A DIFFICULT ENTERPRISE: RULES FOR PREACHING IN LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY JAPAN[1]

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Abstract

In the first decades of the Jesuit presence in Japan, Japanese brothers and *dōjuku* were the main preachers of the mission. They delivered sermons according to a method developed by Xavier for converting locals, by telling stories from Christian sacred history in chronological order. Only after understanding and accepting the contents of these sermons could a person be baptized. However, in 1592, during his second visit to Japan, the Visitor Valignano wrote a list of seventeen rules for Japanese preachers. Created during the formalization of religious teaching in Japan and with the formation of a native clergy in mind, it imposed a basic model for the composition of sermons and warned preachers of the political impact of their activity, among other things. Based on these rules, in 1597 a list of instructions appeared, this time concerned more with the contents of the sermons preached in Japan. Allegedly composed by Pedro Gómez, Vice-Provincial of Japan, these instructions were based on an unidentified European author of works of religious oratory, though it has much in common with works by Luís de Granada and Diego de Estella. The 1597 Instructions refine the composition of sermons in Japan, recommending the composition of simple homilies teaching the doctrine at hand but on limited topics and free of controversial issues. The present article analyses these Rules and the Instructions as part of an integrated effort aimed at offering a fledgling local clergy the necessary theological and spiritual background to advance the work of the Vice-Province of Japan.

要旨

日本へのイエズス会到着当初の数十年間において、日本人修道士と同宿は、宣教活動での重要な説教者であった。彼らは、キリスト教史からの話を年代順に語るという、日本人を改宗させるためにザビエルが展開した方法に従って教えを説いた。これらの説教の内容を理解し、受容して初めて、洗礼を受けることができた。また一方で、1592年、巡察師ヴァリニャーノは二度目の日本滞在中に、日本人説教者のための17項の規則をまとめた。それは、日本における宗教教育の形式化の過程にて、日本語を母語とする聖職者の育成を念頭に入れて作成され、説教の構成における基本モデルを課し、説教者たちの

活動が引き起こす政治的インパクトやその他の事柄について警告したものである。これ
らの規則に基づいて、1597年に指示書が現れた。ここでの大きな関心事は、日本にお
いて説かれる説教の内容についてであった。日本準管区副管区長のペドロ・ゴメスによ
り編集されたと伝えられるこれらの指示書は、ルイス・デ・グラナダとディエゴ・デ・
エステラにより書かれた作品との大きな類似が認められるにも関わらず、姓名不詳のヨ
ーロッパ人著者による宗教的修辞作品を基にしている。1597年の指示書では、テーマを
限定し論議を呼ぶことのない題材を取り上げて教理を説くという分かり易い説教を推奨
し、日本での説教の構成を洗錬している。本稿では、日本準管区での活動を前進させる
ために初歩段階の日本人聖職者に必要な神学的および宗教的背景を提供することを目的
とする総合的努力の一環としての両資料を分析する。

Keywords
homiletics; Japanese clergy; Alessandro Valignano; Pedro Gómez.

キーワード
説教法、日本人司祭、アレッサンドロ・ヴァリニャーノ、ペドロ・ゴメス。

In 1643, António Vieira went to the Royal Hospital in Lisbon and delivered a sermon
in which he comments on the difficulty early modern preachers had in learning foreign
languages. "If the Holy Ghost came down now in miraculous languages, as it used to
do, preaching to gentiles would not be so difficult," he said, but since they could not rely
on God to imbue them with the ability to communicate instantly with foreign peoples,
they had to learn their languages by study and dedication. He posited three classes of
missionary enterprise, according to their difficulty. The first was the easiest, in which
the missionary would preach in his own language. The second class, which he called *a
dificultosa empresa* "the difficult enterprise," was preaching to foreign nations that had
only one language, such as the Japanese and the Chinese. The most difficult enterprise,
though, was preaching to the natives of Maranhão, North-eastern Brazil, where there was
no empire but so many different peoples that the only certain thing is that there was no
certain number of peoples.[3]

Despite Vieira's understanding that Jesuits in Japan faced an easier task than his,
it was still a challenging situation. Given the language barrier, Europeans could not
deliver their sermons directly, which caused increasing concern among missionaries
given the centrality of preaching in converting and maintaining communities. In fact,
missionaries in Japan started regulating sermons in the 1590s, a decade when the central

3 Vieira 1998.

ruler, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, mobilized most Japanese military leaders to invade Korea. Overseas, the emergence of a series of works on preaching since the 1580s, as well as a number of publications for beginning preachers in the 1590s, show that there was not only an increased interest in sermons, but also an ever-growing number of rules and advice concerning preaching.[4] In the post-Tridentine Catholic world, the centrality of sermons can be seen even in the inclusion of rules in diocesan constitutions. In the Portuguese case, Marques gives the example of the 1585 constitutions of Porto, which recommend that only able priests, prelates and vicars deliver sermons, and that these are to be according to the capacity of the audience. The general advice was to explain in few words vices to avoid and virtues to seek in order to reach salvation.[5] Since sermon writing was strictly related to rhetoric, Jesuits put the *ars rhetorica* at the centre of their studies from the time of their first schools on. Already in 1562, Cipriano Soares published *De Arte Rhetorica*, a manual written for his students which would become the basis for missionaries of the Society of Jesus studying how to preach. Later, the Dominican Luís de Granada's works such as *Rhetorica ecclesiastica* and his collections of temporal and *santoral* sermons became major influences on the elaboration of Jesuit sermons.[6]

