BPJS, 2018, **II**, **4**, 101-116

MIRUM VIDERI NON DEBET, SI IAPONES ROMANO NONNUMQUAM VESTITU INDUANTUR – ROMANIZATION OF THE JAPANESE IN JESUIT NEO-LATIN[1]

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Abstract

One of the distinguishing features of Japan and the Japanese is that they were completely unknown in Greco-Roman antiquity, in contrast for example to the Indians, the Chinese, or the Sri Lankans. Thus the appearance of the Japanese in Neo Latin, made possible by the missionary efforts of the Jesuits, can be an apt locus in which to explore the modernity or non-antiquity of Neo-Latin literature. In this article I will examine selected passages from the Burgos (1586) and Macau (1588) editions of Bonifacio's Christiani pueri institutio, the latter of which is arguably the earliest Latin textbook printed for the Japanese, Hay's Imperii Iaponensis admirabilis commutatio (1604), which along with other works by Hay contributed substantially to the spread of Japanese information in early modern Europe, and Pereira's Paciecidos (1640), the famous quasi-Vergilian epic set in Japan, to examine attitudes toward non-classical elements within classicizing Neo-Latin literature.

Resumo

Uma das características distintivas do Japão e dos japoneses é o facto de serem completamente desconhecidos na antiguidade greco-romana, ao contrário, por exemplo, dos índios, dos chineses ou dos cingaleses. Assim, o aparecimento dos japoneses na neolatina, possibilitado pelos esforços missionários dos jesuítas, pode ser um local apropriado para explorar a modernidade ou a não antiguidade da literatura neolatina. Neste artigo examinarei as atitudes para com elementos não clássicos dentro da literatura neolatina clássica, a partir da análise de trechos selecionados das edições de Burgos (1586) e Macau (1588) do Christiani pueri institutio de Bonifacio, esta última sem dúvida o primeiro livro em latim impresso para os japoneses; da edição Imperii Iaponensis admirabilis commutatio de Hay (1604), que, juntamente com outros trabalhos de Hay, contribuíram substancialmente para a disseminação da informação japonesa no início da Europa moderna; e de trechos de Paciecidos (1640), de Pereira, o famoso épico quase-vergiliano composto no Japão.

1 This article was made possible by the support of KAKENHI grant number 19K00503.

要旨

インド人、中国人、スリランカ人に関する例とは対照的に、古代ギリシャ・ローマン時代において日本、日本人についての表出は皆無であったことは、際立った特徴の一つである。　したがって、イエズス会宣教師の努力によって可能になったネオ・ラテン語での日本人に関するの記録の表徴を考察することは、ネオ・ラテン語文学の現代性または非古代性を探求するためにふさわしいと考える。本稿では、ほぼ間違いなく日本人向けに印刷されたラテン語による最も初期の教科書であるボニファシオ（Bonifacio）著『キリスト教子弟の教育』（Christiani pueri institutio）のブルゴス（Burgos）（1586）版およびマカオ（Macau）（1588）版から選定した文章を検証する。ヘイ(Hay)の他の作品とともに、インペリーイ・イアポネンシス・アドミラビリス・コミュタティオン(Imperii Iaponensis admirabilis commutation)（1604）は、近世ヨーロッパにおける日本関連情報の普及に大きく貢献した。さらに、ペレイラ（Pereira）のパシエシドス（Paciecidos）（1640）は、日本で良く知られたウェルギリウスの叙事詩集であり、古典的なネオ・ラテン文学の非古典的な要素に対する態度を、これらの文献から論証する。

Keywords:
Neo-Latin; Jesuits; Japan; Juan Bonifacio; John Hay; Bartolomeu Pereira.
Neolatina; Jesuítas; Juan Bonifacio; John Hay; Bartolomeu Pereira.
ネオ・ラテン、イエズス会、日本、フアン・ボニファシオ、ジョン・ヘイ、バルトロメウ・ペレイラ

Introduction

China and Japan may appear undistinguishable to some Europeans, but the two are very different from the viewpoint of the history of Latin language (among a few other things); China and the Chinese are demonstrably documented in classical Latin,[2] whereas Japan and its inhabitants are not. Ancient literature and cartography as well as archaeology reveal that South Asia including Sri Lanka was well integrated into the Greco-Roman trade network, and while connection with and knowledge of China were rather weaker, it was after all the eponymous production centre of that fabric coveted in the streets of Rome, silk. In contrast, while objects from and bits of knowledge about the ancient to mediaeval Mediterranean may have washed on the shores of Japan every once

