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Becoming All Things to All Men: The Role of Jesuit Missions in Early Modern Globalization

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Becoming All Things to All Men: The Role of Jesuit Missions in Early Modern Globalization

Becoming All Things to All Men: The Role of Jesuit Missions in Early Modern Globalization

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Comparative Literature and Cultural Studies

by

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Abstract

From its founding, the Society of Jesus was globally minded, and Iberian imperial and mercantile expansion during the early modern period granted Jesuit missionaries unprecedented access to the globe through navigation. With its unique emphasis on both global missions and pedagogy, the Society of Jesus was in an ideal position to both generate and disseminate knowledge about the world. As missionaries scattered across the globe constructed the identity of the ethnic and cultural Other encountered on mission in the East and in Latin America, Jesuit missionaries and scholars, both at home and abroad, likewise attempted to construct a global Catholic identity, merging the realities of Catholicism in a post-Reformation Europe with the possibilities of the global mission. In this way, although the Catholic communities established throughout the Jesuit global mission geographically spanned oceans, they were conceptually ever present. This study will analyze texts produced on early modern Jesuit missions in England, Japan and Paraguay as well as works retrospectively considering these missions, such as the Latin musical drama *Mulier fortis*, in order to better understand the ideological, political and rhetorical strategies of early modern Jesuit missionaries and scholars as they conceptualized the cultural complexities of the world around them and attempted to cull out a universal global Catholic identity from such vast diversity.

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I would also like to thank Dr. Markham for agreeing to serve on my dissertation committee and offer me advice about a discipline I was formerly only familiar with from having participated in choirs most of my life. Although we are not well acquainted, she is in many ways responsible for the subject of this dissertation since it is only because of the presentation given at U of A about *Mulier fortis* that I even know of the work’s existence. I walked out of that presentation with a burning curiosity to know more about the Jesuits and their global missions and this dissertation, and any subsequent research I might do on the topic in the future, is the result.

There is absolutely no way I could have read or translated *Mulier fortis* without the help of two very generous Latin scholars, Garrett Jeter and Mark Reynolds.

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my family. In the course of writing this dissertation, the dynamic of my family changed dramatically. I lost my father to cancer and then gave birth to a precious little girl. Both events were profound moments in my life and definitely affected my sense of self and priorities. As I read chapters of this dissertation, I am reminded how they relate to the specific moment in which they were written and while some parts echo joy and others pain, I am grateful for the remembrance nonetheless.

I dedicate this dissertation, first of all, to my parents, Eldon and Sandra Coffman. I believe that if my dad were still alive, he would be proud of my accomplishment; in those moments when I thought I would never finish this project, I would remember his favorite saying, “The impossible takes just a little bit longer,” and just keep on. I would also like to dedicate this work to my mom who truly is the *mulier fortis* in my life. I have always admired her as a wonderful mother and now admire her even more as I am in awe of how masterfully she juggled competing demands throughout my childhood. In addition to my parents, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my brother, E.J., whose academic successes have inspired me and who has offered encouragement through every step of my graduate career.

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Table of Contents

I. Introduction	1
II. Chapter One	13
The English Catholic Community and the Jesuit Mission	15
The Appropriation of Print.....	22
Negotiating English Cultural Identity	30
III. Chapter Two.....	58
Postcolonialism in Early Modern Scholarship.....	60
Valignano's <i>Historia</i> and <i>Sumario</i>	65
Forms of Colonialism.....	69
Defining the European and the Other.....	80
Japan through Valignano's Eyes.....	94
IV. Chapter Three.....	118
The Global Jesuit Mission.....	119
Envisioning the Other across the World.....	124
Taming the Barbarian.....	140
The Power to Translate.....	160
V. Chapter Four.....	182
Narratives and Counter-narratives.....	183
The Narrative of Martyrdom.....	186
The Death of Edmund Campion.....	191
Narrating Campion: Traitor or Martyr?.....	193
The Death of Hosokawa Tama Gracia.....	221

Narrating Gracia: Dutiful Wife or Christian Martyr?.....	224
VI. Conclusion.....	250
VII. Works Cited.....	255
VIII. Appendix: <i>Mulier fortis</i> with English Translation.....	265

I. Introduction

On September 27, 1540, a papal bull officially established the Society of Jesus. It was founded, like so many other religious orders, by a man whose search for personal spiritual renewal led him to desire ecclesiastical reform. The Society of Jesus was the product of the modern age and was designed to respond to the unique spiritual challenges and opportunities of its time. The Protestant Reformation in Europe, spearheaded by figures such as Luther, Calvin and Zwingli, shattered the precarious, long-held spiritual domination of Latin Christendom by the Catholic Church, and the resulting religious and political divisions diminished both the papacy's power and revenue. In the midst of these challenges to its authority, the Catholic Church perceived opportunities to begin afresh by sweeping away the corruption causing widespread discontent and by reaffirming its essential dogmas. The emergence of the modern Protestant nation state posed a unique challenge to a reformed Catholicism making the possibilities of reconciliation between civil monarch and papacy even more remote. In countries such as England and Germany, missionaries of the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, were tasked with the difficult if not impossible mission of constructing a mutually agreeable cultural and religious compromise. Outside of Europe, Iberian imperial expansion from the fifteenth century onward presented the Church with newfound opportunities as the Spanish and Portuguese extended their political and economic influence across the globe. Jesuit missionaries played a vital role in the development of Catholic world missions. Their writings, both to Western and non-Western audiences, were integral in the early modern construction of global society. Jesuit missions in Europe and abroad functioned as spaces of cultural negotiation, and while the Jesuits did not abandon the tenets of their religious formation, centered upon Ignacio Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* and post-Tridentine reforms, they did expand and redefine their worldview by adapting

and accommodating to the culture of the Other. Through cultural negotiation, the Jesuits sought to translate the world into a coherent and definable system, influencing the way the West conceptualized the globe on the eve of the Enlightenment and the way Catholics, both in Europe and abroad, constructed themselves as members of a global and universal society.

In the founding document of the Society of Jesus, *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, the original ten members define the new organization's purpose, "to strive especially for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine and for the propagation of the faith" (qtd in O'Malley 38), in both pastoral and evangelistic terms. In 1540 when the document was crafted, the term "missionary" did not yet exist to describe the enterprise of evangelizing non-Christians, still referred to quite literally as "journeying to the infidel." According to John O'Malley, the modern definition of missions as "the propagation of the faith" is mostly due to the Jesuits who "were among the first to inaugurate the new usage and were the group initially perhaps most responsible for its widespread propagation" (217). As the early Jesuits attempted to follow in the footsteps of the Apostles, they conceptualized the propagation of the Christian faith as mirroring the Biblical parable of the lost sheep where the impetus to go forth falls to the shepherd who must seek and find. Going forth to find the lost soul "meant being missionaries [and] [n]othing was more fundamental to the original inspiration of the Society of Jesus" (221). The Jesuit construct of "missions" evolved as they adapted to the circumstances of their ministry. At the Society's founding, the mission pattern envisioned was of multiple short-term assignments, but long-term assignments became more common as education was integrated into the overall ministry program. The addition of pedagogical concerns shifted the ministry procedures of the Society as well as those of the Catholic Church in general, as O'Malley notes, "[...] this essentially missionary organization soon became in fact also the first 'teaching order' in the

history of the Catholic Church” (221-2). The pedagogical role of the Society admittedly altered the original mission emphasis, since Jesuit scholars were less mobile than missionaries, but continued to further the Society’s evangelistic goals through the founding of mission schools. Mission schools, like those established in Japan and among the Guarani, offered missionaries the opportunity to advance their evangelizing and civilizing goals within the Jesuit global mission. Using the rhetoric of the academy, Jesuit scholars in Europe and abroad confronted the conceptual challenges posed by early modern globalization.

The concept of “globalization” has been used by scholars for more than two decades to describe “the multiplicity of supranational forces that have imprinted themselves on the contemporary world” (Hopkins 1), yet its application to studies of global interactions in the pre-modern and early modern world has been relatively recent. One reason for this delay is the general reluctance on the part of scholars to retrospectively characterize historical global interactions within the same theoretical framework as they would modern and postmodern forms of globalization. Their valid concern is to avoid teleological constructions of history, such as the narrative of European global expansion as the “rise of the West” discounting the multi-dimensional nature of global encounters between peoples of different cultures. Scholars who have considered globalization as an historical process, such as A.G. Hopkins and David Held, are careful to outline the types of global interactions taking place in distinct historical periods and develop the role of significant global interactions where Europeans did not participate. Although the subject of my study principally focuses on global interactions involving Europeans, specifically members of the Society of Jesus, it is not intended to be an exaltation of early modern European ingenuity. Instead, the purpose is to better understand how the West, specifically through the experiences and perspectives of Jesuit global missionaries and scholars,

understood and began to redefine its concept of “global” during the early modern period. As one of the first truly global organizations, the Society of Jesus during the early modern period was in the unique position to collect information from its global missions, contextualize this information within accepted Western frameworks of knowledge and then disseminate this knowledge within its educational system both in Europe and on the global mission field. By constructing knowledge about the globe through mission reports and disseminating knowledge through academic discourse, the Society of Jesus played an integral part in the construction of an early modern Western worldview.

Missionaries scattered across the globe constructed the alterity of the ethnic and cultural Other encountered on the mission field and then relayed this information to the West. Attempting to then reconcile this knowledge, Jesuit scholars and missionaries, both in Europe and abroad, sought to construct a global Catholic identity combining the realities of European Catholicism with news from the global mission. In this way, although the Catholic communities established throughout the Jesuit global mission geographically spanned oceans, they were conceptually ever present. In his sixteenth century evangelizing manual, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, tailored to the cultural and social settings of Peru where he served as a missionary scholar, José de Acosta’s references to the “sucesos del Japón” [successes of Japan]¹ and the potential expansion of the global Jesuit mission into the “región inmensa de la China, en la que desde antiguo se ha venido intentando penetrar” [immense region of China, which since antiquity [Europeans] have attempted to penetrate] (Acosta Vol 1 133) illustrate the global Catholic identity shared by members of the Society. Jesuit missionaries saw mission successes on the other side of the world as relevant to their own local ministry because as members of a Society they participated in a

¹ Translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

shared religious identity with common evangelizing and civilizing goals for the peoples to whom they ministered. Although the circumstances of their ministry differed somewhat, this global Catholic identity was likewise shared by missionaries to the Protestant heretic in Europe. In his defense of the English Jesuit mission addressed to the Elizabethan government, later titled his *Brag*, Edmund Campion characterizes the Society as global in nature, describing it as “a league— all the Jesuits in the world” (qtd in Waugh 212) of which he is but one. On the one hand, the construction of a global Catholic identity afforded European Catholics the chance to rejoice at the reports of mission successes, as seen in Acosta’s excitement at the Society’s activities in the East, but conversely it made mission failures sting more keenly. The disappointments and failures of the global Jesuit mission are reflected in the martyrological literature of the time describing the sacrifices of life and limb made by both Jesuit missionaries and their global converts for the sake of the Catholic faith. With the narrative of martyrdom, European Catholic writers brought together a diverse group of individuals who literally spanned the globe and whose construction as Catholic martyrs reinforced the construction of universal Catholic belief.

Although members of the Society of Jesus shared a global Catholic identity, the goal of the Jesuit missionaries in Europe differed from that of missionaries abroad. As O’Malley points out, the Society of Jesus was originally envisioned as a missionary organization in the tradition of the Apostles who spread throughout the Roman Empire evangelizing pagans. However, it soon became clear that in a religiously fractured Europe, the land of the heretic could also be a mission field. O’Malley maintains that while “the Society was not founded to confute the Reformation, as so often asserted, it soon began to take up that cause [...]” (39). This shift in the Society’s stance toward the challenge of Protestantism is evident in the 1550 revision of the

Society's purpose statement, now reading, "the *defense* and propagation of the faith" (qtd in O'Malley 39 emphasis mine). In countries with a significant Protestant population, such as England, Bohemia and Protestant Germany, Jesuit missionaries' ministry practices, for the most part, reflect the pastoral and evangelical goals defined in the foundational bull. However, as I will discuss in chapter one, entitled "'To My Deare Countreymen': Negotiating Cultural Identity in the English Jesuit Mission," during the Jesuit mission to Elizabethan England in 1580-1, headed by Edmund Campion and Robert Persons, in addition to their pastoral and evangelistic duties, the missionaries participated in print debates with Protestant polemicists. Although these debates certainly dealt with the issue of religion, they were not theological disputations, instead highlighting the conflicting definitions of English cultural identity held by Protestants and Catholics.

Although England would not emerge as a fully-developed modern nation state for centuries to come, scholars such as Liah Greenfeld contend the first steps in this transformation can be seen at the time of the English Jesuit mission. Greenfeld argues that during this time period a conceptual shift begins to take place in the construction of English cultural identity;

At a certain point in history— to be precise, in early sixteenth-century England—the word "nation" in its conciliar meaning of "an elite" was applied to the population of the country and made synonymous with the word "people." *This semantic transformation signaled the emergence of the first nation in the world, in the sense in which the word is understood today, and launched the era of nationalism.* (6)

As a result of this conceptual shift, a notion of Englishness develops that is separate and unique from the cultural identities of the peoples of other nations. Although teleological readings of history, such as Greenfeld's, often overlook cultural and political complexities to make sweeping theoretical pronouncements, it does seem clear from the ideas expressed in the print debates between English Protestants and Jesuit missionaries contention over the definition of

Englishness would have enduring political and cultural implications for English society. Within the debates, English Protestant polemicists, such as Meredith Hanmer and William Charke, use the medium of print to advance a definition of Englishness rooted in local political and religious structures and define sovereignty in strictly nationalistic terms. In order to weaken the influence of the English Jesuits, the polemicists other the missionaries by denying their familiarity, depicting them as politically disloyal to the Queen, religiously and civically errant in their rejection of Anglicanism, and essentially foreign because of their religious and social ties to the Continent. In turn, the Jesuits appropriate the medium of print to offer an alternative definition of Englishness and rebut Protestant rhetorical attacks. English Jesuits use othering as a rhetorical tool to question the Protestant hegemony, constructing the Protestant position as unstable because of its relative newness and emphasizing doctrinal discord amongst its sects. In contrast to the Protestant construction of Englishness, Jesuit missionaries, particularly Robert Persons, call for the cultural and political toleration of subaltern religious groups, like Catholicism, and construct England as but one member of a global society rather than as an emerging nation state. In this way, Persons constructs English Catholics as equal participants in a local political society, as loyal subjects to a civil monarch, and a global religious organization, as members of the Catholic Church.

Jesuit missionaries abroad constructed the ethnic and cultural Other encountered on the mission field within the political framework of colonialism. Throughout this study I draw upon postcolonial theory to discuss identity formation and power relationships within the colonial setting, including settings mirroring the asymmetrical power relationships characteristic of colonialism, such as those between English Catholics and Protestants in Elizabethan England. Postcolonial theory, particularly due to its ties with poststructuralism, has always been interested

in deconstructing histories and critically examining power relationships within colonial and postcolonial settings. The seminal works of postcolonial theory wrestle with the construction and maintenance of systems of identity and difference and explore the multidimensional relationships of cultures in contact. Much of the postcolonial scholarship exploring Western imperial expansion and colonialism in the “East,” such as the works of Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak to name but a few, focuses almost exclusively on imperialism from the eighteenth century forward, ignoring the cultural significance of earlier colonial projects to both the East and the West. The lack of critical attention by postcolonial scholars toward earlier colonial efforts, such as early modern Iberian imperialism in Asia, might be due to the fact the concept of orientalism that draws a clear distinction between the cultures of the “East” and “West” wasn’t solidified until the nineteenth century. Additionally, postcolonial scholars might overlook early modern Iberian imperial projects to the East because of the belief that Western knowledge of the East prior to the seventeenth century did not impact the Western construct of the globe in a meaningful way, as Raymond Schwab contends when he states, “Only after 1771 does the world become truly round; half the intellectual map is no longer blank” (16).

Latin American postcolonial scholarship, on the other hand, has produced several valuable studies considering the Spanish and Portuguese imperial projects with impressive historical breadth; however, the potential of this scholarship is limited by its exclusive focus on colonialism in Latin America, and because of its limited focus, the variances of colonial practice in early modern Iberian imperialism are not recognized or discussed at length. The reasons for these deficiencies by postcolonial scholars are principally pragmatic since the study of early modern global interactions in general would prove unwieldy and lack a sense of coherency due to their extensive geographic range and the diverse political and cultural nature of the

interactions themselves. However, the early modern missions carried out by the Society of Jesus in diverse parts of the world provide us with a unique opportunity to consider the Jesuits' construction of the world from various social and cultural positions. In order to carry out their global missions, the Society often participated in Iberian colonial projects, and the degree and manner of this participation demonstrates the complex nature of early modern Western imperialism. By focusing on specific missions carried out by the Society of Jesus in the principal sectors of its global mission, specifically in Europe, Asia and the Americas, the scope of the project proves feasible and still provides a broader perspective than is offered by traditional postcolonial scholarship. In addition, the nature of the Society of Jesus as both a religious and pedagogical institution striving to construct a cohesive worldview in the midst of vast cultural diversity prompts comparisons between missions and provides avenues of exploration into the tenuous and problematic aspects of this global vision.

Iberian imperial expansion to the Americas and Asia provided missionaries with unique challenges and opportunities, and in this vein, both chapters two and three consider how Western Jesuit missionaries conceptualized the Other encountered on the global mission. Chapter two, entitled "Early Modern Orientalism: Japan through the Eyes of Alessandro Valignano," analyzes two works written about Japan by the newly appointed Jesuit Visitor to the East, Alessandro Valignano. By considering both his *Historia del Principio y Progreso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales* and his *Sumario de las Cosas de Japon* from a postcolonial perspective, I hope to uncover the ideological and political motivations underpinning Valignano's construction of the Japanese people as well as his proposed mission strategies for Japan. In these two works concerning the Japanese mission, written during and just after his first visit to Japan in 1581, Valignano attempts to contextualize the Japanese Jesuit mission within the larger global

Jesuit mission. To this end, he takes care to point out that the mission strategies implemented in Japan, such as cultural accommodation and the incorporation of Japanese Christians into the Society as preachers, priests and translators, reflect the unique political and cultural realities of Japan and differ significantly from the strategies implemented by the Society within the colonial realities of Latin America. European colonialism in Asia was principally economic in nature and lacked the Western military and political presence of colonialism in America, placing Jesuit missionaries within a subaltern social setting as foreigners at the mercy of native political leaders. The culture and language of Japan also proved enormous challenges to Europeans who, though willing to acknowledge the sophistication of both, were, with some notable exceptions, incapable of fully mastering them. The unique cultural and social realities limiting Western influence in Japan were partially responsible for Valignano's call to cultivate a Japanese Christian clergy, whom he hoped would one day serve as mission leaders, in Jesuit mission schools.

While Jesuit education in Japan was proposed by Valignano as a means of creating a native Catholic clergy who would minister to the Japanese population, in Paraguay, Jesuit missionaries introduced education within reductions as a means to evangelize and civilize the Guarani peoples. Their goal among the Guarani, in contrast to Valignano's mission goal for the Japanese, was not the creation of future mission leaders but rather the maintenance of a paternalistic, asymmetrical power relationship. Chapter three, "Ranking Barbarians: Considering the Guarani Reductions within the Global Jesuit Mission," explores how Jesuits judged the non-Western Other and constructed him within a cultural hierarchy. In José de Acosta's *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, the Jesuit scholar categorizes the non-Christian Other within a tri-tiered cultural hierarchy based on Western definitions of civility. Although this cultural hierarchy

was a theoretical construct, its uses were pragmatic since Jesuit missionaries developed mission strategies based on the conceived potential of a given people in accordance with their categorization in the hierarchy. While Valignano's *Sumario* suggests the potential for leadership among Japanese Christians, reflected in the integral role played by native members of the Society within the translation and print production of Japanese Christian texts during the mission, Antonio Ruiz de Montoya's *Conquista Espiritual* constructs the Guarani population in Paraguay as cultural children who need the protection and guidance of Western missionaries. The subordination of the Guarani based on their cultural categorization, in addition to the social and cultural realities of Latin American colonialism, explains in part why their participation in the translation of Christian texts into their native language was extremely limited in comparison to that of their Japanese counterparts. Since prior to the mission the Guarani lacked a written language, the Jesuit printing press in the reductions provided Jesuit missionaries with a means to control and alter the Guarani language, essentially reinforcing a paternalistic power relationship. In contrast, the production of texts on the mission printing press in Japan exemplifies the limits of Western influence over Japanese culture and language and reflects a more transformative use of power since Japanese Christians were allowed to participate in the production of a native Christian culture and literacy.

Print production provided missionaries, both in Europe and abroad, with the opportunity to create texts designed to evangelize and catechize the non-Catholic Other; however, Catholic writers also produced texts to reinforce the universality of their faith and to construct a global Catholic identity. A principal narrative form used to accomplish this was the narrative of martyrdom. As Alice Dailey highlights, martyrdom is essentially a literary interpretation since it "is not a death but a story that gets written about a death" (*English Martyr* 2). In chapter four,

“To Die is Gain: Narrating the Deaths of Edmund Campion and Hosokawa Tama Gracia,” I examine how Catholic writers attempt to construct a global Catholic identity by weaving together the histories of individuals from both familiar and faraway settings. The deaths of both Edmund Campion and Hosokawa Tama Gracia offered a forum for narrative debate. While Edmund Campion’s death was inscribed within the master narrative of treason by English Protestants, English Catholic writers, such as Thomas Alfield and the anonymous English Catholic poets, enshrined him within the counter-narrative of martyrdom, elevating him as both a national symbol of English Catholicism and a suprahistorical and supracultural example of Christian devotion and faithfulness. After her death, Hosokawa Tama Gracia, rather than bearing the stigma of treason, was heralded by both Jesuit missionaries and native Japanese accounts as a dutiful and submissive wife, though the narratives differ significantly on the manner of her death. After the collapse of the Japanese Jesuit mission, European Catholic writers adopted her as a symbol of martyrdom, presenting her as a brilliant example of the spiritual success of the Japanese mission. The construction of both Edmund Campion and Hosokawa Tama Gracia imbued their deaths with spiritual and cultural significance as they represented the diverse and universal nature of early modern global Catholic identity.

II. Chapter One

“To My Deare Countreymen”: Negotiating Cultural Identity in the English Jesuit Mission

Within a decade of its founding, the Society of Jesus revised its original mission statement to include the phrase “the defense” into its seminal evangelistic declaration, now reading “the defense and propagation of the faith” (qtd in O’Malley 39). This seemingly simple semantic change signaled a major missiological shift as Jesuit missionaries began to conceptualize Protestant Europe as a mission field in its own right. As an early modern organization dedicated to the propagation of the Catholic faith, the Society’s emergence within a religiously fractured Europe presented it with unique challenges, and as a mission field, England would indeed prove to be a religious and cultural challenge. Within the span of a few years the political and religious landscape of England changed dramatically as both Henry VIII and his son Edward VI passed Protestant reforms later swept away when Mary I assumed the throne in 1553. England’s return to Catholicism, however, proved brief and at the dawn of Elizabeth’s reign the return to Protestantism was not without opposition. After English Catholics lost the ground gained during Mary Tudor’s reign, they rallied on the Continent and strategically opposed the Protestant religious policies of their homeland. Since the efforts to erase the cultural and religious impact of the English Reformation during Mary’s reign had proven unsuccessful, the English members of the Society of Jesus were now called upon to serve as missionaries in their native land. During their mission to England, the Jesuits carried out their missionary duties by ministering to English Catholics and disseminating print defenses of the English Catholic position. Through print, English Jesuits gave voice to the English Catholic exile on the Continent and entered into discussions with Protestants over what it meant to be English. In their print debates, the English Jesuits and Protestant polemicists negotiated the roles of individualism and sovereignty in the construction of Englishness and engaged in othering their opponents. The English Jesuits employed othering to support an English cultural identity defined by historical

continuity. They attempted to construct an Englishness rooted in the past separating religion from cultural identity through adherence to the traditional dual authority system of the Pope and a civil monarch and adaptable to the current realities of an emerging early modern nation state. Conversely, English Protestants used othering to support their own agendas within the emerging nation state, such as their desire for homogeneity through the construction of a uniform English cultural identity with a single civil and ecclesiastical authority whose power was invested by national law.

Prior to Elizabeth's ascension to the throne in 1558, England had teetered between Protestantism and Catholicism since the reign of Henry VIII. After the royal instigator of the English Reformation died, his youthful son Edward VI continued to promote Protestantism²—albeit a Protestantism with far fewer Catholic trappings than the religion of his father. In 1553, Mary's succession to the throne marked a dramatic shift in religious policy. During the five years of her brief reign, the Queen reinstated Catholicism and forged political ties with Rome and Spain, and Cardinal Reginald Pole was recalled to England from his exile in Rome to begin ministering to the wayward English flock.³ The Society of Jesus, however, was not allowed to take part in England's re-Catholization precisely because it was an early modern creation. Pole's mission was not to introduce a new reformed Catholicism, but rather to turn back the clock to before the English Reformation through the restoration of elements from medieval English Catholicism (McCoog *The Society of Jesus* 39). However, England's return to Catholicism was

² Throughout this chapter, I will use Protestantism as a synonym for Anglicanism unless otherwise noted.

³ David Loades provides a useful discussion of how the Catholicism under Mary differed from pre-Reformation Catholicism and from Reformed Catholicism in his article "The Spirituality of the Restored Catholic Church (1553-1558) in the context of the Counter Reformation."

short-lived. The Elizabethan Religious Settlement passed in 1559 reinstated Protestantism in the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy. The Catholic Church decided a new approach to evangelism in England was needed, and the novelty of the Society of Jesus was now deemed an asset.

The English Catholic Community and the Jesuit Mission

While it is convenient to employ general religious terminology in order to demarcate distinct theological and structural differences among members of a given religion, such as “Protestant” and “Catholic” Christians, in reality these terms fall short in conveying the heterogeneous complexity of the peoples encompassed by the term. In order then to fully understand the polemical approach taken by the Jesuit missionaries in their print debates with Protestants, it is necessary to define for whom they were speaking. The English Catholic community, to whom the Jesuit missionaries were sent to minister, was in fact a diverse and heterogeneous group and did not unanimously welcome them. Prior to the English Jesuit mission, the figureheads of Catholic authority and teaching in England were the Marian secular priests and the priests trained in the English seminaries abroad. Though many of the ecclesiastical leaders during the reign of Mary were forced to flee to the Continent after the Elizabethan settlement reintroduced Protestantism, some Marian secular priests remained in order to minister to their now imperiled flock. In fact, early in Elizabeth’s reign, Anglican bishops frequently complained about the continued ministry of Marian priests in hiding as a widespread problem (Meyer 129). Outside of England, the Continental response of the English Catholic community in exile came with the founding of the English seminary in Douai in Flanders by Cardinal William Allen in 1568. The seminary’s principal aim was the equipping of missionary priests to encourage and promote Catholicism in England, and it quickly became the center of English Catholicism on the Continent (94). By 1580, there were already at least one

hundred seminary priests who had trained at Douai in England (132). While both the Marian priests and the secular seminary priests had similar goals, specifically ministering to maintaining the English Catholic community, they differed sharply in their approaches and the arrival of the Jesuits in 1580 served to make these differences more pronounced.

Although seminary priests had been clandestinely filtering into England for quite some time, the Jesuit mission to England was nonetheless an unprecedented missionary expedition since it represented an official response from Rome (134), officially sanctioning Protestant England as a Catholic mission field. The English Jesuits in exile, principally William Allen and Robert Persons, had petitioned the Father General Mercurian for a Jesuit mission to England several times before he finally relented at the end of 1579.⁴ Although the mission was commissioned by the Society of Jesus and led by the English Jesuits Edmund Campion, Robert Persons and Ralph Emerson, three Marian clergy, two laymen and the Bishop of St. Asaph also participated, setting out from Rome for England on April 18 (McCoog “English Jesuit Mission” 198). Because of their ties to the papacy and a reformed Catholicism, the Jesuits represented a distinctly Continental Catholicism not always palatable to English Catholics whose own Catholic experience had grown out of the Marian tradition. The contrasts between the two Catholic groups became clear in July when the Jesuits met with skeptical Marian secular priests at St. Mary Overies to discuss the challenges facing English Catholics. The main point of contention between the Jesuits and Douai seminary priests and the Marian priests was the issue of conformity. The main proponent of occasional conformity with church attendance was Alban Langdale, former archdeacon of Chichester and chaplain to Lord Montague, who maintained that

⁴ Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. provides a useful summary of this process in “The English Jesuit Mission and the French Match, 1579-1581” and offers a possible motive for Mercurian’s relenting at just this moment.

attendance of Protestant church services in obedience to the Queen and for fear of persecution was not sinful. In stark contrast, the Jesuit Robert Persons led the synod to proclaim that the attendance of Protestant services was “the highest iniquity that can be committed” (qtd in McCoog “The English Jesuit Mission” 201). Thus, while the Jesuits, Marian priests, and secular seminary priests from Douai all participated in ministering to English Catholics, they were not all in agreement about how best to accomplish this or how to reconcile their faith with obedience to the Queen. This also suggests that in the Jesuit polemical debates with Protestants, their construction of the English Catholic position did not reflect the practices and beliefs of all English Catholics, particularly those from the Marian tradition.⁵

The fate of the English Catholic community was very much tied to political circumstances that were, for the most part, out of their control. Prior to the English Jesuit mission, the Elizabethan government had deemed its Catholic subjects a potential threat due to the aggression of foreign and domestic Catholics, fueling the dissemination of Protestant anti-Catholic ideology. At the time of the Jesuit mission, the 1569 rebellion of the northern earls to depose Elizabeth and replace her with the Catholic Mary Stuart was still fresh in recent memory. Although the motivations of those involved were not solely religious, returning England to Catholicism was an integral goal of the rebellion. Then in 1570, the appearance of Pope Pius V’s bull *Regnans in Excelsis* placed further strain on Elizabeth’s relationship with her Catholic subjects as it scathingly condemned her and claimed to “deprive the said Elizabeth of her pretended title to the kingdom” and commanded “the noblemen, subjects, people and others [...]

⁵ Christopher Haigh comments that “[t]en years after its official proscription, English Catholicism was a curious and confused spectrum of attitudes and behavior” (*English Reformations* 256). For a more detailed discussion of the diversity of the English Catholic community see Christopher Haigh’s *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* and “The Church of England, the Catholics and the People.”

that they presume not to obey her or her orders, mandates and laws [...]” under the penalty of excommunication from the Catholic Church (qtd in Tanner 146). Although the bull did not summarily provoke a harsh response from the Elizabethan government, as many Catholics were completely ignorant of the bull’s existence or chose to ignore it completely, the following year the threat posed by the bull became more apparent with the discovery of the Ridolfi plot to assassinate the Queen, and Parliament passed an Act against papal bulls rendering procuring, having, or distributing a bull from the Pope a treasonable offense (Meyer 89-90). England’s relationship with Catholic Europe was equally tenuous as England and Catholic Spain, who had been allies at Elizabeth’s ascension, were now at odds. English and Spanish naval clashes became more frequent during the late 1560s, and throughout the 1570s, Elizabeth undermined the Hapsburg position in the Netherlands by subtly supporting the Protestant cause there. This tension came to head in the Hispano-Papal supported Irish rebellion against the Queen in Ireland in 1579. Thus at the time of the Jesuit mission in 1580, a very real tension lingered between Elizabeth’s government and Catholic Europe. The Jesuits’ Continental ties exacerbated this pervading tension and might have prompted the resentment of some English Catholics, like those of the Marian tradition.

In the same year Protestant England was at odds with both Spain and the papacy over the Irish Rebellion, the opening of marriage negotiations between Elizabeth and the Catholic Francis de Valois, Duke of Anjou ironically offered the possibility of improvement to the situation of English Catholics. Despite the reluctance of the Privy Council and Parliament, it seemed possible religious toleration might follow (McCoog “The English Jesuit Mission” 191-2). In addition to the promise of religious toleration in England if Elizabeth’s proposed match worked out, the pope offered English Catholics a potential olive branch. In April 1580, before leaving for

England, Edmund Campion and Robert Persons had an audience with Pope Gregory XIII to discuss various issues pertinent to English Catholics, including the papal bull. The current pope offered English Catholics a more tolerant reading of his predecessor's bull, maintaining that the bull remained in effect for Elizabeth and English Protestants (as heretics) but clarifying it did not apply to English Catholics now free to obey Elizabeth in civil matters. Catholics would of course be affected by the bull "when public execution of the same bull [became] possible" (197). Thus, English Catholics' allegiance to the Church over that owed to their civil sovereign was not erased, but was instead merely postponed until they were called upon to take action. While not fully eradicating the tension caused by the papal bull, this concession allowed English Catholics to profess civil loyalty to Elizabeth without contradicting the authority of the pope, heretofore impossible.

The purpose of the Jesuit mission was likely a topic of debate among the secular priests in England⁶ and has certainly been the subject of much scholarly debate. As mentioned earlier, the main goal of the secular Marian and seminary priests was to minister to the existing Catholic population and win back the souls of vacillating Catholics. While these two groups differed in their approaches, they both kept low profiles so as to continue their work in secret. The Jesuits' goals going into the English mission are not as clear, and even if maintaining a low profile had been a mission goal, they were unable to keep it once in England. According to Edmund Campion, in what became known as his *Brag*, the purpose of the Jesuit mission was to "preach the Gospel, to minister the Sacraments, to instruct the simple, to reforme sinners, to confute

⁶ As Christopher Haigh points out in his "The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation," many English Catholics did not welcome the English Jesuit mission with open arms: "When the Jesuits came to England in 1580, many Catholics responded with fear and suspicion: it was thought that the order would provoke harsher persecution, and the Jesuits were 'looked on as meddlesome innovators' by some older priests" (177).

errors— in brief, to crie alarme spiritual against foul vice and proud ignorance [...]” (qtd in Waugh 210). While this statement certainly maps out a ministry to the Catholic population, it is unclear whether the goals to instruct, reform and warn those in spiritual peril extended to Protestants as well as wayward Catholics. Some scholars have argued the sole purpose of the mission was to minister to the English Catholic population (to encourage faithful Catholics and renew the faith of conforming Catholics)⁷ while others have asserted that the Jesuits intended to convert Protestants (both Anglicans and Puritans) with the ultimate goal of returning England to Catholicism.⁸ In light of the instructions given to the Jesuits, I believe the most plausible explanation is the Jesuits’ principal goal in England was that of ministering to recusants (Catholics who refused to conform to Anglicanism) and schismatics (conforming Catholics). Since the Jesuit missionaries were repeatedly warned not to endanger the mission with their actions, the conversion of Protestants was of lesser importance and was only to take place if the opportunity presented itself within the course of their ministry to English Catholics, such as the saying of Mass in the presence of Protestants. Mercurian’s instructions to the Jesuits,

⁷ Michael Carrafiello provides a summary of various scholars who have argued this was the primary goal of the mission in his article “English Catholicism and the Jesuit Mission of 1580-1581” published in *The Historical Journal* 37.4 (1994): 761-774. In addition, McCoog points out that from Mercurian’s perspective, the mission “was aimed at Catholics, either faithful or lapsed. There was to be no direct dealing with heretics” (“Playing the Champion” 125).

⁸ Carrafiello argues that the primary purpose of the Jesuit mission was the “‘conversion’ of England” and “contact with individual recusants was therefore a secondary and consequential concern” (761). In his article “‘Like Locusts over all the World’: Conversion, Indoctrination and the Society of Jesus in late Elizabethan and Jacobean England,” Michael Questier discusses the Jesuits’ polemical strategies toward heretics, citing the work of George Gilbert. Victor Houlston, in his *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons’s Jesuit*, takes a middle road position, arguing that the mission was designed to strengthen the Catholic community and convert Protestants. He concludes, “It is best to think of the English mission neither as a purely apolitical spiritual endeavour nor as a front for papal or Spanish aggrandizement, but as a strategic intervention to strengthen the English Catholic community on all fronts” (27).

admonishing them not to endanger the mission, reflect his fears that the English government might interpret the Jesuit mission as a political enterprise (McCoog “The English Jesuit Mission” 195), a very real concern since their mission coincided with the failed Irish rebellion backed by both Spain and the papacy. In their mission instructions, the priests were expressly forbidden to “mix themselves up with affairs of state, nor write to Rome about political matters, nor speak [...] against the queen [...]” (qtd in Meyer 142), and according Robert Persons, the missionaries were completely unaware of the Irish rebellion until they had already set out for England. Persons claims they were first told about the papal expedition by William Allen upon reaching Rheims: “[...] we did easily foresee that this [the Irish rebellion] would be laid against us and other priests that should be taken in England as though we had been privy or partakers thereof, as in very truth we were not [...]” (qtd in McCoog “The English Jesuit Mission” 199). So even if the missionaries’ intention was to stay away from all things political, the Jesuits’ ties to Rome coupled with their arrival in England on the heels of the Irish rebellion placed them on dangerous ground at the start of the mission.

Due to uncertainties surrounding the mission due to the hostile political climate, the missionary party decided to split up and enter England in disguise. Persons, in the guise of a soldier, reached England on June 11 and Campion and Emerson followed as Irish jewelry merchants on the 24th (199). Their attempts to maintain secrecy, however, were thwarted even before their arrival since Walsingham’s spies had already spread the news of their coming (Taunton 48), and later, during Campion’s treason trial, their decision to disguise themselves and enter the country secretly would be used against them as an essential narrative element in their construction as traitors. Campion and Persons, although occasionally meeting, spent most of their time in England apart. Upon disembarking, Persons traveled to Gravesend and then to

Southwark but was unable to find a place to stay. For fear of being recognized, he departed Southwark and eventually made his way to the Marshalsea where many Catholics had been imprisoned (54). At the Marshalsea, he asked for the secret Jesuit Thomas Pounce and met with Edward Booksby,⁹ who was also there visiting the Catholic prisoners. Booksby led Persons to George Gilbert, whom Persons had converted to Catholicism in 1579 and sent back to England to prepare a network of homes where the missionaries could stay (McCoog “The English Jesuit Mission” 200); together with Gilbert, Persons journeyed for three weeks through Northampton, Derby, Worcester, Gloucester and Hereford on his missionary tour. When Campion arrived in London, he was conducted to a safe house, and while in London in Lord Paget’s palace, he inadvertently drew public attention to the mission with the sermon he preached on June 29th, the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, by proclaiming the Jesuit mission and preaching against insulting the rock of St. Peter and his successors (a clear reference to the papacy) (201). News of his sermon reached the Privy Council, and in response, spies were dispatched to infiltrate Catholic circles in order to find the Jesuits. Although the Jesuit missionaries reunited for the synod with Marian and seminary priests, once concluded they again separated.

The Appropriation of Print

Despite the Jesuits’ initial efforts to conceal their mission from the Elizabethan government, Persons decided to deliberately draw attention to the mission by supporting their cause in print. Under the direction of his friend Stephen Brinkly, he set up a printing and binding establishment in East Ham in Essex (Taunton 69). The first work published on the Jesuits’ printing press in England was *A brief discours contayning certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church* followed by *A brief censure vppon two books written in anwere to M.*

⁹ Taunton refers to him as Edward Brooks (54).

Edmonde Campions offer of disputation. Both of these works were written as hasty responses to Protestant print attacks on English Catholics and the Jesuit mission. The Jesuits' use of print to counter these attacks was a departure from the mission tactics of both the Marian and seminary priests who preferred to keep their ministries shrouded in secrecy so as to avoid persecution.¹⁰ These two defenses were intended to reach a general audience, evidenced by the fact they were written in English rather than Latin, and were widely disseminated to both Catholics and Protestants in a short amount of time. Priests were given batches of fifty to a hundred, and then during the night young gentlemen who supported the Catholic cause would place the copies in various locations, such as the houses and businesses of Protestants, the stalls in the streets and even the Court (Taunton 74). After being moved to Dame Cecilia Stonor's Park near Henley, the printing press was also used to reach a more specialized audience of intellectuals. In May 1581, Persons recalled Campion from his mission in the north to superintend the printing of *Decem Rationis*, a Latin defense of Catholicism, distributed in four hundred copies on the students' benches at commencement at St. Mary's University Church Oxford on June 27, 1581 (75). Unlike the Marian and seminary priests in England who attempted to maintain their ministries in secret, the Jesuits used print as a resource for their mission, admittedly drawing the gaze of the Elizabethan government, and tailored their print productions to both general and specific audiences.

Why would the Jesuits decide to use print during their mission to England, particularly since it ran the risk of endangering the mission by drawing the attention of the Elizabethan

¹⁰ Prior to the arrival of the Jesuits, the only clandestine printing of Catholic works in England was undertaken by William Carter between 1578 and 1579. Carter's printing endeavor was quite different from that of the Jesuits, however. Of the four works printed, none of them were works which he penned himself and most were devotional in nature. For a fuller description, see A.C. Southern's *Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582* pp. 350-53.

government? In the instructions given to them prior to their departure for England, the Jesuits were admonished not to engage directly with Protestants in a way that would endanger the mission or involve themselves in political affairs. However, their hands were not completely tied in these areas, and they were given permission to advance the mission to Protestants if the opportunity presented itself or if it became necessary. One concession reflecting this mission goal was the permission to print and issue books anonymously, overturning the earlier ruling of the Council of Trent (Brown 194). Because the English government was aware of their arrival, though not of their exact location, a number of anti-Papist pamphlets were circulated to warn of the threat they and other English Catholics posed to the country, and the Jesuits believed these attacks warranted a response. This was particularly true of the Protestant attacks on what came to be known as Campion's *Brag*.

After the Jesuits had met with the secular priests at St. Mary Overies in July 1580, they were approached by Thomas Pounce who encouraged them to each write a brief statement explaining the Society's mission in England that could be released to the public in the event of their capture. Although Persons's *Confessio Fidei* and Campion's *Brag* are similar in content, because Campion's letter was left unsealed, Pounce and others circulated manuscript copies of it. Its circulation as a manuscript led to its subsequent publication and refutation by the Protestant ministers Meredith Hanmer and William Charke in 1581, and thus, what came to be known as Campion's *Brag* was published outside of its intended context, as Campion explains in his letter to the General in November: "I decided to keep one copy by me for when I should be taken before the magistrates. The other I gave to a friend, so that if they should lay hold of me and my possessions, the other might be passed around indefinitely. My friend, far from concealing it, had it printed and published" (qtd in. McCoog "Playing the Champion" 129).

The circulation of Campion's *Brag* created an opportunity (and perhaps even an obligation) to engage Protestants in debate, both through religious disputation and print. Disputations were theological trials designed to point out and chastise those with errant beliefs. The ultimate goal of each participant of the disputation was to get his opponent "to admit or deny a premise that would ultimately lead to the contradiction of his original position" (McCoog "Playing the Champion" 120). Thus, disputations were grounded in the tradition of scholasticism and required each participant to make rhetorically sound arguments, drawing upon traditional religious authorities, such as the Bible, the writings of the Church Fathers, etc. The Continental seminaries consciously produced priests with the skills needed for disputation with Protestants, and the choice of Edmund Campion and Ralph Sherwin for the English mission was in part due to their strong argumentative skills and eloquence with words (120-1, 123). However, public disputations on religious matters had been forbidden by royal injunctions in England since 1559, and Mercurian had forbidden disputations with Protestants unless "necessity force them" (123). Because disputation called for face to face debates among religious opponents, engaging in disputation would put the Jesuits at risk and subsequently jeopardize their mission. After his capture, Campion did in fact engage in disputations with Protestant ministers, but the content of the theological disputations was overshadowed by the charge of treason leveled against him and his fellow missionaries. The safer approach at this point was to publish defenses of the English Catholic position and of the Jesuit mission anonymously or under a pseudonym.

The missionaries' use of print as a tool in the English Jesuit mission can be understood as a challenge to the dominance of print production by Protestants and as something of a departure from the stance on print taken by the Council of Trent. During the Reformation, Protestant reformers constructed the act of printing as essentially their domain. As Alexandra

Walsham notes, the connection between the triumph of Protestantism and the invention of the printing press became an all too familiar *topos* in Protestant literature beginning with Luther who heralded Gutenberg's press as God's "highest and extremest act of grace, whereby the business of the Gospel is driven forward" (qtd in Walsham 72). Protestant reformers also used mass pamphlet wars, beginning shortly after Luther had begun questioning the use of indulgences, to disseminate their message to a large, general audience in a short amount of time: "Between 1520 and 1523, [...] a vast 'press campaign' developed in Germany. Thousands of pamphlets, brief quarto-format publications of only a few pages, at times with illustrations, circulated throughout the Empire" (Gilmont 215). In England, after Henry VIII set into motion his ecclesiastical reformation, print production of works dealing with religious issues increased in London and the number of imported books from the Continent dropped (216-17). As the printing press was constructed as the instrument of Protestants to distribute the truth to the people (ichnographically depicted in the illustration of the title-page of King Henry VIII's Great Bible of 1539), conversely Catholics were constructed as decidedly opposed to print (Walsham 72, 74). Though this is certainly an overgeneralization, it is true Catholicism did not embrace print (particularly print in the vernacular languages) as readily as Protestantism.¹¹ The stances taken by the Council of Trent, such as the reaffirmation of the Latin Vulgate as the authentic Scriptures as well as the Council's decree on April 8, 1546 that the oral transmission of tradition carried equal weight to the faith as the written Scriptures (Julia 239), can be seen as indications of reformed Catholicism's wariness of vernacular print in regards to Church dogma.

¹¹ Walsham questions the traditional stereotypes and demonstrates that Protestants too were wary of print and that groups of Catholics did embrace print. For my purposes, however, when I refer to Catholicism I am meaning those with authority in the Church, such as the Pope and the Council of Trent.

This is not to say, however, the Council did not see the potential of print as a tool for teaching and evangelizing, particularly since the translation and production of religious texts in various languages became a hallmark of the Jesuit global missions, but its attitude toward print was guarded since it also viewed print as a tool for the spreading of heresy. In order to assure print was a weapon for rather than against right doctrine, the Catholic Church sought unity in all printed materials dealing with Church dogma, and to this end, the Council required books dealing with “sacred matters” be “subjected to rigorous controls, and before a text could be printed, the printer or bookseller had to have it examined and approved by the local ordinary” (Gilmont 239). The Council also set into motion the censorship of books containing errant doctrine, culminating in Paul IV’s *Index of Prohibited Books* published in 1558. A few years later, Pius IV responded to the need (principally of priests) for official Catholic texts with the Vatican Press, responsible for strictly controlling the presses allowed to print under the official seal (241-2).

Although Catholic printing standards for works not addressing doctrinal matters were not as stringent, Catholic apologists of the sixteenth century did not respond with the same force as their Protestant counterparts, as Walsham maintains, “Both in England and on the Continent Catholic controversialists did drag their feet at the beginning, partly because they believed that engaging in a battle of books would only lend credibility and legitimacy to the heretical rebels” (79). Once it became clear to Catholic exiles that Elizabeth’s England would remain Protestant for the foreseeable future, they established a tradition of apologetic literature opening a dialogue with English Protestant anti-Catholic literature.¹² The Oxford scholars who fled to the Continent

¹² Louvain was the principal center for English Catholic rhetoric until it was eclipsed by the Douai seminary. Thomas Clancy proposes that the reason why exiles were responsible for print

established a propaganda machine leading the printing houses of Antwerp and Louvain to produce some fifty-eight publications refuting the Protestant position between 1559 and 1570 (Walsham 81). While impressive, the print production of the Catholic exiles pales in comparison to that of English Protestants. Catholic exiles were unable to produce timely apologetic responses to the majority of anti-Catholic propaganda due to the limitations of their exile, such as the delay in receiving texts from England, the cost associated with printing texts, and the difficulty of sending printed texts to England. By 1569, a year after the seminary at Douai was founded, all imported books that could lead to sedition or cause the Queen's subjects to retreat from Anglicanism were banned (McCoog "Playing the Champion" 121), placing the exiled English Catholics at even more of a disadvantage since their works now had to be smuggled into England.

Protestants, on the other hand, had more liberty to spread anti-Catholic propaganda. One example among many is the translation of Phillipe de Mornay's *A notable treatise of the church* by John Fielde, published in the summer of 1579 and subsequently republished in 1580 and 1581 during the Jesuit mission to England; in the introduction, dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, Fielde describes English Catholics (Papists) as "enemies of God and of her royall Maieftie" who have refused to conform to the ways of the Anglican church because "they haue beene winked at, fauoured, and fpared" (Mornay sig. A4r). Fielde voices concern about the threat of Catholicism due to its extensive reach— "[...] what lamentable effects it hath wrought in Fraunce, Spaine, Flaunders, and diuers partes in Germanie, as also in Scotland, and euen in England amongst our felues [...]" (Mornay sig. A4v) — and points out that the Counter-reformation church has infiltrated England through the dissemination of works written by exiled English Catholics:

production rather than Catholics in England is because "[i]t was only abroad that one could find leisure plus the library and printing facilities necessary for the production of books" (3).

“What hath thrust forth vnto vs from our English fugitiues such pestiferous and traitorous books, defacing Gods holy trueth [...]” (sig. A4v). Although this threat had been curtailed by the ban on seditious texts, English Protestants still distrusted the Catholic exiles’ challenge to the status quo through print.

As men who had lived in exile, the English Jesuits were familiar with the polemical writings of the English Catholic intelligentsia abroad and were equally aware of the difficulties in the production and distribution of these works in comparison to Protestant anti-Catholic propaganda. Thus, in his printed pamphlets produced while on mission in England, Robert Persons employs the rhetoric of an English Catholic exile and challenges the Protestant authority over print production in his homeland. In his *A brief discours*, published at Greenstreet House in 1580, Persons utilizes the pseudonym John Howlet and describes the work as being “[w]ritten by a learned and virtuous man, to a friend of his in England” (Persons title page). In addition to cloaking his true identity with a pseudonym, Persons conceals his location with the false imprint testifying that the work was published by John Lyon at Douai. Persons’s reason for this is twofold; firstly, it allows him to remain anonymous, as his mission instructions require, and secondly it allows him to situate his polemical works within the existing dialogue between English Protestants and Catholic exiles. Assuming the voice of the English Catholic in exile, Persons argues against the use of Protestant propaganda to construct Catholics within the narrative of treason, declaring,

[...] that which aboue all other things is most gréeuous, iniurious, and intolerable, is, the geuinge out publicquelye, that all Catholiques are enemies and traytors to your Royall Maiestye: and this not onely to vtter in speech, but also to let it passe in print, to the vewe of the worlde, and to the renting of Catholiques hartes [...] (Persons *A brief discours* sig. ‡6r).

Persons uses his clandestine press to respond to specific Protestant print attacks, such as John Fielde's dedicatory in his translation of Philip de Mornay's *A notable treatise of the church* berated in his *A brief discours*, and the works of Meredith Hanmer and William Charke, refuted in his *A brief censvre*. The Jesuits' use of the printing press during the English mission was in effect to do what English exiles on the Continent were unable to as a result of the restrictions of their exile. The Jesuits were able to quickly respond to Protestant print attacks with their clandestine printing press (oftentimes within a few days)¹³ and disseminate Catholic propaganda throughout Elizabeth's England. It is important to note, however, that because the Jesuits were speaking on behalf of the intellectual English exile, they were not necessarily representing the beliefs of the entire English Catholic community.

Negotiating English Cultural Identity

The power relationship between English Catholics and Protestants in Elizabethan England was asymmetrical. As Catholics, who under Mary Tudor's reign had influenced the course of hegemonic culture, were repeatedly denied input in the formation of hegemonic English culture under Elizabeth, a subaltern Catholic identity developed in opposition to the dominant Protestant identity. While this situation does not perfectly reflect the power dynamics of the colonial setting, I believe the adoption of theoretical constructs from postcolonial theory, such as Mary Louise Pratt's "contact zone," will lead to a better understanding of the cultural negotiation taking place in the print debates between English Jesuits and Protestant polemicists. According to Pratt, a contact zone is a social space where "cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power [...]" (173). I would contend that within the context of Elizabethan English society, print essentially functioned as a

¹³ Ceri Sullivan notes that Persons' *A brief censvre* was printed and disseminated within ten days of one of the books that it censures (37).

contact zone because although print production in England was dominated by Protestants, reinforcing the asymmetrical power relationship, the Jesuit appropriation of print through the use of clandestine printing presses during their mission in England allowed print to function as a liminal social space where Protestants and Catholics could negotiate English cultural identity. The publication and criticism of Campion's *Brag* by Meredith Hanmer and William Charke as well as the Jesuit rebuttal by Robert Persons provide a glimpse into the construction of new social identities among English Protestants and Catholics. One of the principal concerns in this debate is the definition of English cultural identity or "Englishness." In the context of the English Jesuit mission, the focal point of this negotiation is the role of sovereignty and individualism as both the Protestants and Jesuits grapple with the role of the individual in the midst of competing claims to religious and political authority. As they construct competing definitions of Englishness and negotiate the roles sovereignty and individualism play in the formation of cultural identity, both the Jesuits and the Protestants resort to othering to simultaneously support their construction of an English cultural identity and undermine their opponents' position.

Cultural identity can be broadly defined as "a shared system of symbolic verbal and nonverbal behavior that [is] meaningful to group members who have a sense of belonging and who share traditions, heritage, language, and similar norms of appropriate behavior" (Fong 6). Put another way, cultural identity is a shared cultural perspective; however, this shared perspective does not imply uniformity among all members. Cultural identity as a social construction is dynamic by nature and is negotiated among members with varying degrees of influence. The Jesuit missionaries and Protestant polemicists both used print to negotiate a definition of Englishness, but each had a distinct goal in the negotiation of cultural identity. Protestant writers were principally concerned with the construction of a hegemonic Protestant

culture that scholars, like Liah Greenfeld, have contended would eventually develop into the first English national identity. While there is certainly debate within the circles of academia about when and how English nationalism came to be, it seems clear Protestant polemicists, like Hanmer and Charke, were responsible for sowing the seeds of what would become a well-developed Protestant English nationalism by the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the Jesuits' main concern, was not so much the development of a hegemonic cultural identity, though they certainly hoped for the day England would return to Catholicism, as it was the preservation of a Catholic subaltern culture based on an historical English cultural identity they hoped would, at the very least, be tolerated by the Protestant hegemonic culture.

In the context of the Jesuit mission to England and the writings that sprang from it, othering revolves around defining the roles of sovereignty and individuality in the construction of English cultural identity. Prior to the Reformation, the construction of sovereignty throughout Europe reflected a dual authority system where the monarch acted as a civil sovereign and the Pope functioned as an ecclesiastical sovereign. In practice, this shared sovereignty was fraught with ambiguity, and individual kings and popes negotiated the domains and boundaries of their respected sovereignties with varying degrees of success. The English Reformation began with just such a negotiation. In November 1529, Henry VIII and his Parliament began promulgating acts of ecclesiastical reforms progressively encroaching upon the traditional jurisdiction of the Pope. In 1533 and 1534, the promulgation of the Act of Appeals, rejecting external authority over the English Church, and the Act of Supremacy, naming the King as the "supreme head of the Church of England," were attempts to curtail the supremacy of the Pope as both a political and religious authority in English matters; however, an official break with the authority of the Pope did not come until 1536 in the Act against the Papal Authority. This act declares the King

as the “Supreme Head of this his realm of England immediately under God” (qtd in Tanner 48), constructing the King as the only figurehead of political and ecclesiastical authority in England, and declares that for the good of the commonwealth, the King and his Parliament “were forced of necessity [...] to exclude that foreign pretended power, jurisdiction, and authority, used and usurped in this realm [...]” (49). This act rejects the Pope’s authority over the English people entirely and offers punishment for those English subjects who “obstinately or maliciously hold or stand with to extol, set forth, maintain, or defend the authority, jurisdiction, or power of the Bishop of Rome or of his see [...]” (50). Thus the English Reformation under Henry VIII reconfigured the traditional claims of sovereignty upon English subjects and can be seen as a bold attempt to define civil and ecclesiastical power through national law. While on the surface these reforms were certainly sweeping and controversial, on a cultural level, they also signal significant change to the conceptualization of English cultural identity. English subjects now, rather than being political subjects of a national monarch and global participants in a Catholic Church, were to reject the more ambiguous dual authority system in favor of a single national authority whose authority, civil and ecclesiastical, derived from national law. Under this configuration, the ambiguity of sovereignty was clarified but at the same time the English subject lost connection to a global community.

This structure of monarchical authority over both the political and ecclesiastical realms, without reference to the Pope, was maintained until the reign of Mary. During her brief reign, Mary passed two Statutes of Repeal designed to abolish the earlier reforms of her predecessors. The second Statute of Repeal, passed in 1555, reconciles the English people to the See of Rome and declares that all the earlier acts passed against the Pope’s authority be repealed so that “this noble realm with all its members thereof may in this unity and perfect obedience to the See

Apostolic and Popes for the time being serve God and your Majesties to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory [...]” (qtd in Tanner 127). This statute intertwines obedience to the Pope with obedience to the monarchs (Mary and Phillip), thus reinstating the earlier model of dual authority figures over English society. However, in addition to reinstating the Pope’s sovereignty, it also reinstates the ambiguity of his authority as the limits and boundaries of this authority are not clearly defined. By reconciling the English Church to Rome, the statute reconnects the English subjects to the Continent both in their participation within a global Catholic society and even in their acknowledgement of their Spanish King.

After Elizabeth’s ascension to the throne, the promulgation of the Act of Supremacy in 1559 repealed Mary’s Second Statute of Repeal and reinstated the earlier reforms. In addition to reviving the earlier reforms of Henry VIII and Edward VI, the act also clearly defines the ecclesiastical authority of the English monarch,

[...] [Y]our Highness, your heirs and successors, kings or queens of this realm, shall have full power and authority, by virtue of this Act, by letters patents under the great seal of England to assign, name, and authorize, when and as often as your Highness, your heirs or successors, shall think meet and convenient [...] to exercise, use, occupy, and execute [...] all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, and preeminences in any wise touching or concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within these your realms [...] (qtd in Tanner 133)

In addition to constructing the English monarch as sovereign over all ecclesiastical matters in the realm, the act goes a step further and requires all Englishmen in positions of power, both ecclesiastical and secular, to take an oath to this effect. The oath not only assigns sovereignty to the monarch in all matters “spiritual or ecclesiastical” but also requires the taker of the oath to concede that “no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm [...]” (qtd in Tanner 134). By requiring subjects in positions of power to take an oath, the

sovereign stakes out her authority, civil and ecclesiastical, over the conscience of the individual and dislodges his loyalties to communities outside of the local nation state. While the oath does not explicitly name the Pope (as do the acts of Henry VIII), it does fundamentally shift authority back to the English monarch that for centuries and again during the reign of Mary had been shared and negotiated with a continental authority. This act also does away with the ambiguity of the dual authority system and ascribes to the monarchy authority over all matters ecclesiastical within the realm, again separating the English subject from participation in a global community of faith by instead redirecting his loyalties entirely to his homeland.

In 1570, Pope Pius V responded to the Elizabethan government's redefinition of sovereignty by issuing the bull *Regnans in Excelsis*. In the bull, Pius V defines the papal power as primarily ecclesiastical but with the potential to be political when deemed necessary. Firstly, Pius V ascribes full ecclesiastical sovereignty to the position of pope by divine appointment:

He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in Heaven and on Earth, hath committed his One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone upon earth, namely to Peter the chief of the Apostles, and to Peter's successor the Bishop of Rome, to be by him governed with plenary authority. (qtd in Tanner 144)

Thus, Pius V rejects the usurpation of ecclesiastical sovereignty by the civil monarch, asserting that all matters ecclesiastical are to be under the sovereignty of the papacy. He also asserts a form of quasi-political power over Christian monarchs through the act of excommunication.

While excommunication is an essentially ecclesiastical act, the removal of the monarch from the Catholic Church and the denial of her the salvation through the Church also carried political consequences. In matters spiritual, Pius V claims sovereignty over Elizabeth, as she claims to be Christian, and judges her a heretic, ultimately sentencing her to excommunication: "[...] We do out of the fullness of our Apostolic power declare the aforesaid Elizabeth as being an heretic and

a favourer of heretics [...] to have incurred the sentence of excommunication, and to be cut off from the unity of the Body of Christ” (145). But Pius V then claims sovereignty over Elizabeth as a civil monarch as well as an individual Christian soul, by declaring that Elizabeth “be deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever” (145-6). Pius V’s bull can be seen as an attempt to clarify the ambiguity of the dual authority system, at least as it related to the sovereignty of the papacy over monarchs who rejected his authority in their kingdoms, but its impact upon the way English Catholics negotiated sovereignty with individuality was anything but clear.

While the bull was significant in its construction of papal sovereignty, at the time it was issued it changed very little for the average English Catholic. One reason for this is it was not highly publicized in England by either Protestants or Catholics, and, in fact, much of the general population was not aware of its existence (Dillon 12). However, as Anne Dillon points out, even where it was known, it did not make a major impact upon the Catholic community because “[t]he majority of English Catholics, who had no wish to be anything other than loyal subjects of their sovereign in civil matters, had ignored *Regnans in excelsis*” (14-15). This is to say most Catholics in England were comfortable with the traditional dual authority system where the monarch held civil authority and the Pope was the head of the Church, leading many English Catholics to deny the Pope’s claims to political authority over Elizabeth as they denied Elizabeth’s claims to ecclesiastical authority. However, the English Jesuits could not so easily ignore the political implications of the bull since they represented a Catholicism firmly grounded in papal authority. Before embarking upon their mission to England, the missionaries urged the current pope, Gregory XIII, for a means of reconciling English civil loyalty to the monarch with religious loyalty to the pope and though the current pope did not nullify the bull of his

predecessor, he did add that Elizabeth's subjects were not under the penalty of excommunication for showing her civil loyalty until she could be overthrown by a new Catholic regime. This concession, while small, did allow the Jesuits some wiggle room in the definition of civil loyalty to the monarch the papal bull had not. It also reinforced an ambiguous dual authority system where the Pope was predominantly an ecclesiastical authority but one who could assume political authority over a monarch if he deemed it necessary.

As both Elizabeth and the papacy constructed competing claims for civil and ecclesiastical authority over the hearts and minds of English Catholic subjects, the role of the individual was likewise a contested space. While both Edmund Campion and Robert Persons construct religion as pertaining to one's individual identity, specifically as a matter of conscience, Protestant polemicists, such as Meredith Hanmer and William Charke urge uniformity and subordinate the individual identity to the hegemonic cultural identity. The construction of individual identity, or individualism, during the Renaissance period is itself a complex issue. In his *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, John Jeffries Martin broadly divides academic opinion on the advent of individualism during the Renaissance period into two categories: modern and postmodern (15).

Though Jacob Burckhardt was not the first historian to posit the Renaissance period as the birthplace of individualism, his seminal history, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, first published in 1860, became the touchstone modern work linking the development of the modern individual and construction of the self to the early modern period (4). The term "individualism" was first coined in the nineteenth century, and as Jeffries Martin points out, the connection between the birth of individualism and the Renaissance was partially the result of self-reflection by Romantic authors:

Romantic writers especially connected the dissolution of their society with the breakup of the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance emerged as a natural candidate for the site of the emergence of individualism, an individualism condemned by many as evidence of the erosion of traditional institutions of authority [...] but gradually embraced by others as a form of liberation. (10)

Historians of the twentieth century have also drawn upon Burckhardt's conclusion, such as David Miller, writing in the 1960s, who argues individualism can only be practiced in an environment providing freedom *from*, specifically freedom from the restraints of one's culture and its institutions, and contending the Renaissance period was such an environment as "[...] people were revolting against the restraints of old institutions, [and] against the strait jacket of an entrenched authority" (Miller 85). Miller directly links the advent of individualism with the Protestant Reformation, arguing that Protestant tenets which privilege the individual, such as Luther's doctrine of the priesthood of the believer which allows the individual to interpret Scripture "*according to the dictates of his own conscience*," marked a significant step forward in the history of individualism. Miller goes on to link the growth of Protestantism with the formation of individualism even more explicitly, stating that through Protestantism individuals began to disconnect themselves from a communal identity and began instead to value their spiritual and intellectual separateness: "The individual, after Luther, saw himself as alone in conscience, freed from a corporate body, disengaged from the last remnants of a tribal self" (87, 89). In his discussion of Protestantism in England, Miller teleologically contends that the spread of Protestantism led to the rise of individualism and in turn gave rise to political constructs of self-determination: "When Protestantism entered into England the people associated it especially with the belief in the dignity of each individual and with positive freedom and the liberty of the individual to shape his own destiny," coming to fruition in individuals such as John Milton and John Locke in the seventeenth century (90). I would contend that the principal flaw of viewing

individualism in such a retrospective and teleological way, however, is that it does not provide sufficient consideration to the historical and conceptual complexities at play while ignoring apparent contradictions to its sweeping claims, such as the ways Protestant reformers like Luther and Calvin attempted to curtail individualism and political self-determination and the development of individual religious identity by the English Jesuits.

Postmodern constructions of Renaissance individualism, rather than developing a teleological narrative, construct individualism as a cultural artifact. In the same way as Burkhart's history serves as a seminal modern pronouncement of Renaissance individualism, Jeffries Martin hails Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, published in 1980, as the touchstone work for the postmodern treatment of selfhood. In the introduction to his study of selfhood in Renaissance England, Greenblatt suggests that although notions of the self had existed prior to the early modern period, "in the sixteenth century there appears to be an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process" (2). Here Greenblatt does not directly link the "increased self-consciousness" in self-fashioning that he sees in the literature of the period with any particular social or cultural movement, as Miller links individualism with the rise of Protestantism, instead presenting his premise more like the observation of a trend than an explanation for it. When offered, Greenblatt's explanation of Renaissance self-fashioning is more functional than historical in nature, contending that self-fashioning within the Renaissance served to define cultural boundaries or "control mechanisms" (3). Although Greenblatt acknowledges that during the period "there may well have been less autonomy in self-fashioning [...] than before" he maintains that "[a]utonomy is an issue but not the sole or even the central issue [...]" (1),

suggesting that power relationships, particularly asymmetrical ones, were not a driving force in the Renaissance constructions of selfhood.

