

Revisiting Japan's 'Christian Century'ⁱ

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The urge for Christians to convert non-believers is as old as Christianity itself. After all, Christianity is a religion which owed both its success and survival to the need to win adherents. Without an increase in believers it would have withered and died. Like other religions, Christianity asserted its own cosmology and cosmography. It also had its own concept of time and of history. Christ stands at the centre of all this. His birth marks the mid-point of time. The past leads towards it; the present and the future unfold from it. His life, death and resurrection give meaning and purpose to the present and, lapses notwithstanding, indicate the eventual fulfilment of time with Christ's second coming and the Last Judgment. In the interim, the Church is obliged to discharge its duty to preach the revealed Christian religion, the lordship of Christ, to all people, who, whether they know it or not, or even desire such a status, are considered His subjects. Thanks to God's saving grace, selflessly offered to man by means of the passion and crucifixion of Jesus Christ, humanity can attain everlasting salvation, but only if, it would seem, they become Christian. Accordingly, the Church has no choice but to proceed with its mission to convert non-believers in order bring about the end of time and attain the prospect of heaven.ⁱⁱ

This conception of time, and of the Church's role and obligations within it, lies at the heart of the Christian missionary impulse and, it must be emphasised, predates the voyages of Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama. It did not result from them. Moreover, it established in people's consciousness the idea of the world as a community, long before such a reality had been established in fact. The Columbus and Da Gama voyages were, of course, immensely significant. They opened up new economic opportunities for Europeans and non-Europeans alike, opportunities which turned the notion of a world community into reality, albeit an economic global community rather than a unified religious one. The voyages also reinvigorated the Christian missionary impulse. Hitherto unknown gentiles were 'discovered' in the New World, and, by sailing round Africa, bypassing territories controlled by hostile rulers, professing the Islamic faith, Christianity's arch rival for confessional allegiance, da Gama's voyage

inaugurated easier access to other gentiles. Europeans had been familiar with some of the latter in antiquity, and, during the years of the so-called *pax Mongolica*, when the land route across the Eurasian land mass was open, there had been direct contact with some of them. There had been no contact with the peoples of the Indonesian archipelago and beyond, in the Pacific, although they were 'known', in the sense that Ptolemaic geography suggested their existence.ⁱⁱⁱ Christians believed all gentiles, regardless of their differing manners, morals, social, political and legal institutions, had one thing in common: they needed to hear and accept God's revelation. Controversy arose, as it always does in the struggle to gain people's allegiance, over means.

In the New World, the missionary impulse appeared to fuse rather neatly with the dynastic and imperial ambitions of the Hapsburg monarchs, Charles V and his son, Philip II of Spain, and with the notions of universal monarchy that came to be associated with Spain during the sixteenth century. Some of these notions were connected to millenarian prophecies, which still had an immensely powerful influence in early modern European society. The Franciscan, Geronimo de Mendieta, for one, believed that in the New World the Spanish had the opportunity to create the terrestrial paradise that would prepare the way for the end of the world, an opportunity, he came to believe that Spain, under Philip II, had squandered by the end of the sixteenth century in a reckless pursuit of Mammon.^{iv} A number of Jesuits saw their own order as fulfilling some of the millenarian prophecies of Joachim of Fiore, citing the Society's missionary activity in the Americas and Asia and emphasising the Jesuit achievement in baptising gentiles, thereby preparing the way for Christ's return.^v But the Society balked at the ideas of one of the most original, and perverse, minds of the sixteenth century, Guillaume Postel. The Jesuits respected his enthusiasm and his willingness to devote his life to overseas missionary activity. His opinions, both spoken and written, were another matter. The Society concluded that his ambition for the Jesuits to become the vehicle to achieve a *renovatio mundi*, or reform of the world, a necessary step for the realisation of the Millennium, were erroneous and inimical to the wellbeing of the Society. He was expelled in 1545.^{vi} Generally speaking, the Jesuits were content for their order to accept the kudos of being identified with the fulfilment of millenarian prophecies. This gave them a sense of being on the right side of history. For some Jesuits the fulfilment of prophecies may have formed the basis of their vocation and provided individual motivation, but for the Society as a whole it was not a factor of major importance.^{vii} The Jesuits' appreciation of the need for *Realpolitik* in the pursuit of their mission was too strong for that ever to be the case.