In 1592, Alessandro Valignano, Visitor to the Jesuit India Province (which included Japan), compiled a series of rules for the Society of Jesus' residences in Japan. He laid down regulations for *dōjuku*, doormen, sextons, nurses, and many others, including preachers. Five years later, a second list appeared, now of advice to preachers, purportedly written by Vice-Provincial Pedro Gómez. My intention here is to compare the two sets of rules and understand how missionaries of the Vice-Province of Japan formalized regulations and adjusted rules for religious rhetoric produced overseas in order to meet the expectations of their Japanese congregations and the mission itself.[7]

The first list of rules for preachers compiled by Valignano in 1592 is comprised of seventeen items, mostly general recommendations on themes, manners, and structure. It is a reminder to Japanese brothers dedicated to delivering sermons of the seriousness of their duty, explaining that they had to be examples to their audiences and search for ways to become closer to God by fomenting real virtues such as charity, serving God, becoming more familiar with God by performing spiritual exercises, and dedicating themselves to the conversion of souls *ad majorem Dei gloriam*.[8] Nevertheless, there is a deep political concern with the sermon as a form of public speech, seen as a message endorsed by the Society of Jesus, greatly influencing the perception Japanese Christians and non-Christians held of the missionaries. The second document, Pedro Gómez' 1597

4 On these waves of printed works on preaching, see Smith 1978, 36-7.

5 Marques 2000, 483-484.

6 Marques 2010, 417-18.

7 The two documents have been transcribed and published previously with introductory notes by José Alvarez-Taladriz. See Alvarez-Taladriz 1968.

8 Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, *Japonica-Sinica* (hereafter JapSin) 2, ff. 112v-113v.

text is a long list of instructions divided into four chapters which, even though they repeat some of Valignano's rules, constitute a remarkable summary of the most important advice on sermon composition produced in Europe. Gómez explicitly indicates that his list was based on the work of a "priest distinguished in the craft and art of preaching," and that he chose what could be considered more convenient to the Japanese case.[9] Considering the state of the art in the late sixteenth century, Gómez could be referring to Luís de Granada's *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* (1576), given that Granada was one of the few European authors translated into Japanese and published in Japan.[10] Nevertheless, there were a number of manuals of this period that could also have served as Gómez' inspiration, such as Diego de Estella's *Modus concionandi* (1576), or even the standard Jesuit manual Cipriano Soares' *De arte rhetorica* (1568).[11]

After all, sermons were one of the most important tools of religious conversion used by the Society of Jesus in Japan. Numerous passages in letters and chronicles of the period witness the role played by the so-called *pregações* or *práticas* – both were translated into Japanese as *dangi* 談義, a term borrowed from Buddhist preaching. Often mixed up, sermons and *práticas* appear to be slightly different – while sermons were formalized and mostly delivered inside churches, the *práticas* were more informal expositions of dogma and doctrine used in or outside churches.

Certainly, the focus on preaching and calling people to conversion or to take part in the Sacraments was not a feature unique to the Japan Jesuits. In Europe, priests, students and lay brothers of the Society of Jesus actively went out to the streets to gather people, while at the same time exhorting them to participate, confess and communicate during sermons and private conversations.[12] After all, as claims Carlo Borromeo, by not confining themselves to preaching in churches they were following the example of Christ and his apostles.[13] For that matter, the Society of Jesus considered sermons one of the most important activities a missionary could perform in his work to attract new converts.

1. Conversion and maintenance

One of the main parts of a sermon was its theme. In Japan, this was a central concern to missionaries since their early days in the country. As explained by Ide, the conversion method from above used in Japan in the first decades of the mission consisted in obtaining

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9 Library of the Ajuda Palace (hereafter Ajuda) 49-VI-8, ff. 9-14v.

10 Alvarez-Taladriz 1968, 136 (15).

11 After all, since Estella's *Commentarii in Sacrosanctum Jesu Christi Evangelium secundum Lucam* was in the catalogue of Diogo Valente's library, it is not impossible to imagine that his work on preaching could also be available to Jesuits in Japan. Golvers 2006, 30.