In his own development of individualism during the Renaissance period, Jeffries Martin rejects both the modern and postmodern constructions of the self during the Renaissance as myths, contending that their status as myths does not negate the fact that they contain certain elements of truth but rather acknowledges their conceptual limitations, claiming that they oversimplify Renaissance notions of selfhood and consider individualism retrospectively (13).

Instead, he posits as the thesis of his book

[...] that the Renaissance self, while protean, was almost always understood as the enigmatic relation of the interior life to life in society. The dynamic [...] presumes neither the priority of the internal to the external life nor the priority of the external to the internal life. What seems to have been at stake in the Renaissance was rather the fundamental question of how the relation between these two realms should be understood or, when there was conflict between them, resolved. (16)

Although I would argue that Greenblatt's approach to individualism in the Renaissance through his construction of self-fashioning as "a cultural system of meanings that creates specific individuals by governing the passage from abstract potential to concrete historical embodiment" (3-4) is insightful as it describes how cultural norms relate to the construction of selfhood, it falls short in representing the conflict, highlighted by Jeffries Martin, between the internal and external life of the early modern individual. The construction of Renaissance individualism as the relationship between the internal and external life also acknowledges the role external power relationships, such as shifting definitions of sovereignty, might have on the internal life, prompting negotiation as the individual wrestles with competing claims upon his identity. Within the print debates between English Jesuits and Protestant polemicists, the negotiation of internal and external life as they relate to the role of individual conscience and allegiance to the sovereign are at the forefront of the discussion. Within the negotiation of English cultural identity as it

relates to the individual, both groups desire a transparent religious identity but with distinct consequences; for Protestants, transparency requires conformity, internal and external allegiance to Elizabeth as a civil and ecclesiastical authority while for Catholics, transparency requires toleration, allowing Catholics to profess a religious allegiance to the papacy and construct themselves as participants within a global Catholic community of faith in addition to their political allegiance to Elizabeth as national monarch.

The English Jesuits constructed religion as an intellectual decision and a matter of conscience, placing it within the realm of one's internal life. Both acknowledge that this individual interior identity, specifically one's religious convictions, takes precedence over the cultural identity and external demands placed upon the individual by society. The Jesuits' assignment of religious conviction to the interior or individual identity, however, is tempered in that both missionaries acknowledge their ultimate goal as the restoration of England to Catholicism, as Campion expresses in his *Brag*: "So the faith was planted: so it must be restored" (qtd in Waugh 212), allowing Catholics the ability to align their religious convictions with a hegemonic English Catholic culture and thus dissipating the current internal and external identity tensions for Catholics while exacerbating them for English Protestants. Persons, more so than Campion, calls for a religiously plural England where Catholics are tolerated on equal footing with other subaltern religious groups. Though Persons likewise emphasizes the role Catholics have to their monarch more strongly than does Campion in his *Brag*, both Jesuits offer a definition of sovereignty reflecting the historical dual authority system, attempting to replace the shift in the construction of sovereignty brought about by Parliamentary legislation with the traditional construction of European sovereignty. To this end, both Persons and Campion acknowledge Elizabeth's civil authority over her English subjects but ask that in religious

matters she either allow them to persuade her of the truth of Catholicism, so that the English government would once more accept the ecclesiastical sovereignty of the papacy, or that she grant toleration to English Catholics within her realm so that they might openly acknowledge the papacy as an ecclesiastical sovereign in accordance with their conscience.

Although Campion's *Brag* was published prior to his wishes, the text provides us with an instructive example of the construction of the English Catholic identity, specifically a Continental English Catholicism, for a native Protestant audience. The text is politically charged and should be read as such since it was intended to be a defense of both Campion and the Jesuit mission in the event of his capture. It is explicitly addressed to the honorable lords of her Majesty's privy council and structured into nine articles described by Campion as forming a "plaine confession," setting forth his "full enterprise and purpose" (qtd in Waugh 209). In his construction of both himself and his country, Campion distinguishes between his internal individual identity as a Catholic and his external cultural identity as an Englishman. In this vein, he makes a distinction between matters of civil government and matters of religion and states in article iv that he desires to avoid, and is expressly forbidden, discussion of matters not relating to religion.

In his *Brag*, Campion both embraces his English cultural identity and distances himself from it, emphasizing overall his individual identity as a Catholic. From his perspective as a Catholic missionary sent to a mission field, England is a land in spiritual need like any other Protestant country in Europe where he believes the Jesuits can effect positive spiritual change. Campion therefore begins the construction of his identity by emphasising his internal, individual identity as a participant within the global Catholic faith, stating that before coming to England, he spent time in other Protestant countries (Germany and Bohemia) doing ministry and implies

that in this way England is no different from any other mission field where as a Catholic missionary he can “benefit souls” (qtd in Waugh 209). He echoes the message that England is a mission field like any other to him when he states that he has come to England and “might and would have done joyously into any part of Christendome or Heathenesse, had [he] been thereto assigned” (qtd in Waugh 210). These comments underscore that Campion’s presence in England is first and foremost as a Jesuit missionary and that England is but one part of the overall global Jesuit mission. Yet, Campion also constructs England as a place where he, and other exiled English Catholics, has a shared cultural identity. He describes England as “this noble Realme, my deare Countrie” (209) and his mission as to his “dear Countrymen” (211), highlighting the external social connections he has with fellow Englishmen. However, he makes clear this shared cultural identity is tempered by his internal religious convictions as a Catholic. His acknowledgment of the Queen's authority over him is likewise tempered by his religious convictions. Campion begins article i of his *Brag* by declaring himself a priest of the Catholic Church and in the following article further acknowledges the authority of the Catholic Church over him by stating that it is the voice of his General Provost who mandates where he should go, aligning the voice of his mission superior with that of God as “a warrant from heaven, and Oracle of Christ” (210). The authority of the Church over him relates to his interior religious convictions manifested in his individual identity through his submission to the Church in the role of a Jesuit priest. He constructs his position as a priest within the Society of Jesus as “a special kind of warfare under the banner of obedience” personally undertaken, constructing his life as a missionary a decision dictated by his faith in the alignment of his interior convictions with his exterior profession. While Campion does acknowledge the Queen as his “Sovereign Ladye” and praises her “notable gifts of nature, learning, and princely education,” acknowledging the

allegiance he owes to her as her political subject, he points out the tension existing for English Catholics in that his loyalty towards her is compromised by the shifting boundaries of her sovereignty, making clear in article vii that he wishes to persuade her through sermons "to disfavoure some proceedings hurtful to the Realm" (211).

In his *A brief discours*, Persons, like Campion, defines religious convictions as pertaining to the realm of one's internal life. Persons bases his argument that religion should not be mandated on the premise that religious conscience is "dependinge of iudgement and vnderstanding, and not of affect and wil" (sig. ¶¶2v). For this reason, he contends that religion "[...] can not be framed by [Catholics] at their pleasures, nor consequently reduced alwayes to such conformitie, as is prescribed to them by their Superiours [...] séeing conscience [...] dependeth of iudgement, and not of wil" (sig. ¶¶2v-3r). In this passage, Persons clearly demarcates what he believes are the boundaries of sovereignty upon one's identity formation, contending that each individual must reach a personal conclusion regarding religion, as part of one's internal life, in turn informing one's conscience and then manifested in the external practice of those convictions. Because the sovereign, according to Persons, cannot control interior religious conviction, nor should she demand external religious conformity. He supports this point by maintaining that the Catholic Church has historically respected the religious identities of non-Christians, contending that in regions where Christian princes have power over non-Christians, such as among the Turks and in India,

it was neuer yet practized, nor euer thought lawful by the Catholicke Church, that such men should be enforced to anye one acte of our religion. And the reason is: for that, if the doinge of such actes should be sinne vnto the doers: because they doe them against their conscience, then must néedes the enforcement of such actes be much more gréeuous and damnable sinne, to the enforcers. (Persons *A brief discours* ¶¶3v-4r)

In this example, Persons constructs individual identity, specifically the internal convictions of the conscience, as taking precedence over one's external, political obligations or cultural identity. He also implies that a sovereign should respect the consciences of her subjects and that to do otherwise is a sin on the part of the monarch. Persons constructs Elizabeth's role to her Catholic subjects as a motherly figure who should serve as their protector and the righter of wrongs against them:

You are borne our souerayne Princesse and mother, and we your natural subiectes and children. Whether then should children ro~ne in their afflictions, but vnto the loue and tender care of their deare mother, especiallye she being such a mother, as her power is sufficient to reléeue them in all poyntes, her good will testified by infinit benefites, and her noble and mercifull disposition knowen and renoued thorough out the world? (sig. ¶¶7r)

Although Persons hopes for the day England will reinstate Catholicism as the hegemonic religion, he claims he is willing to accept England as a religiously plural society where Catholicism is permitted as a subaltern religion and where Elizabeth is the defender of all of her subjects' rights. Persons's call for religious plurality, while perhaps seeming rather progressive, must be understood as a calculated strategy to lessen the current persecution of English Catholics in Elizabeth's England. He points out that in addition to Anglicanism, other Protestant sects have emerged, chiefly Puritans and the Family of Love, and "haue bene permitted to put out their heades, to growe, to aduaunce them selues in co~mon speach, to mount to pulpites, with litle or noe controlement" while the practice of Catholicism, in contrast, is harshly punished (sig. ¶3v). Though he admits that the law does not officially recognize these sects of Protestantism, he contends that their acceptance within English society is evidenced by the fact they do not endure religious persecution precisely because they are Protestant. He asks that English Catholics be allowed to enjoy the same privilege to practice their religious convictions as these newer sects, essentially asking that Catholics be allowed to practice externally what they believe internally.

Persons's request for the religious toleration of Catholicism mirroring that of the Protestant sects, however, is in no way an acknowledgment that the groups are religiously or culturally equivalent. Rather, Persons's comparison is tinged with exaggeration, since if even Protestant sects as new and radical as those mentioned are allowed to practice their beliefs how much more so should Catholics since their faith is both ancient and has had a profound cultural impact upon Europe.

Persons, like Campion, draws a distinction between one's internal, individual identity as a Catholic and one's external, cultural identity as an Englishman. In light of this distinction, Persons takes great care to construct English Catholics as politically loyal subjects of the Queen and her government. He reminds his Protestant reader that Catholics supported Elizabeth from the beginning of her reign and contends that they would be willing to defend the safety of her person "with the vttermost droppe of their blood" (Persons *A brief discours* sig. ¶¶2v). Although the dual authority system creates ambiguous power relationships, Persons maintains that it promotes political loyalty in a way Protestantism does not, suggesting in his *A brief discours*, that the Catholic Church does not question the political authority of monarchy as many Protestant reformers have done. Though the Catholic Church may question the actions of individual Princes, such as Elizabeth, the Church supports the civil authority of monarchs and teaches its followers "true obedience to their Princes, for Conscience sake, euen as vnto God him selfe, whose roome they doe possesse, and to whom they are bounde, vnder the payne of mortall sinne, and eternall damnation, patiently to obey [...]" (sig. ¶8r). Persons also deconstructs the Protestant argument that those who do not conform to the dominant religion are political traitors. In his *A brief censvre*, Persons describes Charke's conclusion to be an English Catholic is to be a traitor as "hote doctrine" and poses the question, "Muft euerye man be an enymie to the Jtate,

which lykethe not that religion whiche is fauoured bye the State?" (sig. D8r). Drawing from the tradition of the early Church, he argues that the Apostles did not conform to the dominant religion, and yet they "taught all dutiful obedience in temporal matters towards those Princes, being but infidels and otherwise wicked men [...]" (sig. D8v). He then shifts his focus from the distant past to the more recent past and asks if from the Protestant perspective all those who died during the reign of Queen Mary were traitors to the State and if likewise contemporary Protestants living in Catholic countries are also traitors simply because they do not conform to the dominant religion. With these examples, Persons proposes the compartmentalization of individual identity between the competing and contradictory claims of internal and external life, particularly within relationships based on an asymmetrical power dynamic since it is unlikely he would be making these claims if England were a Catholic country. Along these lines, Persons takes issue with Charke's basic argument that religious conformity and civil loyalty are interrelated. Persons strips back the rhetoric used by Protestant polemicists suggesting that the fundamental issue placing English Protestants and Catholics at odds is religious truth to contend that in fact the issue being debated is one of religious conformity defined by Protestants as the participation in a uniform English Protestant cultural identity. As an alternative to religious conformity, the missionary priest offers a definition of Englishness accepting religious plurality: "nether maketh it anye thing to the purpose for you to saye, that our religion is false, and yours true: for the question is generall, whether euerye man of a contrary religion must needs be an enemye to the state, which you affirme, and we deny" (*A brief censvre* sig. E1r).

The Protestant responds to Campion's *Brag*, Meredith Hanmer and William Charke, deny the Jesuits' construction of religious conviction as relating solely to the internal life and therefore outside of the sovereign's authority. Both Hanmer and Charke are invested in

constructing an English cultural identity tied to Protestantism. In his response to Campion's *Brag*, Hanmer constructs those who are religiously Other, those who do not conform to the hegemonic Protestantism of England, as enemies of the civil state, or politically Other:

[I]f yee pleade the Popes Supremacie, it is the Pryce of your heade; if yee deface the truthe of the Gospell preached here in *England*, you wil be founde a blasphemmer of God, and an enemy of his worde. Nowe I woulde heare what message yee can bringe wythout intermedling with matters of state and pollicie. (Hanmer sig. F2r)

Hanmer portrays Catholicism as a challenge to the fundamental construction of hegemonic English society since he constructs the Pope's authority as a political challenge to both the Queen's sovereignty and the authority of her government, having invested her with the powers of both civil and ecclesiastical sovereign. He likewise interprets the preaching of Catholic doctrine in opposition to the "truthe of the Gospell" taught by the Anglican Church as both blasphemy and treason since such teachings are both contrary to the dominant religion of England and "matters of state and pollicie." In his critique of Campion's *Brag*, William Charke likewise denies the distinction between the hegemonic government and religion and contends that the two are inseparably intertwined, each supporting the other. Charke accuses those who try to undermine Protestantism in England as traitors who would also undermine the civil government of the Queen:

[Campion] would be thought no enemie of the state, no dealer with the common wealth or policie [...] But all these wordes are as if a man woulde manifestly wounde his neighbor to the heart, and yet in the deed doing cry out, saying, I doe not so much as thinke him any harme. For he that smiteth our religion, woundeth our common wealth: because our blessed estate of policie standeth in defence of religion, and our most blessed religion laborouth in the maintenance of the common wealth. Religion and policie in Englande are, through Gods singular blessings, preferued together in life, as with one spirite: hee that doeth take awaye the life of the one, doeth procure the death of the other. (sig. C3r-v)

Despite the fact Charke is a Puritan, he does not envision a religiously plural England. Instead, Charke, like Hanmer, is invested in the process of constructing a uniform English cultural identity based on a single authority figure in Elizabeth and the rule of Parliament. In this way, both men reject the ambiguous dual authority system upheld by Catholics as well as Persons's proposal for a religiously plural English society, instead opting for a more repressive and uniform construction of Englishness where one's external life defines one's internal convictions rather than the other way around.

Liah Greenfeld, author of *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, interprets the attempts of Protestant polemicists like Hanmer and Charke to create a Protestant English cultural identity as the first steps toward the formation of an English national identity:

National identity implied a totally new set of boundaries which separated England from the rest of the world. But at this point the existence of a separate entity such as a nation was not self-evident. It was problematic and needed justification and conceptualization in familiar terms. Thus it was only natural that at the time of the centrality of religion in every sphere of social existence, nascent nationalism was clothed in religious idiom. (62-3)

In order to make Englishness and Protestantism synonymous, Protestant writers, like Charke and Hanmer, participated in othering Catholics in order to highlight the global nature of their connection with Catholicism and to destabilize their connection to the local nation state. In their print attacks on the Jesuit mission, Meredith Hanmer and William Charke other the English Jesuits by emphasizing the Jesuits' foreignness and by denying their Englishness and familiarity. Both writers deny Campion's Englishness on the grounds he abandoned England and the hegemonic Protestant faith and entangled himself with foreign powers. Hanmer begins his response to Campion by commenting that Campion's style of address is like "one sent in Embassy from some great state" (Hanmer sig. B1v), thus, constructing the Jesuits as ambassadors from Rome. By constructing them as ambassadors, Hanmer emphasizes their

loyalty to Rome, to those who sent them, and calls into question their loyalty to the English Queen, to whom they were sent. Charke likewise associates the Jesuits with the foreign, but while he, like Hanmer, associates them with the Continent, he also associates them with a potentially more disturbing Other to English Protestants— the Irish. In his othering of the Jesuit missionaries, Charke constructs the missionaries' motives as political and contends that their true mission is the destruction of the English Protestant hegemonic culture: “they [the Jesuits] haue lately adue[n]tured into England, as skoutes to the Irish rebels, and prepare to establish againe popish superstitions” (sig. B3r).

Both Hanmer and Charke make the Jesuits' exodus from England to the Continent a focal part of their othering. Hanmer interprets the voluntary exile of English Catholics during the reign of Elizabeth as a rejection and denial of their English cultural identity. He questions why Campion would flee the intellectual and theological environment of England (“What mooued you to forsake your natie Soile, and the famous Uniuersities of England, flourishinge with all kinde of good literature? the Scriptures are in this land lernedly expounded” (sig. C1rv)), in favor of the Continent, implying that Campion believed that the environment abroad was superior to that of his homeland. He also argues that by leaving England, the English Catholics in exile have lost their Englishness by rejecting their role as loyal English subjects: “[...] [Y]ou haue left your natie soyle, neglected your obedience unto the truth of Gods worde, and forgotten your loyalty and subiectiō unto her Royall maiesty, and her godly proceedings” (sig. D1r). William Charke likewise denies Campion's Englishness based on his exile abroad: “For what greater iniurie can be done to another, then he hath done unto himselfe: He hath departed frō the faith, left his country, [and] refused the protection of a gracious Prince, with many other honours and felicities [...]” (sig. Hanmer E5r). The Protestant writers thus construct English

Catholics who have left their native land to seek religious refuge on the Continent as disloyal Englishmen who no longer participate in a shared English cultural identity. Both writers view the privileging of religious conviction, the internal life, over the societal demands of English cultural identity, the external life, as evidence of internal disloyalty and treason on the part of English Catholics abroad.

The English Jesuits responded to Protestant attempts to construct them as a foreign Other by associating themselves with the familiar, specifically the familiar past, and questioned the validity of the present dominant cultural identity. Though Persons does not construct religion as a fixed component of cultural identity, as do Hanmer and Charke, he points out that in the past, Catholicism held the same cultural position as does Protestantism currently. He emphasizes the historical importance of Catholicism in England in order to demonstrate that Englishness need not be irrevocably linked to Protestantism and points out that English Catholics were "borne, baptized, and brede vp" in the Catholic faith in England just as their ancestors were (Persons *A brief discours* sig. ¶4v). In response to Charke's comment to preach the Catholic faith in England is to be both an enemy of God and a traitor to the state, Persons counters that Charke is essentially condemning "al the noble Princes of Englande, and other our vertuous auncestors, from the first conuerſion of that land, vnto our age" (*A brief censvre* sig. D8r). Persons's response to the Protestant denial of Englishness to Catholics on the basis that they do not adhere to the contemporary hegemonic cultural identity is to reframe the parameters of Englishness to include participation in a historical English cultural identity including Catholicism. For this reason, he emphasizes the longstanding tradition of Catholicism within England in order to show Englishness and Catholicism need not be mutually exclusive. To this end, he describes English Catholics as the most ancient and numerous of the religious sects in English society and

subordinates English Protestantism to Catholicism by noting that the latter was "begotten and bred up" by the former (Persons *A brief discours* sig. ‡3v). Further undermining the Protestant claim to define Englishness, he contends that the twenty-two years when Protestantism has been the dominant religion of England "suffice not for the prescription, by the common laws of England, and much lesse to exclude vs [Catholics], whiche can proue our continuance for a thousand yeares without interruption" (*A brief censvre* sig. E3r). In these passages, Persons attempts to undercut the dominance of Protestantism in England by depicting it as an aberration from the longstanding Catholic hegemony and offers a definition of Englishness rooted in a historical English cultural identity where the external and internal lives of Catholics aligned within the dual authority system of papacy and civil monarch. This argument essentially undercuts his call for a religiously plural England, since he is essentially criticizing both the religious and political positions of Protestantism, unless we consider his desire for religious plurality solely as a means to lessen the current persecution of English Catholics.

Just as English Protestants attempted to exclude English Catholics from their definition of Englishness by emphasizing the ways the English Catholic community refused to conform to the political and religious norms, highlighting the foreignness of their religious and social connections, the Jesuit missionaries likewise seek to undermine the Protestant authority to define Englishness. Through the characterization of Protestantism as an essentially unstable and untenable religious system, the Jesuits hope to poke holes in the heterogeneous political and religious structure claimed by Protestants. To this end, the English Jesuits criticize the Protestant tenet of individual interpretation of Scripture as a means of destabilizing the English society intellectually, theologically and politically. The Jesuits stress that in order to choose a religion one must be intellectually capable, and they direct their efforts at persuasion to an educated

audience. Both Jesuits construct Catholicism as a thinking man's religion that can be defended by sound argumentation through disputation. In his *Brag*, Campion intentionally describes himself as an intellectual scholar and presents Catholicism as a rational alternative to Protestantism on the belief Protestantism values faith over rational logic. Prior to leaving England, Campion had gained fame at Oxford for his rhetorical skills and had won the Queen's favor and the patronage of Leicester during her visit in 1564. In article v, Campion requests disputation with both the "Doctors and Masters and chosen men of both Universities" and "the lawyers, spiritual and temporal" (qtd in Waugh 210-1) in order to debate religion within these two scholastic realms; he also requests an audience with the Queen in order to persuade her as well as her Privy Council with his sermons. These requests are founded upon the assumption an individual with sufficient intelligence can be persuaded through well crafted rhetoric to accept religious truths. In article viii, Campion suggests that the English intellectuals and political leaders who accept Protestantism have been persuaded by faulty reasoning. In his address to the Privy Council, he argues that the adversaries of Catholicism have "huddled up and confounded" religious issues, but he also maintains that through disputation he could show "upon what substantial grounds our Catholike Faith is builded" (212).

While both Campion and Persons request disputation in order to persuade English intellectuals of the errors of Protestantism, Persons expresses his concern that the average English Protestant lacks sufficient understanding to interpret Scripture correctly. In his *A brief censvre*, Persons constructs Protestants as less educated than their Catholic counterparts and emphasizes the dangers of individual interpretation of the Bible. He contends that the Protestant practice of individual interpretation of Scripture promotes disagreement since "al herejies from the beginning, haue bene founded vpon the miſunderſtanding of the Scripture," and he attributes

this misreading of Scripture to their “ignorance or malyce” (sig. C4v). In his critique of Charke, Persons rejects his claims on the basis that he uses “bothe lying argumentes, and abfurde interpretations [...]” (sig. E3v). He further accuses Protestant scholars of ignorance by asserting they simplify arguments rather than distinguish their complexities because they lack understanding:

[D]istinguiſhing in al ſciences (according to the Philoſopher) appertaineth to the learned and not to the peuiſhe: but eſpecially in deuinitie, wher al hereſies ſpring by confounding and huddling vp matters: and the truthe is diſplayed, by diſtinguiſhing of things into their proper natures [...] We haue diſtinguiſhed theſe things into their proper natures, and ſhewed eche parte conſonant to the worde of God: then you haue no more to ſaye, for that your ignorance is bewrayed, and the truth made to euerye mans eyes, manifeſt. (Persons *A brief cenſvre* sig. E4 r-v)

Within these criticisms, it is clear Persons privileges Catholic constructions of knowledge and hermeneutics. Although he himself has previously assigned religious conviction to the realm of internal life, he attempts to destabilize Protestant claims to individual interpretation of Scripture, similarly based on the privileging of internal religious conviction to external authority, by questioning the mental acuity of Protestants, undercutting their ability to form religious convictions.

The Jesuits also construct Protestants as both theologically and politically unstable because of their emphasis on individual interpretation, considering the privileging of the internal religious convictions by Protestants on what the missionaries considered shaky, shifting doctrine as evidence of external, political disloyalty. Persons argues that the Protestant practice of basing doctrine on the individual interpretation of Scripture weakens religious authority and limits the possibility of consensus, contending that this is a weakness inherent in Protestantism and one seen throughout Europe, pointing to various Protestant sects on the Continent and the Puritan sects in England (sig. E6r). He suggests that while these Protestant sects are in agreement in their

belief of *sola scriptura* (going against the teachings of the Catholic Church), they cannot come to consensus regarding how the Bible should be interpreted and therefore lack a theological unity:

“How groundinge their fseveral religions vpon the meere word of God, as they fay, can not yet end their controuerfies? [...] Howe can they vpon fo manifest and cleere a thing as they say Scripture is, build fo manye contrary opinions and defend them out of the fame Scripture?” (sig. E6v). Persons extends his criticism over the lack of theological unity among Protestants in regards to their internal religious convictions, seen as a consequence of the privileging of the individual interpretation of Scripture, to their external life as English subjects. He admits that the law of the land, created by Protestants, requires religious uniformity in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer, yet he contends that in practice it is “commonlye broken by euerye minister at his pleasure” (Persons *A brief discours* sig. 4r), asserting that the privileging of a self-directed religious conviction leads to external, political nonconformity. Although this argument in some ways undercuts his call for the privileging of English Catholics’ individual religious convictions, Persons suggests boundaries, respected by Catholic believers, are placed upon the internal convictions of the individual Catholic by both the global Catholic community and the papacy whereas he contends the authorities of English Protestantism, in particular the Book of Common Prayer and even Elizabeth I in her role as an ecclesiastical authority, lack a similar respect from Protestant believers because by nature Protestantism is “self-directed” and “new.” In this way, Persons sees the Protestant tendency toward religious disagreement as directly related to political disloyalty. In both *A brief discours* and *A brief censvre*, he constructs Protestants as politically unstable based on the teachings of Protestant leaders, specifically John Wycliffe, Martin Luther and John Calvin. He contends that Protestants pose a threat to the institution of monarchy

because they believe they have the right to question the authority of their Prince, just as they question religious authority:

We know your doctrine bothe in John Wickliffe, Luther, and Caluine, to be daungerous to al Princes whom you miſlyke: teaching, that subiectes are not bound to obey their Princes for cōſcience ſake, but that if the Prince rule amiſſe they are free, to reſtraine him and puniſh him at their pleaſure [...] (Persons *A brief cenſvre* sig. E1r-v)

As evidence of the fickle loyalty of Protestant subjects, he offers the Peasant's Revolt of 1525 and contends it was the result of Luther's teaching that "Christians are free & exempted from al Princes laws" (*A brief discours* sig. 7v). Using a similar rhetoric to that of English Protestants who construct Catholics as traitors due to their religious nonconformity and Continental connections, Persons constructs political disloyalty as a general trait of Protestants, arguing that there have been many "commotions alſo of thoſe of [the Protestant] religion in al countries where they can make their parties good [...]" (*A brief cenſvre* sig. E1v). Although both Persons and Campion contend that internal religious convictions cannot be mandated by the civil sovereign and do in fact take precedence over one's external, cultural identity, Persons makes a clear distinction between the identity claims of Protestants and Catholics. By constructing Protestants as essentially unstable, he contends that they are incapable of compartmentalizing contradictory identity claims and are therefore willing to question and revolt against religious and political authorities, including the very institution of civil monarchy itself, while Catholics remain loyal to the traditional political structures of the dual authority system despite religious persecution by the civil monarch.

By many standards, the Jesuit mission to England was a failure. It ended in the death of Campion and Persons's retreat to the Continent where he would support the disastrous Spanish campaign on his homeland. Though in the end the Jesuits could not stop the formation of an

English Protestant national identity, they gave the subaltern a voice and dared to ask, what is Englishness, and who has the right to define it? By appropriating the medium of print and using the voice of the English Catholic exile, the English Jesuits challenged the Protestant dominance of print culture as well as Protestants' construction of Englishness. Through the medium of print, Protestants and Catholics negotiated the role of sovereignty and individualism in the construction of English cultural identity and engaged in othering to support their own construction of Englishness and undercut the position of their opponents. While these negotiations would have far-reaching consequences for the construction of a later English national identity, the arguments proposed by both English Jesuits and Protestant polemicists must be understood within the context of an asymmetrical power relationship. Within this relationship, English Protestants attempt to maintain a Protestant hegemony while English Catholics request toleration as a subaltern religious group for the present and hope for the return of a hegemonic, Catholic England. Within this historical and cultural context, Protestants constructed a uniform cultural identity requiring civil and religious conformity and defined by national law while the Jesuits defined religion as part of one's internal life, taking precedence over one's external, cultural identity. They envisioned an Englishness allowing for religious plurality and one based on the more ambiguous power structure of separate ecclesiastical and civil sovereigns. The English Jesuits also challenged Protestant cultural dominance by emphasizing the role of Catholicism in English history and culture and questioning the Protestant practice of individual interpretation of Scripture along with its political and cultural consequences.

III. Chapter Two

Early Modern Orientalism: Japan through the Eyes of Alessandro Valignano

As the English Jesuit mission came to an abrupt and tragic end in 1581, on the other side of the globe, a new chapter in the Japanese Jesuit mission was just beginning as Alessandro Valignano, the newly appointed Visitor to the East, embarked on his first trip to Japan and there began writing both the first part of his *Historia del Principio y Progreso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales* and his *Sumario de las Cosas de Japon*. Both of these works are intimately tied to this first encounter with Japan and record the Visitor's first impressions as well as his reflections upon the journey after his return to India¹⁴. Although Valignano's works were not the first European or even the first Jesuit accounts to describe the island nation, his writings about Japan are significant since they were the first authoritative construction of Japan and its inhabitants produced by the Society of Jesus and served as a principal source of information about Japan in Rome and throughout Europe during the late sixteenth century.¹⁵

Valignano, a Neopolitan by birth, entered the Society of Jesus in May 1566, and seven years later was appointed by the General Superior of the order as Visitor to the missions in the East, which at the time included Mozambique, Malacca, India, Macao and Japan (Üçerler 339). As Visitor to the East, Valignano represented the authority of Rome over the Jesuit missions within his purview and as such he answered directly to the General Superior. After his

¹⁴ He likely concluded the *Historia* while in Japan, though he made revisions to it afterward, and completed the *Sumario* in Cochin in 1583.

¹⁵ Valignano's *Historia* and *Sumario* influenced other Jesuit historians, such as Giovan Pietro Maffei whose descriptions of the East circulated throughout Europe in the sixteenth century (Rubiés 5). In his discussion of the *Historia*, Joan-Pau Rubiés remarks that the work can be seen as representing an original development in European ethnography in which "Valignano and his fellow Jesuits carried European views of non-Europeans to a new natural and historical order which was in fact a meeting point between practical and theological concerns" (6).

appointment, he spent time touring India, Malacca, and Macao before finally journeying to Japan for the first time in 1579 (Üçerler 346). His writings reflect the inherent tension of the Jesuit colonial project requiring missionaries to act as transmitters of knowledge despite linguistic, cultural, political, and ethnic barriers— explaining the Other to Rome and Rome to the Other as it were. Valignano’s *Historia* and *Sumario* attempt to explain the East to the West through the eyes of one who is both new to the East and in a position to define the parameters of the relationship between European missionaries and the Japanese.

Theologians, along with jurists, had traditionally played an important role in interpreting and defining the relationship of Europe to non-Europeans, specifically non-Christians or infidels. Since the discovery of the Americas, theologians, such as Francisco de Vitoria, John Mair, and Bartolomé de las Casas to name but a few, had been at the forefront in constructing an evolving worldview that attempted to understand and categorize the new discoveries by drawing upon the Christian and classical traditions; in fact, Vitoria describes the theologian as one who can and should expound upon all things: “[e]l deber, la misión del teólogo [...] son tan extensos que no hay argumento alguno, no hay disputa, no hay lugar ajeno a la profesión e institución teológico” [the duty [and] mission of the theologian are so great that there is no argument, dispute, or place that is alien to the profession and institution of theology] (qtd in García-Pelayo 5-6). Valignano would have been familiar with the contemporary debates surrounding the territories and peoples of the Spanish *Patronato* and Portuguese *Padroado* both as a Neopolitan, the kingdom of Naples being under Spanish control, and as one who spent considerable time in both Spain and Portugal prior to his departure for the East. Although Valignano’s *Historia* and *Sumario* have received scholarly attention, particularly by Josef Franz Schütte who analyzes them jointly in Part 2 of his *Valignano’s Mission Principles for Japan*, their study has been principally as historical sources

that provide rationale for Valignano's mission strategies. In contrast, the purpose of this study is to consider them as rich, literary and cultural artifacts that provide us with insightful glimpses into the Jesuits' evolving construction of the world outside of Europe, particularly the East, and consequent rethinking of Europe. This chapter will consider the texts from a postcolonial perspective to better analyze the ideological and political motivations of Valignano in his construction of Japan and its people as well as his mission strategies for Japan.

Postcolonialism in Early Modern Scholarship

Postcolonial scholarship relating to Asia has principally focused on British, French and American forms of colonialism in India, the Middle East and China from the eighteenth century onward, leaving a critical and historical gap in our understanding of early modern Iberian colonial projects in the East.¹⁶ One consequence of this gap in scholarship, or perhaps the cause of it, is a general uncertainty among scholars about how to consider orientalism, a critical term fundamental to discussions of the relationship between East and West since the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in the 1970s, in a pre-modern and early modern context. The application of Said's concept of orientalism to the study of the pre-modern and early modern world poses at least two major challenges; the first relates to Said's construction of East and West in terms of a binary opposition, and the second has to do with the complexity of orientalism as both an historical process and a modern phenomenon.

¹⁶ One reason for this scholarly oversight when it comes to early modern interactions between the East and the West is the widely held belief that Western knowledge of the East prior to the 17th century did not have any profound effects upon European conceptions of the world. In his *The Oriental Renaissance, Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680-1880*, Raymond Schwab contends that knowledge of the East prior to the 18th century did not fundamentally change the European worldview: "Only after 1771 does the world become truly round; half the intellectual map is no longer blank. In other words, this is not a second Renaissance but the first, belatedly reaching its logical culmination" (16).

The first challenge in applying Said's construct of orientalism to a pre-modern or early modern context relates to the binary opposition between the East or Orient and the West or Occident posited by Said as the basis for the Western construction of the East as its rival Other¹⁷. Several modern scholars have since leveled criticisms against Said's conflation of complex geographic, political and cultural entities into the monolithic "East" and "West," yet for scholars considering the pre-modern era envisioning the world in terms of a binary opposition between East and West is not merely reductionist but untenable. As Suzanne Conklin Akbari points out, the medieval world conceived itself as both tripartite, divided into the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, and universally united through Biblical tradition. On medieval maps, the people inhabiting each continent were genealogically linked to one another through Noah's sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth, whose names often appear alongside or in place of the names of the continents, and were similarly united through Christ's redemption of mankind, the body of Christ often being depicted at the margins of medieval maps "affirming the coterminousness of the body of Christ and the earth itself" (Akbari 20). Between the late fifteenth century and the middle to late sixteenth century, a cartographical and ideological shift began to take place that can be seen in the marked differences between Henry Martellus's world map circa 1490, consisting of three large interconnecting landmasses (Europe, Asia and Africa), and Abraham Ortelius's *Tipus orbis terrarium* circa 1570 depicting the Americas to the left, Europe and Africa near the center and Asia in the right corner. The addition of the "New World" to European maps, and hence European modes of categorization and description, stimulated debate about how to

¹⁷ Although Said is the most recognized scholar for advancing an East-West opposition, earlier scholars, such as Raymond Schwab, also proposed it as an integral part of the relationship between Europe and Asia. Schwab for example argues that the opposition of the East and West dates back to the Hellenistic period and is later inherited by the Roman empire which "placed two blocs in opposition, 'our world' against some vague Asia" (1).

understand the world discovered through imperial expansion and exploration in light of the classical and medieval traditions. Although early modern maps, such as that of Ortelius, do not overtly interpret the world in religious terms, as do many medieval maps, it would be a mistake to consider them secularized conceptions of the world in the same way as maps from the Enlightenment period onward. When placed side by side, contemporary textual and graphical descriptions of the early modern world reveal a construction of the world that can be understood as a hybrid of the classical and medieval past with the seeds of secularization and scientific revolution. During the sixteenth century, both medieval and contemporary travel narratives of the East were produced on printing presses, both separately and in collected volumes, and were considered of relatively equal value as informative sources describing distant lands and peoples. Thus, the medieval concept of a unified world created by the Christian God was still poignant during the early modern period. Additionally, early modern cartographers were not wholly Eurocentric in their depictions of the world. Five years after Valignano's first visit to Japan, the Jesuit missionary to China, Matteo Ricci, under Valignano's supervision, constructed a *mappamondo* centered upon the Pacific Ocean, rather than the Atlantic, where Europe and Africa are placed at the left, Asia in the center, and the Americas to the right, depicting, as Walter Mignolo suggests, that the point of observation, or geometric center, is moveable (*The Darker Side* 222). In his analysis of Ricci's maps, Mignolo contends that while they separate the geographic center (locus of observation) from the ethnic center (which in the case of Ricci is Rome), they must be considered as part of a larger European economic and religious expansion that attempts to convey a Eurocentric model of the world (222-226). While I agree that Ricci's maps are an attempt to impart European modes of knowledge to the Chinese, I would also argue that by shifting the geographic center of the map to Asia, and in light of the Jesuit policy of

cultural accommodation in the East, Ricci is attempting to minimize the cultural and geographic divisions of East and West. Though Ricci's Eastern-centered maps are significant for a number of reasons,¹⁸ in my opinion, they suggest that, at least from a Jesuit perspective, which is the main focus of this study, that the cultural and geographic entities of East and West are flexible rather than fixed.

The second challenge is distinguishing orientalism as a broadly conceived historical process of Western interest in the East dating back to the Hellenistic period from the modern ideological construction of orientalism and oriental studies, though the two are of course in some ways interconnected. When defined as a Western interest in the East, orientalism can be traced back as far as Antiquity to the practice of acquiring ancient knowledge via Eastern texts that continued into Middle Ages (particularly in geographical contact zones, such as medieval Spain, which produced important centers of translation). Abdulla Al-dabbagh signals a change in the way these texts were viewed within Western society as early as the Renaissance period with the advent of humanist philosophy, which he argues would culminate in nineteenth century scientific inquiry and spawned modern oriental studies (Al-dabbagh 1). The term orientalism wasn't widely used prior to the nineteenth century, explaining the obvious confusion between orientalism as an historical interest in the East and as a particular modern construction. Its two distinct functions within the modern and postmodern eras are tied to the political/economic sphere of colonial and imperial expansion and the cultural/academic sphere of scientific

¹⁸In his discussion of the contribution of Ricci's maps to Eastern cartography, Mignolo cites a variety of scholarship on the subject, among which are Helen Wallis "The Influence of Father Ricci on Far Eastern Cartography" *Imago Mundi* 19 (1965): 38-45 and Kenneth Ch'en "Matteo Ricci's Contribution to, and Influence on, Geographical Knowledge in China" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 59 (1939): 325-509.

knowledge and the advent of oriental studies¹⁹. Within the colonial context, orientalism functioned as an ideological apparatus of power to manage the Orient, and within the academic context, the Orient served as a subject of scientific study and categorization (at times explicitly tied to imperial projects and at others times less directly). Thus, the critical concept of orientalism makes historical and cultural sense in discussions of relationships between the East and West from the modern era forward, but because of its direct ties to the modern era there have been fewer, more cautious appropriations of it by scholars of pre-modern and early modern studies.

Beyond orientalism, postcolonial scholarship, particularly scholarship relating to Latin America, offers a variety of critical tools useful in the discussion of an emerging modernity and the evolving self-construction of the West in relation to its construction of the Other during the early modern period. Scholars, such as Walter Mignolo, have signaled the integral role of colonialism in the development of modernity. Mignolo suggests that colonialism is constituent for the development of modernity, even going so far as to argue that without colonialism there is no modernity (“La Colonialidad” 39). However, the discussion of colonialism is limited to the sphere of Latin America, overlooking the role of Iberian colonialism in the East and its possible effects upon the development of modernity and Europe’s construction of itself and the world outside of it. When colonial projects in the East garner a mention, the references lack development in their own right because of their limited role in making a point about Latin American colonialism; additionally, these references are frequently based upon generalizations

¹⁹ For a more detailed discussion about the distinction between functional orientalism in the colonial setting and the cultural/academic orientalism of the nineteenth century forward, see Vasant Kaiwar and Sucheta Mazumdar’s “The Coordinates of Orientalism: Reflections on the Universal and the Particular.” Abdulla Al-dabbagh also provides a useful discussion of divergent forms of orientalism in his *Literary Orientalism, Postcolonialism, and Universalism*.

or partial information. For example, Damían Pachón Soto argues that the West traditionally viewed both Asia and Africa as its inferiors, their cultures more closely resembling Europe's past rather than its present or projected future, and that this negative construction of the two continents was firmly entrenched in the European imagination by the sixteenth century (35). As evidence for this view, he relies upon the construction of the East by the English (representing a later orientalism) and the comments of the early modern Jesuit scholar José de Acosta who theorized that the inhabitants of the Americas may have come from Asia, thus transposing the negative cultural stereotypes attributed to Asia to the inhabitants of the Americas (35-6). However, the consideration of a wider textual base, such as medieval and early modern travel literatures as well as other semi-ethnographical works by Jesuit writers such as Valignano and Acosta, suggest that early modern cultural stereotypes about the East were not yet fully formed in the European imagination and that often contradictory constructions of the Oriental Other could be found.

Valignano's *Historia* and *Sumario*

When considering the sixteenth century writings of Valignano in light of recent postcolonial criticism, we see that he is influenced by the historical process of orientalism, as a Western interest in the East, and that his writings provide a glimpse of a developing colonial and academic orientalism, as an early form of ethnographic description. He also participates in the construction of the East in the European imagination. Prior to his first visit to Japan, where he began writing the *Historia* and *Sumario*, Valignano had toured the principal missions in the East and had personal contact with the missionaries there. With these experiences still fresh in his mind, he attempts to situate the mission to Japan within the larger framework of Jesuit missionary activity in the East in his *Historia*, emphasizing and exalting the contributions of

individual missionaries, particularly Francis Xavier, with the goal of encouraging future mission work in the Orient. The *Sumario*, on the other hand, is limited to the discussion of the mission in Japan and makes specific proposals and suggestions in a logically structured format, using titled topics with numbered comments. As a literary work, Valignano's *Historia* intersects the medieval travelogue and pilgrim narrative tradition and the growing body of contemporary historical narratives of early modern voyages of discovery and colonization. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, printing presses saw a renewed interest in medieval narratives relating to the East, such as Marco Polo's thirteenth century *Divisament dou monde* (Description of the World) published in twenty-four editions during the sixteenth century²⁰ (Larner 160). Valentin Fernandes' 1502 Portuguese translation of Polo explicitly relates the work to contemporary imperial expansion, stating in the preface that it describes the islands "which we at the present time have discovered;" not surprisingly, a Castilian translation of the work was published the following year by Fernández de Santaella, Archdeacon of Seville and confessor to the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand and Isabella, who had funded Columbus's voyages (qtd. in Larner 152, 160). Medieval travel narratives and contemporary accounts were at times compiled as in the 1532 *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum* (The New World regions and islands unknown to the ancients) including the narratives of fifteenth century explorers such as Cadamosto, Vespucci and Columbus as well as the thirteenth century accounts of Marco Polo and Hetoum I, King of Armenia.²¹ The renewed interest in medieval narratives, even in

²⁰ Larner provides an excellent discussion of Columbus' knowledge of Marco Polo and its influence upon his voyages to the Americas in his chapter "Columbus and After" in *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World*.

²¹ According to Larner, this work was considered the "the standard compilation of voyages in the period" and was reprinted three times in the sixteenth century (1537, 1555 and 1585) and translated into French and German (160).

conjunction with contemporary ones, is evidence of the transitional or liminal nature of the period in which Valignano is writing. A medieval worldview was still familiar though gradually being displaced. Contemporary histories of the voyages of discovery and colonization of the Americas and the East were also extremely popular in their own right. One of the most influential histories of Portuguese activity in the East is *Asia; or, Of the deeds which the Portuguese performed in the discovery and conquest of the seas and lands of the Orient* by Governor João de Barros, referred to by his contemporaries as a Portuguese Livy, further demonstrating the early modern blending of the contemporary with the classical and medieval past. The work was published in three editions between 1552 and 1563, each corresponding to a decade of Portuguese colonial expansion (Schwab 27). The fourth decade was published posthumously from Barros's notes in 1615 by editor João Baptista Lavanha. In addition to historical narratives of Portuguese travels to the East, Luís Vaz de Camões, who lived in Goa and Macao, chronicled the voyage of Vasco da Gama in epic verse, mixing contemporary historical figures with the classical figures and conventions of epic poetry, in his *Os Lusíadas* published in 1572 (27-8). Though Valignano does not draw upon epic literary traditions in his *Historia*, he does emphasize the role of individual missionaries, arguably providing a panegyric account of Xavier's missionary activity in the East, through the narration of their voyages and activities. The *Sumario de las Cosas de Japón*, in contrast, focuses on the mission in Japan as an enterprise and while it shares some of the same chapters with the *Historia*, its interpretive frame is notably different.

The basic purpose of the *Historia* is to describe both the history and current progress of each Jesuit mission in the Visitor's purview. At the beginning of part one, Valignano sets forth three reasons for its composition, the first being that the deeds of the missionaries described

(primeros Padres) will inspire other members of the Society to impact the future in a similar way (1). The second reason is the European fascination with the Orient (*como deleitasse mucho a los de Europa la lectura de las cosas del Oriente*) and his desire to correct the disorganized and unclear picture of the Orient that has been given through the printing of missionary letters from various parts of the East, and the third reason is to satisfy the request of the late General (Everard Mercurian) who had commissioned a progress report of the Company in the East (2). The first two reasons imply that Valignano anticipates a wider readership than the single individual to whom the work is specifically directed and that the work is designed to be both entertaining and educational to a European audience, particularly to those studying in Jesuit colleges who will be future missionaries. Valignano also signals his role within orientalism as a Western historical interest in the East by both acknowledging the contemporary fascination with information about the East (hence the rise in the printing of medieval and contemporary travel accounts) and his desire to author an authoritative account on the East and the Jesuit endeavors there. As a Western observer of the East, Valignano participates in the construction of what Damián Pachón Soto terms a colonial collective imagination (31). Pachón Soto contends that by describing the Other to Europe, Western writers began to both define and limit the construction of the Other within the collective European imagination, leading to the justification of political actions taken toward peoples at the periphery as well as the classification and valorization of the Other in terms of race and cultural complexity (31-2). However, the proliferation of divergent travel and pilgrim literatures, medieval and contemporary, leading up to Valignano's works suggests that there was not yet a clear construction of the East in the European imagination. In this vein, Joan-Pau Rubiés argues that "[...] there was no clear, coherent image of Indian civilization in sixteenth-century Europe— not even a simple, easily recognizable stereotype. The most complete accounts

of India did not circulate extensively before 1550, and they seldom had a unitary structure” (11). Valignano signals this muddled image when he states that it is his intention to clarify the construction of the East and the Jesuits’ mission activity there and to correct the misconceptions brought about by earlier literatures describing the East, particularly earlier Jesuit accounts. Though there is not yet a clearly defined Orient that is a counterpoint to the Occident at the time of his writing, Valignano’s *Historia* and *Sumario* participate in the construction of this binary to the degree that they are intended to be authoritative descriptions of the East from the viewpoint of educated Western eyes desiring to assimilate the peoples encountered into a common religion with Catholic Europe, subordinating the East religiously to the West.

Forms of Colonialism

Early modern globalization, or proto-globalization, was founded upon the creation of Western global empires and witnessed both commercial and economic expansion as well as a “revolution of knowledge” that prompted Western thinkers to construct new ways to view Europe and the world (Hopkins 6-7). This period has often been described, within a teleological construct of history, as the “rise of the West,” as European powers expand their territories and move closer toward a developed modernity. However, modern scholars of various disciplines²² have pointed out the one-sidedness of this narrative as it ignores the global expansion of other world powers during the period as well as the role of the territories and peoples encountered by Europeans in the development of the West. Valignano’s observations regarding European colonization in the East and West depict the uneven penetration of Western globalization during

²² In his description of Early Modern Globalization in *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, David Held distances himself, and his co-writers, from what he calls the “conventional accounts of the rise of the West” (418). Hopkins similarly emphasizes that not all early modern globalization, which he terms proto-globalization, was carried out solely by Europeans.

the period and its consequences for Jesuit global missions. The two principal Western global empires of the sixteenth century were supported and sustained by the Portuguese *Padroado Real* and the Spanish *Patronato Real* systems of royal patronage. Both systems received papal recognition and defined the discoveries and conquests of each nation as under its own jurisdiction to the exclusion of all other European powers. Valignano acknowledges the role of these systems in the Jesuit global mission in both the *Historia* and *Sumario*. By nature, these systems were at times an awkward conglomeration of medieval and modern, having developed out of the medieval Iberian crusading culture, Portugal's conflicts with the Moors to their south and Spain's *reconquista* of Muslim-held provinces on the peninsula, while adhering to the modern conception of national and international law and geography. The beginnings of the *Padroado* can be found in papal grants to Enrique, *infante* of Portugal and master of the *Orden del Cristo*, as early as the 1450s relating to Portuguese crusading in Africa (Shiels 49). In this late medieval document, Nicholas V's *Romanus pontifex* of 1454, the Portuguese territorial claim is justified by the military conquest of the native inhabitants, implanting the national monarchs as the lawful rulers of the territories ("the ports, islands, and seas") and establishing an all-encompassing colonialism—military, political and economic in nature—which is constructed as being beneficial for all concerned, even suggesting that the conquest was attained "with the help of the natives" (qtd in Shiels 52); this additional detail serves to justify the conquest on the basis that the conquered peoples can be bettered through the rule and influence of the Western conqueror. The document names the Portuguese as responsible for the military protection of these possessions as well as their political governance through the promulgation of laws. In order to protect both their economic and political interests, the Portuguese forbid others (presumably other European powers) to sail to these territories in order to conduct business in the ports or to

fish in the seas. The papacy involves itself in this matter by upholding the rights of the Portuguese (over the conquered non-Europeans and other would be European conquerors), as Nicholas V declares,

Using our patent, the same King Affonso or his representative and the infante do lawfully and justly hold the lands, ports, and seas thus acquired. They all pertain by rights to King Affonso and his successors, nor may any other faithful of Christ, without license of the same King Affonso and his successors, intervene therein in any way whatsoever [...] They now justly petition that further assistance be offered and that through us and the Apostolic See they be more amply fortified with graces and favors. (qtd in Shiels 53)

In this early construction of the *Padroado*, territories belonged to a national monarch only through military conquest.²³ With the discovery of the New World, however, the West began to conceive of the world as a globe which could be geometrically divided into territories, what Carl Schmidtt refers to as global linear thinking (87). Thus, imperial expansion could begin with the abstract geographical coordinates rather than physical military conquest. The Treaty of Tordesillas, negotiated between Spain and Portugal in 1494, provides an example of what Schmidtt terms as *rayas* or agreed upon divisional lines between two princes “recognizing the same spiritual authority and the same international law” relating to “the acquisition of land belonging to princes and authorities of a different faith” (91).²⁴ Schmidtt’s definition of *rayas* highlights lack of a say given to rulers and peoples of the periphery in the global expansion of Western powers. The Eurocentric establishment of legal rights to geographical territories under

²³ Schmidtt argues that this document is not global because at best it is regional, extending only to India which east of the conquered lands (89).

²⁴ Columbus’ discovery of what were presumed to be Asiatic lands in 1492 conflicted with earlier papal bulls granting the Portuguese the right to colonize in the East. At the prompting of the Spanish monarchs, the Valencian born Pope Alexander VI issued the bull *Inter caetera* in May 1493 granting the Spanish crown all lands west and south of a pole-to-pole line extending 100 leagues west and south of the Azores or the Cape Verde islands (38 degrees west longitude). However, this bull was not accepted by the Portuguese and the dispute led to the creation of the Treaties of Tordesillas and Zaragoza.

the control of non-Europeans based on the Western conception of the globe, or the establishment of *rayas*, was predicated on what Walter Mignolo describes as ontological and epistemological colonial difference in which all the original authorities over the lands were placed into a single category (the Other) and denied a voice in the framing of the relationship between themselves and Europeans (“La Colonialidad” 46-7). The non-existent role of the native ruler in the division of land can be seen in Schmidt’s comment that “[a]s a rule, *rayas* were not global lines separating Christian from non-Christian territories, but were internal divisions between two land-appropriating Christian princes within the framework of one and the same spatial order” (Schmidt 92). The division of land was conducted by Europeans from a shared conception of the world based on common value systems (national monarchical authority and the religious authority of the Pope) without reference to the peoples or political structures of the lands considered. In practice, this led to two distinct forms of colonialism as the Spanish or Portuguese were either able or unable to subdue the native authorities and their populations. The Jesuits acknowledge the political validity of the *Patronato* and *Padroado* systems of global expansion by insisting they have a right to be in these territories because they are under Western control, but they also reluctantly acknowledge in some places, such as Japan, that the Western authority is minimal at best and they instead try to gain the patronage of the local authorities while using whatever influence Western intrusions can afford them.

The Treaties of Tordesillas and Zaragoza theoretically divided the world into Spanish and Portuguese territories, granting Spain the majority of the Americas and Portugal Africa and Asia²⁵. The Jesuit missionaries were directly and indirectly affected by these divisions.

²⁵The treaty of Tordesillas negotiated between Spain and Portugal in June 1494 divided the colonial possessions of the two nations along a meridian 350 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands (46 degrees west longitude). The lands to the east would belong to Portugal and the lands

Valignano's *Historia* acknowledges the *Patronato* and *Padroado* indirectly through its concern with the nationalities of the missionaries involved (particularly those who are Spanish and Portuguese) and in its linguistic dualism; the first part is written in Spanish while part two is in Portuguese. Within the narrative, the *Historia* explicitly acknowledges the Jesuits' indebtedness to the Portuguese crown by depicting the King of Portugal as the instigator of the Society's mission activity in the East because of his desire "como católico príncipe, acrecentar nuestra sancta religión christiana en las Indias Orientales de su conquista [...]" [as a Catholic prince, to grow our holy Christian religion in the Oriental Indies of his conquest], leading to his request to Rome, through his ambassador, that the members of the Society be sent to India (*Historia* 4-5). Valignano was keenly aware of the role of the Portuguese monarchy in mission efforts in the East since he himself had had an audience with King Sebastian of Portugal in 1574 and received funding for his journey to India as the newly appointed Visitor to the East (Üçerler 339). Though the *Historia* focuses its attention on the acts of missionaries, such as Xavier, it acknowledges that their presence in the East is dependent upon the *Padroado Real* and that their social and economic position in Japan is tied to Portuguese economic influence there. Although the king of Portugal desires the Jesuits to Catholicize the lands under his "conquest," unlike colonialism in the New World Portuguese penetration into Japan was never military in nature and the degree of their economic influence was dependent upon the interest of local rulers and the support, or at least toleration, of the shogunate. In his narration of Xavier's experiences in Satsuma, Valignano credits the Japanese desire for trade with the Portuguese as the reason the missionaries were initially admitted and why they were ultimately rejected: "[...] sabiendo el

to the west would belong to Spain. In 1520, both nations attempted to claim the Moluccas and the Treaty of Zaragoza, signed in April 1529, set a boundary near 142 degrees east longitude, clarifying the boundaries of Spanish and Portuguese imperial expansion established in the earlier Treaty of Tordesillas.

crédito y autoridad que los Padres tenían con los portugueses, y desseando mucho que por su medio viniesen a aquel puerto con sus navíos, recibieron bien a los Padres [...] dando licencia para hazerse christianos los que quissiessen” [knowing the credit and authority the Fathers had with the Portuguese, and greatly desiring that they would bring their ships to that port, they received the Fathers warmly [...] giving freedom to all who wished to become Christian] (*Historia* 165). Consequently, Xavier was forced to travel to Hirado, where the Portuguese ships were anchored, and Valignano likewise attributes the success of the venture in Hirado (Firando) to the presence of the Portuguese: “Llegados los Padres a Firando fueron muy bien rescebidos de los portugueses, y por causa dellos lo fueron también del señor de la tierra, del qual uvieron luego licencia para predicar nuestra ley y hazer christianos.” [Upon arriving in Hirado, the Fathers were warmly welcomed by the Portuguese and because of their relationship with the Portuguese they were also welcomed by the lord of the kingdom, who gave them license to preach our law and make Christians] (*Historia* 168). Within these passages, the missionaries maintain cultural cachet with the Japanese through their association with the Portuguese, who maintain influence through commerce.

At the beginning of the Jesuit mission to Japan, missionaries, such as Xavier, were not directly involved in the economic relationship between the Japanese and the Portuguese other than to ride on the coattails of Portuguese economic influence with *daimyo*, or regional lords, to gain permission to proselytize in their territories. This indirect relationship, however, would shift into a more direct one with the Donation of Bartolomeu²⁶. Ōmura Sumitada, who took the Christian name Dom Bartolomeu, was the first *daimyo* to convert to Christianity; in 1574, he

²⁶ For a detailed description of the founding of Nagasaki and its cession to the Society of Jesus, see Diego Pacheco’s “The Founding of the Port of Nagasaki and its Cession to the Society of Jesus” *Monumenta Nipponica* 25.3/4 (1970): 303-323.

ordered the mass conversion of his domain, and within three years all 1,500 vassals had converted and approximately 35,000 subjects had as well (Boxer *Christian Century* 14). Five years later, he founded the port city of Nagasaki and allowed the Jesuits to establish a church there; it served as a port for Portuguese trading vessels and a refuge for Japanese Christians expelled from pagan provinces. In 1580, during Valignano's stay in Japan, Ōmura ceded the ports of Nagasaki and Mogi to the Jesuits in what came to be known as the "Donation of Bartolomeu." Although the original Japanese text is not extant, a Spanish translation of the text was preserved in Rome which has led to questions regarding how the Japanese viewed the donation in contrast to the European missionaries. In the Spanish document, both Dom Bartolomeu and his son Sancho "make the free donation for always to the said Society and to its P^e Visitador of the settlement of Nangasaqui, with all the terrains and arable lands which are within its confines, without any exception [...]" (qtd. in Elison 94). While the document does hand judicial power over to the Jesuits, in practice the *daimyo* continued to wield considerable control over the territories. Valignano makes only a brief mention of Bartolomeu, whom he describes as a marquis over many fortresses and lands (*Sumario* 75-6), emphasizing his role as a military and political ruler. The Jesuits were responsible for appointing *yakunin*, captains, who functioned as the secular authority and handled all criminal matters, and they also petitioned Ōmura to promulgate a new judicial code based upon Christian principles of justice. However, the *yakunin*, whom the Jesuits appointed, derived their judicial authority from Ōmura's residual authority, and although the Jesuits petitioned for a new judicial code, they distanced themselves from its execution (Elison 97). In his letter to the General of the Society explaining the donation, Valignano emphasizes that the Fathers of the Society do not perform the judicial functions of the port cities themselves and are limited to selecting those who do and that the *daimyo* is still the

real ruler of the territories: “[...] [A]lthough we nominate the *yakunin* [...] nevertheless it is not we but the lord of the land who grants him the power of death. So the *yakunin* will administer justice, and the Superior of Japan will be able to reprove him when he does anything unbefitting, either changing him or reprimanding him as he sees fit” (qtd in Pacheco 318).

The Jesuits, as ecclesiastical leaders under the authority of Rome rather than secular leaders under the monarch, did not have the authorization of the papacy to act as political officials in Japan. In this vein, Valignano complains that because the Jesuits do not govern in the same style as the Japanese the ports are not as successful as they could be: “[...] [S]i nosotros los pudiesemos gobernar con el rigor de Japón, matando cuando es necesario, fueran de mucho más provecho de lo que ahora son; mas porque nosotros no podemos mandar matar, y no habiendo temor del cuchillo hacen los japoneses lo que quieren [...]” [If we were able to govern with the severity of the Japanese, killing when necessary, [Nagasaki and Mogi] would be of much greater advantage, but because we cannot order executions, and having no fear of the blade the Japanese do what they wish] (*Sumario* 78). Valignano’s comment brings to light the distinct forms of colonialism based on the level of Western military and political control. The Church denied the Jesuits the ability to act as military or political leaders (if the *daimyo* had even allowed it) and the Portuguese sphere of influence was limited to commerce. The lack of Portuguese military presence in Japan thereby limits the power of the Jesuits, even when they are given judicial functions by a local *daimyo*. As ecclesiastical leaders, the Jesuits had to respect the local political hierarchy, when there was no Western military authority to supplant it, which Valignano avers in his 1598, *Apologia in which are answered divers calumnies written against the Padres of the Society of Jesus of Japan and of China*, “the Padres and the entire town and harbor of Nagasaki remained as obedient and subject to [Dom Bartolomeu] as ever, and they neither had the power

to act contrary to him nor was there any peril that they would do so [...]” (qtd in. Pacheco 322).

He also explicitly contrasts the economic or “soft” colonialism of the Portuguese and Society of Jesus in Asia with the more totalizing or “harsh” colonial projects of the Spanish and Portuguese in the Americas:

But if by any chance he [Dom Bartolomeu] had imagined that we might have the intention to deliver that town over to the kings of Spain and that we planned that there should be a fortress there with a garrison of Castilians— would he have been content with that and deemed it good? ... Or are the Japanese lords peradventure so slight of perception? Or do they hold the preservation of their states to such small account that they do not reflect upon what could befall them if they kept foreign soldiers and designed to build garrisoned fortresses in their lands? Or are they so little warlike that they would allow their land to be taken over by a few Castilian soldiers as was Peru and New Spain? (qtd. in Pacheco 323).

In this passage, Valignano describes the colonial project of the Spanish in the Americas as the military conquest of native leaders who are incapable of defending their lands (and who are presumably culturally inferior to the Europeans), in line with the medieval definitions of the *Patronato* and *Padroado*. The relationship between the Portuguese and the Japanese, however, is more modern in nature since, as Valignano argues, it is based upon capitalism rather than conquest, and the Japanese are considered a cultural equal, if not a rival. Though Valignano explicitly contrasts his constructions of the Japanese and Amerindians here, he still firmly maintains that for all of their cultural advances, the Japanese, like the Amerindians, are a non-Christian Other in need of the Society’s evangelizing intervention.

While the Jesuits did not take on the role of military or political colonizers in the port cities of Nagasaki or Mogi, keeping with the conventional boundaries set forth for missionaries by the Church, they did engage directly in commerce, bending and at times ignoring the rules laid down by the Papacy and the General of the Society. Valignano himself viewed the Jesuit mission’s ties to the *nao*, Portuguese trade ship, with ambivalence, seeing it as necessary and

beneficial but also as a potential liability. Both Ōmura and the Jesuits interpreted the Portuguese trade through the port of Nagasaki as an economic benefit that neither could do without. In a letter of explanation written to the General of the Society on 15 August, 1580, Valignano describes Ōmura's donation as primarily motivated by self-interest and reflective of the political instability of *sengoku* Japan. The Visitor to the East suggests that the principal impetus for the donation is Ōmura's conflict with the pagan *daimyo* Ryūzōji, who desires Nagasaki; if the Christian *daimyo* hands the port over to his adversary, in order to avoid a war, he will lose his income from the Portuguese ships, but by ceding it to the Church, the pagan lord will no longer demand it, since it is technically no longer Ōmura's possession, and the Christian *daimyo* will be able to keep the flow of income from trade conducted in Nagasaki, which, according to Valignano, he believed would continue in perpetuity because the Portuguese would always favor the port under the control of the Fathers (Pacheco 315). Though not directly stated, there is the sense that Ōmura believes that through association with the Jesuits he might also be able to call upon the Portuguese for support (military or financial) if threatened by a rival lord, mentioning that he might use Nagasaki as a place of refuge in the future (315). Thus, working within the framework of power relations among feudal Japanese lords, Ōmura takes advantage of Jesuits' unique position as outsiders in Japan in order to retain the ports he would otherwise lose.

In Nagasaki, the Jesuits became directly involved with the silk trade as interpreters between the Macao Portuguese traders and the Japanese (Boxer *Christian Century* 243). A portion of the trade conducted in the port city was given to the Jesuits to fund their mission, and Francisco Cabral, the mission Superior for Japan when Valignano was appointed Visitor to the East, believed that in order to be successful the mission must be allowed to continue to raise funds through the silk trade (Ross *A Vision* 53). In his letter to the General explaining the

donation, Valignano states that if the Jesuits were to lose the financial benefits of the Portuguese trade, “we would have no way of maintaining ourselves in Japan” (qtd in Pacheco 317).