2 See e.g. Purcell 2003.

in a while, possible mention of this archipelago first appears in Latin only after the sojourn of Marco Polo in the East, in the 14th century.[3]

To be sure, Japan is not the only region that fell outside the Greco-Roman world map. The Americas is a newer and much larger discovery that significantly enlarged and impacted the early modern European world view. Portuguese traders and Catholic missionaries themselves reached Japan only after the (Western European) discovery of the Americas, and how the latter event served as a preparation for mission efforts in the former is itself an intriguing field of inquiry. But for now, one thing to note is that in the latter half of the 16th century, more than a century after the beginning of the Age of Discovery, certain Jesuits in leadership positions, most prominently Francis Xavier and Alessandro Valignano, made observations to the effect that the Japanese (along with the Chinese), though pagan, were, unlike many other Non-Europeans, "white" – and thus in some vague sense equivalent to Western Europeans.[4] It is not this article's intention to commend or criticize this historically curious view. What this article wishes to point out is that, within the context of the European classical tradition in general and Neo-Latin in particular, this supposed equivalence (yet with certain definite caveats that precluded complete identification) of the Japanese with Europeans, the latter being the (biological, spiritual and/or academic) descendants of the ancient Greeks and Romans, gave rise to some intriguing rhetoric which will be discussed below.

Before moving on to some detailed discussion of authors and passages, however, the use of the term Neo-Latin probably needs to be clarified and justified. Neo-Latin, referring not to the Romance languages but to classicizing Latin used as the primary or sole linguistic medium in literature (poetry, drama, novel etc.) and academic discourse in Europe and elsewhere after the 14th century, is a relatively recent term, with usage in this sense first attested in German (Neulatein) in the late 18th century.[5] Paradoxically, it is a term not used in the heyday of Neo-Latin itself, which may be placed between the 15th and early 18th century.[6] In this respect it is comparable to the Latin term classicus, whose use to refer to classic(s) is attested only after the end of the classical period in Latin literature, in the 2nd century AD.[7] One could argue that the term Neo-Latin is an anachronism which has no academic value, and that Latin used by such authors as Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374), Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), Thomas More (1478-1535), or Isaac Newton (1642-1727) should simply be called that, Latin. But it is also demonstrably the case that Neo- or post-mediaeval Latin has its own set of stylistic and other peculiarities that demand specialist knowledge not only in philology but related disciplines like palaeography and history. Neo-Latin is now a robust field of studies in Europe with its own university departments,

3 See e.g. Igawa 2017, 10-15.

4 See e.g. Keevak 2011, 28-29.

5 See e.g. Knight & Tilg 2015, 1.

6 See e.g. Korenjak 2016, 1-2.

7 See Schein 2007, 76.

research centres, and academic societies, and the last triennial meeting of the International Society for Neo-Latin Studies (IANLS) in Albacete, Spain in 2018, had more than 200 papers presented by about 240 speakers from around the world. It cannot be denied that Neo-Latin has become a recognized and useful rubric in today's academia.[8] The widespread use of classicizing Latin is a remarkable, though perhaps as yet underappreciated, feature of early modern Europe that ties it to the older and geographically larger Greco-Roman Mediterranean sphere. Let us see below through a few textual samples how the introduction of a clearly non-classical culture – that of Japan – impacted European Neo-Latin and what responses this encounter provoked.

1. From Burgos, 1586 to Macau, 1588 – the education of Indian, Japanese, and German boys

The famous Tenshō embassy of 1582 to 1590, after accomplishing its main objective of visiting the Roman curia (and witnessing, unexpectedly, the conclave that elected Pope Sixtus V), was making its way through the Iberian Peninsula on its return journey from late 1585 to early 1586. This was their second sojourn in Spain and Portugal, but they seem not to have overstayed their welcome. The young ambassadors were warmly received in Barcelona, Saragossa, Madrid, Coimbra, Evora and Lisbon, and were treated to various spectacles, including a Jesuit student dialogue between representations of Italy, Spain and Japan in which their own embassy was mentioned.[9] Sometime during this journey, perhaps while they were staying in Portugal (between October or November 1585 and April of the following year), the entourage may have also picked up a copy of the new and revised edition of Juan Bonifacio's Christiani pueri institutio, issued in Burgos in 1586.