12 Maryks 2008, 25.

13 Smith 1978, 15.

a formal authorization from the local lord and forcing his vassals and locals to listen to sermons. If there was no such authorization or obligation, it would be impossible for the missionaries to overcome the influence of Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines, or to convince the people that they could convert without the local lord's consent.[14]

Jesuit priest Luís Fróis writes in his *Historia de Japam* that Francisco Xavier, one of the founders of the Society of Jesus, set a standard *modus operandi* for conversions via sermons.[15] The method consisted of a series of pre-defined sermons aimed at refuting everything the listener believed before and offering them a new and innovative explanation for life, death, the universe, nature, etc. As noted by Drummond, the exposition of Christian doctrine and sacred history followed essentially a chronological order.[16] Nevertheless, following the "prescribed Gospel narrative in its correct order" was in accordance with rules defined overseas, which prevented a sermon to present the doctrine in a different order.[17] The main purpose, in the Japanese case, was to gradually substitute Buddhist and Shinto religious beliefs with the Christian faith.

According to Fróis, the first step was to prove to the audience that there was only one creator of the universe, by presenting and defending monotheism. Second, the missionary had to show his listeners that the world had a beginning and that it was not eternal, thus revealing there was a history to be learned. Only then would the missionary start negating all beliefs held by the Japanese, refuting their Shinto cosmogony and the divinity of Japanese deities. The first stage was telling the convert-to-be that the Moon and the Sun were not gods, nor living beings. This negated that there were such deities as Amaterasu and Tsukuyomi, represented by the Sun and the Moon, respectively.[18]

Next, the sermon had to explain that the soul was eternal, and that it was separable from the body. At this point, following the precepts defined by Aristotle, the preacher would reveal there were two types of souls: one rational, specific to mankind, and a sensitive soul, specific to animals. This revelation served to instruct Japanese converts of the special stance mankind had in the creation.

Finally, the missionary refuted Japanese Buddhist sects by comparing the teachings of monks with what the Jesuit had revealed so far. Only when these stages were over and the audience had fully comprehended and accepted this new belief system would the missionary reveal topics that demanded faith in order to be accepted. These included the Holy Trinity, biblical narratives such as the creation of the world, the fall of Lucifer, and the sin of Adam. From the New Testament, topics included Christ's life and resurrection, the mysteries of the cross, the final judgement, and heaven and hell. Finally, the preacher

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14 Ide 1995, 162, 174, and 289-290.

15 Fróis 976-1984, (hereafter HJ, followed by volume number). II, 16-17.

16 Drummond 1994, 23.

17 Smith 1978, 52.

18 Comparing Japanese gods with the Christian God was a popular strategy. See, for example, HJ II, 38, 123, and 131; HJ III, 60; HJ V, 273.

explained the Ten Commandments and the Sacraments, necessary for one's salvation, before baptising a new convert.

Up to the 1590s, these sermons were included in manuscript compilations made available to priests and Japanese brothers.[19] In 1567, Luís Fróis and the Japanese brother Damião translated some sermons for major festivities of the liturgical calendar, while also composing an explanation of the Ten Commandments in Japanese.[20] These translations probably referred to major sermons *de temporibus* and *de sanctis* – temporal and santoral sermons – which comprised the standard homiletic calendar for the whole liturgical year.[21] The work of translating and compiling sermonaries in Japanese was strictly necessary because most sermons were delivered in Japanese by native speakers. For instance, during Lent 1565, while a Portuguese priest preached the Gospel on Sundays, a Japanese brother was the responsible for preaching on the Sacrament of Penitence on Wednesdays and the Passion every Friday.[22] According to Fróis, Europeans would only take the pulpit when it was necessary. He explains that the main reason was the language barrier, as European Jesuits were not fluent enough in Japanese to be able to deliver sermons.[23]

Higashibaba reiterates that Japanese preachers, especially the *dōjuku* 同宿, were the main preachers in Japan.[24] Abe points out, however, that there was no standard profile for the *dōjuku*, since they "included juvenile domestics, assistants for church services, as well as more privileged or elderly preachers."[25] Around 1580, only native Japanese-speakers were capable of preaching to non-converted Japanese, but all they knew was a catechism which they, per Valignano, "repeat like parrots, and the same they do with some sermons they know by heart."[26] But since the first Consultation of 1580 and 1581, when Jesuits started actively preparing Japanese to become ordained, their teaching program included theological and spiritual training.[27]

Effectively, Japanese brothers such as Lourenço of Hizen (1525-1592), Yōhō Paulo (1507-1595), Damião (1536-1586), and Vicente Hōin (1541-1609) were crucial for the success of the mission.[28] These were natural born preachers, who never studied Christian preaching and could convert great numbers of people with their sermons. The notion

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19 According to Valignano, there were seven initial sermons designed to gain new converts in Japan. He also writes that Japanese audiences preferred Japanese preachers. Valignano 1954, 165 and 185.

20 HJ II, 181-182.

21 Smith 1978, 30.

22 HJ II, 17.

23 HJ IV, 19. Valignano blamed Francisco Cabral for delaying the study of Japanese and thus impeding European priests of becoming proficient enough to preach in Japanese. See Wicki 1988, 263.