However financially necessary it might have seemed to the leaders of the mission, the Jesuit participation in Portuguese trade was nonetheless a controversial subject, receiving Papal disapproval and the outright prohibition of the previous General of the Society, Everard Mercurian. The participants of the 1580 *Consulta* in Bungo²⁷ concluded that the funds garnered from participation in the silk trade were necessary for growing and sustaining the mission in Japan, but all agreed that direct participation in commerce was unseemly as officials in the Church, leaving something of a negative tint upon the enterprise (*Sumario* 331). On the one hand, the Jesuit participation in the silk trade reflects the adaptability of the Society to meet the challenges encountered financially and culturally far from Rome. Yet it also solidified, for good or ill, the tie the Jesuits had to the Portuguese and thus to the *Patronato Real* system of imperial and mercantile expansion, which had led the Portuguese to Japan in the first place. Though the Japanese clearly associated the Portuguese with the missionaries (both being Southern Barbarians²⁸), Valignano points out his concern that the Jesuits have little to no control over the Portuguese firstly because they could always change their port and leave the Society lacking in revenue and secondly because they can be lost at sea, resulting in a crippling loss of income to

²⁷ It was dealt with as a topic of debate in the 1580 *Consulta* and was answered in question 13, *Del remedio que se ha de procurar para la sustentación temporal de Japón*. In their response, the Fathers agree that it is unseemly for them to participate in the silk trade because of their ecclesiastical professions and dangerous to be dependent upon trade because of the uncertainties involved. Yet, they concluded that ceasing their participation in the silk trade before determining an alternate means of funds that would be roughly equivalent to that garnered from trade would result in the end of the mission. Alvarez includes the full text of question 13 in chapter XXIX note 2 of the *Sumario*.

²⁸ The Japanese term *namban* (or *nanban*), meaning ‘southern barbarians,’ was commonly used to refer to Europeans, particularly the Portuguese traders.

the mission (*Sumario* 79, 221). The Jesuit mission in Japan was irrevocably intertwined with Portuguese trade, both financially and by reputation. By 1583, when Valignano was revising the *Historia* and completing the *Sumario*, the Jesuits had established missions in the provinces of Shimo, Bungo and Miyako. In his *Sumario*, he underscores the importance of Portuguese trade to the conversion of both *daimyo* and their subjects in his description of the Shimo province, where the Portuguese ships dock each year, as “la mayor fuerza de la cristiandad de Japón que ahora hay [...]” [the greatest strength of Christianity in Japan that currently exists], and points out that three of the kingdoms within the province are entirely Christian (*Sumario* 74). The acceptance of and desire for Portuguese trade made the Jesuit mission possible, and through their association with and participation in commerce between the two peoples and cultures, the Jesuits were participants in a form of “soft” or economic colonialism within Japan.

Defining the European and the Other

As mentioned earlier, the proliferation of contradictory literary accounts (of various genres) concerning the East suggests that at the time Valignano is writing the West is still in the process of constructing the Oriental Other. In his seminal *The Location of Culture*, Homi Bhabha discusses the role of stereotype as a feature of colonial discourse, specifically the process of subjectification through the construction and implementation of stereotypes. Though Bhabha’s observations are useful in the discussion of early modern intercultural encounters, it is important to recall that he is considering colonial discourse from a later Western colonialism with modern nation states that have clear political and ideological agendas. Within this context, Bhabha defines the colonial discourse of power as an “apparatus that turns on the recognition and disavowal of racial/cultural/historical differences” and ultimately aims to justify the conquest and subsequent establishment of administrative and educational systems over the colonized

propagated on a belief in their inferior or degenerate nature (100-101). Portuguese colonialism in Japan during the sixteenth century, as we have seen, was based upon a “soft” or economic form of colonialism while Portuguese military intrusions in other areas, such as India and Africa, followed a more “harsh” or totalizing model of colonialism. However, within both colonial frameworks the peoples encountered, no matter what their level of cultural complexity, were considered by Europeans to be “heathens” or non-Christians and therefore in need of conversion by missionaries, which would then entail education and cultural transformation, on either a small or large scale depending on the European assessment of the indigenous culture.

Bhabha contends that within the process of subjectification colonial discourse demands the articulation of forms of difference (specifically racial and sexual) (96). In the context of the *Historia* and *Sumario*, Valignano articulates racial and religious difference which is then intimately tied to cultural hierarchization. Within his *Historia*, he begins by establishing a very clear dichotomy between the European missionary and the non-Christianized non-European Other.

[Esta historia] ayudará y animará mucho a los nuestros [...] con ver los exemplos tan vivos de los trabajos que sus mesmos Hermanos padecieron, y la buena y grande prueba que dieron de sus virtudes en plantar y cultivar entre gente tan inculta y bárbara tanta christiandad, como en diversas partes hizieron [...]

[This history] will aid and inspire our members [...] as it shows lively examples of the trials that their own Brothers endured and the good and great proof they have given of their virtues in planting and cultivating such Christianity among uncultured and savage peoples, as they have done in various places [...] (2-3)

This passage leads us to consider in what ways Valignano’s audience is anticipating and reacting to the author’s construction of the familiar and the unfamiliar. He reiterates his desire to inspire a new generation of missionaries with the deeds of the previous generation, and to this end, he describes the missionaries to the East as pious men in similar terms to the Apostles in Acts and

the non-Christian Other as an uncivilized counterpart who can only be converted with great difficulty, emphasizing the missionaries' virtuous piety and almost heroic effort to effect their conversion. The European is constructed as the bringer of civilization and conversely the non-Christian, non-European Other is presented as savage and uncivilized to justify their religious and cultural conversion by the Society of Jesus. In her discussion of race in Alonso de Sandoval's *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, Margaret Olsen notes that Sandoval faces the rhetorical challenge of both emphasizing cultural and racial difference in order that Europeans view the mission to African slaves as a worthwhile venture while simultaneously underscoring sameness so that the mission is perceived as viable (84). Valignano's task can be interpreted in much the same way. The stereotype of the uncivilized savage Other, however, is not sustained throughout the work, particularly in the discussion of the Japanese whom he views as civilized, with a culture equivalent to that of Europe if not superior, yet the construction of the uncivilized Other acts as a blanket justification for Jesuit global civilizing and proselytizing projects. Because the stereotype breaks down under scrutiny, or, to borrow from Bhabha, lacks "fixity," it is established at the beginning of the work to provide an interpretative frame for the narratives to follow and reiterated within specific missions in order to reinforce the Jesuits' role as the conveyors of knowledge and civilization to the East.

In the *Historia*, the narrative depiction of the missionaries and their journeys forms the major framework into which the descriptions of the individual missions are inserted. Valignano begins his history of the missions in the East (including that of Japan) with the person of Francis Xavier whom he praises as the first member of the Company to travel to the East and as the founder of the existing missions there (*Historia* 3-4). While Schütte describes Valignano's treatment of Xavier as the telling "of his life of virtue and his ardent apostolate with simple

objectivity” (Part 2 316), Valignano in fact makes Xavier’s life something of an *exemplum* which he encourages future missionaries to imitate. The first chapter provides a brief biography of Xavier and describes his role as a founding member of the Society of Jesus, and the following two chapters develop the narrative of the missionaries’ travels and describe the journey of Xavier and his companions to India, ending with their arrival at Goa. Chapter four stops the forward momentum of the narrative of Xavier’s travels to instead begin a series of chapters that situate India in its cultural, religious and political context through European eyes; Valignano will later use the same structure in his discussion of Japan.

He begins the chapter by pointing out the nebulous nature of the term “India” for Europeans since it is used to refer to a wide range of geographical locations. Paradoxically, he both tries to correct this construction of India by making it quantifiable and upholds it by denying its ability to be quantified, reflecting the incompatible mixing of classical, medieval and contemporary cosmovisions common during the early modern period. In describing the European conception of India, he repeatedly uses the term “infinite.” For example, he attempts to map out the limits of India, “llega hasta Persia y Ethiopia por una parte, y por otra incluye los reynos de Bisnagà, de Pegù, de Bengala y de Syòn, y passa a Malàca y Malùco [...]” [it extends to Persia and Ethiopia in one part, and in another it includes the kingdoms of Bisnagar, Pegu, Bengal and Sion, and passes through Malacca and Molucca] (*Historia* 23) but concludes by stating that it extends to China and Japan “que es cosa infinita” [which is an infinite part] (23). He continues to wrestle with the competing European narratives of India as both scientifically quantifiable (modern) and imaginatively infinite (medieval) in his description of the lands and peoples,

Y por todas estas partes ay innumerable multitud de provincias y reynos muy grandes y poderosos, unos de gente blanca, otros de color baça, y otros morenos, que difieren grandemente entre sí, y de los unos a los otros ay grandíssima

destancia y grande diversidad de climas, qualidades y costumbres, de lo qual todo sería infinita tratar [...]

And throughout these parts there is an innumerable multitude of great and powerful provinces and kingdoms, some of white people, others of people of dull color, and others of dark skin, that greatly differ among each other, and there are great distances between them and great diversity in their climates, qualities and customs, which to treat all of this would be infinite [...] (23)

By depicting India as unquantifiable and infinite, he assigns an imaginative function to its geographical and cultural construction. At the beginning of his *Historia*, he offered both the European fascination with the East and a desire to clarify misconceptions as reasons for writing this work. Though he does spend considerable time describing specific places and peoples, in this passage at least he retains the mystery surrounding India that would be familiar to his European readers. In his *Orientalism*, Said draws upon Gaston Bachelard's poetics of space to explain the European construction of the Orient as an imaginative space (55). According to Bachelard, the actual objects of a geographical place, such as a house, are not as important as the poetic qualities assigned to it, such as homelike, prisonlike, etc., and these qualities usually have an imaginative or figurative value. Building upon Bachelard's argument, Said reasons that "space acquires emotional and even rational sense by a kind of poetic process, whereby the vacant or anonymous reaches of distance are converted into meaning for us here" (55). Though the Orient was not fully constructed in the Western imagination, as it would be from the Enlightenment forward, Valignano is responding to the legacy of literature (particularly medieval travel narratives as well as contemporary accounts) constructing India as a vast and quasi-magical space in its diversity and variety, both of peoples and places, unseen in Europe. Said offers a potential answer to the question of why Valignano would describe India as both quantifiable and infinite: "For there is no doubt that imaginative geography and history help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what

is close to it and what is far away” (55). We might then read Valignano’s descriptions of India as “infinite” in direct contrast with the perceived “finiteness” of Europe, which might also have provided justification for global imperial expansion. The infiniteness of the world outside of Europe, in addition to offering boundless opportunities, could also be interpreted as chaotic and unruly in nature and in need of the tempering influence of the West. In this vein, Olsen further develops the contrast of Europe’s “finiteness” with the “infiniteness” of the world outside of Europe in her analysis of Sandoval’s descriptions of Africa as a chaotic space of boundless diversity and variety when she states, “[...] an emphasis on the infinite variety of error and chaos of Africa [...] represents greater potential for, and provides justification for, imposition of colonial organization and order. [...] The chaos perceived to exist within Africa suggests a greater possibility for regeneration through colonization, or through salvation from the missionary perspective” (99). In this paradigm, the infinite diversity of India is perceived as something that needs to be reduced culturally and religiously to the norms of Catholic Europe through the social imposition of colonialism and religious conversion. To view India as an infinite and diverse space solidified its geographical and cultural difference from a finite and familiar Europe, but this difference also prompted the European desire for erecting sameness through colonialism and conversion.

After being situated in the European construction of “India,” Japan is not mentioned again until chapter fifteen which recounts Xavier’s plans to go there. The chapter begins by emphasizing the growth and success of the mission in the East. The mission was founded in 1545 by Xavier and three others who arrived shortly after him, and the following year eight more missionaries arrived to support the work. Once Valignano has described the work of the newly arrived missionaries, he returns to the figure of Xavier who is waiting to return to Goa and aid

the mission there when he is diverted by news of the Japanese from Portuguese traders. During their efforts to expand their mercantile empire in the East, Portuguese traders aboard a Chinese junk encountered the isles of Japan at Tanegashima in 1543 (Elisonas “Christianity” 302). During this encounter, the Japanese were introduced to European-style firearms, and the potential benefits of conducting trade with the Portuguese were evident²⁹. The primary exports between China and Japan had been Chinese silk and gold and Japanese silver and copper, but before the arrival of the Portuguese, trade between the two Eastern powers had broken down, leading to unofficial trading practices via freebooters or pirates (Hall 137). The Portuguese merchants attempted to fill this commercial void by opening trade with Japan in 1545 and offering merchandise from China, such as silk, as well as exotic European commodities. According to Valignano, the Portuguese described the Japanese as “blanca y subjecta a la razón y despuesta a se convertir [...]” [white and subject to reason and willing to convert] (*Historia* 111). This description is in stark contrast with the description of the people of India to whom Xavier had intended to go. The positive description of the Japanese by the Portuguese merchants impassions Xavier to evangelize them, but his decision to go to Japan is also a decision to reject the mission to Goa as being comparatively fruitless: “siendo tal la gente y tan diferente de toda la gente negra, se harían en ella más fructo y más servicio de nuestro Señor” [being such a people and so different from all the black peoples, among them would be more fruit and greater service to our Lord] (111).

²⁹ John Whitney Hall points out that the Japanese were not unfamiliar with gunpowder prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, but the Portuguese introduced them to the first accurately firing weapon that they had ever seen. As a result of this encounter, Japanese artisans who replicated the European-style firearm dubbed it “Tanegashima” (138).

Xavier's denigration of the black peoples of India reflects dominant Western beliefs about race during the early modern period, though it does not necessarily reflect the beliefs of later Jesuits such as Sandoval. At the time of Valignano's writing, "blackness" was inscribed with negative connotations from medieval and contemporary explanations of racial difference and metaphor relating to heat, sin and darkness (Olsen 100). More important, however, was the connection made between race and culture. Rotem Kowner remarks that "[f]or [Marco] Polo and his contemporaries, as well as for any other European explorer until the seventeenth century, the color white did not carry explicit racial connotations but signified culture, refinement, and a 'just like us' designation" (752). Olsen also points out the classically inspired European belief that race was in some way determined by force of mind, drawing from Aristotle's notion of imagination and providing an explanation for black parents giving birth to light-skinned children as well as white parents bearing dark-skinned children (100). Europeans could then ascribe black peoples with an inferior intellect based on the argument that they lacked imagination or reason to the degree of light-skinned peoples.

Valignano's description of the "gentile" people of Goa³⁰ in chapter four reflects the Western preoccupation with race as a marker of cultural sophistication. In his discussion of Renaissance ethnography in the East, Joan-Pau Rubiés notes the distinct levels of approval and disapproval given by Valignano to various non-European peoples, describing Valignano's remarks regarding the Indian people as "ruthless" (7). When considering the contrast between the mostly favorable descriptions of fair-skinned non-Europeans, such as the Chinese and Japanese, with the negative depictions of darker-skinned peoples, Rubiés concludes that in addition to general prejudices about race that Valignano might hold, as an educated Neopolitan aristocrat,

³⁰ Valignano does distinguish between the Indian Muslims whom he believes came from the Middle East (Mecca and Persia) and the gentile peoples of India who are the native population.

these negative biases might be the result of frustration with the small number of Indian converts, most of whom were from the lower working classes. He argues that it was this discouraging lack of success in the number and “quality” of their converts that led the Jesuits to look for better success in other lands (Rubiés 8). Commonly held negative beliefs about dark skin, such as excessive sinfulness and lack of imagination or reason, likely influenced Valignano’s interpretation of the less than successful Indian mission; however, in the background to the mission itself was the Portuguese *Patronato* and its militaristic and administrative role in India in contrast to its principally commercial role in China and Japan. Portuguese military and mercantile presence was much greater in India than it was in either China or Japan which changed the dynamic of the relationship between the missionaries and the indigenous peoples. Goa had been captured by the Portuguese in 1510 and became the capital of the Portuguese viceroyalty. Valignano’s comments then reflect a more “harsh” colonialism in which the eyes of the colonizer judge and depreciate the colonial subject: “Es universalmente esta gente (la qual es sobre lo preto y andan medio desnudos) despreciable y reputada por vil de los portugueses y de la demás gente de Europa [...]” [This people (who is decidedly dark and goes about half naked) is universally held in contempt and reviled as immoral by the Portuguese and all other Europeans] (*Historia* 24). Within this statement, Valignano reiterates the connection between race and cultural development and defines the people of Goa through a European judgment of their morals and culture, emphasizing the perspective of the Portuguese. He further privileges European knowledge of them by contrasting their view of themselves as “gente noble y limpia” [a noble and clean people] (25), which is given no credence, with the European categorization of them as those whom Aristotle argued were created by nature to serve (24). Valignano’s reliance on Aristotle to categorize the peoples of Goa reflects the Jesuits’ use of Scholasticism to

organize and categorize the world they encountered outside of Europe. It also depicts the ways in which classical notions of the “barbarian,” as a class of people who are by nature mentally and culturally inferior and who innately require a master, are applied to non-European peoples within the colonial context. Aristotle’s construct of the “barbarian” describes a category of human beings who are essentially limited, elevating slaves above domesticated beasts only in that slaves acknowledge the system and principles of authority and subordination. This construct when adopted by Xavier, and Valignano, via a university education, leads to a privileging of European culture and knowledge on the mission field, placing the European in the position to judge and evaluate the value of each society’s culture. By applying Aristotle’s concept of the barbarian, Xavier, as narrated by Valignano, and Valignano construct the cultural and mental potential of the peoples of Goa as limited and subsequently limit their potential usefulness to the growth of the Jesuit global mission.

Xavier’s decision to go to Japan, in hopes that the Japanese contribution to the mission will be greater, is also based upon his acceptance of the stereotypical construction of the people there by Europeans. As Valignano describes the scene, the impetus for the journey is the description of the Japanese brought by the Portuguese (“[...] davan tales nuevas de Japón, y dezían tantas cosas del ingenio, policía y costumbres de la gente de aquella tierra [...]” [they gave such news of Japan, and said such things about the wit, government and customs of the people of that distant land [...]] (*Historia* 111)). Both the people of Goa and the Japanese are limited by the boundaries of the European stereotypes with which they are inscribed. The Japanese are perceived as more useful to the mission than the peoples of Goa because they are constructed as white and rational and thus their capabilities are considered greater than those of the black inhabitants of India. Xavier accepts Portuguese knowledge of Japan as truth and

determines to go to there, and only afterwards is it mentioned that “para cumplir su desseo” [in order to fulfill his desire] a Japanese man is aboard the Portuguese *nao*. In her *Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak attempts to excavate the figure of the native informant from dominant modes of Western discourse, such as philosophy, history and literature, which have silenced the autochthon. She acknowledges the tenuousness of the project, precisely because the informant has been silenced, which precludes the availability of an authentic indigenous point of view which could now “reclaim its rightful place in the narrative of world history” (65) coupled with the temptation among scholars, either consciously or unconsciously, to manufacture the silent voice of the native informant and so doing fall into, and reinforce, the Western stereotypes and generalizations about the non-European Other. Within Valignano’s narrative of the foundation of the Japanese mission, Anjirō, the Japanese man aboard the Portuguese ship, occupies the space of the “native informant” who is a limited figure, both within his actual space in the narrative and by Valignano’s depiction of him, yet his presence in the text suggests a hybridity in that though Western knowledge of the Japanese is privileged the Jesuit construction of Japan, prior to their arrival, is in part determined by their relationship with Anjirō and his companions. Within the narrative, Anjirō is limited both in his influence over Xavier and as character in the narrative. As a character, he remains unnamed in the text until he is baptized as Paulo de Santa Fe (*Historia* 113), suggesting that as a heathen non-European he has no identity other than as a “native” and only gains an identity through conversion and integration into Western modes of categorization, specifically via a common religion (suggesting the eventual adoption of a Western cosmovision) and a Western name. He is described as an honored personage who has brought two servants with him, but his ability to influence Xavier’s opinion of the Japanese is limited by his linguistic abilities: “hablaba, aunque mal, alguna cosa

de nuestra lengua" [[he] spoke, although poorly, something of our language" (111). The narrative takes Anjirō's conversion for granted, but his inability to speak Portuguese fluently undermines the surety of the validity of his conversion as well as his appropriation of Western modes of thought. Valignano's narrative treatment of the events suggests that Xavier had decided to go to Japan prior to meeting Anjirō, privileging the knowledge of the Japanese constructed by the Portuguese over the genuine article, but the missionary views Anjirō, and his companions, as a potential asset and instrument of the mission because he is a Japanese native who has received the Christian faith and is learning Portuguese so that he can guide, aid and interpret for the Jesuits on the mission (*Historia* 112). Within the narrative, the figure of Anjirō is silenced, never allowed to speak, except via the narrative voice of Valignano. His value is solely assessed in terms of his usefulness to the Jesuit mission to Japan— as a native, a convert and a future interpreter.

Leading into the narration of the founding of the mission in Japan, Valignano describes a thriving Catholic mission in the Orient that allows the missionaries to focus their efforts on the completely un-Christianized territory of Japan. The missionaries are constructed as figures worthy of imitation who are revered by their European compatriots and the inhabitants of the East, both Christian and non-Christian alike:

[...] [F]ué la Compañía creciendo con el crédito y fructo que agora vemos; y fué tan grande el exemplo que todos estos Padres dieron cada uno en su lugar, y tan grande el provecho que hizieron en las almas con sus sermones y doctrina, que en todas las partes donde estavan eran tenidos y llamados Padres sanctos, assí de los portuguesses como de los naturales de la tierra, christianos y infieles [...]

[T]he Company was gaining renown and fruit that we now see; and the example provided by all of these Fathers in each place was so great, and so great was the benefit done to souls by their sermons and doctrine, that throughout the places where they were they were taken for and called holy Fathers, by both the Portuguese and the natural inhabitants, Christian and pagan alike. (117-18)

This blanket description of the missionaries throughout India as saintly examples is then developed in the individual actions of the missionaries to Japan in chapter sixteen, which treats of their voyage. Within this section, Valignano occasionally draws upon the letters of Xavier to narrate the events which Valignano as the narrator of the *Historia* then contextualizes within the framework of the larger narrative he is writing, creating a heteroglossic narrative in which Xavier is both a character crafted by Valignano and a distinct narrative voice. The chapter begins by enumerating the various dangers involved in travelling to Japan, such as tsunamis, pirates, etc., but in the face of these dangers, the missionaries are portrayed as unafraid; indeed, Xavier is quoted in a letter to the Provincial of Portugal in which he writes that the perils of storms and pirates are of little consequence in comparison to disobeying God's will (*Historia* 121). In order to arrive at Japan as quickly as possible, the Jesuit missionaries board a Chinese pirate junk. The text does not comment on this decision on the part of the missionaries or the legal and cultural complexities involved in the Chinese pirate trade with Japan; instead, the episode is interpreted as a spiritual trial for the missionaries and further justification for extending the mission to China in the future (which Xavier later attempts to do, though unsuccessfully). Valignano describes the Chinese pirates as evil and treacherous and draws upon a letter written by Xavier during the voyage to the Brothers at the College in Goa which describes the Chinese (gentiles) as the servants of the devil because of their idolatry (122-3).³¹ This letter, at least from the perspective of Valignano, is meant to serve as a teachable text, declaring that it is worthy to be read (presumably aloud) for the warnings and advice taken from the real experiences of the missionaries (122). Through his description of the missionaries and the Chinese, Valignano establishes a clear dichotomy in which the missionaries are portrayed as saintly archetypes and

³¹ Xavier describes the Chinese pirates placing an idol at the stern of the ship and performing sacrifices to it (122-3).

the Chinese are pagan, idolatrous gentiles. Within the narrative of the missionaries' voyage with the Chinese to Japan, Valignano will draw upon this paradigm to explain the actions of each group in spiritual rather than merely temporal terms.

A great storm comes up resulting in the serious injury of one of the missionaries and the death of the captain's daughter. In his letter to the College of Goa, Xavier interprets the storm in spiritual terms, and Valignano likewise interprets the events through a spiritual lens. In Xavier's narration of the events, the devil becomes an active agent who manipulates both nature and the Chinese pirates. During the storm, the Chinese sailors make various sacrifices to their idol and cast lots which, from Xavier's perspective, continue to lead them to the wrong conclusions; the missionary interprets the lots as being under the control of the devil and his servants (*Historia* 123). The devil is also the principal cause of the storm which is designed to thwart the mission to Japan: "[...] me hizo N. Señor merced de darme a sentir por experiencia muchas cosas acerca de los feos y espantosos peligros y temores que pone el enemigo cuando Dios se lo permite" [I gave thanks to Our Lord for giving me knowledge through experience about the awful and frightening dangers and fears that the enemy of God can effect when permitted] (123). Because Xavier interprets the events in terms of a larger spiritual narrative, he defines the trial as a didactic example which can be read as directed to the students whom he hopes will one day take missionary journeys of their own:

[...] [L]os que se fundan en Dios, y desconfiando de sí ponen toda su confianza en él, quanto mayores son las tribulaciones, se ven con más ánimo, y nunca desmayan, entiendo que Dios es poderoso para los ayudar; y por esso ni el diablo con sus ministros, ni las muchas tempestades de la mar, ni la malicia de las gentes bárbaras y ferozes, ni otra criatura le puede hazer mal sin permisión y licencia de Dios.

Those who put their trust in God, and do not trust in themselves but put all their hope in him, however severe the tribulations, they encounter them full of energy, and never faint, understanding that God is powerful enough to help them; and

therefore neither the devil and his servants, nor the many storms of the sea, nor the hatred of barbarous and savage peoples, nor any other creature can do harm without the permission and license of God. (*Historia* 124)

It is intriguing that in his list of things that try to impede the missionaries' task of evangelizing he includes the hatred of native inhabitants. The impediments listed are portrayed as manifestations of the devil's limited power, that is to say power which he and his servants are allowed only at God's license, and inserted into the description of disastrous forces of nature and the potential for harm from wild animals (other creatures) is the hatred of uncivilized peoples whom the missionaries will encounter. The rejection of the missionaries (and presumably of the colonizing project of Europeans as well) is then constructed as a defiance of God's will. Since they are not rational, implied in their description as savages, it is not even solely their decision to make since their rejection and hatred of the missionaries is interpreted by the missionaries as a plot of the devil and his ministers to thwart the will of God. As Valignano concludes the chapter and the narrative of the missionaries' voyage to Japan, he interprets the actions of the Chinese captain in spiritual rather than temporal terms, following the narrative strategy of Xavier. After the great storm has subsided, the captain considers postponing their voyage to instead winter in the Canton islands, but in the end he decides to continue on to Japan. His decision to go to Japan is described by Valignano as the devil's will being thwarted: "de manera que ni el demonio ni sus ministros pudieron impedir nuestra yda a Japón" [in such a way that neither the devil nor his ministers were able to impede our arrival at Japan] (126). The Chinese captain is then merely a pawn in a spiritual struggle of which the Jesuits are aware while he is not.

Japan through Valignano's Eyes

Valignano breaks from the narrative of the missionaries' journeys and activities for three chapters in order to describe the peoples, customs and religious landscape of Japan. While these

chapters form a descriptive interlude to the narrative in the *Historia*, they serve as a starting point in his *Sumario* coming directly after the preface.³² Although the chapters are virtually identical in both works, the literary context in which they are framed differs significantly and subsequently produces distinct interpretations of each. While the reasons given at the beginning of the work in addition to the narrative of the missionaries provide the context for the chapters in the *Historia*, in the *Sumario* the preface offers an interpretative frame for the chapters. The *Sumario*, like the *Historia*, is directed to the current Father General of the Society, and Valignano provides three reasons for writing the work—the first being that Japan is in essentially everything “tan diferente y contrario de la India y de Europa, que no se puede en alguna manera entender cuál sea su estado y cuál haya de ser su gobierno, si no se hiciere de él un muy claro, distinto y copioso tratado.” [so different and contrary to India and Europe that one cannot understand in any way their state or how they are governed if it were not made perfectly clear and intelligible in a detailed treatise] (2). In the *Sumario*, Japan is singled out as being distinct from Europe and even from India while in the *Historia* it is placed within the cultural framework of India, and within the missionary narrative Japan forms only a part of the larger narrative of Jesuit missions in the East. Valignano signals this interpretive shift in his second reason stating that in previous works Japan was considered as a “cosa accesoria a la Provincia de la India” [accessory part of the Province of India] which led to an inconsistent and abbreviated treatment of the country. He also chooses to introduce the chapter dealing with the customs and qualities of the Japanese (which is the first chapter of the *Sumario* and chapter seventeen of the *Historia*) by emphasizing that the main body of the *Sumario* will deal with the work of the Society in Japan (*las casas y*

³² For more information relating to the dating of the two works see Alvarez Taladriz pp.179-180. He argues that the three chapters were written prior to the body of the *Sumario*, and possibly even prior to the *Historia*.

colegios y modo de gobierno que tiene nuestra Compañía y ha de tener en Japón) and that the description of the Japanese culture is merely a necessary starting point (4). In the *Historia*, these chapters serve to educate and entertain the reader as well as give background to the narrative of the missionaries' experiences in Japan. In contrast, in the *Sumario* these chapters provide background to the explanation of the way the Society has conducted the mission in Japan as well as Valignano's suggestions for the future of the mission.

When describing the Japanese both racially and culturally, Valignano employs and amplifies the positive stereotypes attributed them by the Portuguese and Xavier, which are intimately tied to Valignano's view of the capabilities of the Japanese people and their potential contribution to the mission. He depicts the Japanese as “toda blanca y de mucha policía, porque aun los plebeyos y labradores son entre sí bien criados y a maravilla corteses” [completely white and quite civilized, so that even the common people and laborers among them are well mannered and wondrously courteous] (*Sumario* 5). Rotem Kowner affirms that many early European visitors to Japan, such as Xavier and Valignano, constructed an ethnic hierarchy of Asian peoples and placed the Japanese at its pinnacle (755). Valignano, like Xavier, constructs the Japanese as more capable than any other people that the Society has encountered in the East and thus more useful to the mission, and accordingly the Japanese were the first Asians allowed admittance to the Society, an honor that was not given to any other Asian peoples until it was later extended to the Chinese and Koreans (Kowner 756). In the context of the *Historia*, this stereotype might have been employed to encourage future missionaries to join the work in Japan, but in the context of the *Sumario*, it can be seen as Valignano's construction of the Japanese and their role in the mission. Within his writings, Valignano draws a clear distinction between his construction of the Japanese and their present and future potential to the mission with that of Francisco

Cabral, Mission Superior from 1570 to 1580. In a letter sent to the general from Usuki on Oct. 27, 1580, Valignano describes the power relationship between European missionaries and the Japanese members as asymmetrical under Cabral's leadership: "In theory and practice it was generally held that the Japanese *irmãos*³³ must be kept in subjection and, therefore, be treated harshly and in a manner quite different from that in which Europeans were treated. They were regarded more as servants than as religious brethren" (qtd. in. Schütte Part 1 253). According to Valignano, Cabral also feared that due to their "innate pride," the Japanese would eventually attempt to exert their authority over the European missionaries (251). For this reason, he did not allow them to receive instruction in Latin or Portuguese, and though the Japanese were the principal preachers, they were not given ecclesiastical training, because "if they studied they would have little respect later for [the] European Society" (254). Valignano's description of the mission under Cabral's leadership suggests that some Jesuit missionaries did not hierarchize non-Europeans into distinct cultural and racial levels that were then used as the basis for their mission strategies. Rather, Valignano's depiction of Cabral suggests that within the Society there were those who held to a simplistic dichotomy of us (Europeans) versus them (all non-Europeans), and it was paramount that Europeans maintain authority over the non-European Other.

Fifteen years after his first trip to Japan, the Visitor to the East poignantly describes the racial and ethnic bias of Cabral as a factor in his poor treatment of the Japanese: "He [Cabral] spoke very harshly and angrily to them, called them niggers and men of low class, and used other offensive and impolite expressions in dealing with them," expecting them to conform to European customs rather than the Portuguese to theirs because "they were, after all, only niggers and their habits were barbarous" (qtd in Schütte Part 1 255-6). Within this passage, Valignano

³³The Portuguese term for the brothers in the Society

depicts Cabral as extending negative racial stereotypes and the classical notion of the barbarian, both of which Valignano attributed to the people of Goa, to the Japanese. In this way, Cabral attempts to limit the Japanese potential and power within the mission, as both Valignano and Xavier do to the black peoples of Goa. Conversely, Valignano's depiction of the Japanese as white and civilized, the opposite of dark-skinned and savage, is designed to amplify the role of the Japanese in the mission, even going so far as to construct them as superior to all other Asians and even to Europeans in terms of their courtesy and mental capabilities. He contends that their children learn literacy in European languages more quickly than European children and that the members of the lower classes in Japan are not as coarse and limited as lower class Europeans (*Sumario* 5). These positive descriptions of the Japanese, however, do not suggest to Valignano that there is then no need for European intervention but rather that the Japanese already possess a cultural foundation upon which the Society of Jesus can build and which can be transformed, evidenced by his emphasis on the children's ability to learn European languages rather than their adeptness in their native language. Valignano's description of the Japanese children as "muy hábiles para depender todas nuestras ciencias y disciplinas [...]" [fully capable of learning all of our sciences and disciplines] echoes the Portuguese descriptions of the Japanese to Xavier as white (demarcating them as civilized) and willing to convert; both of these constructions emphasize Japanese intelligence and civility and the potential for cultural transformation, underscoring Valignano's vision for the spread of Christianity in Japan through the conversion of local lords (who can then encourage mass conversion within their realms) and the creation of a Japanese Christian culture through education of young people in European modes of thought and belief within Jesuit schools and seminaries. Valignano's construction of the Japanese is based

upon a stereotype which he inherited from Xavier, but it is also directly linked to his plans for the Japanese mission.

As part of his description of Japanese culture and customs, Valignano attempts to map out the complexities of *sengoku* Japan for his European audience. Contrary to Xavier's initial belief that Japan was a unified empire, the Jesuits entered into a country divided and weakened by war. At the time of their arrival, the ruling central government, the Ashikaga shogunate, was ineffectual and the *daimyo*, or regional lords, held considerable power in their respective domains (Elisonas "Christianity" 304). The country was divided into approximately sixty-six provinces, some of which were in a state of civil war (Boxer *Christian Century* 41). Valignano describes their government as "most strange" (7) and underscores the turbulent and shifting nature of power in Japan at the time:

Con esta confusión y con estas guerras unos bajaron y otros se levantaron y hicieron grandes, y así unos quedaron solamente con el nombre de sus antiguas dignidades y preeminencias, aunque con poco o ninguno mando en la tierra, y otros quedaron con la dignidad y con el mando [...]

With such confusion and wars some are brought low while others are raised to power and made great, and thus some are left with only their ancient dignities and privileges, though with little to no power to command, and others retain the dignity and power to command. (*Sumario* 13)

He constructs the Japanese as by their very nature a war-like people and attributes personality traits, both positive and negative, to them based on *sengoku* culture, which he then relates to his vision for Japan. The positive traits, which reflect Christian values, highlight the cultural sameness of the Japanese, suggesting that conversion to European/Christian modes of thinking is possible. Negative attributes which relate to the "heathen" or "gentile" vices of the Japanese emphasize the need for cultural and religious transformation and justify the Jesuits' mission to Japan. In the way of positive attributes, Valignano characterizes the Japanese peoples as patient

and longsuffering as the result of enduring harsh weather and constant turns of fate, which he claims they do without complaint (*Sumario* 19-21). In the following chapter (chapter two of the *Sumario* and chapter eighteen of the *Historia*) which treats “otras extrañas costumbres” [other strange customs] of the Japanese, he lists what he considers to be many of the vices of the Japanese. Though the Japanese are worthy of praise and are superior to other Asians and even to Europeans in some respects, he points out that as gentiles they are subject to live “metidos en grandes vicios y pecados [...]” [mired in great vices and sins] (25). He attributes these vices in part to the constant wars which he argues “hacen a los hombres crueles y deshumanos” [make men cruel and inhumane] (26). Among the vices of the Japanese that are direct consequences of their warlike culture are their lack of fidelity to their lords, whom vassals rise up against, and the ease and cruelty with which they kill one another, including infanticide by women. Within these descriptions of the Japanese is the subtext of the need for European forms of civilization and spiritual conversion.

Although Valignano does emphasize the similarities between the Japanese and Europeans, he spends a large portion of his description of Japan emphasizing the dissimilarities of the Japanese and their culture from the West. In chapter two of the *Sumario*, which is chapter eighteen of the *Historia*, he comments that the Japanese “[t]ienen también otros ritos y costumbres tan diferentes de todas las otras naciones, que parece que estudiaron de propósito cómo no se conformar con ninguna gente” [also have other rituals and customs that are so different from that of all other nations, that it appears as though it was their intent to study how to not conform to any other people] (*Sumario* 33). Valignano considers the singularity of the Japanese with ambiguity, seeing it as both a marker of their sameness with Europe, in that they possess a sophisticated culture and society, while at the same time acknowledging that it poses a

grave challenge to the Jesuit mission. He constructs the Japanese as culturally distinct from all other peoples and the cultural opposite of Europe, commenting that, “[R]ealmente se puede decir que Japón es un mundo al revés de cómo corre Europa, porque es en todo tan diferente y contrario que casi en ninguna cosa se conforman con nosotros [...]” [it can truly be said that Japan is a world opposite from how things are done in Europe, because it is so completely different and contrary in everything that in practically nothing do they conform to us] (33). He maps out some of the specific ways in which the Japanese differ from Europeans ranging from the domestic (the ways they dress, eat, build their homes, raise their children, etc.) to their very knowledge of the world (language, medicine, and their modes of self-expression) (33-4). Schütte interprets Valignano’s “great stress” on the cultural differences between Europeans and Japanese as an explanation for his mission policies since without this context “the whole system of adaptation would not be understood by the authorities in Rome” (Part 2 274). However, Valignano’s insistence on the cultural oppositeness of the Japanese goes beyond the pragmatic. As a consequence of this cultural difference, he constructs the Japanese as essentially unknowable to Europeans (as he similarly constructed “India” as unknowable because it is infinite), stating that “[...] en todo lo demás es tan grande la diferencia y contrariedad que no se puede escribir ni entender” [in everything else so great is the difference and antipode that it can neither be written nor understood] (34).

According to Valignano, the cultural difference that exists between the Japanese and the Europeans defies articulation. In his discussion of early modernist colonial writing, Bhabha explores colonial silence in conjunction with what he terms the language of colonial nonsense which displaces “those dualities in which the colonial space is traditionally divided: nature/culture, chaos/civility” (177), thus both colonial silence and colonial nonsense threaten

and defy the categorization of the Other within Western modes of knowledge. When faced with the non-European Other, Europeans, both medieval and early modern, attempted to understand the unknown by extending the Western cosmovision to the new situation and categorizing it within an already existing mode of knowledge, such as the extension of Aristotle's definition of the barbarian to peoples in the Americas and Asia. However, Valignano's preoccupation with his inability to translate or articulate the Japanese in ways which he believes Europeans would understand can also be seen as a concern over the limits of Western modes of knowledge when confronted with an indiscernible Other. From this perspective, this silence or inability to define the Other can be seen as the Jesuit sketching out the limits of "the social performance of language" (Bhabha 177) as well as the limits of Western forms of knowledge. For Valignano, Japanese culture is indefinable in a similar way to E.M. Forester's India in *A Passage to India*, which reflects the 20th century British construction of India as foreign, exotic and essentially unknowable:

How can the mind take hold of such a country? Generations of invaders have tried, but they remain in exile. The important towns they build are only retreats, their quarrels the malaise of men who cannot find their way home. India knows of their trouble. She knows of the whole world's trouble, to its uttermost depth. She calls "Come" through her hundred mouths, through objects ridiculous and august. But come to what? She has never defined. She is not a promise, only an appeal. (Forester 135)

Forester constructs India as a land that has never truly been conquered by the invaders; she (in keeping with Forester's construction of India as feminine) has suffered because though they can possess her physically they cannot control her precisely because they cannot possess her mentally or understand her, leaving them powerless and broken in the end. Her foreignness and unintelligibility to the European is evident even in her call which is through a myriad of mouths, monstrous and grotesque in its oddity, and through objects that are "ridiculous and august." In a

similar way, Valignano depicts the Japanese culture as beyond the grasp of Western understanding and, more disconcertingly for the Jesuit mission, therefore somewhat outside the grasp of Western control. Even in matters of the mundane or ordinary Valignano advances an apprehension at the European inability to comprehend the culture. When describing the instruments used during the tea ceremony, which the Japanese valued greatly and could tell which were of high quality and which were not, he claims that “este conocimiento no parece que podrá nunca alcanzar ningún hombre de Europa, porque por mucho que los miremos no podemos acabar de conocer en qué consiste el valor ni en qué está la diferencia” [it seems as though this knowledge could never be possessed by a European man, because no matter how much we examine them we can never understand of what their value consists nor how they are distinct] (*Sumario* 47).

Valignano’s apprehension over the limits of European knowledge led him to three distinct conclusions: the first was to consider the cultural distinctiveness of Japan as an explanation for apparent failures by earlier European missionaries; the second was to overcome the boundaries of European knowledge through the expansion of categories and modes of thought via cultural accommodation and appropriation; the third was for greater participation of the Japanese Christians in the mission as the moderators of language and culture between the East and the West and through further education and conversion to create Japanese Christians who mimicked Western culture. His narration of Xavier’s attempts to learn the Japanese language and cultural practices in the *Historia* provides an example of the missionaries’ inability to conform to the Japanese linguistically and culturally and its disastrous consequences for the growth of the mission. Valignano takes care to point out that as soon as the first missionaries to Japan arrived they began to “procurer informarse con mucho estudio de la qualidades y costumbres de la tierra,

y aprender alguna cosa de la lengua [...]” [attempt to inform themselves of the qualities and customs of the land through intense study, and to learn something of the language] (*Historia* 164). However, their attempts proved less fruitful than they had hoped because, as Valignano explains, the customs and language “tan diferentes son de las nuestras: y como sean ellas tales que no se pueden deprender de priessa, sino muy despacio y con mucho tiempo [...]” [are so different from our own: and being such that they cannot be learned quickly but only slowly and with much time] (164). The missionaries’ inability to grasp both the language and the culture of Japan left them essentially powerless and unable to influence or persuade the Japanese to convert, leaving them feeling “muy atados y nuevos” [very constrained and new] and reliant upon their Japanese guide, Paulo de Santa Fe (Anjirō). The Jesuits decide to translate Christian doctrine into Japanese, a task which was undertaken by Anjirō and Xavier. In his explanation of the failure of this document, which is described as laughable, Valignano points the finger at Anjirō, whom he describes as unlettered and lacking in literary knowledge, essentially arguing that the failure of the document is the result of Anjirō’s insufficient knowledge of his own culture (specifically Buddhist scholarship). While various scholars have, to varying degrees, echoed Valignano’s point that Anjirō was unfamiliar with Buddhist philosophical literature and therefore was ill equipped to appropriate its terminology for the Christian mission, the failure of the translation embodies a larger and more disturbing lack of understanding on the part of Xavier (who does not grasp the full meaning of the Buddhist concepts he attempts to appropriate) and Anjirō (whose understanding and acceptance of Christian doctrine might not be as profound as the missionaries wish).

While Valignano in no way faults the missionaries for their inability to learn the Japanese language or grasp the distinctiveness of Japanese cultural practices, he does consider the

Japanese at fault for what he considers their cultural inflexibility. He acknowledges that the missionaries' inability to communicate in Japanese is a hindrance to their mission: "y como por falta de lengua no podían declarar bien sus conceptos, ni satisfacer del todo a sus preguntas y questões [...]" [and due to their lack of knowledge of the language they could not declare their concepts well, nor satisfy everyone's questions and concerns] (*Historia* 165), but also points out that their efforts made them the objects of ridicule, lowering their standing among the Japanese: "[...] [N]o sabían bien la lengua, y por la qualidad y elegancia della el hablar y escrebir de otra manera de lo que se usa movía a riso, explicavan lo que dezían, y leyan tan bárbaramente, que no se podia oyr sin riso [...]" [They didn't know the language well and because of the quality and elegance of it speaking and writing it in a way which the Japanese were unused to provoked laughter, [the missionaries] explained what they said, and read so barbarously, that one could not hear it without laughing] (177). Their inability to communicate well and conform to the customs of the Japanese is met with persecution and insult when they attempt to preach in the streets and on their journeys throughout Japan. In his narration of their journey to Miyako, Valignano describes their poor treatment as the result of character flaws among the Japanese, specifically their pride and self-centeredness.

[P]orque como los japones son altivos y sobervios, y tienen puesto todo su ser y negocio en ceremonias exteriores, y costumbres muy diferentes de las de toda otra nación del mundo, como está dicho, a las quales están ellos tan atados, que no estiman en nada todas las otras gentes, especialmente los que no saben sus costumbres y ceremonias, viendo el Padre y el Hermano se tratavan con tanto desprecio, y tenían vida y modo de proceder tan diferente de lo que en Japón se usa, eran tenidos en tan poca cuenta y reputación, que por todas las partes, así en las embarcaciones por mar, como en la tierra, los tratavan como a hombres baxos y de ninguna cuenta [...]

[B]ecause the Japanese are arrogant and proud, and they place all of their being and affairs in external ceremonies, and customs that are markedly different from those of every other nation in the world, as is said, which they are so tied to that they don't value any other peoples, especially those who do not know their

customs and ceremonies, seeing the Father and the Brother they treated them with great contempt, they had life and a way of doing things that was so different from the Japanese, they were considered of no account and of such poor reputation everywhere, aboard ship and on land, they treated them as lowly men of no worth. (*Historia* 172)

In this passage, Valignano describes the Japanese peoples' attachment to their culture as a national flaw. He places himself in a position to judge the Japanese reaction to the missionaries because, from his perspective, he is more knowledgeable of the world than the Japanese, through travel and exposure to multiple cultures, and as one who possesses the truth (Western civilization and Christianity). He interprets their cultural-centrism and inflexibility as particularly irksome in light of its antipodal relationship to all other cultures he has yet encountered (as he hyperbolically states from "every other nation in the world"). He also interprets the inability of the Japanese to accept the missionaries as Europeans following European customs as a consequence of their sinfulness—pride and arrogance—as non-Christian non-European gentiles. The Japanese attachment to their culture and the European difficulty (and perhaps inability) to understand the language and culture of Japan led Valignano to emphasize cultural accommodation on the part of the European missionaries as a pragmatic measure. His interpretation of the Japanese, as lacking in knowledge which Europeans possess, particularly the Christian religion and a global perspective, led him to encourage the cultural transformation of the Japanese through conversion and a Jesuit-led system of education.

Cultural accommodation, also known as enculturation within the field of missiology, became the hallmark of Valignano's mission policy in Japan and later China. In her discussion of the Christian Century in Japan, Haruko Nawata Ward emphasizes the distinctiveness that the policy of accommodation had to the Asian mission:

The Jesuits of Japan's Christian Century practiced 'cultural accommodation' or persuasion rather than the forced conversion of the Spanish conquistadors.

Following the model of Francis Xavier, many missionaries in Japan, such as Gnegchi-Soldo Organtino, first followed the method of accommodation in their work in the field, and later Alessandro Valignano, Visitor to the East, articulated and developed this method as suitable also for the Jesuit mission in China (“Jesuits, Too” 640-1).

The need for cultural accommodation was in part due to the antipodal nature of Japanese and European cultures but, as Nawata Ward implies in her comparison of the distinct mission strategies in the Americas and Asia, was also related to the lack of Portuguese military and administrative presence in Japan. Within Japan, the Jesuits’ primary means of influencing the culture was through their association with the Portuguese *nao* and powerful local *daimyo*. These regional rulers held power and prestige in part due to their use and manipulation of cultural practices, and the Jesuits’ ignorance or outright denial of these practices made conversion less appealing. In a letter to the General in 1595, Valignano, reflecting on the state of the Japanese mission during his first visit, articulates the Japanese dissatisfaction with the Society of Jesus by quoting the *daimyo* of Bungo,

It looked foolish for a handful of foreigners (*quatro hombres forasteros*) to expect Japanese feudal lords and knights to give up their own customs and forms of courtesy and conform to theirs, while they themselves adhered to their own native ways, which in Japanese eyes were barbarous and boorish. (qtd in Schütte Part 1 259)

For Valignano, the solution to the cultural divide between the Europeans and Japanese was to require missionaries to appropriate and adapt to native customs. In his *Sumario*, he views cultural accommodation as but another sacrifice asked of the missionaries that is essential for the success of the mission: “pues por amor de Dios dejamos nuestras tierras y pasamos tantos trabajos para ir a ayudar [a] los japones, no perdamos el fruto y el trabajo por no nos querer acomodar a ellos” [since out of our love for God we left our native lands and passed through so many trials to go and help the Japanese, we will not lose the fruit and the work because we did not want to

accommodate ourselves to them] (201). Valignano's decision to adapt to the cultural surroundings of the mission was not in itself novel; as Andrew Ross points out, in both the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions* "adaptation to local circumstances is basic to the Jesuit way of proceeding" ("Alessandro Valignano" 348). At the Consultation of Bungo, the Jesuits decided to adopt Japanese cultural practices that were not considered ethically or morally offensive, such as practices regarding food and its preparation, entertaining guests, norms of personal and domicile cleanliness, etc.³⁴ Although the Jesuits adopted various Japanese cultural practices, it is important to note that the Society of Jesus still remained Western in its outlook; Western culture and values, particularly Christian values, were still privileged and provided the standards for what they considered ethical and moral, informing their judgments of Japanese culture. In addition to the adoption of practices designed to minimize the discomfort of Japanese Christians, Valignano also carved out a social position for Jesuits (European and Japanese) within Japanese society in his *Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumes e catangues de Jappão* (1581). In this work, written in consultation with Christian *daimyo*, he explains that by not adapting to Japanese customs, the Jesuits threaten the growth of the mission by alienating themselves: "As a result of our not adapting ourselves to their customs, two serious evils followed, as indeed I realized from experience. They were the chief source of many others: First, we forfeited the respect and esteem of the Japanese, and second, we remained strangers, so to speak, to the Christians" (qtd. in. Schütte Part 2 163). The practice of cultural accommodation became an integral part of the Japanese mission, so much so that the Jesuit missionary Gnecci-

³⁴ For more detailed information about the Jesuits' cultural accommodation see Schütte *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan. Vol. 1 From His Appointment until His Departure from Japan (1573-1582) Part 2: The Solution (1573-1580)* pp. 41-48. The Jesuits, with the aid of the daimyo of Bungo, also compiled a code of good manners that members of the Society were expected to follow.

Soldo Organtino, superior of the mission in Miyako, would declare “I am more a Japanese than an Italian, for the Lord by his grace has transformed me into one of that nation” (110).

While the desire for cultural accommodation is based upon the assumption that Europeans can conform to Japanese culture, ideally becoming as comfortable with the Japanese as Gnechi-Soldo Organtino claims to be, Valignano still voices concern over the limits of European knowledge and the ability of the European to understand the Japanese Other. In chapter sixteen of his *Sumario*, Valignano points out the potentially harmful nature of the cultural differences between the Japanese and the Europeans for the future of the mission. He acknowledges that first among the reasons that it is difficult to maintain a spirit of unity between the European and Japanese members of the Society is the vast cultural chasm between them. He sees the cultural divide between the two as more than merely external differences, contending that they are instead the result of distinctive differences in the nature of Japanese and Europeans as human beings:

[N]o parece accidental sino intrínseca y natural por ser como fundada en la naturaleza, pues en el entendimiento y en los sentidos corporales comúnmente discrepan y desconciertan de tal manera que lo que parece bien a los unos no contenta a los otros y, así, en las opiniones de las cosas agibles no concuerdan [...] y donde hay tanta contrariedad natural, es muy dificultosa la unión.

[[The difference] doesn't seem accidental but rather intrinsic and natural as though formed in nature, even in bodily thoughts and feelings they are often at odds and are perplexing to such an extent that what seems good to one doesn't content the other and, thus, in opinions over how to do things they cannot agree [...] and where there is such natural divergence of opinion, union is very difficult.] (*Sumario* 198-9)

Valignano's depiction of the Japanese as intrinsically distinct from Europeans reflects concerns over the limits of European knowledge and the European inability to understand the Japanese, even as a fellow human being. This preoccupation over the limits of the European to adapt to, and even understand, the Japanese influences his recommendations to Rome for the future of the

mission. In chapters eight and nine of his *Sumario*, Valignano discourages Rome from sending a bishop or members of other religious orders to Japan, citing cultural considerations for both. As his third point against a bishop for Japan, he highlights the difficulties a European would have in conforming to Japanese culture and also the necessity of this accommodation for the success of the mission:

La tercera es porque las cualidades y modo de vivir de Japón en todo son tan contrarias no solamente a nuestras costumbres y modo de proceder, mas aun a nuestro natural [...] que es gracia pensar que un obispo extranjero se quiera acomodar a los costumbres, comeres, lengua, vida y modo de proceder en Japón, porque todo esto le ha de costar tanto que si fuera hombre no querrá obispar con tanta mortificación y si fuera santo no querrá ponerse a llevar tanta carga con tanto trabajo y distracción y sin poder hacer nada, Y no se acomodando a todo, no hay para qué venir a Japón, porque ni lo recibirá ni servirá de más que de abatimiento y escándelo de nuestra santa ley.

[The third reason is because the qualities and way of life in Japan are in everything so contrary not only to our customs and way of doing things, but even to our very nature [...] that it is amusing to think that a foreign bishop would want to accommodate himself to the customs, foods, language, life and way of doing things of Japan, all of which would cost him greatly so that if he were a mere man he would not want to perform the duties of a bishop with such mortifications, and if he were a saint, he would not want to take on such a great task requiring such work and distraction, and without being able to do anything, and if he didn't accommodate himself in everything, there would be no reason to come to Japan, because he would not be received and it would only serve to bring down disgrace and scandal upon our holy law. (*Sumario* 139)]

Valignano's recommendation against a European bishop underscores the extreme difficulty, and perhaps impossibility, of cultural accommodation within the Japanese mission. He contends that the potential success of a foreign bishop is slim at best because the Japanese are by their very natures markedly different from Europeans. In this passage, as in the earlier passage describing the missionaries to Japan, Valignano constructs cultural accommodation as a personal sacrifice (a mortification of the flesh) which is unappealing to the majority of religious leaders and even to

those who do not shy away from trials because it is stifling to the accomplishment of one's mission, as the first missionaries to Japan were restricted in their abilities to preach and teach.

It might be fair to say that in some ways Valignano viewed cultural accommodation by the Europeans as a stopgap measure to minimize the cultural conflicts between the missionaries and the Japanese in the here and now, particularly in light of his concern over the limits of European knowledge and the difficulty (and perhaps impossibility) of accommodating to a culture and people so antipodal, while his principal aim for the mission was the incorporation of Japanese members as equals. In his *Sumario*, he contends that the future success of the mission rests on the creation of native priests who “pueden confesar y decir misa y predicar a su voluntad buena doctrina, con la lengua y costumbres que saben, y con ser naturales, tendrán siempre mayores talentos para todo que los nuestros y serán más queridos y estimados de los de Japón [...]” [can take confession and say Mass and preach good doctrine freely, with the language and customs that they know, and being natives, they will always have greater talent for these things than we will and they will be loved and respected by the Japanese] (200). According to this line of reasoning, because the Japanese know their language and culture in a way the Europeans never will, they are the best equipped to minister to the Japanese population. From the perspective of Valignano, the European inability to understand and fully accommodate to the Japanese language and culture requires that Japanese Christians, who have appropriated European modes of thinking through education, be placed in positions of authority, perhaps even in a position as elevated as a bishop. He acknowledges, however, the rift this idea creates among the European members of the Society, particularly the Portuguese, whom he comments “están acostumbrados a llamar negros aun a los chinos y japonés” [are used to calling even Chinese and Japanese blacks] (*Sumario* 200). As we have seen earlier, race during the early modern period

was considered a marker of cultural level and was used as a justification for Iberian imperial and colonial projects. According to Valignano, the Portuguese members of the Society view the Japanese within the paradigm of Portuguese naval imperialism in which the Europeans are constructed as superior to the savage non-European Other. His descriptions of the mission under Francisco Cabral reflect this paradigm in which the Japanese were forced to accommodate themselves to European cultural practices, despite their abhorrence of them, and were held in positions of subservience partially due to European concerns that they might try to seize authority from the Western missionaries. Though Valignano's approach is in many ways quite the opposite, it is no less dependent upon the cultural transformation of the Japanese. Valignano acknowledges the cultural and political complexity of Japan and the distinct atmosphere of the mission due to the lack of Portuguese military and administrative presence, both of which, in his mind, make the colonial paradigm of the Portuguese irrelevant to Japan. However, the incorporation of Japanese into positions of authority within the mission requires that they appropriate Western modes of thought and knowledge through Jesuit-led education.

Early in the creation of their order, the Society of Jesus under the direction of Ignatius Loyola began establishing colleges and centers of education that rivaled the premier universities of Europe, such as those of Padua and Paris, and that promoted a tempered humanism and emphasized religious orthodoxy.³⁵ Valignano himself links the Jesuit tradition of education in Europe and other mission fields with that of Japan, but he also emphasizes the unique role of education in Japan as a principal means of cultural transformation via the cultivation of Christian Japanese youths who have appropriated Western knowledge. While the conversion of adult

³⁵ The first Jesuit college that admitted lay students opened in 1548 in Gandia, Spain (on the estates of the Duke Francis Borgia); by 1615, there were 372 Jesuit colleges worldwide and the number continued to grow (Donnelly 32).

Japanese, particularly *daimyo*, remained a goal of the mission, Valignano acknowledges that the antipodal nature of the two cultures leave the Japanese incapable of appropriating sufficient Western knowledge to fill positions of authority within the mission. Because neither European nor Japanese adults can fully grasp both cultures, Valignano contends that it is through the education of children that a hybrid culture can be formed that would one day replace the dominant gentile culture of Japan:

[...] [U]no de los mejores remedios que la Compañía halló, y los santos Concilios encomendaron, fué la buena educación de los niños, así porque son aptos a dejarse guiar por do hombre quiere, como también porque bebiendo desde la teta (como dicen) la virtud, las buenas costumbres y letras, quedan acostumbrados y hechos a eso después que son grandes [...] Y si esto es necesario en Europa y en las Indias, mucho más lo es en Japón, donde los niños, como se ha dicho, se crían tan viciosos y libres y donde no hay otros ningunos que los puedan enseñar sino los nuestros.

One of the greatest boons found by Company, and which the holy councils commanded, was the benefic education of children, because they are willing to be led where one wishes, and also because having suckled from the breast (as is said) such things as virtue, proper etiquette and letters, they remain accustomed to and defined by these these things afterwards when they are grown-up [...] And if this is necessary in Europe and in the Indies how much more so in Japan, where children, as has been said, are raised to be so depraved and unruly and where there is no one else who can teach them but us. (*Sumario* 170-1)

The curriculum promoted by Valignano for the Jesuit seminaries in Christian provinces was designed to fill the void left by the destruction of Buddhist temples, which had traditionally been centers of learning for the youths of prominent members of the community, and to impart Western forms of knowledge. To this end, children were to be taught to read and write in their native language, then to read Western books translated into Japanese (using the Roman alphabet) and finally to learn and read works in Latin . Although the aim of the seminaries, from the perspective of Valignano at least, was to create men who could fill positions of authority within the mission, the European Jesuits desired to maintain a firm control over the information taught

to the Japanese youths and in this way carefully mold their understanding of the West. The Japanese were to be sheltered from anything that might make them turn from the faith, which would require that texts be made specifically for them which contained “*simplemente lo substancial de las cosas y las verdades puras bien fundadas con sus pruebas, sin referir otras opiniones diversas y peligrosas ni herejías [...]*” [simply the substance of things and pure truths well founded with proofs, without referring to other divergent and dangerous opinions or heresies] (171). Valignano makes no qualms about his desire to restrict the knowledge of the Japanese and sees their isolation from other European influences as an advantage for the Society and its mission to direct the construction of the West, and particularly Christianity, in the minds of young Japanese men:

Y como estén tan apartados, y por mares tan tempestuosos, de todas las otras naciones y no tengan ninguna comunicación ni de ciencias ni de lengua ni de libros sino con nosotros, no saben más de nuestras tierras que lo que nosotros les decimos, ni tienen ninguna manera para llegar a saber Latín y nuestras ciencias si no es aprendiéndolas desde niños con nosotros.

And as they are so isolated, even by stormy seas, from all other nations and have no communication regarding sciences, language nor the exchange of books with anyone but us, they know nothing about our lands but what we tell them, nor do they have any means to learn Latin and our sciences but through learning them as children with us. (*Sumario* 178).

Valignano's desire to cultivate a hybrid generation of Japanese men who were comfortable and competent in the Japanese language and culture as well as European languages, culture and orthodox Catholicism can best be seen in the decision to send four Japanese youths to Europe. In 1582, four young Japanese noblemen from Kyushu departed for Lisbon with the Portuguese en route to the Papal court in Rome. They were to act as ambassadors to Europe, Mancio Itō representing the lord of Bungo, Miguel Chijiwa representing both the lords of Arima and Ōmura and Martinho Hara and Julião Nakaura accompanying them as their companions

(Elisonas “Journey” 27), traveling with their mentor and tutor, Diogo de Mesquita (Farge *Japanese* 2). The purpose of this journey was both to promote Japanese interests in Europe³⁶ and to aid in the cultural transformation of these young men through direct exposure to the West. From the perspective of Valignano, who had initially planned to join them on their journey but was ordered to remain in the East, the venture was a success and upon their return all four young men joined the Society.³⁷ Even before the Japanese youths had returned from their Western journey, Valignano recommended cultural transplantation to the Portuguese colony at Macao for those Japanese wanting to become Jesuit priests upon the belief that the Japanese needed to be separated from their culture for a time in order to truly embrace the spirit of the Society (*Sumario* 172-4).

Many of the Japanese who were educated in Jesuit seminaries as youths went on to become *dojuku*. If we see cultural accommodation on the part of the European missionaries as part of Valignano’s stopgap solution to the problem of cultural conflict and disunity in the mission, then the creation and function of the *dojuku* was the Japanese part to his solution. The Society in Japan was divided into distinct groups: superiors, fathers, *irmãos*, novices, *dojuku* and domestic staff (Schütte Part 2 181). The role of *dojuku* was adopted by the Society from the Zen Buddhist hierarchy, partially to fill the societal and cultural gap left by the destruction of Buddhist temples in Christian provinces and also because of its practical advantages. Because the *dojuku* were lay members of the Society's hierarchy, they were not bound to the Jesuits nor were

³⁶J.S.A Elisonas argues that the mission was in part designed by Valignano to demonstrate the success of the Japanese mission in Europe and to raise funds for the continuance and growth of the mission (“Journey” 32).

³⁷ Three of the four remained in the Society of Jesus until their deaths and were ordained priests, but Miguel Chijiwa apostatized sometime between 1593 and 1603 and wrote the anti-Christian fiction *Kirishitan kanagaki* (*Christians in Plain Text*) (Elisonas “Journey” 47-8).

the Jesuits bound to them, which had its advantages and disadvantages. They were to live religious lives, but unlike the novices and *irmãos*, they were allowed to marry, which allowed for a larger pool of volunteers from which to draw. In his *Sumario*, Valignano outlines the various functions of *dojuku* within the Society in Japan and emphasizes how indispensable they are in meeting the daily needs of the Society:

[...] [N]o nos pudiéramos negociar en Japón sin estos dogicos, porque ellos fueron hasta ahora los que predicaron y catequizaron y hicieron la mayor parte de la conversión que se ha hecho, y ellos son los que tienen cuidado de las iglesias y de dar y tomar los recados de los que vienen a tratar con los Padres, y tienen el cuidado de *cha no yu* [tea ceremony] [...] y ellos mismos ayudan en los enterramientos, en las misas, procesiones y en recibir y entretener los huéspedes [...] finalmente hacen todos los demás negocios y oficios importantes de casa [...]

We would not have been able to function in Japan without these *dojuku*, since they were up till now the ones who preached and catechized and were responsible for the majority of the conversions we have seen, and they are responsible for the upkeep of the churches and the taking and receiving of messages from those who come to treat with the Fathers, and they are responsible for conducting the tea ceremony [...] and they themselves assist in burials, masses, processions and the receiving and entertaining of guests [...] Finally, they tend to the remaining affairs and functions of the house. (191)

The adoption of the position of *dojuku* into the Society can be seen as a consequence of what Valignano perceives as the enormous cultural differences between the Japanese and Europeans. Though Europeans were in charge of the mission and were required to accommodate themselves to Japanese customs, the *dojuku* functioned as cultural intermediaries for them. The role of *dojuku* was in some ways problematic, however, in that these men had a loose association to the mission, not having taken orders to join the Society, and yet they were the principal figureheads of the Society to the population at large. They were familiar with the culture and language and could perform many of the functions required of the Jesuits with greater ease, particularly those that involved oratory skills, such as preaching, which in some ways undermined the authority of the European missionaries who were incapable of performing these functions due to their

inability to fully grasp the language and culture of Japan. While being one of the Society's greatest assets, the *dojuku* could also be a liability since they had been educated in Jesuit schools, were intimately involved in the running of the mission, and yet could disassociate themselves with the mission with ease and become influential anti-Christian polemicists. The role of *dojuku* in the mission does reflect Valignano's desire for cultural accommodation and the incorporation of Japanese into the mission, but the tentative nature of the position also reflects the shaky authority held by the European Jesuits over the mission because of their inability to appropriate the language and culture.

After visiting Japan for the first time, Valignano returned to India with mixed emotions. He was optimistic about the potential for cultural transformation among the Japanese through Jesuit-led education, believing that it would eventually lead to the creation of Japanese leaders within the mission, made tangible by the apparent success of the Japanese youths' journey to Europe, but he was also concerned by the cultural rift that existed between the European missionaries and the Japanese Christians, particularly due to his concerns over the inability and/or impossibility of Europeans to fully understand, and consequently control, the East. As he viewed Japan through the lens of sixteenth century Western culture and medieval and contemporary knowledge about the world outside of Europe, he was impressed by its cultural sophistication, appalled by the atrocities and upheavals of its civil wars, and baffled by its foreignness. His first impressions of the East recorded in his *Historia* and *Sumario*, which were passed on to other writers and widely circulated throughout Europe, mark an important chapter in the development of the Oriental Other in the Western imagination.

