way they had simplifed the requirements of the catechumenate preceding baptism.[98] These issues touched upon the *qualitas* of the Jesuits' actions (*an iure fecerint*?) and came under the category of *constitutio iuridicalis*. Without denying that they had taken place, Valignano had to demonstrate that they were nevertheless justified in the circumstances. Such cases were, of their very nature, much more difficult to prove and left more room for uncertainty and differences in opinion. By limiting his argument to issues that were less contentious and easier to substantiate through an appeal to commonly held assumptions, Valignano hoped that the 'jurors', when asked to answer the question, *an fecerint*?, would be persuaded to express their verdict in positive terms and accept the proposition put before them: *the Japanese Church has indeed conformed to the example of the Primitive Church*. In view of the logic inherent to the enthymeme, once the minor premise had been shown to be true, the conclusion would then be self-evident: *the Japanese Church is therefore orthodox*.

Divine Providence as theological commonplace

In Valignano's attempt to demonstrate that the Japanese Church had in fact conformed to the model of the Primitive Church he falls back time and again on the commonplace of 'Divine Providence' and its sub-topics of success and failure, growth of the Church and persecution. This *locus theologicus* was often relied upon by secular and sacred historians to explain the unfolding of human history. The concept of Providence as a form of divine or transcendent intervention in human affairs is almost as old as humankind itself and took various forms in different traditions and religions. In the Old Testament or Jewish scriptures

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[98] See *Apologia* (1598), chapter 22, pp. 244-60 [**ARSI**: *Iap.-Sin.*, 41, fols 100ʳ-107ʳ].

it is linked to the idea of a 'covenant' between God and His people, Israel, whom He guides with a firm hand regardless of the circumstances. Exile, slavery, liberation, and prosperity are all seen to be part of a higher plan, in which no occurrence is without meaning or left to chance. Although the New Testament gives this theme new force by proclaiming that Jesus is the Messiah and fulfilment of God's promises, nevertheless it does not manifest the same degree of concern with the long-term implications of Divine Providence as the Old Testament. This was perhaps the result of the predominant eschatological belief among early Christians that the world was soon to end with the *parousia* or second coming of Christ. Interest was rekindled in providence as it became clear that the end of the world was not as imminent as the Primitive Church had believed it to be. The doctrine of an all-embracing providence reappears as an object of serious theological reflection several centuries later in Augustine's *City of God*. In his cosmic ordering of history, all events are seen to reflect either the 'earthly city' or the 'city of God'. Although Eusebius as well as medieval historians and chroniclers were equally determined to investigate the ultimate *causes* underpinning human actions and did not hesitate to refer to a divine agent outside of history itself as the *causa prima*, they did so in a less dualistic fashion and without the apocalyptic overtones of Augustine. For a comprehensive and systematic treatment of providence and its place in Christian philosophy, theology, and historiography, one must refer to Thomas Aquinas, who deals separately with the two questions of 'Divine Will and Providence' and 'Divine government' in his *Summa Theologiae*, where he defines the respective spheres of action of human and divine agents. He resolves the problem of a dual causality by adopting Aristotle's distinction between necessary and contingent or first and second causes. He concludes that the two are not contradictory and that, although God's Will remains the first and ultimate cause of every action, individual human actions are the result of more immediate or contingent causes.[99]

A perceptible shift away from this dominant model of Christian historiography, which strove to give an account of *universal* history where every event could be traced back to a divine master plan, came during the Renaissance. Historians of this period preferred to limit

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[99] Valignano paraphrases Thomas's *Summa* on Providence at the beginning of chapter 1; see vol. II, 19 and vol. II, 166 (for the precise reference to the *Summa*).

the scope of their study to histories *ab urbe condita* and enquired into the contingent causes behind local events and the specific role played by individuals within that framework. And while figures such as Machiavelli and Guicciardini still recognized God as the *causa prima* of all reality, they tended on the whole to de-emphasise the role of divine intervention in human affairs. Providentialist views of history did not, however, disappear altogether from the works of humanist historiographers. As Charles Trinkaus has shown, this was true of scholars such as Coluccio Salutati, who studied the tensions that existed between human and divine will in his *De fato et fortuna*, and Marsilio Ficino, who, in his *De religione Christiana*, examined how the relationship of non-Christian religions to Christianity had been shaped by Divine Providence.[100] These and other Christian humanists were particularly concerned with understanding how fate and fortune could be reconciled with a providential view of history so as not to contradict the dignity of the individual endowed with a free will.[101]