24 Higashibaba 2001, 23. The same had been noted before by Drummond. Drummond 1994, 23.

25 Abe 2011, 143.

26 Valignano 1954, 135*.

27 Higashibaba 2001, 23-26.

28 See, for example, HJ II, 113, 126-127, 137, and 171; and HJ III, 79.

of natural born preachers was, sure enough, understood and analysed by European authors. In seventeenth-century Spain, Juan Bautista Escardó and others held that there were those who preached with their spirit, who were born preachers. This idea, however, conflicted with the notion that preaching was an art that could be learned, leading some like Francisco Terrones del Caño to admit that even naturally apt preachers could learn more by studying the art.[29] Their natural aptitude, allied with studying the art, meant some Japanese preachers became teachers themselves. Vicente Hōin, for example, was nominated by Valignano to teach preaching in the seminary at Azuchi. He was considered the most versed in the language and customs of Japan, and he taught the seminarians how to point out the fallacies of Japanese religions. He was also the one who looked after the seminary when the priests were away.[30] As Hōin had a deep knowledge of Japanese Buddhism, he was an indispensable asset to the mission.

In fact, Jesuits were keenly aware of the fact that Buddhist monks were also talented preachers. They analysed how Buddhist preaching worked, which they understood as being aimed at persuading the audience to never stop venerating the Buddha, and how there was no salvation outside of their religion. According to the priests, the monks' style consisted of reading excerpts from their books, then explaining these passages with many parables, metaphors and comparisons in a very gloomy way.[31] Oliveira e Costa tells that, in some cases, Jesuits studied the style of Buddhist sermons to mimic it.[32] Effectively, Japanese preachers who had previously been trained in Zen Buddhism continued using its tools. As shown by Nawata-Ward, they would sometimes choose to deliver sermons in a dialogical way rather than expounding upon a text, which allowed listeners to ask questions, discuss and take notes on each point, compiling their own commentary in their notebooks.[33]

As the art of writing sermons became more and more formalized in the latter half of the sixteenth century, some sermon collections were brought to Japan. As shown by Humbertclaude and López Gay, this was especially true during the early seventeenth century.[34] In the previous century, though, the only sermon collection available in Japan was most probably Luís de Granada's *Concionum de Tempore*, which had sermons to be delivered on Sundays during Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter, Pentecost, and other specific dates of the liturgical calendar.[35]

However, Japanese preachers had access to few materials, most in languages other than Japanese. At the same time, with the growing number of converts in Japan, also

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29 Herrera Salgado 2001, 208.

30 HJ III, 324-325, 346; HJ IV, 28.

31 HJ II, 32.

32 Oliveira e Costa 1998, 132.

33 Nawata Ward 2009, 214.

34 See those listed in Humbertclaude 1942b. Also, López Gay 1970, 261-262.

35 López Gay 1970, 261; Smith 1978, 30.

grew the need for more preachers, and Jesuits realized they could not keep relying on the personal talents of a few laypersons. By the 1590s, missionaries saw the need to formalize rules in order to increase the number of able preachers. This was the context in which Valignano issued his list of rules for preaching brothers.

The Visitor's rules are very clear on what topics were to be addressed during sermons, as it warns there should be no controversies or difficult topics. Some of the themes suggested include the life and death of Christ, Saints' lives and martyrdoms, the four stages of a person's spiritual life – the so-called *novíssimos*: death, judgement, heaven and hell – and themes that guided helped converts to exterminate vices and introduce virtues.[36] The preacher was also expected to instigate his listeners to participate in the religious community by frequent confession and communion, as well as dedicate him or herself to pious works and works of mercy. In Portuguese Asia, the 1568 Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Goa confirmed that these included feeding the hungry, ransoming the captive, burying the dead, as well as instructing the ignorant, forgiving offenses, and praying for the living and the dead.[37]

Furthermore, Valignano believed that a sermon had to teach its audience to respect ecclesiastical matters, obey prelates, as well as inspire them with lessons from spiritual books. These most possibly included Luis de Granada's *Contemptus Mundi*, Augustine's *Meditations*, and Luis de Montoya's *Meditación de la passion*.[38] While Fróis describes the Xavier method as being one of indoctrination and conversion, Valignano drew up a well-defined model for keeping converts within the church and instigating them to become good Christians.

Valignano held in his instructions that the main purpose of a sermon was to bring the faithful closer to God. For him, this should be done by teaching the minimum a Christian had to know, which he measures as being the contents of a certain *sumario de fides*. This might seem to be a reference to Luis de Granada's *Sumario de la Introduccion del símbolo de la fe*, translated to Japanese and published as *Fides no Dōshi* ひいですの導師 in Amakusa in 1592. However, Valignano explains that said *sumario* was divided in ten chapters, affirming that one of the objectives of a sermon was to help believers to learn and understand them. Accordingly, this is rather a reference to the "Doctrine in Ten Chapters", whose contents had to be learned by all Japanese Christians. Printed in 1591, one year before Valignano composed his Instructions, this text lists basic religious teachings such as the mystery of the Holy Trinity; Christ's incarnation, teachings and passion; and the

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36 JapSin 2, ff. 112v-113.