IV. Chapter Three

Ranking Barbarians: The Guarani Reductions and the Global Jesuit Mission

In 1639, while in Madrid, Father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya published what was to be the only contemporary chronicle of the Guarani Jesuit reductions. The work, entitled *La Conquista Espiritual Hecha por los Religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus en las Provincias del Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay y Tape*, embodies Montoya's personal and local knowledge of the Americas, as both a Peruvian-born criollo and a seasoned missionary priest with over twenty years of experience in the Guarani reductions, and simultaneously participates in a global dialogue about the nature of the non-European Other. Through the creation and dissemination of knowledge about the geographical and cultural Other, Jesuit missionaries played an essential role in the evolution of an early modern Western worldview. Montoya's work, as well as the works of fellow Jesuit missionary scholars José de Acosta and Alessandro Valignano, make use of existing Western paradigms and conventional terminology to discuss the non-European Other, such as "barbarian" and "indian," but also attempt to expand and redefine these conventions to reflect the cultural complexity of the peoples encountered on the mission field. During the early modern period, the Society of Jesus, with its unique emphasis on both global missions and pedagogy, was in an ideal position to generate and disseminate knowledge about the world, particularly through the categorization or ranking of barbarians. This ranking of barbarians was intimately connected with the mission strategies employed on the global mission field and explains, in part, the distinctive roles of native literacy and translation in the Jesuit missions to the Japanese and Guarani.

The Global Jesuit Mission

The Jesuit reductions established in the early seventeenth century among the Guarani presented Europeans with a unique format for intercultural interaction. During their heyday, the reductions featured prominently in Jesuit writings and were also treated, both with favor and displeasure, by numerous contemporary writers and philosophers across Europe.³⁸ Not surprisingly then, centuries after the reductions themselves had fallen silent through desertion and neglect, the Jesuit missions in Paraguay that created them have continued to stir the imaginations of filmmakers and novelists and have remained an object of debate among scholars of various disciplines. Two visions of the Guarani reductions, both rooted in contemporary interpretations, have predominated. Vijaya Venkataraman contends that the first of these visions, which grew in prominence from the Enlightenment period forward, is a “highly romanticised image of the idylls of this utopian land and culture [...]” functioning as a critique of Enlightenment ideas and culminating in the myth of the noble savage; conversely, the second vision constructs the Jesuits as the “powerful operators of an opulent state independent of the Spanish Crown” and cites their influence over the native population as the cause of the War of the Seven Reductions, in which the Guarani militarily opposed the Treaty of Madrid (signed in 1750), leading to the Society’s expulsion from South America in 1767 and resulting disbandment by Pope Clement XIV in 1773 (306). Simplified, these two visions can be seen understood as distinct interpretations of the power relationships at play between the Jesuits and the Guarani within the reductions. Guillermo Wilde suggests that the construction of the reductions as a utopian space originated with the Jesuits themselves who consciously constructed an image of

³⁸ For a detailed discussion of the role of the South American reductions in literary, philosophical and ethnographical writings during the Enlightenment period, see Vijaya Venkataraman’s “‘Fictional Missions’: Representations of Jesuit Encounters in Paraguay.”

the missions in their writings as an ordered political space created to foster and protect the indigenous peoples who they contended had passively and willingly submitted themselves to the guardianship of the Society of Jesus (28). The utopic interpretation of the reductions can then be seen as a positive construction of paternalistic power through which the Jesuits “bettered” the Guarani with their instruction. In contrast, the second vision interprets the power relationship as a form of domination, depicting the Jesuits as greedily acquiring both political and commercial power to the detriment of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns while simultaneously exerting cultural and political authority over the Guarani.

Historically, scholars have constructed their criticism of the reductions upon the foundation of one of these two visions; however, the extremes of these positions limit the possibility of considering the hybrid nature of the reductions. More recent scholarship, such as that of Guillermo Wilde, seeks to depart from the mythos surrounding the missions and instead focuses on the analysis of specific interactions within the reductions to better understand the complexity of the power dynamics at play. While this scholarship is innovative, its narrow focus on the Guarani missions overlooks the role that a Jesuit global perspective developed through interactions with non-European Others in the Americas, Asia, and Africa might have played in the way the missionaries in Paraguay viewed their enterprise among the Guarani. In her study concerning the Jesuit mission to Naples from the mid-sixteenth century till their expulsion in the eighteenth century, Jennifer D. Selwyn claims that the global mission of the Society in the early modern period was “a key feature of the Jesuits’ institutional character” and maintains that not enough scholarly attention has been placed upon the relationship between contemporary Jesuit mission fields in Europe, Asia and the Americas (2). While I agree with Selwyn that considering the local mission within the larger framework of the global Jesuit mission provides scholars with

a fuller understanding of the early modern Society's evangelizing and civilizing project, I likewise agree with Wilde that to avoid relying upon generalizations, which I believe the two predominant interpretations of the Guarani reductions do, it is necessary to found the study of mission power relationships on specific interactions between the missionaries and indigenous peoples. In this chapter, I will consider how the Jesuits' contextualization of Guarani culture within the global mission based on the early modern notion of *civilitas* was used to justify the paternalistic, asymmetrical power relationship established by missionaries in the reductions. I also hope to show how Jesuit missionary scholars used Western categories of knowledge to establish and justify the types of power relationships they established with the non-Christian Other encountered on the global mission field by contrasting the Jesuits' cultural construction of the Japanese and the Guarani with the respective roles Jesuits allowed them to play in the translation and production of native Christian texts.

Unlike the religious orders that had come before, the Society of Jesus was from its outset globally minded, best seen in the mission activity of co-founder Francis Xavier. The conceptual interrelation of the local and global mission can be glimpsed in works like José de Acosta's sixteenth century evangelizing manual, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*³⁹, which focuses on the pragmatic concerns at the level of the local mission, discussing methodology and offering advice

³⁹ The work was taken to Rome to be published in 1577 but was not published until 1586 together with *De Natura Novi Orbis*. Acosta's best known work, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, published one year later, was a translation of the two books of *De Natura*, which he then added material to about natural history and the pre-conquest customs and cultures of the Aztecs and Incas (Prieto 147).

for the evangelization of the native population in Peru,⁴⁰ and yet also takes time to contextualize the status of the local mission field within the overall status of the Society's global mission:

Los sucesos del Japón son ya conocidos. La región inmensa de la China, en la que desde antiguo se ha venido intentando penetrar, está ya abierta por la doble navegación de portugueses y castellanos procedente de la Nueva España. De los mejicanos son muchos los prodigios que se cuentan. De los isleños yo mismo he sido también, en cierto modo, testigo visual de algunos. Las historias del Nuevo Mundo descubierto nos hablan de muchos sucesos sorprendentes y verídicos, de los que todavía hoy tenemos testigos bien fidedignos.

The successes of Japan are now known. The immense region of China, which since antiquity [Europeans] have attempted to penetrate, is now open due to the double navigation of the Portuguese and Spanish from New Spain. Of the Mexicans, there are many wonders to be told. Of the islanders, of which I myself, to some extent, have been a visual witness of some miracles. The histories of the discovered New World tell us of many shocking and true events, of which we still have trustworthy witnesses. (Acosta Vol 1 133)

As this passage suggests, Jesuit missionaries became an integral part of Iberian imperial and economic expansion during the early modern period and thus to speak of a Jesuit global mission is to understand the modern character of the Society. Finding a satisfactory definition for the term “modernity” is much like battling with a hydra from classical mythology; one definition gives rise to debate resulting in more definitions until we are left with an uncontrollable multi-headed monstrosity. For this reason, many scholars who are willing to embrace the complexity and richness of the term prefer to conceive of modernity as a discourse rather than a fixed concept or time. Historically, the term “modern” was used to differentiate the present from the past, specifically the Christian present from the pagan past, but evolved, from the Enlightenment period forward, to refer to the “modes of social organization that emerged in Europe from about

⁴⁰Andrés Prieto contextualizes the work within the immediate political situation of Peru in which Acosta was writing, arguing that the work was an attempt “to lay down a general missionary method suited to the colonial situation of the Peruvian natives. Hence, the book dealt not only with the technicalities of teaching Christianity, but also with the anthropological, political, and social considerations that were the foundation of Acosta's missionary model” (21).

the sixteenth century and extended their influence throughout the world in the wake of European exploration and colonization” (Ashcroft 160). A growing sense of the superiority of the modern period, including the social organizations and philosophical movements that set it apart, permeated Europe, particularly during the Enlightenment period, and colored the way Europe viewed non-Western cultures, associating pre-modern cultures with an inferior past coupled with the European desire to subjugate and educate them in the ways of modernity (161). The privileging of Western modernity in turn led to the traditional “rise of the West” narrative of European global expansion, but as part of the ongoing discourse on modernity, postcolonial scholars have maintained that coloniality formed a constitutive part of modernity and that modernity can also be interpreted as “the historical process in which Europe began its progress toward world hegemony” (*Idea* Mignolo xiii). Modernity then is intimately tied to the process of European imperial expansion, beginning with the Iberian powers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In order to carry out their goal to evangelize the farthest reaches of Western colonial and commercial expansion, the Society of Jesus participated in Iberian political affairs connected with the Spanish *Patronato Real* and Portuguese *Padroado Real*, at times willingly and at other times with reservations.

The Society of Jesus as an organization was paradoxical in nature, defined by its diversity and unity as well as its philosophical and pragmatic goals. Its mission enterprises across the globe were founded and sustained by missionaries of various nationalities whose loyalties were layered and at times contradictory. The national loyalties they brought with them at times conflicted with others in the order of an opposing nation (such as political tensions between Spain and Portugal that at times affected mission policy in the East and the Americas), and at times their loyalty to the transnational Society conflicted with the emerging nation states

themselves, as can be seen in the Jesuit mission to England. The Society's desire for cohesion despite the complexities of the mission environment, whether in Europe or abroad, can perhaps best be seen in its emphasis on the production of letters and annual reports sent from missionary Superiors to the General in Rome and the dissemination of this information relating to the Society's world mission efforts from Rome outward. Members of the Society of Jesus shared a common formative educational background which Andrés Prieto describes as "rigorous training in theology and humanities as well as in philosophy, mathematics, and the physical sciences" (3). The process of learning and the discipline associated with it became entwined with notions of piety and spiritual life; for this reason, the Jesuits began to rely upon the expression "our way of proceeding" (*nuestro modo de proceder*) to describe the spiritual, intellectual, and institutional practices that set them apart from other religious orders (Prieto 3,5). Jesuit unity, however, did not equal unanimity, seen for example in the stark differences in missionary policy and practice between Alessandro Valignano and Francisco Cabral in Japan, but certain fundamental beliefs and practices, like accommodation to local customs and the belief that education could be an instrument of cultural transformation, can be seen in practically all Jesuit missions. Additionally, the Society of Jesus maintained a global dialogue playing an important role in the reshaping of the early modern Western cosmovision.

Envisioning the Other across the World

Contemporary theoretical concepts used to discuss interactions on a global scale, such as "globalization" and "global civil society," have tended to be the exclusive tools of scholars of the twentieth century onward; however, various scholars have begun to question the novelty of turn-of-the millennium global interactions. A.G. Hopkins, for example, contends that globalization took various forms throughout history (archaic globalization, proto-globalization, modern

globalization and postcolonial globalization) and thus should not be relegated exclusively to the modern age. In a similar way, Ronnie D. Lipschutz contends that global civil society is “not new,” further emphasized by the fact that it has been termed the “new medievalism” by various scholars due to its lack of emphasis on (and even perhaps its challenge to) the nation state system (390). In his discussion of the historical evolution of globalization, Hopkins demarcates the period between 1600 and 1800 as “proto-globalization,” placing particular emphasis on the eighteenth century, specifically the 1760s, which he calls the “globalizing decade.” He contends that this “globalizing decade,” led by British imperialism, witnessed “the start of renewed commercial expansion and a fresh wave of imperial acquisitions” that in turn “inaugurated a knowledge revolution that mapped, surveyed, and classified the world of contact and conquest” (6-7). However, this evaluation of proto-globalization and its role in the Western revolution of knowledge about the globe would be more complete if it also considered the role of earlier Iberian imperial efforts. Hopkins concludes that the universalism developed during the eighteenth century marked the emergence of the modern concept of a global civil society (14), but I would contend that the German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder’s question, penned in 1774 and quoted by Hopkins as an example of the emerging European cosmovision, “When has the entire earth ever been so closely joined together, by so few threads?” (qtd in Hopkins 14) could also have been asked by a Jesuit missionary scholar a century earlier. The Jesuits played an important role in both the production and dissemination of knowledge about the world from a particular Western perspective. They acted as early ethnographers and philosophers whose observations both reinforced and theoretically categorized the distinctive and varied

cultures presented to Europeans in popular travel narratives and occasionally (both literally and metaphorically) in pageants depicting the greater imperial world.⁴¹

Imperial and mercantile expansion during the early modern period allowed Europeans unprecedented access to the globe through navigation. While travel narratives from explorers and colonial officials were a staple of popular literature during the period, they presented European readers with a fragmented and often contradictory account of the world. Through the works of mapmakers and Western scholars, such as the Jesuits, both within Europe and abroad, the early modern West constructed a cosmovision distinct from the classical and medieval ones it had inherited. In his *The Idea of Latin America*, Walter Mignolo traces the epistemological steps made to construct the globe as logically divided into three continents (Europe, Africa and Asia)⁴² which were then prophetically linked to Christian tradition, specifically through the sons of Noah, a notable example of which is Isidore of Seville's ninth-century T-in-O map (*Idea* 24). Mignolo contends that this paradigm, the construction of three continents and their association with Biblical tradition, is predicated on a belief in the superiority of Europe and European knowledge. He maintains that evidence of a Western "continental racialization" can be found in formative Christian texts, such as the writings of St. Augustine, where "the *idea* of superiority imbedded in the Christian classification of people by continent was already implicit" in the ways Japheth (Noah's son from whom Europeans allegedly descended) was depicted in relation to his

⁴¹ For a discussion of the representation of the non-Western Other in European pageants, see Johan Verberckmoes's "The Imaginative Recreation of Overseas Cultures in Western European Pageants in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."

⁴² Incidentally, as Mignolo points out, contemporary civilizations (such as China, Japan, India, Arabo-Islam, Inca, Maya and Aztec) did not conceive of the world as divided into three continents. He emphasizes this point in order to put into perspective the fact that "[...] from the sixteenth century onward, there would be an overwhelming belief in the fact that *the planet was actually and naturally divided into four continents— Asia, Africa, Europe, and America*" (*Idea* 24).

brothers Shem and Ham (the imagined progenitors of Asia and Africa) as well as the depiction of this paradigm in cartographical form (27).

The belief in the superiority of Europe over the other continents, which Mignolo argues has its roots in late Antiquity, would be elaborated during the early modern period with the addition of a fourth continent— America. Beginning in the sixteenth century, images of natives, particularly naked cannibals, began to appear on maps and illustrated accounts of voyages (Silver 86). One of the most poignant representations of the Western hierarchization of the continents is the allegorical depiction of the continents as women in Abraham Ortelius's landmark atlas entitled *Theatrum orbis terrarum* published in 1570. The image of Europe on the title page of Ortelius's atlas unambiguously depicts her preeminence in knowledge, power and true religion:

It places Europe atop the page, enthroned and adorned with imperial crown, richly dressed, as befits a queen, she holds a scepter in her right hand and sits beside an enormous globe, surmounted by a cross atop a rudder, to suggest imperial and Christian dominion. (Silver 98)

Underneath the reigning Europe are the standing forms of Asia and Africa and a reclining America next to a bust representing Magellanica.⁴³ Asia, like Europe, is richly adorned in a jeweled costume and like Europe her breasts are covered; in one hand, she holds incense in an expensive container, suggestive of the wealth she possesses. To the right of her is Africa who, unlike her fellow continents, has dark skin; her head is silhouetted by the blazing sun and her body is nude except for a loosely flowing mantle and headdress, and in her hand (as a foil to the rich incense of Asia and Europe's scepter) she holds flowering balsam, depicting her comparative poverty. Below the other continents is America, reclining before a hammock, adorned only by a feathered headdress and her long, flowing dark hair. She is surrounded by the instruments of war, a bow and arrows at her feet and in one hand she holds a spear and in the

⁴³ Also known as *Terra Australis*.

other a man's severed head. Her proximity to the bust of Magellanica and her position relative to the other continents might suggest both the novelty of her status as a newly discovered fourth continent and her quasi-mythical nature in the minds of Europeans. In his summation of the title-page, art historian Larry Silver concludes that the imagery of the four continents is suggestive of a formative Western cultural hierarchization and an attempt to justify European desires for imperial and commercial expansion:

The image demonstrates how civilization descends from its height in Europe to a level of savagery in America. Europe, by right of the true, Christian religion, rules over the entire world, and the knowledge of geography encompassed by the maps in the Ortelius atlas remains the source of her power. (98)

Jesuit missionaries and scholars, both in Europe and abroad, were integral in the formation of a Western conception and hierarchy of the peoples inhabiting the other three continents. In order to understand how the members of the Society of Jesus understood and evaluated the peoples they encountered across the globe, it is necessary to first foreground how they defined culture. The Romance languages and English via Anglo-Norman inherited the term “culture” from the Latin *cultūra* during the Middle Ages, but by the early modern period the definition of “culture” had developed beyond its Latin etymon referring to the cultivation of land, the improvement of one's faculties and the observance of religious ritual to include the development of the arts (language, literature, etc.) and mental growth through education (OED). Although early modern writers and scholars did not generally use the term “culture” to describe the “intellectual and artistic conditions of a society or the (perceived) state of development of those conditions, [and the] ideas, customs, etc. of a society or group” (OED), their scholarship laid the groundwork for this later Enlightenment-period definition of “culture,” encapsulated in the German *kultur*. While early modern scholars, such as the Jesuits, certainly compared and contrasted the practices and ideas of various societies, implied within this later definition of

“culture,” in general their scholarship was not framed as an attempt at objective scientific inquiry as later anthropological studies would be. Rather, the majority of early modern scholars judged other cultures in terms of their level of civility where European society served as the standard. Europeans’ concept of civility was based on the classical concept of *societas civilis* derived from Cicero’s definition of the state (*civitas*) as a partnership in law (*societas*) providing for equality under the law for its members, but not equality of money or talent (Black 33). The Roman legal system, which influenced both the secular and ecclesiastical legal systems of the emerging European nations, was intimately tied to Stoic *humanitas*, implying a universal set of virtues, and founded upon appeals to natural reason, presupposing that a legal code could exist that would function as a standard to which all human authorities should adhere. As the inheritors of Roman law and philosophy, pre-modern and early modern Europeans envisioned *societas civilis* as secular legal and political order grounded in and perpetuated by natural reason and thus distinct from both divine revelation, which superseded reason, and from primitive society, which did not adhere to natural law. According to Anthony Black, by the Renaissance period Europeans referred to the civil life (*vita civilis*) as the way one “lives as a man” as opposed to “beastiality, barbarity, and tyranny,” where *civilitas* had no suggestion of ethnicity since it was regarded as “an internationalizing concept in so far as it was consciously related to qualities regarded as essentially human” (36). Thus, Europeans envisioned themselves, as both the inheritors of natural law and the divine revelation of Christianity, in a position to judge the *civilitas* of other cultures.

In his *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, José de Acosta attempts to merge the pragmatic evangelizing objectives of the Society, specifically in Peru, with a more universally-conceived pedagogical perspective that would shape the worldview of future missionaries studying in Jesuit

colleges and even have the potential to influence the cosmovision of a lay European audience. In order to discuss the peoples the Society encountered across the globe, he draws upon the inherited paradigms and vocabulary of Western academic discourse, such as the dichotomy of European *civilitas* and non-European barbarity, while simultaneously acknowledging, much like Valignano in his descriptions of India and Japan, the limits of Western knowledge, admitting that while these foundations serve as a jumping off point, they do not encompass the full complexity of the cultural distinctiveness of non-Europeans. Before delving into the heart of his evangelizing manual, Acosta takes the time to foreground what is meant by the two most prominent terms used to refer to non-Europeans within contemporary literature— “Indian” and “barbarian,” ideas Acosta contends are similar but not synonymous. He frames the two terms within distinct literary contexts; the term “Indian” is associated with the voyages of discovery and colonialism while “barbarian” is associated with both classical and contemporary theological and philosophical discourse.

According to Acosta, “Indians” are “todos los bárbaros descubiertos en nuestros días por los españoles y portugueses que con sus flotas han surcado el dilatadísimo océano (no sólo privados de la luz evangélica, sino también con aversión a toda institución humana) [...]” [all of the barbarians discovered in our times by the Spanish and Portuguese who with their ships have circumvented the expansive ocean (not only lacking the Christian faith, but also displaying an aversion for every human institution)” (Vol 1 61). “Indians” then are conceived as peoples who form a part of the colonial reality (those who were “discovered” by the implied superiority of European ingenuity and technology) and are participants in, though rarely as the protagonists, contemporary literary genres relating to imperial expansion, such as the accounts of the discoveries, conquests and colonial histories. While Acosta draws upon this familiar construction

of the “Indian” as lacking in both Christianity and *civilitas*, he also acknowledges its limitations in light of the cultural diversity of the actual peoples encompassed by the term: “[...] no todos tienen las mismas características; va mucho de indio a indio [...] y hay bárbaros que sacan gran ventaja a bárbaro” [not all [Indians] have the same characteristics; it varies from Indian to Indian [...] and there are barbarians that distinguish themselves from other barbarians” (Vol 1 61). In his definition of “barbarian,” Acosta relies not upon contemporary travel literature but rather “prestigiosos autores” [prestigious authors], demonstrating his knowledge of the scholastic heritage of the term and its role in current philosophical and theological debate regarding Iberian imperial expansion, who employ the term to refer to

aquéllos que se apartan de la recta razón y de la práctica habitual de los hombres. Por eso suelen destacar los escritores más ilustres la incapacidad de los bárbaros, su fiereza, incluso sus técnicas y trabajos, significando lo lejos que están de la práctica usual de los demás hombres y lo poco que tienen de sabiduría y actividad racional.

those who do not follow right reason and the common practice of men. For this reason, the most illustrious writers often emphasize the ineptitude of barbarians, their bestiality, including their techniques and works, demonstrating how far from the common practices of the rest of the world that they are and how little wisdom and rational activity they have. (Vol 1 61)

This definition of “barbarian” relies on an understanding of *societas civilis* as a universal standard predicated on the belief all cultures should have equivalent social structures and legal codes, mirroring the development of civil government and law in the West. From Acosta’s perspective then we can say that the concept of the “barbarian” is a more theoretical and abstract construction of the cultural Other, one tied to an historical discourse stretching back to Antiquity, than that of “Indian” since the former pertains to an imagined category of non-Europeans while the latter refers to a historical and political reality.

Acosta's definitions of "Indian" and "barbarian" are significant in that they represent the unique nature of the Society in the creation and diffusion of knowledge about the world, mixing the pragmatic, local knowledge with the philosophical and theological terminology of scholastic treatise and debate. In the midst of this merging of two modes of categorizing the non-Western Other, however, is the acknowledgement that neither term fully encompasses the cultural reality of the peoples encountered and that the distinctiveness of each people must be taken into account even when they are categorized as either "Indian," "barbarian" or both: "Los pueblos indios son innumerables, tiene cada uno de ellos determinados ritos propios y costumbres y se hace necesaria una administración distinta según los casos" [The Indian peoples are innumerable, and each one has its own customs and practices making a distinct administration necessary as each case varies] (Vol 1 59).

Although Acosta repeatedly acknowledges the great diversity of non-Europeans, he unwaveringly puts forth that they can, nonetheless, be categorized into three groups. According to Andrés Prieto, the principal forces driving the early Society were global missions and pedagogy, leading missionaries on the field to combine these interests through the systematization of their relationship with culture and learning (3). Not surprisingly then, Acosta's desire to assign non-Europeans to specific cultural groups reflects a recurring theme in early modern Jesuit missionary scholarship both acknowledging the complexity of the world outside of Europe and attempting to control and reproduce knowledge about the world outside of Europe; "Por numerosas que sean las provincias, naciones y estirpes de los bárbaros [...] son tres las clases, por así decir, de bárbaros con grandes diferencias entre sí, a las que se pueden reducir casi todas estas naciones indianas" [Though numerous are the provinces, nations and races of the barbarians [...] there are three clases, of what we would call barbarians with great differences

among one another, to which practically all of the Indians of these nations can be reduced] (Vol 1 62-3). Keeping in mind Acosta's earlier definitions of "Indian" and "barbarian," where "Indian" is tied to the actual peoples encountered through European imperial expansion and "barbarian" is a historically-derived philosophical construct of the cultural Other, the three cultural categories proposed by Acosta are theoretical, rather than pragmatic, in nature since they relate to various Western-conceived grades of barbarianism into which the historically real people encountered throughout the world are then inserted. Within this paradigm, the Western conception of the Other precedes the actual Other in that the category is fashioned and then the historically real people group is assigned to it, enveloping, or even trapping, them within a Western-devised category they had no input in creating. While on the one hand this paradigm demonstrates the dominance of Western knowledge over the non-European Other, Acosta also acknowledges that it highlights the limitations of it as well in that it cannot fully articulate the "grandes diferencias" [great differences] among the historical peoples within a given category and even lacks the potential to categorize all the peoples encountered, evident in Acosta's dubious comment that "casi todas" [almost all] can be placed within the three categories he proposes.

The three categories of barbarians proposed by Acosta, though theoretical in nature, are intimately tied to pragmatic concerns such as the level and type of intervention needed to bring about their conversion to Christianity (and to become imperial subjects). Acosta describes the barbarians who correspond to the first tier as those who "no se apartan gran cosa de la recta razón y de la práctica del género humano" [do not depart greatly from right reason and the common practice of humanity] (Vol 1 63). These peoples, from a European perspective, mirror pre-Christianized Antiquity in that they have a shared concept of *civilitas* that is evident in the

organization of their society and their application of natural law. Reflecting the social norms of European society, they possess a “régimen estable de gobierno, leyes públicas, ciudades fortificadas, magistrados de notable prestigio, comercio próspero y bien organizado” [a stable governmental system, public laws, fortified cities, magistrates of notable prestige, well-structured commercial prosperity] (Vol 1 63), and more importantly to Acosta they also possess a form of literacy that is similar to Europeans. To this category, Acosta assigns the peoples of Asia, ranking the people of China highest, then Japan and then those of Oriental India. Acosta’s acknowledgment of the cultural proximity of these peoples to the West might also be related to their spatial proximity to centers of European knowledge and their place within the history of Western global imaginings as one of the three original continents.⁴⁴ Acosta conceptually relates these contemporary peoples to a European past, specifically to pre-Christianized Rome, implying the superiority of modern Europe over them due to its knowledge of Christianity and the globe. This conflation of the contemporary Asian peoples with a pre-Christian European past, however, is multi-layered and paradoxical, as can be seen in his recommended missionary methodology:

Estos pueblos, aunque en realidad sean bárbaros y disientan en múltiples cuestiones de la recta razón y ley natural, han de ser llamados a la salvación del Evangelio casi a la manera misma como lo fueron en otros tiempos griegos y romanos por los Apóstoles [...] Porque destacan por su capacidad y su no despreciable sabiduría humana, y es sobre todo por su propia razón, con la actuación interior de Dios, como se ha de lograr la victoria sobre ellos y su sumisión al Evangelio.

⁴⁴ Prieto goes so far as to suggest that Acosta’s cultural categories can be understood spatially in relation to the ancient Judeo-Christian world where those cultures geographically closest to its center, such as Asia, retain more of its features than those cultures farther to the West, such as the Amerindians of the Americas (28). While this argument holds true when considering the Jesuit evaluation of Asians as compared to Amerindians, it falls short when considering Acosta’s position, vacillating between complete silence and denigration, of the peoples of Africa who are in near proximity to the Fertile Crescent and the roots of Judeo-Christian culture and, unlike America, are part of the historical Western conception of the globe.

These peoples, although in reality they are barbarians and on many issues depart from right reason and natural law, are to be called to the salvation of the Gospel in practically the same manner in which the ancient Greeks and Romans were called by the Apostles [...] Since they are known for their capabilities and their impressive human wisdom, and it is above all by their reason, with the interior stirring of God, that the victory over them will be achieved and their submission to the Gospel. (63)

While Acosta's depiction of the contemporary peoples of Asia up to this point has intentionally associated them with descriptions of a familiar pre-Christian Western past, he now steps back from that comparison slightly to foreground that they are in fact a non-European cultural Other who does not possess *civilitas* to the extent of Europeans since many of their practices do in fact contradict right reason and natural law as conceived by the West. He advises that their evangelization should be similar to that of the Greeks and Romans by the Apostles but not identical since it is in "casi a la misma manera" [almost in the same way]. Acosta differentiates the mental capacity of these barbarians from the other two classes, emphasizing that their conversion to Catholicism should be through rational explanation rather than military conquest. In fact, he argues that to attempt to convert them by force would have a deleterious effect: "Si nos empeñamos en someterlos a Cristo por la fuerza y el poder, no conseguiremos más que apartarlos totalmente de la ley cristiana" [If we insist on their submission to Christ via the use of force, we will achieve nothing apart from their complete separation from the Christian law] (63). There is no discussion here then of the implantation of colonialism or military conquest, but rather a cultural conquest via religious conversion (and perhaps commercial interest as well). While Acosta's recommendation against the use of force in the conversion of these peoples might indeed be due to his understanding of what would be the most effective method of evangelization, it might also be due to the political reality of a limited Western imperial influence in Asia.

The second and third categories of barbarians mostly relate to the peoples of the discovered 'New World.'⁴⁵ While Acosta's description of the barbarians of the first tier began by pointing out their similarities to Europeans (specifically that they are a cultural Other who does not vary greatly from Western notions of *civilitas* and the practice of natural law), he starts his description of the barbarians of the second tier by emphasizing what they are lacking in comparison to Europeans, "no han conocido el uso de la escritura ni las leyes escritas ni la ciencia filosófica o civil" [they are ignorant of writing, written law, and the civil sciences and philosophy] (Vol 1 63), and only then acknowledges the cultural elements they share in common:

tienen, sin embargo, sus magistrados bien determinados, tienen su régimen de gobierno, tienen asentamientos frecuentes y fijos en los que mantienen su administración política, tienen sus jefes militares organizados y un cierto esplendor de culto religioso; tienen, finalmente, su determinada norma de comportamiento humano.

they have, nonetheless, their appointed magistrates; they have a governmental structure; they have frequent, set congresses in which they maintain their political administration; they have organized military leaders and a certain level of religious ceremony; finally, they have an established standard for human behavior. (63)

The peoples of the second tier, while possessing certain political structures that mirror those of the Ancients and subsequently Europeans, are defined by what they are lacking, specifically writing and philosophy that is comparable to that of Europe,⁴⁶ the lack of which, to Acosta's

⁴⁵ As pointed out in an earlier note, Acosta focuses his attention upon the peoples of Asia and the Americas, passing over the peoples of Africa almost entirely, though he would most likely assign the peoples of Africa to one of these two categories. His emphasis on the Amerindians in these two categories is most likely due to his greater familiarity with them than with the peoples of Africa.

⁴⁶ Walter Mignolo argues that the early modern European trend to privilege alphabetic historical accounts led the Spaniards in the Americas to discount native histories constructed in indigenous forms of literacy, such as picto-ideographic narratives:

For Spaniards did not question the value of Mexica or Maya inscriptions, since they fell within the range of documentation that Renaissance historians used to tell

mind at least, precludes them from the rational appeals recommended as the principal evangelizing strategy for the first tier of barbarians. To this category, Acosta assigns the Aztecs and the Incas whom interestingly he praises in terms not dissimilar to the Asian peoples of the first tier for being not too far from “la recta razón y de las prácticas propias del género humano” [right reason and the practices of human beings] (Vol 1 65), particularly due to their urbanized way of life. Acosta muddies the waters here in that his descriptions of the first and second tiers somewhat overlap. The principle difference between the first and second tiers of barbarians is the possession or lack of literacy in a form replicating European categories of knowledge (such as history, philosophy, civil law, etc.) since both tiers are described by Acosta as being not too far from European notions of *civilitas* and natural law (right reason) though neither, from the missionary’s perspective, attains civility or right reason to the degree of Europeans, thus necessitating Western intervention. Acosta’s recommendation for the evangelization of the second tier, however, is markedly different from that of the first tier. In contrast to his call for the conversion of barbarians of the first tier through rational persuasion alone, for the barbarians of the second tier, he advises a complete societal transformation through the implementation of colonialism:

Pero como en sus costumbres, ritos y leyes se hallan tantas desviaciones monstruosas y tanta permisividad para ensañarse con los súbditos [...] con razón la situación misma exige la autoridad de la Iglesia así lo establece que, a quienes de ellos hayan dado el paso a la vida cristiana, se les ponga bajo la autoridad de príncipes y magistrados cristianos.

But as their customs, rites and laws contain such monstrous deviations and such permissiveness to be merciless toward their subjects [...] with reason then the situation demands the authority of the Church to establish that those who take a

stories about the past. Mexica or Mayan narratives of their own past were taken by Spaniards as equivalent to the evidence provided by coins, medals, and other kinds of inscriptions, but certainly not as equivalent to a written narrative by Thucydides or Tacitus. (*Darker* 129)

step toward the Christian life are put under the authority of Christian magistrates and princes. (Vol 1 65-7)

Acosta's observation suggests that the societal and legal systems that are in place are not compatible with Christianity in a way that the societal structures and laws of the barbarians of the first tier are. On the one hand, this might be related to Western notions of alphabetic literacy as providing a stable meaning that is then able to serve as a foundation for the conduct of generations,⁴⁷ in contrast to the perceived instability of indigenous forms of literacy, but it might also be an attempt to justify the political reality of colonialism in the Americas in a similar way that Acosta's recommendation against the use of force in the conversion of the barbarians of the first tier reflects the lack of Western military expansion in Asia.

The third and final tier of barbarians proposed by Acosta is an amalgam of the classical construction of the primitive man who defies natural law and *civilitas* and contemporary accounts of nomadic peoples encountered during the voyages of discovery, then divided into groups who are naturally pacific and those who are bellicose. Similar to his introduction of the barbarians of the second tier, Acosta's initial description of the barbarians of the third tier focuses on what they lack in comparison to Europeans. In contrast to the barbarians of the second tier who are lacking in Western modes of historicity and literacy, the barbarians of the third tier lack almost all of the traits that Europeans associate with *civilitas* (or humanity):

[...] [E]ntran los hombres salvajes, semejantes a las bestias, que apenas tienen sentimientos humanos. Sin ley, sin rey, sin pactos, sin magistrados ni régimen de gobierno fijos, cambiando de domicilio de tiempo en tiempo y aun cuando lo tienen fijo, más se parece a una cueva de fieras o a establos de animales.

⁴⁷ Mignolo acknowledges the European concerns, and perhaps even fears, at the flexibility (or instability) of native narratives that did not rely on alphabetic methods of transcription, pointing out that, within the tradition of the Mexica, those who were trained to "read" the "books" would look at the pictures when telling the story and inevitably "the interpretation changed when the interpreter changed and, mainly, when the ruler for whom the interpreter worked changed" (*Darker* 132-3).

[...] [E]nter the savages, resembling beasts, who barely have human feelings. Without laws, without monarchy, without contracts, without magistrates and lacking an established governmental regime, changing their abode over and over even when they have a fixed location, it resembles a cave inhabited by wild animals or stables for animals. (Vol 1 67)

Acosta applies the Aristotelian concept of barbarians as those who lack humanity to such a degree that they could be hunted as animals and can only be domesticated by force to historically real groups of Amerindians (Vol 1 67). Because they depart from natural law almost entirely, or put another way, because they lack *civilitas*, Acosta suggests that they must first be civilized before they can be Christianized. The cultural insufficiency, or lack, that Acosta emphasizes in the societies of the barbarians in both the second and third tiers acts as justification for greater Western intervention, specifically through colonialism.

Acosta's recommendation for the civilizing and subsequent evangelizing of the barbarians of the second and third tiers is founded upon a paternalistic approach, considering their "lack" of the cultural norms of Europe as rendering them incapable of determining their true interests, just as a child cannot yet discern what is best. Acosta envisions the West, embodied in missionaries and colonial officials, as playing the role of the parent or teacher who exerts authority over children, or culturally inadequate societies, to their benefit:

A todos estos hombres o medihombres es preciso darles instrucción humana, para que aprendan a ser hombres, educarlos como a niños. [...] [S]i se resisten con terquedad a su propia regeneración y desvarían contra sus propios maestros y médicos, hay que obligarles por la fuerza y hacerles alguna conveniente presión para que no pongan obstáculos al Evangelio, y hay que hacerles cumplir sus obligaciones; y convendrá hacerles fuerza para que se trasladen de la selva a la convivencia humana de la ciudad y entren, aunque sea un poco a regañadientes, en el reino de los cielos.

To all of these men or half-men it is necessary to provide instruction in being human, in order that they learn to be human beings, educating them as one would children [...] [I]f they stubbornly resist their own regeneration and rave against their own teachers and healers, one must force them and put proper pressure upon

them in order that there are no obstacles in the way of the Gospel, and one must make them complete their obligations; and it will be useful to force them to leave the jungle and accept the human custom of dwelling in cities, though they do it with some misgivings, so that they may enter into the kingdom of heaven. (Vol 1 69)

In this passage, Acosta, following the precedent set by the “prestigious authors” whom he earlier cited for the definition of the discursive term “barbarian,” emphasizes the incapacity of the barbarians of the third tier, first acknowledging their humanity and then calling it into question through his use of *medioshombres*. His description of the third tier as *medioshombres* suggests that their bestiality is equivalent to the humanity they possess, rendering them incapable of fully realizing their humanity unless Europeans educate them. By constructing the barbarians of the third tier as only marginally human, and equating their status with that of children, Acosta provides justification for Western domination over them by conflating the familiar asymmetrical power relationship between a teacher and his student, essentially a paternalistic power structure, with European imperial expansion through colonialism, specifically in the form of reductions.

Taming the Barbarian

While it is not my intention to argue that Alessandro Valignano and Antonio Ruiz de Montoya were both personally familiar with Acosta’s *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*,⁴⁸ I would contend that the hierarchization of barbarians proposed by Acosta, rather than being unique to him, reflects a formational shared worldview by the Society of Jesus that informed the way that both Valignano and Montoya understood their respective missions. At first glance, Valignano’s

⁴⁸ Since the work was not published until 1586, it is unlikely that Valignano would have read it prior to writing his *Historia* and *Sumario* in 1581-3, but it is not impossible since *De Procuranda* was taken to Rome in 1577 and sections of it might have been circulated prior to its official publication. In the case of Ruiz de Montoya, while we cannot know for certain if he was familiar with the work, it is likely that he would have access to it and Prieto convincingly argues that the work provided the mission framework that was used in Juli and served as the model for the later Jesuit reductions (Prieto 20-1).

detailed report concerning the Japanese mission and Montoya's history of the first Jesuit reductions among the Guarani share little in common. For one thing, the works are spatially and temporally worlds apart, spanning oceans and decades, and for another, they are directed to distinct audiences with very different goals. What binds these works together, however, is their participation in the ongoing redefinition of the world by the Society of Jesus during the early modern period through their participation in Iberian imperial expansion across the globe. Because of the unique pedagogical desire of the Society to systematize and produce knowledge about the world, the individual experiences and reports of local missionaries relating ethnographic descriptions and voicing pragmatic concerns about the evangelization contributed to the formation of a theoretical framework, of which Acosta's tri-tiered categorization of barbarians is but one example, through which the Jesuits envisioned the world. Despite their obvious differences, then, both Valignano's *Sumario* and Montoya's *Conquista Espiritual* are inheritors of a formational Jesuit worldview and participants in the shaping and developing of that worldview, which in turn influenced the way early modern Europe interpreted the world.

The theoretical divisions of alterity devised by the early modern Society, exemplified in Acosta's tri-tiered hierarchy of barbarians, influenced the types of power relationships missionaries endeavored to establish between themselves and those whom they sought to evangelize. These power relationships were based not only on the missionaries' perception of the native population's degree of *civilitas* but also on the political reality of Western colonialism upon the mission. Within Acosta's proposed missionary methodology, the level of *civilitas* coupled with the political reality of imperial conquest determines the amount of political control necessary in the evangelization of barbarians. Thus, for barbarians of the first tier who possess a level of *civilitas* comparable to that of the ancient Greeks and Romans and who are relatively

free from the threat of Iberian military conquest, Western intervention by the missionaries is limited to persuasion. Conversely, intervention among the barbarians assigned to the second and third tiers is colored by the political reality of colonialism. In his *The Forms of Power: From Domination to Transformation*, Thomas Wartenberg draws upon the historically rich, interdisciplinary dialogue on the definition of power and its various forms to describe the complexity of the social applications of power. In his discussion of paternal relationships, relevant to the global Jesuit mission because of the missionary tendency to conflate the parent-child and teacher-student relationships with the evangelization and instruction of non-Europeans in the mission setting, he distinguishes between what he terms as a transformative use of power and a paternalistic usage, both of which relate to the use of power by a dominant agent over a subordinate agent for the latter's benefit predicated on the assumption that the subordinate agent is incapable of fully determining what is best (183). Jesuit missionaries to barbarians of all three tiers of Acosta's hierarchy considered themselves to be the possessors of knowledge (true religion and *civilitas*) that non-Christian barbarians lacked, justifying various forms of Western intervention since the non-Europeans were, from the missionaries' perspective, akin to ignorant children. The distinction Wartenberg makes between transformative and paternalistic uses of power is not at the level of the action performed but rather in the intention behind the action. Paternalistic uses of power have a tendency to reinforce the asymmetrical relationship such that "the dominant agent takes over many aspects of the subordinate agent's life" leading the subordinate agent to stagnate in certain respects and "fail to develop in ways that [he] might in the absence of paternalism" (193). Transformative power, on the other hand, "seeks its own elimination" (193) in that "the dominant agent's aim is not simply to act for the benefit of the subordinate agent; rather, the dominant agent attempts to exercise his power in such a way that

the subordinate agent learns certain skills that undercut the power differential between her and the dominant agent” (184). While neither of these models of power fully articulates the complexity of the power relationships established in the missions in Japan or Paraguay, the concepts of transformative and paternalistic power serve as a reference point that is then complicated by the reality of the missions and the dynamic uses of power within them.

Alessandro Valignano, Jesuit Visitor to the East (1574-1606), wrote his *Sumario de las Cosas de Japón* (1583) shortly after his first visit to the island nation. The work, directed to the current General of the Society, Claudio Acquaviva, provides a description of the peoples of Japan as well as Valignano’s personal recommendations for and observations of the Japanese mission. Whether Valignano was aware of Acosta’s tri-tiered hierarchy or not, he likewise assigns the Japanese to the highest category of barbarian, introducing them to his readers in Rome, similarly to Acosta, by emphasizing what they share in common with Europeans. In his *Sumario de las Cosas de Japón*, Valignano contends that the mission to Japan is among the most fortunate of all the missions in the East precisely because of the Western-like qualities of the Japanese, whom he boasts are “[...] gente blanca, de mucha policía, prudencia y entendimiento y muy sujeta a la razón” [white people, quite orderly, prudent and wise and highly rational] (131). Although Acosta does not discuss the role of race within his hierarchy of barbarians, Valignano’s emphasis on the whiteness of the Japanese is not related to ethnicity so much as it is a trait that connects them with Europeans, suggesting a common practice of *civilitas* and right reason, set in contrast to the relative darkness of skin, and reason, of the barbarians in the second and third tiers in Africa and America. Valignano, even when focusing on the local mission, contextualizes his observations of and recommendations for the Japanese within the larger framework of the Society’s global mission, further suggesting the formation of a fully global worldview within the

early modern Society. In this vein, he acknowledges the diversity of barbarians and the need for distinct mission strategies by specifically contrasting the mission objectives of the Society in Japan with the objectives of Jesuit missionaries converting barbarians of the other two tiers. He contends that because the Japanese are “sujeta a la razón” [subject to reason], or of the first tier of barbarians, when they are Christianized, they are more useful to the overall global mission of the Society than barbarians of the second and third tiers:

[...] [C]on los japones luego cogen el fruto de sus trabajos, y con los otros por su rudeza y mala inclinación gastan toda la vida con mucha pena cogiendo poco fruto verdadero y éste muy tarde; porque hay tanta diferencia entre los unos y los otros, como es vivir entre gente racional y noble y entre gente bajísima y bestial.

[...] With the Japanese then [the missionaries] enjoy the fruits of their labors, and with the other [barbarians] who because of their uncivilized ways and lack of inclination [the missionaries] spend their entire lives at great cost reaping little true fruit and even this very late; because there is such a difference between one and the other, such it is to live among a rational and noble people and among the lowliest, savage people. (133)

Valignano highlights here the added civilizing project of the missionaries to barbarians of the second and third tiers that is absent from the Society’s mission to barbarians of the first tier, such as the Japanese. Although Valignano depicts the Japanese favorably in comparison to barbarians of the other two tiers, he, like Acosta, acknowledges that the Japanese are barbarians in that they are non-Europeans and non-Christians and are therefore in need of Western intervention, albeit not in the form of colonialism: “[...] [N]o se puede negar ser la gente de Japón noble, cortés y de muy buen natural y entendimiento, tanto que en muchas cosas hacen ventaja a los nuestros de Europa, aunque en otras les son muy inferiores [...] [It cannot be denied that the people of Japan are noble, courteous, of a good nature and understanding, to such a degree that in many ways they have the advantage over Europeans, yet in other ways they are greatly inferior] (24). Despite the fact that they do possess many admirable qualities, Valignano avers that the Japanese

are nonetheless non-Christian barbarians, or ‘gentiles’, who possess a high degree of *civilitas* and natural law but lack the divine revelation of Christianity and are therefore inferior to Europeans who have both religious truth and right reason. He foregrounds the barbarian status of the Japanese, justifying the Jesuit mission among them, by emphasizing the role of the devil and sin in the corruption of the good qualities that they do possess and creating an unsettling mix of extremes in their cultural character:

Porque de la misma manera los japones tienen algunas costumbres buenas o partes y muy buenas, con las cuales se pueden comparar con las más nobles, prudentes y bien criadas naciones que hay en el mundo, y tienen otras partes malas y que no pueden ser peores; las cuales, con tener entre sí una cierta contradicción, es cosa maravillosa ver cómo se pudieron juntar en los mismos en tan subido grado. Mas no es de espantar, porque siempre fué costumbre de gentiles vivir metidos en grandes vicios y pecados, pues de sus ídolos y maestros no pueden recibir otras leyes ni otra doctrina, y particularmente se ve esto en Japón, donde parte por las perversas leyes que el demonio y los bonzos les dieron, parte por la pobreza y continuas guerras, no es mucho verse entre ellos algunas malas cualidades, con las cuales vinieron a corromper en parte su buen natural [...]

Because in the same way the Japanese have some customs which are good or parts which are very good, which can be compared with those of the most noble, prudent and well-bred nations of the world, and they have other parts that are bad and which could not possibly be worse; the existence of both creating something of a contradiction that is wonderous to contemplate how the two extremes could mix to such an alarming degree. But it is not entirely unexpected, since it was always the custom of gentiles to live mired in great vice and sin, since from their idols and teachers they receive no other teaching or law, and this is particularly so in Japan, where partly due to the perverse laws given them from the devil and the Buddhist priests, partly due to poverty and continuous wars, it is not uncommon to see among them evil qualities which partially corrupt the good nature they possess [...] (25).

In this passage, Valignano acknowledges the positive attributes of the Japanese but tempers his praise of these characteristics by emphasizing the extremes of their character, both positive and negative, attributed to their lack of Christian guidance. The seed of Valignano’s plan for cultural transformation in Japan is present here in that he blames the religious leaders and the devil for the sinfulness of the people, suggesting that Buddhism within the culture must be replaced with

Christianity, but notably he does not suggest that a political change is necessary as Acosta does with barbarians of the second and third tiers.

From Valignano's perspective, the complexity of Japanese culture offered the Society of Jesus certain advantages and disadvantages to its mission strategy in comparison to the cultures of more "primitive" barbarians. As we have seen, Valignano believed that the Christianization of barbarians of the first tier required less intensive missionary strategies and reaped a greater reward in a shorter amount of time than the evangelization of barbarians of the second and third tiers. However, as Valignano repeatedly reminds the reader of his *Sumario*, the Japanese culture, while similar to that of Europe in its level of sophistication, was essentially antipodal to the culture with which Western missionaries were accustomed, requiring missionaries to adapt to both a language and culture which Valignano laments might be essentially inaccessible to Europeans. Because the culture and language posed an enormous challenge, despite the fact that accommodation was a hallmark of his mission strategy in Japan and later China, Valignano maintains that the future of the Society in Japan depends upon the incorporation of Japanese into the Society since they are the only ones who can fully understand their culture and are thus the ones best poised to penetrate and transform it:

[...] la Compañía [no] echará en Japón raíces firmes ni alcanzará en él renta ni modo conveniente para su sustentación si no fuere por medio de los Hermanos japones, porque no pueden ellos llegar a tanto amor con gente extranjera y tan contraria y diferente en todo de sus costumbres y condiciones [...]

The Company will not put down firm roots in Japan nor gain monetary assistance or a means of sustaining itself if it were not for the Japanese Brothers, because there would be no way for [the Japanese people] to arrive at such a great love for foreigners whose customs and conditions are so contrary and different [...] (183-4).

Valignano contends that Japanese members of the Society are essential to the success of the mission because Europeans cannot attain the same level of familiarity or elicit the same affection

from the native population because of their foreignness. Furthermore, in order for the Japanese within the Society to be effective, he maintains that they must be considered equals to European members of the Society:

[S]e traten los japones que estuvieren en la Compañía en todo igualmente como los Hermanos de Europa [...] porque ninguna cosa destruye tanto la unión y fraterna caridad en las congregaciones como la desigualdad en el tratamiento de los Hermanos.

They should treat the Japanese who are in the Company as total equals just as the Brothers from Europe [...] because nothing so destroys unity and brotherly affection in congregations as the unequal treatment among Brothers. (200-1)

Valignano's proposal was not without its detractors, notably the Superior of the Japanese mission, Francisco Cabral. It is also unclear whether Acosta ever envisioned the incorporation of barbarians of the first tier into the Society in the way Valignano proposes. Yet the Visitor's insistence on the equality of the Japanese members of the Society and emphasis on the imperative role he believes they will play within the mission's future is evidence of the fruitfulness Valignano believes comes from evangelizing "civilized" barbarians, impossible in the evangelization of more "primitive" barbarians. While perhaps seeming idealistic, his desire to incorporate the Japanese into the mission was highly pragmatic since Europeans were unable to affect a level of control over the Japanese that would parallel the colonial experience in the Americas.

Valignano, like Acosta, views the barbarians of the first tier with a mixture of admiration and apprehension. While his proposal for the incorporation of the Japanese into the Society as Brothers and priests appears to be an unequivocal use of transformative power, Valignano tempers his call for Japanese authority within the mission by voicing concerns over the pre-Christian religious formation of the Japanese and fears that their culture places obstacles in the way of creating successful Japanese priests:

[...] [H]ay muchos y enormes vicios entre los japones, que ellos no solamente no extrañan, mas aun los tienen por virtudes, y son muy encubiertos y difíciles de descubrir sus corazones, por lo que no conviene hacerlos sacerdotes sino después de mucha prueba y de ser muy ejercitados en las virtudes.

[T]here are several serious vices among the Japanese which they not only do not shock them, but they consider them virtues, and they are very closed making it difficult to discover their hearts, which is not ideal for ordaining them as priests except after much testing and being very practiced in virtues. (178-9)

The remedy offered by Valignano is the education of Japanese from a very young age. His framework for the education of the Japanese is an intriguing mixture of transformative forms of power, designed to create native priests and regional lords who will exercise considerable authority in the future of the mission, and paternalistic impulses designed to limit the knowledge of the Japanese about the West and its political and ecclesiastical conflicts. His desire to create Jesuit centers of learning in Japan adheres to the Jesuit impetus to blend evangelization and pedagogy in order to attain the long-term goal of cultural transformation through the construction of a Japanese Christian identity. Through the education of children, Valignano hopes to carve out a cultural space for the Society within Japanese culture, arguing that if children are raised to respect the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church and respect the Fathers, they will more willingly join the Society and remain subject to its authority (206). The education of Japanese children, specifically those of noble birth who would go on to become priests or local rulers, initially placed the Western missionaries in a position of power over the production and dissemination of knowledge. Although Valignano repeatedly praises the rationality and wisdom of the Japanese, he also privileges Western knowledge, arguing that, “debemos mucho de trabajar de introducir las ciencias verdaderas en Japón, así para sacarlos de tantas ignorancias” [we must work very hard to introduce the true sciences to Japan, in order to remove them from their great ignorance] (170). Though one obvious purpose of the education of the Japanese was

to replace native “ignorance” with Western “truth,” Jesuit education in Japan was also a means for Western missionaries to limit the knowledge of the native population. While the Japanese Jesuits were to be considered equals in certain respects, they were not privy to the same knowledge as European Jesuits, demonstrating the paternalistic shaping of the Japanese Christians by Western missionaries. Valignano’s trepidation over the Western missionaries’ limited control of the Japanese Christians, which can be related to the lack of Western military presence in Japan, led him to propose the restriction of Japanese knowledge of the West in order to limit the potential for dissention. He views the physical and cultural isolation of Japan from Europe as an opportunity for the Society to carefully craft the construction of Europe and Christianity in Japan:

Y porque en Japón no hay conocimiento de ninguno de nuestros autores y de nuestros libros, y muchas cosas que se hallan en ellos no conviene en ninguna manera saberlas los japoneses, por ser nuevos y haber muchas opiniones que son conforme a sus sectas, con las cuales se podrían fácilmente pervertir e introducirse diversas herejías, o a lo menos perderían la buena simplicidad y disposición en que están ahora, parece cosa conveniente y necesaria que se hagan libros particulares en todas las ciencias para los japoneses, en los cuales se enseñe simplemente lo sustancial de las cosas y las verdades puras bien fundadas con sus pruebas, sin referir otras opiniones diversas y peligrosas ni herejías [...] porque para ellos no es necesario saber ninguna de estas cosas, pues que el saberlo les puede hacer mucho daño y ningún provecho, porque no teniendo ellos ni habiendo de tener ninguna comunicación con otras gentes más doctas, ni siendo Aristóteles ni Cicerón ni otro autor de ninguna autoridad entre ellos, se puede hacer todo esto muy cómodamente.

And because in Japan there is no other knowledge of our authors and books, and there are many things within them that would not be convenient for the Japanese to know, since they are new and have many beliefs that relate to their various sects, which they could easily pervert and introduce various heresies, or at the very least lose the good simplicity and disposition which they now have, it seems convenient and necessary to produce particular books in all of the sciences for the Japanese, which will only teach the fundamentals of things and pure truths well grounded in proofs, without referring to divergent and dangerous opinions or heresies [...] because it is unnecessary for them to know about such things, since their knowing might cause much harm and would bring no good, since they do not have and are not likely to have communication with other learned peoples, nor

having Aristotle or Cicero or any other authoritative author among them, we can accomplish all of this quite comfortably. (171)

While Valignano's mission policies toward the Japanese demonstrate an unsettling mixture of transformative and paternalistic forms of power, simultaneously enabling the Japanese to participate in the mission within positions of authority and limiting their knowledge of the West, Montoya's description of the "Indians" in his *Conquista Espiritual* emphasizes the need for a paternalistic approach in order to both convert and civilize the population. Unlike Valignano's *Sumario* written with a predominantly ecclesiastical readership in mind, Antonio Ruiz de Montoya's *La Conquista Espiritual* (1639) is dedicated to a secular authority, Octavio Centurion, the Marquis of Monasterio, and ultimately is directed to the court of King Phillip IV of Spain. From the introduction of the work, Montoya contextualizes the mission to the Guarani within the political reality of colonialism, intertwining his role as a missionary within its framework and contending that his principle aim is to "[...] poner paz entre españoles é indios, cosa tan difícil, que en más de cien años que se descubrieron las Indias Occidentales hasta hoy no se ha podido alcanzar" [bring peace between the Spanish and the Indians, a task so difficult that in more than a century since the discovery of the West Indies up to this very day has not yet been accomplished] (14). Montoya foregrounds his position within the political climate of Spanish imperialism within the Americas as both a missionary who is spurred on by "la caridad cristiana" [Christian charity], a criollo desiring to imitate "el ejemplo de mis pasado que los conquistaron y dejaron ejemplos raros que imitar" [the example of my forbearers who conquered [the indians] and left extraordinary examples for imitation], and as one who has gained wisdom through his experiences among the cultural Other: "el haber cerca de treinta años que sin divertirme á otro empleo, mi principal ha sido su enseñanza y conversión á nuestra santa fe,

coronando mi deseo trabajos y los más ordinarios peligros de muerte y de ser comido de bárbaros” [the devotion of myself entirely for close to thirty years to their education and conversion to our holy faith, making my desire complete through trials and the daily threats of death and being cannibalized by barbarians] (14). He describes the natives within this passage as being both completely helpless, emphasizing their ignorance of Western *civilitas*, and bestial, emphasizing their position as what Acosta describes as *mediohombres*. This two-fold vision, also used by Acosta in his discussion of barbarians of the third tier, represents the Amerindians as childlike both in their inability to care for themselves and their lack of control over their passions, necessitating the stabilizing paternal guidance of a specific form of colonialism.

Though both Valignano and Montoya provide ethnographic descriptions of the native populations, their works are written within distinct literary genres. Valignano’s *Sumario* is a crafted report, relying upon numbered points for its organization, gathered from the experiences of his first visit to Japan while Montoya’s *Conquista Espiritual* is a more fluid narrative form of the missionary’s personal experiences and observations over the course of his many years among the Guarani. He emphasizes the isolation of the Guarani, both spatially and culturally, from centers of colonial influence:

He vivido todo el tiempo dicho en la provincia del Paraguay y como en el desierto, en busca de fieras, de indios bárbaros, atravesando campos y trasegando montes en busca suya, para agregarlos al aprisco de la Iglesia santa y al servicio de Su Majestad [...]

I have lived all the stated years in the province of Paraguay and as in the desert, in search of beasts, savage Indians, crossing fields and searching for them on hills in order to bring them into the sheepfold of the holy Church and the service of Your Majesty [...] (14)

Within this passage, Montoya emphasizes the savageness not only of the natives but also of the environment where they live. He intertwines the environmental and cultural challenges of the

Guarani's nomadic nature, forcing the missionaries to search the landscape for them and likening the venture to being in the desert both in the isolation of the work and the harshness of the environment. The perceived savagery of both the people and environment, however, is countered with the image of domestication, particularly the gathering of the natives together like sheep under the guidance of a shepherd. Montoya here envisions conversion to Catholicism and political subjugation to the Spanish monarchy as essentially one action in contrast to the Valignano's vision for the Japanese mission. The civilizing project of the Jesuit missionaries to the Guarani via the establishment of reductions is hinted at in Acosta's recommendations for the evangelization of *medioshombres* whom he argues must be removed from the jungle and urbanized. In his description of the reductions, Montoya likewise depicts the Amerindian's nomadic lifestyle as limiting, both physically limiting in its small groupings and isolation as well as culturally limiting in its lack of *civilitas*, in contrast to what he perceives as the larger opportunities and worldview offered in the reductions.

[L]lamamos reducciones á los pueblos de indios, que viviendo á su antigua usanza en montes, sierras y valles, en escondidos arroyos, en tres, cuatro ó seis casas solas, separados á legua, dos, tres y más uno de otros, los redujo la diligencia de los Padres á poblaciones grandes y á vida política y humana, á beneficiar algodón con que se vistan; porque comúnmente vivian en desnudez, aun sin cubrir lo que la naturaleza ocultó.

We called the Indians living in villages to the reductions, who were living according to their traditional custom in the hills, mountains and valleys, along hidden brooks, in groupings of only three, four or six houses, separated by two, three or more leagues between them, the diligence of the Fathers reduced them to large populations and a human and orderly life, with the benefit of cotton to clothe them; since it is their custom to go about naked without covering what nature meant to be hidden. (29)

Within this passage, Montoya emphasizes what the indigenous people lack that Europeans can provide them, such as urbanization and clothing, ultimately relating to the conflict between native practices and the Western notion of *civilitas* as a necessary element of humanity.

Though the reductions certainly form part of the larger Iberian colonial project in the Americas with the fundamental goals of indoctrinating the natives in Western notions of *civilitas*, converting them to Catholicism and politically subjugating them to the Spanish monarchy, the reductions must also be recognized as a distinct colonial experience. Reductions were originally proposed as an alternative to the *encomienda mitaria* system established in Paraguay in 1556 by Governor Domingo Martínez de Irala. Under the *encomienda mitaria* system, entire Guarani communities, about 27,000 families, were placed under the control of 300 Spaniards (Saeger 269). This asymmetrical power relationship was predicated on the Spanish construction of the Guarani Other as culturally and militarily inferior and manifested itself through Spanish domination of the Guarani, requiring the Guarani population to be a regular labor force for colonists, and paternalistic protection of the Guarani from other colonial threats, specifically the Portuguese slave traders. In these *encomiendas*, the Guarani men were expected to provide 2-3 months of agricultural labor to the *encomendero* in order to produce commodities, such as sugar and cotton; they were also expected to provide for themselves and produce a surplus that would meet the needs of political and religious officials appointed by the Spaniards as well as provide the required communal labor for their villages. In 1582, the Royal Council declared the *encomienda* system guilty of crimes against the native population; prior to this judgement, however, members of the clergy had already conceived of reductions as a possible solution to the corruption of the *encomienda* system. As early as the 1580s, the Franciscans had begun founding reductions in Paraguay, as a complement to the *encomienda* system, but in 1609, the Society of

Jesus, principally influenced by Father Diego de Torres, began establishing reductions in Paraguay as a negation of the *encomienda* system and its various abuses (Melià *El Guaraní* 205, 208). According to Bartomeu Melià, the reductions founded by the Society were designed to be a distinct colonial experience from the *encomienda*:

[...] [L]os jesuitas entendían crear y organizar un espacio de libertad para el indio guaraní, contra el encomendero colonial. Porque si la reducción era una libertad reducida respecto a aquella libertad más auténtica que tenía el pueblo guaraní antes de la entrada colonial, era también una liberación respecto a la amenaza continua de las agresiones encomenderas.

The Jesuits intended to organize and fashion a liberated space for the Guarani Indian in contrast to the colonial *encomendero*. Because even if freedom within the reduction was limited when compared to the freedom enjoyed by the Guarani people prior to colonialism, it was still freedom from the continual threat of abuse from the *encomienda* system. (*El Guaraní* 208)

While Montoya does not openly question the justness of Iberian imperialism within the Americas, he does question its practices, particularly the abuses of Spanish and Portuguese colonists against the native populations. He points out that within the province of Uruguay, the mission effort did not go hand in hand with secular conquistadors, so that Christianity was introduced there “desnudo de armas” [naked of weapons] (43). His point here might be two-fold in that it attempts to offer justification for the continuation of the missions, since missionaries were the first Europeans to venture into these regions, and it calls for the absence of Western military and colonial violence against the native populations, since, according to Montoya, the conversion and civilization of these groups was carried out solely by the missionaries and without military force. Montoya’s commentary on the reductions is, for the most part, in line with Acosta’s recommendations for the evangelization of barbarians of the third tier in the Americas but differs significantly with regard to the role of the military. While Montoya shares Acosta’s conviction that in order to evangelize the Amerindians it is necessary to civilize them,

requiring their relocation to an urban environment, he diverges from Acosta's recommendations about how to establish relations between the missionaries and the natives. In book two of his evangelizing manual, Acosta discusses ways missionaries can evangelize barbarians, the first being in the manner and custom of the Apostles in which "vayan predicadores a los gentiles, confiados en la gracia de Dios, prediquen el Evangelio sin ir acompañados de ningún aparato militar" [the preachers go to the Gentiles, confident in the grace of God, they preach the Gospel without being accompanied by any military presence] (Vol 1 303). While Acosta acknowledges that this method has been successful in the East, among peoples who share a similar concept of *civilitas* to Europeans, such as the Japanese, he argues that "este método de evangelización con la mayor parte de los pueblos de este mundo occidental, por nada más debe ser condenado que por su extrema estupidez, y no sin razón" [among the majority of the peoples of this Western world, this method of evangelization should at the very least be condemned for its extreme stupidity and not without reason] (Vol 1 307) because of what he interprets as the lack of humanity and natural law among the Amerindians:

Con los huéspedes y extranjeros no respetan ningún derecho de gentes, cuando ni entre ellos siquiera conocen las leyes de la naturaleza. Por lo cual confiarse a la razón y albedrío de estos bárbaros sería como pretender entablar amistad con jabalíes y cocodrilos.