In the New World there was in fact no neat fit between the interests and agenda of church and state. Protestant propaganda notwithstanding, the church did not furnish religious commissars to ensure that the physical subjugation of the newly conquered people was

completed by making them spiritual vassals of their new masters as well. Instead, there were conflicting opinions about how the missionary imperative of the Church should be performed. The ensuing controversy reached a notable climax in Valladolid in 1550-52 during the famous debates between Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and the Dominican, Bartolomé de las Casas, over the question of the use of force to convert the peoples of the New World, a question which also touched on the still unresolved (in legal and moral terms) matter of the legitimacy of the Spanish conquest. This question had been a gnawing sore since the earliest days of the conquest. The debates centred on the question of whether the native Americans were or were not, in Aristotelian terminology, natural slaves. Sepúlveda argued that they were; Las Casas that they were not, earning him the posthumous accolade of Apostle to the Indians. If native Americans were slaves by nature, the Spanish had the right, and the obligation, to conquer and convert them by force; if not, conversion, the goal that the disputants shared, would have to proceed by other means, such as persuasion. The debates resolved nothing. In the absence of a final judgement both sides claimed victory. The broader question of the legitimacy or otherwise of Spanish rule in the New World was never settled.^{viii}

This does not mean that the debates, and the issues which they highlighted, were merely academic and inconsequential for Europe's encounter with the rest of the world, particularly that with Asia. On the contrary, they shed light on the diversity of views and controversies created by the encounter. Nor, at home, were the questions disputed at Valladolid without impact on the debates generated by the policies of the European states in their relationships with each other, and in relation to territories on their peripheries: areas which their metropolitan elites thought were populated by barbarians. England's relationship with its first colony, Ireland, provides an example.^{ix}

In refuting Sepulveda's arguments Las Casas felt it necessary to explore the meaning of the term 'barbarian', the epithet Sepulveda had used to characterise the native Americans. The term was of ancient pedigree and had been used by the ancient Greeks to differentiate themselves from non-Greeks, i.e. those who did not share the values, civilisation, and aspirations of the Greek polities.^x Drawing on Aristotle's comments on natural slavery, and Thomas à Aquinas's gloss thereon, Las Casas divided the barbarians (i.e. non-Europeans) into four categories, concluding that although the American Indians had not formed societies which matched the standards of civility found in Europe, nevertheless, many lived in polities in which their rulers enjoyed legitimacy and governed according to the rule of law; they were far from being untamed, wild or savage, the natural slaves of Sepulveda's torrid imagination. Indeed, in a polemical twist, Las Casas argued that the Spanish themselves, on the basis of their record in treating the Indians since their arrival in the New World, could justly be described as barbarian, or even worse than barbarian, a point made later by Michel de Montaigne, who

suggested that the barbarian was not only present on the Celtic or Nordic fringes of Europe, a view common to many Renaissance thinkers, but, during an age of bloody wars of religion, at its very centre.^{xi}

Long after the Valladolid debates had ended, the dichotomy between the barbarian and the civilised and its implications for the work of conversion continued to preoccupy commentators. In a work which bears directly on missionary activity in Asia, the distinction was explored by another of the great sixteenth century Spanish missionary intellectuals, the Jesuit, José de Acosta. Acosta lived in Peru from 1572 to 1586 and in Mexico from 1586 to 1587. He is best remembered for his influential *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1590), which was translated into the major European languages. This work was based on his long experience of living and working in what cultural anthropologists today would call 'the field'.

For Acosta, the missionary role of the Jesuits overseas was their most important function, a point he had made in an earlier work, *De procuranda indorum salute*, completed in Lima in 1577, a book which he intended for use as a primer for missionaries preparing to start on their career.^{xii} In this book he examined the civilised/barbarian trope and extended its remit to encompass Asia. He divided the barbarians differently from Las Casas, defining three rather than four categories: those who lived in stable, settled societies who knew and used letters; those who were unlettered, but, nevertheless, lived in organised, governed societies; and those who lived unsettled and ungoverned, almost, but not in fact, bestial.