37 Rego 1953, 608.

38 Valignano mentions specifically these books when listing spiritual books to be sent every year from Goa to Japan. See Ajuda 49-IV-66, f. 19.

meaning of Baptism and Confession. Written in Japanese using the roman alphabet, this was clearly a tool for European Jesuits to guide the indoctrination of Japanese believers.[39]

Meanwhile, Gómez dedicates his fourth chapter to sermon themes. According to his list, the most common topic had to be the obligatory parts of the doctrine, especially the virtues of Sacraments such as Baptism, Penitence, the Eucharist and Matrimony. These were the most common and important sacraments, representing different events in one's religious life: entrance into the religion, repenting and reflecting on sins, receiving communion and being integrated into the congregation, and having the creation of a new family unit socially recognized by the church. Also, preachers were to remind their audience of the obligation they had to any servants or vassals, and that they should take spiritual care of them. Furthermore, a sermon could remind its listeners of all benefits received from God, especially being enlightened by the faith in Japan, as well as of their misery before receiving baptism. And, just like Valignano, Gómez recommends preachers instigate their listeners to performs works of mercy and meditate on the *novíssimos*. However, unlike the previous set of rules, the 1597 instructions advise preachers to exhort their flocks to avoid occasions for sin and pride, considered to be common in Japan.[40] A sermon should also instigate its audience to seek repentance through contrition, as there were seldomly enough priests to distribute appropriate penances.[41]

2. Rhetorical tools

One of the most important aspects of these instructions is that, for the first time, they introduce to Japan the notion that preaching was deeply rooted in classical rhetoric. As shown by Aquinas, Cicero's requirements of the orator – *docere, movere, delectare* – was translated to Christian preaching by Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, and thus the preacher became an instrument of the Holy Spirit in teaching, pleasing, and moving his hearers to love God.[42] This form of organizing speech, although absent from the 1592 rules, is clearly expressed in Gómez' text. Some authors of this period linked these requirements with the expected structure of a sermon.[43] However, Gómez presents these as being

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39 Later, the list would be expanded in order to include also the meaning of the Eucharist. See López Gay 1966, 63-64; Humbertclaude 1942a, 234-43.

40 This was a common advice given to Japanese Christians. In 1598, for example, a small booklet entitled *Salvator Mundi* published by the Jesuit press in Nagasaki, written in cursive Japanese characters and distributed to baptized Japanese, presented lists of sins to avoid, as well as prayers and a glossary of Christian terms. See *Sarubatore Munji* 1978.

41 Ajuda 49-VI-8, ff. 13v-14.

42 Smith 1978, 92.

43 Smith explains that this structure was exactly what distinguished sermons from other kinds of speeches. *Ibidem,* 44 and 61.

necessary features of the whole preaching exercise and claims that they are deeply connected with the preacher's voice and tone.

According to the Vice-Provincial, in order to better teach (*docere*) the listening audience, a sermon should not reprehend. Thus, the voice should be natural, not an affected voice or *tsukurigoe* 作り声, nor with an artificial cadence or *fushi* 節, as he calls it, so the sermon could be better accepted by its audience.[44] This kind of advice follows closely Diego de Estella's *Modus concionandi*. Estella's thirty-first and thirty-second chapters focus on how a preacher should use his voice naturally, suggesting tone changes when necessary.[45] Gómez follows that same reasoning, arguing that the preacher should speak in short, lively sentences, so that the audience may fully comprehend. Moreover, the preacher was expected to have three variations in his tone: one voice for teaching, one for reprimanding, and one for praying. Gómez also says the preacher should pretend to speak to the people in the back rows as if they were in the front row, so the whole audience would be able to listen and understand the sermon.[46]

A sermon needed structure, and in the sixteenth century there were various rules for rhetorical structuring. Its origins are in Aristotle, who defined the classical scheme for a rhetorical oration: *propositio*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, *peroratio*.[47] Nevertheless, sermons could have complex structures: Luís de Granada suggests a sermon should have six parts, namely exhortation, narration, proposition, confirmation, confutation, and peroration. However, Valignano preferred a much simpler structure. In his 1592 rules, he stipulates that the sermon should start with a narrative, in which the matter of the sermon had to be spelled out like a story, followed by what he called an "exclamation." The Visitor explains that this exclamation should be comprised of soft, humble and loving words the preacher would use to ask God for help and grace. Finally, Valignano's ideal sermon ends with "reprehension," in which the preacher raises his voice to condemn vices and the sins of the people.[48]

In 1597, Gómez took things further, dedicating the whole second chapter of his instructions to this topic. He repeats Valignano's structural disposition – narration, exclamation, reprehension – but adds one final part: exhortation. He also offers more detailed advice as to how the sermon should be structured. The first part, narration, for example, should start with a short exhortation introducing the theme of the sermon. Traditionally, this short *exordio* was a salutation aimed at calling the audience's attention.[49]

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44 Ajuda 49-VI-8, f. 10.

45 Estella 1951, 152-160.

46 Ajuda 49-VI-8, f. 9v.

47 Smith 1978, 46. In fact, Aristotle is the responsible for laying down that the purpose of rhetoric was to persuade or dissuade (*suasio* and *dissuasio*) someone from acting in a particular way. See Skinner 1996, 43.