Among their neighbors and strangers they do not respect any human rights, when even among themselves they do not recognize the laws of nature. Because of which, to trust in the reason and volition of these barbarians would be akin to striking up a friendship with wild boars and crocodiles. (Vol 1 309)

For this reason, he recommends instead that missionaries either evangelize only those peoples who have been conquered by the Spanish or Portuguese, whether justly or unjustly, since they are already subordinated and contained within the colonial system, or if missionaries desire to go to unconquered peoples, they should be accompanied by military troops. In both cases, Acosta

solidifies the link between imperial expansion and evangelization and goes so far as to dismiss the martyrdom of missionaries who are killed by the native peoples in the attempts to evangelize them without a military escort on the basis that the Apostles were killed and tortured by rational men who opposed the faith, but the Amerindians do not kill in order to oppose the faith but because they are bestial (309). Montoya, on the other hand, boasts of the accomplishments of the reductions founded without military assistance and insists that the blood of the five Jesuit priests who lost their lives in the venture number among the “insignes martirios” [renowned martyrs] (43). He contends that the risk was worth the reward, producing “el fruto copiosísimo de 25 poblaciones ó reducciones” [the extremely abundant fruit of 25 populations or reductions] (43). Montoya’s emphasis on what the missionaries have accomplished without military or colonial assistance demonstrates the unique space that the reductions held within the Iberian colonial project. While Montoya does not intertwine the evangelization of the native population with the military expansion of Iberian imperialism to the same degree as Acosta, he nonetheless links the missions directly with political subjugation to the monarch, contending that the deaths of the missionaries should not be interpreted as either the weakness of the Gospel or dishonor toward Spain, but rather as the Gospel’s strength and the risk required for its growth as well as honor for the Spanish nation and the enhancement of the royal position (43).

One of the greatest conceptual difficulties of the missions to the Amerindians for Jesuit missionary scholars was determining where they fit into the traditional framework of both classical and Christian knowledge of the world. Asia, as we have seen, was part of the original tri-continental Western envisioning of the world, but the addition of a fourth continent forced Europeans to reevaluate their earlier global assumptions. In his *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, Acosta acknowledges that one of the arguments made against the evangelization of the

Amerindians is that of subtraction, arguing that the natives are not included within the Christian plan of salvation because they were not mentioned in classical or ecclesiastical sources (Vol 1 115). Montoya counters this argument by connecting the Guarani with the Christian tradition through St. Thomas, who was attributed with spreading the Gospel throughout the East.

Al verdadero Dios nunca hicieron sacrificio, ni tuvieron más que un simple conocimiento, y tengo para mí, que sólo esto les quedó de la predicación del Apóstol Santo Tomás, que como veremos les anunció los misterios divinos.

They never made sacrifice to the true God, nor had more than a simple knowledge, which in my opinion was all that remained from the preaching of the Apostle Saint Thomas, who as we will see announced the divine mysteries to them. (50)

Montoya's description of the Guarani as ignorant, contending that their knowledge of the Christian God is rudimentary at best, is in line with the construction of barbarians of the third tier who require Western instruction and civilization. Yet he also interprets their culture through a particular Western lens based on his belief that they had previous contact with the West, and Christianity, via St. Thomas. By asserting an earlier connection to the West and Western knowledge, Montoya can then interpret what he views as the culture's deficiencies as degradation and justify their re-education and "re-Christianization" by the missionaries. In addition to what he views as an inadequate doctrinal understanding of the Christian God, he contends that the Guarani have a limited scientific knowledge of the world, observing that "[s]u numerar no llega á más que cuatro, y de allí con alguna confusion hasta diez, y así les vamos enseñando nuestra cuenta, importante para las confesiones [their numeration does not reach more than four, and from there with some confusion up to ten, so we are in the process of teaching our method of counting, which is important for confessions] (50). Montoya here equates the possession of Western scientific knowledge, specifically following Western numeration, with religious knowledge, the practice of Catholic confession. From Montoya's perspective, then, in

order to attain religious knowledge about Christianity, the Guarani must adopt a Western worldview, which the missionary priest envisions that they once had through contact with St. Thomas but lost through their isolation from the West. In this vein, Montoya at times projects a Western interpretation onto the practices of the native culture, such as his interpretation of the practice of cannibalism as a marred version of the Christian sacrament of baptism, to demonstrate how Western forms of knowledge within the culture have been corrupted:

Usan un género de bautismo ó de ponerse nombre. El cautivo que cogen en guerra lo engordan, dándole libertad en comidas y mujeres que escoge á su gusto; ya gordo lo matan con mucha solemnidad, y tocando todos á este cuerpo muerto con la mano, ó dándole algún golpe con un palo, se pone cada cual su nombre; por la comarca reparten pedazos de este cuerpo, el cual pedazo cocido en mucha agua, hacen unas gachas, de que tomando un bocado toma cada cual su nombre, las mujeres dan á sus hijos de teta un poquito de esta mazamorra, y con eso les ponen el nombre; es fiesta muy célebre para ellos, que hacen con muchas ceremonias.

They practice a form of baptism or a naming ceremony. The prisoner who is captured in battle is fattened up, allowed freedom in food and women whom he chooses as he fancies; now fat he is killed with much solemnity, and each person touching the body with a hand or hitting it with a stick, each receives a name; throughout the región, the body parts are shared, and a piece cooked in a large amount of water and made into a porridge, each taking a mouthful takes his name, the women give a little of this mazamorra to their children who still suckle, and with this they are given a name; the occassion is greatly celebrated by them who have many ceremonies. (51)

Montoya clearly does not equate the actions performed during the cannibalism ceremony with those of Catholic baptism; however, he sees the two as performing a similar cultural function in defining one's identity within a given community. Although the Guarani ceremony relates to a shared tribal identity (the cannibalized warrior representing an opposing Other), Montoya envisions this ceremony as a distortion of baptism providing one with a name and identity within the global Catholic community.

Montoya's solution to what he views as the cultural and religious inadequacies of the Guaraní reflects the shared belief among members of the Society of Jesus that cultural transformation can be attained through education. The chapter in which Montoya describes the pedagogical structure enforced by the missionaries within the reductions is tellingly entitled *Modo que tuvimos para quitar estos abusos, y predicar la fe* [The method that we used for removing the abuses and preaching the faith] (54), depicting the role of education both within the global Jesuit mission and at the level of the local mission as a tool for the civilizing and evangelizing of indigenous populations. In his *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, Acosta foregrounds the importance of education as a tool for reshaping the worldview of the barbarians of the second and third tiers, insisting, "Y a la verdad no hay nación, por bárbara y estúpida que sea, que no deponga su barbarie, se revista de humanismo y costumbres, si se la educa con esmero y espíritu generoso desde la niñez" [And in truth there is no nation, no matter how barbarous or stupid it be, that does not cast off its barbarous ways, and refashions its humanity and customs, if it is diligently educated with a generous spirit from childhood] (Vol 1 151). As Acosta's comments suggest, the Western institutions of education, recreated by the Jesuits in the colonial setting, established an asymmetrical power relationship that missionaries could use to privilege Western knowledge while simultaneously undercutting the role of indigenous knowledge. This does not, of course, mean that the Jesuits never made use of native knowledge; in practice, the missionaries appropriated native knowledge when it suited them⁴⁹; however, the

⁴⁹ In his discussion of medicine within the Guaraní reductions, Andrés Prieto points out that although the missionaries incorporated native knowledge into their medical practices and trained native nurses, *curuzuyaras* (bearers of the cross), the missionaries themselves remained firmly in control of the implementation of medical knowledge:

[...] [M]edicine in the Jesuit missions in Paraguay would become a highly controlled activity, allowing the missionaries to control the neophytes' recourse to traditional magical-religious activities much more efficiently, at least within the

cultural role of this knowledge within the reductions was fundamentally changed as it was separated from its native cultural context and inserted into Western categories of knowledge.

Acosta also praises the concept of the reduction as a space that both physically confines nomadic peoples to an urban environment and confines their knowledge to a Western worldview in all aspects of daily life: “[...] no se puede decir de cuánta utilidad va a resultar para ir modelando la vida de los bárbaros en todos sus aspectos” [it cannot be stated of what great utility [the reduction] will be for the modeling of life in every way to the barbarians] (Vol 1 167).

Montoya’s description of the role of education within the reductions of Loreto and San Ignacio reflects Acosta’s hope that life within reductions would be highly regulated by the missionaries in order to model a Western Catholic lifestyle to the native population:

[P]usimos escuela de leer y escribir para la juventud; señalóse tiempo de una hora mañana y tarde para que acudiesen todos los adultos á la doctrina, y aunque en ella y los sermones que hacíamos todos los domingos tratábamos con toda claridad de los misterios de nuestra santa fe y de los preceptos divinos, en el sexto guardamos silencio en público, por no marchitar aquellas tiernas plantas, y poner odio al Evangelio [...]

We founded a school of reading and writing for youths; Time, an hour in the morning and afternoon, was set aside so that all the adults could attend to the doctrine, and although in the doctrine and the sermons which we gave each Sunday we treated the mysteries of our holy faith and the divine teachings with clarity, in the sixth [hour] we maintained public silence, so that the tender plants might not wither, and bring hatred toward the Gospel [...]
(54-55)

Although Montoya begins by highlighting the missionaries’ establishment of traditional Western educational forms, teaching alphabetic literacy to youths within a missionary-founded school setting, he also points out the role of educating the adult population through the regulation of

mission limits [...] [D]espite their importance and privileged position, [the native nurses] had little control over the way Guaraní medical traditions were used and interpreted by the missionaries. Although the *curuzuyaras* were trained in some European clinical techniques, the final responsibility for overseeing the physical well-being of the community always fell upon the missionaries. (78, 79)

time, religious instruction (both in oral and written form) and day to day practices (enforced silence). This instruction, however, differs markedly from the instruction of Japanese youths in that there is no transformative aspect to the power relationship within the Paraguay missions. Within the reductions, the missionaries and Guarani created a hybrid culture but one that nonetheless was founded on an asymmetrical power relationship where the missionaries were to remain in control of religious knowledge. The acceptance of the Guarani into the Order and their eventual ordination as priests was never fathomed by either Acosta or Montoya. In fact, in book four of his *De Procuranda*, Acosta cautions that even criollos and mestizos, whose familiarity with native language and customs could be an asset to the missions, might prove too native to entrust with much power: “[...] ni es conveniente confiar tan gran empresa a hombres que son expertos en el idioma, pero cuyas costumbres no son tan a propósito. Porque de ordinario mantienen los resabios de la condición y costumbre de los indios, con cuya lecha y trato se han criado” [nor is it convenient to entrust such a great enterprise to men who are experts in the language, but whose behavior is not suited for the task. Since they usually retain the bad habits of the condition and practice of the Indians, from whose milk and behavior they were raised] (Vol 2 69). If criollos and mestizos, who both had a cultural and blood tie to Iberian imperial colonialism, were potentially unsuitable as members of the Society, indigenous peoples, such as the Guarani, were certainly excluded from positions of authority within the Society. In book six of his *De Procuranda*, Acosta outlines the limitations for advancement of indigenous peoples within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, denying them the ability to assume positions of authority within the mission as their Japanese counterparts were allowed:

Pues bien, nuestros mayores establecieron esta norma prudente: que a nadie de origen indio se le conceda el sacerdocio o algún grado eclesiástico y que no se pongan ornamentos sagrados en el servicio del templo; que solo permita a los indios cristianos servir al altar al modo de los acólitos, cantar en el coro,

desempeñar el oficio de sacristanes, vestir solamente sobrepelliz para estos servicios.

Well then, our superiors established this prudent precept: that no one of Indian heritage can be ordained a priest or to any type of ecclesiastical office and cannot wear sacred vestments in the service of the church; Christian Indians are only permitted to serve at the altar as acolites, to sing in the choir, to carry out the role of sacristans, and dress only in surplice while performing these duties. (Vol 2 455)

The Power to Translate

Although Acosta considered native literacy a defining factor in his categorization of barbarians, it could also pose a problem for missionaries desiring to translate Western Catholicism into a non-Western language and culture. In the case of the mission to Japan, the missionaries' inability to resemantize the native language led to the virtual control of the mission printing press by Japanese Christians, both in the creation and use of moveable type as well the translation of Western texts into the Japanese language. In contrast, the lack of a written language among the Guarani as well as the constructed nature of the reductions allowed the Jesuits to substantially alter the indigenous language by privileging a dialect for common communication,⁵⁰ resemantizing native vocabulary to better fit Christian theology and creating a written form of the language then taught to the Guarani by the missionaries. In short, within the reductions the printing press was a means through which the missionaries could control and alter the Guarani language, essentially reinforcing a paternalistic power relationship, whereas the

⁵⁰ In *La Lengua Guaraní en el Paraguay Colonial: La creación de un lenguaje cristiano en las Reducciones de los Guaraníes en el Paraguay*, Bartomeu Melià points out that the missionaries incorporated smaller tribes of non-Guarani peoples into the reductions forcing them to conform to the Guarani-dominant society created there. He attributes the creation of a hegemonic Guarani culture within the reductions to Jesuit desires for linguistic economy and social uniformity by de-emphasizing the cultural and linguistic variations among the tribes. In this way, he argues some tribes upon entering the reductions were "guaranitzadas" [Guaraniized] at the same time that they were "cristianizadas" [Christianized], combining the religious and social transformation of these peoples (104).

printing press in Japan reflects the limits of Western influence over the Japanese culture and language as well as a more transformative use of power in which the Japanese Christians could participate in the Christianization of their native culture and literacy.

In book three of his *De Procuranda*, Acosta articulates the Society's somewhat paradoxical desire to both preserve and transform the native cultures of the non-Christian Other:

Hay que ir poco a poco imbuyendo a los indios en las costumbres cristianas y en nuestra forma de vivir. Y hay que cortar paso a paso los ritos supersticiosos y sacrílegos y los hábitos de bárbara fiereza. Pero en los puntos en que sus costumbres no se oponen a la religión o a la justicia, no creo que se las deba cambiar así porque así. Hay que conservar sus costumbres patrias y tradicionales que no vayan contra la justicia, y organizarles jurídicamente conforme a ellas, tal y como ordenan las disposiciones del Consejo de Indias.

We must gradually imbue the Indians with Christian customs and our way of living. And we must successively rid them of their superstitious rituals, sacrilegious and practices of animalistic savagery. But in the points in which their customs do not contradict or oppose religion or justice, I do not believe we should force change for the sake of change. We should conserve their national customs and traditions which do not run counter to justice, and organize them juridically according to these customs, in accordance to the dispositions of the Council of the Indies. (Vol 1 587)

Within this call to preserve elements of the native culture that do not seem contrary to Catholicism and Western notions of *civilitas*, Acosta considers the usage of the native language a given. The Jesuits were by no means the only Catholic missionaries to advance the study of non-European languages, but the systemization of languages encountered on the mission field and the printing of religious materials in the native languages became hallmarks of their global mission. Acosta reflects the Jesuit desire for linguistic accommodation by considering the domination of the native language by missionary priests equally important as their spiritual and intellectual preparation, contending that without it the message of the Gospel resounds solely in the ears of intended converts and never penetrates the depths of their souls (Vol 2 47, 49). Although the usage of native languages became a hallmark of the Jesuit global mission, not all Jesuits, and

certainly not all missionaries from other orders such as the Benedictines and Franciscans, felt that it was necessary or prudent to use native languages for evangelization and preaching. Acosta acknowledges that not all missionaries share his opinion, yet he contends that it is a matter of great spiritual significance for the missionary priest: “Llámenme rígido y pesado. No me importa. Yo creo [...] que el sacerdote que no sabe la lengua de los indios no puede aceptar el oficio de párroco sin detrimento de su alma” [Call me rigid and tiresome. I don’t care. I believe that a priest who does not know the language of the Indians cannot accept the parroquial office without detriment to his own soul] (Vol 2 55). While, as Acosta admits, there was division among missionaries about the role of the native language in the evangelization of the non-Christian Other, among those who shared his view on the usage of native languages the practical problems of translation proved equally difficult to agree upon. Acosta recommends the adoption of loanwords from European languages to fill in the theological and philosophical gaps, as it were, of the cultures encountered:

Así que pienso que no hay que preocuparse demasiado de si los vocablos fe, cruz, ángel, virginidad, matrimonio y otros muchos no se pueden traducir bien y con propiedad al idioma de los indios. Podrían tomarse del castellano y apropiárselas, enriqueciendo la lengua con su uso, como lo hicieron siempre todas las naciones, y sobre todo la española [...]

I do not believe that we need be greatly concerned if the words for faith, cross, angel, virginity, marriage and various others cannot be translated well using the elements of the Indian languages. We can take these words from Spanish and appropriate them, enriching the language with their usage, as all nations have always done, particularly Spanish [...] (Vol 2 75)

In practice, however, the level and types of linguistic appropriation employed by missionary translators were intimately tied to the power relationships present in the missions and the level of control the missionaries had to transform the language and culture of the Other.

When Francis Xavier inaugurated the Jesuit mission in Japan, he had every intention of learning the Japanese language and translating the Gospel using as much native vocabulary as possible to explain Christian dogma to the Japanese. His first attempt to translate the catechism, however, was not entirely successful and contributed to a pushback from this earlier translation practice by the Jesuit missionaries who came directly after him. While Xavier's catechism had several mistranslations that caused the missionaries, including Xavier himself, to abandon it,⁵¹ the principal concern was the translation of *Deus* (God) with the central deity of Shingon Buddhism, *Dainichi* (Mahāvairocana). *Dainichi*, literally "the Great Sun" or "the Great Illumination" refers to the embodiment of the reality of the universe similar to Western philosophy's concept of *materia prima* or matter without form (Higashibaba 5, Farge "Adapting" 68); Xavier's useage of the term, however, attempted to expand the definition to describe a personal deity who was the creator of the universe, the goal of the immortal soul and pure substance with neither form nor accident (Farge "Adapting" 68). Traditionally scholars have attributed the decision to translate *Deus* using the Buddhist construct of *Dainichi* to Xavier's Japanese guide who they argue either lacked sufficient training in Buddhist philosophy to understand the teachings relating to *Dainichi* or didn't grasp Christian dogma as well as the missionaries had supposed.⁵² William Farge, on the other hand, attributes the decision to Xavier who he argues encountered an image of the Buddhist bodhisattva *Dainichi* depicted with a trinity of heads each of which had a specific function shortly after his arrival in Japan in 1549

⁵¹ In 1555, Father Balthazar Gago reported that the translation contained more than fifty detrimental terms (Higashibaba 8).

⁵² Andrew Ross for example contends that Xavier's Japanese companion was a samurai who could read the kana syllabary but not the Chinese script, and he had never studied Buddhist theology or philosophy (*Vision* 28).

(“Adapting” 67). If the latter is true and Xavier chose the term because of the affinities he believed existed between Christian dogma and native belief, his desire then was to resemanticize the term, which was also the goal of Jesuit missionaries among the Guarani who used native terms, such as *tupã* for God, in their translation of Christian dogma within the reductions. The Jesuit attempt to resemanticize native terminology to be more compatible with a Western Christian worldview in the missions in Japan and Paraguay resulted in distinct reactions, both of which were intimately tied to the power dynamics involved in the relationship with the missionaries and the indigenous population.

By the sixteenth century, the Japanese already possessed a rich literary tradition of printed religious texts dating back to the eighth century, though these early texts served a distinct cultural function from printed texts in early modern Europe, and by the time of the Jesuits’ arrival there was a robust tradition of Buddhist literary scholarship (Kornicki 113).⁵³ The presence of a thriving native literacy and a developed religious and political hierarchy that mirrored Western cultural structures led the Jesuits to rank the Japanese among those who possessed reason and civilization. In practice, these structures were both a blessing and a hindrance for the Jesuits in Japan. For example, when a *daimyo* converted to Christianity, the Jesuits could usurp the cultural and educational function that Buddhist institutions and personnel had previously established within the ruler’s territories, but the linguistic complexity of Buddhist philosophical debate was difficult for Western missionaries to grasp let alone use to introduce Christian dogma into Japanese. Early attempts to resemanticize Japanese religious terminology

⁵³ Peter Kornicki contends that the earliest printed texts in Japan are the one million dhāraṇī or Buddhist invocations printed and then placed in miniature wooden pagodas. The printing of these texts was a form of ritual practice rather than the production of material for individual or corporate reading, but by the eleventh century, the Japanese, like their Chinese counterparts, were producing printed texts to be read (113-16).

by Western missionaries, evidenced by Xavier's catechism, fell short for various reasons. For one, the Jesuits in Japan lacked a cultural and political power akin to their fellow missionaries in the Americas because neither of the Iberian empires ever established similar colonial structures in Japan. Another reason, mentioned by Acosta, was the reluctance of missionaries to study and use native languages either because these languages seemed too difficult to master or because missionaries held to acculturation of Western religious beliefs, languages and customs as the goal of overseas missions. This linguistic perspective can be seen in the practices of missionaries who came directly after Xavier into the East in that they did not attempt translation into the native languages or did so sparingly, evidenced by Cabral's mission policy for Japan as well as the practice of the first Jesuit printing press in the East, established in Goa in the 1550s, of printing materials solely in Portuguese and Latin (Moran 146). The desire of post-Xavier missionaries in the East for acculturation to Western languages can also be understood in terms of the larger concern of the Society of Jesus, both in Europe and abroad, to strictly censure information so as to eradicate heresy and minimize doctrinal misunderstandings. Printed materials on the mission fields of the East were subjected to a rigid formal review process in order to control knowledge relating to Christianity and the West. To this end, the first materials printed for the Japanese mission were in Goa,⁵⁴ the headquarters of Jesuit mission activity in the East, and even after the Japanese mission had its own printing press and was producing works in translation, Japanese texts had to be referred to the Inquisition at Goa despite the fact the the

⁵⁴ *De Missione Legatorum Iaponesium* printed in 1590

inquisitors could not accurately evaluate these works since they lacked fluency in Japanese (149).⁵⁵

Valignano's arrival in 1574 marked a dramatic shift in Jesuit linguistic policy in the East as he eagerly encouraged the translation of religious materials into the indigenous languages and procured a printing press for the Japanese mission, yet his enthusiasm for the translation of Western texts into Japanese was distinct from the more naive approach taken by Xavier. While Valignano does encourage the study of Japanese by Western missionaries, which can be seen as a part of his larger call for cultural accommodation to native practice and a clear reversal from Cabral's mission policy, he reiterates over and over the challenges of Japan for Westerners. In his *Sumario*, his solution to the seemingly insurmountable foreignness of Japan for Western missionaries is to educate and equip Japanese Christians to perform the tasks necessary to the mission which Westerners cannot adequately fulfill. The Jesuit missionaries' inability to master the language and cultural complexities of Japan led to the incorporation of Japanese Christians into positions of limited authority within the mission, such as the adoption by the Society of the lay position of *dojuku* for a variety of mission tasks including preaching to the native population.⁵⁶ Just as Japanese Christians were integral to the mission as cultural and linguistic

⁵⁵ Although Valignano was granted a papal exemption in 1595 for the referral of all materials printed in Japan to be sent to the inquisition in Goa, it continued to be a problem evidenced by his complaining about it even up to nine years later (Moran 149).

⁵⁶ Early in the Japanese mission, beginning in 1553 with Bernardo under the supervision of Xavier, promising Japanese students were sent to Europe to be ordained in the Society of Jesus with the intention that they would return to Japan and take up leadership positions within the mission. This method of training did not become common practice since only a few were chosen and of those only a handful survived the journey to Europe and back. For those who did complete their studies and survive the journey home, their contribution to the mission was mixed in that some, like Constantino Dourado and Martinho Hara became translators and teachers within the seminaries while others were imprisoned and martyred a few short years after their return and a few, like Miguel Chijiwa, apostasized and became powerful anti-Christian

intermediaries within the community, preaching and acting as messengers between the Society and local nobles, so too did they become the mouthpieces of the Society through print. From the outset, Japanese Christians were involved in the production and translation of texts on the Jesuit mission press in Japan.⁵⁷ The printing press for the Japanese mission was acquired during the embassy of the four Japanese nobles to Europe in 1582 who presumably learned something of Western printing methods during their time abroad. Although many of the works produced on the Japanese press have been lost and the remaining works do not often list the translators' names, there is good reason to believe that the majority of works were translated and printed by the Japanese Christians or within the context of a collaboration between European missionaries and Japanese Brothers.

The Jesuit press in Japan presented Japanese Christians with the opportunity to be participants in the creation of a hybrid Japanese Christian culture and literature. By 1599, over thirty Japanese were working full-time for the press, and in the following year the printing of Japanese characters was delegated to a Japanese Christian layman, Thomé Sōin Gotō (Moran 153-4). In his discussion of the Japanese mission press, Takashi Gonoï highlights the contributions of Japanese Christians such as Constantino Dourado, Jorge de Loyola and Martinho Hara, all of whom had spent time in Europe and embodied Valignano's desire to create a Western-educated Japanese clergy. According to Gonoï, Constantino was responsible for the

polemicists. For a detailed account of the Japanese who had contact with Europe during the Japanese mission, see Takashi Gonoï's "Relations Between Japan and Goa in the 16th and 17th Centuries."

⁵⁷ The Japanese printing press produced materials for the mission for approximately 25 years. It was brought from Macao to Nagasaki in the summer of 1590 and by early autumn it was installed at the Jesuit College for trainees in Katsuma, Arima where it remained until 1591 when it moved to Kawachinoura in Amakusa. Due to persecution, the Amakusa College was moved to Nagasaki in 1597 and both the press and college remained there until 1614 when the press was removed from Japan to Macao due to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Japan. (Moran 153)

production of type for the Japanese mission press and is attributed with printing the first works of *Kirishitan-ban* (Japanese Christian literature) on the Japanese press beginning in 1588 (Gonoi 105-6).⁵⁸ During his time abroad in Lisbon and Goa, Jorge de Loyola likewise learned to use the printing press and was recognized as a translator, possibly even the translator of *Aesop's Fables* into Japanese (*Esopo no Fabvlas*), which was widely read even outside the Japanese Christian community (108). In a letter written by Valignano to the Society General in 1613, the Visitor to the East credits Martinho Hara, one of the four ambassadors to Europe, with the translation of Luis de Granada's *Guía de Pecadores* (*Giya do pekadoru*) as well as the revision of an earlier translation of Thomas à Kempis's *De Imitatione Christi* into Japanese as *Contemptvs mundi jenbu* subsequently retitled as *Kontemutsusu munji*⁵⁹ (Farge *Japanese* 10). Though Japanese Christian translators had considerable influence over the Western works they translated into their native language, their translation practice was tempered by Western missionaries' efforts to control knowledge. The misunderstanding caused by Xavier's catechism had led European missionaries to be cautious in general of appropriating native religious terminology and to instead rely upon Western loanwords, as Acosta likewise suggests, particularly in relation to matters of doctrine. In his first Japanese grammar (1604-1608), João Rodrigues, given the title *Tçuzu* or interpreter because of his linguistic acuity for Japanese, explains the useage of Latinate terms by Jesuits in the translation of Japanese texts. His examples highlight the adoption of Portuguese and Latin words to describe matters of church doctrine, essentially to fill in where

⁵⁸ Constantino was also responsible for the production of matrices into Japanese literary forms beginning with *katakana* followed by *hirogana* (both of which are Japanese syllabaries) in combination with Chinese characters, introduced in three sizes (big, medium and small) just as the Latin letters in European printing presses (Gonoi 107).

⁵⁹ Farge mentions that although Martinho Hara is attributed as the translator of *Guia de Pecadores* in a letter written by Mesquita to the Society General, the translation has also been attributed to the Spanish Jesuit Pero Ramón (*Japanese* 72).

Japanese religious teaching is lacking or where using native terms might prove confusing, such as Xavier's usage of *Dainichi* had done.

About how to introduce some of our words which they lack in the Japanese language and how to pronounce them. Since in the Japanese language some words are lacking it is necessary-- in order to explain many novel things which the Holy Bible brings-- to invent novel words (in Japanese), which is difficult in that language, or borrow them from our language, adapting them whenever necessary to the pronunciation of the Japanese, as being natural. And since the Portuguese language has many coincidences with the Japanese language in the pronunciation of many syllables, they can borrow such nouns easily (from Portuguese), since some of them are also taken from Latin. These nouns refer to God, the saints, the virtues and some other things they lack. ... Notice that the Japanese pronounce their whole language with simple syllables, consisting of a consonant and a vowel, e.g. instead of 'Padre' they say 'Patere', instead of 'Trinidad', they say 'Chirindade', 'Natal', 'Nataru', 'Ecclesia', 'Yequerejia', etc. Nevertheless, it is good to write these words in our way, when we write such words in our letters, and not in theirs. (qtd. in Zwartjes 119-120)

Japanese Christian translators made use of a number of loanwords to describe doctrine (both because this is presumably what they were taught by Western missionaries and what would be expected of them by the inquisition in Goa where their translations were reviewed), yet later translations employ a sophisticated amalgam of native and Western philosophical concepts reflecting what Farge acclaims as “a truly Japanese Christian literature” (*Japanese* 6). In his detailed analysis of the Japanese translations of *Guía de Pecadores* and *De Imitatione Christi*, Farge emphasizes the sophisticated useage of terminology common to Buddhist philosophical literature as well as the incorporation of native concepts to explain Western ideologies, such as *ukiyo* [the instability of life] to convey the Western *contemptus mundi* [the misery of the human condition] (*Japanese* 12). He also highlights how these translators employed European loanwords so as to make them intelligible to a Japanese-speaking audience. One example he provides is the exposition of the distinction between body and soul that would have been unfamiliar to the native audience. To make this idea accesible to a Japanese audience, the

translator creatively joins a familiar Buddhist term, *shikishin*, with the Western loanword, *anima*, which Farge argues mirrors what is being taught “a familiar concept, the visible body, and a mysterious entity, the invisible soul, are joined to form a human person” (*Japanese* 84). Extending Farge’s comparison, it can be argued that the translator, by employing the Buddhist construct of *shikishin* with the Western loanword *anima*, hints that native philosophy and religious teaching is insufficient to fully understand the human condition and that Western religion and learning must be added to clarify one’s perspective and in order to attain salvation. The sophisticated usage of both native and Western knowledge by Japanese translators educated abroad suggests the emergence of a uniquely hybrid Japanese Christian intellectualism.

Among the Guarani in Paraguay, the lack of a written language, coupled with the asymmetrical power relationship characteristic of colonialism in the Americas, led the Jesuits to “reduce” and transform the Guarani language through the printing press. As Melià contends, the transformation of an oral language into a graphic language, particularly by a foreign cultural influence, as the Jesuits were, necessarily involves a series of “reductions” that change the very nature of the language and its socio-cultural position; “la lengua pasa del oído a la vista, de lo efímero a lo estable, de lo particular a lo general, del individuo a la sociedad” [The language shifts from aural to visual, from ephemerality to stability, from the specific to the more general, from the individual to the society] (*El Guaraní* 253). Within this process of linguistic and cultural metamorphosis, the Guarani were principally the receivers rather than the creators of a graphic form of their own language. Missionary scholars working among the Guarani praised the language for its merits, comparing it to the classical languages of Europe, and presenting it as proof of the humanity of a people whom they otherwise considered quite bestial. The Jesuits considered language a gift from God and saw in it, as they did in nature, the evidence of God’s

presence among the barbarians. Antonio Ruiz de Montoya's praise of the Guarani language reflects his belief that language is a divine gift through his association of the Guarani language with the language given to Adam by God to name creation:

[...] [Esta] lengua [es] tan copiosa, y elegante, que con razon puede competir con las de fama. Tan propia es sus significados, que le podemos aplicar lo del Gen. 2 *Omne quod vocavit Adam animæ viuentis, ipsum est nomen eius*. Tan propia es, que desnudas las cosas en sî, las dà vestidas de su naturaleza. Tã vniversal, que domina ambos mares [...]

This language is so sophisticated and elegant that with good reason it can compete with the renowned languages. So precise are its meanings that we can compare it to the language of Gen. 2 *Whatsoever Adam called any living creature the same is its name*. So apt is it that to things which are bare in and of themselves, it clothes them in its very nature. So universal is it that it dominates both oceans. (Montoya *Tesoro*)

By associating language with the divine intervention of the Christian God, the Jesuits could justify their attempts to alter the language to reflect a Christian worldview, or put another way to “restore” the language from the demonic corruption it had fallen into in the absence of Christian teaching.

Prior to the founding of the Guarani Jesuit reductions, Franciscan missionaries, such as Friar Luis Bolaños, had compiled linguistic notes and developed an orthography of the language (Melià *Lengua* 83). Bolaños's introductory work with the language served as a foundation for later Jesuit linguistic work. While various Jesuit missionaries contributed to the linguistic study of Guarani,⁶⁰ the contributions of Father Ruiz de Montoya became the seminal texts for those

⁶⁰ Father Marciel de Lorenzana is considered the first Jesuit grammarian of Guarani. Shortly after his arrival in Asunción in 1593, he contacted Father Bolaños in order to take advantage of his linguistic resources. His colleague, Alonso Barzana, was also well-known for his linguistic talents and is credited with five grammar books and vocabularies for five different languages, including Guarani (Melià *Lengua* 84). Another Jesuit who attempted to write a Guarani grammar was Father Diego González Holguín who was proficient in the Andean languages. He also copied the sermons translated into Guarani by Father Roque González (85). The first complete Guarani grammar, entitled *Breve introducción para aprender la lengua guaraní*, was produced

desiring to study the language. Montoya's *Arte de la lengua guaraní*, published in Madrid in 1639, was the first Guarani grammar reproduced in print. Written for the beginner, the work became the textbook used by Jesuit missionaries throughout Europe desiring to work in the famous reductions (Melià *Lengua* 86). Its revision and republication by Father Paulo Restivo in 1696, who later published two linguistic works himself, *Breve noticia* in 1718 and an *Arte* in 1724, signals its enduring popularity. In addition to his *Arte*, Montoya also published the first known dictionary, *Tesoro de la lengua guaraní* in the same year as his *Arte* and one year later produced the first vocabulary, *Vocabulario de la lengua guaraní* (*Lengua* 89). These works are culturally significant both for their ethnographic descriptions of the Guarani language and their role in the semantic transformation of the language through the imposition of a Christian cultural context. Melià aptly describes the dual purpose of the Jesuit missionary scholars' study of the Guarani language:

[J]unto con la motivación de carácter misionero se desarrolla entre los jesuitas un verdadero entusiasmo cultural hacia la lengua en sí misma. [...] De forma casi abusiva, se apropiaron de la lengua y la hicieron suya. La estudiaron, la usaron, la cultivaron, le dieron el rango de una lengua general y "civilizada." En el aspecto de la lengua, lo guaraní se hacía jesuítico, [...] esta empresa estaba llena de ambigüedades y preñada de peligros, tanto para los jesuitas como para los guaraníes [...]

Alongside the Jesuits' missionary objectives grew a genuine cultural interest in the language itself. [...] In somewhat abusive ways, the Jesuits appropriated the language, making it their own. They studied it, used it, cultivated it, and gave it

by Father Alonso de Aragona and written sometime before his death in 1629. Aragona's grammar is written for beginners in the language and is structured using "universal" grammatical categories applied to Latin and other romance languages, though he point out areas of difference among the languages. The principal purpose of the text is for the missionary to understand and also be understood. The last known Jesuit Guarani grammar to be written is that of Father Francisco Legal, a Paraguayan criollo. Legal's grammar was composed in Italy after the Jesuit expulsion and is a summary of Montoya's grammar, intended to show the essential linguistic system of Guarani (88). For a more detailed account of the linguistic publications of the Jesuits, see Melià chapter 4 "Misión Lingüística de los Jesuitas en el Paraguay" pp. 75-98.

the status of a renowned, “civilized” language. In terms of the language, what had been Guarani became Jesuit, [...] this venture was rife with ambiguities and dangers abounded, as much for the Jesuits as for the Guarani [...] (*Lengua* 80)

The body of literature produced on the mission printing press, beginning in 1696 and ending with the expulsion of the Jesuits, was principally a literature of translation, dominated by the Western missionaries. In stark contrast to the number of notable Japanese translators, few native Guarani writers emerged during the period of the reductions and those who did, the most prominent being Nicholas Yapuguay, were confined to providing only scant alterations, such as the addition of idiomatic phrases or local references to religious materials, including sermons, previously translated by missionaries (Melià *El Guarani* 259). The most original native works written during the period are those relating to political life. The letters written by the *cabildos* (native chiefs) during the Guarani War (1753-56), for example, present a uniquely Guarani literary form referencing colonial structures and life within the reductions and doing so from a distinctly Guarani point of view (*El Guarani* 267). Although the Guarani were responsible for the physical reproduction of materials on the mission printing press, their contribution to the formation of a hybrid Guarani Christian print culture was primarily artistic, through their production of engravings accompanying religious works, rather than literary. Unlike the Japanese who were permitted to participate in the creation of Japanese Christian texts, Guarani literacy within the reductions was a tool of the missionaries to indoctrinate rather than a medium for native writers to exploit for the advancement of their own cultural goals. In this vein, Melià comments that during the period of the Jesuit reductions, there is essentially a native silence in response to the domination of literary forms by Western missionaries: "El indio no escribirá ningún canto ritual, no transcribirá ninguna oración propia, ni un mito, ni una leyenda" [The

Indian will not write a single ritual song, nor transcribe a single personal prayer, nor a myth or legend] (*El Guaraní* 259).

Despite Ruiz de Montoya's praise of the Guaraní language, likening it to the language of Eden, he expresses his difficulty in finding adequate translations due to the complexity of allegorical meanings within Guaraní: "La dificultad que he tenido en templar la armonia de voces desta lengua, veràlo el en vna sola particular viere sentidos varios, y aun contrarios (al parecer) algunos [...]" [The difficulty that I have had in tuning the voices of this language to be harmonious, truly the language in a single instance may have various meanings, which at times are even (seemingly) contradictory] (Montoya *Tesoro*). Ruiz de Montoya's musical analogy of translation underscores his understanding of the power of the translator as well as his vision of language. Harmony in music was associated with order, specifically the divine order in the heavenly harmonies produced by the music of the spheres, and Ruiz de Montoya here describes the translator's role as a tuner of semantic meanings (voices) so that they reflect the divine order, producing harmony. For a Jesuit missionary, the tuning of an indigenous language would lead to a "restoration" of meanings reflecting a Christian worldview. Catholic missionaries, beginning with the Franciscans, employed a combination of Western loanwords and resemantized native words in order to convey Christian doctrine to the Guaraní. Loanwords were used by the Jesuits in both Japan and Paraguay, though for somewhat different purposes. Melià interprets the missionaries' use of loanwords among the Guaraní as proof of the Jesuits' belief in "[la] incapacidad creativa de la lengua guaraní frente a nuevas realidades" [the creative incapability of the Guaraní language when confronted with new realities] (*El Guaraní* 257). Following Melià's line of reasoning, then, the Jesuits employed loanwords for concepts that did not exist within native Guaraní culture and which they believed would be conceptually impossible to convey

using native terms. Within his catechism, two terms Ruiz de Montoya does not attempt to translate are “persona” [person] and “Espíritu Santo” [Holy Spirit]; in these instances, he incorporates the Spanish loanword without providing a definition of the terms in Guaraní, presumably because he believed the native language could not provide an adequate explanation. Similarly, João Rodrigues, in his description of how to introduce Portuguese words into Japanese, contends that loanwords and neologisms are necessary tools of the missionary translator due to a lack of equivalent terminology in the native language to convey the “novelties” of Western Christianity. However, the useage of loanwords in Japan, particularly for terminology relating to Christian doctrine, was also a response to the failed attempts by the first Jesuit missionaries to Japan to resemantize native religious terms.

Both the Franciscans and the Jesuits working among the Guaraní in Paraguay relied on the resematization of native terms to describe key tenets of Christian dogma. In his *Conquista Espiritual*, Ruiz de Montoya acknowledges that the Guaraní “[a]l verdadero Dios nunca hicieron sacrificio, ni tuvieron más que un simple conocimiento [...]” [never made sacrifice to the true God, nor had more than a basic understanding] (50), yet despite the lack of theological knowledge mirroring Western religious concepts, the missionaries employ a native term, *tupã*, to describe the Christian God. Guillermo Wilde maintains that though it is difficult to determine exactly what the term *tupã* meant within pre-colonial Guaraní society, contemporary ethnographies suggest that the term referred to a secondary figure in the Guaraní pantheon (119). Whatever its referent, it is clear that within pre-colonial Guaraní culture, the line between the natural and supernatural worlds was not as rigid as it was in Western Christian culture, evidenced

by the attribution of supernatural names, such as *tupã*, to human beings.⁶¹ Although Ruiz de Montoya acknowledges that the Guaraní's concept of the supernatural expressed in the term *tupã* is not identical to Western Christianity's God, he crafts an etymology for the term privileging Western linguistic knowledge and attempting to connect Guaraní semantically with Hebrew. Ruiz de Montoya breaks the word into what he determines are its constituent parts, *tú*, admiration, and *pan*, an interrogative, connecting them with Western Christianity by contending "así corresponde al vocablo hebreo manhun, *quid est hoc*, en singular" [and so corresponds to the Hebrew word *manhun*, *quid est hoc* [what is this?], in singular] (50). Though Ruiz de Montoya's etymology of the term is but one explanation offered by Jesuit missionary scholars,⁶² what is significant about this approach is that it privileges Western knowledge of the native language over native knowledge. Because of their control over the written language, the Jesuits in Paraguay were the creators of linguistic knowledge, confining it to Western graphic representation and subjecting it to Western scientific study, such as grammars and etymologies. In contrast, the Jesuits in Japan confronted a well-established native literacy that they attempted to participate in but were never able to control. Within his *Tesoro*, the term *tupã* is only used to refer to the Christian God, ignoring all other semantic possibilities. In this way, Melià posits that the Jesuits were able to resemanticize certain native terms and create a Christianized Guaraní, noting that by the time the *Conquista Espiritual* was translated into Guaraní, a native reader would most likely have accepted the etymological explanation proposed by Ruiz de Montoya

⁶¹ Guillermo Wilde contends that Guaraní culture allowed for more ambiguity between the natural and supernatural worlds than did the Jesuits; he also points out instances of native shamans attributing the term *tupã* to the Jesuits and Guaraní appropriating the names of saints and Biblical figures (119-20).

⁶² Melià outlines a number of interpretations offered by Jesuit scholars. For more information see his *La Lengua Guaraní en el Paraguay Colonial: La creación de un lenguaje cristiano en las Reducciones de los Guaraníes en el Paraguay* pp. 235-40.

since the term was such a part of his daily religious experience within the reduction (*Lengua Guaraní* 237).

Though there was certainly an initial native backlash, particularly from caciques and shamans, toward the establishment of reductions and the transformation of a native culture and language to accomodate a Christian worldview, the principal threats to the Jesuits' resemantization efforts came from other ecclesiastics. Many of the native terms appropriated by the Jesuits were inherited from the catechism translated into Guaraní by the Franciscan Bolaños. It is unclear how he first appropriated this terminology, though we are told he worked with a native interpreter, not unlike Anjirō with Xavier, who provided him with a semantic explanation of certain words (Melià *Lengua Guaraní* 224). In 1651 in a letter to the new viceroy, the bishop Bernardino de Cárdenas condemns heresies regarding the Church doctrines on the eternal and temporal generation of the Divine Word, the virginity of Mary the mother of God, and the sovereignty of the name of God taught with Guaraní terminology in the Province of Paraguay. His linguistic targets within the Jesuit reductions were the words *memby-son*, of mother, *ta 'ýra-son*, of man, *tupã*, God and *túva*, father (*Lengua Guaraní* 219). Although there were political motivations behind the bishop's complaints, his accusations relate to a larger early modern debate concerning Western and native knowledge. The bishop's complaints were twofold, and the first related to somewhat superficial linguistic parallels; specifically, the bishop accused the terms *tupã* and *túva* of referring to the demons Tubuel and Tubuas, fallen angels, listed in the 745 Roman council under Pope Zacharias. The Royal Council in Valladolid in 1538 found that the Guaraní terms were not close enough to be an issue (*Lengua Guaraní* 235). The basis for this accusation and the answer it received are telling examples of the privileging of Western knowledge over the native in the Americas. The bishop's accusation, though superficial, is

founded on a paternalistic notion of knowledge where Western knowledge can be used to clarify and reinterpret naïve or errant native knowledge. The privileging of Western knowledge is also apparent in the decision made regarding the claims since it did not come from the Americas but rather from Europe and the native speaker is never consulted regarding the semantics of his own language. The second issue related to the etymologies of Guaraní words; the concern over the words *memby*, son of mother, and *ta'yra*, son of father, was rooted in their etymological association with the sexual act and doubt about the Jesuits' ability to fully resemanticize these terms to reflect Christian dogma on the virgin birth (*Lengua Guaraní* 241-49). At the heart of these discussions, though politics were involved, is whether the translation of religious terms with native words could accurately convey Western Christianity. While officially the policy was *Indi Indice*, the use of native languages with indigenous peoples, in practice Western languages were privileged, reflected in the bishop's order to replace *tupã* with the Spanish *Dios* (*Lengua Guaraní* 250). The privileging of Western knowledge and language in early modern Paraguay reflects the imperial practices of Spanish colonialism in Latin America.

As the members of the Society of Jesus encountered peoples and cultures so unlike the ones they were accustomed to in Europe on the global Jesuit mission, they sought to make the unfamiliar familiar through the construction of an early modern worldview that privileged Western knowledge. By using Western *civilitas* as a cultural measuring stick, Jesuit scholars, such as José de Acosta, Alessandro Valignano and Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, constructed the non-European Other in relation to the West and used this construction in the development and implementation of mission strategies. While the theoretical construct of the cultural Other influenced the missionaries' judgments, the colonial realities, be they "soft" or "harsh," likewise influenced their mission policy. In the case of Japan, Valignano's assessment of both the political

and cultural situation led to the participation of Japanese members of the Society in positions of authority within the mission and allowed them the opportunity to participate in the creation of Japanese Christian literature. Conversely, both Acosta and Montoya's construction of the Guarani subordinated them within a paternalistic power relationship.

V. Chapter Four

To Die is Gain: Narrating Edmund Campion and Hosokawa Tama Gracia

Edmund Campion was publically hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn on the first day of December, 1581. Less than twenty years later, a *Kirishitan* Japanese noblewoman named Hosokawa Tama Gracia perished in the privacy of her Osaka residence while under siege by her husband's political adversary. While on the surface these two historical figures have relatively little in common, they were both members of the global Catholic community and their deaths similarly generated conflicting narratives. Both conceptualized the impending end of their lives within the paradigm of Catholic martyrdom; however, after their deaths, their native cultures constructed narratives which embedded the historical events of their lives and deaths within a specific historical and cultural framework. In the case of Edmund Campion, the Elizabethan government constructed narratives vilifying him as a traitor while the narratives constructed by Jesuit missionaries in Japan as well as native Japanese accounts exalt Hosokawa Tama Gracia as a dutiful wife, though the Jesuit and Japanese accounts notably clash regarding the manner of her death. However, in Thomas Alfield's *A true reporte of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion Iesuite and preiste* and the seventeenth century Latin drama *Mulier fortis*, the historical figures of Campion and Gracia are reinscribed within the narrative of Catholic martyrdom. By utilizing the recognizable narrative structure of martyrdom, European Catholics attempted to construct a global Catholic identity by weaving the histories of individuals from both familiar and faraway settings into a suprahistorical and even supracultural narrative, reinforcing the universality of Catholic belief. In the wake of what seemed like failure, as the Jesuit missions of England and Japan were curtailed by religious persecution, the exaltation of martyrs encouraged the Church in its continued global mission and reframed physical loss as spiritual gain.

Narratives and Counter-narratives

Within recent decades, the interdisciplinary approaches taken by both literary theorists and historians have produced a rich and fruitful dialogue about the nature of textual and artistic sources. The advent of new historicism in American literature departments and its British counterpart cultural materialism more than three decades ago effectively blurred the lines between history and literature by conceptualizing “literature as an aspect of social, economic, political, and cultural history” (qtd in Cohen 18). Similarly, historian Hayden White’s once groundbreaking assertion that historical narratives be viewed as “verbal fictions, the contents of which are as much *invented as found* [...]” (*Tropics* 82) is now commonplace. Though White’s claim that historical narratives, rather than being scientific in nature, are literary artifacts is no longer novel, his detailed analysis of the emplotment of historical events within a narrative form is still nonetheless useful. As he notes, the “inventive” process of historical narrative allows the writer to prioritize events and historical figures in order to influence the reader’s interpretation of history, leading White to reject the assertion that narrative is merely a “neutral discursive form” (*Content* ix) since “historical sequences can be emplotted in a number of different ways, so as to provide a different interpretation of those events and to endow them with different meanings” (White *Tropics* 84-5). Precisely because historical events can be narrativized in a number of ways, the same events can be emplotted to offer opposing narrative interpretations. White highlights the role of emplotment as an interpretative tool, stating, “It is because narratives are always emplotted that they are meaningfully comparable; it is because narratives are differently emplotted that discriminations among the kinds of plot type can be made” (*Figural* 30).

The emplotment of historical events by a narrator, or “knower” who communicates his or her knowledge to the reader (*Fiction* 119), is circumscribed by the society in which the narrative

is constructed. According to White, "[N]arrativity, certainly in factual storytelling and probably in fictional storytelling as well, is intimately related to, if not a function of, the impulse to moralize reality, that is, to identify it with the social system that is the source of any morality that we can imagine" (*Content* 14). While White here emphasizes the narrator's interpretive power to moralize, and thus influence the readers' interpretation of events, in order for a narrative to be understood and accepted by its audience, it must conform to the ethical and moral norms of the hegemonic society. In his essay about political narratives titled "Permission to Narrate," Edward Said highlights the role played by society in the creation of "successful" narratives, contending that "[f]acts do not at all speak for themselves, but require a socially acceptable narrative to absorb, sustain and circulate them" (Said "Permission" 34). According to Said, in order for historical or political narratives to endure, they must be accepted by the hegemonic society. Though the focus of Said's article is on contemporary political narratives concerning the Middle East, the premise of his argument is relevant to narratives produced in the early modern period as well. Within the context of his article, Said contends that the hegemonic American culture privileges pro-Israeli narratives, either ignoring or attacking narratives that portray Israel in an unfavorable light; due to various political factors, he claims the United States is not prepared to reevaluate its construction of Israel and thus "[w]hen an attempt is made to speak critically of Israel, the result is frightening— if the attempt succeeds in getting any diffusion at all" (30).

One way of conceptualizing competing narratives, such as those discussed by Said, is within the framework of master and counter-narratives. Though master narratives are not automatically hegemonic narratives, they are often the narratives adopted by the hegemonic culture since they "offer people a way of identifying what is assumed to be a normative experience [...]," or put another way, master narratives "structure how the world is intelligible,"

thus providing a hegemonic interpretive frame (Andrews 1, Bamberg 361). On the other hand, counter-narratives serve to document and perhaps even validate a “counter-reality,” but it would be overly simplistic to consider master narratives and counter-narratives within a binary oppositional relationship (Andrews 1, Bamberg 363). As Michael Bamberg maintains, the question concerning counter-narratives is not so much one of whether the speakers are complicit or countering the master narratives but rather in what ways are speakers employing narratives “to juggle claims as to who they are that are hearable *both* as complicit with and as countering” (363). Thus, in order for counter-narratives to be effective they too must in some ways be complicit with master narratives and not stray too far from the assumed normality of the master narrative’s frame. In this vein, Bamberg contends,

there are always certain aspects of dominant stories that are left intact, while others are reshaped and reconfigured. Speakers never totally step outside the dominating framework of the master narrative, but always remain somewhat complicit and work with components and parts of the existent frame “from within.” (363)

At the time of both deaths, Catholicism constituted a subaltern religious and social group within Elizabethan England and *sengoku* Japan. Both English and Japanese writers constructed master narratives depicting the individual deaths in cultural rather than religious terms. In England, Edmund Campion’s death was inscribed within the narrative of treason while after her death, Hosokawa Tama Gracia was heralded as an example of *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) (Ward *Women* 287), depicting her death as a sacrificial suicide aimed at preserving both her husband’s life and honor, devoid of any mention of her Christian faith. Although earlier Jesuit narratives of Tama Gracia written by Japanese missionaries did not depict her as a martyr, after the collapse of the Japanese Jesuit mission, European Catholic writers adopted her as a symbol of martyrdom as she represented a shining example of the success of the mission. In the hands of

Catholic writers, both Edmund Campion and Hosokawa Tama Gracia were resurrected as martyrs whose deaths took on a spiritual significance, and the martyrological narratives of their deaths functioned as counter-narratives against native anti-Catholic ideology.

The Narrative of Martyrdom

Martyrological literature adheres to a recognizable narrative structure and set of *topoi*. Its conventional structure is suprahistorical and even supracultural as it diminishes the importance of the individual martyr and her society to instead emphasize the religious and typological commonalities present between this and other martyr narratives. At the heart of all narratives of martyrdom is the role of religious faith as the principal cause of persecution and death. Even the etymology of the term “martyr,” which derives from the Greek for “witness,” recognizes the religious nature of martyrdom as the martyr stands as a witness for her faith unto death and the narrative of martyrdom similarly stands as a witness to both the martyr and her faith in perpetuity. According to Anne Dillon, in order for a victim’s life experiences to be interpreted within a martyrological frame, the historical events leading to her death must be legibly encased within “martyrdom’s paradigmatic script,” by clearly linking the contemporary martyr’s experiences to the typological experiences of Christ and the early Church martyrs. This narratological transposition is made possible through the repetition of recognizable narrative elements, such as the implementation of torture and excessive violence as well as the bloodthirstiness of the persecutor (10). As Alice Dailey contends, the success or failure of martyr narratives then is entirely dependent upon the degree to which the historical events of an individual’s life can be legibly mapped onto the narratological structure of martyrdom:

[I]f an individual’s actions are inconsistent with established martyr formulas or cannot easily be read as reiterations of apostolic or Christological suffering, the individual will not transcend the death event. In other words, if a victim does not

fit the mold, he or she can neither be interpreted nor reproduced as a martyr.
(*English Martyr* 67)

Thus, the historical events of the victim's life are only relevant insofar as they allow the successful transposition of the individual into the transcendent narrative of martyrdom. Because the description of the historical individual is downplayed within traditional martyrological literature, in favor of the suprahistorical and supracultural narrative structure, the martyr can be converted more easily into a universal religious symbol within both the local and global faith communities.

During the early modern period, the narrative of martyrdom provided the subaltern Catholic community in Protestant Europe and abroad in the global mission with the interpretive tools to see loss as gain and to conceptualize political and cultural asymmetrical power relationships within a religious context. One such interpretative tool is the martyrological *topos* of asymmetrical violence where one party is persecuted by another. What might otherwise be interpreted as merely a horrendous loss of life or a monstrous injustice, as the martyr is tortured and killed by a ruthless, blood-thirsty adversary, is reframed within the martyrological narrative as a purposeful and divinely sanctioned death with broad-reaching consequences. As Dillon maintains, the individual martyr's death takes on a communal and even global significance for the Church:

[M]artyrdom is figured as useful not only to the individual, who gains salvation, but to the church, which relies on martyrs' blood. Though ignorant of it, the persecutor simultaneously inflicts suffering on his victim and enables that victim to conquer him by ensuring his own damnation and providing a forum for the promotion of the religion he despises. (23)

In this way, each martyr's narrative is considered a victory for the Church rather than a loss or setback. Through the reiteration of familiar martyrological *topoi*, contemporary narratives of martyrdom written during the early modern period connected the religious struggles recorded in

patristic and medieval martyrologies with the current climate of religious persecution in Protestant Europe and non-Christian lands abroad. In this vein, Brad S. Gregory comments on the historical and imitative nature of early modern martyrological narratives, stating, “Latter-day imitation of Christ encompassed multiple historical layers: by following the ancients, the moderns were imitating the imitators of Christ. Every fresh martyrdom, too, created another model for mimesis” (282).

Post-Tridentine Catholicism adopted the martyr as a symbol in a way that the earlier medieval Church had not. During the decades following the Council of Trent, a paleo-Christian revival swept Catholicism as the embattled Church sought to reestablish the doctrinal foundations that had been jeopardized by Protestant heresy; while reconnecting with its traditional teachings, the Church also explored its historical foundations in greater depth with the recent discovery of the Roman catacombs and recovery of several early Church relics. As Gregory notes, during the period, “[e]nthusiasm for the early Christian martyrs was expressed in word, image, and object by a Church concerned to vindicate its historical claims against Protestant criticisms. Catholics revisited an era marked by a similar heroic urgency” (251). The celebrated role of the early Church martyr within the narrative of Rome’s conversion to Christianity was mapped upon contemporary missionary efforts so that early modern Catholics believed that just as “martyrs had helped convert ancient pagans in Europe, so they would do for modern pagans throughout the world” (251). Catholic martyrs were thus conceived as both a weapon against Protestant heresy within Europe and a tool for the conversion of non-Christian peoples encountered on the global mission. Unlike the early Church martyrs who were persecuted almost exclusively by pagan Roman officials, early modern Catholic martyrs were a remarkably heterogeneous lot consisting of Catholic priests and missionaries put to death by

Protestants as well as European missionaries and their native converts who were killed by non-Christian societies in faraway lands.

Early modern Catholic martyr narratives offer a unique opportunity to study how Western Catholic writers viewed early modern globalization and conceptualized the simultaneously diverse and unified global Catholic community. Gregory highlights both the heterogeneous nature of the martyrs narrated during the period and the need for further study: “The many sources, geographical diversity, and complexities of cultural interaction make these martyrs a major area of investigation in their own right” (252). One reason for the lack of scholarly attention addressing the diverse and global nature of early modern Catholic martyrological narratives is that there is a lack of narrative coherence among the works. Although Catholic martyrologies were a popular genre during the period, principally for devotional and imitative purposes, as Gregory concedes, “Few works integrated Catholic martyrs from throughout Europe, and none combined foreign with European martyrs in a comprehensive, systematic way” (290). Thus, while Catholic writers chose to narrate the tales of a diverse collection of contemporary martyrs, these narratives were never systematically combined to form a coherent vision of martyrdom within the framework of an early modern global Catholic Church. However, I would contend that this does not mean such a construction did not exist.

Prior to their deaths, both Edmund Campion and Hosokawa Tama Gracia constructed themselves as members of a global Catholic community and interpreted the imminent persecutions they would face within the narrative frame of martyrdom. In his *Brag*, written in the event of his capture, Campion offers a defense of his presence in England in anticipation of the charges of treason and political sedition that would be leveled against him. Near the end of his defense, Campion highlights both the immensity and global nature of the Jesuit mission

considering England one of many mission fields: “our Societie [...] [has] made a league— all the Jesuits in the world, whose succession and multitude must overreach all the practices of England” (qtd in Waugh 212). He constructs the Jesuit missionaries, himself included, as willingly and even “chearefully” accepting persecution and martyrdom in England. Though Campion does not explicitly state the relationship he sees between martyrdom and conversion, it is clear from his defense that he believes that the martyrs’ blood makes possible the re-Catholicization of England, perhaps in a similar way to the early Church martyrs’ role in the conversion of pagan Rome. To this end, he urges a Protestant England that the Catholic Church is “never to despair your recovery, while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn, or to be racked with your torments, or to be consumed with your prisons” (qtd in Waugh 212). Here martyrdom and the potential for a continuous stream of martyrs are perceived as a perpetual evangelistic opportunity. In his declaration of the mission enterprise, Campion’s statement that “[t]he expense is reckoned,” certainly seems to encompass the countless martyrs whom he envisions in his earlier statement, but he justifies the loss of life, including his own, on the basis that the cause for which they die, the re-Catholicization of England, “is of God, it cannot be withstood. So the faith was planted: so it must be restored” (qtd in Waugh 212).

Hosokawa Tama Gracia’s conversion to Catholicism in *sengoku* Japan took place during a period of religious persecution. She was baptized into the Catholic faith, taking the name Gracia, in 1587. In the same year, Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued his *Edict of Expulsion* forbidding the propagation of Christianity and demanding the Jesuit missionaries leave the country within twenty days. Although the *Edict* was not strictly enforced, it created an uneasy atmosphere for *Kirishitan* converts as well as for the Jesuit priests who were forced to flee to the provinces of *daimyo* who would offer them protection. Under the strict surveillance of her husband’s servants

and unable to leave her home, Tama Gracia was only able to communicate with the priests through letters. At the time of her baptism, she writes to the priests that if Hideyoshi does in fact enforce the edict against Christianity, “she would be ready and determined to go out of the house with her women and publicly confess her being Kirishitan, and expect their crucifixion” (qtd in *Ward Women* 262). In this passage, Gracia highlights the traditional role of the witness within the martyrdom paradigm where she and her converted ladies-in-waiting would stand as witnesses for the Christian faith unto death, which historically in Japan was at times typologically appropriated from Christianity as crucifixion. Similarly, in a letter written to Father Gregorio de Céspedes, she declares her resolve for martyrdom as a sign of the strength of her faith, as well as that of the converts in her household: “All the Christians whom I have with me are strong, and I work in exhorting them to martyrdom, if perchance we may be found worthy of so great a thing” (qtd in. Boxer “Hosokawa” 89). In her letters, it is clear that Tama Gracia interprets martyrdom within the non-Christian Japanese society around her as a means of proving one’s personal devotion to the faith, for which she repeatedly declares she is willing.

The Death of Edmund Campion

While the historical facts of Campion's capture and death were universally acknowledged, English Protestants and Catholics crafted distinct narratives of the events in order to express their particular political and religious concerns. In June of 1579, Campion had returned to his homeland as a member of the English Jesuit mission. His missionary travels throughout England came to an end on July 18, 1581 when he and two other priests were apprehended at the home of Master and Mistress Yates at Lyford. After their capture, the prisoners were transported to London and imprisoned in the Tower. On the 25th of July, Campion was discretely removed to the home of his former patron, the Earl of Leicester, where he had an

audience with the Queen, the Earls of Leicester and Bedford and two secretaries of state. During his imprisonment, he participated in four disputations with Protestant ministers and was subjected to the rack three times. On November 14th, Campion and his fellow Catholic prisoners were arraigned before the grand jury at Westminster Hall. He returned there on the 20th to stand trial; he was convicted of treason and sentenced to death. On the morning of his execution, Campion and the other convicted Catholics were dragged through the streets of London on hurdles and led to Tyburn where they were hanged, drawn and quartered. Protestant narratives published shortly after the trial and execution of the priests, such as *Against her Backbiters*, seek to justify the execution of traitors and reinforce the idea that Catholics were disloyal. The Catholic counter narratives, on the other hand, such as Alfield's *A true reporte*, seek to construct the historical figure of Edmund Campion within a hybrid martyrological narrative, one acknowledging the historical and cultural context of his life and death while simultaneously casting his execution within a legible martyrological frame. Appended to Alfield's narrative are four heteroglossic lyric poems that likewise venerate Campion as a martyr but also reflect the diversity of the responses to Campion's death and martyrological construction within the English Catholic community.

Protestant England viewed Catholicism with suspicion as evidenced by its increasingly severe policies toward English Catholics during the reigns of both Elizabeth and James I. Not surprisingly then, it was during this period that anti-Catholicism came to be an integral component of the formative English national identity: "In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries English identity was defined as Protestant, so Roman Catholicism, especially post-Tridentine, Jesuit manifestations, was cast as the hated and dangerous antagonist [...]" (Marotti 9). English Catholics attempted to counter this ideology through print, yet prior to the English Jesuit

mission, Catholic apologetics had been produced almost entirely by the exiled literati on the Continent and had to be smuggled into England. English Catholic writers on the Continent were at a clear disadvantage to their Protestant counterparts due to the high cost of printing their pamphlets abroad coupled with a general uncertainty about the impact and diffusion of their texts in England, assuming they were able to get them there at all. Within England, a culture of manuscript texts developed within the Catholic community both because they lacked easy access to printing presses and because the use of printing presses would inevitably raise their risk of capture. Conversely, relying on manuscripts allowed the English Catholic community to disseminate texts throughout the community while maintaining its secrecy since texts could be copied without arousing suspicion. Campion's *Brag* was initially disseminated in just such a way prior to its print publication and refutation by the Protestant writers William Charke and Meredith Hanmer. In response to Protestant attacks on Campion's *Brag*, the English Jesuits chose to adopt the printing press over manuscripts to respond to these and other attacks. After Campion's capture and execution, the Catholic press in England fell silent with one notable exception—Thomas Alfield's *A true reporte*, published in March of 1582. While Alfield's work describing the execution of Campion and his fellow priests was certainly not the most influential retelling of the deaths circulated abroad, his narrative of the events is significant because it was the only Catholic counter-narrative of Campion's execution printed in England.

Narrating Campion: Traitor or Martyr?

Shortly after Campion's conviction and subsequent execution, Protestant writers printed defenses justifying his political fate in order to reinforce a hegemonic Protestant narrative, or master narrative, of Edmund Campion as a traitor. One such defense is the anonymous *An advertisement and defence for Trueth against her Backbiters, and specially against the*

whispering Fauourers, and Colourers of Campions, and the rest of his confederats treasons published within the month of the execution (Dailey *English Martyr* 76). The pamphlet is only five pages in length and can be seen as a hasty response to the reframing and circulating of Campion's death within a martyrological narrative in manuscript form. The pamphlet begins and ends with the phrase "God saue the Queene," essentially bookending the work with a profession of loyalty and an acceptance of the master narrative of Campion constructed by the English government. The author of the work begins his treatise by upholding the decision of the court and contending that the trial removed all doubt ("manifestly declared and fully proued") that the priests were not simply innocent men (sig. A2r). The principal accusations leveled against the priests by the anonymous author are that they maintained an unsettling secrecy (entering the country without announcing themselves openly) and that their true mission was to sway the loyalty of Englishmen away from the Queen. Within the pamphlet, converting to Catholicism is constructed as an act of political disloyalty and one step away from open rebellion. To support his point, the writer reminds his audience of the recent Irish rebellion, contending that the Jesuits were involved in both the religious and political aspects of the rebellion by first converting the population and then inciting them to rebel against Elizabeth: "[...] first to change their profession of Religion and to acknowledge the Popes authoritie, and to renounce the iust authoritie of her Maiestie" (sig. A2v). In contrast, he relates Protestantism to the favor of God, noting that through the direction of God and the Queen's government the rebellion was quelled since God is the "iust auenger of Rebels" (sig. A2v). Here the author clearly illustrates the contrasting political positions of Protestantism and Catholicism, where Catholicism is synonymous with rebellion and treason and Protestantism is favored by both the English government and the Almighty.