First published in Salamanca in 1575,[10] Bonifacio's little Latin reader would have been a most suitable text for the Japanese ambassadors who were also the "first fruits" of the new Jesuit seminary in Japan.[11] While its title may remind one of Quintilian, the work written by the Jesuit educator Juan Bonifacio firmly belongs to the didactic tradition of elementary school favourites like Valerius Maximus and Aelian.[12] It consists mostly of short edifying anecdotes, often about a page long, eminently suitable for classroom use. The Latin style is typical of Jesuit school literature; correct, somewhat monotonous

8 On Neo-Latin as a relatively new but expanding academic discipline in Europe see e.g. Knight & Tilg 2015, 1-7, Korenjak 2016, 9-27.

9 See e.g. Sande 1590, 343, Igawa 2017, 137-142.

10 On the early modern editions of this book, see Ciordia 2012, 99-103.

11 See e.g. Moran 1993, 12-13. Whether the ambassadors themselves could use classicizing Neo-Latin has been much debated, but available evidence seems to suggest that, while they had different levels of competence, a few (especially Hara Martinho) of them did possess considerable skill including ability to compose not only prose but also verse. For a recent discussion see Pinto 2016, 22-24.

12 On the classical sources of Bonfacio, see Ciordia 2012, 98.

vocabulary and syntax, coupled with periodic, quasi-Ciceronian sentence structures which would be suitably challenging to beginning readers. Among the anecdotes are those taken from the classics (Athenians, Spartans, Alexander the Great, Caesar etc.), but the collection also includes stories from the New and Old Testaments, ancient and mediaeval hagiographies, and even episodes from contemporary mission fields in Protestant Europe and the New World.

If the Japanese ambassadors had the chance to read the 1586 Burgos edition, they would have been pleasantly surprised to see yet another sign of European goodwill toward their visit. To be sure this book had included, already in its first edition, some mention of Japan and the Japanese.[13] But the 1586 edition for the first time mentioned the Tenshō ambassadors, who had been in Europe for less than two years at that time. In Book 1 chapter 1, tacked on to an anecdote cluster about eager young converts in India, we find the following short passage:

> * *Legatos Iaponios quattuor adulescentes partim generosos, partim regia stirpe satos, quo triumpho Gregorius XIII Pontifex immortalitate dignissimus venientes exceperit, quo item honore qui Gregorio Dei munere ac dono successit Sixtus Papa remiserit, quos eis ludos Italia fecerit, quae Hispaniae gratulatio, plaususque fuerit, quae Philippi regis cum laetitia, tum beneficentia exstiterit, nemo est quin sciat, nostramque aetatem perbeatam vel hoc uno nomine putet.*[14]
>
> * With what triumph Pope Gregory XIII, most worthy of immortality, received the four young Japanese ambassadors, who were partly noble, and partly born of royal stock, when they came, likewise with what honour Pope Sixtus, who succeeded Gregory by the generous gift of God, sent them off, what shows Italy staged for them, what joy and applause Spain showed, what happiness as well as munificence King Philip displayed, there is none who does not know or would not judge our age to be most blessed just because of this one reason.

Whether or not the returning ambassadors received a copy in Europe, it is clear that Valignano staying with them in Macau in 1588 had one. For in the justly famous 1588 Macau edition of Bonfacio, the first Western book to be printed in China, the above passage is reproduced, with the addition of in patriam ("to their fatherland") after remiserit ("sent them off),[15] appropriately anticipating the ambassadors' then imminent return to Japan.

The 1588 Macau edition also provides a more elaborate context around this passage. The passage in this edition is placed inside a comparatively long anecdote cluster entitled De pueris Indicis. The cluster starts with the missionary zeal of John III of Portugal, then transitions through Xavier to India and the seminary in Goa. This is followed by an effusive praise of the seminary in Japan as a tool for converting the whole nation,

13 Bonifacio 1576, 162-166; cf. Kataoka 1969, 44-50.

14 Bonifacio 1586, 40v.

15 *Ibidem*, 12r.-12v.

which leads to the description of the four ambassadors to Europe as the seminary's first fruits. The passage then goes on to praise the German, British and Greek colleges recently established in Rome, which like the Japanese seminary would surely serve as conduits of correct Catholic doctrine to these three nations. It goes on further to mention the decision of Tridentine Council to establish seminaries or colleges in all dioceses to train native clergy, and hastily concludes with a brief eulogy of the benevolent power of education,[16] which is the overall theme of Book 1 chapter 1. It is probably fair to say that De pueris Indicis in the Macau edition reflects and actively promotes the politico-educational agenda of Valignano and his cohort for the indigenisation of the Japanese mission in the 1580's to 1590's.