If we ask where Valignano fits into this picture, we find him caught in between a traditional linear/progressive or providentialist conception of history and a reading of that same human history that tries to take seriously into account the contingent and random elements that seem to fall outside such a frame of reference. He seeks to do justice to both elements in his *Principio*. Thus, while human reasons are adduced to explain the political and economic situation in Japan and in Europe and the ways in which it affected the spreading of Christianity, Divine Providence is portrayed as the moving force behind the introduction of the Faith into Japan. He does not, however, view the two modes of causality as mutually contradictory. With regard to the latter, Valignano speaks at the beginning of chapter 1 of how God's Providence 'escogió la valerosa nación portugueza' to bring the 'luz resplendeciente de su divino Evangelio' to many nations, including Japan, 'para sacarlas de las tinieblas de la infedelidad.' Such an interpretation of the providential role of Portugal

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[100] See Charles Trinkaus, *"In Our Image and Likeness": Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, 2 vols (London: Constable, 1970), I, 76-102 and II, 734-53.

[101] See Antonino Poppi, 'Fate, Fortune, Providence, and Human Freedom', in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, repr. 1992), pp. 641-67 (pp. 643-60); and H. A. Enno van Gelder, *The Two Reformations in the 16th Century. A Study of the Religious Aspects and Consequences of Renaissance and Humanism* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961), pp. 44-53.

in the expansion of the *respublica christiana* beyond the boarders of Europe has many parallels in other authors of the period. To cite an example from another prominent author for whom Providence was central to his understanding of history, there is the discourse or *libellus de aurea aetate*, delivered initially as a sermon in the presence of Julius II in 1507 by Giles of Viterbo during celebrations to mark the Portuguese arrival in Ceylon the previous year.[102] For a similar assessment of Spain's place in the development of Christianity in the New World, we need look no further than the concluding chapter of José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* of 1589-90, with which Valignano was familiar. Both are intent on highlighting the cooperation between human and divine will in the great missionary enterprises of their age.[103]

Since the time of his first visit to Japan Valignano had been perplexed, nevertheless, by the conflicting way in which Providence had guided the progress of the Church, allowing the unexpected destruction of what the Fathers had worked so hard and so long to build. In an attempt to come to terms with this dilemma, he returns to this theme in chapter 24 of his *Sumario de las cosas de Japón*, where he cites the happenings in various parts of Japan such as Ōmura, Arima, and Miyako as examples of how the Divine Wisdom 'quería deshacer lo que los Padres iban haciendo, permitiendo que en todas las partes donde se promulgaba su santa Ley aconteciesen algunos desastres grandes.'[104] The events leading up to the murder of the Ashikaga shogun, which resulted in the banishment of the Jesuits from Miyako, is discussed *in extenso* in chapter 22 of *Principio*. Here the anxious desire to find a reason for why Providence had allowed such a disastrous turn in the fortunes of the missionaries is evident. Unable to resolve the problem, Valignano presents in its place a meticulous analysis of the intricate web of political alliances and psychological motivations that were at the root

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[102] For Giles's *libellus* see John W. O'Malley, 'Fulfilment of the Christian Golden Age under Pope Julius II: Text of Discourse of Giles of Viterbo, 1507', in *Rome and the Renaissance. Studies in Culture and Religion* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), V: 265-338, and especially fols 46^{r}-55^{r}, pp. 312-20.

[103] For José de Acosta's reflections, see his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, chapter 34 in *Obras del P. José de Acosta, de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. by Francisco de Mateos, Biblioteca de autores españoles, 73 (Madrid: Atlas, 1954), pp. 244-47.

[104] See *Sumario*, p. 271.

of the *coup d'état*; however, all the while he is careful not to deny these disastrous events a place in the divine scheme of things. This latter concern may explain the somewhat odd phrase he includes in the title of the chapter: 'haziéndosse mucho servicio a Nuestro Señor [...] mataron al Cubó; y los Nuestros fueron desterrados de aquella ciudad.' Subsequent developments in Japan and changes in the fortunes of the missionaries gave him the opportunity to voice more openly his reflections on God's infinite wisdom and goodness. In chapter 25 he can hardly contain his pleasure in recounting the circumstances that made it possible for the Jesuits to return to Miyako from their exile, and how their persecutors all met with a dire end. This time it is the *ethical* significance of the events that he is anxious to emphasize, and he launches into a 'discurso' on the 'mal fin' of all those who had opposed the Jesuits in their mission.

