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The Jesuits and the Japanese:  
A Musical Journey to Renaissance Europe

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ABSTRACT

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This paper investigates the significance that music and musical ability held for the Japanese-Jesuit ambassadors who toured Portugal, Spain and Italy from 1584-1586. Specifically, I will demonstrate how the Jesuits used music as a critical means to reach and convert the Japanese in the seminarios, enabling them to read, sing, and play Western polyphonic and secular music. The Jesuits’ pedagogical use of music not only functioned as a significant missionary tool to transmit the liturgy, but ultimately, the Japanese converts’ ability to play western keyboard and string instruments and sing Latin polyphony signifies most directly the Jesuit’s success in conversion and enculturation.
Acknowledgments

This document owes its existence to many, many wonderful people whose support, patience and encouragement have shown no bounds or limits.

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I started studying at Rice University with one goal in mind: to study piano with Brian Connelly. My musical journey has been a bumpy one at times, but the vast ocean that is his musical intellect, and his fierce wit, has tethered me along and is an unending source of inspiration. I am eternally grateful for his friendship and pedagogy, in life and in music.

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This paper is dedicated to my late father, Dr. Fujiya Kawashima, Professor of Korean and Japanese history. Shortly after his passing, I came across a book by his bedside called *Silence* by Shusaku Endo, which recounts the Jesuits in Japan in the seventeenth-century. I started this DMA soon thereafter. I think fondly of all the dinner conversations we had growing up, where we discussed history, cultural intersections, peace and tolerance.

Lastly, but certainly not least, I wish to thank my husband, Jason Hardink. I am so lucky to have a partner in life who is willing to be my cheerleader, a wonderful father to our twin boys, Luc & Derek, a musical and pianistic phenomenon, and the most generous and sweet person I know and love.
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Introduction

Figure 0-1 – (a) The Papal procession of Sixtus V, May 1585. The arrows indicate the four Japanese on horseback. From Nagayama Tokhide, An Album of Collection of Historical Materials Connected with the Roman Catholic Religion in Japan, Nagasaki, 1924.
A mural depicting the papal procession of May 1, 1585 hangs on the walls of the Vatican Library in Rome. Pope Sixtus V (1521-1590) is seen riding on a white horse with his hand raised in blessing over the throng. Close study of the detailed figures within the rows of the solemn procession reveals four young Japanese men on horseback. They are participants in the coronation, assigned, along with the ambassadors of France and Venice, to carry the canopy over Sixtus V as he enters St. Peter’s Basilica.

These four Japanese men on horseback are part of the historic Tenshō Embassy, organized by Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), the Visitor of the Jesuit missionaries in Japan. The Jesuits first came to Japan in 1549, led by Francis Xavier (1506-1552). The Tenshō Embassy toured Portugal, Spain, and Italy for two years between August 1584 and April 1586. This unique historical moment offers an opportunity to examine the musical training of the Japanese visitors and the exposure the Japanese gained during their tour of Europe. This paper investigates the significance that music and musical ability held for these Japanese-Jesuit ambassadors. Specifically, I shall consider the identity of the musicians and speculate about the music the Japanese encountered during this rich period of late Renaissance music history. My second goal is to demonstrate how the Jesuits used music as a critical means to reach and convert the Japanese in the seminarios, enabling them to read, sing, and play Western polyphonic and secular music.

This will include a discussion of pedagogical treatises from which the Japanese learned to play and appreciate various keyboard instruments such as the organ (orgão), clavichord (monacordia or cravo), and harpsichord (clavicembalo). With this evidence, I hope to show that the Jesuits’ pedagogical use of music functioned as an essential tool of

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1 Tenshō refers to the era in Japanese history between 1573–1592, which was marked by a civil war and regional land disputes between daimyo.
their mission to transmit the Roman Catholic liturgy. Moreover, a study of Tenshō legates’ ability to play western keyboard and string instruments and to sing Latin polyphony provides unique measurement of the Jesuits’ success at conversion and enculturation, which ultimately convinced the European elite to continue to financially support the Jesuits’ mission in Japan, while simultaneously convincing Emperor Hideyoshi and other powerful daimyo to allow the Jesuits to continue their practice in Japan.

Chapter 1 of this study begins with a brief overview of the origins of the Jesuit mission. The Jesuits’ initial appearance in Japan is marked by Francis Xavier’s arrival at the port of Kagoshima in August, 1549. The number of Jesuit converts in Japan numbered several thousand by the time Alessandro Valignano organized the Tenshō Embassy to Europe in 1582. The critical conversions of many daimyo or local lords led to the establishment of several nanban-ji (Japanese for “Temple of the Southern Barbarians”) or Jesuit seminarios (Jesuit schools).

The Jesuits’ use of music and pedagogy of music during the mid-to-late sixteenth century is discussed in Chapter 2. Two musical (mostly keyboard) treatises will be taken into consideration: Gonzalo de Baena’s Arte nouvamente (1540); Juan Bermudo, Declaracion de Instrumentos Musicales (1555).

The organization and personnel of the Tenshō Embassy is presented in Chapter 3. I will present four musical encounters from their tour of Portugal in Chapters 4-7. In Chapter 8, I shall examine the Tenshō Embassy’s return to Japan and consider its impact on the Jesuit mission there.
I chose to investigate the Tenshō Embassy and their musical journey to Europe for a number of reasons. As a performer and an occasional music historian, my aim to prepare for a performance is to interpret, study, and re-create a vivid context for the organized sounds and ideas that are notated on the page. What began as an accidental paper topic in my Renaissance Music History course sparked my curiosity towards further research on Jesuit music pedagogy, cross-cultural intersections, cultural biases, and a greater appreciation for late sixteenth century Renaissance music. To the best of my knowledge, there has been no research that specifically addresses the Tenshō and the musical landscape that they encountered in Portugal.

In 1639, within 50 years of the Embassy’s return from Europe, Japan closed its doors to the West. This period is known as Sakoku, or national isolation. During this period, the remaining Christians living in Japan were persecuted and became known as the Kakure Kirishitan, or the “Hidden Christians,” who lived in outlying areas of Nagasaki into the modern era. It has been asserted that the kirishitan music that survives from this early period retains traces of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Catholic chant traditions.

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2 A vivid, historical fictional account of the Jesuits persecution in Japan during the late sixteenth century is the 1966 novel, Silence by Shusaku Endo.
Figure 0.2 — (a) The first Japanese Embassy to Europe, together with Fr. Diogo de Mesquita, S.J. appearing on a handbill published in Augsburg in 1586. The first Japanese Embassy to Europe, in 1586. Top, from left to right: Julião Nakaura, Father Mesquita, Mancio Ito. Bottom, from left to right: Martinão Hara, Miguel Chijiwa.
The Jesuit Enterprise: Missionaries Abroad

The Jesuits (referring to the fifteenth-century Latin term, Jesuita or good Christian) took vows of poverty after forming at the University of Paris on August 15, 1534. The first members consisted of nine university students guided by Ignatius de Loyola (1491-1556)—a charismatic and fervent leader from the Basque region. On September 25, 1540, the Society of Jesus received papal approval from Pope Paul III to become an official Order of the Roman Catholic Church. This loyal cohort of Jesuits included Francis Xavier, who later became the trailblazing missionary of East Asia, and who introduced the Jesuit doctrine to Japan in 1549. Both Francis and Ignatius were canonized in Rome in 1622. In many ways, the founding of the Jesuit Order and its subsequent success came at an opportune time for the Church. Five years prior to the Council of Trent (1545-1565), the Jesuits became closely associated with the implementation of many of the aims of the Counter-Reformation. Guided by Ignatius’s

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4 Ibid., 69.
vision for an organization that was uniquely enterprising, the Jesuits became a well-trained “militia of Jesus Christ.” In fact, the papal bull approving their status was called *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* [To the Government of the Church Militant]. With this in mind they became an effective weapon against the Reformation in Europe while also educating and converting “New Christians” in foreign lands.\(^6\) The Jesuits were en route to India within a year of their foundation, following a long line of other Christian missionaries (such as the Franciscan and Dominican friars of the thirteenth century) who were devoted to “harvest[ing] an abundance of ‘fruit’”\(^7\) (converts) of pagans while also helping reform “Old Christians” at home.

Ignatius was named the Society’s first general (or father general), a lifetime appointment holding the broadest decision-making authority in the organization. With their headquarters in Rome, the Society’s governance was organized and managed in a pyramid structure. The father general was at the “head” followed by a curia of assistants, secretaries, and legal officers who were assigned managerial tasks but given no real authoritative power.\(^8\) The growing body of satellite territories in Asia and the New World eventually required special leadership in the form of Visitors. It was in this capacity that Alessandro Valignano served in Asia.

The Society was guided by its constitutions, originally penned by Ignatius and presented to Pope Paul III in 1540. They were approved by the Society’s First General


\(^8\) Alden, 8-9.
Congregation in 1558 and continued to govern the organization until the Order’s suppression by Rome in 1773. The constitutions outline in five chapters the Society’s purpose and activities. The first line clearly describes the combination of militant ecclesiastical and pedagogical vocation of the Society:

Whoever desires to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross in our Society […] after a solemn vow of perpetual chastity, poverty, and obedience, keep what follows in mind. He is a member of a Society founded chiefly for this purpose: to strive especially for the defense and propagation of the faith and for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine, by means of public preaching, lectures, and any other ministration whatsoever of the word of God, and further by means of the Spiritual Exercises, the education of children and unlettered persons in Christianity and the spiritual consolation of Christ’s faithful through hearing confessions and administering other sacraments.

Scholars have emphasized the analogy between Jesuit ecclesiastical rigor and a militaristic counterpart. Dauril Alden argues that this comparison is not a new one, with religious and military symbolism found commonly in Christian rhetoric since the Middle Ages. Ignatius used military language to rouse support in the face of the growing religious divide in Europe.

*Jesuits and Education*

Soon after their foundation, Ignatius mobilized his Jesuit brethren into their educational mission. This would become the Society’s most ambitious and important venture, what John O’Malley has called a “super-category” of the Jesuits’ ministry. Their schools, or colleges, became the main emphasis of the Jesuit ministry, and blossomed, between 1548 and 1615, to over 370 residential colleges worldwide.

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9 Alden, 129.
10 Ibid., 9-10.
11 O’Malley, 200-201.
According to O’Malley, the focused and swift expansion of this enterprise owes much to the general doctrine outlined in the *Formula* of “the education of children and unlettered persons in Christianity.”\(^{12}\) The establishment of schools dedicated to Ignatius’s idea of the education of “youth in letters and matters of the spirit” would fulfill many practical needs for the Jesuits.\(^{13}\) They would become the principal locations for all Jesuit evangelism. Founded in the cities, these would become the institutions where they would study and teach their humanistic values for the Counter-Reformation. The schools were primarily funded by wealthy patrons, by which means they were able to skirt the issue of the Jesuits’ vow of poverty. Patrons, often working on behalf of city officials, formally invited the Jesuits to open the schools. The Jesuits provided a rigorous, tuition-free curriculum consisting of classes in theology, grammar, the arts and humanities. At first, students came from various socio-economic backgrounds “per tutti quanti, poveri et ricchi.” Some students came from Protestant backgrounds, and so with the support of the Pope, the Jesuits saw the colleges as another means of fighting (or converting) the Lutherans.\(^{14}\)

The first Jesuit school opened in the Sicilian town of Messina in 1548, and news of its success spread quickly. Schools soon opened in Cologne, Palermo, and Coimbra. The *Collegio Romano* (Roman Seminary), founded in 1564, became the primary school of the Jesuits. At the heart of the curriculum, the Jesuits stressed the importance of teaching Latin, both grammar and rhetorical principles, with some Greek and,

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\(^{12}\) Ibid., 5.  
\(^{13}\) Ibid., 201.  
\(^{14}\) O’Malley, 200-5.
occasionally, Hebrew. Once Latin was mastered, students were permitted to study theology, philosophy, vernacular languages and music.\textsuperscript{15}

In order to make the best use of teaching resources and time, Ignatius eventually required boys to learn basic skills in reading and writing before entering their schools. This policy would exclude many boys from the lower classes, while appealing to the class of wealthy patrons who supported the schools. This tenet could not be upheld outside of Europe, however, where obvious language barriers would have prohibited enforcement; and in Japan it would create major obstacles for their mission. Alessandro Valignano and other Superiors there had serious apprehensions about accepting and ordaining New Christians who could not read Latin. Valignano was certainly frustrated with the difficulty of teaching and the abilities of the Japanese to learn Latin.\textsuperscript{16}

Three documents are indispensable to an understanding of Ignatius’s mission for the Jesuits and their spiritual goals. These include the \textit{Formula} consisting of “Five Chapters” (the main charter of the organization), the \textit{Spiritual Exercises} (printed 1548), and the \textit{Constitutiones} (presented to the Pope, outlining specific characteristics and duties of the Jesuit in training).\textsuperscript{17} Written largely by Ignatius himself, they represent the full flowering of his faith and establish the foundation and ambitions by which he thought the Jesuits should live.