In comparison, in the 1586 Burgos edition the ambassadors seem to be more out of place. The anecdote cluster De pueris Indicis in the Burgos edition has the same beginning, with John III and Xavier, but goes on to mention the situation in India in greater detail, recounting the episode of a Muslim potentate's daughter who demanded, against the wishes of her mother, to be baptized, and a story about an imprisoned Jesuit rescued by enterprising local boys. Then after a praise of Jesuit education in India, the four Japanese ambassadors make a sudden appearance in the paragraph cited above. The paragraph is marked with an asterisk (*) which here and elsewhere in this edition indicates passages not present in the first edition of 1576. The added paragraph is then followed by another anecdote cluster on Germany. Titled De pueris Germanis, this section gives several laudatory examples of properly educated German boys who resist Protestantism in Munich and elsewhere, and is followed by another section on the German College in Rome narrating the establishment and early successes of this institute.[17]

Comparing the 1586 and 1588 editions with a focus on their descriptions of Tenshō embassy, one can thus see a textual tradition in dynamic evolution. It starts with the addition of the four Japanese boys to the examples of young Indian converts, a connection which makes sense from the European Jesuit perspective as Japan was after all part of the Indian province at that time.[18] Valignano, or perhaps another editor (Duarte de Sande for example comes to mind)[19] under his direction, then radically rearranged the context and cut out much of the Indian narrative and amplified the mention of Japan. The Macau edition furthermore added an idealized picture of the Japanese seminary, and combined it with the German component (but with specific German episodes, like the Indian ones, cut out) to advertise a system of localized education to supply native clergy for separate ethnic groups. The two textual clusters thus testify to the dynamic use of Neo-Latin

16 *Ibidem*, 11r.-13r.

17 *Ibidem*, 38r.-46r.

18 See e.g. Moran 1993. 3.

19 On Sande see Burnett 1996. Sande among other things composed the Latin text (based on input from Valignano, the ambassadors themselves, and perhaps a few other individuals) that recounted the Tenshō embassy for the benefit of Japanese students; see Sande 1590 and Ramalho 2009, esp. 14-15.

intimately tied with, and promoting, the rapidly expanding global Jesuit venture in the late 16th century.

2. Antwerp, 1604 – the Scottish Jesuit and the Roman Japanese

As is well known, Valignano's hopes for the Japanese seminary were destined to be dashed to pieces. Shortly after the Tenshō Embassy's departure from Japan, Oda Nobunaga, who had seemed amicable to the Jesuits, was assassinated and was succeeded by his lieutenant Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the infamous Taicosama in contemporary European reports. Though Hideyoshi/Taicosama was notoriously mercurial and his decisions difficult to predict, he eventually grew suspicious of the Jesuits and hostile to Catholics in general.[20]

The fate of Catholics in Japan was to go through a number of ups and downs before the great edict of expulsion came in 1614. A major turn for the worse was the persecution that culminated in the martyrdom of 26 saints in February 1597, less than a decade after the return of the embassy; though one should be careful and say "worse" from a strictly secular viewpoint, as the martyrdom could be and was advertised in Catholic Europe as a glorious triumph, akin to those of the early Christian saints.[21] A year and a half after this event, in August 1598, Hideyoshi passed away and the rein of power was assumed by Tokugawa Ieyasu, also known as Daifusama in Jesuit sources. Ieyasu/Daifusama initially seemed kinder to the Spanish and the Portuguese, probably more for mercantile reasons than anything else. But the Jesuits in Japan could heave a sigh of relief at the brief lull in persecution.[22]

The (initially) good tiding from Japan reached Europe in a letter (among other channels) written by the then Japan Provincial Valentim Carvalho. This letter was subsequently translated from an Italian version into Latin by the Scottish Jesuit John Hay and published in Antwerp in 1604. In the dedication of this book, addressed to Gaston Spinola, count of Bruay, Hay writes that the situation in Japan should be read as a lesson for heretics (i.e. Protestants) in Europe as well:

> Admirabilem rerum Iaponensium cernes conversionem Christique apud Iaponios ecclesiam magnis agitatam procellis, praeter hominum expectationem, divino beneficio pace frui, tyrannique impia contra Christianos decreta plane neglecta iacere; quae res sane hereticorum fautores, ut in viam redeant, sempiternique numinis mandatis obtemperent, movere debet. Qui enim Taicosamae impios conatus contra Christianos fecit irritos, tranquillitatemque post aliquot annorum spatium, iis, qui hoc nomine vexabantur, quod veritati patrocinarentur,

20 See e.g. Üçerler 2008, 159-161, Hesselink 2016, 75-117.

21 See e.g. Fróis 1599.

22 See e.g. Moran 1993, 82-86, Hesselink 2016, 127-133.

> restituit, nullo poterit negotio haereticorum furorem comprimere, atque ut omnes, summa animorum consensione, dei praepotentis laudes ad evangelii praescriptum, quemadmodum maiores nostri fecerunt, celebremus efficere.[23]
>
> (You will see the wonderful change in Japanese affairs, and how the church of Christ among the Japanese, after it was shaken by a great storm, is now, against the expectations of men, enjoying peace with divine help, and how the impious decrees of the tyrant against Christians openly lie neglected; which turn of events should surely encourage those who favour heretics to return to the way and to obey the commands of eternal deity. For god, who made the impious attempts of Taicosama against Christians ineffective, and restored tranquillity after the space of several years to those who were being persecuted for this reason, that they stood on the side of truth, this god shall be able to repress the furore of the heretics with no trouble at all, and to bring it about so that all of us, with the utmost agreement of mind, would praise the most potent lord according to the evangelical precept, just as our ancestors did.)

John Hay is certainly not alone in presenting reports from Japan as edifying material for Europeans. Indeed, it is well known that one of the main purposes for circulating the Jesuit annual letters was to boost the moral within the Order and to uphold its image as an ideal missionary force.[24] But Hay's background and life experience also bound him particularly closely to the religious conflicts roiling Europe at that time. Clan Hay of Scotland is well known in British history as a pro-Catholic force, and John's elder and more famous kinsman, Edmund, also a Jesuit, was active at one point in the court of Mary Queen of Scots in an unsuccessful attempt to stabilize her reign and retain Catholic influence north of England. Edmund Hay was also related to and at one time patronized William Barclay, the father of the famous Neo-Latin poet and novelist John Barclay.[25] John Hay himself went around 1579 on a highly dangerous trip into his native Scotland to observe its religious climate, and upon his return to the continent published a book with the inflammatory title Certaine Demandes concerning the Christian Religion and Discipline, proponed to the Ministers of the new pretended Kirk of Scotland.[26]

Later in life, around 1603 to 1605, John Hay, while holding an academic position in the Jesuit college in Antwerp, apparently developed an interest in Japanese affairs; for in rapid succession he translated Valignano's 1599 letter from Italian to Latin,[27] did likewise with Carvalho's 1601 letter, again from Italian to Latin,[28] and lastly edited and partly translated a collection of no fewer than 40 letters, many of them from Japan but also

23 Carvalho, 4.

24 See e.g. Moran 1993, 34-37.

25 See e.g. Riley & Huber 2004, 6-7.

26 On John Hay's life and career see Mccog2017, 62.

27 Valignano 1603.

28 Carvalho 1604.

some from China, India, Peru and even one from the Philippines.[29] John Hay represents a type of armchair Japanese scholar in the early modern West; while he never left Western Europe and was deeply and passionately involved in confessional conflicts therein, he nonetheless put much work into collecting information about Japan and publicizing it for a Latinate audience.