48 JapSin 2, f. 113v

49 Herrero Salgado 2001, 241-42.

The second part, narration, should be delivered in clearly spoken, short sentences, so the audience could be gradually prepared for the next part. Exclamation, according to Gómez, was a *colóquio*, or dialogue with God. This part should be delivered with sincerity – or else the audience would notice – and only when the preacher felt compelled to do so. Also, the voice should be soft, kind, and moving, and with a higher tone if necessary. It was unusual for sermons elsewhere to have an *exclamatio*; few works of rhetoric from this period refer to the *exclamatio*, but Pedro Juan Nuñez's *Institutiones oratoriae* explains that it was a figure of speech used to express intense pain or indignation.[50] In Japan, though, it seems to be a moment filled with baroque sensibility, where the preacher should show man's smallness but also his proximity to God.

On the third part, reprehension, Gómez calls specifically for the preacher to avoid an angry or passionate tone. Instead, he suggests using a secure tone of voice coming from zeal and feelings for God's honour and the well-being of souls. Finally, the last part, exhortation, should be delivered with a softer voice, as someone advising a friend on some very important issue, declaring how much power and consolation the virtues one has preached on may bring to the faithful who follow them. Gómez suggests the sermon should end *como o cavalo que acaba sua carreira* "like a running horse slowing down."[51]

Comparing this sermon structure with others of its time, it is clear that what Japan Jesuits envisioned for their audiences were very simple, clear-cut sermons. There are no references to inventions, the use of paraphernalia, or even complicated figures of speech or *sententiae*. In Europe, too, there were simple sermons like the ones proposed by Valignano and Gómez, and these were commonly referred to as homilies. This kind of sermon was "a much freer form," in which anything could vary but the matter and the order of the Gospel.[52] This kind of preaching was exactly what Jesuits needed in Japan, as they could adequate their style to the audience's needs and offer simple rules so Japanese preachers could securely expound upon the Gospel. Granada dedicates a chapter to homilies in the fourth book of his *Rhetorica Ecclesiastica*, according to which a simple *exordio* should be followed by reading from the Gospel three to five topics and explaining them with the support of authorities.[53] In Japan, Gómez establishes a limit of up to three topics from the Gospel, although the preacher could also choose to focus on a single topic in order to incline the audience towards some virtue or dissuade them from some vice.[54]

In his instructions, the Vice-Provincial distinguishes two types of sermons: ordinary and extraordinary. Ordinary sermons were those preached to Christian communities on Sundays and church festivities, while extraordinary sermons were delivered in the missionary frontier that Japan Jesuits called *inaka* 田舎, or countryside, normally areas

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50 Nuñez 1552, 20; Luján Atienza 1997, 465.

51 Ajuda 49-VI-8, ff. 10v-11v.

52 Smith 1978, 46.

53 Granada 1999, 74-83.

54 Ajuda 49-VI-8, f. 11v.

away from larger Christian populations which could be inhabited either by baptized people or by those who never heard of Christianity. Ordinary sermons had predetermined topics, according to the liturgical calendar – mysteries of the Holy Cross, Resurrection, etc. – and Gómez warns the preacher not to deviate from them. If it happened to be the day of a certain saint, the preacher should review that saint's hagiography and focus on some of his or her virtues in order to persuade the audience to imitate that saint. In turn, extraordinary sermons were adapted to local needs, depending on whether the audience was comprised of a group of converts or not. When preaching to Christians away from larger centres, it was not necessary for the preacher to worry about the Gospel too much. Instead, the sermon could be focused on the mysteries of the faith or the virtues necessary to live a good life. The Vice-Provincial warns, though, that in areas where there were already Christians a preacher should not deliver his sermon as if he was preaching to unbaptized people, lest he turn converts away.[55] This suggests that Jesuits had a hierarchical understanding of their different audiences, which could be larger Christians communities with the constant presence of missionaries, small and isolated Christian congregations distant from the clergy, and non-Christian audiences. Their distinction between urban centres and *inaka*, or countryside, can also be understood as a division according not only to the physical but also to the spiritual distance between missionaries and Japanese laypersons.

As for concrete instructions, Valignano's list may be considered more pragmatic than Gómez'. In order to combat the lack of theological knowledge among Japanese preachers, the Visitor determined every preaching brother had to carry two notebooks – *cartapacios* – one for relevant topics from the Gospels, and another for theological commonplaces explaining virtues and vices.[56] This kind of instruction seems to follow closely what Diego de Estella suggests:

> *Y para que tenga caudal de doctrina moral, ha de tener un cartapacio alfabético, y leer los Doctores con la pluma en la mano, sacando lo Bueno de ellos, y poniéndolo en sus lugares, lo que toca a avaricia, a la palabra avaricia, y lo que toca a soberbia, e la palabra soberbia. También es Bueno tener otro códice de los evangelios del año, donde puedes apuntar lo que hallares, hurtano de los libros y aplicando sus lugares a tu propósito.*[57]

Even the number of notebooks suggested for the preacher – two – by Valignano suggests that he might have had Estella in mind when he wrote his instructions. However, whereas Estella held that the preacher should simply take notes, Valignano envisioned a

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55 Ajuda 49-VI-8, ff. 11v-12.