The “Five Chapters” of the \textit{Formula} of 1550 listed specific ministries and the duties of the Society. According to these Chapters, the Jesuits were responsible for preaching ministry of the Word and Ignatius’s \textit{Spiritual Exercises}, and educating children.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} O’Malley, \textit{The First Jesuits}, 5-8.
and unlettered persons in Christianity. \(^\text{18}\) “The Society has the care of those souls for whom either there is nobody to care or, if somebody ought to care, the care is negligent. This is the reason for the founding of the Society,” stated Loyola, who believed that the Society’s main mission was to care for the “lost sheep” of the world—pagans, heretics or lapsed Catholics. \(^\text{19}\)

The Jesuits were priests conforming to the duties laid out in the Council of Trent. But they were not priests in the canonical sense, and had limited duties that restricted them from administering the sacraments of Matrimony, Extreme Unction, and of Penance and the Eucharist. \(^\text{20}\) But confession and the accompanying sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist had become central to the ministry of Ignatius and Xavier. Eventually, these same duties led Xavier to become entrusted by King João III, son of King Manuel I of Portugal, and thus began the Portuguese patronage of the Jesuits and their mission to Asia.

**Jesuit Missions in Asia:**

*Portuguese Interests*

Under the rule of King Manuel I (1495-1521), known as the Spice King, and his son King João III (1521-1557), Portugal was at the height of its imperialist power from 1510–1540. The Jesuit expansion beyond Europe rode the wave of the financial successes and exploitation of Portuguese colonial ambitions. The Portuguese first established their military and commercial presence in Asia before evangelizing in earnest. Beginning with the exploration of India by Vasco da Gama, and Cabral’s “discovery” of Brazil in 1500, Portugal became a leader in commercial activity, primarily in the East Asian spice trade. Earning a million cruzados annually, Portugal surpassed Venetian trading volume and

\(^{18}\) Ibid., 134.  
\(^{19}\) Ibid., 73.  
\(^{20}\) O’Malley, 135.
maintained a royal monopoly on the trade of pepper, cloves, and cinnamon. As Portuguese historian George Winius comments, the Portuguese were primarily explorers in Africa, conquerors in the Indian Ocean, and businessmen in Southeast Asia. But the Portuguese monarchy could not sustain its thalassocratic success. Lacking the domestic economic resources to maintain its maritime expansion, the profit margin continued to decline as the century rolled on.

Most Christian conversions in India occurred in Portuguese military and civil territories, where Hindu temples had been closed. Later, during the rise of the Mogul empire, the Portuguese Inquisition was mandated. The Portuguese empire in Asia never shied away from wielding their power, acquiring the natural and cultural resources of its colonies and expressing a Eurocentric worldview.

The Jesuit missionaries’ sense of superiority to the conquered native peoples had an effect on the development of their missions abroad that was distinct from their missions among Europeans. Jesuits believed the Indians were inferior to Europeans. For example, the Indians of Cochin were described as “barbarous” and “serving pagan customs.” Jesuit documents from Brazil claimed the inferiority of the natives, citing that that Brazilians were plebeians, whereas in Europe the Society was able to attract

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23 Payne, 236.
recruits of noble birth. By attracting recruits to the exotic locales of its missions during the 1560s, thousands of recruits applied for assignments overseas. And although there was a need for European recruits, documentation ultimately proves that pervasive eurocentrism, anti-semitism, and racial prejudice among Jesuit leadership prevented many of their converts abroad from becoming members of the Society. In the missions abroad, those who converted to, and embraced the Jesuit doctrine were precluded from becoming priests, which would have furthered the Christian church in their indigenous lands.

Much of the exclusion policy was formulated after the death of Ignatius. Spanish and Portuguese leaders in particular authored statutes asserting “purity of blood” (*limpieza de sangre*), against New Christians, or men of Jewish or Muslim descent.  

Iberian prejudice against Muslims and Jews dates back to the Middle Ages. The Inquisition began in Spain in 1478, first and foremost to purge Muslims, but also to deal with the *conversos* – Jews who were forced to convert to Christianity and practiced Judaism in secret. These sentiments are summarized by the Portuguese Jesuit Manuel Rodrigues:

> “Although we may know all these men to be Christians and to be constant in the faith, surely the Society should hold them at a distance because of their character, for they stand opposed to the purity of true religion. They are children of this breed, enemies of the cross of Christ, restless, scheming men who humble others that they themselves might be exalted.”  

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26 Cohen, 2.  
27 Leeland L. Perkins. *Music in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999), 483. This parallels to an eerie extent what would happen to Christians in Japan in the seventeenth century, after Christianity was banned and it was practiced in secret by the hidden Christians or *kakure kirishitan* well into the 19th century.  
28 Cohen, 3.
There is no specific explication in the Constitutiones of why they would deny the admission of Jews and New Christians, or non-Europeans for that matter. But there was a decree given in 1579 by Everard Mercurian, who had been instructed by Pope Gregory XIII to notify the provincial minister in Brazil that New Christians must not be admitted because of possible scandal to the Order. This restriction was modified in 1608 to allow new members to enter the Order if the postulant had an unblemished record and was five generations removed from New Christian ancestors. In accordance with the Constitutiones, both Francis Xavier and Alessandro Valignano were opposed to the admission of New Christians and non-Europeans into the Society. Japanese converts were not allowed to become priests until after 1600.

Francis Xavier and Christians in Japan

Francis Xavier and Simão Rodrigues arrived in Lisbon in June 1540 and within a year, gained the confidence of the Portuguese monarch, King João III (1521-57) who would underwrite Xavier’s mission to Asia. Rodrigues would stay on in Portugal and make the first steps towards the permanent establishment of the Jesuit enterprise that would continue to flourish for over 200 years. Francis Xavier came from a noble Spanish family in Navarro. He would become one of the most impassioned leaders in the Society’s history, and was certainly critical to the Jesuit institutional enterprise in Asia. After working with the missions in Goa, then Malacca, he would in 1549 head north to

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29 Alden, 258.
30 Ibid., 258. The discrimination against New Christians in Japan lasted until the decree was finally nullified in 1946.
31 Alden, 257.
32 Alden, 28.
33 For roughly two centuries, Goa became the principal port and essential hub for all Jesuit administrative and ecclesiastical activities for the Portuguese Provinces in Asia.
Japan, where he became the first to see the potential of a successful and lasting Jesuit mission there.\textsuperscript{34} Xavier would remain and evangelize in Asia until his death in 1552.

Lisbon became the heart of many European Jesuit activities, where postulants received rigorous ecclesiastical training before traveling abroad. Monasteries, universities, and other educational residences were built for the newly converted. This demanding educational system, a hallmark of the Jesuits, would become the scaffolding from which many \textit{seminarios} in Asia would be built.

The \textit{Seminarios}

The Jesuit priest Alessandro Valignano took command of the mission in Japan in 1579 and subsequently established new and lasting methods there for missionaries to follow, with an emphasis on learning Japanese language, customs and culture. He was the first to establish \textit{seminarios} specifically for non-Europeans, forming a prototype that would become standard even for French North American foundations that lasted into the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{35}

Throughout his work abroad, Valignano struggled to convey to his superiors in Rome the vivid and vast differences between Europe and Japan. He wrote,

\begin{quote}
“The properties and qualities of this country are so strange, the mode of government of the state so different, and the customs and ways of living so extraordinary and so far removed from our own that they are difficult to comprehend even for those of us who have been living here and dealing with the
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{34} For details on the growth and collapse of the Jesuits in Goa, refer to Charles J. Borges, \textit{The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759: An Explanation of Their Rise and Fall} (New Dehli, 1994).

people for many years. How much more difficult then, to make them intelligible to people in Europe."\textsuperscript{36}

Valignano’s legacy in Japan is rooted in his careful and critical studies of Japanese culture. His attitude towards the Japanese combined both respect for their specific culture, and impatience with their inability to disconnect from their native customs. He writes, “They are unwilling to be told what to do, and they are so intent on keeping to their Japanese customs that they pay little attention to either the spirit or the letter of our rules.”\textsuperscript{37}

Valignano’s interest in establishing colleges or \textit{seminarios} in Japan proved to be consistent with the Jesuits’ educational enterprise in Europe. In fact, Valignano’s Japanese seminaries, opening first in 1579 in Azuchi and then in 1580 in Arima, were the first type of school for non-European boys and became the prototype for Christian schooling of natives.\textsuperscript{38} Select Japanese boys were boarded away from their families and removed from any Buddhist influence; these schools were created to build support among wealthy Japanese patrons, just as the Jesuit \textit{collégios} had done in Europe.

Valignano believed the seminary would strengthen the Christian communities. The seminary would replace the traditional Buddhist role of education with Christian schooling. He believed that Christian doctrine and the discipline of learning Latin would prevent Japanese boys from being unruly or self-indulgent.\textsuperscript{39}

The Jesuits understood and acknowledged the importance of Buddhism in Japan. They quickly learned to co-opt many Buddhist customs and teachings to bridge the

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 29.
\textsuperscript{37} Moran, 169.
\textsuperscript{38} Abé,, 94.
\textsuperscript{39} Abé,, 93-95.
cultural divide. For example, the Jesuits wore Japanese robes called *bonze* fashioned by Buddhist monks, and even shaved their hair in order to earn respect from local *daimyo*. The Jesuits established a hierarchy of personnel to correspond to the strict ranking of Buddhist priests, hoping they could convey that the Jesuit superior of Japan (Alessandro Valignano) would be regarded as equal to the superior of Kyoto’s Nanzen Temple.\(^{40}\) Jesuit students, once admitted to the *seminario*, would be referred to as *dōjuku*, a term borrowed from the Buddhists, describing aspirant monks who left their families to live in the monasteries.

**Jesuits’ Recruitment and Training for Missions Abroad**

The Jesuits had immediate success within Europe, developing their educational resources while providing services for the Church. The Order needed to recruit and train more members to become teachers, catechists and confessors in Europe, while also satisfying the needs of the Portuguese Assistancy—that is, its Portuguese patrons overseas. As Alden summarizes, “one of the primary functions of the Jesuits’ educational facilities in Portugal was to train missionaries to serve overseas.”\(^{41}\)

Yet the history of recruitment and its effects on Jesuit missionary work overseas reveals many ideological inconsistencies. Alden succinctly states, “Theoretically, missionaries ought to work themselves out of a job.”\(^{42}\) The education of children and the reform of fallen Christians were central tenets of the Jesuits’ mission work abroad. However, a pervasive Eurocentric outlook with a prejudicial emphasis on the inferiority of native people hindered their missionary success. The Society blamed a shortfall of

\(^{40}\) Moran, 56.
\(^{41}\) Ibid., 41.
\(^{42}\) Alden, 262.
European-born recruits to instruct and direct their missions. At the same time Provincials deemed natives as unsuitable candidates for missionary work, because they were lacking in education (especially in Latin grammar).