Those in his first category, the people of China, Japan "and a good part of the provinces of East India", did not depart much "from right reason and the common usage of humanity". They had "a stable form of government, public laws, fortified cities, respected magistrates, secure and prosperous commerce, and that which is important, use and knowledge of letters, for wherever there are books and written monuments, the people are more humane and politic." Acosta believed that these people had so much in common with Europeans that eventually one would be able to talk about a fusion of Asian and European cultures.^{xiii}

In the second category were the 'barbarians' Las Casas and others had written about, the Aztecs and Incas (Acosta adds some lesser polities) whose lack of a written language was compensated for by, in the case of the Incas, the use of quipos or knotted ropes of various colours which served as aides-memoires, enabling them to recall their histories, rites, laws and chronology. Although they departed greatly from right reason and the proper practices of humanity, they had, nevertheless, established settled, organised communities with laws and institutions, which the rest of the world could admire. But, because their customs, rites and laws contained many "monstrous deviations and much permissiveness" the Spanish would have to impose a strict regime on them to bring them to Christian truth, although here, and elsewhere, he emphasised that they should be allowed to maintain their own laws and customs

insofar as these did not run contrary to nature, or the teachings of the gospel.^{xiv} This assessment represented a hardening of attitudes compared with Las Casas and was reflected in the decrees of the Third Council of Lima in 1582-83, behind which Acosta was the *eminence grise*, and *De Procuranda* the guiding text.^{xv}

Acosta's third category of barbarian was to go through several metamorphoses, including the noble savage of the Enlightenment before reverting, in the nineteenth century, as the 'Dark Continent' was explored, to something approximating the untamed violent men Acosta describes. Most of the other peoples of the New World were placed in this category, although examples of such barbarism could be found among the islands of Asia, particularly the Moluccas (Melaku). These barbarians, or half-men, lived rough and raw with no fixed abode. They had to be treated like children, forced to become human and civilised, and coerced to adopt the true religion.^{xvi} The Jesuits attempted to put this philosophy into practice in the Reductions they established in the unstable, frontier region between the viceroyalty of Paraguay and Portuguese Brazil during the seventeenth century. These were not proto-communist Utopias isolated from the contaminating influences of the outside world. Like the neighbouring Franciscan and secular pueblos, they were integrated into the local economy. Moreover, in agreeing to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the Jesuits, the Indians were not passively submitting to alien rule, but making a rational choice about what was best for them as a community and for their survival in a rapidly changing world. That was not how the colonial powers came to see the Reductions. They viewed them as Jesuit ploy to set up a state within a state. As a result, the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish empire in 1767 (they had already been expelled from Portuguese possessions in 1759). This alleged subversion and the fallout from the Chinese rites controversy were among the reasons why the order itself was dissolved in 1773.^{xvii}

In his discussion of barbarians, Acosta incorporates and reshapes notions and categories already well-established in European intellectual discourse, ones which would undergo further elaboration over the following centuries and whose echo can still be detected in contemporary polemics in the works of those pundits who suggest the existence of an unbridgeable chasm between so-called Western values (assumed to be intrinsically 'civilised') and Islamic ones (assumed to be intrinsically 'barbaric').^{xviii} As with previous writers, Acosta makes Europe the reference point from which to locate other people. This recalls medieval notions of hierarchy. Roger Bacon, for example, held that a people's position on the ladder of civilisation was determined by how close they approximated to Christianity in their religious beliefs. Similarly, Acosta assumes that Europeans enjoy a special place in God's plan because their forbears had followed reason and had accepted his revelation thereby assuring Europe, or, more precisely, Christendom, its privileged status.

It should be remembered that neither the claim to such privilege, nor the division of the world into civilised and barbarian, was unique to Christian writers. According to Islamic writers, the House of Islam defined the civilised world; the House of War, usually identified with Christendom, the uncivilised. Moreover, when the Europeans arrived in east Asian waters they entered a world whose international relations were based on the notion of Chinese centrality and superiority (based on *li*, virtue) vis-à-vis the surrounding barbarian nations. The latter were expected to acknowledge their inferiority by sending periodic embassies to Beijing to kowtow before and pay tribute to the Son of Heaven. In return they received gifts and were in theory, although not in practice, assured of Chinese protection. Not everyone, least of all the Japanese, were happy to accept China's pretensions.