In addition to reinforcing the master narrative linking Catholicism with treason, the author also openly addresses the counter-narrative constructing the deaths of Campion and his fellow priests as acts of religious persecution. Just as he accused Campion as a traitor on the grounds of his secrecy, here too he condemns the secrecy surrounding the counter-narrative as proof of its seditious nature. Though the author of the pamphlet does not directly mention a Catholic manuscript culture, he attacks the counter-narrative for being false, traitorous and “whispered in corners,” condemning those who circulate it as “secret fauorers” of Campion (sig. A2v). In the eyes of the author, then, the fact that the counter-narrative is not in print for all to see does not make its message less of a threat since precisely because it is circulated in secret it cannot be controlled or censored by official means. Within his argument against the priests, the anonymous author denies a distinction between religion and politics (much like both Charke and Hanmer in their responses to Campion’s *Brag*) yet also takes care to emphasize the secular nature of the offense committed. In his attack against the counter-narrative constructing Campion’s actions as purely religious in nature, he claims that even if the priest’s actions were limited to the “exhorting & teaching, with Shriuing, Massing, & such like actes, to moue people to change their Religion, and to yelde their obedience to the Pope as Christes vicar” still these offenses would be illegal since they are “very vainous, and seedes of sedicion not allowable by the Lawes of the Realme” (sig. A2v). Thus, according to the author of the pamphlet, even when Campion’s actions are interpreted as primarily religious in nature, they are still treasonous since conversion to Catholicism entails a change of religious loyalty to the Pope and a rejection of the Act of Supremacy. However, the author contends that in fact religion is not the proper arena for the discussion of Campion’s actions, maintaining that the priest’s treason was not religious in nature but rather a wholly secular matter.

[I]n very trueth neuerthelesse it did manifestly appeare vpon their Juditements and at their arraignmentes by sundrie confessions of some of their owne companions, and by many good proofes and witnesses produced and sworne before their faces, that their factes, whereof they were arraigned and condemned, were such as were in trueth high Treasons committed against her Maiesties most Royall person, and against the ancient Lawes and Statutes of this Realme [...] (sig. A3r)

By emphasizing the secular nature of Campion's offenses, which according to the author are against "ancient Lawes and Statutes" and not for "factes of doctrine or Religion, nor yet for offences against any late or newe Statutes," he disconnects Campion and his fellow priests from the typological elements of martyrological narrative, specifically the role of the victim as a witness of the faith and the faith as the singular for persecution and death.

Just as Protestant writers, like the anonymous author of *Against her Backbiters*, hastily composed and disseminated narratives about Edmund Campion after his trial and execution, so too did Catholic writers, such as the seminary priest Thomas Alfield, but the Catholic counter-narratives, depicting the priests as religious martyrs, written immediately after the events were neither printed nor widely disseminated; instead, they were secretly circulated as manuscript texts among the English Catholic community at home and abroad. Alfield's narrative highlights the difficulties of producing and disseminating Catholic counter-narratives in print in Elizabethan England, ultimately leading the English Catholic community to produce manuscripts instead. Between 1558 and 1603, Catholic texts that in any way dealt with matters of State were illegal as the government attempted to eradicate all Catholic presses and suppress what it deemed dangerous and seditious texts (Clegg 79). During these years, Parliament passed eleven statutes dealing with treason and sedition all of which contained phrases referring to writing, printing and speech (31). During his imprisonment in the Tower, the English government granted and supported disputations between Protestant ministers and Edmund Campion in the hopes that they would diminish his influence and ultimately undermine the Catholic position. Protestant print

narratives circulated after his death questioned Campion's famed disputation skills and even depicted him as unlearned, yet Stephen Vallenger in his introduction to the reader contends that Campion's rhetorical skills would be confirmed even to a hegemonic Protestant audience if "those Disputations had in the Tower, to the honor of M Campion and furthering of his cause, [...] shal be published" (sig. A3r).⁶³ Vallenger interprets the government's refusal to publish Campion's disputations after his death as a suppression of the Catholic counter-narrative in print. If Campion's disputations, sanctioned by the government while he was in their custody, were considered too seditious to print, then essentially any narrative that ran counter to the Protestant master narrative would likewise be considered a threat to the wellbeing of the State. It is not surprising then that Alfield's counter-narrative of Campion's death, entitled *A true reporte of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion Iesuite and preiste, & M. Sherwin, & M. Bryan preistes, at Tiborne the first of December 1581 Observid and written by a Catholike preist, which was present therat Wheruuto is annexid certayne verses made by sundrie persons* was first circulated as a manuscript, rather than in print, reportedly reaching William Allen on the Continent by the 20th of December, less than three weeks after the executions (Dillon 79-80). Though manuscript texts could be produced with greater secrecy than printed texts and still had the potential to spread across England even reaching the Continent, they could not be produced in mass quickly and thus had less of an impact on the interpretation of Edmund Campion and his companions held by the general population in England immediately following the executions.

In the end, just as the publication of Campion's *Brag* made him a more public target, leading to his eventual capture and execution, the printing of Alfield's counter-narrative would likewise end in the spilling of English Catholic blood, including that of Thomas Alfield

⁶³ For a full history of Campion's disputations while imprisoned in the Tower, see *A Jesuit Challenge: Edmund Campion's Debates at the Tower of London in 1581*.

himself.⁶⁴ Alfield's narrative of the executions, as we have seen, was a hastily constructed counter-narrative to the Protestant depictions of Campion and his companions as traitors and was circulated in manuscript form shortly after their deaths. But during the first week of Lent in March of 1582, an enlarged version of Alfield's narrative, including an introduction by Stephen Vallenger, an attack on Anthony Munday and four verse works honoring Campion, was produced on Richard Verstegan's secret press. After the English Jesuit mission had ended in Campion's execution and Person's flight back to the Continent, the secret Catholic printing press had fallen silent, and at this moment, Verstegan chose to end that silence. But why? Surely the dissemination of Alfield's printed narrative was not intended to rival Protestant print accounts of Campion, particularly since as scholars like Dillon point out, the short work, totaling only 26 leaves, was "clearly designed to be distributed secretly" (60) and thus would not have had a major impact on the opinion of Campion held by English society in general. Why then would Verstegan choose to endanger himself and others by printing it? Though we cannot know the exact reason for this momentary return to the printing press by English Catholics, the introduction of Alfield's narrative of the executions might provide us with a partial explanation.

Rather than beginning his narrative with an account of the deaths of Campion, Sherwin and Briant, Alfield directs his reader to the death of Everard Hause who had been executed for treason in July of the same year. Alfield uses Hause's death to construct a counter-narrative, into which he will then insert the three more recent deaths, contending that Hause was a martyr who was "executed for cause of Religion" (sig. A4r), rather than a political traitor. The construction

⁶⁴ Stephen Vallenger died in prison after being pilloried and having both ears cut off. Thomas Alfield was arrested and released; however, he was later re-arrested, and in July 1585, he was, like Campion and his companions, executed at Tyburn for treason. Unfortunately for him, a reprieve had been issued sparing his life but wasn't received until it was already too late. Richard Verstegan fled to the Continent where he lived out the rest of his life in exile.

of Hause's death within a martyrological paradigm is relevant to the narrative of the more recent executions because it highlights the repetitive and imitative nature of martyrdom and serves as a painful reminder of what can happen if Catholic counter-narratives are not produced in response to Protestant anti-Catholic propaganda. In the case of Everard Hause, the Protestant narratives interpreting his execution within the paradigm of treason (characterized by Alfield as false and malicious) were essentially unrivaled since Catholics did not produce a counter-narrative of his execution in print. According to Dillon, as Alfield constructs his narrative of the more recently executed priests, he looks back to the uncontested master narrative of Hause's death as a failure on the part of Catholic polemicists that could not be risked again: "Alfield went specifically to record what happened, because 'divers and contrary reports falsely and maliciously bruted and published of M. Everard Haunse [...] after his late martyrdom, gave just feare of the like practise.' The Catholics did not make the same mistake again" (76). Verstegan and Alfield's motivation, then, for endangering themselves by utilizing the printing press, rather than relying on manuscript production alone, is to dispel the perceived silence of the English Catholic community following Hause's execution.

Though Alfield certainly appropriates familiar conventions from martyrological literature in his depiction of Campion and his companions, his text is not intended to be merely another example of martyrological literature modeling patristic and medieval forms; rather, Alfield's usage of martyrological elements is best understood as an appropriation of the genre to construct a counter-narrative to the master narrative of treason. In her analysis of the competing rhetorical positions of martyrdom and treason within Alfield's narrative, Alice Dailey concludes that the rigidity of martyrological narrative *topoi* and conventions renders the genre inadequate to successfully counter the more flexible narrative paradigm of treason (116). However, as Dailey

herself points out, Alfield's narrative depiction of the priests as martyrs differs significantly from patristic and medieval models since it lacks the characteristically elaborate descriptions of the genre, such as conventional phrases describing the martyrs' pious actions and detailed descriptions of the brutalities inflicted upon the victims (113). In her explanation of Alfield's deployment of martyrological conventions within the text, she contends,

As a martyrologist, then, Alfield is presented with a challenge. From this fractured performance of competing scripts, Alfield is charged with fashioning a typologically legible, unproblematic story of exemplary, holy death. To manage this, he can either falsify the historical events, eliminating the problematic treason cues, or situate those events within a larger framework of familiar typological formulas. Using the latter strategy, Alfield essentially bookends the narrative of Campion's death with the conventional language of Christian martyrdom. ("Making Edmund Campion" 78)

Dailey's depiction of Alfield's narrative, then, views the text's primary function as proving Campion and his companions innocent of treason with a secondary purpose of depicting them as martyrs through the "bookending" of their executions with conventional martyrological imagery. While I similarly agree that the principal purpose of Alfield's text is to extricate Campion and his companions from the Protestant treason narrative, I believe Alfield's use of martyrological conventions demonstrates the flexibility, rather than rigidity, of the genre as a means to disrupt the narrative of treason. In his discussion of master and counter-narratives, Michael Bamberg describes master narratives as culturally accepted "frames" "according to which courses of events can easily be plotted, simply because one's audience is taken to 'know' and accept these courses" (360). Within Elizabethan England, both the narrative of treason and the narrative of martyrdom would have been accepted master narratives, familiar to the intended audience. According to Bamberg, one way to create a successful counter-narrative is to use one cultural frame to problematize another:

[...] culturally accepted frames most often are fragmented and come in ways that make it easy to set them up as problematic and not at all conclusive or consistent. Thus, one possible strategy to counter these frames is by way of appealing to other frames that are contradictory, and to presenting one's own experience along those lines. (360)

Within the narrative frame of treason, the executed traitor is constructed as an “anticitizen, the arch criminal, the exemplar of the damned” (Dailey *English Martyr* 116) whereas the martyr, also a victim of public execution, is constructed as wholly innocent and worthy of imitation. Since both the traitor and the martyr endure condemnation from their societies and receive a violent death, Alfield's calculated insertion of martyrological conventions within his narrative of the priests' executions is a means of destabilizing the Protestant master narrative of treason.

Though never directly naming himself or adopting a pseudonym, as had Robert Persons during the English Jesuit mission, Thomas Alfield, referred to in the narrative simply as “a Catholike preist,” (A4r-v) solidifies his role as what White describes as a narrator “knower” who has the right to narrate and comment on what he knows and has seen by placing himself within the narrative as an eyewitness and simultaneously lodges his counter-narrative from the perspective of “knowing-best” because of his presence at the executions (Bamberg 362). From the outset, the work makes clear that the narrative account is a counter-narrative to the Protestant master narrative of Campion and his fellow priests as traitors, such as the insistence in the title that his is a “true” account as well as the assurances to the reader in Vallenger's preface that the purpose of the work is to correct the “divers & many slaunders” (sig A2r) circulated about the priests (such as that Campion was fearful and unlearned and that Sherwin died a Protestant) (sig A2r-v). Alfield's account offers a competing narrative of the priests as both religious martyrs and loyal Englishmen, constructing them as “a lively Image of resolute martirs, constantly professing their faith & belief, resolutly disclaming from all treasons and treacheryes falslie intendid

againste them: and loyaly behaving them selues towards our queene & country” (sig. A2v) and connecting them with the suprahistorical martyrological tradition as the imitators of Christ who are themselves worthy of imitation: “Who as they were in their lives lanterns of piety & vertue, so in their deathes made themselves paternes and examples for all good christian subiectes to follow” (sig. A2v). While, as Dailey notes, Alfield’s narrative is largely devoid of the characteristic descriptive *topoi* of martyrological literature in that “there are few displays of piety— like kneeling, prayer, or kissing instruments of persecution— and little or no echo of traditional martyr language like lamb-to-the-slaughter metaphors, forgiveness of persecutors, or phrases repeated from Christ’s crucifixion” (*English Martyr* 113), he nonetheless incorporates familiar conventions from martyrological literature to question the Protestant master narrative of treason.

Alfield’s decision not to fully reproduce the narrative patterns of martyrdom found in patristic and medieval martyrological literature in his account of the recently executed priests reflects the hybrid nature of his martyrological narrative. As we have seen, conventional martyrological narratives, such as the patristic and medieval models, are suprahistorical and supracultural in nature in that they rely on the repetition of narrative conventions in order to transpose the historical victim into a narrative that transcends the specific historical and cultural setting of her life. In the case of the recently executed priests, however, Alfield did not wish to erase or downplay the cultural and historical setting since it linked the persecution of the contemporary English Catholic community with the martyrs. While his narrative leaves intact the historical and cultural setting of the priests’ executions and foregoes many of the narratological repetitions and conventions found in more traditional martyrological narratives, he nonetheless employs familiar conventions from the genre in order to make the priests legible as martyrs to an

English audience. One of these conventions is that of *ars moriendi*, the art of dying, which constructs the victim's behavior at death as "a transparent indication of the state of the victim's soul," and is taken as a clear indicator of the victim's guilt or innocence as well as proof of the soul's eternal fate (Dailey *English Martyr* 113). From her analysis of patristic and medieval martyrological literature, Dailey asserts that two distinct typological constructions of the martyr confronted with both violence and death emerge, one is that of "the truculent, belligerent, and seemingly unassailable martyr of the early church, who goads the persecutor and feels no pain," St. Laurence of Jacobus's *Golden Legend* being a prime example, whereas the other is a "dramatized Christ" whose demeanor is instead "passive, suffering, and largely silent" (11).

When depicting his martyrs, Alfield makes legible allusions to Christ-like qualities possessed by the priests when confronted with torture and death. In his description of Campion's execution, Alfield abstains from relating a detailed account of the violence inflicted upon Campion's body, though typical of both patristic and medieval accounts, and instead emphasizes Campion's Christ-like meekness when faced with the agonies of his execution: "This man (M. Campion I say) first meekly yielded himself and his carcase to this butchery, with such humility & courage, as moved most beholders to compassion and pity" (sig. B4r). Though Alfield chooses here not to use conventional martyrological *topoi*, like a lamb to the slaughter, he nonetheless conveys an image of Campion as an imitation of Christ through his complete submission to his executioners. Alfield's Campion, like Christ himself, patiently commits both his soul and body to the impending violence, first yielding himself, mentally and spiritually, and then his physical body. While Alfield refrains from depicting Campion as immune to the pains of violence, essentially refraining from any detailed description of the execution at all, violence still functions as a platform or "opportunity for the martyr to demonstrate the complete renunciation of the flesh by

exhibiting unconcern with the violence inflicted on his or her body” as it does in patristic and medieval martyrological works (Dailey *English Martyr* 21).

While Alfield similarly praises the meekness and courage of Campion’s fellow martyrs, he also blends martyrological conventions with humanizing descriptions of the men’s suffering. After Campion’s execution, Ralph Sherwin is brought forth and briefly allowed to speak. After being questioned regarding his loyalty to the Queen, Alfield condenses Sherwin’s final moments of life into a single statement: “And so collecting himself to prayer, dyed paciently, stoutly, and mildly, crying, Iesus, Iesus, Iesus, esto mihi Iesus” (sig. C4v). Alfield, as with Campion, omits the detailed description of the physical violence enacted against the victim and instead emphasizes the Christ-like qualities of the martyr, such as his reliance on prayer as well as his patience, courage and meekness when faced with death. Yet this statement differs somewhat from the two descriptions of Campion’s death. Alfield’s descriptions of Campion, though devoid of many of the *topoi* of martyrological literature, are nonetheless formulaic, such as Alfield’s final description of the Jesuit’s death as he “meekely and sweetly yelded his soule vnto his Sauour, protesting that he dyed a perfect Catholike” (sig. C2v). There is no hint here of personal suffering on the part of the martyr, but rather an image of triumph echoed in Alfield’s claims regarding Campion’s soul which has now taken its rightful place among the saints in heaven, as “joyfully comming to receiue his reward and crowne, the kingdome of heauen, an enheritance certayne” as did the martyrs who came before him (sig. B4v), having ultimately “triumfed on the world, the flesh, the diuell” (sig. C2v). Sherwin’s death, in contrast, though not suggesting personal weakness on the part of the priest, admits the personal and painful nature of the physical violence of execution in his cries to Jesus, typographically echoing Christ’s crucifixion prayer. Alfield’s description of Alexander Briant’s execution goes a step further in its humanization of

the victim and is distinct from the other two accounts with its graphic description of physical violence. After Sherwin's execution, Briant is also asked to speak and concludes by discussing his loyalty to the Queen. He then prays, "Miserere mei Deus" and is "deliuered of the carts with more payn by negligence of the hangman the[n] either of the other" (sig. D2v). In Alfield's treatment of the deaths of both Campion and Sherwin, he omits any description of the physical violence enacted on them by the executioner, but here the narrator concedes that Briant's suffering and pain were more intense than that of the other priests. He is careful, however, drawing upon the convention of *ars moriendi*, not to attribute the young man's sufferings to a failing within his character but instead offers a plausible explanation based on the events of his execution. Interestingly, though Alfield finds fault with the hangman, he does not condemn him for excessive savagery or brutality, a conventional *topos* within patristic and medieval martyrological accounts, instead blaming the error on ineptitude rather than interpreting it as a deliberately vicious act. Alfield also includes visceral descriptions of Briant's execution, describing how the trunk of his body, after having been disemboweled and beheaded "lifted vp" in order to support the claim that a miracle occurred, though he states that he himself was not a witness to it and instead includes it solely "vpon report of others" (sig. D2v).

Throughout his narrative, Alfield attempts to construct the men as resolute religious martyrs, but he also takes great care to portray them as loyal political subjects. In order to counter the Protestant ideology that Catholicism is Other and dangerous, Alfield attempts to undermine the way Protestant narratives fuse the political and religious spheres. Within Protestant narratives, to be religiously errant leads to political nonconformity, specifically sedition and treason; thus, alterity is constructed as leading to a complete rejection of the hegemonic. Alfield articulates the compounding of religious and political alterity in his

complaint: “howe our doings and labours in these spiritual affayres, are misconstred, how truth is made treason, religion rebellion” (sig. B1v). For Alfield, loyalty to one authority (in this case the Catholic faith) inspires greater submission to authority; thus, the priests’ unwavering devotion to the Catholic faith reflects their political loyalty and devotion to the Queen. In his *Brief Discours* of 1581, Robert Persons while still in England had also made the argument that loyalty to the Catholic faith inspired, rather than prevented, loyalty to the monarch since the Catholic Church was responsible for “teachinge her children, together with the Apostle, true obedience to their Princes, for Conscience sake, euen as vnto God him selfe [...]” (sig. ¶2y 5r). Alfield, like Persons, attempts to construct English loyalty and devotion to the Catholic faith as proof of loyalty to traditional authority. In order to justify his position that religious nonconformity does not equate to political sedition, he cites the Apostle Paul when brought before the Roman governor Felix, stating, “S. Paules example (who beeing charged before the ciuil magistrate, of conspiracy, and il demeanour towardes his countrey, protested that he was iudged concerning the resurrection, a question in religion, and not for sedition or concourse in tumults)” (sig. B3r). Alfield’s choice of Paul is noteworthy for at least two reasons. Firstly, the Apostle Paul was a famous early Church martyr and by interpreting the defense of his faith before a secular government official as analogous to the treason trial and conviction of the priests by the English government under Elizabeth, Alfield reinforces his depiction of the priests as suffering religious persecution and martyrdom within the framework of both the Biblical and patristic martyrological tradition. Secondly, Alfield’s choice of Paul is particularly poignant for a Protestant audience since it is upon Paul’s teachings in particular that many of the doctrinal breaks between Protestantism and Catholicism are founded. By associating the executed priests with the Apostle Paul, Alfield solidifies his connection of the contemporary priests with the

historical narrative of martyrdom and undercuts Protestant interpretations of Paul that fuel anti-Catholicism.

His plot to extricate the priests from the charge of treason can also be understood as a plot to destabilize one narrative with another, essentially problematizing the narrative of treason with that of martyrdom. One way Alfield accomplishes this is by highlighting how the priests do not conform to the established conventions of the treason narrative. He asserts that although the treason narrative is more widely publicized, the narrative of martyrdom is the one most accepted by the English populace:

I knowe, and all men are pe[...]swaded that those inocentes suffered only for religion for our fathers faith, and spirituall inheritance, for seruing god in priestly function and duties. And not for treson, not for conspiring her highnesse death and ruin as it shal more clerly apere by their owne defence at the tyme of their arraignment. (sig. B1r)

His claim that “all men” believe that religious nonconformity was in fact the reason for the executions calls into question the adoption of the anti-Catholic ideology of the Elizabethan government by the English public at large. Within his narrative of Campion’s death, Alfield destabilizes the hegemonic nature of anti-Catholic sentiment within English society by mentioning that the exemplary manner in which the priest died moved many of the spectators to “compassion and pity” (sig B4r).⁶⁵ As Foucault points out in his *Discipline and Punish*, the purpose of public torture, on both a living body as well as a corpse, is to provide a tangible, spectacular image of justice. According to Foucault, rather than purging him of his crime or reconciling him to society, public torture instead physically differentiates the criminal from his law-abiding counterparts, the spectators of his agony, as it “traces around or, rather, on the very

⁶⁵ According to Jesuit tradition, Henry Walpole’s conversion was attributed to Campion’s execution. Walpole was a young barrister of Gray’s Inn who allegedly converted to Catholicism after being splashed with Campion’s blood.

body of the condemned man signs that must not be effaced [...]” (34). At its core then, public torture is designed to tangibly illustrate the Othering of the criminal through physical pain, death and disfigurement; the criminal’s expressions of pain during torture, such as moaning and crying, are then “not a shameful side-effect” but rather “the very ceremonial of justice being expressed in all its force,” suggesting to the audience that “[j]ustice pursues the body beyond all possible pain” (34). Yet, as Alfield contends in his narrative, the onlookers of Campion’s execution do not view his physical tortures as alienating him from themselves and enshrining him within the narrative of treason as an arch-villain; rather, his suffering makes him a pitiable figure, one whose meekness and patience in the face of great anguish inspires their admiration. To this end, Arthur Marotti contends that the public torture and execution of Catholic priests, rather than physically inscribing them with the narrative of treason, “conferred the status of martyr on them (not only within Catholicism but also in the eyes of the English public at large)” (17).

In her analysis of the construction of Edmund Campion as both traitor and martyr, Alice Dailey contends that within Alfield’s history, the narrative of martyrdom is curtailed and redirected by the narrative of treason. While I have argued that Alfield inserts martyrological elements into his counter-narrative of the priests’ executions in order to disrupt or problematize the narrative of treason offered in Protestant texts, such as *Against her Backbiters*, Dailey offers an opposing interpretation where the narrative of treason is used to counter the martyrological narrative, arguing that the Elizabethan government’s “discursive substitution of treason for martyrdom [...] is essentially the substitution of one narrative for another. In place of martyrological exemplarity, treason provides a rival story of transcendence that is easier to tell” (*English Martyr* 116). In her analysis of Alfield’s narrative, Dailey highlights the narratological battle reproduced in the dialogue at the gallows in which the priests are continually hindered

from developing their martyrological constructions and are instead redirected to their construction within the treason narrative:

The continual shifting of attention back to the question of treason disrupts the victim's attempt to control the terms of his own death. Just as in the trial, the two sides are at odds about the nature of the discourse in which they are participating, each attempting to perform a discourse that is interrupted by the other. Campion's death becomes a drama whose genre is under contention. (114)

In Edmund Campion's speech at the scaffold, for example, the priest's attempts to construct his imminent death within a martyrological paradigm are continually interrupted and redirected to the narrative of treason. When given the opportunity to speak, Campion begins to sermonize by quoting the Apostle Paul from 1 Corinthians 4:9,

Spectaculum facti sumus Deo, Angeli, & hominibus saying, These are the wordes of S. Paule, Englished thus: We are made a spectacle, or a sight vnto God, vnto his Angels, and vnto men: verified this day in me, who am here a spectacle vnto my lorde god, a spectacle vnto his angels, & vnto you men. (sig. B4v-C1r)

His attempt to construct both himself and his companions as religious martyrs by drawing a parallel between themselves and the apostles, whom Paul likens in the same verse to those condemned to die in the Roman arena who are first paraded before the crowds, is abruptly "interruptid & cut of" by Sir Francis Knowles who instead redirects Campion to the treason narrative, specifically urging him to make a final confession of his guilt. Campion begs to be allowed to speak his conscience concerning the role of religion in his execution but is silenced and again redirected to the narrative of treason, "beiug not suffered to go forward, gaue answere to that point they alwayes vrge" (sig. C1r), which he now answers by declaring his innocence and forgiving those who have wrongfully condemned him. Sherwin's attempt to redirect the treason narrative to that of martyrdom when prompted to confess his guilt is likewise silenced: "[...] M Sherwine, who boldly answered, If to be a Catholike onely, if to be a perfecte Catholike, be to be a traytor, then (said he) am I a traytor. After which wordes being by authoritie debarred

of further speech, he sayd, I forgeue al [...]” (sig. C4r). Although the priests’ attempts to inscribe their executions within the narrative of martyrdom are continually thwarted by the Elizabethan officials, Alfield does emphasize the ways the priests attempt to counter the treason narrative by depicting themselves as politically loyal subjects (claiming themselves to be innocent of the crime of treason and praying for the political and personal success of Elizabeth), by claiming that they are “pure” Catholics rather than traitors (emphasizing their deaths are for the cause of religion) and by drawing upon martyrological *topoi* in their final moments of life by forgiving their persecutors and accepting death meekly and with great patience.

If the purpose of Alfield’s narrative is to legibly construct the priests as martyrs, why would he choose to reproduce the treason narrative in the dialogue between the political officials and the priests at the gallows, depicting the priests’ inability to fully construct themselves as martyrs prior to their deaths? Was it an attempt to be faithful to the historical events despite the fact that, as Dailey contends, it depicts the treason narrative as more flexible than the narrative of martyrdom and therefore more effective in providing a transcendent construction of the priests? Alfield’s incorporation of the treason narrative into the dialogues at the gallows can in part be understood as an attempt to offer a “true” account of the historical events, but it is also part of the construction of his counter-narrative. In his discussion of counter-narratives, Michael Bamberg highlights the fact that counter-narratives never completely reject the master narrative since doing so would make their narrative illegible to the master narrative’s audience. Instead, by remaining “somewhat complicit” with the master narrative, the counter-narrative can essentially work to undermine the master narrative from “within” (Bamberg 363). Since the incorporation of the master narrative of treason is necessary for his counter-narrative to be legible to an English audience, Alfield’s history reproduces the dueling narratives at the gallows as well as the priests’

inability to fully extricate themselves from the treason narrative prior to their deaths in order to foreground its role in the production of a successful martyrological counter-narrative.

Although the priests' attempts to inscribe their current circumstances within a martyrological framework are repeatedly silenced or redirected to the treason narrative by the Protestant officials, Alfield's narrative offers another Catholic voice, that of the English Catholic community, which unlike the voices of the priests silenced in the act of execution, continues to speak for them, developing and disseminating a martyrological counter-narrative in both manuscript and print. The recusant community, like the harangued priests, is likewise continually forced to construct itself within the narrative of treason, yet unlike the priests at the scaffold, the print production of a martyrological counter-narrative provides the recusant community with the opportunity to rhetorically extricate both itself and the deceased priests from the treason narrative. Rather than permanently severing them from the recusant community, Alfield suggests that the priests' deaths actually convert them into a vital part of the local religious experience. According to Gregory, the majority of Catholics perceived recent martyrs as "powerful heavenly patrons," reckoning them as new saints "who were already in God's presence, regardless of the status of their canonization proceedings" (297). For this reason, Alfield maintains that "those honorable martirs, nowe no doubt daily intercessors for [t]his our miserable countrie, not douting but that, as they were then charitably moued and affected with compassion, so now they wil truely giue testimony of their innocencie and my fayth in relation" (sig. B2v). Alfield believes that the priests' influence as martyrs far surpasses the influence they had while alive, highlighting the importance of extricating them from the treason narrative to both Alfield and the English Catholic community so that they would not be forgotten or memorialized as traitors. By extricating the priests from the narrative of treason and mapping their experiences onto the

narrative of martyrdom, English Catholics could effectively counter the treason narrative leveled against their community of faith by the Elizabethan government:

[...] [S]o Christ, and these good mens, consciences formed in al pietie, mekenesse, and modesty, so their last protestation, washed, sealed, & confirmed with their blood, so their resolute death for religion, for our faith, for the church, no doubt by Gods grace shal animat and strengthen vs, who remayne eyther in the furnace of Gods probation, or in the burden or broyle of this hote haruest of our Lorde, or by suer treading, threshing, and winewing, are laide vp for well tried wheate in the barne floore of Christes Church. And further may moue her Maiesties hart to haue compassion, maye open her graue Counselors eyes to see our innocency, may alter our enemies and ill informers mindes to loue and charitie, may stirre vp the minds of al men inwardly & in conscience to co[n]sider the cause of our sufferance, affliction, & imprisonments, and giue them such sense, reason, and religion, that they may acknowledge our vnderdeserued calamities. (sig. D3v-4r)

Alfield's depiction of the priests as martyrs rather than traitors has direct implications for the recusant community. In ending his narrative, he echoes the beginning and end of *Against her Backbiters*, which he openly rebuts in his narrative, by including the formulaic "God saue the Queene" (sig. D4r) in support of his claim that religious nonconformity is not equivalent to civil disobedience or treason.

Following Alfield's narrative is a refutation of Anthony Munday's *Discovery of Campion* and then four anonymous verse works composed and circulated by members of the English Catholic community relating to Campion's death. Somewhat surprisingly, these verse works have received very little scholarly attention, with the exception of the first poem. The poems themselves are heteroglossic, presumably written by four separate poets, and while the first three share a common structure, as iambic pentameter English sestets, the last poem is distinct in that it follows the metrical conventions of a ballad; the poems overall maintain a degree of thematic unity in that they are all responses to the priests' deaths, but the responses themselves vary widely from one another. In addition to their formalistic literary merits, the poems are worthy of

study as historical artifacts that capture the simultaneously unified and heterogeneous nature of Catholic popular religion in Elizabeth's England. The first poem, entitled "Paper, inke and penne"⁶⁶, owing to its first line, is by far the most famous and reflects, both in its circulation history as well as its imagery, the role of manuscript circulation within the Catholic community in England. According to Dillon, the poem was written shortly after the executions and prior to its inclusion in Verstegan's print production of Alfield's narrative was set to music by William Byrd (63-5). The text of the poem turned ballad circulated for over seventy five years and was even copied and lauded by Protestant poets for its poignant lyricism. In addition to "Paper, inke and penne," the collection includes two other English sestets, "What yron hart" and "A Dialogue betwene a Catholike, and Consolation" as well as the ballad "The complaynt of a Catholike." As its title suggests, "A Dialogue betwene a Catholike, and Consolation" structures its complaint as an allegorical dialogue between the everyman Catholic and personified Consolation while the other three poems employ a mixture of martyrological *topoi*, exalting Campion, and lamentations, depicting the anguish of the Catholic community, both at the local and global level, at his loss.

Because Alfield's narrative attempts to provide a faithful account, albeit within a martyrological perspective, of the historical events surrounding the priests' executions, the narrator priest chooses not to employ many of the more exaggerated conventions of martyrological literature. The four verse works, however, employ and develop a range of martyrological *topoi* within the context of lyric poetry. One such *topos* is the construction of objects as witnesses through personification, rhetorically constructing them as more knowledgeable of the full circumstances and unbiased by human concerns. In "Paper, inke and

⁶⁶ Jesuit tradition credits Henry Walpole as the author of this poem.

penne,” the poet personifies the spaces inhabited by the priests prior to and during their executions so that they, as unbiased witnesses, can confirm the martyrs’ innocence. To this end, the Tower in which Campion was imprisoned and where he disputed religion with Protestant ministers “saith the truth he did d[e]fend. / the barre beares witnes of his guiltles minde” (lines 127-8). Likewise, the very cobblestones of the London streets which brushed against the priests’ bodies as they were dragged on hurdles to Tyburn “proclaime the cause for which these martirs dy” (line 126), and even Tyburn itself, where Campion was executed, “doth tell he made a pa[ti]ent ende” (line 129). The second poem in the collection, “What yron hart,” similarly personifies Nature whose emotional response to the executions reflects its disapproval and abhorrence of the proceedings it is forced to witness.

The skowling skies did storme and puff apace,
they could not bear ye wrongs yt malice wrought,
the sunne drew in his shining purple face,
the moistned clouds she brimsh tears for thought
the riuer Thames a while astonied stode,
to count the drops of Campions sacred blood. (lines 13-8)

Although conventional martyrological literature refrains from lamenting the martyr’s death since it is reframed as a victory for the Church rather than a loss, the lyric poems included with Alfield’s narrative forego the supracultural paradigm of martyrdom in order to express the emotional and spiritual ties between the recusant community and the martyrs. Within these lines, the poet’s depiction of Nature’s range of emotional responses reflects and validates those felt by the English Catholic community. Nature is at first outraged at the injustice, “scowling” and “puffing” with disapproval, but this outrage soon gives way to grief and anguish as the sun is withdrawn and clouds burnish “tears,” and finally leads to utter dismay as the river Thames itself is “astonished” by the sight of Campion’s innocent blood spilt.

Unlike Alfield's narrative, the poems, with a few exceptions, do not openly address the master narrative of treason, instead focusing solely on the construction of the priests within a martyrological paradigm and offering it as the only interpretation of the events. Within the treason narrative, the priests' deaths as traitors are depicted as satisfying justice, but within the martyrological framework developed in the Catholic poems, the priests are innocent, pious victims whose deaths are an intolerable and heart-rending loss. This sense of loss is expressed at various levels within the poems: by the English Catholic community, by the global Catholic community and by humanity and the world in general, even, as we have seen, by Nature itself. The second poem in the collection begins by poignantly questioning to whom the deaths would not seem a tragedy, destabilizing the treason narrative's construction of Campion and his companions as villains whose deaths satisfied justice instead constructing their executions as a monstrous injustice and a slaughter of innocence that has tainted the world to such a degree everything afterward seems macabre.

What yron hart that wold not melt in gréeffe?
 what steele or stone could kepe him dry fro[m] teares,
 to see a Campion haled like a théefe
 to end his life, with both his glorious feares,
 in whose three deathes vnto the standers by
 euen al the world almost might seeme to dye. (lines 1-6)

The poet's decision to recast Campion as a "thief" rather than a "traitor" is in part due to poetic considerations, in keeping with both the rhyme scheme and meter of the sestet, but it also suggests that the charge leveled against the Jesuit and his companions is essentially inconsequential since the men are wholly innocent of all wrongdoing. The last poem in the collection, a ballad entitled "The complaynt of a Catholike for the death of M. Edmund Campion," also laments the priests' deaths but rather than questioning how humanity in general can bear such a loss, the poet instead considers the executions from the perspective of the local

Catholic community. The poet's lament, framed as a prayer to the Almighty, expresses the despair felt by the subaltern English Catholic community curtailed even in its ability to mourn the deceased priests.

O God from sacred throne beholde
our secret sorowes here,
Regard with grace our helplesse grieve,
amend our mournfull chéere.
The bodies of thy Saintes abroad
are set for foules to feede,
And brutish birds deuour the flesh
of faithfull folke in deede. (lines 1-8)

Within these stanzas, the poet highlights the persecuted nature of the English Catholic community that must bear its sorrows in secret and helplessly watch as the bodies of its "Saintes" and "faithfull folke" are defiled as carrion for birds. While the poems frame grief at Campion's death from a distinct perspective, both poems consider the loss of Campion to the global Catholic community. The poet of "What yron hart" constructs Campion's death as a setback for the global Jesuit mission, both to England and abroad, describing Campion, while a Jesuit missionary in England, as a "soueraigne salve for sinne" (line 7) and "a sweet receipt for sottle herisie" (8), and mapping his individual experiences onto the narrative of martyrdom by describing his actions as solely religious. Echoing Campion's self-portrayal, in his *Brag*, as a Jesuit missionary willing to go wherever the Society bid him, the poet also laments his death as a loss for the global Jesuit mission due to his potential as a missionary to convert peoples around the world under the Society's influence: "India a saint her seely soules to winne, / Turkey a bane for her idolatrie" (lines 9-10). While the poet of "The complaynt of a Catholike" does not specifically comment on Campion's role as a missionary, he too laments Campion's loss to the global Catholic community, particularly the intellectual community within Europe.

Bohemia land laments the same,

Rodulphus court is sad,
With deepe regarde they now recorde
what vertues Campion had
Germania mourns, al Spayne doth muse,
and so doth Italy,
And Fraunce our friend hath put in print
his passing tragedie (lines 17-24)

In these lines, the poet highlights the reaction to Campion's death on the Continent, placing particular emphasis on the fact that in these countries the counter-narrative of martyrdom is in fact the master narrative and thus openly recorded and printed while in England the subaltern recusant community must record and circulate its grief in secret.

Although the lyric poems express grief at the martyrs' deaths, they also follow the conventional martyrological paradigm inverting the asymmetrical power relationship of martyr and persecutor. According to Dailey, within martyrological literature, "Far from weakening the martyr, violence serves as a source of strength, increasing spiritual status as well as the power of his or her example to others" (*English Martyr* 21). Rather than silencing the martyr, then, violence provides the martyr with the opportunity to speak, to serve as a witness for his faith. Although the Protestant ministers curtailed the priests' ability to verbally construct themselves as martyrs prior to their deaths, constantly redirecting them to the narrative of treason, the poet of "Paper, inke, and penne" contends that through their deaths, the priests permanently inscribed themselves within the martyrological narrative and as martyrs cannot be silenced.

You thought perhaps whe[n] lerned Ca[m]pion dyes,
his pen must cease, his sugred tong be still,
but you forgot how lowde his death it cryes,
how farre beyond the sound of tongue and [q]uil,
you did not know how rare and great a good
it was to write his precious giftes in blood. (lines 109-14)

In these lines, the poet constructs the violence inflicted upon the priests' bodies by the Elizabethan government, designed to inscribe them within the narrative of treason, as having the

opposite effect from what was intended. Rather than being the tool of the persecutor, violence becomes the martyr's tool. Within her analysis of medieval martyrological literature, Dailey finds that violence is for the martyrs something of a "game" in which they "engage for their own benefit, one that makes them stronger while the persecutor believes it does harm" (*English Martyr* 21). Although the poets do not stage violence flippantly, they do emphasize its power to benefit the martyr rather than inflict the harm intended by his persecutor. In both "Paper, inke and penne" and "A Dialogue betwene a Catholike, and Consolation," the poets re-imagine the broken body of Campion as a symbol of victory rather than defeat. In "Paper, inke and penne," the poet constructs the wounds inflicted to Campion's body as the means by which he reached salvation and the brokenness of his corpse as an assurance of his coming restoration at the end of days.

His quarterd lims shall ioyne with ioy agayne,
and rise a body brighter then the sunne,
your blinded malice torturde him in vayne,
For euery wrinch sowe glory hath him wonne,
and euery drop of blood which he did spend,
hath reapt a ioy which neuer shal haue end. (lines 145-50)

Similarly, the personified Consolation constructs the quartered corpse of Campion as an asset to the Catholic faith. Rather than serving as a cautionary example of treason, the meaning intended by the Elizabethan government, the poet contends that the displayed limbs function as a religious witness, spurring the Catholic community to likewise imitate Christological suffering.

His quarters hong on euery gate do showe,
his doctrine sound through countries far & neare,
his head set vp so high doth call for moe
to fight the fight which he endured here,
the faith thus planted thus restord must be,
take vp thy crosse saith Christ and folow me. (lines 53-8)

In these lines, the poet contends that Campion's severed body, the result of the drawing and quartering at his execution, has provided the martyr with greater influence since the quartered limbs and head placed throughout London serve as separate martyrological witnesses in their own right.

As the personified Consolation proclaims, the ultimate temporal goal of the martyrs' suffering for the faith is to inspire fellow believers to remain firm, even potentially following the martyr in death, and to convince the persecutor of their cause. Within the poems, the intention of the English government to quell the English Catholic community with the priests' executions is thwarted within the martyrological paradigm. To this end, the poet of "Paper, inke and penne" depicts the violent acts committed against the priests as emboldening the recusant community, declaring, "We can not feare a mortal torment, wée, / this Martirs blood hath moystned all our harts" (lines 157-8). Just as Consolation praised the severed limbs of Campion as distinct martyrological witnesses inspiring fellow Catholics "to fight the fight which he endured here" (line 56), the poet of "Paper, inke and penne" similarly develops the potential of each piece of Campion's corpse to influence the recusants' actions. The act of continually viewing Campion's limbs is reframed as a meditative, religious experience:

whose partid quarties when we chaunce to see,
we lerne to play the constant christians parts,
his head doth speake, & heauenly precepts giue,
how we yt looke should frame our selues to liue. (lines 159-62)

In the same way that the physical remains of Campion and his companions provide the English Catholic community with a renewed strength and determination, the poet of "What yron hart," like Alfield, acknowledges the spiritual connection members of the recusant community have with the martyrs as saints and intercessors.

Reioyce, be glad, triumph, sing himmes of ioye,

Campion, Sherwine, Brian, liue in blis,
they sue, they seeke the [c]ase of our annoy,
they pray, they speake, and al effectuall is,
not like to men on earth as heretofore,
But like to sain[t]s in heauen, and that is [m]ore. (lines 49-54)

Within these poems, the poets reinterpret the violence enacted against the priests as a boon to the English Catholic community rather than a warning to it from the Protestant government. The severed limbs on display, rather than being a cautionary reminder, perform a religious function as relics that goad the English Catholic community to faithfulness, and the priests' deaths, rather than enshrining them as villainous traitors, have transformed them into heavenly allies.

Unlike Alfield's narrative, which openly constructs itself as a counter-narrative in opposition to the master narrative of treason, the poems make only passing references to the claims of treason, typically dismissing them out of hand, and instead emphasize the martyrological construction of the priests. However, the final poem in the collection, "The complaynt of a Catholike," attempts to destabilize the narrative of treason and extricate both the priests and the English Catholic community from the charge of political sedition. In order to counter the charge of treason brought against the priests, the poet, somewhat like Alfield's example of Paul, raises as a parallel example the political charges unjustly leveled against Christ.

To say he is not Caesars frende,
accusing him of treasone.
But shal we mutche lament the same,
or shall we more reioyce,
Such was the case with Christ our lord,
sutche was the Iewish voyce.
so wer their wrathful words pronounst,
so was their sentence wrong,
For Christ did giue to Caesar that
which did to him belong. (lines 39-48)

The poet here attempts to rhetorically align the experience of Campion with that of Christ, actually rejoicing in the charge of treason since it presents a typological connection between the

two figures. He then refutes the charge of treason against Christ, contending that “their sentence [was] wrong” since Christ did in fact give to Caesar “that / which did to him belong” (lines 47-8). By extricating Christ from a similar political charge, the poet then attempts to extricate Campion as well by typologically connecting him with the vindicated Christ. The poet likewise deflects the Elizabethan government’s connection of the Jesuit priests with political rebellion. While still acknowledging the missionaries’ goal to re-Catholicize England, the poet frames the principal weapon of the priests as martyrdom rather than warfare, ironically provided to them by the English government.

God knowes it is not force nor might,
not warre nor warlike band,
Not sh[ie]ld & spear, not dint of sword,
that must conuert the land,
It is the blood by martirs shed,
it is that noble traine,
That fight with word & not with sword,
and Christ their capitaine (lines 69-76)

The poet here frames the conflict between English Protestants and Catholics on purely religious grounds and echoes Campion in his *Brag* that so long as the Catholic Church has martyrs willing to die for the recovery of England, the hoped for return to Catholicism is within reach. Similarly to Alfield, who concludes his narrative with an acknowledgement of loyalty to the Queen, the poet here likewise ends his poem by professing English Catholics’ political loyalty, declaring,

God saue Elizabeth our quéene,
God send her happie raigne,
And after earthly honors here,
the heauenly ioyes to gayne. (lines 81-4)

The Death of Hosokawa Tama Gracia

Hosokawa Tama Gracia was a Japanese noblewoman, the course of whose life was intimately tied to the political actions of the prominent men in it. In 1578, Oda Nobunaga, a

powerful warlord who made great strides in unifying a politically fragmented Japan, arranged her marriage to Hosokawa Tadaoki when she was but fifteen (Ward *Women* 199). Shortly after their marriage, Nobunaga appointed Tadaoki *daimyo* of Tango as a reward for his fealty, and the couple moved to Tanabe Castle in Miyazu. At the time of their marriage, Hosokawa Tama's father, Akechi Mitsuhide, was a trusted advisor to Nobunaga, but in 1582, he unexpectedly betrayed his lord and murdered him in what came to be known as the *Honnōji no hen* incident. Toyotomi Hideyoshi, one of Nobunaga's protégés, succeeded him and in vengeance of his lord's death ordered the executions of Tama's mother and brother as the family of a traitor and shortly afterward Akechi killed himself while running from Hideyoshi's troops. Rather than turning her over to the authorities, Hosokawa Tadaoki divorced Tama and hid her away in a mountain village under guard. From this point on, however, she was branded the daughter of one of the most notorious traitors and even after Hideyoshi forgave her and had her restored to her husband, she was kept under strict surveillance and per her husband's orders was never allowed to leave her quarters in their Osaka residence (Ward *Women* 200).

While the couple resided in Osaka,⁶⁷ Tama became aware of the *Kirishitan* movement through her husband who would relate tidbits to her about the new faith from his tea fellow Takayama Ukon Justo, who was himself a famous *Kirishitan daimyo*. Her curiosity about the foreign faith led her to disguise herself in March 1587 and slip out of her residence, accompanied by her ladies-in-waiting, under the pretense of participating in the Buddhist pilgrimage season of *higa* coinciding that year with Easter. As the Japanese *irmão* Takai Cosme was delivering his Easter sermon, Tama interrupted him, asking him questions and attempting to refute the Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul with the teachings she had learned from Zen

⁶⁷ Hideyoshi required all *daimyo* to have a residence in his capital, Osaka, where he could watch over their families for political surety (Ward *Women* 200).

Buddhism (202). Although Tama could not stay to dispute with the *irmão*, since she did not want her absence to be discovered, she began a regular written correspondence with the priests and learned about the faith via her servant Kiyohara Ito, later baptized Maria, whom she would send to the church to hear the catechisms and then teach them to her lady. She had access to at least one Christian text translated into Japanese, *Kontemutsusu munji*, the translation of Thomas à Kempis' *De Imitatione Christi*,⁶⁸ and the Jesuit priests sent her an elderly, pious widow named Catarina of Tanba to act as a mentor in the faith (Ward *Women* 203). In 1578, just as Toyotomi Hideyoshi was restricting the propagation of Christianity and threatening the persecution of *Kirishitans*, Hosokawa Tama desired baptism yet because she was unable to leave her home or have a Jesuit priest enter her residence, the priests gave leave for her maid-servant, Kiyohara Ito Maria, to baptize her with the name Gracia, or Grace.

Tama Gracia's husband Hosokawa Tadaoki was by all accounts a ruthless and cruel man. In addition to keeping his wife under constant surveillance, essentially a prisoner in her own home, he abused his *Kirishitan* servants, reportedly cutting off the ears and nose of one of his son's nurses and casting her out for only a minor offense (245). Less than a year after her conversion to Catholicism, Gracia wrote to the Jesuit priests, whose position in Japan was still tenuous as a result of the *Edict of Expulsion*, of her intention to leave her abusive husband, but the Fathers urged her to stay with him since her influence had the potential to convert him and her joining the priests in hiding would place them in greater danger (251-2). In the same year, Father Organtino Gnechi-Soldo writes that Tadaoki was unaware of his wife's conversion to Christianity and feared that should he learn of it "not only would he treat her worse, but he

⁶⁸ For more information about the various translations and publications of the work in Japan see Haruko Nawata Ward's *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549-1650*, Footnote 10 p. 203

would also renew and inflame the persecution of the Christians here [...]” (qtd in Boxer “Hosokawa” 90). However, shortly after her death in 1600, the priest acknowledges that Tadaoki had in fact discovered that she was a Christian, stating that though he initially treated her abusively, he came to accept her conversion as a result of Tama Gracia’s martyr-like patience to his harshness:

[...] [A]nd although when she first became a Christian he treated her very harshly and caused her much sorrow, solely for having received the faith of Christ, she behaved with such patience and fortitude throughout it all that she ended by softening him in such wise that not only did she calm him, but even made him so proud of her being a Christian that when he went from the city of Fuximi [Fushimi] to Osaka he himself went to superintend the building of an oratory and an altar, wherein she could retire to pray, as she was wont to do. (qtd. in Boxer “Hosokawa” 91)

In the end, her husband’s shifting political alliances would bring about her death just as her father’s political actions had brought her shame. Before his death in 1598, Toyotomi Hideyoshi named his infant son, Hideyori, as his heir. After his death, the five *bugyō* (or magistrates) tasked to rule on behalf of the young successor began to challenge one another, and Tokugawa Iesyasu quickly rose to power. In 1600, the country’s *daimyo* were squaring off as two factions clearly emerged, those who supported Hideyori and those who supported Ieyasu. Hosokawa Tadaoki, who had been a supporter of Hideyori, now switched his alliance to Ieyasu, and while away from Osaka, one of Hideyori’s *bugyō*, Ishida Mitsunari, surrounded the residence and demanded Tama Gracia be released to him as a hostage. Tadaoki’s regent, following his master’s orders, refused to relinquish her, and while what happened next has been heavily debated, the end result was Tama Gracia’s death and the burning of their Osaka residence.

Narrating Gracia: Dutiful Wife or Christian Martyr?

Although Protestant and Catholic polemicists interpreted the details of Campion’s execution through distinctly different interpretive frames, both acknowledged the historical

events that occurred during his publicly witnessed death. The details of Hosokawa Tama Gracia's death, on the other hand, have proved more enigmatic, and as historian Haruko Nawata Ward points out, the lack of definitive evidence generates more questions:

What actually took place has been the subject of debate for many centuries: Did Tama Gracia commit suicide, was she murdered against her will, or was she a Kirishitan martyr? Was there another choice for her? Could she have escaped it? Did she really sacrifice herself? For what? (*Women* 259)

Unlike the narrative of Campion's death developed into a master narrative by English Protestants attempting to frame the priest's actions and punishment within the native anti-Catholic ideology, the first to narrate Gracia's death were foreign Jesuit missionaries. Interestingly, although the original Jesuit and Japanese narratives of Gracia's death differ significantly in their depiction of the manner in which she died, they are akin in their interpretation of her as a dutiful, submissive wife. Neither the Jesuit nor Japanese narratives depict Hosokawa Tama Gracia as a Christian martyr; for that transformation, Gracia's ghost would have to travel to the other side of the globe where the European Catholic community recast the experiences of her life and death within the conventional Western martyrological paradigm, culminating in her compelling construction as a Christian martyr in the late seventeenth-century Latin drama *Mulier fortis*.

The first written account of Hosokawa Tama Gracia's death is dated October 26, 1600 by Valentim Carvalho and was then edited by Fernão Guerreiro and included in his *Relação Annual das Coisas que Fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas Missões do Japão, China* ..., relating the history of the Japanese and Chinese Jesuit mission during the years 1600 to 1609 (Ward *Women* 259-60). Guerreiro's version, which formed the basis for later European narratives, reads:

During the conflict there occurred the tragic case of a Christian Lady called Dona Gracia, wife of Nangaoca Jocundono, gentile Lord of Tango, who has been referred to before. [...] As Jocundono is above all things devoted to honour, he

was always accustomed, when leaving his house, to give order to this and to his other retainers whom he left of guard that if in his absence something should happen which would place the honour of his wife in jeopardy, they should first kill her, as is the custom in Japan, and then all slit their own bellies and die together with her. On this occasion he left an identical order with this retainer. [...] As the servants realised that the regents would speedily surround the house and lay hold of their mistress, they determined for their honour's sake to carry out their Lord's command. They therefore went in all haste to tell Dona Gracia of what was toward, who ordered them to do as they were told. She forthwith entered her oratory, which she always had very well ordered and decorated; and after ordering the candles lit, she knelt in prayer, preparing herself for death. After a little while she sallied forth from the oratory very courageously, and calling all her servants and tirewomen, ordered them to leave, saying that she only wished to die since her husband had ordered it so. The servants hesitated to leave, saying that they wished to die with her, because in addition to its being the pride and custom amongst the Japanese for servants to die with their masters in such cases, Dona Gracia was so loved by her servants that they all wished to accompany her in death. Withal, enforced by her orders, they were compelled to withdraw outside. Meanwhile the major-domo, Ongazavaradono, together with some other servants, had strewed gunpowder in all the rooms; when the women servants had left, Dona Gracia knelt down, and repeating many times the most holy names of Jesus and Maria, she with her own hands bared her neck, when her head was cut off at one blow. They forthwith covered the body with some silk vestments, and throwing more gunpowder on these they went into the main hall, since it would have been discourteous for them to presume to die in the same room as their mistress. Then they all ripped up their bellies, at the same time setting fire to the powder, on [the explosion of] which they and the mansion, which was very fine and beautifully furnished were reduced to ashes. (qtd in Boxer "Hosokawa" 94-5)

In this narrative of Gracia's death, there is little that relates to the topological construction of martyrdom. Although she, like patristic and medieval martyrs, accepts death without fear, sallying forth from her oratory "very courageously" and baring her neck with her own hands for the fatal strike, her reasons for dying do not inscribe her within the conventional narrative of martyrdom. Within the martyrological narrative, the martyr functions as a witness for the faith in that her death is constructed as an act of religious persecution. While Gracia's Christian faith is constructed as a boon giving her the strength to accept death, first spending time in prayer, "preparing herself for death," and then repeating the names of Mary and Jesus just prior to receiving the deathblow, her Christianity is not what prompts her execution. Instead, Gracia

herself states that she only willingly accepts death because “her husband had ordered it so.” Thus Gracia’s death, rather than enshrining her as a religious martyr, exalts her as an *exemplum* of a noble and dutiful wife, reflecting Nawata Ward’s analysis of the narrative when she states that “the Jesuits painted the picture of Tama Gracia in the colors of a subservient wife, sacrificing herself for her husband’s political survival” (Ward *Women* 260). While this narrative of Gracia’s death does not map her experiences onto the martyrological structure, it does extricate her from damnation, clearly illustrating her reliance upon the Christian faith up to and at the moment of death and depicting her death as an execution rather than a suicide.

The principal native source relating Tama Gracia’s life and death is a chronicle entitled *Menkō shūroku* compiled between 1759 and 1783 (Ward *Women* 261). Since the chronicle was constructed more than a century after Tama Gracia’s death, it should come as no surprise that its depiction of the events reflects the cultural and religious climate in which it was constructed rather than that of Tama Gracia. One area where the narratives included in the chronicle reflect the cultural shift between Tama Gracia’s lifetime and contemporary Japanese society is in the matter of religion. The narratives included in the collection support a Neo-Confucian morality and essentially eradicate all mention of Christianity, referring to Tama principally by her Buddhist death name, Shūrin-in-sama, and only sparingly by her *Kirishitan* name Garashia-sama (Lady Gracia) (262). The de-Christianization of Tama in the narratives can be seen as a reflection of the disfavor of Christianity at the time of the chronicle’s compilation. While Japan witnessed various periods of Christian persecution, such as the one prompted by Hideyoshi’s edict at the time of Tama Gracia’s conversion, Hideyoshi’s political successor, Tokugawa Ieyasu, made the ban on Christianity definite in 1610, expelling all Jesuit missionaries and subjecting the population to measures designed to eradicate the *Kirishitan* community similar to

those used by the Spanish Inquisition in its persecution of *conversos*. Thus, at the time of the chronicle's compilation, the ground won by Valignano's mission strategies of appropriation in carving out a space for Christianity within Japanese society had been lost.

Unlike Guerreiro's narrative, which became the definitive Jesuit account of the events, the chronicle contains several versions depicting Tama Gracia's death⁶⁹ all of which, with one exception, narrate that she struck herself fatally with a dagger, committing suicide in keeping with Japanese Buddhist practice (Ward *Women* 262). The narrative corresponding most nearly to Guerreiro's chronologically is the account entitled "Shimome oboegaki," written in 1644, claims to be an eyewitness account by Shimo, Tama Gracia's maternal aunt and lady-in-waiting (261). In Shimo's memoir, which Hosokawa Mitsunao ordered be put down in writing, she echoes the Jesuit account in Tama Gracia's concern for her ladies-in-waiting by sending them away instead of requiring them to die alongside her but departs from the earlier narrative by making no mention of her lady's Christian faith. Shimo claims that both she and Oku, another lady-in-waiting who was particularly close to Tama Gracia, hid themselves to witness the suicide and records Tama Gracia's *waka* poem, in keeping with Japanese custom, expressing the ephemerality of life: *Chirinubeki tokishiritekoso yononakano hanamo hananare, hitomo hitonare* (One must know the time to leave this world. As the flowers perish, so do human lives) (261-2). Despite the heteroglossic nature of the narratives included in the chronicles, Nawata Ward contends that they share a similar construction of Tama Gracia "through the lens of Tokugawa Neo-Confucian ideology" as "the image of the *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother), whose

⁶⁹ For a fuller description of the various accounts, see Haruko Nawata Ward's *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549-1650*, Footnote 69 p. 261

loyalty to her husband and his lord was unwavering even to her own death, and whose care for her children and subordinates was dutifully perfect” (*Women* 287).⁷⁰

Hosokawa Tama Gracia’s narrative metamorphosis from an *exemplum* dutiful wife into a revered Christian martyr was not the narrative invention of either native *Kirishitan* writers or Jesuit missionaries in Japan. Rather, the intriguing Japanese noblewoman introduced to Catholic Europe through Guerreiro’s narrative served as an artistic medium for Western Catholic writers and artists who then re-constructed the circumstances of her life and death, enfolding them within a rich amalgam of classical and Oriental imagery and *topoi* and then embedding them, like a jewel in a setting, within the martyrological narrative. Tama Gracia’s construction within the martyrological frame, while certainly serving various cultural functions, provided the Society of Jesus with a way to reinterpret the otherwise tragic end to the Japanese Jesuit mission, much as Campion’s martyrdom narrative had likewise offered the English Catholic community with an alternative to conceptualizing the English Jesuit mission as a failure. A decade after Hosokawa Tama Gracia’s enigmatic death, Christianity in Japan faced its severest trial as Tokugawa Ieyasu, founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, which would limit Western influence on Japan up to the nineteenth century, enforced a stringent ban on the foreign religion, leading to the complete eradication of the *Kirishitan* movement in Japan for all but a small remnant of believers. The Society’s loss of Japan, a mission Valignano had expressed such hopes for in his *Sumario* only a few decades earlier, was indeed a devastating blow to the Jesuit global mission, yet through the narrative of martyrdom, specifically when applied to Japanese Christians, the Society was able to

⁷⁰ Within her study of Hosokawa Tama Gracia, Haruko Nawata Ward seeks to extricate the historical Tama Gracia from both the Jesuit and Japanese constructions of her as a meek and subservient figure, instead offering a compelling interpretation of her actions as those of a “self-determined, clear-minded, and argumentative character, who showed no signs of ‘total submissiveness’ to her husband throughout her married life” (287).

reinterpret the physical and spiritual loss as gain, just as the English Catholic community had done in the wake of Campion's execution.

Amongst the most poignant depictions of Hosokawa Tama Gracia's martyrological transformation is the late seventeenth-century Latin drama *Mulier fortis (The Valiant Woman)*,⁷¹ the result of a musical and literary collaboration at the Jesuit College in Vienna between Johannes Bernhard Staudt and Johannes Baptist Adolph. Before discussing how this drama re-imagines the historical figure of Hosokawa Tama Gracia within the conventions of Catholic martyrology, it is first necessary to situate the drama within its historical and artistic context. One of the first scholars to write about *Mulier fortis* after its discovery in the archives was Thomas Immoos who describes the work as an opera, claiming its "form illustrates an important stage in the development of a complete opera" ("Gracia Hosokawa: Heroine" 162) and hailing Hosokawa Tama Gracia as an "operatic heroine" ("Gratia Hosokawa: Operatic"). Characterizing the work simply as an "opera," however, proves problematic since as Immoos himself elaborates, "Most of the main action is expressed in speech" interspersed with "ballet-scenes and songs" while "the allegorical intermezzi with prologue and epilogue are set to music" ("Gracia Hosokawa: Heroine" 162). Even the fairly open-ended definition of opera offered by Denis Arnold et al. as "[...] a work intended to be staged, in which singing plays a dominant part in portraying the actions and emotions of the characters" leaves room for doubt since the principal characters relating the drama of martyrdom develop their actions and emotions entirely in speech rather than song.

⁷¹ At the time of my writing, there is currently a documentary about the drama in progress entitled "The Making of *A Strong Woman*" by Yasmin Haskell, Raphaele Garrod and Makoto Harris Takao as part of their "Jesuit Emotions" project in the ARC Centre of Excellence for History of Emotions.

Prior to the advent of opera in sixteenth-century Florence, the *intermedio*, itself considered a forerunner of opera, was popular as a form of “musico-dramatic entertainment” inserted between the acts of spoken plays (Nutter). The Italian Renaissance witnessed the re-staging of various classical dramas performed as spoken plays both in the original Latin and in translation, and to cater to the tastes of a contemporary audience, these Renaissance performances soon began to incorporate music and dance (Grout 24). In these performances, the musical *intermedi* were subordinate to the spoken drama, around which the *intermedi* functioned somewhat as a decorative frame; “[t]he general tendency was to separate the musical numbers from the play itself by placing them in the prologue and at the ends of the acts, so that each appeared as an *intermedio*, that is, something “intermediate” in the action of the play” (24). In order to maintain cohesion between the spoken acts and the interspersed musical and dance performances, the intervening musical performances, ranging from solos to choruses, were often “connected in some allegorical way with the subject of the drama” (24). In the case of Johannes Baptist Adolph’s libretto of *Mulier fortis*, the prologue, choruses and epilogue more clearly reflect Renaissance and Baroque *intermedi* in their development of a secondary drama functioning as an allegorical interpretive frame to the spoken drama of martyrdom.

Although the subject matter of *Mulier fortis* is clearly not taken from the classical tradition, the librettist Johannes Baptist Adolph constructs the drama within a classical framework, writing in Latin and making various classical allusions within the work. On the one hand, his structuring of the drama in this way reflects the Renaissance and Baroque interest in classical dramas and dramas written in the classical style incorporating *intermedi*, but it raises the question why he would choose to narrate the drama of a contemporary Japanese Christian

martyr in the first place.⁷² His choice of subject could have various explanations, one of which is likely the European fascination with the East, offered by Valignano as a principal reason for the writing of his *Historia* nearly a century earlier. According to Thomas Immoos, the end of the sixteenth century saw something of a “Japan boom” throughout Catholic Europe in the wake of the Japanese ambassadorial visit (“Gratia Hosokawa: Operatic” 75). But it also seems that the European fascination with Japan was of long duration, evidenced by the fact that “[m]ore than 650 performances on Japanese themes can be documented in German-speaking countries between 1606 and 1813” (Immoos “Gracia Hosokawa: Heroine” 161-2). I would also contend that Baptist Adolph’s intertwining of a contemporary Japanese figure with literary and cultural elements from Western Antiquity was somewhat in keeping with the global construction of non-European peoples developed by fellow Jesuit José de Acosta more than a century before. In his seminal evangelizing manual, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, Acosta likens the peoples of Asia, whom he assigns to the first tier of barbarians, to the peoples of pre-Christianized Greece and Rome in their level of cultural development and *civilitas*. Since, as Valignano continually reiterates in his *Sumario*, the culture and society of Japan were difficult for Europeans to fully comprehend, one way for Europeans to construct the Japanese Other was to fill in the conceptual gaps in knowledge about the exotic Oriental culture by drawing examples from classical Antiquity since, as Acosta contends, the Japanese and classical Greeks and Romans shared a similar construction of *civilitas*.