In addition to their collégios and seminarios, the Jesuits founded orphanages in Italy and Portugal by the mid-sixteenth century. The work at orphanages aligned with the Jesuits’ mission to educate children, eventually training them with the intent to work for the Society’s missions abroad. In Portugal, the first Christian school for orphans and abandoned children was established in 1549 under the patronage of King João III. This royal orphanage, called the Colégio dos Orfãos de Lisboa, was directed by the Spanish priest, Abbot Pedro Doménech. At the same time, Ignatius arranged for the children to become “apprentices of missionaries” in Brazil, India, and Congo.

This orphanage also developed an “intensely” Christian education based on “learning through action” by means of music, dance, and the Roman liturgy. Eventually, these children would be sent to Jesuit missions abroad—to Brazil and Asia. In fact, three were sent to Japan in 1556 to join the Jesuits. They were chosen because they were “good natured” and capable of easily learning the language. They could teach the doctrine and convert the children of Japan. The older boys guided the younger ones and taught them scenic plays and music, mainly vocal, and some instrumental music. These missionaries were surprised to have met many young children already converted. The Japanese

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44 O’Malley, 60.
45 Ibid., 60.
mission was subsequently left in charge of Cosme de Torres (1510-1570), the new “Superior of the incipient mission” after Xavier left in 1551.

“Learning through Action“

Habitus Building

The children living in the Japanese missions were educated in similar manner to the orphans at the Colégio dos Orfãos de Lisboa. Like the European curriculum of “Learning Through Action” which called for music and other art forms, the Jesuits adapted to Japanese culture by using forms of art revered locally, such as calligraphy. The older boys taught the younger children, with “an emphasis put on declamation and scenic plays and on music, mainly vocal, or with popular instruments.” It appears the Jesuits learned the importance of teaching the doctrine to the children in order to convert families and communities. According to an account by one of these Portuguese orphans, Guillermo Pereira:

“The children teach the prayers to their parents and others—in the manner they were told at the church—at night, and by now many of them have learned how to pray. And the children invite each other to the doctrine, and get together at night in their houses. And when they come to church on Sundays they come clad in their silk dresses. And for the feast of Christmas we had a solemn mass with flageolets and flutes.”

In addition to the teaching by the Colégio dos Orfãos, merchants played a part in musical pedagogy as well. Medina states that the Portuguese merchant Aires Sanches had success teaching vocal and instrumental European music, conducting a choral ensemble and a chamber orchestra, “singing and playing the viola de arco...with the purpose of conducting with full solemnity the divine offices.”

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46 Medina, 59-78.
47 Ibid.
48 Medina, 71.
Gianbattista de Monte in 1564 states that “these little children are almost all offered by their parents to the divine service. They are being brought up to preach the Law of God, and almost all are good singers and play very well the vihuelas de arco.”

If we examine the approach in the Japanese seminario established by Valignano, we find the inclusion of music instruction. Though there is no specification for what exact type of music is being taught (instrumental, singing, European or Japanese), music is mentioned as a daily curricular subject, outside of recreational activities:

“with a daily timetable of activities from sunrise at 4:30 until 8:00 p.m., when the seminarians are to make their examination of conscience, say the Litany of Loreto, and go to bed immediately. Latin, but also music, is prominent in the curriculum, at least three hours a day are devoted to the study of Japanese, and there is careful provision for adequate hours of recreation.”

The fact that teaching music is mentioned alongside the teaching of Latin exemplifies that it was an essential subject for study.

These accounts confirm the presence of music during important feast days, reminiscent of the sort of music in which the Tenshō ambassadors would later participate. While the Japanese musical training is not clearly spelled out, these and several accounts relay the presence and teaching of European instruments, and the children’s ability to play them. Perhaps more appropriate to the discussion at hand was the legates’ youthful ability to pick up musical instruction and the artistic influence exerted on their already existent musical abilities when they traveled throughout Europe.

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49 Ibid.
50 Moran, 13.
51 Abé, 93-95. Japanese (reading and writing) was also taught at the newly established seminario. The purpose in this was to insure that Christian schools could replace the Buddhist schools, which were the only Japanese institutions where writing and reading were taught to Japanese children.
Musical practices within the Roman church were greatly affected by the Council of Trent (1545-1565). The Council sought to reevaluate church practices, and similar to the aims of the Jesuits, sought to reclaim Christendom from the heretical threat of a Protestant and Lutheran takeover. Music was discussed at length. Text declamation and the intelligibility of liturgical text were of paramount importance. Led by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584), the Council sought to drive out musical imitation (a contrapuntal compositional device, imitation is when a monophonic phrase is repeated in another voice or pitch level, creating polyphony). In the Franco-Flemish polyphonic style, secular elements that were steadily creeping into Mass composition were frowned upon.

\[52\] Imitation is a contrapuntal compositional device when a monophonic phrase is repeated in another voice or pitch level, creating polyphony.
Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina’s (1525-1597) style became the paradigm for Post-Tridentine compositional style, exemplified by its clear declamation of text.

Music on the Iberian Peninsula in the Sixteenth Century

“La mar donde he echado este libro es propiamente el reyno de Portugal, que es la mar de la música, pues en el tanto la estiman y también la entienden.”

"The sea where I have cast this book is properly the Kingdom of Portugal, that is itself a sea of music, because music there is so highly esteemed and so well understood."

The religious and cultural changes in Portugal during the late sixteenth century isolated it from northern Europe while strengthening the Spanish influence, especially after the Spanish invasion of 1580. The death of Cardinal Henry of Portugal in 1580 prompted a succession crisis. Following the Battle of Alcântara, King Philip II (1527-1598) was crowned King of Spain and Portugal in 1581, thus beginning the Iberian union and Philippine Dynasty. Portugal maintained some autonomy by way of independent currency and law; important positions were given to Portuguese nobility at the Spanish courts, and the Council of Portugal was created by King Philip II (who was himself half-Portuguese) to oversee Portuguese affairs.

The sixteenth century is generally regarded as the golden age or el siglo d’oro of Spanish and Portuguese achievements—in painting, theater and literature, and economically, in the form of real gold and silver taken from New World colonies. The

musical legacy of the Iberian Peninsula, continues to be unearthed and (re)examined to determine its distinctive place apart from other regions of Europe. The prevailing attitude is that Spanish or Portuguese music did not contribute significantly new compositional or aesthetic styles during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. But, according to Rui Vieira Nery, this viewpoint bears the prejudice of an Italian or northern European perspective, directed with a gaze backwards from the Baroque.\textsuperscript{54}

From that point of view, the music of the Iberian peninsula from the late Renaissance and early Baroque period appears firmly affixed to the ultraconservative Counter-Reformation and polyphonic Mannerist traditions; stuck in an antiquated preponderance of the Roman style championed by Palestrina and Tomás Luís de Victoria (1549-1611). On the contrary, Nery asserts that this view of Iberian music as an art form caught in the aegis of the conservative Catholic dark ages is a regressive construct of nineteenth-century Protestant historians. In his view, this is a Romantic, northern-European perspective that perceives the Peninsula as backward and an obstruction to the “civilizational progress” of Western European models.\textsuperscript{55}

Nery questions the assumption that the Iberian tradition of polyphonic writing, often in the style of the \textit{prima pratica}, would connote a lack of originality or innovation. Even the most progressive Italian composers of the early seventeenth century, such as Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643), or other composers associated with the \textit{seconda prattica}, were writing in a variety of styles and compositional techniques that display a highly individualized “synthesis of tradition and innovation,” from opera to polyphonic


\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
Masses. The same can be said for composers of Spain and Portugal, who were searching for personalized approaches to polyphonic idioms. These Iberian composers and their works must be examined on their own terms, as examples of “indigenous” idioms and musical contributions of the Peninsula, rather than in comparison, opposition to or regression from the Italian compositional procedures associated later with the Baroque, such as accompanied monody, basso continuo, concertato writing or early trio sonata form.

Portugal was the only Catholic country in which the conservative orders of the Council of Trent were forcefully enacted by law. Portuguese composers did not make many changes to their compositional practices, because the highly contrapuntal Franco-Flemish style or secular leanings in parody-masses were not as common in Portugal as they were in other parts of Europe. Rather, Portuguese composers tended to keep to “the melody of the chants” as Dom Diogo de São Miguel said in 1563, which he believed to be the best method of attracting and retaining worshippers.

_jesuita non cantat_

Aligning themselves with the values of the Counter-Reformation, the Jesuits were deeply concerned about limiting excesses, and therefore, were cautious about how music would be used in liturgical services. As further specified in the _Formula_, the papal revisor Cardinal Ghinucci made suggestions to substantiate these conservative tendencies. The

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56 Ibid, 360.
axiom *jesuita non cantat* (Jesuits do not sing) followed the orders that members did not have to recite chant in common the liturgical Hours such as matins, lauds, or vespers. Musical instruments in residences were also forbidden.\(^{58}\) Chapter three of the *Constitutiones* states: “Because the occupations which are undertaken for the aid of souls are of great importance […] and because our residence in one place or another is so highly uncertain, our members will not regularly hold choir for the canonical hours or sing Masses and offices.”\(^ {59}\) Loyola modified this statute, at the insistence of Pope Paul IV, to allow Vespers to be sung during Holy Week, which was a common practice among other monks, such as the Franciscans, at this time.\(^ {60}\)

The Jesuits had strictly forbidden singing from the canonical hours and during Masses and the offices, with the goal of concentrating all efforts on apostolic work. However, after much admonishment by conservative members of the Church, Loyola made special allowances for Vespers to be sung during Holy Week. Pope Paul IV felt that was not enough, and in 1556, mandated the choir. This was upheld until the Pope’s death, whereupon the Jesuits rescinded the order and eliminated choir.\(^ {61}\)

In order to counteract Lutheran criticism of Catholic liturgical practices, Ghinucci suggested that “priests were obliged to recite the canonical Hours according to the rite of the church, not however in choir, lest they be impeded in the works of charity to which we have totally dedicated ourselves. Therefore, they will not use the organ or singing at mass and other sacred ceremonies.” And as Ghinucci adds, “we have found them to be a


\(^{59}\) Alden, 14.

\(^{60}\) Ibid.

\(^{61}\) Alden, 14.
serious impediment.” According to John O’Malley, the rejection of choral chanting of
the Hours served as a symbol of the Jesuits’ devotion to those in need in “the Lord’s
vineyard.”

In fact, the discussion underscores the overall conflict, during the Counter-
Reformation, over the value of polyphony in church ritual. The use of polyphony versus
falsobordone is discussed in many Jesuit correspondences during this time. Falsobordone
refers to chordal or homophonic recitations of a Gregorian psalm tone, most often in sung
vespers, which contrasts with polyphony, or an imitative contrapuntal style of music. For
example, Ignatius’ vicar general, Father Jerónimo Nadal in 1566, wrote in Vienna for the
local Jesuit college:

“Let the type of music used be as follows: in the Mass, only the Kyrie, Gloria,
Credo, Sanctus, Agnus and the response to the Ite Missa Est be sung in polyphony.
During Vespers, let the psalms be sung in falsobordone, as it is called—or in a
similar way. The Magnificat, however, may be sung in polyphony. Let all else be
sung in Gregorian chant. Let care be taken that the singers are obedient as much
to the Superior as to the prefect of the choir, and let discipline be exercised in this
matter…Naturally, Ours must not use the organ in choir, nor trumpets, nor
flutes.”