Valignano's preoccupation with persecution and its meaning was not a new one. He was convinced that its devastating consequences for the Church had to be accounted for, otherwise Divine Providence would become a meaningless and empty term. In this respect, he shared a similar concern with Eusebius, for whom showing how the Church had emerged triumphant from persecution and heresy was of primary importance.[105] Throughout his writings, *Principio* being no exception, Valignano is driven to find a plausible explanation for the opposition which the Church in Japan faced from the 'gentiles' and the consistent lack of 'dones extraordinarios' with which it sought to overcome these difficulties. We thus find that many of his reflections on Divine Providence stem from a preoccupation with failure rather than from any triumphalistic pretences. The original solution that he devises to cope with this predicament is to see persecution and God's unwillingness to intervene as a clear sign that the missionaries should continually reassess their way of proceeding and adapt it to the needs of the community rather than rely on miraculous events to take care of things for them.

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[105] On this emphasis in Eusebius's writings, see Momigliano, 'The Origins of Ecclesiastical Historiography', p. 140.

Deliberative and Epideictic elements

If it is true that Valignano's *inventio* and *dispositio* of his material is prevalently judicial in aspect, nonetheless epideictic and deliberative elements are not absent from *Principio*. In fact, as Quintilian observes, both are germane to forensic argumentation.[106] The deliberative cause is directed to persuading an assembly or an individual with authority to adopt a particular course of action (hortatory) or to abandon it (dissuasive). The action itself is considered in terms of either its expediency (*utilitas*) or its honourableness (*honestas*).[107] In Valignano's historical narrative, the political aspect of deliberation is not as pronounced as in his *Apologia* of 1598, which was composed at a moment when he was still hoping that he could convince the authorities in Rome and Madrid to endorse unconditionally the Jesuit mission in Japan and bar other Orders from being allowed access to the country. This was no longer the case in 1604, when he was putting the final touches to the revised version of his history of Japan. By that time, news would have reached him about the Pope's decision to open the doors of the Japanese mission to religious Orders other than the Society of Jesus. These new developments notwithstanding, Valignano was still willing to try to salvage the privileges of the Portuguese *Padroado*, which had not been directly affected by the ruling of 1600. The Visitor was aware that, besides the legacy of the Society's missionary endeavours, what was, in fact, at stake was the future of the Japanese Church itself. In providing the 'right' interpretation of the history of the Church in that country, he also had a more deliberative purpose in mind: to *move* other missionaries who would come to Japan to accept and follow the *exemplum* of the *Japanese* Primitive Church. And if they were not willing to adhere to Jesuit methods of their own accord, then perhaps at least their superiors in Europe could be persuaded by these theological/historical considerations to order them to do so. How could he hope to achieve this?

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[106] See Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, III.vii.2 (on 'the award of praise to a witness in the courts') and III.viii.6 (on how deliberative oratory 'while it deliberates about the future, also enquires about the past'). The reference to the past is, of course, relevant to judicial disputes.

[107] See Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I.iii.6; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, III.viii.1, 6, 22; *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.ii.2-v.9.

Once he had proven the thesis that the early Japanese Church was orthodox because it had conformed to the ideals of the Apostolic Church, he was only one step away from demonstrating another more sensitive hypothesis, which he couched in terms reminiscent of Baronius's *ecclesia semper eadem* paradigm: that his own policies were orthodox, for they reflected a *continuity* with the spirit and the practices of the Japanese Primitive Church. He hoped that his readers would make this inference for themselves once they had weighed the *exempla* of the way of proceeding adopted by the first Jesuits in Japan against the missionary methods of his own day. He was also confident that, on the basis of such evidence, the authorities would agree that the most expedient and honourable course of action for the welfare of the Christian community and the continued propagation of the Faith in Japan was to continue the 'tradition' established by the Society of Jesus.