From the prefaces to these editions, one gets a feeling that Hay saw Japan, in line with standard Jesuit thinking, as an arena where the church was basking in glory, a kind of stage that could be observed from Catholic Europe with much satisfaction and edification. But Hay also notes that there might be some objection about narrating Japanese affairs in Latin. In the preface to his 1604 translation addressed to lectori Christiano ("the Christian reader"), he writes as follows:

> *Monuit me amicus, in reconditis doctrinarum studiis apprime versatus…non vulgari cognitione praeditus, ut Iapones suo cum vestitu Romam ingredi sinerem, cui sum conatus facere satis, quamvis Pontifice Gregorio XIII Iaponios legatos in civitatem Romanam fuisse susceptos existimem. Quare mirum videri non debet, si Iapones Romano nonnumquam vestitu induantur. Hac de re te monitum volui, optime lector, ne frequens vocis Dono sonus auribus molestiam tuis exhibeat.*[30]

A friend, well versed in the esoteric studies of disciplines… (and) equipped with uncommon learning, urged me to allow the Japanese to enter Rome in their own dress; I tried to satisfy him, even though I would think that the Japanese legates were taken into Roman citizenship under Pope Gregory XIII; because of this it should not seem strange if the Japanese should sometimes wear Roman dress. I wanted you, good reader, to be forewarned of this, so that your ears may not be offended by the frequent sound of "dono".

It is a little difficult to make sense of Hay's meandering argument, but he is clearly aware of a possible sense of incongruity in making the Japanese appear in Roman dress, that is to say in describing them using humanistic, classicizing Latin. Faced with this problem, Hay makes a knowledgeable and witty retort by reminding the reader that the Tenshō embassy received Roman citizenship during their visit to Gregory XIII. This statement is historically accurate,[31] and even though one might be hard pressed to see where this logically leads, the mention of the great pontifex is perhaps calculated to silence further objection. To be sure Hay seems aware that the incongruity remains, as he goes on to make excuses about the use of the Japanese nominal suffix dono. Comparing Hay with Bonifacio, we can see in the latter a growing sense of distance and exoticization toward Japan and the Japanese.

29 Hay 1605.

30 Carvalho 1604, 8.

31 See e.g. Igawa 2017, 66-72.

3. Coimbra, 1640 – the Luso-Japanese Aeneid and the shield of Pacheco

The Japanese church was going through ups and downs in the early 1600's, but by 1640 it was facing extinction. Ieyasu/Daifusama was succeeded by Hidetada and then Iemitsu, and conditions steadily worsened for the Jesuits and Japanese Catholics. In 1614 came the great expulsion, which saw the famous Takayama Ukon or Justus Ukondono, the widely respected Catholic noble, banished to the Philippines. From the Japanese rulers' point of view, as British and the Dutch sailors began to arrive in the early 1600's, the Jesuits became less attractive trade agents. The great Shimabara rebellion of 1637 to 1638 probably sealed the fate of the early modern Japanese Catholic church, as religious freedom vis à vis Christianity came to be understood as an existential threat to the feudal class system which the Tokugawa dynasty was reconstituting after the civil wars. From the 1630's to the 1640's, ordained clergy were hunted down with single-minded determination by the authorities assisted by a growing cohort of apostates, and by around 1645, the so-called hidden Christians in Japan were on their own, without a single priest to watch over them.[32]

Informed Jesuits in Europe were aware of this situation, but severe challenges can also be interpreted from a Christian perspective as blessings or signs of particular divine favour. The year 1640 was also the centennial of the founding of the Order, and among many other tokens of celebration the Paciecis, a Latin epic in twelve books mostly set in Japan, appeared in Coimbra. The Paciecis, from a modern reader's point of view, is a curious amalgam of diverse elements ranging from Homer and Virgil to Camoens and Jesuit martyrology.[33] In language and metre, the work approximates Virgil most closely, but its scenery ranges widely from Portugal to India, Macau, and Japan, and even Dutch pirates make their appearance. Its overall structure is patterned after Virgil's Aeneid, yet its worldview is distinctively that of a 17th-century Portuguese Jesuit backed up by Luso-Catholic imperialism. In other words, it is a typical piece of Neo-Latin literature omnivorously incorporating both ancient and contemporary elements.