According to T. Frank Kennedy, this decree by Nadal became the standard used for
musical practice among the Jesuits in Europe. Polyphony was allowed for the Ordinary

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62 Kennedy, T. Frank. Jesuits and Music: The European Tradition, 1547-1622
(PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1982), 74.
63 O’Malley, 136.
64 Kennedy, T. Frank. Jesuits and Music: The European Tradition, 1547-1622
(PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1982), 77.
65 The use of instruments was quite common, and especially in Spanish liturgical
practice, viols were typically used. Juan Bermudo talks about this, as does Francisco
Guerrero. See “Decoro y hermosura.” Fray Juan Bermudo, Declaración de Instrumentos
Otaola González, La Pensée musicale espagnole à la Renaissance: Héritage antique et
tradition médiévale (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2008). In english see also Robert Stevenson,
of the Mass and the *Magnificat* at Vespers, while the Vespers psalms were limited to falsobordone. Chant was sung in the Mass Ordinary with the exception of special feast days that allowed for polyphonic mass settings. This aspect of Catholic humanism underscores the deeper issue of austerity, the need for order and the rejection of musical instruments (as interlopers from the secular world). The puritanism found in protestant spirituality is best demonstrated in the words of Jean Calvin in his 1542 *Geneva Psalter*, where he warns how music (and singing) must be scrutinized for its “pernicious” and sensual ability to pierce and corrupt the heart, and its ability to mislead and contaminate the words of God.  

Nadal also mentioned occasions where permission is granted to Jesuits for singing polyphony (“figured singing”) with students during the celebration of the Office, when there are not many “lay singers and partly because our men are refreshed somewhat in this.” He also discusses the dangers of “mixing the sacred with the profane” quoting directly the decree *De observandis in celebratio missae* from the Council of Trent:  

“`They shall also banish from the churches all such music, which, that are lascivious or impure; likewise all worldly conduct, vain and profane conversations, wandering around, noise and clamor, so that the house of God may be seen to be and may be truly called a house of prayer.’”  

This may also tell us why Ignatius did not allow musical instruments in Jesuit worship houses. This wildly popular genre of music was tolerated by Nadal and others (though

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67 Kennedy, 78.  

68 Ibid., 80.
regulations and complaints were still invoked to deter any misconduct) after it became apparent that churches in Europe (and eventually in Asia and South America) became filled with audiences who delighted in their moral entertainments.\footnote{Rees, 45. Though this rule seems to have been negotiated via the Jesuits’ musical dramas. One of the most influential Flemish composers of his era, Heinrich Isaac (1450-1517) wrote music for these neo-Latin musical dramas.}

Music in Jesuit Missions Abroad

The Jesuits saw singing the offices as an encumbrance to the active life. They preferred simple music during the mass. But, eventually, more and more Jesuit ministries began to recognize how music could be used as an important enhancement of the Mass and the Hours, especially for purposes of conversion. This resulted in a nuanced view about the use of music in Jesuit ritual. According to Jesuit scholars, the Mass and sung vespers on Sundays and feast days were ancillary celebrations. But music could be permitted in these celebrations if the priests were not hearing confessions or preaching.

The teaching of catechism became an essential part of the enterprise of the Church and a hedge against what was recognized as the “ignorance and superstition” of native cultures.\footnote{O’Malley, John. The First Jesuits, 117.} The practice of using catechetical texts lent itself well to a musical, particularly antiphonal setting. Like antiphonal chant, catechesis involves a method of question and answer, usually performed by priests or bishops to teach Christian doctrine to children or the uninitiated.

Francis Xavier used chant repertoire as a key to his missionary work abroad. As Andrew Ross states, Francis Xavier’s use of music provided the “mental furniture” with
which to learn these lessons.\textsuperscript{71} Catechism was important to the Jesuits and Ignatius in particular, as the education of children and the uninitiated was of utmost importance in the \textit{Constitutiones}.

It was in Goa that Xavier first used music as a tool to teach liturgical texts and thereby to fulfill the catechism.\textsuperscript{72} He adapted Portuguese catechetical texts into rhyming verses, which were taught to people as songs, set to popular tunes—despite the fact that this age-old practice came at the expense of violating the principle of including secular music.\textsuperscript{73} Prayers were also set to music, such as Our Father, the Hail Mary, and the Salve Regina. Setting prayers and the catechism to music became a hallmark of Jesuit conversion strategies—which converged with the changing importance of catechism after the Council of Trent.

Institutional instructions on how music was to be taught and integrated at the colleges were not dictated by early Jesuit manifestos. Rather, disparate regional recommendations and general preferences were put forward by the governing body, or Provincial Congregation, for certain musical practices. A letter from 1568 to the Jesuit General of the Order (the Provincial Congregation) went further to specify regional musical preferences:

a simple type of singing should be used in Italy, outside of Rome, wherever there has to be singing; in Germany and France even \textit{falsobordone} may be used. If people are sent from a college to sing, only a few may be sent. Many openly felt that Vespers should not be celebrated unless followed by a reading or a sermon, and implicitly they want to follow the \textit{Constitutiones} and decrees. Someone

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{72} In O’Malley’s \textit{The First Jesuits}, the evolution of the importance of catechism is discussed, 119-126.
\textsuperscript{73} O’Malley, 77.
\end{flushleft}
observed that, in smaller colleges singing impeded rather than helped works which were proper to the Society. Another observed that the time, place, and type of singing should be determined by the reason for the singing.\textsuperscript{74}

Some regional colleges made instructions for music on specific occasions, while others wanted to do away with singing altogether. For example, the Provincial Congregation in Lombardy was in agreement with the Father Provincial that it was “in no way good for the brothers to learn any singing, but rather that Gregorian chant be done away with.”\textsuperscript{75} In Germany, the question was not whether there should be music allowed in the college, but, rather, who would teach music: Jesuit priests (“one of Ours”) or professional musicians. The response that followed from Rome indicated that only seminarians who already could play a musical instrument or “sing with others” were permitted to continue their studies during their recreational time,\textsuperscript{76} but those who were “ignorant ought not to waste time in this business, and much less should they be instructed by an outside teacher.\textsuperscript{77}

Jesuits did not follow this rule abroad, however. Music and musical instruments were useful tools in the Jesuits’ apostolic work. In their missions abroad they readily integrated music, and required “the foreign students to learn Gregorian chant, because at this time there are few pastors, and those that are found do not know how to sing, and thus the Divine Offices are ceasing in many places.”\textsuperscript{78} Not only liturgical chant, but in Paraguay and Brazil they integrated the harp; in Japan, missionaries used keyboard and

\begin{footnotes}
\item[74] Kennedy, 71.
\item[75] Kennedy, 72.
\item[76] Ibid., 73.
\item[77] Ibid., 73.
\item[78] Ibid, 56.
\end{footnotes}
vihuela music. In fact, Francis Xavier considered chant repertoire an essential tool in Jesuit conversion strategies, adapting its texts to the local language, and also setting texts to indigenous melodies.\textsuperscript{79}

Clearly, the Jesuits abroad disregarded their own rigorous statutes concerning music, such as the practice of restricting music from the recitation of the Office or in Europe, using music during vespers and mass. This decision reflects the Jesuits’ pragmatism to use music in order to convert and connect with the masses overseas.\textsuperscript{80} Indeed, according to Minoru Takahashi, it can be surmised that, based on the 1554 Jesuit mission records (by Francis Xavier), a \textit{canto llano} and a \textit{canto de organo} were taken to Japan precisely for the purpose of choral instruction, and also for teaching and practicing keyboard instruments.\textsuperscript{81} The various manuals published during this period may have served the Jesuits in their musical instruction.

\textit{Keyboard Music}

Although there is much interest in the instrumental music of sixteenth-century Portugal and Spain, scholars have been discouraged by a scarcity of source material. During the great earthquake of Lisbon in 1755, many documents were destroyed, including King João IV’s (1604-56) extensive music catalogue containing a vast collection of Iberian music.\textsuperscript{82} Nevertheless, the extant sources, and others that have

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{79} Nery, \textit{Route to the Orient}, 111.
\item \textsuperscript{80} O’Malley, 136.
\item \textsuperscript{81} Minoru Takahashi, “A Portuguese Clavichord in Sixteenth-Century Japan?” \textit{The Galpin Society Journal} 54 (May 2001), 120.
\item \textsuperscript{82} The Great Lisbon Earthquake of 1755 killed between 60,000 and 90,000 people. It was followed by a devastating tsunami and fires that engulfed the city, destroying many famed organs and vast musical archives, and the opera house.
\end{itemize}
recently been discovered, reveal a growing interest in the music for keyboard, vihuela, lute and wind instruments in both secular and sacred contexts.

Instrumental music, and specifically keyboard music in the Iberian Peninsula, was closely tied to the liturgy. The organ was primarily used during the Mass to double vocal parts in a polyphonic texture. After the Council of Trent, priests were required to recite texts during the celebration of the liturgy, which rendered the choral singing of the same texts redundant. This opened the way to the possibility of instrumental performances by the organ as substitutions for choral singing. Other moments of purely instrumental music could accompany the ritual actions of the clergy, such as the Introit or distribution of Communion. As John Griffin says, musicians trained properly in vocal and instrumental performance were professionals “or clerics who frequently heard or participated in the singing of vocal polyphony, but whose domestic recreation included playing the clavichord.”

Musical Training for the Amateur Instrumentalist:

Juan Bermudo and Gonzalo de Baena

The emergence of didactic sources in the mid-sixteenth century points to a growing interest in instrumental music, and specifically keyboard instruments throughout Italy and the Iberian peninsula. The advent of music publishing in the sixteenth century led to the dissemination of method books for instruments, and their repertoire, among a

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wider audience. Noteworthy among them is *Libro de música de vihuela de mano intitulado El maestro* (1535), written by Luís de Milan (ca. 1500-1561) for the vihuela (1535), and dedicated to King João III. There followed significant keyboard treatises and instructional manuals, including *Declaracion de Instrumentos Musicales* (1555) by Juan Bermudo (ca.1510–1565), *Libro llamado Arte de Taner Fantasia* (1565) by Tomàs de Sancta Maria (ca.1510-1570), and *Obras de musica para tecla, arpa, y vihuela* (1578) by Antonio de Cabézon (1510-1566). These treatises contain some instruction for keyboard performances together with intabulations or elaborations of vocal music by contemporary Franco-Netherlandish masters like Josquin des Prez, Jacob Obrecht, and Alexander Agricola.

For the amateur or aspiring performer, the earliest known keyboard treatise from Portugal is the *Arte novamente inventada para aprender a tanger* (1540) by Gonzalo de Baena (ca. 1476 – 1540). Alejandro Iglesias discovered the treatise in 1992 after it had been miscataloged with a collection of arithmetic books. Scholars knew about this manual from a printing license granted to Baena in 1536 by King João III (1521-1557):

“I advise all those who see this my letter and have knowledge of it that I authorize Gonzalo de Baena, my chamber musician, to print a work and manual on playing and that no other person, except him, can print [such a book] in these kingdoms for ten years, nor take it abroad to sell, and anyone who does anything to the contrary will be fined fifty cruzados. Drawn up by Joham Rodrigues in Évora on 19 June 1536.”

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85 Tess Knighton, “A Newly Discovered Keyboard Source: A Preliminary Report.” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 5, no. 1, (1996). Cambridge University Press, 81-2. The work was then printed by King João’s royal court printer, Germão Galharde. Little more is known about Baena’s life other than he was a chamber musician to the King. Knighton speculates that Baena may have been familiar with Pierre Attaignant’s seven books of chansons, dances, and sacred music arranged for keyboard in Portugal.
Baena’s manual is unique for several reasons. For example, it contains a type of notation that has not been found in any other treatise of the time. For this reason, and its absence from notable libraries and catalogues, Tess Knighton believes Baena’s *Arte* had little influence or importance after its printing.