With this purpose in mind, the hagiographical chapters on Francis Xavier and Cosme de Torres fulfil an auxiliary epideictic function. Classical authors are all in agreement that demonstrative rhetoric deals principally with apportioning either praise (*laudatio*) or blame (*vituperatio*).[108] In the former instance, if the object of praise is an individual, he or she can be lauded on the basis of external circumstances of life, physical attributes, or qualities of character. In *Principio*, Valignano concentrates on the traits of character of his subjects, leaving it to Providence to account for external circumstances that would normally come under the heading of 'fortune'. In the case of Xavier, besides his education (*educatio*) and wisdom (*prudentia*), two of the *loci a persona*, it was his courage (*fortitudo*) in the face of the innumerable dangers and difficulties that had punctuated his journey to Japan and his activities there that was singled out for praise.[109] As for Cosme de Torres, who had succeeded Xavier as head of the mission, Valignano dwells on his personal sanctity, perseverance, charity, and benevolence. The affection for Torres among the Japanese is vividly depicted at the end of chapter 26, where Valignano launches into an encomiastic representation of the saintly manner of his death and the reaction of those present, who

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[108] See Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, III.vii.1-28 (§1); and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.vi.10-viii.15 (§vi.1).

[109] For the various *loci a persona* that can be used in epideictic oratory see Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, V.x.23-31.

responded to their loss 'con mucho sentimiento y lágrimas.' In the case of both men, and many other early Jesuits, these qualities of character are reflected in their actions and words (*opera et dicta*), which are recounted in detail in the chronological chapters of *Principio.*

In fine

At the end one may ask what prompted Valignano to rely so heavily on rhetorical devices such as those that emerge from this study of *Principio.* I have contended that the conflictual circumstances in which he was writing lent an urgency to what might otherwise have been a less politically motivated undertaking. Insofar as he continued to exercise the extensive powers that went with the office of Visitor, he knew that his writings would be scrutinized by fellow Jesuits and non-Jesuits alike. With this context in mind he came to realize further that his work would be read by an even larger audience once it had been published. Anticipating the standards expected by his interlocutors, Valignano knew that he could not afford to ignore the importance attributed in Europe to the pursuit of eloquence. To him this came naturally, for besides the knowledge of the finer points of judicial disputation, which he had acquired at the University of Padua, he was also well versed in the general principles of persuasive discourse. Rhetorical training was in fact not only an integral part but at the very heart of the Jesuit pedagogical programme. Thus, in the *Ratio studiorum*, even history came to be subordinated to the study of rhetoric and was considered as a form of *eruditio*.[110] As John O'Malley has remarked, this emphasis, far from being a coincidence, was rather the expression of a peculiar *forma mentis* among the early Jesuits, for whom the 'engagement of emotions' and the need to persuade to action became

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[110] See the *Ratio studiorum*, in *MP*, V (1986), 111-13 ('De studiis humanitatis, hoc est grammaticae, historiae, poeticae, et rhetoricae'); 349-54 ('De historiae explanatione in classe rhetoricae'); and 424-28 ('Regulae professoris rhetoricae'). On the place of rhetoric and history in the Jesuit curriculum see Aldo Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1986), pp. 51-109 (pp. 57-8; 89-91). For a study of Jesuit attitudes towards the teaching of history, see François Dainville, 'L'Enseignement de l'histoire et de la géographie et le *ratio studiorum*', in *L'Éducation des Jésuites (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. by Marie-Madeleine Compère (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1954), 427-54.

characteristics of their mode of ministry.[111] In this sense, Valignano's approach was a typical example of how members of his Order sought to reconcile in their preaching and writing the *rhetorica humana* of Italian culture with the *rhetorica divina* of the Rheno-Flemish *devotio moderna*; both trends had, in fact, served as an inspiration for Ignatius of Loyola and his first companions. Hence, it was probably not a coincidence that Valignano referred in his *Principio* to the works of Jesuits like Giovanni Pietro Maffei and Orazio Torsellino, both of whom had been professors of rhetoric at the Roman College. Although the Visitor knew that his style did not live up to the high standards that were expected of Renaissance rhetoricians, he remained confident that he could make up for these shortcomings by presenting a well-documented narrative that was at the same time reliable, lucid, and dependable in its interpretation of the meaning of the events that marked the first fifty years of the Japanese Church.

Finally, the lively interest in history as a criterion for understanding the issues of the present age, and the willingness on the part of intellectuals to wield it as a weapon in religious controversy, regardless of the denominational allegiance of one's opponent, were developments that did not go unnoticed by Valignano. And although there are as many parallels as there are differences between his own work and that of his 'model', Baronius, the drive that motivated the two men remained essentially the same: to defend the Church from what each of them saw as harmful and unwarranted attacks. History and tradition had become almost as important as doctrine itself and, as Valignano discovered, this applied to the newly founded Churches of East Asia as much as it did to the post-Tridentine and Reformed Churches of Europe.