Nor was the Christian claim hegemonic. Certainly Acosta assumed that there was a hierarchy of civilisations and that Europe, the willing beneficiary of God's revelation, was at the top, but it does not follow that Acosta judged European culture -- its customs and manners -- superior to others. Professor Anthony Pagden disagrees and suggests that Acosta's primary criterion for evaluating civilisation is to be found in his discussion of language rather than in what he has to say about social and political institutions.^{xix} In Pagden's analysis, Acosta comes across as rigidly and irredeemably condescending towards non-European peoples and cultures, notably because of his suggestion that all the peoples recently 'discovered' lacked an alphabet and that even the most civilised among them, such as the Chinese and Japanese, used only hieroglyphs or ciphers. Unlike Europeans, these people were, therefore, ill-equipped for the study of philosophy. Such a harsh judgement would indeed reduce them to second-class citizens of the world, perpetual students of superior European intellectual attainments, unless, of course, they abandoned their writing systems and adopted the Roman alphabet, a proposal which Acosta does not make but one which, under vastly different circumstances, and with quite different intentions, was realised in Vietnam. In more extreme form, the idea was reflected in Mori Arinori's proposal to abandon Japanese in favour of English.

However, Pagden's reading of Acosta does not hold up. Before introducing his brief discussion of east Asia in the *Natural History* (which contradicts what he wrote previously in *De procuranda*), Acosta qualifies what he has to say by admitting that he is courting controversy, deliberately going out on a limb, with his comments about China and Japan, taking issue with others who had first-hand experience of those countries, a quality which he himself greatly admired.^{xx} His remarks on language are, therefore, very tentative. Moreover, in the light of the Jesuit experience in Japan and China it is quite wrong to argue, as does Professor Pagden, crudely and patronisingly, that Acosta or other Jesuit missionaries believed that Europeans enjoyed "superior knowledge of the world and...superior technology" thanks to their religion and that, therefore, the conversion of China could turn upon giving the emperor a clock, a

vulgar caricature of the Jesuit missions in Japan and China.^{xxi}

It was not linguistic inadequacies that preoccupied Acosta in his brief discussion of the Chinese and Japanese in *De procuranda*,^{xxii} but the twin concepts of 'right reason' and natural law, and, in particular, how closely they approached or how far they deviated from right reason in the ordering of their societies. Acosta is inconsistent about the Chinese and Japanese on the two occasions he mentions them in this connection. First he suggests they do not differ much from it but, shortly after, he alleges they do in many (unspecified) ways.^{xxiii} Inconsistencies notwithstanding, Acosta's emphasis on reason and natural law is crucial to an understanding of Jesuit missionary activity in Japan and later in China. For, from this emphasis follows Acosta's and others' firm belief that different strategies of conversion had to be applied to the various categories of barbarian in his hierarchy.

This insistence is something he shared with those other offspring of the sixteenth-century Thomist revival, Francis Xavier and Alessandro Valignano, who, like Acosta, had his own hierarchy of civilisations, one in which, among Asian peoples, the Japanese and Chinese were also at the top. Neither Xavier nor Valignano were original thinkers like Acosta, but both firmly believed that the Japanese possessed right reason.

In seeking to convert them, revelation in itself could not furnish sufficient proof to convince the Japanese of the truth of the New Testament and Decalogue. Such truth could, however, be demonstrated with reference to natural law. The progeny of the Thomist revival believed that the precepts of natural law were shared by all people possessed of right reason. Natural law provided the very first principles of human relations and was the foundation of social organisation. In addition, natural law enabled one to envisage a world community, a common humanity among rational beings, regardless of cultural or confessional differences.^{xxiv} The precepts of natural law, therefore, provided a common space in which the theological arguments in favour of Christianity could be set out and discussed. It was a space in which both parties, Christian and non-Christian alike, could engage with each other, one in which success, if it was to be achieved at all, had to come about by means of persuasion, in debate, not by means of the sword. Natural law also provided an intellectual framework within which societies could be compared and evaluated, a framework which was by no means stubbornly biased in favour of Europe, as the writings of Valignano make clear. The norms of natural law were not exclusively European ones. In other words, in order to become Christian, a society such as Japan did not have to adopt European manners, to 'Europeanise' itself, either at the collective or individual level. Had the contrary belief prevailed there would have been no debates at Valladolid, no hierarchies of civilisation, no controversy over missionary strategy, and no discussion over the legitimacy or otherwise of conquest. In short, there would have been an aggressive, unyielding programme of evangelisation. For a while this might have given its