Germane to this discussion is the frontispiece for Baena’s *Arte novamente*, depicting a small portative organ with the keys labeled to indicate the instrument’s didactic use.

Through the extensive musical collection of Ferdinand Columbus. Attaignant’s books were in Portugal as a result of ambassadorial exchanges between Portugal and Paris in the 1530’s.
Judging from the organization and system of notation, the *Arte* appears to have been aimed at teaching the amateur player, as is seen in the illustration in Figure 4.

Baena chose to use a letter system of notation, placing letters in grid-style boxes to be read from left to right, with verticality indicating notes to be played simultaneously. This
type of tablature lends itself readily to a beginner by excluding the complexities of mensural notation. As Juan Bermudo himself says, “Tablature is better for beginners. If a keyboard-teacher has pupils who do not know how to sing (i.e., read mensural notation), he can teach them with tablature.”

Figure 4: Gonzalo de Baena: Obras de dos vozes, Josquin Pleni sunt celi et terra.

(Lisbon: German Galharde, 1540), 9.

Baena’s Arte introduces compositions in graded order of difficulty, from two-voice (Obras de dos vozes) to four-voice pieces (Obras de quatro) by a variety of composers—from Iberians, like Peñalosa and Baena himself, to Franco-Flemish masters such as Josquin and Ockeghem. This further illustrates the circulation of printed repertoire from the northern territories in Portugal. Leeman L. Perkins reminds us that

86 Knighton, 105.
when approaching Spanish and Portuguese music of the late-sixteenth century, it is important to remember the wide net that King Philip II’s rule cast—from his Italian territories in Naples and Mantua, to Portugal and of course, Spain.\footnote{Perkins, \textit{Music in the Age}, 483.}

Juan Bermudo’s \textit{Declaracion de Instrumentos Musicales} from 1555 is the first sixteenth-century Spanish book to teach and educate instrumentalists beyond mere repertoire. The \textit{Declaracion} has a clear educational aim for both professional and amateur instrumentalists. Bermudo’s methodology in the \textit{Declaracion} underscores the importance of assimilating vocal music, which reinforces the primacy of vocal polyphony and the close relationship between vocal and instrumental music during the sixteenth century. Bermudo, Baena, and Attaignant all appropriate vocal polyphony for keyboard music, which demonstrates how integral vocal sources were for instrumental music.

The compositional choices within these manuals and other anthologies offer a glimpse into contemporary musical tastes, as well as further proof of the steady migration of music between Northern Europe and Portugal and Spain. The didactic purpose of manuals such as the \textit{Arte} for amateur musicians also allows us to surmise that this type of method may have been ideal for teaching the “uninitiated,” such as the Japanese students in the Jesuits’ care.

In addition to encouraging seminarians in Japan to sing and play musical instruments for liturgical purposes, we may also extrapolate that music and the ability to perform western music was significant for Valignano. Musical instruments in general, and keyboard instruments specifically, were used as diplomatic tools for Europeans, including the Jesuits abroad. Musical instruments served as ideal currency in a gift
economy: they were physical representations of European high cultural and technological advancements given to impress and win over the daimyo.

Jesuits and Keyboard Instruments

It was reported by Valignano (30 years after Xavier) in the rules for the Seminario that “music or singing must be taught to the boys in the Seminario. Boys will study a cravo, a monocordio, a guitar and other musical instruments and by their performance the church’s celebrations will be enriched.”88 Some dispute whether a cravo and monocordio are one and the same instrument (a clavichord), or if there is a significant distinction between them.89

There are records to indicate that the seminarios built in Kyoto and Arima housed harpsichords and violas. According to Murakami Naojiro,

After Valignano’s departure Nobunaga (daimyo) one day visited the casa without previous notice. He inspected the clock as well as a harpsichord and a viola they had in the casa. He was delighted to hear both played and warmly congratulated the son of the Lord of Hyūga who performed on the harpsichord and another boy who played the viola. These two were seminarists…In the Annual Letter for 1582 Father Frois reports good progress in the studies. The boys had taken up Latin, and as some of them were very clever, they promised, if well trained, to be of great help to the Society.90

Judging from the extant letters and reports Jesuits sent between Japan and Rome, it is most likely that a clavichord (monocordio) was also brought to Japan and used by the Jesuits. Throughout Spain and Portugal, clavichords were indispensable and common among the great organists of the time (Cabézon, Coehlo, Lobo) as affordable and

88 Takahashi, 121.
89 Ibid, 120.
practical keyboard instruments. Both Juan Bermudo and Tomás de Sancta Maria devote substantial attention to the *monocordio*. Clavichords were instruments ideally suited for traveling— portable for long journeys, and easily tuned and maintained for practice or performance.

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Chapter 3

The Tenshō Embassy in Europe and Four Musical Encounters

Introduction

The four Japanese ambassadors, known as the Tenshō Embassy, toured Portugal, Spain, and Italy for two years between August 1584 and April 1586. This unique historical moment offers an opportunity to examine the musical training of the Japanese visitors and the exposure the Japanese gained during their tour of Europe.

The following four chapters investigate the importance of the music and musicians the Japanese encountered during their travels in Portugal during these two years. The Japanese envoy had invitations from Dukes and Kings to visit and tour palaces and monasteries throughout their European travels. They experienced many banquets filled with music and dance as honored guests and tourists. They actually performed on
the newly built organ in Évora (Portugal) in September 1584, and attended Vespers at El Escorial with King Philip II on November 14th.⁹² On their return voyage to Japan, they performed the harp, lute, clavier and rebec in Macao on the evening of January 6, 1590 during the Feast of the Circumcision. And upon their return to Japan, they performed music for Emperor Hideyoshi.

Particularly germane to this line of enquiry are records from the Royal Chapels of Vila Viçosa, because they shed light on the legates’ musical abilities, and the role that music played in the everyday life of nobles and royalty, including the diplomatic events and ecclesiastical services in which the legates participated. Also useful are the sources concerning the work of composers who flourished in the cities where the legation stopped between 1584 and 1586. Using the itinerary in Michael Cooper’s translated account of their travels, together with excerpts from Froís Luís’s original text, I shall reconstruct, as much as the sources will allow, the music to which the Japanese were exposed during their travels.⁹³ Such a “musical travelogue” offers valuable insight concerning several musical issues that relate uniquely to the Legates’ itinerary—namely the value of secular courtly music; keyboard music of Portugal and Spain; harpsichord and clavichord music of Italy; music related to Jesuit liturgical practice, particularly the use of falsobordone in Vespers psalm settings; and the Iberian Christmas villancico.

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⁹² Cooper, 63.
⁹³ Cooper, xi, 193-199. The itinerary and details of the tour come originally from a record compiled by the missionary Luis Fróis, S.J.(1532-1597) who first met the legation upon their return to Japan in 1591, and thus produced a day-to-day account of their travels, which was published in 1942 as La Première Ambassade du Japon en Europe. This was subsequently translated and paraphrased by Michael Cooper, in combination with the diaries and notes of Alessandro Valignano (De Missione Legatorum).
The Tour

As depicted in Figure 1, on March 23, 1585 the Japanese were led by two companies of papal light cavalry and Swiss guards through the streets of Rome. The Japanese were among the relatives of Cardinals and noble families from Spain, France, and Venice, as part of the procession to the papal consistory, accompanied by trumpet fanfares and drummers from the Roman Cavalry playing to the crowds. The Japanese boys were dressed in silk kimonos, and rode past cheering throngs of people, escorted by papal guards and riding on black velvet-clothed horses. Pope Gregory XIII, moved to tears by the appearance of the Japanese, welcomed them warmly in the “Hall designed for entertainment of Kings, and their Embassages.”

The Tenshō Embassy met with a who’s who of the most venerable royalty and wealthiest patrons of the era. King Phillip II of Spain personally met with the entourage on several occasions and helped them with their expenses in every possible way to ensure a smooth expedition to Rome. Even the great painter Tintoretto was paid two thousand ducats by the Venetian senate to paint the boys’ portraits.

Valignano upheld the Jesuit beliefs emphasizing education, language, and the arts. The Tenshō were among a select few to hear the latest variety of music in the intimacy of private chapels and in the awe inspiring setting of great cathedrals, performed by select groups of court musicians. The four Japanese were described by Valignano as samurai or of noble birth in most descriptions and justifications for their selection to the legation. Their age also reflects the hope and respect of contributing to a lasting and

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94 Cooper, 86-88.
95 Ibid., 116. Unfortunately, there was not enough time to schedule enough sittings for the portraits, and subsequent sketches by Tinteretto have been lost.
96 Rees, Polyphony in Portugal, 33-40.
positive impression of Europe, which they could recount and evangelize in Japan.

Throughout Fróis’s account, and other surviving European commemorations of the Tenshō Embassy, the Japanese are always introduced as nobles, which emphasized their homology among the aristocracy with whom they mingled. The importance of their nobility also underscored Valignano’s understanding of the importance of first befriending and converting the daimyo in Japan for political and economic support in winning over further converts.97 Referring to the Tenshō as nobility also served a purpose in Europe, where the aristocratic patrons could feel they were entertaining and mingling with their Japanese counterparts.

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97 Moran, 133.
Chapter 4

Musical Encounter in Lisbon

After two and a half years of travel, by way of Macao, past the Cape of Good Hope, the Japanese finally reached their European destination, the port of Lisbon. During their stay in and around Lisbon, they demonstrated their “exoticism” in public and private displays for their various hosts by wearing native dress and demonstrating traditional Japanese rituals such as sakazuki, or the Japanese sake ceremony. Michael Cooper argues that this kind of ritual made up for the Japanese visitors’ language deficits. Changing from European garments into traditional Japanese robes added to the excitement and admiration by all who witnessed the unusual silk robes, and their samurai swords. The Japanese stayed at the Jesuit residence and church of St. Roque, where the viceroy, Cardinal Albert (1559-1621), the highest-ranking official in Portugal, welcomed them

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98 Cooper, 46-47.
warmly. The Japanese were then taken to the Hieronymite monastery of Nossa Senhora de Penha, travelling the next day to meet the noted theologian Fray Luis de Granada. Granada was the author of *Guia de Pecadores*, one of only a handful of books that would be translated and printed into Japanese by none other than one of the Japanese legates, Martin Hara in Nagasaki in 1599.

Throughout Frois and Cooper’s translated account in *La Première Ambassade du Japon en Europe*, there is ample reference to the legates’ attendance and participation during sung Vespers and other musical activities on special feast days. The boys attended vespers and sung mass and during the festivities they heard many musical instruments, in which they took a special interest. It is likely they were in attendance on August 15, for the major feast day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

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99 As a member of the Hapsburg family, Cardinal Albert served a variety of roles throughout European history in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: Archduke of Austria, sovereign of Hapsburg Netherlands, archbishop of Toledo, and eventually the Archduke of Lower and Upper Austria. He was nephew to both King Philip II and Charles V, and the son of Emperor Maximilian.

100 From the tourist website for the town of Penha Longa, “In 1584 Penha Longa Monastery hosted the first official Japanese Delegation to Europe, consisting of four young students from the Jesuit Mission in Nagasaki. The youths of noble birth, came from the main Christian Daimyo families – Mancio Ito, Miguel Chijiwa, Julian Nakaura and Martin Hara. Princes arrived at Penha Longa in the late afternoon and dined on various delicacies. They then changed into Japanese finery with full ornamental swords before travelling onto the Court in Sintra to call on Cardinal Alberto, their host. After the visit, they returned to Penha Longa for the night before strolling around the gardens the next morning. From Penha Longa, the young delegation travelled onto Madrid, to the Vatican and to other European courts before returning home to Japan in 1585. Tiles commemorating this visit can be seen in the lobby of the hotel.” Accessed on August 15, 2012, http://www.penhalonga.com/pdf/press_kit.pdf. Ironically, the monastery was sold in 1987 to the Japanese Aoki Corporation, and now is managed by Deutsche Bank and by The Ritz-Carleton Hotel Company.