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[111] See O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, pp. 254-5.

General Conclusions

By this point it should be clear that Alessandro Valignano was a key figure in the history of the encounter between Europe and Japan during the final decades of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Besides the task of administering and organizing the missionary enterprise in India, Japan, and China in his role as the Jesuit General's Visitor to the region, he was also engaged in a number of sensitive diplomatic missions concerning the Portuguese *Padroado* and Japan's political and economic relations with Europe. Of all his activities, however, the most notable contribution of his twenty-five year career in the *Indias Orientales* lay in the formulation of new policies and strategies for the propagation of Christianity in Asia, many of which had never been attempted before outside Europe. Of particular significance was his belief that the expression of the Christian faith need not necessarily adopt European forms; equally important was his insistence on the creation of a native clergy. Decisions such as these often reflected an anthropological world-view quite different from that of many of his contemporaries, including some of his fellow Jesuits. In retrospect, it is not an exaggeration to say that he was a man ahead of his times. It was also perhaps for this reason, not to mention his choleric disposition and unwillingness to compromise once he had made up his mind, that many of his directives and statements proved to be controversial. In studying both his achievements and shortcomings, we are fortunate to have a large number of his extant writings from which to draw our own conclusions. Their study remains a worthwhile endeavour, for Valignano's reflections exerted a lasting influence on European perceptions of Japan - an influence that was probably superseded only in the nineteenth century with the re-admission of foreigners into Japan at the end of the Tokugawa shogunate.

While many of these documents, such as his letters and his treatises, are remarkably 'modern' in their approach to reality and appeal directly to the present-day reader, others are more difficult to understand and require careful analysis. *Principio*, composed in the midst of complex ecclesiastical and political controversy, is one of these. Convinced that previous

biographies of the mission's founder, Francis Xavier, were unreliable, and that the present situation of the Japanese Church had been slanderously misrepresented by the Society's rivals, he decided that it was his duty to put the record straight by composing a critical and comprehensive account of the mission's history, from its inception to his own times. Had the Visitor succeeded in completing all five volumes of his project before his death, it would have been his most comprehensive work, rivalling and perhaps even surpassing Luís Fróis's *História de Japam*. The effort he was willing to make to accomplish such a time-consuming and tedious task, in spite of his other numerous occupations, is a fair indication of the importance and urgency he attributed to the project as a whole. Thus the study of the European presence in Japan, and the role Valignano played in it, would remain incomplete without an examination of this work. Moreover, we know that his writings served as a privileged source for many other historians in Europe, such as Giovanni Pietro Maffei, João de Lucena, and Luis de Guzmán, who participated in the creation of a new genre of 'mission histories' in the sixteenth century. By studying directly the Visitor's own historical writings, we are in a better position to judge not only his own contribution but also that of some his prominent contemporaries. It was with this purpose in mind that I undertook the task of filling the gap in our knowledge of Valignano's work as an historian of the mission by preparing a critical edition of a substantial part of the only extant volume of his *Principio*.

In the course of this project it soon became clear, however, that it was simply not enough to offer the reader Valignano's text; it was also essential to provide an interpretative framework in which to understand that history. This necessity was underscored by the recent trend among historians to question the intrinsic value and reliability of the texts produced during the 'Age of Discoveries' by European missionaries concerning events and peoples in Asia or the New World. Whilst the evaluation of such works within what is sometimes referred to as a 'post-colonial' perspective has stimulated much discussion and raised genuine problems concerning their interpretation, it seems to have failed in many instances to do justice to these writings on their own terms. By applying too readily categories that are taken from the present rather than from the time in which the texts were actually written, the temptation is to assess them outside of their context. Similarly anachronistic is the empiricist approach of the Rankean kind, which holds to a literal interpretation of the text and insists

on the substantiation of all the facts recounted in these narratives - an endeavour which, in most cases, remains impossible. Finally, at the other end of the spectrum, there is the 'hagiographical' interpretation, which does not interrogate the narrative but accepts at face value what is stated therein. Such an oversimplified reading of these texts, more concerned with edification than verification, may account in part for the post-colonial backlash and scepticism *vis-à-vis* many of these writings. None of these approaches can satisfactorily account for the different aspects of the *Principio* narrative. In view of these difficulties and doubts, it was all the more expedient to clarify my method.