proponents a narcissistic frisson of triumph, but, in the long run, as with other monolithic movements in history which have failed to recognise that the crooked timber of mankind can never be bent forcibly into a predetermined shape, such a programme would have been resisted and rejected.^{xxv}

Xavier and Valignano (and Acosta) were adamant that the Japanese should not be coerced into accepting Christianity. In their view, the Japanese would be guided by reason, and the agency of God acting on the individual, towards accepting the Christian revelation, much as the Greeks and Romans had been persuaded and converted by the arguments of the apostles, notably Paul, and much as the early Christians had converted the other pagan peoples of Europe and the Levant. Any attempt to use force would be counterproductive and would turn the Japanese completely against Christianity.^{xxvi} Truth had to be demonstrated, and to do this it was absolutely necessary for missionaries to acquire knowledge and understanding of other people, their languages and customs, in order to preach the gospel, otherwise the effort would fail.

The need for knowledge and understanding of others implied that there had to be some measure of accommodation in one's dealings with them, and Valignano, of course placed accommodation prominently at the heart of his missionary strategy. This proved controversial, first in Japan, especially after the mendicants arrived, and then, more famously, in China, but, it should be noted, the principle of accommodation was firmly entrenched in the Jesuits' conception of their ministry and their approach to it.^{xxvii} For Valignano and other missionaries, especially las Casas, the authenticity of the Christian message was never in doubt. But by arguing that difference had to be recognised, analysed and understood, not just noted or disregarded, or worse, extirpated, they opened the way for the comparison of different societies and cultures, for respect and admiration of difference, and, even for a questioning of self. Therein lay the prospect of conversion.^{xxviii}

It is mistaken, therefore, to argue that Christianity was outlawed in Japan because it was a cultural threat. It was not. This view has been articulated most conspicuously among non-Japanese scholars by Jurgis Elisonas, the former George Elison, in *Deus Destroyed*,^{xxix} a book which appeared at a time when it was fashionable, and very much regarded as a badge of honour, in Asian studies to emphasise essences and incompatibilities within and between cultures. Among Japanese writers, the view that Christianity was rejected in early modern Japan because of cultural incompatibility lies at the heart of Endô Shusaku's novel 沈黙 *Chinmoku, Silence*.^{xxx} Endô is at pains to emphasise the incompatibility of 'East' and 'West', categories which, like 'Asia' and 'Europe', while they are deeply and irremovably embedded within popular and academic usage are, nevertheless, modern creations which bring a great deal of unhelpful baggage to the debate about encounter.^{xxxi} Endô's novel is, however, an

example of highbrow *Nihonjinron*. No matter the author's admirable research into the historical record of the so-called Christian century, Endō perverts history to advance a crude agenda which asserts Japanese nativism, one which the *kokugakusha* scholars would have been proud of. The book is a travesty of history, yet one that continues to seduce many non-Japanese readers attracted by its relentless assertion of an incompatibility between not simply 'East' and 'West' à la Kipling, but, more grandly, between the 'West' and Japan:

A tree which flourishes in one kind of soil may wither if the soil is changed. As for the tree of Christianity, in a foreign country its leaves may grow thick and the buds may be rich, while in Japan the leaves wither and no bud appears. Father, have you never thought of the difference in the soil, the difference in the water?^{xxxii}

The bureaucrats of the former Ministry of International Trade and Industry could not have put it better.