101 Cooper, 47.
102 Ibid., 47-48.
Musical Importance of Vespers and Feast Days

According to Knighton and Torrente, devotional music—such as villancicos, cantadas, chançonetas, and ensaladas—held a special place in the liturgy of Spain and Portugal after the Counter-Reformation. These compositions became part of the liturgy of major feast days, and were sung typically at the end of Vespers, after the responsories of Matins, or during the Offertory. They were also used in processions inside and outside churches. These genres could also be found in private worship settings, such as in the private chapels of nobles. Vespers was a service, like Mass, usually attended by the laity on days of special liturgical significance, such as feast days. Vesper services on major feast days were a regular occurrence at both ecclesiastical and secular musical chapels.

An illustration of the use of such music occurred on November 14, the day the Japanese had their official audience with King Philip II. This day marks the beginning of the preparation for the Nativity of Our Lord (November 14-December 18):

“The audience [with King Philip II] lasted about an hour and, as it was getting late, one of the Jesuits asked the king if he wished the boys to visit his sister, the empress. Philip agreed, but invited the visitors to first attend sung vespers and had the party conducted to his private chapel, to the front seats, next to the altar. The duchess of Veiro, her attendants, and other ladies were present, and the king himself later appeared. Vespers were accompanied by choir, organ and trumpets, and compline followed immediately afterwards.”

Perhaps by the time the Japanese had arrived in Europe in 1582, the Jesuits had changed their attitude towards the use of music. More probably, the Jesuits who worked overseas came to see the valuable use of music as a conversion tool. Although Loyola had banned the keeping of musical instruments in Jesuit houses, one may observe that many

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104 Cooper, 63.
Jesuit missions traveled with keyboard instruments, both as gifts to local *daimyo*, but also for teaching and recreational purposes.

_Lisbon’s Royal Chapel_

If one were to use the exact date the Japanese were in Lisbon (August 1584) as a point of reference, one might infer, from the household documents of King João III, that Antonio Carreira occupied the post of _mestre da capela_ (choirmaster) of the Royal Chapel in Lisbon. Carreira was born in Lisbon between 1520 and 1530, and died there sometime between 1589 and 1597. According to Santiago Kastner, Carreira was admitted to the Chapel Royal as a choirboy, or a member of the _Moços de Capella que Sua Alteza tomou para ensinar a cantar_ (Boy singers whom his Highness took into his service for training). It is possible that he assumed the position of _mestre da capela_ at the Royal Chapel of Lisbon under King Sebastião in 1573, and held this important post until the last mention of his name in 1589. However, there is no direct evidence that he was the organist (nor a famed keyboard player) of the Royal Chapel.

It is surprising that none of Carreira’s music was published during his lifetime. The number of his preserved manuscripts is small, consisting primarily of Portuguese keyboard works (*tentos*). The Portuguese _tento_, also called _fantasia_, was the counterpart to the Spanish _tiento_, the predominant keyboard genre of the period. Most _tentos_ are constructed as intabulations of motet themes treated in imitation, with some syncopated rhythmic

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figurations. *Tentos* are mostly polythematic, with several overlapping sections structured with the principal subject reappearing throughout the composition.\(^{106}\)

*Tentos* are likely to be the kind of music the Japanese would have heard. One of Carreira’s *tentos* was based on the popular villancico “Con que la lavaré la flor de la mi cara,” arranged in polyphonic settings for vihuela by Fuenllana, Narváez, Mudarra, Valderrábano. The text is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Con que la lavare</td>
<td>With what shall I wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la flor de la mi cara?</td>
<td>the flower of my face?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Con que la lavare?</td>
<td>With what shall I wash it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>que vivo mal penada,</td>
<td>for I live with great sorrows.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavanse las casadas,</td>
<td>The married women wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>con agua de limones</td>
<td>themselves with lemon water,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavome yo, cuidadad,</td>
<td>I wash myself, troubled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>con ansias y dolores,</td>
<td>with anguish and pain,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Con que la lavare?</td>
<td>With what shall I wash myself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>que vivo mal penada.</td>
<td>for I live with great sorrows.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Carreira’s *tento* is striking for its simple variation of this song, imitating the style of clear text declamation that was popular in Iberian vocal music. He occasionally includes embellishments, such as *glosas*, and intermittent points of imitation. Paulo Ferreira De Castro Nery considers Carreira’s development of monothematic material a point of particular interest compared to the polythematic approach found in Spanish *tentos*.

The opening rhythm and emphasis on text declamation (or tune declamation) is similar to the characteristics of *musique mesurée* in Parisian chansons, with which Carreira

\(^{106}\) Silbiger, 313-318.
must have been familiar.\textsuperscript{107} Victor Vincente believes that the simplicity of language or economy of material found in Portuguese songbooks suggest either repertory created by courtly amateurs of limited musical training or an aesthetic choice that assumes fluency in Parisian chansons.\textsuperscript{108}

The simplicity of Carreira’s \textit{Tento} may serve as a model of the contemporary performer’s improvisational skills and taste, which was well known and discussed at length in Sancta Maria’s \textit{Arte de tañer fantasia}. Considering that Portugal was the only Catholic nation to give the musical recommendations of the Council of Trent the force of law, it seems no surprise that Carreira’s \textit{tento} would be less florid than the Spanish \textit{tientos} of Antonio Cabézon (1510-1566).\textsuperscript{109} This is also clear in the sacred psalm settings from Évora and the Chapel of Vila Viçosa the Japanese legation visited next on their travels.

This raises questions about the level of musicianship and training that would enable these boys to play the instruments they encountered in their European travels (particularly the organ, and clavicembalo) with understanding and aptitude. One may speculate that the Japanese became more interested in secular music and their ability to play on these keyboard instruments during their travels in Europe.


\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., 166.

\textsuperscript{109} Vicente, 152.
Figure 4-1 – (a) Tento sobre “Con que la lavaré” by Antonio Carreira. Santiago Kastner, *Antologia de organistas do século XVI Transcricao de Cremilde Rosado Fernades* (Lisbon: Fundaçao Calouste Gulbenkian, 1969).
Chapter 5

The Secular court at Vila Viçosa

From September 15-18, 1584, the Tenshō Embassy stayed at Vila Viçosa as guests in the palace of Duke Teodósio II of Bragança (1568-1630). His wife, Duchess Caterina (1540-1614), cousin of King Philip II, greeted the Japanese with her son, Duke Teodósio, who was 16 years old, about the same age as the visitors. In this chapter, I will examine an example of a psalm setting by the mestre de capella of Vila Viçosa, Antonio Pinheiro (ca. 1550-1617), linking his music to the visit by the Tenshō.

The constant musical activity at the House of Bragança reflects the essential function that music played in the daily routine of the ducal palace—both in everyday worship and in more solemn courtly ceremony. The Duke sought to emulate both secular and sacred music of the royal court of Lisbon at any expense, and visitors to the court were given nothing but royal treatment. In an account of the Duke’s own wedding to Dona

\[110\] In 1640, Portugal regained its independence from Spain and it was Teodósio’s son, a Bragança from Vila Viçosa, who became King João IV.
Caterina in 1542, the description of the banquet that followed the nuptials describes the musical scene:

The abundance and delicacy of the food served to everybody was great, was, at the same time sounded to trumpets, shawms and minstrels and after a very concordant Music of instruments and voices was heard, so that the food was even more tasty.”

On becoming the eighth Duke of Bragança in 1583, among his first acts was to order detailed accounting records listing the benefits and payments of all working in the Ducal Palace. The records (referred to as merçes) reveal the significance that music held in the Bragança palace: 100 singers, instrumentalists, and composers are mentioned (António Pinheiro, Philippe Rogier and Roberto Tornar), with a gradual rise in the number of musicians by the year 1593. This signifies that there were more paid musicians here than in any other Cathedral in Portugal.

The Japanese were treated to lavish accommodations within the palace and attended solemn mass together with the Duke in his private chapel. They spent much time with Duchess Caterina and her young sons Duarte and Teodósio. Upon hearing of the Japanese’s interest and skill in music, the Duke supplied them with instruments on which they played and sang accompaniments:

“In two and half days during which they stayed there, they all went to see Mrs. Dona Catharina, for she wished that and enjoyed, offering them chairs, treating them with much kindness and signs of care; every day in the morning she sent them a young man from the Council carrying a big silver pan with rosy sugar that they could eat to bear with the heat; and in order to make them feel bundled up, she had her servants play in front of them and sing calm and honest music; and when the

Duke heard that the Japanese men were playing music, he sent a harpsichord and violas to their house; all were amazed to see them play viola and harpsichord.”¹¹³

In September 1584, during the time of the Tenshō Embassy’s visit, the Chapel of Vila Viçosa was led by António Pinheiro, the mestre de capela, and organist Marco António. According to Manuel Joaquim, Pinheiro held the position of mestre de capela from 12 March 1576, and was the first Portuguese known to have held the position. Pinheiro is recorded as receiving regular payments until 4 January 1584.¹¹⁴ In addition, there were other musicians consisting of six capelães, eight cantors, 12 moços da capela (choirboys), and 15 moços da camera.¹¹⁵

The majority of extant musical sources found in Vila Viçosa from 1571-1640 consist of psalm settings, specifically for Vespers. The singing of the psalms makes up a considerable part of the Liturgy for each of the Hours.¹¹⁶ During Vespers, five psalms and their antiphons constitute the majority of the service. These psalm settings are representative of the polyphonic compositions performed regularly in ecclesiastical

¹¹³ Luís Frois, La Première Ambassade du Japon en Europe, 1582-1592 (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1942), 204. “Em dous dias, e meio, q se alli detiverão, forão todos por quarto, ou sinco vezes ver a Senhora Dona Catharina, por ella assim o desejar, e folgar muito de os ver, dandolhes cadeiras d’espaldas, tratandoos com muita benevolencia, e sinaes de amor; e todos o dias pela manhã lhes mandava hum mosso da Camara com hua grande panela de prata de assucar rozado para comerem hum bocado por cauza das calmas; e para lhes fazer mais intrinseco agazalhado, fazia diante delles tanger sus criadas, e cantar com tranquila, e honesta musica; e sabendo o Duque, q os Senhores Japões tangião, mandou vir alli cravo, e violas a sua camara; m. se admirarão todos os ver tanger, e descanter cã viola, e cravo.”


¹¹⁵ Ibid, 89.

¹¹⁶ Ryan, Music in the Chapel, 219-220. The Liturgy of the Hours consists of seven offices: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline.
institutions at this time throughout Europe, where short polyphonic sections would alternate with monophonic chant.\textsuperscript{117} Based on the above records, it appears that Pinheiro had the voices available to perform four-part music with occasional divisions, such as antiphonal settings, with all the verses performed by alternating polyphonic groups.\textsuperscript{118}

Manuscript copies of Vespers psalms by Pinheiro indicate a conservative approach to sacred music, suitable for use throughout the ecclesiastical calendar. All of his extant music is written in the \textit{stile antico} and there are no indications for specific instrumental parts.\textsuperscript{119}

The Japanese boys may well have heard the private chapel perform Pinheiro’s setting of the vespers psalm \textit{Beatus Vir} (Psalm 111; figure 6 below) while staying with the Bragança’s. And based on what we know about their training in figural singing under the Jesuits, they would have been familiar with the alternatim practice and \textit{fabordão} (Portuguese \textit{falsobordone}) of singing chant they heard in the Bragança chapel.