Thus, the question I posed in the first chapter was whether it was better to analyse *Principio* from an historical or a literary viewpoint. The justification for formulating the issue in such terms lay in the fact that, with contemporary advances in historiography and literary criticism, it seemed no longer possible or helpful to distinguish rigidly between texts which fell into the category of 'historical' narrative and those which were purely 'literary' productions. In fact, Valignano's narrative was clearly marked by both elements. To do justice to the literary aspect, I suggested that *rhetorical analysis* could serve as a valid tool with which to study the structure of the narrative (*dispositio*) and the arguments employed therein (*inventio*). I also argued that the categories of rhetoric need not be confined to poetic texts or works of fiction but were also applicable to historical texts. Such an assertion was supported by recourse to the work of scholars such Roland Barthes, Hayden White, and Chaïm Perelman, who have attempted to reclaim rhetoric and transform it into a analytical instrument with which to study human discourse in general, regardless of genre. Their understanding of rhetoric is qualified by its emphasis on a *topological* rather than *tropological* analysis, in which the identification of the *loci* employed by the author (*inventio*) takes precedence over his use of various forms of verbal manipulation (*elocutio*). Such an approach reflects a recognition of the influence on the development of historiography of Classical antecedents such as Cicero's *De oratore*, where the telling of the truth and its rhetorical embellishment (*exaedificatio*) are represented as compatible and indeed complementary elements of historical discourse. Although this understanding of history writing was never universally accepted, and even its meaning within Classical historiography remained open to debate, the influence of such a conception on many writers of the sixteenth

century cannot be denied. We have seen, in fact, how during the Renaissance 'sapientia' and 'eloquentia' were considered as inseparable aspects of any scholarly endeavour. By adopting such categories, I attempted to read Valignano's text on its own terms and identify the models that may have inspired his own work. My assumption was that the highly rhetorical nature of this text need not necessarily diminish its interest or intrinsic worth as a valid source of information about the history of the Church in Japan, provided that we do not attempt to interpret it *ad litteram*.

The relevance of this *literary* or *rhetorical* method in the study of *Principio* notwithstanding, the *historical* dimension, understood in *empirical* terms, had also to be accounted for, lest the study of Valignano's history remain disconnected from its specific context. Hence, my study turned to establishing the author's *locus enuntiationis*, namely the situation in which Valignano found himself at the time he decided to compose an history of the Japanese missionary enterprise of the Society of Jesus. This was undertaken at two distinct levels: firstly, by exploring his intellectual background and a number of his other writings (Chapter II), and secondly, by investigating the historical *context* that provided the immediate backdrop to his history (Chapter III). The underlying assumption here was that every text reflects to a greater or to a smaller extent other texts, to which it relates in either a positive or a negative way. It was pointed out how *intertextuality*, the concept in literary criticism most often associated with this type of analysis, could help identify such links between Valignano's *Principio* and other writings of his contemporaries in Europe and Asia. Intertextuality reveals itself here to be particularly useful insofar as it allows us to bridge the divide between the literary and historical readings of a text by focusing on both aspects at the same time. A detailed investigation of the *context* of controversy between the Jesuits and the Spanish Friars who had come to Japan from the Philippines in the 1590s on the one hand, and the conflict between Spain and Portugal with regard to their respective privileges and spheres of influence in East Asia on the other, soon revealed the extent of Valignano's personal involvement in the disputes. The studies of Charles Boxer and José Álvarez-Taladriz alerted me to the fact that it was impossible to study this complicated controversy without taking into consideration both the ecclesiastical *and* geo-political dimensions of it.