The subtle mixture of Japanese cultural elements with allusions to classical mythology in Johannes Baptist Adolph’s libretto is particularly clear at the beginning of Act Two. In the first

⁷² The depictio of Hosokawa Tama Gracia as a Christian martyr was not original to Baptist Adolph, and in the opening of the work, he lists Cornelius Hazart’s *Annalibus Ecclesiasticis* as his principal source.

scene, the librettist develops the plot of Gratia's (whom I translate as Grace throughout the drama) conversion to Christianity, seemingly based upon historical fact but intermixed with references to classical mythology. The scene depicts a conversation between the drama's counterpart to Hosokawa Tadaoki, King Iacundonus (whom I translate as Yakundono⁷³), and the "prince of the bonzes." The reference to bonzes is an acknowledgment of Buddhism as the dominant religion in Japan, but the chief bonze's name, Orchamus, recalls the mythological king of the eastern countries from Antiquity.⁷⁴ As Yakundono questions the priest about what has taken place within the kingdom while he was away at war, Orchamus describes the Queen's conversion with a mixture of historical fact and classical allusion:

<i>Orcamus:</i>	Regina tanti fomes est incendii. Elusit Argum; et quamlibet Danaë magis (Te sic iubente) clausa delituit, tamen Evasit e custodia; forsan Iovem Etiam recepit aureum, nam se sacris Miscere visa est exteris, inter gregem Versata plebis; [...]
<i>Orchamus:</i>	The Queen provided the spark for the blaze. She eluded Argus ⁷⁵ ; and though she was cloistered To even greater extent than Danaë ⁷⁶ (as you decreed),

⁷³ As C.R. Boxer explains in a footnote, Hosokawa Tadaoki was known to the Jesuits by his court title, *Etchū-no-kami*, "which through Etchū-dono was corrupted to Jecundono, Jocundono, etc., in European script" ("Hosokawa" 94). My own rendering of the name as Yakundono is an attempt to merge the conventions of English transliteration of Japanese with the Portuguese and Spanish tradition.

⁷⁴ In Greek mythology, Orchamus was a king of the eastern countries who had two daughters, Leocothea and Clytie. The former was raped by Helios, or Apollo, and out of jealousy the latter betrayed her sister's indiscretion to their father. In response, Orchamus had Leocothea buried alive. The god attempted to revive her, to no avail, but in his efforts fragrant frankincense sprouted from her grave. The sister, Clytie, now abandoned by the god, lay on the ground, following the sun with her gaze, until she was transformed into a flower following the sun (such as a heliotrope or sunflower).

⁷⁵ The hundred-eyed keeper of Io from classical mythology

Yet did she escape her guard; perhaps she has even
Welcomed Jupiter's golden shower,⁷⁷
For she was seen participating in foreign rites
And mingling among the crowd of commoners; (II.i. 20-6)

Although we know from the Jesuit missionaries' accounts Tama Gracia was in fact restricted to her residence by order of her husband and that to learn more about the Christian faith she disguised herself and visited the mission on Easter Sunday, in this scene, the Buddhist priest describes her actions with references to classical mythology. His classical allusions relate the servant guarding her with Argus, the hundred-eyed keeper of Io, and the priest then drives a disturbing parallel between the Queen and Danaë, going so far as to imply adultery as part of her deception by connecting lecherous Jupiter with the foreign religious rites she has adopted. The allusion to classical figures in the description of the historical events surrounding Tama Gracia's conversion to Catholicism would have made the characters, from the perspective of the intended audience, seem less foreign and therefore more culturally accessible. These cultural allusions also serve to reinforce the Jesuit categorization of Asian peoples, articulated by Acosta in his evangelizing manual, as akin to the West's pagan past.

The drama *Mulier fortis* is first and foremost a didactic work, emphasized in its allegorical *intermedi*. According to Immoos, Jesuit colleges typically performed didactic plays for graduation ceremonies and other great occasions, and *Mulier fortis* was staged, in the presence of the Hapsburg Emperor Leopold I, his wife the Empress Eleanora, and their children, at the College of St. Ignatius in Vienna in July 1698 to celebrate the saint's feast day ("Gratia Hosokawa: Operatic" 75, 77). As Immoos points out, the very name of the drama, echoing the

⁷⁶ The daughter of King Acrisius of Argos who imprisoned her in a bronze tower to avoid his prophesied death at the hands of her yet to be conceived son, his grandson.

⁷⁷ During Danaë's confinement in the tower, Jupiter came to her in the form of golden rain falling from the ceiling, and she conceived the hero Perseus.

Latin vulgate of Proverbs 31:10,⁷⁸ “stresses her [Grace’s] shining example of Christian fortitude in the time-honored structure of an educational play” (162). Although Tama Gracia’s conventional depiction as a dutiful wife is not wholly lost within the drama, particularly since she is from the very title page linked to the *exemplum* wife described in Proverbs 31,⁷⁹ her construction as a Christian martyr, specifically her depiction as a steadfast witness to the Christian faith despite trials and persecution, takes precedence over her construction as a dutiful wife and mother. To this end, the allegorical *intermedi* placed between the spoken scenes praise her virtues as they relate to her construction as a Christian martyr. The prologue introduces the principal allegorical figures reappearing throughout the drama’s *intermedi*, with the exceptions of Adversity (*Adversitas*) who appears only in the second chorus and Reward (*Praemium*) and Glory (*Gloria*) who appear only in the epilogue. At the beginning of the work, these characters allegorically act out the drama the characters in the spoken scenes will develop throughout the course of the play. The principal character throughout the *intermedi* is Constance (*Constantia*), representing the virtue Grace embodies in her role as a Christian martyr holding firmly and steadfastly to her faith despite the various hardships and persecutions leveled against her by her husband.

The prologue takes place within the fortress of Virtues, representing the Christian soul, and the scene begins as Constance, in her solo, touts the magnificence of her column, standing

⁷⁸ *Mulierem fortem quis inveniet? procul et de ultimis finibus pretium eius.* (Latin Vulgate) Who shall find a valiant woman? far and from the uttermost coasts is the price of her. (Douay-Rheims)

⁷⁹ Elisabeth Gössman, citing the work of Margret Dietrich, contends that the drama *Mulier fortis* presents the character of Grace as “an *exemplum* (model) of virtue for the women of the Habsburg dynasty” (20). While there are certainly parallels between Grace’s character and the model wife and mother of Proverbs 31, I contend that her character is principally defined by her role as a Christian martyr.

symbolically at the very heart of the fortress, and lauds its fortitude, contending its strength can withstand any and all attacks.

Constantia: Ut firmata stat columna,
Et furorem despicit,
Sic Virtutis stat alumna
Si qua Numen respicit.
Potest premi, potest quati,
Hostium insultus pati;
Ut succumbat non levanda,
Ut flectatur non firmanda,
Nulla vis efficient.

Constance: How stalwartly the column stands,
Despising unrestrained wrath,
As Virtue's disciple it stands
As long as Providence grants.
It can be both rammed and battered,
And withstand the foes' attack;
For it to fall never to rise
Or be damaged beyond repair
Will never come to pass. (Prologue lines 1-9)

Constance here represents the Christian whose faith is secure but admittedly untested, reflecting the circumstances of Grace's conversion to Christianity and subsequent evangelization efforts, first to her children and then ultimately to the whole kingdom, having taken place while her husband was away. However, this calm swiftly passes with the arrival of conflict in the form of Rage (*Furor*) and Cruelty (*Crudelitas*), representing the vices embodied in her husband, Yakundono. In duet, the vices maliciously assault the column in the same way Yakundono, returning from war, will persecute his wife, testing her devotion to the new faith.

Furor: Impete, turbine.
Crudelitas: Frequenti verberare,
Ambo: Irruamus, prosternamus.

Rage: With a flurry of blows
Cruelty: And repeated lashes,
Both: Let us attack; let us destroy. (lines 18-20)

The references to lashings and blows, though seemingly an ineffective attack against a solid structure, such as a column, foreshadow the floggings Grace will receive at her husband's command for refusing to acknowledge the native polytheistic deities, referred to throughout the drama as Amida and Fotoke⁸⁰ (*Amida* and *Fotoquis*). Although Grace's death occurs off-stage, the beatings she receives as punishment for her blasphemy, also off-stage, are acknowledged as the cause of her death, an obvious departure from the historical narratives of Tama Gracia's death in both Japanese and Jesuit accounts. By attributing her death to the wounds inflicted during her repeated floggings, the librettist clearly inscribes her within the martyrological frame, depicting her suffering and death as the direct result of persecution endured for her faith. At first, the column, representing Grace's assaulted body and soul, stands firm against the attacks as Constance metrically counters her attackers' jeers, declaring, "Adhuc stat" [Still it stands] (line 17), but soon the column begins to topple and is in danger of crashing to the ground as its supports give way and Constance alone holds it upright. As her assailants claim victory, Constance, voicing the rhetorical stance of the martyr, interprets temporal defeat as eternal glory:

Constantia: Iacet coacta, sed non confracta;
 Iacet, ut surgat in gloriam,
 Cui coelum praeparat adorem.

Constance: It is battered, but not beaten;
 It bows low so that it might rise in glory
 To the reward Heaven has in store. (lines 32-4)

As Constance's defeat seems imminent, two additional allegorical figures appear, Disquiet (*Inquies*) and Penitence (*Poenitudo*). In his description of martyrological drama, St. Augustine

⁸⁰ In his writings concerning Buddhism, Valignano uses the term *fotoque* to refer to *hotoke*, both the Buddha and the souls of those who lived according to the teachings of Buddha (App 58). In my translation, I have chosen to render *hotoke* as *fotoke* in an attempt to merge the Western traditions of English and Portuguese transliteration, as I explained in my earlier translation note about the rendering of Iacundonus as Yakundono.

defines the basic narrative structure as a “wondrous play” in which essentially two principal characters, the persecutor (either an “iniquitous judge” and/or a “bloodthirsty torturer”) and the martyr, engage in “a contest between cruelty and piety” (qtd in Dailey *English Martyr* 10). Within the prologue, Rage and Cruelty enact the role of the persecutor, Constance is the martyr and Disquiet and Penitence are the Christian virtues restraining and conquering the martyr’s opponents, foreshadowing Yakundono’s remorseful response to his wife’s death in the last scene before the epilogue in Act III. In a duet now silencing the duet of Rage and Cruelty, Disquiet and Penitence proclaim the inevitable defeat and punishment of the persecutor, concluding with Constance’s solo similarly declaring the martyr’s eternal reward for constancy:

Inquies: Sic Virtutis hostes luunt,
Et Poenitudo: Sic in poenas tandem ruunt.

Disquiet: Thus are Virtue’s foes purged,
With Pen.: And at length punished. (lines 45-6)

[...]

Constantia: Sola perseverantiam
 Manet Victoria;
 Ad praemium Constantium,
 Educit Gloria

Constance: Victory yields
 To perseverance alone,
 And Glory leads
 To Constancy’s reward. (lines 50-3)

Just as the prologue allegorically provides the interpretive martyrological frame then developed by the characters within the spoken scenes, the choruses inserted between Acts likewise reinforce the didactic lessons of the spoken scenes. As Act One ends, the Queen has just learned the doubly disconcerting news that her husband has returned from war and is furious

at the practice of Christianity within his kingdom. To this devastating news, Grace resolutely responds:

Hic esto fortis, Gratia, hic standum tibi!
Tota solutes orcus Eumenidum manu
In me recumbat; corde non tollet deum.

Here you must be valiant, Grace, here you must stand firm!
Though the gates of Hell stand open and its band
Of Furies come against me; still shall God remain fixed
Within my heart. (I.v.19-21)

In the following chorus, the figure of Constance performs three songs, all of which relate allegorically to the character Grace as a martyr whose faithfulness to Christianity remains firm against adversity. The first song, similar to the drama's prologue, provides the interpretive frame for the following songs, describing various types of afflictions the martyr must encounter while repeating the line: *Victor de illis animus est*. [But the steadfast soul triumphs over all] (lines 3 and 13). The following two songs then describe examples from Nature, the moon bursting forth in radiance from behind the clouds; the branch weighed down by a heavy burden rising again; and the rock steadfastly enduring the continual crashes of the sea's waves, illustrating the didactic point made in the refrain of her first song that though adversity might last for a time, the steadfast soul overcomes all such obstacles. This moral provides the interpretive frame for the following Acts in which Grace will confront hardship at the hand of her husband for the sake of her faith, foreshadowing that she, like the allegorical illustrations presented in the songs, will remain steadfast and emerge victoriously as a martyr.

The drama depicts the historical figures of Hosokawa Tadaoki and Tama Gracia within the suprahistorical and supracultural narrative of martyrdom, altering the historical events of their lives and crafting their characters to fit within the conventions of the martyrological narrative frame. Although, as we have seen, the historical accounts describing Tama Gracia's

husband, Hosokawa Tadaoki, make mention of his violent tendencies, the drama highlights this vice as a narrative tool for the persecution of Christians. Upon his return from war, staged in Act One scene iii, Yakundono is greeted with a triumphal procession, but his attention is immediately drawn to the Christian altars set up along the roadside. In response to the adoption of Christianity and the subsequent abandonment of native religious traditions during his absence, the King becomes enraged. Within the scene, he clearly stakes out his opposition to Christianity, constructing himself as the ruthless and bloodthirsty tyrant persecutor common to the patristic and medieval martyrological tradition, declaring: “Iuro! Christi ad hoc scelus / Dabo expiandum sanguine.” [Hear my vow: I will ensure that the Christians atone for this offense with their blood.] (I.iii.17-18).

To further his construction as the antagonist within the martyrological paradigm, throughout the drama, he is depicted as a dangerous hothead lacking the ability to control his savage impulses. Following his declaration to make the Christian population in his kingdom suffer, he impulsively attempts to put his words into action by lunging at the altars to destroy them but is restrained by his advisors who beg him to reign in his violence so as not to lose the goodwill of the people. As we see only a few scenes later, the King’s vow to relentlessly persecute Christianity in his kingdom extends even to his family, and his wrathful and violent nature descends upon them with terrible force. In separate scenes, Yakundono demands both his wife and children worship the native deities. When each refuses to do so, instead declaring the native deity a demon and professing the monotheistic Christian God, Yakundono’s response is consistently violent and impulsive. In Act Two, scene ii, Yakundono orders the flogging of his wife as punishment for denying the divinity of Fotoke, desiring that through these lashings her Christianity will be purged and justice will be served:

Rex: Abripite pestem, personet tergum flagris,
Nec ante sistat, lassa quam cadat manus.
Si lenta poenis numina indulgent moram,
Ulcisci honores numinum reges decet.

King: Remove the curse by force; let her back resound
With lashes and let not the hand cease in its work
Until from utter exhaustion it falls. If the gods be slow
To mete out punishment, then it is fitting that kings
Avenge their divine honors. (27-30)

Though both Grace's punishment and death occur off-stage, it is made clear through dialogue that her death is the direct result of the excessive lashings received in defense of her faith, inscribing her death within the martyrological tradition. The substitution of corporal punishment in the drama for the more enigmatic execution of Tama Gracia in Guerreiro's account, where by her own volition she receives death at the hands of her husband's servant, serves a number of narratological functions. In Guerreiro's narrative, although Tama Gracia attributes her acceptance of death to her husband's having commanded it, no blame is placed upon him and the subsequent execution is not constructed as a form of punishment. Her death, then, is narrated as a good Christian death but does not conform to the martyrological frame since there is no antagonist persecuting her on the basis of her faith. Additionally, Tama Gracia's death in Guerreiro's narrative is interconnected with Japanese codes of honor and ritual sacrifice that more than likely would have seemed foreign and possibly incomprehensible to a European audience, certainly to one who was attempting to inscribe her, as a fellow member of the global Catholic community, within a legible Western narrative such as martyrdom. Because Guerreiro's narrative provided none of the trappings of martyrological narrative, in that there is no torture, no bloodthirsty persecutor and no fervent defense of the faith by the victim, European Catholic writers, such as the librettist Johannes Baptist Adolph, molded the historical Hosokawa Tadaoki into the typological role of religious persecutor.

As we have seen, Yakundono's lack of self-control and unrelenting anger as a persecutor of the Christian faith toward both his political subjects and his wife is tempered by his courtiers who keep him from bringing his violence to fruition on the stage, but in Act Two, scene v, the King's inner struggle with violence and rage disconcertingly spills out onto the stage and victimizes his own children. In this scene, his four children have come to beg their father show mercy towards their mother, who has already endured great torture. Although Yakundono begins the scene by viewing his own children with suspicion, since he has been informed by an advisor that their mother instructed them in the Christian faith, his demeanor towards them softens and his rage is quelled by their respectful and loving address to him:

Rex: Mentis ambiguam ratim
 Amor furorque versat. In prolem pius
 Flectit Parentem amor. At furor honorem objicit
 Laesum deorum. Fortior tamen est amor.
 Quid ergo, chara pignora, rogatis patrem?

King: My judgment wavers between affection
 And rage like a ship tossed to and fro. Among respectful,
 Affectionate children, love can soften the parent.
 Yet, my rage demands the honor of the offended gods.
 But love is stronger. Then what is it, beloved children,
 That you ask of your father? (23-7)

In this moment, Yakundono is somewhat humanized and becomes a recognizable father figure through his concern for his children. This show of fatherly affection, however, is short-lived. Once the children deny the native deities and instead proclaim their allegiance to the Christian God, his paternal love is overcome by vicious rage. While in previous scenes of the drama Yakundono's anger has manifested itself through dialogue and his thwarted attempts at violence, notably with the Christian altars, in this scene his violence is disturbingly allowed to come to fruition. His impulsively violent response to his children having just professed their Christian

faith is to vow to kill them; he dehumanizes them, likening them to snakes as he declares, “Sed his chelydri gutture eliso eximam / Virus nocendi” [I will remove the noxious venom by strangling their necks] (II.v.50-1), and seizes his closest daughter, attempting to strangle her. As in the earlier scene with the Christian altars, his advisors restrain him, hastily removing his children from the scene and wrenching the unfortunate daughter from him before he is able to end her life. But the violence cannot be unseen. The affection initially presented in the scene, between a father and his children, serves as a foil to the disturbing brutality on which the scene ends and the initial humanizing depiction of Yakundono now only serves to emphasize his monstrous savagery as he is willing to destroy those whom he loves most on the grounds of religious persecution.

Just as the historical figure of Hosokawa Tadaoki is reconfigured within the drama to be the typological bloodthirsty tyrant, Tama Gracia is likewise recast in the role of religious martyr. Although Grace is the principal martyr of the drama, she is not depicted as the only one persecuted for Christianity. As we have just seen, her children are likewise threatened for claiming the Christian faith and in Act Two scene vi the Japanese Christian population within Yakundono’s kingdom is represented by a Christian man and three young children who each vie for Christian martyrdom, much to the dismay of the soldiers commanded to eradicate all trace of Christianity. Although the Christian in the scene implies that many have given their lives in defense of the faith, stating “Quantis procellis sanguinis Christi gregis / Iapon natatur? Undique, ubi figo gradum, / Calco cruorem, et martyrum gressus lego.” [How great are the showers of blood, shed by faithful Christians, in which inundated Japan now swims. Everywhere I set my foot, there is blood, and I follow the footsteps of martyrs.] (II.vi. 1-3), it is unclear whether any of the Christian characters depicted in the scene die for the faith themselves. The father and his

young son are taken to prison rather than executed, the second young Christian child is sent away by a soldier in an act of pity and compassion, and the third child offers the soldier threatening his life an ultimatum to either convert to Christianity or strike him down as a martyr to which the soldier dejectedly follows the child offstage with “*contrahens humeros*” [hunched shoulders], perhaps implying his decision to concede victory to the child and convert to the new religion. Whatever the fate of the Christian characters in the scene, Grace is the only character in the drama unambiguously constructed as a true Christian martyr who dies in defense of her faith. In the dialogues between Grace and her husband, her construction within the drama as a Christian martyr clashes with the conventional depiction of Tama Gracia as a dutiful wife, advanced in both the accounts written by Jesuit missionaries as well as the Japanese narratives of her life written decades and even a century after her death. In Act Two, scene ii, when Yakundono first confronts his wife about her conversion to the new faith, he constructs adherence to the native religion and marital fidelity as essentially one and the same, similar to the way Protestant polemicists in Elizabethan England intertwine civic and religious duties,

Rex: Es christiana: sceleris hoc satis. Diis
 Quae fida non est, coniugi hanc fidam putem?

King: You are a Christian: That is crime enough.
 If a woman be unfaithful to the gods, how can
 I trust she be faithful to her husband? (lines 9-10)

To this accusation, conflating marital and religious fidelity, Grace responds in much the same way as Ralph Sherwin just prior to his execution when confronted with the Protestant treason narrative. According to Alfield’s narrative, Sherwin’s declaration in response to the charge of treason at the gallows, declaring if to be a perfect Catholic is to be a traitor then he is a traitor, likewise conflates the issues of religious and political loyalty but does so by turning the definition around. Whereas Protestant polemicists accused him of being a traitor for religion, he

here claims his religion first, making it the centerpiece of his confession, and then suggests the subjective nature of the charge of treason, which Protestants have affixed to religious identity, in his admission to being a traitor simply because he is a Catholic. In her response to Yakundono's accusation of both religious and marital infidelity, Grace likewise claims her religious identity as a Christian as the fundamental opposition between them, deeming the questioning of her chastity as unworthy of further mention.

Regina: Si christianam me esse sit scelus, rea
Sum, nec peroro capitis in causa mei.

Queen: If being a Christian is a crime, I am guilty,
Nor will I plead on my behalf. (lines 11-12)

Throughout her dialogue with Yakundono in this scene, Grace attempts to carefully differentiate, as do the English Jesuits, between her political loyalty to her king and her religious convictions as a Christian. Earlier in the scene, she declares that she has never failed him in the duty owed to him as her king and constructs herself as an *exemplum* dutiful wife, claiming that her submission to him as a wife and lover is even greater than that of a subject toward her king.

Regina: Non specto iussa; languidus nimis est amor,
Qui iussa sequitur; unicus amanti imperat
Nutus. Paratam nutibus me rex habes.

Queen: I do not look to orders; love which merely
Follows orders is feeble indeed; a nod alone is all
A lover needs. With but a nod, you find me ready, king.
(lines 16-18)

While the loyalty of a political subject is based on the acceptance of orders from her superior, here Grace claims that her obedience to Yakundono is so absolute it requires no words or verbal justification, merely a nod and she willingly obeys him. As the scene progresses, Yakundono tests the limits of this proclaimed loyalty as he forces her to take hold of an idol brought from the temple by Orchamus, the chief Buddhist priest. Grace follows her King's instructions to the letter

until she is asked to proclaim the deity it represents, Fotoke, as divine. To this command, Grace, acting not as a dutiful wife but as a Christian martyr within the longstanding martyrological tradition, throws the idol to the ground, shattering it, and proclaims,

Regina: Hoc absit, unus est deus; Fotoquis Stygis
Est larva. Christus solus est verus deus.

Queen: God forbid that I should do this thing,
There is one god; Fotoke is a Stygian demon.
Christ alone is the true God. (lines 24-5)

Her construction within the drama, then, as a dutiful, submissive wife is subordinated to her role as a Christian martyr since her obedience to her husband, as both her lover and king, only extends to matters that do not conflict with her religious convictions.

Her depiction as a mother is likewise subsumed within the typological construction of martyrdom. Although she is represented as a loving and attentive maternal figure throughout the drama, in contrast to Yakundono's construction as an unstable and violent father, her relationship with her children is consistently framed within the context of evangelization. In the first scene of Act I, Grace proclaims the personal fulfillment she now experiences as a Christian and describes her desire to instruct her children in Christianity as an outpouring of the spiritual peace she now enjoys.

Regina: [...] Dignam facis,
Pastor benigne, ut censeat posthac tui
Pars aliqua ovilis, Iamque per caeli plagas
Amoena pandis Pascua, ubi quondam doces
Me collocandam, praeivium si te pede
Sequerer fideli. Sequar, et exemplo traham
Sobolem tenellam.

Queen: [...] You make me worthy, benevolent pastor,
So that hereafter I am reckoned one of your fold;
Already you have prepared a lovely pasture,
Spanning the heavens, where you teach one day
I shall live if I follow you with faithful foot.

I shall follow, and by example draw also
My dear children.
(lines 8-14)

Here Grace expresses her desire to serve as a spiritual example for her children, ultimately leading them to accept the Christian faith for themselves, in a similar way to the martyr's role as a witness and evangelizing example of faith to a non-believing audience. In the following scene, Grace has an audience with her children, the purpose being to test their knowledge and acceptance of the catechism. The fundamental role of a shared religion to their relationship is made clear even at the beginning of the scene when, upon entering her chamber, one of her sons asks if the children may kiss her hand, and they are instead redirected by their mother to crucifix: "Venite, stirpis gemmulae, / Et casta sacris premitte vulneribus labra." [Come, little ones, and press chaste lips to sacred wounds.] (lines 3-4). After the children have finished reciting the doctrinal truths she has taught them, she rewards them with gifts for their knowledge; however these gifts, rather than being mere prizes for a job well done, have spiritual significance and each comes with a warning of the coming religious persecution. To her daughters, Grace presents bejeweled crosses for them to wear, which though decorative in nature serve as a reminder to remain firm in the faith despite physical persecution:

Regina: Hoc constans tene,
 Et ne deinceps cordis e vestri sinu
 Rapiatur ille, haec pectori, at menti magis
 Impressa signa gerite, sunt praemia mei
 Bene explicati dogmatis.

Queen: Firmly hold on to these gifts,
 Lest they be snatched from your bosoms,
 And even more so, guard them impressed
 Upon the heart and mind; they are my rewards
 To you for right doctrine. (II.ii. 68-72)

The swords she gifts to her sons foreshadow even more explicitly the coming persecution she believes they will soon endure; as she straps the little swords onto her sons' belts, she admonishes them, as future warriors, to fight in defense of the Christian faith: "Armis hisce pro veri Dei / Pugnare cultu discite" [With these weapons, learn to fight for the worship of the true God.] (lines 75-6). Although the maternal bond Grace has with her children is not threatened by her construction as a martyr in the same way Yakundono's construction as a religious persecutor destabilizes his role as a father, the drama, nonetheless, emphasizes the spiritual relationship she shares with her children as members of the global Catholic community over the ties of flesh and blood binding them.

European Catholic writers during the early modern period used the narrative of martyrdom to construct a global Catholic identity. Although Edmund Campion and Hosokawa Tama Gracia never met, lived geographically disparate lives and died under distinctly different circumstances, their narrative afterlives were similarly disputed by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. After Campion's execution, the English Catholic community attempted to extricate him from the master narrative of treason by vindicating his broken body, on display for all to see, through the counter-narrative of martyrdom. In turn, Campion's martyrdom became a symbol of hope and consolation to the subaltern recusant community in Elizabethan England. On the other side of the globe, Hosokawa Tama Gracia's ashes slept silently in her tomb, never to rise in martyrdom in her homeland as had Campion's quartered limbs had in England. While her death had been constructed as honorable and praiseworthy in her native land, first by Jesuit missionaries who praised her as a dutiful and submissive Christian wife and then later by Japanese accounts exalting her as the ideal model of Confucian morality, it was in Europe where she was transformed and refashioned into the typological Christian martyr. As the Japanese

mission came to a tragic end, much like the mission in England, Gracia's martyrdom provided the global Catholic community with the hope of future mission successes.

VI. Conclusion

One of the reasons I was first drawn to the field of Comparative Literature and Cultural Studies is its interdisciplinary nature. Because it is comparative by nature, it has the potential to offer the academic community a broader perspective than is common of more narrowly focused scholarship produced in traditional academic disciplines. Traditionally, Comparative Literature has produced literary critics who are able to study literature in multiple languages, and this study attempts to follow in that tradition to some extent by providing close-readings of primary sources in English, Spanish and Latin. As the traditional literary fields of English and Foreign Languages have expanded their definitions of “literature” to include a wide range of textual and visual sources so too has Comparative Literature, and this study likewise reflects a broader definition of “literature” in its inclusion of texts, such as histories, mission reports and musical drama, which traditionally would fall to other academic disciplines, such as History and Music.

In addition to both literary and linguistic concerns, I also attempt to consider culture comparatively in this study. One of the reasons I was drawn to the Society of Jesus as the topic of my dissertation is the unique nature of its global interactions during the early modern period, which as a medieval and Renaissance scholar is the time period most compelling to me. Although the Jesuits were not the first missionaries sent out by the Catholic Church nor the first to participate in Iberian imperial expansion, their organizational structure, shared educational background, and shared communal identity as members of a “Society” having its own unique “way of proceeding” led them to create a unified and organized, though problematic, definition of the world encountered on the mission field. This attempt at doctrinal and philosophical unity on the part of the early modern Society offers what I believe to be an excellent opportunity for broad cultural comparisons among the Jesuits’ missions and one which seems natural since

contemporary missionaries also contextualized the local mission within the Jesuit global mission. In order to make my comparisons tenable, I have limited my current study to three distinct missions I believe reflect the principal mission fields of the early modern Society: Protestant Europe, the Americas and Asia, represented in this study by England, Paraguay and Japan.

Two of the principal topics interlacing the chapters of my dissertation are power relationships and the construction of identity. I draw upon postcolonial theory throughout the dissertation to analyze asymmetrical power relationships and to deconstruct ideologies used to create and maintain these power relationships. While I do rely upon the scholarship of well-known postcolonial critics throughout my dissertation, I believe this study serves as a step toward filling a gap in postcolonial scholarship relating to the early modern period, specifically as it relates to Iberian imperial expansion in the East and the distinctive nature of Iberian imperial projects in the Americas and the East. In addition to my incorporation of postcolonial theory to discuss asymmetrical power relationships and the power dynamics of cultures in contact, I consider power relationships using scholarship from authors like Michel Foucault, in relation to the role of power in public execution and torture, and Thomas Wartenberg, in his interdisciplinary discussion of paternalistic and transformative constructs of power. Both of these sources consider the social functions of power within asymmetrical power relationships but they do so in ways that traditional postcolonial discourse does not. The type of power relationships established and maintained between Jesuit missionaries and those whom they intended to evangelize were obviously tied to cultural and ideological concerns, but as I was developing this project I found it particularly interesting how the cultural context of colonialism within the mission was interrelated with the education and incorporation of native converts into the mission, confining the Guarani in the reductions within a paternalistic relationship while offering the

Japanese a mixture of transformative opportunities within the mission, as priests and translators, tempered with educational paternalism.

In addition to power relationships, a major area of interest to my dissertation is culture, particularly cultures in contact. I felt that in order to understand the ways in which missionary scholars, such as Acosta, Valignano and Ruiz de Montoya, conceptualized the cultural Other, it was necessary to foreground an early modern understanding of *civilitas* used as a means of judging the customs of other peoples that was distinct from the Enlightenment construct of “culture” implying an objective, or at least proclaimedly objective, scientific inquiry. Through their contact with other cultures, the Jesuits began to redefine and expand the conceptual tools of *civilitas*, such as “barbarian” and “Indian,” as they attempted to categorize and define historically real people with vast cultural differences. Even on the mission field in Europe, the English Jesuit missionaries had to negotiate the nature of “Englishness” in relation to a Protestant English Other, debating the shifting definitions of individualism and sovereignty within the emerging Protestant nation state. The Jesuits, both at home and abroad, used othering and stereotypes to define and control the Other. In the case of the English mission, othering was a means of destabilizing the hegemonic Protestant construction of Englishness and an attempt to voice the concerns of the subaltern English Catholic community. On the mission fields in Paraguay and Japan, othering was tied to ethnic stereotyping. Through stereotyping Europeans associated the Japanese with themselves, both culturally and racially, affording the Japanese a status of quasi-peers from a Western perspective, though Europeans were still the possessors of divine revelation and right reason which Japanese Christians were expected to adopt via Jesuit-led education. Conversely, the Guarani were constructed as perpetual children and *medioshombres* or half-men. As a result of what the Jesuits’ perceived as their cultural deficiencies, the Guarani,

unlike the Japanese, were constructed as having an extremely limited potential to the global mission.

Rather than categorizing cultural difference, early modern martyrological literature sought to wipe away cultural distinctions between members of the global Catholic community. Although the English priests' execution is contextualized within the current suffering of the English Catholic community, the martyrs are also contextualized within the global Catholic community as the English Catholic poets lament the loss of Campion's intellectual genius to the Catholic courts of Europe and his talents as a missionary to the global Jesuit mission. Likewise, Hosokawa Tama Gracia is constructed, within the drama *Mulier fortis*, as a Christian martyr in keeping with the patristic and medieval martyrological tradition, and the classical allusions incorporated into the work further serve to displace the cultural distinctions between the sixteenth-century Japanese noblewoman and her European Catholic counterparts.

While I believe the comparative nature of this dissertation successfully offers a glimpse of the role of the Society of Jesus in early modern globalization and foregrounds the importance of Jesuits in the construction of an early modern Western worldview, there are still topics of inquiry I would like to develop in the future. In my study, I point out that medieval Europe had a tri-partite construction of the globe which was expanded and redefined with the discovery of the Americas. As the focus of my study, I chose England, Paraguay and Japan to represent major mission fields of the Society, but Africa is glaringly absent. This absence is in part due to the fact I wanted to limit the confines of this study in order to complete it as a dissertation, but it is also in part due to a general lack of discussion of Africa by my Jesuit sources. Although the Jesuit missionaries and scholars considered in this dissertation do not shy away from making global comparisons, such as the English Jesuits' mention of the Japanese

mission in their polemical debates with Protestants (which I would also like to develop at some point) and Valignano's reference to the American missions as he draws a distinction between the forms of Iberian colonialism in the East and West, there is no mention of Africa. Even in Acosta's seminal evangelizing manual, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, Africa is conspicuously absent. A future research question then that I would like to explore is why there is a silence among Jesuit missionaries and scholars regarding Africa. More than likely, Jesuit missions in Africa would have been intertwined with Portuguese "harsh" colonialism, and it would be interesting to compare the power dynamics of that relationship with those established between the indigenous peoples and the Jesuit missionaries in reductions in the Americas. It would also be enlightening to contextualize the Jesuit missionary scholar Alonso de Sandoval's work with Africans in colonial America with the work of Jesuit missionaries in coastal Africa, considering their relative roles to the slave trade.

Another area I feel needs development going forward is the role of the autochthon. While I have tried to consider the study of the Society of Jesus in this dissertation outside of the "rise of the West" narrative, my scholarship is still very Western in its orientation since all the works considered in this study are written by Western missionaries, scholars and lay believers. Going forward I would like to develop a sense of the indigenous response to the Jesuit missions and consider how the Jesuit global missions also affected the worldview of the cultures with which they were in contact. One way I would like to develop this in the future is by discussing the construction of the Portuguese and the Jesuits in *namban* Japanese art. I would also potentially like to explore native forms of mimesis among the Japanese and Guarani during the Jesuit missions, specifically in the creation of plastic religious artforms as well as engravings.

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MULIER FORTIS

Cuius pretium de ultimis finibus

Sive

GRATIA

Regni Tango Regina

Exantlatis pro CHRISTO aerumnis clara

In scenam producta

Coram

Augustissimis Caesareis Regiisque Maiestatibus

Et Serenissimis Austriae Archiducibus

Leopoldo I.

Eleonora

Iosepho I.

Carolo

Maria Elisabetha

Maria Anna

Maria Iosepha

THE VALIANT WOMAN

Whose worth is from the farthest coastsⁱ

Alternatively

GRACE

Queen of Tango

Renowned for the hardships she suffered for Christ

Staged

In the presence of

The most illustrious royal and imperial majesties

And the most serene archdukes of Austria

Leopold I.

Eleanora

Joseph I.

Charles

Mary Elizabeth

Mary Anna

Mary Josephine

Maria Magdalena

Composuit et exhibuit P. Ioannes Baptista Adolph Soc. IESU,
Gymnasii Domus Professae eiusdem societatis, scholarum
praefectus,
anno

Domini M DC LXXXVIII, die 31. Iulii.

Musicam composuit D. Bernardus Staudt, Domus Professae
capellae magister. Saltus instruxit D. Antonius Verlét,
Universitatis
lanista et choragus.

Argumentum

Gratia, regni Tango regina, Iacundoni regis coniux, Christianis
ritibus in mariti absentia imbuta, iisdem etiam proles suas
informat; reduci deinde ex bello Iacundono tanquam Christiana
defertur, male accipitur, ipsa etiam morte iterates vicibus
intentata ad idola redire iubetur, sed in cassum; donec et minis
et flagellis animo superior aerumnis confecta anno 1590 mense

Mary Magdalena

Written and presented by P. Johannes Baptist Adolph, Soc.
IESU, Prefect of the Domus Professae of the Society's
Gymnasium,
In the year of our Lord
1698, 31 July.

The music was composed by D. Bernhard Staudt,
Choirmaster of the *Domus Professae*.

Dances were taught by D. Antonio Verlét,
Head of the University dance troop and theatrical supplier.

Summary

Queen Grace, ruler of Tango and wife of king Yakundono,ⁱⁱ
converts to Catholicism in his absence and instructs her
children in the new faith. Upon Yakundono's return from war,
she is denounced as a Christian, suffering abuse and repeatedly
threatened with death. In vain, she is ordered to return to
idolatry; though she is able to inwardly rise above both threats

Augusto ad tolerantiae suae mercedem constantem animam
 coelo transmisit. Ab obitu eius animi remorsibus agitatus
 Iacundonus, damnans suam saevitiem, fit e tyranno mirus
 praeco suae coniugis. Vide plura in Annalibus Ecclesiasticis
 Cornelii Hazardt, par. 3, c. 13

Prologus

*Scena est atrium vel potius munimentum Virtutum, in cuius
 medio stat columna Constantiae. Furor cum Crudelitate frustra
 impugnant columnam Constantiae. Vinciuntur ab Inquiete et
 Poenitudine.*

Personae: Constantia, Furor, Crudelitas, Inquies, Poenitudo

Con.: Ut firmata stat columna,
 Et furorem despicit,

and hardships, she is outwardly exhausted by the afflictions
 endured, and in August 1590, she sends her steadfast soul
 heavenward to its rightful reward. At her death, overwrought
 Yakundono is shaken to his core with remorse; condemning his
 own savage acts of violence, he emerges from his tyranny an
 outspoken defender of his wife. See more in Cornelius
 Hazardt's *Ecclesiastical Annals*, par. 3, c. 13

Prologue

*The scene is in the court or fortress of Virtues. In the center
 stands the column of Constance. Rage and Cruelty senselessly
 attack Constance's column and are then seized by Disquiet and
 Penitence.*

Characters: Constance, Rage, Cruelty, Disquiet, Penitence

Con.: How stalwartly the column stands,
 Despising unrestrained wrath,

Sic Virtutis stat alumna

Si qua Numen respicit

Potest premi, potest quati,

Hostium insultus pati;

Ut succumbat non levanda,

Ut flectatur non firmanda,

Nulla vis efficiet.

[*Exit Furor et Crudelitas*]

Fur.: Quid? Haec moles ut stet,

Ego Furor non tolerabo.

Crud.: Ego Crudelitas collaborabo,

Ut se praecipitem et in ruinam det.

Ambo: Irruamus.

Prosternamus.

[*Ambo irruunt contra columnam. Iterum irruunt.*]

Irruamus, prosternamus.

[*Constantia sustinet columnam*]

As Virtue's disciple it stands

As long as Providence grants.

It can be both rammed and battered,

And withstand the foes' attack;

For it to fall never to rise

Or be damaged beyond repair

Will never come to pass.

[*Enter Rage and Cruelty*]

Rage: What? I, Rage, shall not allow

This heap to stand.

Cru.: And I, Cruelty, shall lend a hand,

Until headlong it crashes to the ground.

Both: Let us attack.

Let us destroy.

[*Both attack the column*]

Let us attack. Let us destroy.

[*They attack again. Constance supports the column.*]

Con.: Adhuc stat.

Fur: Impete, turbine.

Crud.: Frequenti verbere,

Ambo: Irruamus, prosternamus.

[*Denuo irruunt.*]

Con: Adhuc stat.

Fur: Iam non stabit; en iam nutat,

[*Nutat columna*]

Crud: Non durabit, sors se mutat.

Ambo: Iam non stabit, non durabit.

Con: Adhuc stat.

Eheu! Iuvate, coelites!

[*Inclinatur columna; ne tamen plane*]

Fur. et Cru.: Io, io, iam iacet!

Io! Triumphe! Vicimus!

[*Cadat, a Constantia sustinetur.*]

Fur.: Moles iacet,

Con.: Still it stands.

Rage: With a flurry of blows

Cru.: And repeated lashes,

Both: Let us attack; let us destroy.

[*They renew their attack*]

Con.: Still it stands.

Rage: Its strength is gone; it begins to falter.

[*The column teeters*]

Cru.: Its time has come; Fate her course does alter.

Both: Its strength has gone; its time has come.

Con.: Still it stands.

Alas! Heavens help me!

[*The column has given way, though not completely*]

Rage and Cru: Huzzah, huzzah, already it is in ruins!

Huzzah! Victory is ours!

[*On the verge of falling, the column is supported by Con.*]

Rage: So lies the hostile heap

Cru.: Hostis tacet,

[*Manet inclinata columna.*]

Ambo: Io! Triumphe! Vicimus!

Con.: Iacet coacta, sed non confracta;

Iacet, ut surgat in gloriam,

[*Erigitur iterum a Constantia*]

Cui coelum praeparat adorem.

[*Exeunt Inq. et Poe., ac Fur. et Crud. vinciunt.*]

Poe.: Quid egisti, Furor improbe?

Inq.: Crudelitas, quid molita es?

Poenas dabis.

Poe.: Vincit stabis.

Fur. et Cru.: Heu? Quae monstra?

Quae violentia?

[*Inter indignationis gestas*]

Cru.: Quam tu molesta!

Inq.: Tibi, scelesti.

Cru.: Its silence it will keep.

[*The column remains tilted.*]

Both: Huzzah! Victory is ours!

Con.: It is battered, but not beaten;

It bows low so it might rise in glory

To the reward Heaven has in store.

[*Constance has raised it again.*]

[*Enter Disquiet and Penitence and restrain Fury and Cru.*]

Pen: What have you done, villainous Rage?

Dis.: Cruelty, why do such a thing?

You shall be punished.

Pen.: You shall be bound.

Rage and Cru.: Oh! What savagery!

What brutality!

[*They exchange expressions of indignation.*]

Cru.: How irksome are you!

Dis.: Fiend, only irksome to you.

Fur.: Quam me premis!

Poe.: Frustra gemis.

Inq.: Sic Virtutis hostes luunt,

Et Poe.: Sic in poenas tandem ruunt.

Furoris cor rimatur

Doloris atrox dens,

Crudelitati datur

Irrequieta mens.

[*Truduntur Fur. et Cru. intra scenam tamquam vincti.*]

Con.: Sola perseverantiam

Manet Victoria;

Ad praemium Constantium,

Educit Gloria.

[*Con. accipit suam columnam. Super humerum et abit.*]

Rage: You treat me intolerably!

Pen.: In vain is your bellowing.

Dis.: Thus are Virtue's foes purged,

With Pen.: And at length punished.

Examine the Rage-filled heart

A saw-toothed tool of pain,

And as for Cruelty's part

A perverse, unsettled brain.

[*During the scene, bound Rage and Cru. are shoved about.*]

Con.: Victory yields

To perseverance alone,

And Glory leads

To Constancy's rewards.

[*Constance seizes her column, shoulders it and departs*]

Pars I

Inductio 1

Scena refert cubiculum regium cum interior conclav.

Regina gaudet se esse christianam, et proles christiano

Ritu educare statuit.

Personae: *Regina, ephebulus.*

Reg.: Quiescit animus; nempe cum errorum exuit

[Regina manu tenet crucifixum]

Mens tota noctem, plena tum fidei dies

Cordis serenat intima, et pleno alveo

Solatorum profluit coeli favor

In me immerentem. Maximo, o! quantum Deo

Me gratiarum pendere tributum decet!

Agnosco numen! Et amo te,* primum meae

*[*Osculatur crucem]*

Act I

Scene 1

The scene is in a royal bedchamber with an inner room.

Since the queen is glad to be a Christian, she decides to instruct her children in Christian doctrine.

Characters: *Queen, Young Page*

Que.: The soul is soothed; once the mind

[The queen grasps a crucifix in her hand]

Is completely free from the night of error,

Then the day of faith illuminates

The innermost recesses of the heart,

And the solaces granted by Heaven

Purify me and fill my emptiness.

How great a tribute of thankfulness I owe

To God Almighty! I declare your divine power!

And I love you,* high priest of my gladness.

*[*Kisses the cross]*

Felicitatis auspicem. Dignam facis,
 Pastor benigne, ut censeat posthac tui
 Pars aliqua ovilis, Iamque per caeli plagas
 Amoena pandis Pascua, ubi quondam doces
 Me collocandam, praevium si te pede
 Sequeretur fideli. Sequar, et exemplo traham
 Sobolem tenellam. Blandule, i, nostros iube
 Adesse amores.

[*Alloquitur ephebulum*]

Eph.: Domina, si nollent tuis

Parere iussis?

Reg.: Matris? Et quis hoc vetet?

Eph.: Alinda nutrix.

Reg.: Unde?

Eph.: Dedocuit sacros

Proterva cultus numinis, Amidam novo

Fotoquinque proli regiae instillat dolo.

You make me worthy, benevolent pastor,
 So that hereafter I am reckoned one of your fold;
 Already you have prepared a lovely pasture,
 Spanning the heavens, where you teach one day
 I shall live if I follow you with faithful foot.
 I shall follow, and by example draw also
 My dear children. Blandulo, go, bid my darlings come.

[*Addresses page*]

Page: Lady, what if they should not obey?

Que.: Not obey their mother? Who would forbid them?

Page: Alinda, the nurse.

Que.: How so?

Page: The impudent woman untaught the royal children

The doctrines of the divine religion,

And by new cunning instructs them

In Amidaⁱⁱⁱ and Fotoke.^{iv}

Reg.: Hoc sancta nolint sydera! I, sobolem voca.

[*Abit Eph.*]

O Christe! Serva plantulas fidei tuae

[*Osculatur crucifixum*]

Rore irrigatas primulo et bono cave

Ne quae cicutam semini inspergat manus.

Que.: May the sacred stars forbid this!

Go, summon the children.

[*The young man departs*].

O merciful Savior! Protect these little seedlings,

[*Kisses the cross*]

Nurtured by the first, sweet dewdrops of your faith,

Lest any hand sprinkle poison among them.

Inductio 2

Scena prior. Regina proles suas principiis christianae fidei iam aliquantum imbutas examine periclitatur iisque praemia impertitur.

Personae: Regina, quatuor proles, ephebulus.

[*Obviant matri proles*]

Fil. 1: Amanda genitrix, liceat augustam manum

Debasiare.

Scene 2

Previous scene. The queen tests her children, who are somewhat familiar with the tenets of Christianity, and rewards them with gifts.

Characters: Queen, four children, page.

[*The children meet with their mother*]

Son 1: Dear mother, might we be permitted to kiss

Your exalted hand?

Reg.: Venite, stirpis gemmulae,
 Et casta sacris premite vulneribus labra.
[Osculantur crucifixum a matre porrectum]
 Adhuc'ne vestrae noscitis vitae patrem?
 Fontem salutis? Unicum et solum deum?
Omnes: Novimus.
Reg.: Et colitis?
Proles: Colimus.
Reg.: (imponit mihi Blandulus)
 Adhuc'ne dogmata tenetis data
 De christiano numine?
Filius 1: Ego teneo mea.
Reg.: Edic deorum nomina.
Filius 1: Est unus deus.
Reg.: Quod nomen illi tribuis?
Filius 1: Ego voco Patrem.

Que.: Come, little ones,
 And press chaste lips to sacred wounds.
[They kiss the crucifix held out by their mother]
 Surely by now you are familiar with the author
 Of your life, the fount of salvation, and the one
 And only God?
All: We are.
Que.: And do you worship him?
Children: We do.
Que.: *[Aside]* (Blandulo deceives me)
[To children] Do you recall the teachings
 Concerning the nature of God?
Son 1: I do.
Que.: Then, declare the names of God.
Son 1: There is one God.
Que.: What name do you give him?
Son 1: I call him Father.

Reg.: Tantum'ne Patrem diligis?

Filius 1: Non. Filium

Etiam. Immo Sanctum Spiritum etiam.

Reg.: Tres deos

Ergo videris colere?

Filius 1: Personas quidem

Tres nomino, ast unum deum et credo et colo.

Reg.: Ostende cultum ac manibus efforma crucem.

Filius 1: In nomine Patris et Filii

Et Spitus Sancti; Amen.

Reg.: Et tu, Firande, fare, quis mundi globum

Sic torneavit? Solis et lunae rotas

Quis sic micare iussit, et tantam dedit

Velocitatem?

Filius 2: Aeternus hanc dedit pater,

Qui pariter hominem condidit, et oris sui

Spirare fecit spiritu.

Que.: Then you esteem only the Father?

Son 1: No. The Son also.

And indeed the Holy Spirit as well.

Que.: So then,

It appears you worship three gods?

Son 1: Certainly I declare three persons,

But, I believe in and worship only one God.

Queen: Show your devotion by signing the cross.

Son 1: In the name of the Father, and of the Son,

And of the Holy Spirit; Amen.

Que.: And you, Firado^v, tell me, who set

The globe in motion? Who bid the whirling orbs

Of sun and moon to glitter thus

And swiftly run their courses?

Son 2: The Everlasting Father created all of these,

He whose mouth breathed out the lifebreath of man.

Reg.: Dictum bene.

Ast, cur creavit hominem?

Filius. 2: Ut hic deum suum

Laudans eique serviens tandem (O! Favor!)

Heres salutis adeat aeternae domos.

Reg.: Et finis hic est omnium?

Filia 1: Est; omnes tamen

Non assequuntur. Nempe, qui legis viam

Extra vagantes criminum callem premunt.

Reg.: Quo ducit ille callis?

Filia 1: Heu! Mater, trahit

Recta ad gehennam.

Reg.: Et quid ibi?

Filia 1: Perpetuus dolor,

Et omne conceptibile tormenti genus.

Que.: Well said.

But why did he create man?

Son 2: So that one day, man could inherit

The eternal riches of salvation,

Praising and serving our God forevermore.

(What favor he bestows!)

Que.: Then this is the end of all men?

Dau. 1: It is; however, not all men follow God.

Those who wander from the path of righteousness

Walk instead the difficult, stony path of vices.

Que.: And where does that stony road lead?

Dau. 1: Alas, Mother, it drags one

Straight to Hell!

Que.: And what is there?

Dau. 1: Perpetual sorrow

And every conceivable torment.

Reg.: Quid inde discis?

Filia 1: Hinc disco peccati fugam.

Reg.: Quis est redemptor hominis?

Filia 2: Est Christus, dei

Filius.

Reg.: Et unde venit?

Filia 2: Ex coelo. Dein

Ex matre natus virgine hanc carnem induit.

Reg.: Quomodo redemit?

Filia 2: Hominis in pretium dedit

Litrum cruoris proprii, passus necem

Cum totus esset innocens in trabe crucis.

Reg.: Quid inde discis?

Filia 2: Semper ut memori colam

Meum hunc amore vindicem.

Reg.: Hoc constans tene,

[*Accipit e cistula spiritualia munera.*]

Que.: What does it teach you, Daughter?

Dau. 1: To flee from sin.

Que.: Who is the savior of man?

Dau. 2: Christ,

The Son of God.

Que.: And whence did he come?

Dau. 2: From heaven. Afterward,

He took on flesh and was born of a virgin.

Que.: How did he redeem man?

Dau. 2: In payment for man, he offered up

His very blood, suffering death on a tree,

Though wholly innocent.

Que.: What does this teach you?

Dau. 2: That I shall ever worship

My redeemer with a constant love.

Que.: Firmly hold on to these gifts,

[*Takes out spiritual gifts from a small basket*]

Et ne deinceps cordis e vestri sinu

Rapiatur ille, haec pectori*, at menti magis

[**Affigit pectoribus filiarum cruculas gemmeas.*]

Impressa signa gerite, sunt praemia mei

Bene explicati dogmatis.

Filius 1: Mihi nihil?

Reg.: Tibi tuoque in praemium fratri datur

[*Filiolis appendit gladiolos.*]

Gladiolus. Armis hisce pro veri Dei

Pugnare cultu discite. Adeamus sacram

[*Accedunt ad altare domesticum.*]

Nunc huius aram et pensa solvamus precum.

Quis fremitus iste?

[*Fit terrae motus, corruit crucifixus in altari positus.*]

Filius 1: Heu! Mater!

Reg.: O pignus sacrum!

Lest they be snatched from your bosoms*,

[**She affixes jeweled crosses to her daughters' chests*]

And even more so, guard them impressed

Upon the heart and mind; they are my rewards

To you for right doctrine.

Son 1: Nothing for me?

Que.: I award these swords to you and your brother;

[*She girds swords on her sons*]

With these weapons, learn to fight

For the worship of the true God.

Now let us go to his holy altar

[*They approach the family altar*]

And perform our dutiful prayers.

What is this commotion?

[*There is an earthquake, and the crucifix on the altar falls.*]

Son 1: Alas! Mother!

Que.: O sacred relic!

Hic casus ominosus est: quidquid rei

[*Erigit regina collapsum crucifixum.*]

Portendat, illud mente generosa feram,

Ut christianam condecet.

[*Intrant in interius conclave.*]

Inductio 3

Scena refert civitatem. Per plateas stant erectae cruces,

Et columnae sacrae cum imaginibus Sanctorum. Rex

Iacundonus post reditum suum ex bello primum in public

comparet eique a populo applauditur; sed is, visis

Christianorum simulachris, in eosdem commovetur.

Personae: Rex, aulici, populus

[*Dum populus haec canit, rex indignabunde circumspicit*

simulachra Christianorum]

Pop.: Io! Feliciter! Patria, plaude!

Io! Feliciter! Popule, gaude!

Dic regi faustitatem,

This event bodes ill: whatever it portends

[*The queen raises the fallen crucifix.*]

May I bear it with a noble mind,

As befits a Christian.

[*They enter into the interior room.*]

Scene 3

The scene is in a city. Crosses and sacred columns displaying

images of the saints line the streets. King Yakundono appears

in public for the first time since his return from war and is met

with the applause of his people; upon seeing the Christian

images, however, he is livid.

Characters: *The King, Courtiers, Crowd*

[*As the crowd chants, the King angrily scrutinizes the Christian*

images.]

Crowd: Huzzah! Come, countrymen, our king applaud!

Huzzah! Come, be glad and give our Lord laud!

Pray good fortune to our King,

Dic perennem sospitatem,

Dic triumphe! Dic beate!

Vive nobis rex amate!

Io! Feliciter!

Rex: Qualis meos

Inter triumphos scena conspectus ferit?

Quis ausus ista? Publicis pestem viis

Et christiani dogmatis passim lueum

Disseminatam cernimus. Iacent deum

Calcata signa, numen alienum involat

Absente rege in patriam. Et patitur thori

Regina consors facinus? O! Factum impium!

Cur non volante fulmine in ream irruis

Fotoquisque Amidaque? Iuro! Christiadum hoc scelus

Dabo expiandum sanguine. Sinite, me, ut ego...

Pray good health forevermore,

Pray victory! Pray blessing!

Long life to our beloved Lord!

Huzzah! Be glad of heart!

King: What is this sight that assaults my eyes

As we celebrate my triumphs? Who would commit

Such an outrage? We see accursed emblems of

Christianity spread like a plague, lining the city streets.

While the King was away from his realm, the influence

Of this foreign god rushed in to attack, leaving the

Scorned images of our gods in ruin. And the Queen, my

bedmate, permits this sacrilege? Oh! Wicked deed!

Why do you, Amida and Fotoke, not strike down

The guilty with a blazing lightning bolt? Hear my vow:

I will ensure that the Christians atone for this offense

with their blood. Now let me ...

[*Rex vult cruces dejicere retinetur a suis aulicis*]

Aulici: Moderare, princeps, impetum, et noli datos

Temerare plausus saevior. Gravius premunt

Matura poenae scelera, si plagam ferant

Deliberatam.

Pop.: Repetitur plausus: Io! Feliciter! Etc.

[*Cantando abeunt e theatro.*]

Marcia.

Gagliarda.

Inductio 4

*Scena refert atrium. Iuventus nobilis Tanguntina inter spolia
hostium tripudiat. Egrediuntur adolescentes armati diversis
armis.*

Personae: Adolescentes nobiliter.

Adol 1: Rex vivat!

Adol 2: Haec sunt spolia, quae bello redux

Tulit in triumphum militis nostri manus.

[*The king attempts to destroy the crosses but is stopped.*]

Cour.: Your Majesty, reign in your violence;

Do not spoil your people's praise with acts of savagery.

Mature crimes are more effectively punished

When dealt a well-considered blow.

Crowd: Resume the applause: Huzzah! Be glad of heart!

[*They depart the theater singing*]

Marcia.

Gagliarda.

Scene 4

*The scene returns to the palace. The noble youths of Tango
perform a ritual dance amid the spoils of war. They march out
armed with various weapons.*

Characters: Noble young men.

Youth 1: Long live the King!

Youth 2: Here are the spoils of war we have won

And brought back to celebrate our victory.

Adol. 3: Vexilla, galeae, lanceae, umbones, sclopi,

Regi in trophaeum surgite!

Adol. 4: O nostrae iubar

Auguste princeps gentis! Haec fusum tuo

Hostis per agros Marte Mavortem docent.

Adol. 5: O astra, nobis redditum salvum diu

Servate regem!

Adol. 6: Pacis in olivam quies

Mutet rigatas sanguine effuse hostium

Lauris coronas!

Adol. 7: Nullus assultu audeat

Tentare posthac regium impunis thronum.

Adol. 8: Exactus ergo e finibus regni metus

Solemnitatis publicae ad festum vocat.

Adol. 1: Age, laeta pubes, laetior favet dies.

Rex vivat!

Youth 3: Rise up as trophies to our King:

Banners, helms, lances, shields, and rifles! ^{vi}

Youth 4: O celestially radiant and revered

Monarch of our people! These spoils prove

Our Mars has conquered the war-god of our foes.

Youth 5: O stars, preserve the King,

Who after long absence is at last safely home!

Youth 6: O that this respite from war would transform

The crowns of laurel, so richly imbued with enemy

Blood, into an olive branch of peace!

Youth 7: After this, none can with impunity mount

An attack against the throne.

Youth 8: So now the banishment of fear from our realm

Summons us to feasting.

Youth 1: Come, merry young men,

A happier day now shines upon us.

Long live the King!

Adol. Omnes: Io! Rex vivat!

[Interea fit exercitium militare cum vexillo. Ad gyrationem vexilli alternant tubae. In saltu arma collocantur in forma trophaei.]

Adol I: Animentur fides!

Nos arte iunctos plausibus plausus damus.

[Saltus Tanguntinae iuventutis.]

Inductio 5

Scena refert conclave reginae. Angitur regina de rege sibi offensio, acceptaque regiae indignationis confirmatione se ad quaecunque adverse pro fide Christi perferenda animat.

Personae: Regina, Charillus

Reg.: Coniunx redivit: rediit ad cervam leo,

Lupusque ad agnam! Quanta tempestas meo

Capiti minatur. Visa Christiadam viis

Locata signa publicis agitant gravi

All Youths: Huzzah! Long live the King!

[At the same time, they perform a military exercise with a banner, waving the banner and alternately sounding the trumpets. They arrange the weapons in the form of a trophy while they dance.]

Youth I: Sound the music!

As one let us raise our applause.

[The young men perform the dance of the youth of Tango.]

Scene 5

The scene returns to the Queen's bedchamber. Having learned of the King's angry outburst, the Queen is worried and prepares herself to endure the coming trials for her faith.

Characters: Queen, Charillo

Que.: The King my husband has returned:

He menaces me as the lion pursuing the doe,

And the wolf pursuing the lamb!

His coming is like the brewing of a storm overhead.

Regem tumultu; exaestuat, frendet, furit,
Meumque honorem lacerat insolitis probriis.
O Christe! Cuius gratia accepi sacris

[*Osculatur crucifixum, quem manu gerit.*]

Abluta lymphis Gratiae nomen, pari
Nunc gratiarum robore misellam iuva!
Et da imminenti pectus aerumnae capax!

[*Exit ephebulus Charillus.*]

Char.: Regina, iam se nubila atrato globo
Glomerant in unum, coquitur ingentis mali
In te procella; at fulminis nondum tonat
Supremus ictus; dum licet, stragem cave.

Reg.: Quae causa tanti turbinis?

Char.: Fides nova

The sight of Christian images along the roadside
Has sent him into a rage; and still seething, raving,
And gnashing his teeth, he unjustly defames my name.
O merciful Christ! By whose grace I was christened
Grace, when cleansed with baptism's holy water.

[*Kisses the cross in her hand.*]

Come to my aid, poor wretch that I am,
By granting me strength boundless as your graces!
And ready my heart for the hardships at hand!

[*Enter Charillo the page.*]

Char.: My Queen, even now a tempest of ill will,
Like the gathering of dark storm clouds,
Looms before you; while the thunder's last peal
Has yet to resound, there is still time for you
To save yourself from the impending doom.

Que.: What is the cause of this uproar?

Char.: The new faith.

Reg.: O culpa felix! Pro deo si sim rea,
 Non bene saluti consulam auxilio fugae.
 Hic esto fortis, Gratia, hic standum tibi!
 Tota solutes orcus Eumenidum manu
 In me recumbat; corde non tollet deum.

[Intrant omnes.]

Chorus 1

*Scena refert campum, in cuius terminativo mare cum scopulis
 Constantia docet symbolice humanum animum adversis esse
 superiorem.*

Personae: Sola Constantia.

1.

Con.: Fata premant
 Hostes fremant,
 Victor de illis animus est.

Que.: O sweet offense! If for God's sake I am guilty,
 To look solely to my own welfare by fleeing adversity
 Would be wrong. Here you must be valiant, Grace,
 Here you must stand firm! Though the gates of Hell
 Stand open and its band of Furies come against me;
 Still shall God remain fixed within my heart.

[All Exit.]

Chorus 1

*The scene takes place in a field bordering a rocky sea.
 Constance symbolically demonstrates how the human soul
 overcomes adversity.*

Character: Only Constance.

1.

Con.: Misfortunes may befall,
 And adversaries assault,
 But the steadfast soul triumphs over all.

Per labores

Per sudores

It serene.

Iubilat plene

Ad angores,

Ad tortores.

Victor in illis animus est.

Hostes fremant,

Fata premant,

Victor in illis animus est.

Ritornello.

2.

[*Luna luctatur cum nubibus et eluctatur.*]

En, ut una

Noctis luna

Nubium globo eripit se.

Through both arduous toils

And rigorous trials

Still the soul merrily marches along.

Fearless and filled with glee,

It braves both discomforts

And afflictions with ease,

Over such things, the soul claims victory.

Misfortunes may befall,

And adversaries assault,

But the steadfast soul triumphs over all.

Ritornello.

2.

[*The moon, hidden behind the clouds, forces its way through.*]

Lo! Just as the full moon

When enshrouded in cloud

Brightly bursts forth to illumine the night.

[*Lapis molaris palmae incumbit, deprimit eius ramos tandem ipse cadit, et rami eius resurgent.*]

Et, ut alma

Sylvae palma

Iugo obsessa,

Pondere pressa,

Eluctatur,

Roboratur:

Mens ita fortis erigit se.

Deprimatur,

Prosternatur,

Mens tamen fortis erigit se.

Ritornello

3.

[*Comparet scopulus, in quem fluctus marini assiliunt.*]

Ridet minas,

Et ruinas,

[*A millstone falls onto a tree, bending the boughs low until it eventually falls to the ground, allowing the branches to rise.*]

Likewise the mighty tree

Rooted in sylvan glade

When laid low with great weight,

And its branches oppressed,

Reaches up to the sky

And its strength is renewed:

So too the valiant mind rises upward

When with hardships oppressed

And exhaustion laid low;

With renewed strength, heavenward, it rises.

Ritornello.

3.

[*A boulder continually beaten by the waves is visible.*]

Laughing at ill omens

And unperturbed by threats,

Victor in aquis scopulus stat

Mille luctus

Volvunt fluctus,

Quos profundae

Concitant undae.

Ipsae totae

Non commotae

Victor in undis scopulus stat.

Sic adversis

In diversis

Altior illis animus stat.

Ritornello.

The soul stands firm, as a rock in the sea.

Knowing countless sorrows

That roll like the billows

And are deep as the waves,

Yet with calm composure,

Unaffected by fear,

The soul stands firm,

As a rock among waves.

Neither hostile assaults,

Nor the pain of exile

Can ever overcome the steadfast soul.

Ritornello.

Pars II

Inductio 1

Scena refert hortum regium, in quo rex deambulat.

*Iacundono defertur ab Orcamo, Bonziorum principe, regina
Christianae fidei, et propterea patria infortuniorum rea; rex in
eam commovetur mandatque in Christianos inquiri.*

Personae: Rex cum sua aula, Orcamus^{vii}.

Rex: Orcame, dic: Me absente quis rerum status?

Orc.: Ibat secundis avibus imperii salus,

Aurae salubres, Cereris opulentae seges,

Populi fideles, alta pax, legum tenor.

Solus deorum cultus ... (infringit dolor vocem

loquentis)

Act II

Scene 1

*The scene takes place in the royal garden where the King is
taking a stroll. Orchamus, chief of the Bonzes,^{viii} denounces the
Queen for following the Christian faith and subjecting the
kingdom to misfortune; the King's anger is roused against her,
and during his walk, he orders an investigation of the
Christians.*

Characters: King with his courtier, Orchamus

King: Orchamus, speak: How fared the kingdom while

I was away?

Orc.: Favorable omens boded the

Good fortune and prosperity of our nation:

Wholesome breezes, Ceres^{ix}, abundant harvest,

A loyal populace, sustained peace, and law upheld.

*Only the worship of our gods (his voice diminishes
with sorrow)*

Rex: Fare, quiscunque arduus
 Acerbitatis sensus incurrat. Decet
 Perspectum habere principem, quidquid bonae
 Malaeve sortis patriae alternet vices.

Orc.: Retexo telam: Patriae et populi status
 Favente sorte candidis ibat rotis.
 Solus deorum cultus immanem sui
 Traxit ruinam nominis. Fotoquis iacet,
 Iacet et Amida, prisca templorum novis
 Cedit venustas ritibus. Nuper nitor
 Deum efferebat fana, nunc tegit cinis.