56 Commonplaces were an important feature of early modern preaching, as these were formulaic sentences taken from authoritative sermons to be used at any time, without any risk, similar to the way learned readers compiled long lists of commonplaces "*to be free to use them whenever necessary.*" See Bouza 1999, 42.

57 Estella 1951, 18-19.

different kind of notebook: previously printed or hand-copied *materia predicable* alternated with blank pages where the preacher could take notes.

Furthermore, the Visitor also suggested that preachers should study sermons from "good preachers," so they could learn more about the doctrine while studying how to transmit the same ideas. The idea of compiling personal notes to compose sermons was later adopted by the Society of Jesus as a whole, although it is hard to say it actually originated in Japan.[58] By copying and pasting from their notebooks and mimicking others, preachers were to compose their own sermons, and these should last for one hour at the longest.[59] At the same time, Japanese preachers could be advised by European priests on how to improve their sermons.[60]

Gómez lists some similar suggestions, but with a slightly different focus. According to him, in order be well prepared, the preacher should have three summaries: one of the mysteries of the faith, commonly taught to Christians; a second one of the virtues and vices most often preached on; and a third one with the most important and more efficient topics in fomenting virtues and condemning vices, such as the *novíssimos*, or benefits obtained from God.[61]

The sermon should avoid dubious issues. Valignano warns that the preacher should not instigate doubt in the audience; if the preacher had to touch on some sensitive topic, he was supposed to unclearly declare contrary opinions, so the audience would be more satisfied with answers convenient to his message. Also, no rumours or uncertain news were to be spoken of. This included avoiding offence or reprimanding in public the local lord, meaning that a preacher should never address negatively the *tono* 殿 in his sermon, whether the lord so addressed would be listening or not. The same instruction is given in reference to other Christian orders, so preachers should not openly criticize non-Jesuit priests and others.[62] However, Gómez does not make any mention of dubious issues and how they should be avoided. In that sense, Valignano's instruction seems to echo authors such as Estella and Granada, who recommend similar prudence.[63]

As for style, Valignano repeats some of the most common instructions given to preachers in this period: there should be no jokes that incite laughter or disrespect for

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58 Smith 1978, 24.

59 Since priests could not go back often to the same place, it seems there were occasions when Jesuits delivered very long sermons in order to summarize the whole faith. Lourenço of Hizen, for example, preached for three hours when he went to Goto with Luís de Almeida in 1566. See Fróis, HJ, pp. 124-125. Jesuits normally disapproved of long sermons, and Francisco Borja even advised that a sermon should not go over half an hour, because the audience "gets bored and loses interest in listening." See Herrera Salgado 2001, 230. Smith says that, in the early seventeenth century, sermons took an hour to an hour and a half and were shorter during summer. Smith 1978, 42-43.

60 JapSin 2, f. 112v.

61 Ajuda 49-VI-8, f. 13

62 JapSin 2, f. 113.

63 Estella 1951, 118, 123, 307, and 312.

God's word, or any extravagant actions aiming at bringing listeners to tears. Gómez makes similar warnings, saying that, when trying to entertain the audience, the preacher risks being unserious. This concern for entertaining without being disrespectful has been present in works of religious rhetoric since the *De doctrina christiana*, where Augustine shows some suspicion towards the entertainment function of language.[64]

As Gómez is more concerned with contents, he briefly explains what kind of argumentative proofs or *sententiae* preachers should use. He suggests that a sermon should be profound and serious and indicates the use of figures of speech, comparisons, examples and authorities.[65] Comparisons and examples were some of the most classic *sententiae* used and promoted by preaching manuals in this period.[66]

Among the many purposes of both Valignano and Gómez' instructions, there is the wish to address the lack of materials Japanese preachers had at hand to prepare sermons. Besides possibility a sermon collection by Luís de Granada, there were very few publications for them to study. However, they could resort to some of the ascetic works being published in Japan in the 1590s. For instance, Bartolomeu dos Mártires' *Compendium Spiritualis Doctrinae* (1596, in Latin), Thomas a Kempis' *Contemptus Mundi* (1596, in Japanese), and even Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* (1596, in Latin) could help preachers in training. In 1599, Luis de Granada's *Guia de Pecadores* (considered by some to be based on actual sermons he had preached[67]) was published in Nagasaki, followed by two Nagasaki editions of Marcos Jorge's *Doctrina Christā* – all in Japanese.[68] These publications must be understood as part of the same effort that motivated Valignano's and Gómez' instructions, as all of them seek to inform not only preachers but also Japanese congregations, perhaps in order to prepare them for the publication of the Tridentine decrees in the country.