Having thus explored at length the *historical* context of Valignano's work, it was now

possible to identify the *rhetorical* framework that underpinned his history. Falling back on the fundamental distinction between the three *genera* of rhetorical discourse, it became clear that it was the judicial or forensic *cause* that served as the main matrix for recounting the events of the early Japanese Church. Valignano set out to prove that the Church in Japan was orthodox by establishing that it was possible to compare the beginnings of the Japanese Christian community, founded by Francis Xavier and his companions, with that of the Primitive Church of the Apostolic age. This argument was constructed on the assumption that his readers in Europe, who were engaged in their own debates about the nature of the Church in the aftermath of the Reformation, would agree that the Primitive Church was a model for the present age, regardless of national borders. With this strategy in mind he was able to provide a detailed description of the country and its organization, a reassessment of Japanese customs, as well as a straightforward chronicle of events, in which the description of the virtues of the missionaries in the face of adversity and persecution were expressed in epideictic terms that served as *exempla* to confirm his main thesis. Finally, this rhetorical analysis illuminated another underlying theme of Valignano's history, which was more *deliberative* in nature: his resolve to *persuade* the ecclesiastical and secular authorities in Europe, who were determined to abolish the monopoly the Society of Jesus had enjoyed in the Japanese mission field for over fifty years, that they should follow the example that the Jesuits had set and continue their policy of accommodation of the Christian message to Japanese culture. He hoped to convince those responsible to adopt ways of preaching the Faith that, without betraying its essence, would make it comprehensible to the people of Japan; and this, he believed, could only be achieved if his policies were implemented in full.

In the end, however, it was Valignano's decision to go beyond the composition of a simple *Apologia* - which he had also written - and turn to history as a privileged witness ('testis temporum') and a guide for future decisions ('lux veritatis') that made the historical narrative of *Principio* an original expression in the Asian context of trends that had already taken root in sixteenth-century Europe. For the Visitor history was never, in fact, merely a polemical tool; it was also a way of interpreting his own mission. Hence, while it is true that he had assimilated from Baronius, Bellarmine, Cano, and others the effectiveness of *historical* argumentation over and against traditional apologetical methods, for Valignano

history came to express an even more fundamental purpose: to aid him in constantly re-assessing his administration of the Church. We have seen how from the very beginning he had been positively confused by the strange workings of 'Divine Providence', which was marked by a lack of extraordinary signs of God's action in Japan. Josef Franz Schütte's study of Valignano's mission principles has illustrated how it was precisely this intellectual dilemma that had stimulated him to search for new solutions to the problems he faced in the coordination of the Jesuits in Japan.[112] Valignano's realization that the missionaries had to rely on their own imagination rather than wait for miracles to solve their problems is perhaps the key to understanding why he felt so free to experiment and to formulate such bold and controversial policies. Thus, we can safely conclude not only that his way of writing history reflected his desire to defend his mission policies as well as those of his predecessors but that his policies also reflected his understanding of the history of the early Japanese Church. This is why, besides serving a deliberative function with his European audience, his historical account of the Jesuit mission performed a similar role for the Visitor's personal deliberations. In fact, the process of assessing the beginnings of the Japanese mission in his *Principio* provided him with the opportunity to consider the *expedient*, *honourable*, and *necessary* course of action for the immediate future and evaluate his own previous decisions.

What therefore emerges from this study of *Principio* is the distinctive role that history and history-writing came to play in the mind of a European with a humanist education like Valignano, who struggled to interpret the strange and unfamiliar reality of Asia and communicate it to his readers. In this sense, he came to view history not just as a repository of indifferent data but rather as a storehouse of experiences that had the potential to challenge his very understanding of reality; and in the case of his fellow missionaries, their interpretation of the mandate they had received to preach the Gospel. The only way he could account for the discovery of a people like the Japanese, whom he considered equal to Europeans in culture and sophistication but who lacked knowledge of the Christian faith, was to validate their encounter with Christianity by comparing it to that of the Early Church - a key point of reference in the sixteenth century to a collective religious past. The work of Valignano is thus particularly relevant to sixteenth-century intellectual history in general in

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[112] See Schütte, *VMJ-E*, I/1, 281-306 (pp. 292-306); *VMJ-E*, I/2, 87-9.

that it reveals to us how *historia sacra*, far from being of marginal interest, could be both a means of interpreting one's own religious experiences and at the same time a powerful polemical tool with which to engage opponents in the religious and political arenas. Whether it was Baronius refuting Flacius Illyricus or Valignano challenging Fray Martín Aguirre, what was ultimately at stake was the integrity and legitimacy of one's own identity in an age when many certainties had been seriously questioned. We should therefore not be surprised that such issues continued to trouble Europeans wherever they went, even when the tides took them as far as Japan. In their struggle to weather the storms of their age and find their way forward in the fog of controversy, many, Valignano among them, sought refuge in the wisdom of the past; and for this they turned to *history*.

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