Christianity was banned in Japan not because Toyotomi Hideyoshi and the Tokugawa bakufu perceived it as a cultural threat, but because they saw it as politically subversive. In 1597 the Roman Catholic mission in Japan gained its first martyrs: the members of the Franciscan house in Kyoto and seventeen Japanese converts plus two Japanese Jesuits were put to the stake in Nagasaki in February 1597. They were executed after Hideyoshi heard of a remark attributed to the pilot of a ship-wrecked Spanish galleon, the *San Felipe*, who alleged that the Spanish monarch had used the friars as the vanguard of conquest in the New World. For Hideyoshi a parallel was easy to spot: the armed Buddhist sects who had been major participants in the *sengoku* wars.

The three individuals who reunited Japan after years of civil warfare wanted, and needed, to legitimise their power. To achieve this they drew upon Japanese tradition using Buddhist and Shinto symbols and rituals. After Ieyasu died he became a *hotoke* 仏 and Nikko became a place of official pilgrimage. The Jesuit missionaries were willing to accommodate themselves to Japanese customs and manners in dress, food and so on but they would never have allowed Christians to participate in a ceremony they viewed as pagan or satanic: the worship of man instead of God. The decision to outlaw Christianity spared them the trouble. The Jesuits were to confront a similar, but ostensibly more manageable, problem over ancestral rites in China. In this case it was not the Chinese who did them in, but their co-religionists.

For the Tokugawa who came to power after the battle of Sekigahara -- the first step towards destroying the Toyotomi succession -- pressing reasons for outlawing Christianity soon emerged, especially in the aftermath of the winter and summer sieges of Osaka castle in 1614

and 1615 which finally destroyed the Toyotomi. If Christianity took root on the periphery, in Kyushu, which had only been pacified in 1587, and which was home to one of the most important and powerful domains to have opposed the Tokugawa at Sekigahara, the Shimazu of Satsuma, it could become a dangerous focus of opposition for those who might want to challenge Tokugawa power. For that reason alone it was good policy to ban Christianity. In the long run the Tokugawa were right to be wary of the Shimazu; Satsuma was one of the domains that overthrow the Tokugawa bakufu in 1867-68.

Yet Christianity survived in Japan, as Endô Shusaku himself patronisingly recognises, albeit as an underground, and unministered, religion in parts of Kyushu among the so-called *kakure kirishitan* かくれキリシタン, secret or hidden Christians. They emerged into the open in Nagasaki in 1865 after foreign missionaries had been allowed back into Japan. They numbered around 60,000. While perhaps an embarrassment to the official Catholic church in Japan, their existence is surely an example of successful inculturation, although not one that the Jesuit missionaries intended nor, indeed, one which they and their superiors in Rome would have approved.

ⁱ A shorter version of the article appeared in *The Japan Mission Journal*, 61:4, 2007, pp. 254-64.

ⁱⁱ The above is based on Oscar Cullmann, *Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History*, London, 1957; idem, *Salvation in History*, p. 15; J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, Cambridge, 1999, vol. 2, pp. 11-12. See also R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 87-88.

ⁱⁱⁱ Hence there was no surprise when the Europeans finally reached Australia. The existence of the continent had long been suspected. See Celsus Kelly (ed.) *La Australia del Espíritu Santo*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1966.

^{iv} The classic work on this is John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, Berkeley, 1970. In his writing on the New World Mendieta opposed any attempt to Hispanise the Indians, especially by forcing them to abandon their own languages for Castilian.

^v Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism*, Notre Dame, 1993, chap. 9, esp. pp. 275-76, 284, 286

^{vi} Ibid., pp. 287-89, 381-84. See also William J. Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel (1510-1581)*, Cambridge, MSS, 1957. On the influence of Jesuit writings on Japan on Postel see J. S. A. Elisonas, 'An Itinerary to the Terrestrial Paradise: Early European Reports on Japan and Travel Exegesis', *Itinerario*, 20:3, 1996, pp. 25-68.

^{vii} Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, p. 290.

^{viii} See Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians*, Chicago, 1959; idem, *All Mankind is One: A Study of the Disputation between Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda on the Religious and Intellectual Capacity of the American Indians*, De Kalb, 1974; Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, New

York, 1985; Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrence (eds), *Francisco de Vitoria: Political Writings*, Cambridge, 1991; Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, Cambridge, 1982; idem, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination*, New Haven, 1990.