This \textit{Beatus Vir} (figure 6) demonstrates the tradition of polyphonic recitation of the Psalms in \textit{falsobordone} style. This relates to the 1568 Jesuit orders that called for a simple type of singing (\textit{falsobordone} rather than figural singing). The text setting shows a declamatory style, with repeated pitches reminiscent of the singing of the psalm tone. The syllabic, homophonic setting, and unified rhythm are hallmarks of \textit{fabordão} or Portuguese

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., 220.
\textsuperscript{118} Ryan refers to this style as part of the polychoral tradition that later developed in Northern Italy, known as ‘salmi spezzati.’
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 215-217.
falsobordone style, which the Jesuit-trained Japanese would have known well.
In sum, Pinheiro’s *Beatus Vir* also bears similarities to the *Tento* by Carreira, with its simple triadic sonorities. One may note the dactylic rhythms, reminiscent of French musique mesurée, set chordally, which shows consistency with Portuguese laws for clear text declamation.

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120 Refer also to Owen Rees’ recording “Holy Week at the Chapel of the Dukes of Braganza” on the Hyperion label CDA66867, sung by the A Capella Portuguesa of works by 16th and 17th century composers of works from the Vila Viçosa choirbooks.
Musical Encounter in Évora

While en route to Madrid on September 8-15, the Japanese were invited by the Archbishop Theotonio de Bragança to stop in Évora. The archbishop was a friend of Valignano, and had come to Évora in order to meet with members of the local Jesuit college, the Colégio do Espírito Santo. This Colégio was founded in 1559 and is now known as the University of Évora. Although the Archbishop invited the party to stay at his palace during their time in Évora, they took their residence in the more modest accommodations at the Colégio. On September 14, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the legates visited Évora Cathedral and celebrated Mass.

There was a strong tradition of important composers and musical training in Évora. The Évora Cathedral would become the center of what was later known as “The Évora
School of Polyphony.” In 1575, Manuel Mendes (c. 1547-1605) was brought to Évora Cathedral by Cardinal Henrique as the teacher of the choirboys. Only six pieces identified by Mendes survive today, including two masses, \textit{Asperges me} for eight voices, and an \textit{Alleluia} for four.\footnote{Robert Stevenson. Stevenson pioneered musicological scholarship in Latin America, notably in Guatemala and Mexico voices (a manuscript that was found as far away as Puebla, Mexico). Much polyphonic music from the sixteenth century survives, and Stevenson has catalogued and transcribed much of it.}

The strength of Mendes’s reputation is based largely on his accomplishments as a teacher, having taught three of the best-known Portuguese composers of the seventeenth century: Felipe de Magalhães (d. 1652), Manuel Cardoso (1566-1650), and Duarte Lobo (1564-1646).\footnote{Owen Rees. “Manuel Mendes,” \textit{Grove Music Online}, ed. Deane Root. \texttt{<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>} (Accessed 28 July 28, 2012.)} Mendes was described as “mestre […] de toda a boa musica deste Reino” [master […] of all good music in this Kingdom.]

\textit{The Évora Organ}

Following the Mass on September 14, the Japanese legates were given a tour of the organ. This organ dates from 1544/1562 (see figure 6.1).\footnote{João Pedro D’Alvarenga. \textit{Évora, Biblioteca Pública, Cód. CLI/1-3: Its Origins and Contents and the Stemmata of Late-Sixteenth-and Early-Seventeenth Cetury Portuguese Sources} (Anuario Musical 66, December 2011), 142.} Built by Heitor Lobo (c. 1496-1571),\footnote{P. Manual Rodrigues Coelho, \textit{Tentos, Lisboa 1620 aus Flores de Musica para o instrumento de tecla e harpa}, ed. Macario Santiago Kastner (New York: Schott, 1936).} it is the oldest organ in Portugal, and is among the oldest working organs in the world. According to W.D. Jordan, Lobo is the father of Portuguese organ building and was employed at Évora Cathedral from 1544-1553, where he was entrusted to repair
and tune the instrument. Its pedal has four open wood pipes, tuned C D G A; it was originally constructed with no reeds, but possessed a variety of effects such as two pleni from 16’, Cornet and celeste.\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{126} Peter Williams. \textit{The European Organ} (Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1966), 238-240.
Figure 6-1- (a) The organ at Évora Cathedral is Portugal's oldest organ. http://musicologicus.blogspot.com/2009/10/heitor-lobo.html

Two of the Japanese boys, Mancio Itō and Michael Chijiwa, played this organ, which apparently delighted Archbishop Teotónio and the others who were in attendance.\textsuperscript{127} Although there is no documentation to provide the details, one may surmise what music might have been performed or heard. Because their visit coincided with the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, it is likely that Mendes would have performed on the organ, led the choir, and later gave the boys a tour of the organ. Perhaps one of his most important pupils, Duarte Lobo (15 - 20 years old at the time, and who would become the

\textsuperscript{127} Cooper, 49-50.
mestre de capilla of Lisbon Cathedral in 1591), may have participated in the celebrations of this feast day, featuring music by Mendes.

According to João Pedro d’Alvarenga, Mendes’s manuscripts have been found in Lisbon, the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra and as far away as Puebla, Mexico. The manuscripts d’Alvarenga found in Évora are among the oldest, and the most widespread of Holy Week responsories from among the late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century Portuguese sources. The identical set of responsories for the Easter Triduum (the last three days of Holy Week) is also found in Coimbra [MM 25] and dates from the 1580s – the same time period as the visit from the Japanese embassy. We can surmise that this set was widespread and used throughout Portugal.

The choir at the Cathedral consisted of a maximum of fourteen and a minimum of seven men and four treble young boys. It was common for “singelo,” “duo,” and “terno” (one, two, or three-singers-a-part, or three-part polyphony with one singer per part) to be performed. Therefore, one might readily imagine Filipe de Magalhães (b. 1571-1652) as one of the young choirboys who performed for the Japanese.

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129 Rees, 201-4. The choirbook in Coimbra is a complete set of Triduum responsories that show signs of ‘considerable use in performance.’
130 The Tenshō Embassy would make their return voyage from Lisbon back to Japan one and a half years later. In fact, their departure from Lisbon was two days after Easter Sunday. (Cooper, xix.) Easter Sunday in 1585 was April 6. Therefore, the Triduum would have started on Maundy Thursday, April 3.
131 D’Alvarenga, 148.
132 Masters of the Royal Chapel, Lisbon, chorus conductor Owen Rees and organ Stephen Farr, Hyperion CDA66725, 1994. This recording presents a partial reconstruction of High Mass as it might have been celebrated on the feast day September 8 (Nativity of
Secular Music

The Archbishop entertained the Japanese boys in his palace, too, showing them his collection of books and relics. As Froís Luís notes, during dinner one evening, a performance of “choirboys singing motets, cantigas, chançonetas, etc.” was the musical entertainment.\(^{133}\) The event setting suggests that these vocal works were all sacred, and were sung in the vernacular.\(^{134}\) According to Rui Vieira Nery, neither the contractual evidence, nor other accounts dispute the separation between sacred and secular performance responsibilities among the singers. There are references to the occasion where singers and instrumentalists from the Royal Chapel and other secular courts were called upon to entertain with “Music of a light character, even at the moments when the sovereigns listened to the principal citizens of their kingdoms and dispatched the most important affairs presented to them.”\(^{135}\)

The Colonna Harpsichord

According to Froís and Cooper, the journey back to Japan through Spain and Portugal was filled with as much spectacle and pageantry as the passage to Rome. However, both accounts are much abridged in detail about their journey back to Lisbon. Fewer details are given about their visits to Barcelona or Monserrat. In Saragossa, the

\[^{133}\text{Frois, 42}\]
\[^{135}\text{Nery, History, 26.}\]
capital city of Aragon, it is noted that they stayed at the local Jesuit collègio, and at Saragossa Cathedral heard the choir sing from Psalm 72:

“The kings of Tharsis and the islands shall offer presents; the kings of all the Arabians and of Saba shall bring gifts; and all kings of the earth shall adore Him, all nations shall serve Him.”

The boys had an official audience again with King Philip II at his summer residence in Monzón on September 9, 1585. They stayed again at the Vila Viçosa as the Duchess Caterina’s guests for nine days. En route to Lisbon, through Alcalá, they were met by Ascanio Colonna. In Alcalá, they were treated to a banquet with a theatrical performance. It was here that Colonna gave the boys “un ricco clavicembalo ornato di madre perle” [a richly decorated harpsichord with mother-of-pearl], and made of cedar wood (figure 6.2). Colonna came from a family of music patrons. His father Marc’Antonio II was a war hero from the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, and the dedicatee of the Canzonette (Venice, 1593) by Sabástian Raval. He was also patron of the Portuguese musician Vicente Lusuitano. It is interesting to note that a letter by Raval to Ascanio Colonna from April 1600 discusses a young harpsichord player in a manner that suggests Ascanio was himself a gifted and knowledgeable harpsichord player.

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136 Cooper, 131. “Reges Tharsis et insulae munera offerent reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent; Et adorabunt eum omnes reges omnes gentes servient ei.”


Cardinal Colonna moved to Spain in 1600-05, and according to Owen Rees, this move may account for a wealth of Roman repertories found in Vallodolid, Saragossa, and Tarazona. By these accounts about Cardinal Colonna, we may deduce that he gave the Japanese this exceptional instrument as a gift because they were themselves deft keyboard players who could appreciate and perform on the instrument.\textsuperscript{140}

Harpsichords were highly prized throughout Italy and were found in the homes of the nobility or the studios of scholars. Forty-five (45) Italian harpsichords have survived from the period before 1590; over half were built in Venice.\textsuperscript{141} We may deduce that these Venetian instruments survived because their prestige remained intact long after musical styles had evolved over the centuries. The Baffo instrument in figure 6.2 had an original range of notes from C/E - f3, but was altered at a later date to the more fashionable range of GG/BB - c3. Although Giovanni Baffo seems not to have made any great innovations in building this harpsichord, he was nevertheless one of the most sought after makers of his day.

It is not possible to determine exactly how these harpsichords sounded in the late sixteenth century, since every extant instrument has been modified. According to Denzil Wraight, iron strings were used in most sixteenth-century harpsichords, according to Italian music theorist and composer Vicente Galilei (father of Galileo.) In his \textit{Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna} (1581), Galilei suggests that the harpsichord


(“gravicembalo”) had iron strings in the treble and brass in the bass, giving a brilliant sound in the treble and longer decay in the bass.\textsuperscript{142}

Figure 6-2 – (a) An example of an Italian \textit{clavicembalo} from the late 16\textsuperscript{th} century. Baffo Harpsichord from 1574, Venice. Giovanni Baffo was a leading harpsichord maker in Venice, Florence and Naples. From the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O58982/baffo-harpsichord-harpsichord-baffo-giovanni-antonio/

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid.
The Jesuits played a key role in the Catholic Reformation of late sixteenth-century Portugal. In 1555, King João III placed the Jesuits in charge of the College of Arts at the University of Coimbra; and through it, they came to contribute substantially to the cultural and educational life of all of Portugal. The University of Coimbra would become the most prestigious and renowned academic institution in Portugal, partly because of its center for Jesuit training. Indeed, many Jesuit missionaries were trained and educated there before going on missions to Asia and Latin America.\textsuperscript{143} This final Musical Encounter in Coimbra allows a closer study of the European musical performances that occurred during the Christmas season. The portrayal of specific musical instruments described during their

\textsuperscript{143} Alden, 33.
stay in Coimbra confirms how to measure the Jesuits’ musical influence on their missions overseas.

The Japanese stayed in Coimbra for nearly three weeks—from December 23, 1585 until January 9, 1586—leaving when they received confirmation that they could sail back to Japan that spring. Their time in Coimbra coincided with the most solemn and important festal occasions of the liturgical year in the Iberian Peninsula: Christmas (December 25) and the Epiphany (January 6). Both Froís’s and Cooper’s narratives recount in detail the legates’ visit to Coimbra, perhaps because the Jesuits were held in such high esteem there.