Its author, Bartolomeu Pereira, like Hay, explicitly recognizes the incongruity of combining classical Mediterranean and Japanese elements. Also like Hay, Pereira never set a foot outside Western Europe, although he was related to Pacheco, the hero of his piece who was the Japan provincial at the time of his martyrdom, and seems to have had personal contact with António Francisco Cardim, the author of perhaps the most famous Japanese Jesuit martyrology and a missionary with front-line experience in the East.[34] Pereira's preface addressed to the reader contains the following caveat:

> *Marone cantamus chorodidascalo, et adhuc, amice lector, poesis mea aures non solum tuas, sed ungues timet. Dabis tamen veniam, serius si attendas, voces non paucas egregie barbaras carmini esse*

32 See e.g. Üçeler 2008, 161-165, HEesselink 2016, 219-225.

33 Cf. Urbano 2005, 79-82.

34 On Pereira's career and network, see Urbano 1999, 286-288, Urbano 2005, 62-63, 95.

inserendas, tussim quod affert Musis et raucas facit, si tandem consideres, opus fuisse mihi Iaponum res, utpote remotissimas, explicare adeo, ut carmen aliquando repere videatur iis, qui versum cum ad digitos vix sciant reducere, fumos tamen venditant Statianos, Lucanique sternutationes sibi putant esse stipendiarias.[35]

We sing with Maro (Vergil) as our choir leader, and still, friendly reader, my poetry fears not only your ears, but also your fingernails. Yet you will forgive me, should you pay more serious attention, for inserting not a few quite barbarous words into my song, which makes the Muses cough and their voices rough, if you in the end reflect that I needed to explain Japanese matters, which are indeed extremely faraway, in such a way that my poetry would sometimes seem to crawl to those, who although they hardly know how to scan verses, nonetheless flaunt the smoke of Statius, and believe that Lucan's sneeze is profitable to them.

Pereira's concern is ostensibly about Latin meter, but the expression voces barbaras (barbarian words) may seem striking – or not, if one calmly reflects that Japanese terms are naturally never attested in classical literature and can quite accurately be called barbarian, i.e. non-Greco-Roman. Indeed, Pereira's ambition was to recount the martyrdom of Francisco Pacheco, Provincial of Japan, alumnus of the Jesuit college in Coimbra and his own kinsman, as truthfully (in Jesuit understanding of course) as possible in the style of the best Latin epic, which is to say the poetic tradition with the highest status in Western Europe at that time. To aid the understanding of the reader, Pereira includes in his edition a prose biography of Pacheco as well as an index explaining the principal personal names and Japanese terms used in his epic. Rather surprisingly, Pereira does not shirk from inserting not only Japanese proper names but even loanwords like catanna (i.e. katana, explained as "a kind of sword among the Japanese") and chainum (i.e. tea, explained as "drink of the Japanese, in place of wine")[36] into his Vergilian verses. He clearly does so with the full recognition that these, as well as the Japanese personal names, are voces barbaras never attested in classical Latin.

Placing Francisco Pacheco right in the centre, the Paciecis sets forth to monumentalize the early modern Jesuit mission in Japan, which precisely at the moment of its publication was coming to its fiery end. This synoptic aim can be seen perhaps most clearly in a passage in book 11, in which Pacheco and his associates, about to be led to their execution, are presented by the allegorical figure Constantia ("Steadfastness") with an elaborately engraved shield.[37] In the Iliad, the heavenly shield given to the hero depicts archaic Greek civic life,[38] in the Aeneis it teaches Roman history up to Augustus,[39] and in the Paciecis it

35 Pereira 1640, "Vates lectori suo S.P.D.".

36 Pereira 1640, "Index".

37 *Ibidem*, 191-197. To be sure *chainum* is also metrically equivalent to vinum ("wine").

38 See e.g. Kelly 2011.

39 See e.g. West 1990.

emblematizes Japanese Jesuit martyrology. Among the many martyrs depicted is Julian Nakaura, one of the four Tenshō ambassadors:

> *Hic quoque, (proh Superi!) tu, quem septena superbis*
> *Roma olim venientem excepit collibus, et quem*
> *Europae, atque Asiae iurato foedere magni*
> *suspexere duces, cui surrexere potentes*
> *tot reges, Nacaurus ades! Verissima regum*
> *progenies, patriumque auges hac caede decorem.*
> *Non Arimandoni facta haec ingentia lapsus*
> *polluet, ipse tua satis o, satis inclyte ductor*
> *grande scelus, sociique fidem cum morte piasti.*[40]

> And here you, too, (oh heavenly beings!) you, whom once Rome, seven-fold in its haughty hills, received as you came, and to whom the magnates of Europe and Asia, sworn by treaty, bowed, in front of whom so many powerful kings stood up, you, Nakaura, are here! You, of the most authentic royal lineage, enhance your paternal beauty with your death. The betrayal of Arimadono shall not pollute your stupendous deeds, you yourself, oh renowned leader, expiated with your death the great crime and the faith of your companion.