In order to respond to this demand, Pedro Gómez compiled the *Compendium Catholicae veritatis* in the 1590s, which was used by Japanese *dōjuku* and brothers to study and prepare their sermons.[69] Gómez' Latin text began to be used in Amakusa in September 1593, and its Japanese translation was adopted in 1595. Although distributed only in manuscript form, it could still be found in Japan in 1621 the latest, even under the persecution imposed by the Tokugawa shogunate.[70]

Of the many instructions contained in these two lists, there is a great concern for the figure of the preacher himself, not only the contents of his discourse. These directions are in accordance with European works of rhetoric, according to which the preacher had

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64 Sluiter 1999, 260-64.

65 Ajuda 49-VI-8, 10v.

66 Smith 1978, 69.

67 Smith 1978, 40.

68 Toyoshima 2013, 3-4 (back).

69 Moran 1993, 158.

70 Hiraoka 2008, 83 and 109.

to be an example to his community, worthy of his role.[71] In fact, discussion concerning the personal characteristics expected of a preacher began in the 1560s, with authors such as Lorenzo de Villavicencio, García Matamoros, and Juan de Segovia emphasizing the preachers' training and their development, and how the preacher should model according to the Pauline precept of preaching by demonstrating one's virtues and "spirit".[72]

That is exactly what the Visitor prescribed for his preachers. Valignano's instructions ask them to become role models for their congregations, in order to persuade those around them with their own virtues and lives. They should not be arrogant or ostentatious, but rather humble in their works. The Visitor even says that, if the preacher had to respond in the name of the Society of Jesus, he should do so modestly, putting Christ's affairs ahead of his own. Furthermore, the preacher should not purposefully use difficult words or try to show himself a scholar before the common people, nor study profane matters. Even his actions and gestures should be modest and religious, appropriate for each situation and those involved.[73] Valignano's rules affected not only the content of sermons but the way preachers should behave and gesticulate in public. This goes to show how the Visitor was concerned not only with adapting Europeans to Japanese social norms, but also Japanese members of the Society of Jesus to the expectations regarding men of the church.

Gómez also depicts an ideal preacher, but his instructions have more to do with the sermon itself rather than with the preacher's personal life. The Vice-Provincial suggests that a sermon should avoid uncommon or overly strange words, as well as barbaric or foreign words. The sermon's wording should be adapted to the audience and adequate to be pronounced before respectable people. As for gestures, Gómez is concerned with the preacher's body language during the sermon, especially before a Japanese audience. According to him, Japanese listeners did not respond well to loud claps or laughter, or opening the arms too wide. Gómez instructs his preachers to avoid any "extravagant actions," except perhaps during the *exclamatio* part of the sermon.[74]

Conclusion

Since audience response was fundamental to the success of a preacher, sermons were not written speeches of religious nature, but rather collective enterprises. In order to consolidate this collaboration, a preacher adjusted his words according to his audience; this accommodation was an essential part of a sermon.[75] In Japan, early Japanese Christian preachers replicated the Zen Buddhist preaching style of questions and answers when

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71 For some of these traits in the seventeenth century, see Herrera Salgado 2001, 213-15.

72 Smith 1978, 90-91.

73 JapSin 2, ff. 112v-113v.

74 Ajuda 49-VI-8, 13v.

75 Smith 1978, 11.

making sermons, and even the term for Buddhist sermon – *dangi* 談義 – was used to translate the word sermon in the 1603–1604 Japanese-Portuguese dictionary. That certainly resonated with Japanese audiences, and it was more than familiar for former Japanese monks converted into Christian preachers. But the fact is that Valignano and Gómez were trying to standardize Christian preaching in accordance with the most recent literature on the topic published in Europe. And their efforts to integrate the preaching style already practiced in the archipelago by Japanese brothers and *dōjuku* with the norms and standards developed in Europe were possible because ecclesiastical rhetoric already envisioned a high degree of malleability and adjustability to preaching.

Valignano established a very simple model of preaching, following a three-part structure – *narratio*, *exclamatio*, *reprehendere* – and then Gómez explained in detail what each part should contain. Moreover, the Vice-Provincial expanded on this homiletic structure by adding the final exhortation and limiting the number of topics from the Gospels that should be discussed. This formula resembles what Carolus Regius would propose in 1612 for homilies, where the third part was an *exhortation morum* dedicated to underline the "unity of proposition or theme" of the sermon.[76]

Valignano's 1592 rules for preaching brothers and Gómez' 1597 recommendations are not contradictory or mutually exclusive. Whereas the Visitor established basic rules for preachers, considering mostly the political impact these religious events and speeches had in Japan and their declarations both in formal sermons and more informal *práticas*, Gómez is more concerned with aesthetic aspects and with adjusting formal Jesuit sermons in Japan to rules and standards practiced elsewhere. In that process, he established basic orientations for the content of preaching, preacher training, and sermon structure. Thus, while these two sets of rules complement each other, Gómez' instructions effectively addressed some lacunas left by Valignano's rules in the regulation of sermon writing among preachers of the Vice-Province of Japan.

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76 Smith, *Preaching in the Spanish Golden Age*, 53.

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