Rex: Et unde flamma?

Orc.: Ex aula.

Rex: Ab aula regia?

King: Speak, whatever anguish may befall,
 No matter the bitterness of suffering it might cause.
 It is right that a ruler know well the vicissitudes
 Of his country's fortune, for good or ill.

Orc.: I shall recite the tale: the state of the nation and its
 People did indeed follow the favored course
 Of Fortune's Wheel. Only the cult of the gods
 Has suffered a great misfortune to its name.
 Fotoke is overthrown, and Amida also; the once
 Revered temples of our ancestors have yielded
 To new rituals. Not long ago, the sanctuaries
 Shone in brilliance; now they are shrouded in ash.

King: From whence comes this seditious flame?

Orc.: Out of the palace.

King: From the royal palace?

Orc.: Regina tanti fomes est incendii.

Elusit Argum; et quamlibet Danaë magis

(Te sic iubente) clausa delituit, tamen

Evasit e custodia; forsan Iovem

Etiam recepit aureum, nam se sacris

Miscere visa est exteris, inter gregem

Versata plebis; inde et armata manu

Abducta nostri militis, nocte et die

Imbuta cultu clanculum alieni dei

Septemque supra virginum è choro decem

Ex christiano more sustinuit aquis

Praesens profanis ablui, ablutas dein

Ipsa est secuta.

Orc.: The Queen provided the spark for the blaze. She eluded

Argus;^x and though she was cloistered

To even greater extent than Danaë^{xi} (as you decreed),

Yet did she escape her guard; perhaps she has even

Welcomed Jupiter's golden shower,^{xii}

For she was seen participating in foreign rites

And mingling among the crowd of commoners;

Afterward, she was led away from the armed band

Of our soldiers; night and day she was secretly

Instructed in the cult of the alien god,

And from her retinue of ladies-in-waiting,

She allowed seventeen to be cleansed with profane

Water in her presence, in accordance with

The Christian custom, and afterward she too was

Cleansed.

Tempore ex illo fluunt

In peius omnia; populus divum domos,

Aras, ministros odit, et legis novae

Rapitur amore. Vepribus squallent agri,

Torpent veneno flumina, exhalant gravem

Aurae memphytim. Vereor irarum faces,

Totisque habenis astra (ni caveas malo)

In nos datura fulmina. Et iuste negat

Coelum favores, patria si coelo neget

Cultus avitos.

Rex: Ergo tantorum caput

Et dux malorum foemina? Et consors thori? Et

Regina? Proh! Quam viperam in sinu gero!

Frangam draconem. Perge, reginam iube,

[Ad Orcamum, qui abit pro regina. Ad militiae generalem, qui etiam abit.]

From that time forward, things have only gotten worse.

The people, overcome with love for the new law,

Now hate the sacred houses, the altars, and the priests.

The fields are overgrown with thorns, the rivers

Are torpid with poison, and the air is thick with a

Morbid stench. I fear anger's flames and (lest you can

Prevent the evil) the unrelenting lightning bolts

Heaven will rain down upon us. And heaven justly

Denies its favors so long as the kingdom denies heaven

Its proper worship.

King: So the source and leader of such great

Misdeeds is a woman? And the sharer of my bed?

And the Queen? Alas! Viper at my bosom!

Yet shall I crush this snake.

[To Orchamus who departs to fetch the queen. To the military general who also departs.]

Oracame, adesse. Tuque, militiae meae

Dux fide, turmas coge, Christiadum luem

Depelle regno; vindica eversos deos.

Inductio 2

Scena est prior. Regina sistitur Iacundono, iubetur Christo renuntiare, sed frustra. Quare iussu regis flagellanda abducitur.

Personae: *Priores accedente regina.*

Rex: Ades, scelesti! Generis augusti probrum!

Ruina legis patriae! Barathrum mali!

Reg.: Auguste consors, unde tam ferus rigor

In innocentem coniugem? Fui tua,

Et sum.

Rex: Fuisti, non es.

Go, Orchamus, bid the queen come.

And you, my trusted military leader, gather

The squadrons and expel the plague of Christianity

From the kingdom; avenge the overthrown gods.

Scene 2

Previous scene. The Queen stands before Yakundono. In vain, she is ordered to renounce Christ, and then, by order of the King, she is led away to be scourged.

Characters: *The same characters as from the previous scene with the addition of the Queen.*

King: Come, wicked woman! Disgrace to the royal line!

Downfall of our nation! Abyss of evil!

Que.: Honored husband, whence comes such

Unrelenting severity toward your blameless wife?

I have been yours and am still.

King: You were; you are not.

Reg.: Obtestor polos!

Nunquam fefelli debitam regi fidem.

Rex: Es christiana: sceleris hoc satis. Diis

Quae fida non est, coniugi hanc fidam putem?

Reg.: Si christianam me esse sit scelus, rea

Sum, nec peroro capitis in causa mei.

Rex: Proterva mulier adhuc suo regi palam

[*Ad Orcamum, qui abit pro idolis apportandis.*]

Insultat. Affer numina paternae domus.

[*Ad reginam.*]

Orci propago! Iussa sic colis mea?

Reg.: Non specto iussa; languidus nimis est amor,

Qui iussa sequitur; unicus amanti imperat

Nutus. Paratam nutibus me rex habes.

Que.: I call the heavens to witness!

Never did I fail in the loyalty due my king.

King: You are a Christian: That is crime enough.

If a woman be unfaithful to the gods, how can

I trust she be faithful to her husband?

Que.: If being a Christian is a crime, I am guilty,

Nor will I plead on my behalf.

King: Still the shameless woman publicly insults her king.

[*To Orcamus, who departs in order to bring the idols.*]

Bring forth the deities of my father's house from the

Ancestral temple.

[*To the Queen.*]

Hellspawn! Will you now carry out my orders?

Que.: I do not look to orders; love which merely

Follows orders is feeble indeed; a nod alone is all

A lover needs. With but a nod, you find me ready, king.

[Porrigit reginae idolum.]

Rex: Huc ergo vultus.

Reg.: Video.

Rex: Fac, manum applica.

[Regina accipit idolum.]

Reg.: Manum applico.

Rex: Fatere iam Fotoquin deum.

[Abjicit regina idolum, quod confringitur.]

Reg.: Hoc absit, unus est dues; Fotoquis Stygis

Est larva. Christus solus est verus deus.

Orc.: Vindicta! Rex! Vindicta! Calcantur dii!

[He holds out the idol to the Queen.]

King: Direct your gaze here.

Que.: I see it.

King: Take it with your hand.

[The Queen takes hold of the idol.]

Que.: I hold it in my hand.

King: Now proclaim Fotoke as god.

[The Queen throws down the idol, shattering it.]

Que.: God forbid that I should do this thing,

There is one god; Fotoke is a Stygian demon.

Christ alone is the true God.

Orc.: Vengeance! Oh King! Vengeance! The gods have been

Trampled!

[*Orcamus vellit sibi barbam et complodit manus.*

*Abducitur regina. Orcamus interim inter varias
gesticulationes colligit frusta idoli.]*

Rex: Abripite pestem, personet tergum flagris,

Nec ante sistat, lassa quam cadat manus.

Si lenta poenis numina indulgent moram,

Ulcisci honores numinum reges decet.

[*Abeunt omnes.*]

[*Orchamus tears at his beard and claps his hands.*

*The Queen is led away. Meanwhile Orchamus, with several
exaggerated gestures, futilely gathers together the broken
pieces of the idol.]*

King: Remove the curse by force; let her back resound

With lashes and let not the hand cease in its work

Until from utter exhaustion it falls. If the gods be slow

To mete out punishment, then it is fitting that kings

Avenge their divine honors.

[*All depart.*]

Inductio 3

Scena refert atrium. Ephebus, cui custodia reginae incubuit, sibi metuens, eo quod sua incuria regina clam ex arce egressa interfuerit doctrinae christianae, culpam derivat in militem tum temporis arcis excubitorem.

Personae: *Solus ephebus*

Eph.: Ambigua plenum sortis adversae ratis

Trahit laborem; radiat hinc in me pius

Reginae amoris Cynthia, spirant leves

Aurae favoris. Sed Iacundoni furor

Minatur atro fulmen impendens globo.

Scelus est, fuisse principem in meam pium

Eique ab arcis moenibus in urbem exitum

Favisse rege invito. At, in arena micat

Aliqua favilla consili; ut vitem sacrum

Scene 3

The scene returns to the palace. The servant entrusted with the Queen's custody now fears for his life since due to his carelessness she secretly escaped from the stronghold and attended Christian meetings. He decides to shift the blame to the soldier on duty as watchman of the citadel at the time.

Character: *The Page Alone*

Page: A ship tossed to and fro finds only trials

And misfortunes; to one side, the Queen's love

Beams upon me as warm as the Cynthia sun,

And her favors flow sweet as a summer's breeze.

Yet, on the other, Yakundono's wrath amasses like

Dark storm clouds on the horizon, threatening a fatal

Lightening bolt. It was a crime to place my devotion

To my mistress before that to my king, aiding in her

Escape from the walled citadel against his command.

Yet a glimmer of hope remains while I have a plan

Saxumque, iuverit impetum instantis mali
Dirigere sic, ut parte, qua venit, meum
Praetereat unda littus, alienum ruat.
Quid ille miles? Regiae limen domus
Cui Sparta tuenda venerat, num Argus fores
Vigil tenebat? Morphei an tacito dolo
Ligatus artus creditam emisit feram?
Emisit. Ita me fingere ingenium docet.
Ille ergo nostrae incuriae poenas luat.
Ibo, dolosae exordiar telam rei.

To avoid both the rock and the hard place;
It would be better to sidestep the impending
Punishment so that the wave pass by my shore
And instead crash upon that of another.
What about that soldier? Did our Argus, whose task
It was to watch the entrance to the royal palace,
Stay awake while guarding the door? Or did he
Let loose the Queen, as Argus loosed the bovine Io,
His limbs bound by Morpheus' silent trickery?
That's it! Ingenuity prompts me to invent thusly
So that the soldier might bear the punishment
Of our misdeeds. I shall go now and spread my lies.

Inductio 4

Scena refert atrium regium. Captus in bello a Iacundono pro imperatore Taycosama contra regem Ximo gesto, europaeus lanista iubetur artis suae specimen exhibere.

Personae: *Rex cum sua aula, lanista cum filio suo.*

Rex: Miscenda curis gaudia, et acerbum favo

Contemperandum. Prome, quos usus docet

Europa belli? Vulnerum ubi signat locum?

Qui rotat in hostes arma? Qua pugnat manu?

[Interea accipit filius a patre suo lanista, lectiones digladiatorum. Quibus acceptis:]

Quam dexter ursit aemulum, quam celeri impetu

Evitat ictus, latera quam velox rapit;

Quam fortis instat; quam pedem premit pede.

Repetantur ictus; veniat in arenam novo

Scene 4

The scene takes place in the royal palace. The European drillmaster captured by Yakundono in the war waged by the emperor Taycosama^{xiii} against King Shima^{xiv} has been ordered to demonstrate his skill.

Characters: *King with his court, drillmaster with his son.*

King: Joy and vexation shall be intertwined

And bitterness tempered with sweet honey.

Let the battle begin; what of warfare does Europe

Teach? Where do they aim their blows? How do they

Wield their arms in battle? Which hand do they favor?

[Meanwhile, the son is taught military exercises by his father and having mastered them:]

See how skillfully he attacked his rival; with such

Swiftness he dodges blows, and fleetly dismantles

The flank; how valiant is his pursuit, his footfalls

Mirroring the opponent's. Let the fighting continue;

Mavortis ardor praelio. Applaudant tubae.

*[Fit triplex assultus gladiatorius, assonantibus
tubis et rege spectante.]*

Laudo probatam et praeliis natam manum;

Fortuna cum vos laeva captivos iugo

Subesse nostro voluit, impensus favor

Captivitatis mitius reddet iugum.

At, en Colinus; quid novae apportat rei?

[Exit Colinus habens in manu libellum Kempensem.]

Begin a new battle so that the ardor of warfare

Might fill the arena. Sound the trumpets!

*[The king watches as a triple gladiatorial assault is
made and the trumpet sounds in response.]*

I commend you warriors, proven and forged in battle;

Though ill fortune willed that you take up our yoke

As prisoners, by an eagerness to please, you will find

The burden of captivity lightened. But, what is this?

Behold, Colino, what does he bring?

[Enter Colino carrying in his hand a little book by à Kempis]

Inductio 5

Scena prior. Confirmatur Iacundonus contra reginam ex oblato libello Thomae a Kempis de imitatione Christi; visisque in pectoribus prolium cruculis a matre in praemium perceptae christianae doctrinae donatis, eas absterrere tentat; sed firmas deprehendens in christianismo, perempturus fuerat, ni subito furori paterno subducerentur.

Personae: Rex cum suis, Colinus, proles quatuor.

Col.: Auguste, vive! Mite conspirat tua

In vota coelum; quidquid exoptas, docet

Libellus iste.

[offert regi libellum.]

Rex: Et qualia arcana referat?

Col.: Convincit una coiugem et proles reas.

Scene 5

Previous scene. Yakundono staunchly opposes the Queen after receiving the little book De Imitatione Christi by Thomas à Kempis. Additionally, upon seeing the crucifixes worn by his daughters, given to them by their mother as a reward for learning Christian doctrine, he attempts to dissuade them. But once he learns they are firm in the Christian faith, he tries to kill them, and they are hastily removed from his wrathful presence.

Characters: King with his courtiers, Colino, four children.

Col.: Your majesty, long may you live! The gracious

Heavens have heard your prayer; this book provides

All that you desire.

[He offers the king the book]

King: And what sorts of secrets does it contain?

Col.: Proof of the Queen's guilt as well as that of

The royal children.

Rex: Etiam veneno dipsas infelix suo
Spem toxicavit generis?

Col.: Epigraphen lege.

[*Legit rex.*]

Rex: Thomae a Kempis, canonici regularis ordinis
S. Augustini, De Imitatione Christi libri quatuor.
O Pestis! Hac et filii infecti scatent?

[*Exeunt 4 proles.*]

Col.: En ipsa soboles patris obtutum subit.
Require matris dogmata, observa notas
Attentus omnes; pectori appensae cruces
Larvale Christi numen agnosci probant.

[*Flectunt proles circa regem rogantes.*]

Filius 1: Genitor! Dolores sobolis afflictæ vide.

King: With her venom, the accursed snake poisons
Even our family line?

Col.: Read the epigraph.

[*The King reads.*]

King: Thomas à Kempis, a canon regular of the order
Of St. Augustine, *De Imitatione Christi* in four books.
O the pestilence! Are even my children rife
With infection?

[*Enter the 4 children.*]

Col.: Look, the children approach their father's gaze.
Find out the doctrines of the mother; attentively
Observe every sign; the crosses dangling about their
Chests are proof of their belief in the demonic
Christian deity.

[*The children bow before the king in supplication.*]

Son 1: Father and patriarch! Behold the suffering of
Your afflicted children.

Filia 1: Miserere natae genitor, et sortis dies

Da laetioris.

Filius 2: Tu potes lachrymis modum

Auguste, nostris ponere!

Filia 2: O Pater! Annue

Votis tuorum!

Rex: Mentis ambiguam ratim

Amor furorque versat. In prolem pius

Flectit Parentem amor. At furor honorem objicit

Laesum deorum. Fortior tamen est amor.

Quid ergo, chara pignora, rogatis patrem?

Filius 1: Matris salutem.

Filius 2: Flexilem in matrem patrem.

Filia 1: Non tam severum.

Filia 2: Prolis et amantem suae.

[*Palpat cruculam in pectore filiae.*]

Dau. 1: Father, pity your daughter, your issue,

And grant days of happier fortune.

Son 2: You can put an end to our weeping,

Majestic father!

Dau. 2: Dear father! Assent to your children's Prayers.

King: My judgment wavers between affection and fury like

A ship tossed to and fro. In the presence of respectful,

Affectionate children, love softens the parent.

Yet, rage demands the honor of the offended gods.

But love is stronger. Then what is it, beloved children,

That you ask of your father?

Son 1: Our mother's health and safety.

Son 2: A father who is lenient toward our mother.

Dau. 1: Not so severe.

Dau. 2: And who loves his children.

[*He strokes the little crucifix on the chest of his daughter.*]

Rex: Qualem meretur mater et proles patrem

Talem me habetis. Ista quid signat nota?

Filia 1: Est Christiani tessera.

Filia 2: Hanc mater dedit,

Iussitque sic dependulam, at pressam magis

Gestare mente.

Rex: O impia! Sed adhuc deos

Colitis paternos?

Filia 1: Unum adoramus deum,

Augusta quem nos colere praecepit parens.

Rex: Ego mando Fotoquin colere.

Filia 1: Fotoquis es lapis.

Filius 1: Est larva averni.

Filius 2: Est truncus.

Filia 2: Et non est deus.

King: In me you have the sort of father that a mother

And children deserve. What does this symbol mean?

Dau. 1: It is a Christian emblem.

Dau. 2: Mother gifted it to us,

And bid us to wear it dangling as you see, but

Even more so to bear it imprinted upon the mind.

King: O impious woman! But do you still worship

The ancestral gods?

Dau. 1: We love one God who our revered parent

Taught us to worship.

King: I demand that you worship Fotoke.

Dau. 1: Fotoke is but stone.

Son 1: He is a demon from Hell.

Son 2: He is but wood.

Dau. 2: And he is not god.

[*Furit rex.*]

Rex: En, quos dracones alimus! Abiectis diis

Dedissee Christo nomina et magicis caput

Tinxisse lymphis clarius iam ipso est die.

Sed his chelydris gutture eliso eximam

Virus nocendi.

[*arripit rex filiam apud guttur, eam suffocaturus; reliquae proles ab aulicis abstrahuntur. Unus aulicorum involat in manu Regis et filiam liberat.*]

Filia 1: O Genitor!

Aulicus: Absit, rex, manus

Temerare prolis sanguine; es pater.

Rex: Dabo

Canibus vorandos. Interim cinere furor

Tegatur, apto ut ignis erumpat loco.

[*Abeunt omnes.*]

[*The king becomes enraged.*]

King: Behold, what vipers we nourish! It is clearer than
Day itself that they, having already abandoned the gods,
Have dedicated themselves to the cause of Christ
Through the wetting of their head with magical waters.
But I shall remove the noxious venom from these
Waterserpents by strangling their neck.

[*The king seizes the daughter by the throat, strangling her; the remaining children are removed by the courtiers. One courtier seizes the king's hand, freeing the daughter.*]

Dau. 1: Oh father!

Courtier: Forbear, King, the defiling of your hands
With your offspring's blood; you are their father.

King: I will throw them to the dogs to devour.
In the meantime, may anger be covered with embers
So that it burst forth into flame at the proper place.

[*All leave.*]

Inductio 6

Scena refert campum. Parvulorum constantia in persecutione Christi fidelium.

Personae: *Christianus cum filiolo, duo alii parvuli, milites.*

Chri.: Quantis procellis sanguinis Christi gregis

Iapon natatur? Undique, ubi figo gradum,

Calco cruorem, et martyrum gressus lego.

[*Ostendit crucem in via iacentem.*]

En sacra domini signa ludibrium pedum.

Levemus animae grandis in hominem dei

Notas amoris.

[*Elevat crucem et super humeros accipit.*]

Miles 1: Siste! Quo infamem trabem,

Scelerate, raptas?

Scene 6

The scene takes place in a field and depicts the steadfastness of children during the persecution of faithful Christians.

Characters: *Christian man with his little son, two other young children, soldiers.*

Chri.: How great are the showers of blood, shed by

Faithful Christians, in which inundated Japan

Now swims. Everywhere I set my foot, there is blood,

And I follow the footsteps of martyrs.

[*He points to the cross lying in ruins in the street.*]

Look how the holy symbols of our Lord have become a

Plaything for feet to be trodden upon. Let us raise

The emblems representing God's great spirit of love

Toward mankind.

[*He lifts up the cross, placing it upon his shoulders*]

Sol. 1: Stop! Where are you dragging that infamous

Wood off to, criminal?

[*Erumpit miles stricto ense et Christianum retinet.*]

Chri.: Sinite, ut hanc mecum feram

Meae salutis arborem.

Miles I: Actutum abjice

Aut certa mortis victima hoc ferro cades.

[*Minatur miles mortem.*]

Chri.: Ne cogitate haec spolia violenta manu

Rapienda me superstite; e venis prius

Haurire dabitur spiritum. Hoc unum dolet,

Nescire me, quid morte patrata mea

Hac sit futurum sobole.

Par. I: Depone, genitor,

Pro sobole curam; facito, quo casu tibi

Iacienda mortis alea, ut primius cadat

In me furoris iactus. Hoc mihi lucrum

Putabo summum, posse pro Christo mori

Meum ante patrem; hinc levior et curis sine

[*The soldier rushes forward, with sword drawn, to detain the Christian.*]

Chri.: Permit me to carry the tree of my salvation

Away with me.

Sol. I: Toss it aside without delay or else you will

Certainly die a victim to this sword.

[*The soldier threatens death.*]

Chri.: Do not think that these spoils will be violently snatched

Away while I still live; I would sooner have you drain

The life from my very veins. This alone grieves me,

That I do not know, once my death is achieved,

What will become of this child.

Child I: Father, cast off your care for this child;

Act so that the die of death you are about to cast

Might make the first stroke of fury fall upon me.

I will consider this of the greatest profit to me, to be

Able to die for the cause of Christ

Morieris ipse!

Miles 1: Quanta moriendi sitis!

[*Miratur et haeret miles.*]

Miles 2: Tacete! Dirimet carceris litem specus.

[*Erumpit alter miles, qui eos abripit.*]

[*Exit parvulus Christianellus*]

Par. 2: Bone Deus! Ego vita mea has angustias

Sensisse me non memini; ubique milites

In Christianos saeviunt.

Miles 2: Quid hic puer?

[*Erumpit miles contra parvulum.*]

Par. 2: Nihil mali.

Miles 2: Quam pendulam e collo geris,

Nequicule, zonam?

[*Ostendit rosarium.*]

Par. 2: Virginis maris dei

Haec est corona.

Before my father because then you will die unburdened.

Sol. 1: What an excessive thirst for death!

[*The soldier is astonished and hesitates.*]

Sol. 2: Silence! The pit of prison will end their quarrelling.

[*Another soldier comes forward and takes them away*]

[*Enter a young Christian child*]

Child 2: Good God! Never in my life do I remember

Experiencing such adversities; everywhere soldiers

Rage against Christians.

Sol. 2: And what of this boy?

[*The soldier makes a move against the child.*]

Child 2: I mean no harm.

Sol. 2: What is that encircling band hanging about your neck,

You little rogue?

[*He points to the rosary*]

Child 2: This is the crown of the Virgin,

Mother of God.

Miles 2: Huc! Ocyus praedam mihi!

[*Vult abripere rosarium.*]

Par. 2: Ei! Non! Sacra haec monilia in dapes suumsunt.

Facienda non sunt.

[*Negat parvulus.*]

Miles 2: Ergo moriendum est tibi.

[*Minatur mortem.*]

Par. 2: Bene. En paratum pectus in vulnus vides.

Sum Christianus, vivo pro Christo et cado.

[*Parvulus offert pectus in vulnus.*]

Miles 2: Miseret puëlli! Vade.

[*Miseret militem puelli, osculatur eum et dimittit.*]

[*Exit alius parvulus*]

Par. 3: Mihi votum est mori.

Sol. 2: Here! Shortly the booty will be mine!

[*Attempts to snatch away the rosary.*]

Child 2: Alas! No! These are holy beads in accordance

With the celebration of her feast days. They are not

For mere decoration.

[*The young child resists.*]

Sol. 2: Then you must die.

[*He threatens death.*]

Child 2: Fine. You see a chest ready for the wound.

I am a Christian; I live and die for Christ.

[*The young child offers his chest for the blow.*]

Sol. 2: I pity this little boy! Go.

[*Feeling compassion for the child, the soldier kisses him and sends him on his way.*]

[*Enter another child*]

Child 3: To die is my vow.

Utinam tyrannus obuius ferro fibras
 Rimetur istas aliquis! Inscriptum leget
 Quid Christiana roboris virtus habet.

[*Auscultat miles.*]

Miles 3: Ego faxo voti compote. Quo te pedes?

[*Erumpit miles contra parvulum.*]

Par. 3: Quo sancta magni numinis ducet manus.

Miles 3: Quod numen illud?

Par. 3: Tota quod passim colit

Gens christiana.

Miles 3: Christianus es?

[*Ostendit cruculam.*]

Par. 3: Vide.

[*Minatur miles.*]

Miles 3: Ergo peribis.

If only I could chance upon some tyrant who would
 Examine these entrails with his blade! He would
 Read inscribed there the strength possessed
 By Christian virtue.

[*The soldier secretly listens.*]

Sol. 3: I will fulfill your desire to die. Where are you headed?

[*The soldier blocks the child.*]

Child 3: Wherever the sacred deity's hand shall lead me.

Sol. 3: Which deity is that?

Child 3: The God whom all Christian people

Everywhere worship.

Sol. 3: You are a Christian?

[*He points at the crucifix.*]

Child 3: Look.

[*The soldier threatens.*]

Sol. 3: Then you shall die.

Par. 3: Id opto. Sed videam, chalybs

Sat'ne est acutus?

Miles 3: En, vide et time.

[*Dat parvulo gladium.*]

Par. 3: Chalybs

[*Parvulus tentat gladii aciem, sufflando capillum*

et unguem fricando.]

Satis est acutus, sed cerebro acies tuo

Desideratur, arma quod trades mihi.

Nunc ego vibrato hoc fulmine in caput tuum

Coesimque punctimque ferar.

[*Persequitur parvulus militem fugitantem.*]

Miles 3: O qualis fui

Ego stultus!

Child 3: That is what I wish. But let me see whether the sword

Is sufficiently sharp.

Sol. 3: Here, see and tremble with fear.

[*He gives the sword to the child.*]

[*The child tests the sharpness of the sword, testing it with a hair and running his finger along the blade.*]

Child 3: I find the weapon sufficiently sharp; your mind,

However, lacks sharpness since you gave

The weapon to me. Now I brandish it at your head,

like a flash of lightning, that with cuts and stabs I

I might be suspended midair.

[*The child attacks and the soldier flees.*]

Sol. 3: O what a fool I was!

Par. 3: Ecce in manibus his tua est salus.

O, quos cachinnos tetrica Styx hodie dabit,

Ubi tanta turris carnea a parva manu

Sternetur. Orci bolus hic sapiet cani.

Sed iam timorem mitte, namque aliud monet

Me Christiana charitas. Tuum tibi

Recipe mucronem; cura me tangit tuae et

[*Restituit parvulus militia mucronem.*]

Amor salutis; coesus aeterno fores

Assandus igne, Gloria et quanta hinc deo?

Ast ego peremptus pro dei immensi fide,

Psallam beatus coelicos inter choros.

Tu vive, et hinc me martyrem coelo insere,

Vel me magistro imposterum melius sape.

[*Abit miles contrahens humeros.*]

Child 3: See here, your life is in my hands.

What roars of laughter gloomy Styx will give today,

When such a tower of mangled flesh is produced

By so small a hand. The hellhound^{xv} will find you a

Choice morsel. Yet even now fear no more,

For Christian charity advises me to act otherwise.

Take back the your sword; love and concern

[*The child gives the weapon back to the soldier*]

For your welfare move me. If slain, you would have

Been doomed to roast in eternal flame, and how much

Glory would that be to God? But if I am slain for my

Faith in this immeasurably great God, I will sing hymns

Among heavenly choirs. Live on and plant me hereafter

As a martyr in heaven, or learn to be nobler from this

Point forward with me as your teacher.

[*The soldier leaves with shoulders hunched.*]

Chorus 2

Scena refert officinam fabrilem. In terminativo stat focus, in quo ignis. Cor fidele in fornace Adversitatis probam integre sustinet, indignante Furore et palmam Constantiae cedente.

Personae: *Constantia, Furor, Adversitas.*

Sontata.

[*Constantia habet in manu cor.*]

Con.: Cor forte, cor amatum,

Cor superis probatum,

Iam dignum coelo es.

Non frangunt te dolores,

Non vincunt te furores,

Stat firma tua spes.

Cor forte, cor amatum, *etc. ut supra.*

Fur.: Tace, tace, Constantia,

Haec mera est iactantia.

Chorus 2

The scene is in the blacksmith's workshop at one end of which is a furnace with a fire. The faithful heart proves unfailingly constant in the furnace of Adversity, and Rage resentfully concedes defeat to Constance.

Characters: *Constance, Rage, Adversity*

Sonata.

[*Constance holds the heart in her hand.*]

Con.: Valiant heart, beloved heart,

Heart celestially acclaimed,

You are now worthy of heaven.

Sorrows do not dismay you,

Nor wrath and rage defeat you,

Your hope never falters.

Valiant heart, beloved heart, *etc.*

Rage: Be silent, silence, Constance,

Your words are but empty boasts

In mundo nil tam stabile,
 Quod simul non sit labile.
 Adversitas si tangat,
 Ne dubita quin frangat.
 Tam firmum nihil stat,
 Cui non ruinam dat.

[*Apparet focus cum igne.*]

Adv.: En domus Adversitatis,
 En fornax tribulationis,
 [*Injicit cor in fornacem.*]

Hic probabo
 Demonstrabo,
 Quae sit tuo cordi vis,
 Et cui dabit palmam lis.

[*Invalescit ignis.*]

Aspirate, aurulae,
 Laborate, flammulae,

Since nothing is so stable
 That likewise will not stumble.
 If Adversity should strike,
 Do not doubt it will shatter.
 Nothing is so firmly fixed
 That ruin cannot come to it.

[*A lighted fireplace appears.*]

Adv.: Behold the house of Adversity,
 Behold the furnace of suffering,
 [*Hurls the heart into the furnace.*]

Here I shall examine
 And make known,
 What strength lies in your heart,
 And who shall be victorious.

[*The fire grows in strength.*]

Blow now fragrant, gentle breeze,
 Fanning toiling flames to see

Cor probatur, ostendatur,

An cor caelo dignum sit.

Con.: En cor durat, licet urat illud flamma saevior.

Expolitur, non mollitur, nitor est fulgidior.

[*Excipit cor nitidius quam prius fuerat.*]

Cor forte, cor amatum, *et ut supra.*

Adv.: Confundimur, retundimur,

Fur.: Constantia triumphat.

Cor adversis agitatum

Magis stat iam solidatum,

Constantia triumphat.

Fur.: Vive, Constantia, hanc tibi palmam do,

Tua praestantia durat in nubilo.

Furor montes, furor fontes,

Furor vicit marmora.

Furor frangit adamantes,

What the tested heart reveals

About its celestial worth.

Con.: See how the heart endures though subjected to the

Fiercer flame. Not weakened, but instead refined with

More luminous gleam.

[*She takes up the heart shining brighter than before.*]

Courageous heart, beloved heart, *etc.*

Adv.: We are bewildered and undone,

Rage: Constance is the conqueror

The heart vexed by adversity

Is now more stalwart than before,

Constance is the conqueror.

Rage: Long live, Constance, to you I do concede,

Your excellence weathers turbulent storms.

Rage has bested mountains and fountains,

Rage crushed slabs of solid marble.

Rage can shatter the strongest steel,

Rumpit hostes per obstantes,

Furor sternit nemora

Tuum sed cor

Debilior

Non vinco; fateor.

Vive, Constantia! *etc. ut supra.*

Con.: Cor forte, cor amatum, *etc. ut supra.*

Pars III

Inductio 1

Scena refert atrium. Regina in fide Christiana immota collum gladio fuerentis Iacondoni objicit, qui eius forma ad mitiora movetur.

Personae: Rex cum suis, Orcamus, regina.

Rex: Nondum superba cordis adamanta exuit?

And decimate opposing armies;

Rage can raze a dense forest.

Yet against your heart,

I do confess,

I was too weak to win.

Long live, Constance! *etc.*

Con.: Courageous heart, beloved heart, *etc.*

Act 3

Scene 1

The scene is in the palace. The Queen, remaining firm in the Christian faith, offers her neck to the raging king's sword, but he is softened by her beauty.

Characters: King with his courtiers, Orchamus, queen.

King: Has the haughty woman still not cast the

Adamantine obstinacy from her heart?

Orc.: Rigescit ipsa caute Rhiphaea magis.

Rex: Scelerata mulier! Poplite hic prono cole

[*Objicitur idolum reginae.*]

Patriae penates, aut adurentur sinus

Candente ferro, aut faucibus plumbum bibes.

Reg.: Haec est arena gloriae; haec meum evocat

In bella pectus hora; me, Christe, aspice

Pro te ferentem gravia et hanc animam iuva

Iamiam triumpho proximam. Coniunx age,

Quod allubescit; nectaris loco ebibam

Plumbum liquatum; pectori admotae faces

In Christi amante incendia fovebunt magis.

E corde nihil evellet acceptam fidem.

[*Mittit pro carnificibus.*]

Orc.: She is more rigid than a crag of the Riphean
Mountains.^{xvi}

King: Accursed woman! Kneel down and worship the native
[*Presents the idol to the Queen.*]

Penantes^{xvii} or else your breast shall be burnt with a
Searing sword or with your throat you shall guzzle
Molten lead.

Que.: This is the glorious arena of battle; this moment rouses
My heart to the frays; behold me, Christ my savior, as I
Endure pains on your behalf and aid this soul, now so
Near to victory. Come, husband, do as you please;
In place of sweet nectar, I shall imbibe liquid lead;
Torches applied to the breast of a lover of Christ
Only make love's flames burn more ardently.
Nothing can pluck the faith I have accepted
From my heart.

[*The king calls for the executioners.*]

Rex: Huc sulphur! Huc sartagines! Huc, huc picem.

[Increpat tardantem nuncium ephelum.]

Adhuc moraris? Evola, huc plumbum! Moras

[Petit spatium et evaginat gladium.]

Non tolero tantas. Cedite! Hoc ictu unico

Iam christianus septiceps hydrus cadet.

[Moratur tamen adhuc.]

Reg.: Auguste coniunx, pauca mihi fas sit loqui.

Rex: (Amor furorem deprimit) Loquere.

Reg.: Sine

Venerante pacis osculo extremum meum

A coniuge coli coniugem.

[Regina vult supremum osculum dare regi, ille renuit.]

Rex: Non!

[Haec parat osculari manum. Rex renuit.]

Reg.: Vel manum.

King: Bring sulfur! Bring frying-pans! Here, here pitch.

[He scolds the tarrying messenger page]

Why do you still delay? Hurry, bring lead here!

[Quickly he unsheathes his sword.]

I do not tolerate such delays. Withdraw! Now with this

Single blow, the seven-headed hydra of Christianity

Shall perish.

[The page still delays.]

Que.: Majestic husband, may I be permitted a few words.

King: (Love represses anger) Speak.

Que.: Allow my spouse to be honored for the last time by his

Spouse with a reverent kiss of peace.

[The queen wishes to give the king a final kiss, which he refuses]

King: No!

[She attempts to kiss his hand. The king refuses.]

Que.: Just your hand.

Rex: Non!

[Regina flectit, offert cervicem ad ictum.]

Reg.: O! Redemptor! Victimam hanc ergo accipe!

[Furit Rex]

Rex: Ferio scelestam!

[Regina eum amorose aspicit.]

Reg.: Si libet, licet. Feri!

[Languescit rex. Iterum furit.]

Rex: Nequeo. Repellit amor. Morantem urget furor.

[Identidem reginam respicit, et formam eius laudat.]

Aspectus hic tam blandus enervat manum.

O qualis iste frontis extersae color!

O quae genarum purpura! O labri rosas!

Quales pyropi luminum! O quantum comae

Micantis ardor! Vincor! At, quid hoc? Ligat

King: No!

[The queen bows and offers her neck for the blow.]

Que.: O my Redeemer! Then receive this victim!

[The king becomes angry]

King: I shall slay this accursed woman!

[The queen gazes upon him lovingly]

Que.: If it pleases you, then it is permitted. Slay me!

[The king is deflated and again becomes angry.]

King: I cannot. Love pulls me back. Rage urges me on,

Though I hesitate.

[He repeatedly looks back at the queen, praising her beauty.]

This alluring vision saps the strength of my hand.

So pallid a countenance, wholly devoid of

Imperfection! What flushed cheeks!

What lips like roses! What sparkling eyes!

O how your hair gleams like flame!

[*Iterum furit.*]

Regem venustas fragilis? I! Furor! Modum

[*Stringit ensem ad ictum.*]

Iam tandem amori pone!

Reg.: Rex vive! Et vale!

[*Abjicit ensem; fugit a theatro, sequente aula, sola regina
relicta et dolente se pro Christo mori non potuisse.*]

Rex: O vox amoris!

Reg.: Sortis o duras vices!

Matura coelo visa sum; at tantum mihi,

Indigna forsnumini. O! Quantum amodo

Servata miserae vita moeroris parit!

[*He again becomes angry.*]

I am undone! Yet, how can this be? Does frail beauty

Bind a king? Onward! Rage! Now, at last, put an end to

Love!

[*He unsheathes his sword for the blow*]

Que.: Long live the king! And farewell!

[*He casts aside the sword and flees the theater, escorted by his
courtiers. The queen alone is left behind, distraught that she
was unable to die for Christ*]

King: O voice of love!

Que.: O harsh turns of fate!

I thought myself ready for heaven, but perhaps God

Finds me unworthy. Alas! The extending of my life

Causes me such sorrow!

Inductio 2

Scena refert conclave. Terrentur proles regiae visis poenalibus instrumentis materno sanguine cruentis, et mendaciter informantur de defectione matris a fide ob vehementiam flagellationis; sed eluso dolo ad matrem penetrant.

Personae: *Colinus, proles regiae.*

Col.: Timete, proles regiae!

[*Obviant sibi invicem.*]

Filia 1: Causam metus

Expone, amice.

Col.: Thure nisi patrios deos

Moniti colatis, matris ad poenam via

Furor paternus perfidam prolem trahet.

Filia 2: Aliquid'ne casus mater adversi tulit?

[*Ostendit virgas et flagella cruenta.*]

Scene 2

Scene takes place in a chamber. At seeing the bloodied instruments of their mother's cruel torture, the children become fearful. They are falsely informed that she has recanted her faith due to the violent beatings; however, they are not deceived by the lies and go to see her.

Characters: *Colino, royal children.*

Col.: Beware, royal children!

[*They meet with one another.*]

Dau. 1: Dear friend, explain what it is we should fear.

Col.: Unless you worship the paternal deities with

Frankincense as you were taught, the anger of

Your father will drag you, his treacherous offspring,

Into punishment, just as it did your mother.

Dau. 2: Did our mother suffer some misfortune?

[*He points to gory rods and whips.*]

Col.: Videte matris sanguinem!

Filius 1: O Deus!

Col.: Flagris

His illa cultum numen alienum luit.

Filius 2: Pater leone saevior!

Filia 1: Sed quo tulit

Tormenta vultu?

Col.: Ferre quo foemina solet.

Primum sereno, post ubi incubuit gravis

Imber flagrorum, iamque per totos dolor

Se illatebrat artus, densa tempestas nives

Membrorum inundat sanguine, erubuit sinus

Pudibunda nudos, soepeque modestus pudor

Deiccit oculos, soepe sub coelum levat,

Suspirat, ora comprimit, lachrymas pluit;

Tandem dolore victa (quis etenim ferat

Col.: Look upon your mother's blood!

Son 1: Dear God!

Col.: By these scourges, she has atoned for worshipping a
Foreign deity.

Son 2: Father is more savage than a lion!

Dau. 1: But with what demeanor did she bear these torments?

Col.: With that which a woman is accustomed to bear

Torments. Cheerful at first, then came the vicious

Shower of lashes, coursing pain throughout her body,

The heavy storm drenched her snowy limbs in blood,

And ashamedly, she blushed at her bare breasts, often

Casting down her eyes because of her modest decency

And frequently raising them again heavenward;

She sighed, though her mouth was silent, and tears fell

As rain. At last, by anguish conquered

(Indeed who could bear

Tantos dolores?) ingemit, clamat, fidem

Eiurat, et Amydam invocat.

Filia 1: Amydam?

Filia 2: Parens

Invocat Amydam? Haud credo. Mihi matris satis

Est nota virtus mascula. (Impostor venit,

Ut nos timore verberum e recti via

Trahat in Charybdin. Ego dolum vincam dolo.)

Amice, tolle ambigua verborum, doce

Sincerus, an regina veneretur focos

Iterum paternos?

Col.: Iuro! Veneratur focos.

Filia 2: Sit ergo. Perge, nuntium a nobis refer

Regi parenti, matris exemplum sequi

Sobolem paratam stare

Such sufferings?), she groaned, let out a cry,

Rejecting her faith and calling upon Amida.

Dau. 1: Upon Amida?

Dau. 2: Our mother prays to Amida? I do not believe it,

For I am too well acquainted with our mother's virile

Courage. [*Aside*] (An impostor has come, hoping that

By scaring us with scourges, he might drag us away

From the path of righteousness down into the abyss of

Charybdis.^{xviii} I will best his trick with another.)

[*To Colino*] Dear friend, do not speak ambiguously;

Be honest; can it be that the Queen resumes her worship

At the ancestral altar?

Col.: I swear it! She worships at the altar.

Dau. 2: Then may it be so. Go, taking this message to

Our father the King, that we, his children, stand ready

To follow the example set by our mother.

Col.: (Mea tutum tenent

Iam vota portum.) Provolo.

[*Abit Colinus*]

Filia 2: Fratres mei

Sororque amata; falsa, quae bubo canit

Feralis ille. Mater etiamnum gerit

Se christianam. Adeamus hanc, seriem rei

Promamus, et principia rogemus nova.

[*Parant abire. Obviat illis regina mater.*]

Col.: [*Aside*] (What I wished for has now come to pass.)

[*To children*] I fly.

[*Colino departs*]

Dau. 2: My beloved sister and brothers, false of are songs

Performed by that ill-omened owl. Mother conducts

Herself as a Christian still. Let us go to her,

Relate what has happened, and ask her about the

Principles of our new faith.

[*They plan to depart to meet with their mother the queen.*]

Inductio 3

*Scena prior. Proles regiae denuo a matre in fide roborantur.
Haec a superveniente tyranno apposito pectori pugione ad
mortem poscitur; a qua tamen iterum visa reginae moriendi
promptitudine Iacundonus retinetur; ad aerumnas nihilominus
reginam ablegat.*

Personae: *Regina, proles, rex cum suis.*

Reg.: Quid, moesta soboles, frontis obscurae timor?

Filia 1: O mater, aderat fama lanienae flagris

In te patratae.

Filius 1: Dixit et mentem tuam

Acerbitate verberum evictam diis

Dedisse cultam.

Reg.: (Vulpis astutae dolus.

Ut innocentes immolet Stygis gulae,

Fingit parentem perfidam Christo fidem

Scene 3

*Previous scene. The royal children once again receive
encouragement in the faith from their mother. Then the tyrant
appears and holding a dagger to the Queen's breast seeks to
kill her, but again Yakundono relents after witnessing her
willingness to die. Nonetheless, he banishes the Queen to
torments.*

Characters: *Queen, children, king with his courtiers.*

Que.: What fear darkens your faces, my mournful children?

Dau. 1: O mother, we heard a rumor of butchery being

Performed upon you with whips.

Son 1: And saying that your mind, being overcome with the

bitter scourges, offered worship to the gods.

Que.: (Trickery of a sly fox. He tells them their parent has

Betrayed Christ, returning to the pagan religion of the

People, so that he can sacrifice these innocents to Hell's

Maw.)

Tenere gentis.) Pignora! O cordis mei

Grandis voluptas! Consonum vero est nihil,

Quod fama spreti dixit in causa dei.

Sum sacra Christo, quamlibet me istud sacrum

Gravi procella sanguinis nomen stetit.

Filia 2: Es ergo passa verbera?

Reg.: At largos quidem

Rivos cruoris.

Filius 1: Fronte iam tamen iterum

Rides serena.

Reg.: Solis ita morem decet

Nos aemulari. Nubium assultu suam

Serenitatem paritur interdum quati;

Tamen inde mundo redditur Phoebus prior.

Sic Christianus obrutus nocte emicat

Adversitatum. Gaudium illius pati est.

Quid vos ad ista?

Sweet children! What a great pleasure

To my heart you are! Nothing in this rumor relating

To a spurned god is at all true. I am consecrated to

Christ, though it is true that for his name I have endured

A severe and bloody storm.

Dau. 2: Then you have received lashings?

Que.: Indeed, producing lavish streams of blood.

Son 1: Yet, now you again laugh with a cheerful countenance.

Que.: For this reason, it is fitting that our attitude

Resemble that of the sun. Sometimes the sun permits its

Serenity to be disturbed by an assault of clouds, but

Then bright Phoebus is once again restored to the sky.

In the same way, the Christian shines after being

Shrouded in the dark night of adversities. The

Christian's joy is to suffer. What do you make of this?

Filia 1: Talibus quidem peti

Mea non moveri machinis fides potest.

Filia 2: Ego per acervos funerum in medias ferar

Generosa flammās.

Filius 1: Ensibus ego istud caput

Dabo resecandum.

Reg.: Nate, metuendum nihil

Tibi est ab ense; flagra te et virgae manent.

Filius 1: Nimium dolerent; sunt amara.

Reg.: Iam abstulit

Tuus redemptor, quidquid ibi amarum fuit.

Leve tribulationis hoc nostrae genus,

Olim aeviternum gloriae pondus dabit.

Filius 2: Quidcunque acerbi immiserit patris furor,

Ego colligabo, ut flosculi legi solent,

Dum pro coronis serviunt.

Dau. 1: Though my faith can be assailed by such

Devices, it cannot be moved.

Dau. 2: I will nobly bear my faith through mountains

Of corpses and in the midst of flames.

Son 1: I will offer up my head to be severed with swords for

My faith.

Que.: Son, you have nothing to fear from the sword;

It is scourges and rods that await you.

Son 1: They would be excessively painful, having a bitter sting.

Que.: Already your Redeemer has removed their bitterness,

And this lightened burden that we endure will one day

Earn us an eternal treasure of glory.

Son 2: Whatever hardships father's anger engenders,

I will gather together in a wreath, as one gathers

Flowers within a garland, to wear as a crown of victory.

Reg.: Firma hoc, deus,

Quod his patras in parvulis!

[*Rex pugionem pectori reginae apponit.*]

Rex: Tandem scelus

Teneo in flagranti, nulla iam flectet mora

Iusti furoris tela.

Filius 1: Parce, pater!

[*Accurrunt proles provolutae ad pedes regis.*]

Filia 1: Pater!

Est mater!

Filius 2: Est regina!

Filia 2: Parce, pater!

Reg.: Deus,

Assiste!

Rex: Adora Fotoquin!

Reg.: Ego veneror deum,

Quem Christiani; huic moriar et lubens meum

Que.: Support, O God, and make firm the faith

Of these little ones!

[*The King places a dagger to the Queen's chest.*]

King: At last I have caught you in your flagrant wrongdoing,

Now no delay will deter the weapons of my just wrath.

Son 1: Stop, father!

[*The children rush toward their father and fall prostrate.*]

Dau. 1: Father!

She is our mother!

Son 2: She is the Queen!

Dau. 2: Refrain, Father!

Que.: Dear God,

Come to my aid!

King: Worship Fotoke!

Que.: I honor and worship the Christian God;

And I will willingly die and shed my blood

Illi refundam sanguine, pro me suum

Qui fudit olim.

[*Rex retrahit pugionem.*]

Rex: Rursus enervor. Manus

Torpet caditque. Nescio qualis nitor

Ab ore fulget roseo et audenti involat

In vim paratam; seu velim aut nolim, arceor.

Vive ergo. Verum, ut vita sit gravior nece.

[*Abit regina et omnes alii.*]

For the one who once shed his blood for me.

[*The King withdraws the sword.*]

King: Once again I have lost my nerve. My hand goes

Numb and falls aside. Some sort of strange radiance

Emanates from the rosy face of this emboldened

woman seizing upon the violence prepared for her.

Whether I should wish it upon her or not, I am

Prevented. Therefore, you may live. But only on the

Condition that living be more painful than death.

[*The Queen and all others depart.*]

Inductio 4

Scena refert spatiosum atrium. Excubitor, ab ephebo reginae custode culpatus exponitur ludibrio filiis Bonziorum.

Personae: Excubitor et filii Bonziorum in saltu.

Inductio 5

Scena refert oratorium cum altari, coram quo pendet accensum lumen in lampade. Proles reginae precantur deum pro regina matre aegrotante, non sine accepto omine mortis maternae.

Personae: Proles regiae, nuntius ephebus.

Eph.: Materna premitur cardine adverso salus.

Filia I: Avertat aether!

Eph.: Noxius cunctos calor

Serpit per artus, aegra vix retinet labris

Animam fugacem.

[*Abit ephebulus.*]

Scene 4

The scene returns to the spacious palace. The watchman is exposed by the Queen's page to the Bonzes and condemned as a laughingstock.

Characters: Watchman and Bonzes in dance.

Scene 5

The scene takes place in an oratory with altars in the light of a hanging lantern. The royal children pray to God on behalf of their ailing mother the Queen, but not without all of them accepting their mother's death.

Characters: Royal children, messenger page

Page: Your mother's health has taken a turn for the worse.

Dau. I: May heaven let it pass!

Page: The injurious burning seethes throughout her every

Joint, and with difficulty she maintains the belabored

Breath from her lips.

[*The Page leaves.*]

Filia 1: O nos miscellas! Concidet

Cadente matre prolibus spei basis.

Prece mur una, ut veniat auxilio pium

Numen parenti. Numen! E cuius sinu

[*Flectunt omnes quatuor et complicatis manibus precantur.*]

Optata mundo venit aegroto salus,

Matrem salute sospita!

Filia 2: Numen! Preces

Audi tuorum! Gloria hic agitur tua

Salusque nostra. Morte si occumbat parens,

Occumbit una nominis cultus tui.

Filius 1: Si vota, numen, audias, meam mihi

Matrem reserva. Gratus appendam tholo,

Quem mater ensem in praemium nuper dedit.

Filius 2: O Numen! Audi filium matris suae

Dau. 1: We are poor wretches! With the mother's fall, the

Foundation of her children's hope will collapse. Let us

Pray as one that the Lord might provide divine

Assistance to our parent. Dear deity! From whose heart

[*They all four bow and fold their hands in prayer*]

Came the long-desired healing to an ailing world,

Preserve and restore the health of our mother!

Dau. 2: O God! Hear our prayers, urging our mother's health

For your glory! If our mother should meet her end,

Then the worship of your name is also at an end.

Son 1: If, O God, you hear my vows, please spare my mother.

In gratitude, I will hang the swords she recently gifted

Me as a reward in the rotunda.

Son 2: Almighty God! Listen to reasons given by a

Mother's son

Causas agentem, detine instantis necis

Pro matre falcem, aut filii in matris bonum

Minue iuventam!

[*Extinguitur lumen in lampade, ita ut flamma avolasse videatur.*]

Filia 2: Proh soror! Quid hoc rei?

Dum vota iunctim fundimus, in auras levis

Flamma evolavit lampadis.

Filia 1: Animae solent

Sic avolare a corpora. Sinistrum auguror

Hinc matris omen. Mole tantorum obruta

Quid si malorum occubuit?

Filia 2: Ah! Nolit deus!

[*Abeunt omnes.*]

That you stay the sickle of death from her at present,

Or lessen the sweetness of youth in this her son!

[*The light in the lantern goes out and the flame vanishes.*]

Dau. 2: Look before you sister! What do you make of this?

While we were yet saying our prayers, the flame in the
Lamp was carried away by the gentle breezes.

Dau. 1: Just as souls are wont to fly from the body.

I believe this is an inauspicious sign concerning mother.

What if because the danger to her was so great

And terrible, she was overcome and so died?

Dau. 2: Oh no! God forbid!

[*They depart.*]

Inductio 6

Scena refert conclave. Iacundonus gratulatur primum de reginae obitu, mox variis affectibus agitur, tandem poenitudine et animi remorsu convictus fit ex tyranno mirus praeco suae coniugis.

Personae: Rex cum suis aulicis.

Rex: Habet, quod ira nequii et regis rigor,
Adversitatis turbo in effectum dedit.
Aerumna fregit impiam et animi gelu,
Vitaeque solvit spiritum. Sic, qui deos
Legesque calcant patriae, tandem a diis
Calcantur ipsi. Amica famulantum manus,
Dic, quid videtur? Iusta num factum Themis
Suo probavit calculo?

Aulicus I: Laudat Themis

Sic vindicatos numinum cultus; probant

Scene 6

The scene takes place in a chamber. At first, Yakundono celebrates the passing of the queen, but then he is overcome by various feelings, and finally, inwardly convicted by penitence and remorse, he stops being a tyrant and becomes an outspoken defender of his wife.

Characters: King with his courtiers.

King: She is finished. The whirlwind of afflictions
Accomplished what the anger and severity of the King
Could not. Anguish crushed the impious woman,
Freezing her heart and loosening her life's breath.
Thus those who trample on the gods and our nation's
Laws, the gods likewise trample. Tell me, servants to
My wife, what do you think? Will Themis^{xix} approve of
What has been done according to her divine laws?

Courtier I: Themis rejoices at the avenging of the gods'

Worship, and thus all likewise approve:

Proceres, senatus, civis, et vulgi status.

Rex: Sic vos. At animi tortor immanis mei,

Matanaea sceleris conscia, ultricem exerit

In me furorem. Heu! Triste portentum! Undique

[*Fugitat rex territus umbra coniugis.*]

Fatigor umbra coniugis! Video meum!

Video patratum crimen! Accurrite! Timor

[*Labitur in brachia aulicorum.*]

Larvae minacis instat! O animi iugum!

O poena mentis! Scire se sceleris reum.

[*Conticescit aliquantum.*]

Aulicus 2: Quae vis lacessit principem? Placidum indue,

Auguste, morem.

[*Respirat iterum.*]

The nobles, the senate, the citizen, and even those of

The lowest rank.

King: And so do you all. Yet remorse, the brutal tormentor of

My heart, exposes me, in my wrathful ravings,

As accomplice to a vengeful crime. Alas! O woeful

Portent! Everywhere I am harassed by my wife's shade!

[*The terrified king flees from the ghost of his wife.*]

I see myself! I see the crime being committed!

Come help me! I am consumed with fear of this

[*He falls into the arms of his courtiers.*]

Menacing wraith! O heavy yoke upon my soul!

O mental agony! Knowing oneself guilty of a crime!

[*He grows silent for awhile.*]

Courtier 2: What force affects the sovereign so?

You array yourself, Majesty, with a serene mood.

[*He takes another breath.*]

Rex: O nulla, nulla malacia
 Speranda, quamdiu in animo gravis furit
 Turbo reatus. Soeculi monstrum, probrum
 Regum Iacundone! Innocentis coniugis
 Latro! Tyranne! Carnifex! Ubi nunc tua
 Regina? Coniunx? Periit. Et periit meo
 Insons furore. Periit. O qualis rosa
 Emarcuit! Quam grande regnorum iubar
 Tegitur sepulchro! Coniugem occidi meo;
 Gentis voluptam, providam, mitem, gravem,
 Lenemque verbis, nesciam labis thori,
 Fortem, pudicam, in numen absorptam suum.
 Affatu amoenam, debitae regi integre
 Fidei tenacem, corde sinceram, piam in
 Sobolem, modestam, patriae addictam bono,
 Exemplum honesti; principem totus suis
 Quam insedit aether gratis;

King: O no, there will be no calm whilst the oppressive
 Whirlwind of guilt rages in my soul. Yakundono, you
 Are a disgraceful king, and a monster to this age!
 Plunderer of an innocent wife! You are a tyrant!
 Murderer! Where now is your Queen? Your wife?
 Dead. And because of my rage, she died though
 Innocent. Dead. O what a rose has withered! What great
 radiance of royalty covers her tomb! I killed my own
 Queen; she was agreeable, provident, meek,
 Serious, mild-spoken, free of blemish or fault,
 Valiant, virtuous, and wholly devoted to her religion.
 With her speech, she charmed; with a pure heart, she
 Was faultlessly steadfast in the loyalty due to her King;
 She was affectionate to her children, modest, and
 Devoted to the wellbeing of her subjects, providing a
 Praiseworthy example; she above all others possessed
 The heavenly graces,

cuius animum

Virtutis aulam vidimus. Et hanc ego, feram
 Indutus, omnis immemor clementiae,
 Afflixī, adegi ad fata! O infelix dies!
 O hora! Iure e temporis censu procul
 Eliminanda, prima qua regem impulit
 Furia in maritam. Viveret utinam amor meus!
 Ut poenitentis coniugis lachrymas pia
 Manu retergat, supplicem agnoscat, meo
 Veniamque praestet crimini. Sed, quid loquor?
 Veniam'ne merear coniugis vitae reus?
 Non mereor! Iras, fulmina, ultrices faces
 Et quidquid Orco est efferum, dirum ac atrox,
 In me feratur. Haec mereor, his me tuum
 Vindex latronem plecte!

whose virtuous character

We in the royal court beheld. And then I behaved
 Towards her as a savage beast, heedless of all
 Compassion; I imprisoned her and afflicted her to her
 Death! O sorrowful day! If only the hour in which rage
 First impelled the King against his wife could be exiled
 From time by law. Would that my love, the Queen,
 Were still alive so that her hand might wipe away the
 Tears of a remorseful, devoted spouse, who with
 Supplication would admit responsibility, and
 Beg her pardon for my crime. But, what could I say?
 How could I who am guilty be deserving of pardon for
 Taking my wife's life? I am unworthy! Wrath and rage,
 Flashes of lightning, avenging flames and whatsoever is
 savage, cruel and terrible in Hell, these I should receive.
 I deserve such things! With these, O Defender, punish
 me, a guilty thief!

Tu parcis tamen.

Es nempe mitis ingeni, et Christi tui

Tenax docentis parcere inimicis. Bene.

Tu parcis, ego deprecor et admoneo simul:

Discite furorem premere; nam brevis furor

Longi est doloris prodromus. Tua interim,

Regina, moles digna virtute eriget

Coelo propinquum verticem, et tumuli vices

Obitura saxi machina loquetur meos

In te furores impios, in me tuum

Constantem amorem. Lemmate hoc saxum noto:

Victima furentis coniugis coniunx sui.

Nevertheless, you spare me.

Truly you possess a steadfast, gentle nature,

Imitating the teachings of Christ by sparing your

Enemy. It is well. Just as you show mercy, I plead

And admonish the same: Learn to oppress anger

Since a moment's rage can lead to enduring sorrow.

Soon, a massive edifice, worthy of your virtue, O

Queen, will stand next to the heavens, and the stone of

Your tomb shall proclaim how my impious ravings

Towards you were transformed into your constant love

For me. I will inscribe upon it this epitaph:

Here lies a wife, the victim of her husband's rage.

Epilogus

Scena refert campum, in quo desuper Gloria cum anima reginae comparet. Praemio mulierem fortem inquirenti ostenditur a Constantia reginae anima in Gloria, cuius fortitudini Praemium etiam in terris monumentum gloriae construit.

Personae: *Praemium, Constantia.*

Pra.: Mulierem fortem quis inveniet?

Procul et de ultimis finibus pretium eius.^{xx}

Tractus terrae peragravi,

Littus maris pererravi.

Vidi Amazones,

Vidi Thomyrides,

Camillas, Coelias,

Grachas Cornelias,

Heroinas prisci saeculi.

An non similius est ferax mentium

Epilogue

The scene returns to a field above which Glory appears with the soul of the Queen. To Reward, who is in search of a valiant woman, Constance reveals the soul of the Queen in Glory, and Reward then likewise constructs a monument on Earth in honor of her strength.

Characters: *Reward, Constance*

Rew.: Who shall find a valiant woman?

Far and from the uttermost coasts is her worth.

I scoured the lengths of the Earth,

And wandered the shore of the sea.

I saw the Amazons;

And the Tomyrides,^{xxi}

Camillas,^{xxii} Cloelias,^{xxiii}

Cornelia Gracchi,^{xxiv}

All heroines of the Ancient world.

Can it be our age also produces women

Vel aetas nostra? Vel vicina tempora?

Quarum gesta,

Quarum facta,

Sic cum laude stent peracta,

Ut thema sint spectacula?

[*Apparet Gloria.*]

Con.: Quid? Dilecta? Mulierem fortem requiris?

Veni, veni, ostendam mulierem,

Christianam Amazonem,

Magnanimam principem,

Virtutis verae imaginem,

Lapsi saeculi prodigium.

Vide, vide hanc in Gloria,

Hanc illi parta dedit Victoria.

Vicit minas et catastas,

Vicit flagra, vicit hastas,

Of such courage? Or perhaps a neighboring age?

Women whose deeds,

And daring feats,

They performed so laudably that

Might now serve as the theme of plays?

[*Glory appears.*]

Con.: What is it dear? You require a valiant woman?

Come, come, I will show you such a woman

An Amazonian Christian,

A noble, generous ruler,

The reflection of true virtue,

A wonder of this fallen world.

See, see; behold her in Glory,

To whom Victory awarded her.

She overcame threats and public tortures,

She overcame scourges, conquering spears

Vicit insanum, vicit furorem,
 Vicit tyrannum, vicit dolorem,
 Felici cuncta omine,
 Sacro pro Christi nomine.

Pra.: O mulier fortis,
 Aethereis portis
 Recepta post angores.
 In praemium mortis
 Beatae et sortis
 Augebo hic honores.

[Exeunt Virtutes reginae et mausolaeum erigunt.]

Adeste, sorores,
 Iungamus labores
 Colossos erigite,
 Virtutum figite
 Trophaea.

Ritornello.

She conquered madness, and cruel raging,
 She conquered a tyrant, and suffering
 All with felicitous omen,
 And righteous for the cause of Christ.

Rew.: O valiant woman,
 Entering heavens' gates
 After enduring such hardships
 Now blessed and fated
 With death's sweet reward;
 Here I shall honor you.

[Enter the Virtues of the Queen and erect a mausoleum.]

Come now, my dear sisters,
 Let us labor as one,
 Erecting colossi,
 And constructing trophies
 To honor the Virtues.

Ritornello.

Pra.: Stent reginae triumphanti,
Iam in coelis exultanti,
Haec in terris mausolaea.

Ritornello.

Pra.: His coelum praemiis virtutem donat,

Con.: His terra laudibus fortes coronat.

Omnes: His coelum praemiis virtutem donat,

Sic terra laudibus fortes coronat.

Rew.: May these earthly monuments stand
Honoring the triumphant Queen
Who now rejoices in Heaven.

Ritornello.

Rew.: Heaven bestows virtues with these rewards,

Con.: And Earth crowns the valiant with these praises.

All: Heaven bestows virtues with these rewards,

And Earth crowns the valiant with these praises.

ⁱ The title of the work echoes the description of the exemplum wife in Proverbs 31:10: *Mulierem fortem quis inveniet? procul et de ultimis finibus pretium ejus.* (LV) [Who shall find a valiant woman? far and from the uttermost coasts is the price of her. (Douay-Rheims)]

ⁱⁱ The historical reference here is to Hosokawa Tadaoki. The Latin *Iacundonus* is taken from the Jesuit accounts referring to him by his court title *Etchū-dono*.

ⁱⁱⁱ This is a reference to Amida Buddha.

^{iv} This is a reference to *hotoke*, used during the period by Japanese to both refer to the Buddha and the souls of the dead on the journey to become *kami*, or ancestral spirits. I have chosen to render it as *fotoke* to reflect the Portuguese transliteration of the word.

^v *Hirado*, through Portuguese transliteration, has been written as *Firado* and then Latinized as *Firandus*. I have chosen to render the name as *Firado* in keeping with Portuguese transliteration.

^{vi} This is a reference to Roman triumph processions where the military commander would present all the spoils of war during the victory procession.

^{vii} Name of a Persian king from classical mythology

^{viii} Bonze refers to a Japanese Buddhist priest

^{ix} Roman goddess of fruit and grains/harvest

^x The hundred-eyed keeper of Io from classical mythology

^{xi} The daughter of King Acrisius of Argos who imprisoned her in a bronze tower to avoid his prophesied death at the hands of her yet to be conceived son.

^{xii} During Danaë's confinement in the tower, Jupiter came to her in the form of golden rain falling from the ceiling and she conceived the hero Perseus.

^{xiii} Reference to Toyotomi Hideyoshi

^{xiv} According to Richard Hildreth, the term *ximo* was a Portuguese modification of the Japanese *shima*, meaning island (32).

^{xv} This is a reference to Cerberus, the multi-headed hound of Hell from classical mythology

^{xvi} A mountain range mentioned by various classical authors but whose actual location is unknown.

^{xvii} Penantes were the Roman household gods.

^{xviii} A whirlpool between Italy and Sicily personified as a female monster

^{xix} Ancient Greek Titaness who is the personification of divine law

^{xx} Proverbs 31:10

^{xxi} An ancient Eastern Queen mentioned by classical authors, such as the Greek historian Herodotus. She is most famous for leading her armies against Cyrus the Great and defeating him.

^{xxii} A figure from Roman mythology, included in Virgil's *Aeneid*, whose father, King Metabus, dedicated her to Diana, the goddess of hunt. From a young age she was a skilled huntress and warrior. In the *Aeneid*, she aids Turnus in his fight against Aeneas and is killed by Arruns.

^{xxiii} A semi-mythological figure from Roman history who was held hostage in the war between Rome. She led the escape of a group of Roman virgins across the Tiber River. Although she was returned to her captors, she was heralded by Rome and given an equestrian statue, usually reserved for men.

^{xxiv} Wife of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and mother to Tiberius and Gaius, known for being radical reformers and advancing the rights of the people. She was hailed as a paragon of Roman virtue after her death.