As in Hay's passage above, here too there is a noticeable connection made between Rome, with its famous seven hills, the seat of Catholic power as well as the Roman empire so celebrated by Vergil, and the Japanese envoy with the distinctly non-classical name, Nacaurus; though to a reader attuned to Vergil, the name may also recall the metrically equivalent Palinurus, one of Aeneas's minions who falls sacrifice for the sake of his master's safe arrival to Italy. In real life Nakaura Julian may have been of comparatively humble background,[41] but in the Paciecis his social status is elevated to the point where he appears a fit guest for the city of Rome, in front of whom the nobles and kings of world would supposedly do homage.

As researchers have pointed out, the Paciecis may be read as an imitation of the Aeneid not only in terms of language and style but also the use of history and myth for corporate propaganda. Just as the Aeneid creates an amalgam of myth and history to buttress the interpretation of Roman imperialism as a divine mechanism to humanise and civilise the known world, so the Paciecis weaves a worldview in which Jesuit missionaries sallying forth from the European academia become seeds for true humanity and become victorious in death, wherever they are scattered across the globe.[42] Of the three textual clusters we have seen so far, the Paciecis goes the farthest in incorporating non-classical

40 Pereira 1640, 195.

41 See e.g. Igawa 2017, 71-72.

42 See Klecker 2002, 109-110, Urbano 2009, 220-223.

elements in the unmistakably classicizing milieu of Neo-Latin literature. Yet here, too, signs of self-conscious tension between the classical and the non-classical remain, if not in the text itself, at least in the surrounding authorial material.

Conclusion

Francoise Waquet has memorably called the Latin language "the European sign".[43] One could, of course, raise numerous objections to such an appelation. From the days of the republic to the empire, the use of Latin language was after all widespread in North Africa and West Asia as well as Europe, and some of the greatest Latin authors were of non-European origin, from Terence to Apuleius and Augustine of Hippo. From late antiquity to middle ages on the other hand, Latin did remain strong in Western Europe, but southeastern Europeans may rightly wonder why Latin and not Greek, the language of the Byzantine empire, should be regarded as the European sign.

Nontheless, from the early modern period onwards, the hegemony of Western Europe becomes, both regionally and globally, irrefutable; and Latin was a widely used, and most prestigious, language therein at least until the 18th century. Latin was and perhaps still is also more deeply and intimately tied to the trans-historical, Pan-European identity (supposing for the moment that there is one) than the many vernacular languages that have dominated certain (Western) European enterprises from time to time, from Portuguese to Spanish, French, German, and English. What Waquet says about the last in comparison to Latin can surely also be applied to all these vernaculars: "English lacks the symbolic capital common to the whole of Europe, a capital composed not only of texts, both sacred and profane, but also of shared values, beliefs and experiences".[44] Latin, interpreted not only as a language per se but also the large body of classical and classicizing texts written therewith and the traditions that these represent, along with (but more so than) Greek, had (and again, perhaps still has) an unshakeable hold on the European mind akin to what classical Chinese once had for East Asian intellectuals.

Walter Ong in 1958 wrote that a general history of modern Latin literature would be difficult to write because it "is simply too vast to think about" and would "be simply the history of the Western mind".[45] The entire discipline of Neo-Latin is a response to this challenge, although Neo-Latin scholars today would probably be the first to admit that they have so far uncovered only the tip of the iceberg.[46] Even for such an apparently small aspect of it as the reception of Japanese elements in early modern Neo-Latin, this article cannot claim to have done any more than scratch the surface. Still, if Neo-Latin

43 Waquet 2001, 5.

44 *Ibidem*, 272.

45 Ong 2004, 10.

46 See e.g. Korenjak 2016, 254.

in some way reflects the history of the Western mind, even the small number of texts examined in this article, their publication dates ranging from 1586 to 1640, show striking omnivorousness as well as paradoxical consciousness of an exclusive European tradition and identity. The Neo-Latin tradition, at least the Jesuit strand thereof, followed in the footsteps of Xavier and Valignano to embrace non-classical, i.e. barbarous, Japan, and to mould its presentation for some very internal, European purposes. Yet it is a tradition that simultaneously retains some consciousness of the foreignness, and again from a classical viewpoint, barbarity of Japan.

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