^{ix} In this context, Edmund Spenser, especially *A view of the State of Ireland* (1633), has attracted much scholarly attention. See, inter alia, Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650*, Oxford, 2001, chap. 1, passim.

^x See Arnaldo Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization*, Cambridge, 1971.

^{xi} *In Defense of the Indians*, edited by Stafford Poole, C.M., De Kalb, 1992, chaps 1-5, esp. p. 25; Montaigne, *Essais*, edited by Maurice Rat, Paris, 1952, book 1, chap. 31, p. 240. Montaigne also criticises the perception, common to many in society, that anything foreign is, by definition, barbarian, a criticism that, alas, still needs constant repetition today (*ibid.*, p. 234).

^{xii} *De procuranda indorum salute*, Seville, 1588. I have used the modern edition, Jose de Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute: Pacificación y colonización*, edited by L. Pereña et al., *Corpus Hispanorum de Pace*, vol. XXIII, Madrid, 1984.

^{xiii} *Ibid.*, pp. 60-63.

^{xiv} *Ibid.*, pp. 62-67

^{xv} Francesco Leonardo Lisi, *El Tercer concilio Limense y la aculturación de los indígenas sudamericanos*, Salamanca, 1990.

^{xvi} *De Procuranda*, pp. 66-69.

^{xvii} Thomas Wigham, 'Paraguay's Pueblos de Indios: Echoes of a Missionary Past' in Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson (eds), *The New Latin American Mission History*, Lincoln NE, 1995, pp. 157-88; C. R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sa and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola*, London, 1952, pp. 70-72, 84-86.

^{xviii} The most insidious contribution to these polemics remains Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York, 1996.

^{xix} Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man*, p. 163ff.

^{xx} *Historia Natural y moral de las Indias*, Seville, 1590; modern English edition, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, edited by Jane E. Mangan, Durham NC, 2002, p. 335. Acosta's comments on the Chinese rely heavily on conversations with Chinese he had met in Mexico who were either merchants or mariners who had come from Manila and discussions with Alonso Sánchez, a fellow Jesuit who had been to Macao and who, in a memorandum to the Spanish court, advocated the invasion and conquest of China, a proposal which Acosta was instrumental in suppressing (*ibid.*, pp.337-38).

^{xxi} Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man*, p. 163.

^{xxii} Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 162-63.

^{xxiii} *De Procuranda*, p. 63.

^{xxiv} Frederick Copplestone, *A History of Philosophy*, vol. 3, New York, 1993, pp. 105-110, 174, 384-88; Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man*, pp. 61-64, 140; Pagden and Lawrence (eds), *Vitoria: Political Writings*, pp. xiv-xv.

^{xxv} Cf. Professor Pagden who argues that natural law provided the intellectual armoury to defend "[t]he truth of the Gospels and the Decalogue, the primacy of the normative behaviour of Christians and the rightness of the political and social institutions of Europe" (*Fall of Natural Man*, p. 61). Whether or not natural law enabled such a defense, it did not in itself provide arguments to prove the superiority of European political and social institutions over those of non-Europeans.

^{xxvi} *De Procuranda*, pp. 62, 63. His comments on the example of the apostles and the early church owe much to Las Casas (*In Defense of the Indians*, chaps 43-52).

^{xxvii} John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, Cambridge MA, 1993, pp. 81, 111-12, 255-56, 265, 267, 342, 370.

^{xxviii} Not that comparison was absent from medieval writers. Marco Polo makes many comparisons between Europe and

Cathay. He projects European assumptions on to, for example, the Great Khan's government of Cathay (the righteous monarch surrounded by a magnificent court, dedicated to the pursuit of the common weal). The intention is to make it seem less different and more familiar. This is precisely the convention Acosta subverts. On Polo see John Critchley, *Marco Polo's Book*, Aldershot, 1992, pp. 114-25.

^{xxix} *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, Cambridge MA, 1973.

^{xxx} Originally published Tokyo, 1966; English translation by William Johnston, Tokyo, 1969.

^{xxxi} On this see Derek Massarella, 'Some Reflections on Identity Formation in East Asia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in Donald Denoon et al. (eds), *Multicultural Japan: From Palaeolithic to Post-Modern*, Cambridge, 1996.

^{xxxii} *Silence*, p. 179 .