The Japanese were welcomed as celebrities into the city by throngs of university students and residents. They were officially welcomed by a city official in a speech that was followed by the ringing of cathedral bells, and from the Count of Portalegre’s mansion, one reads that the “cheerful music was played by shawms” [se tangia hûa esquipacção de charamelas].

The Japanese attended Mass on Christmas morning. They celebrated with the Bishop Afonso de Castelo Branco, where they were given places of honor in “four ornate chairs in front of the high altar.” Many details confirm that the Christmas celebration attracted a big audience: the Epistle and Gospel for the first Mass (after Matins) were sung at the high alter to overcome the uproar in the church—which is where the boys were kneeling in Coimbra on Christmas morning. The welcome to Coimbra and their subsequent stay during Christmastide was marked with great musical celebration:

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144 Waterhouse, 363.
145 Cooper, 134.
“After entering the cathedral, the boys knelt in front of the high altar while the bishop, robed in pontifical vestments, presented them with various relics to venerate, including once more the head of one of the eleven thousands virgins of Cologne, while an orchestra of different instruments provided a musical background.”

Cooper does not specifically translate the various instruments that are included in Fróis’s account. Rather he omits chorus, a choir of shawms, the organ, harp, viols, rebecs and “cravo.”

When we consider the sheer number and variety of these instruments, it paints a vivid picture of a magnificent celebration. This is the only specific listing of this number of instruments and choir, with mention of various wind and string instruments and organ. Charamellas (shawms) are in the woodwind family, a close precursor to the oboe; there are many accounts of their use in regions where the Jesuits evangelized, such as Brazil and the Philippines. The realjo is a Portuguese barrel (street) organ; arpa is a harp; and the viola de arco could be a bowed vihuela or any of a variety of bowed stringed instrument. The rabeca refers to the Portuguese viola—a descendent of the medieval rebecc. The charamellas, arpa, viola de arco and rabeca are all found today in varying forms in Brazil.
and other parts of South America, and have become part of the musical fabric of these cultures after having imported by the Portuguese Jesuits.

Most likely during their visit to the cathedral was the performance of villancicos. Scholars have shown that Iberian villancicos had a special place in the Christmas season.\textsuperscript{148} In fact, the sacred villancico, which in the seventeenth century came to mean “Christmas carol” in both Spain and Latin America, superseded the importance of the Latin motet as a sacred composition.\textsuperscript{149}

The villancico was sung in cathedrals and other religious institutions as a substitute for Latin responsories during Matins at Christmas and Epiphany, and on sanctoral feast days; but the exact moment when these were performed during the liturgy is not always clear. On the morning of Christmas Day, cathedral services typically started at Prime. The second Mass takes place immediately afterwards, and is usually sung in plainchant with organ. The third Mass of Christmas, at Terce, was the most important Mass of the day. At the cathedral, it was sung very solemnly by eight or twelve voices, \textit{a papeles} (literally, from the “sheet music”); and a villancico was sung at the Gospel and at the Elevation of the consecrated host.\textsuperscript{150}

Throughout their visit to Coimbra, the Japanese were often greeted by large crowds who gathered to catch a glimpse of them, as they rode through the city on horseback. This final Musical Encounter in Coimbra reveals the celebratory spirit of the Christmas season. The portrayal of specific musical instruments described during their


\textsuperscript{150} Torrente, 100-102.
stay in Coimbra confirms that it is possible to measure the Jesuit’s musical influence in their missions overseas.
Chapter 8

Musical Encounters in Macao and Kyoto: The Legacy of the Four Japanese in the Tenshō Embassy

Macao

The Tenshō legates performed at least three concerts upon their return to Asia. As the Japanese waited in Macao for the next ship to Nagasaki, they are reported to have practiced diligently on “harp, lute, clavier and rebec.”\textsuperscript{151} Apparently the Japanese had also practiced on the journey to and from Europe during their sea voyages. As I argued earlier, they may have practiced on a small clavichord, whose portability and small size was ideal for travel, or on a small portative organ like the one on the cover of Gonzalo de Baena’s \textit{Arte novamente inventada pera aprender a tanger}. On January 6, 1589, in the evening of the Feast of the Circumcision, they performed a concert in the church of São Paulo.

\textsuperscript{151} Cooper, 150.
As they waited for their ship to return to Japan, they also made use of the printing press and musical instruments that they brought with them from Lisbon. The first major publication printed with this press was *De missione legatorum Japonesium ad Romanam Curiam* (“A Dialogue about the mission of the Japanese legates to the Roman Curia,” Macao, 1590).\(^{152}\) It also gave an account more broadly of their travels to Europe. This text was to be used in *seminarios* as a Latin reader and served as an introduction to western culture. Much of *De missione* is in dialogue format, in which Michael Chijiwa serves as the main narrator, along with occasional support from the other legates.\(^{153}\) The book is aimed mostly at Japanese readers. It is divided into thirty-four dialogues, tackling subjects such as geography, western history, and a description of the hierarchy of the church. The sixteenth dialogue discusses academic knowledge, demonstrating the importance of the Liberal Arts, and is divided into the familiar *Trivium* (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and *Quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy). An excerpt below provides an interesting account of various instruments found during this era. In its dialogue format, it attempts to personalize and mediate between the various musical tastes and preferences of Europeans and Japanese. Perhaps more importantly, it underscores the importance of vocal polyphony in sixteenth-century Europe, and asserts that instruments did accompany vocal music.\(^{154}\)

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\(^{152}\) J.F. Moran recently published *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe: A Dialogue Concerning the Mission of the Japanese Ambassadors to the Roman Curia* (1590) in December 2012 that has a new translation of this dialogue.


Here follows an excerpt in which Michael and his cousins Leo and Linus discuss music:

Leo: Do the Europeans have many musical instruments?

Michael: Yes, many. And among these most pleasant instruments are nablia, also called psalteries, moreover lutes, the one-stringed pear-shaped violin (lyra), the four-stringed zithers (cithare), not to mention those which belong to the lower population and are wind instruments as, for instance, all kinds of transverse flutes (tibiae), the hurdy-gurdy (sambuca), recorders, trumpets and other instruments of this kind which belong to the orchestra and are either plucked or blown most artfully and give a most agreeable concord.

Linus: In fact, yesterday evening when we listened to you striking the musical instruments, we were exceedingly pleased; and yet we could not perceive such great sweetness as you describe.

Michael: From the matters discussed before we must remember the strength of an inveterate habit, and, on the other hand, the effect of unfamiliarity and strangeness; this is the usually the same in the case of song. That is to say: you, who are not yet accustomed to European song and polyphony (symphonia) cannot experience its full sweetness and suavity. We, however, whose ears have become accustomed to it, we believe that nothing could be more agreeable: if only we avert our minds from habit and consider the very nature of the matter we will truly find that European vocal music is composed in a definite form and with admirable skill.\textsuperscript{155}

Another important point to note from the excerpt above is that the instruments mentioned are derived from biblical scripture. There is a long history of describing modern musical instruments as related to those mentioned in scripture, and this is particularly true of Spanish writers.\textsuperscript{156} The modern instruments are hereby associated with biblical names, as though the author were justifying their existence as part of a larger strategy related to


Christian Cathecism. For example, we may ask whether a violin is really a “lyre” or a hurdy-gurdy a “Sambuca”?\footnote{Isidorus (Hispalensis), \textit{The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville}, trans. Stephen A. Barney, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.), 98. “The lyre (\textit{lyra}) is called from the word (i.e. “speak frivolously”), that is, from “variety of voices,” because it renders diverse sounds. They say that the lyre was first invented by Mercury in the following way. When the Nile was receding into its channels, it left behind various animals on the plains, and a tortoise was one that was stranded. When it decomposed, its tendons remained stretched out in the shell, in made a sound when Mercury plucked it. Mercury made a lyre of this shape and handed it over to Orpheus, who was by far its most zealous student.”}

\textit{Kyoto and Emperor Hideyoshi}

On July 28, 1590, Valignano, Mancio, Michael, Julian and Martin, and fourteen other Jesuits landed in Nagasaki. The four Japanese envoys had been away from Japan for over eight years. It was of utmost importance to Valignano to meet with Hideyoshi as soon as they arrived. However, they had to wait until March of the following year before they were granted an official audience in Kyoto at Jurakudai Palace.

Their gifts to Hideyoshi from Europe included a handsomely dressed Arab stallion with silver harness, gold stirrups, and black velvet cloths; two suits of armor decorated in gold and silver from Milan, swords, a clock, and of course the Italian \textit{clavicembalo}, or harpsichord, from Colonna. According to Waterhouse, after Hideyoshi accepted the gifts and chatted with the legates, he requested to hear some music. One may presume that they performed on the Italian harpsichord, and on the instruments mentioned in their practice and concert in Macao: harp, harpsichord, lute, and rebec. Their recital of instrumental music and singing seemed to please Hideyoshi, demonstrated when he requested more
music. Afterwards, he inspected the instruments, and asked questions about them. David Waterhouse says that he requested the Japanese to play the *viola de arco* and *realejo*, and “said their performance particularly impressed him because they [the boys] were Japanese.”

This performance for, and the delight of, the Emperor represents most directly the goals of Valignano’s vision for his Japanese mission. Valignano may have understood that the Japanese legates’ performance of western music with authentic European instruments embodied most fully (more than their recitation of Latin or Portuguese texts or their European dress) the depth of their European habitus. It is significant to note that there is no mention of Europeans performing these instruments for the Emperor or any *daimyo*; rather, the records indicate how remarkable it is that the local Japanese have learned to play these European instruments so well.

Waterhouse reports that musical study continued in the *seminarios* through the close of the century in Japan. Organs are cited as becoming locally produced, with pipes made from bamboo. Indeed, organ music became prevalent in other colonial areas of Asia, such as the Phillipines. In southern India, local musicians incorporated the harmonium and the violin into the very fabric of their distinct musical texture—that is, the traditions of *Karnatic sangeeta* or South Indian classical music. In another case, the Jesuit Pedro Murillo Velarde mentions in his *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús* (Manila, 1749) that in 1621, a Japanese organist performed in the

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158 Cooper, 157-8. Waterhouse, 364. Cooper translates as “three more encores” and Waterhouse “three more times.”
159 Waterhouse, 364.
160 Waterhouse, 365. Apparently there is a bamboo organ in Manilla at the Church of Las Piñas, originally made between 1816 and 1824.
festivities surrounding the beatification of St. Francis Xavier: “To the fame of these festivities was joined a Japanese cleric, who was a musician and organist, in honour of and gratitude to his holy apostle, played various compositions of good taste.”

The Tenshō had finally returned to Japan. They returned after eight years away, enriched and transformed by firsthand experiences and exposure to the cultural wealth and variety of Europe. They returned to Japan, cloaked in a European-Jesuit habitus that was confirmed by both Alessandro Valignano and Emperor Hideyoshi with their ability to play European musical instruments, as well as speak and write in Latin and Portuguese.

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161 David Irving, “Keyboard Instruments and Instrumentalists in Manila (1581-1798)” Anuario Musical 60 (2005), 31. “Concurrió à la celebridad de estas fiestas un Clérigo lapon organista, y músico, que en honra, y agradecimiento à su Santo Apóstol, hizo varias composiciones de buen gusto.”
Chapter 9

The Return to Japan and the Legacy of the Four Japanese in the Tenshō Embassy

The Japanese had a difficult journey back to Japan. Their maritime travels were challenged by difficult weather and navigation. They spent nearly six months in Mozambique, stranded after their captain boarded another ship and headed back to Lisbon. Finally, in March 1587, Valignano (with the help of the Viceroy of Goa) sent a small cargo boat (galiot) to bring them to India. It would be another three years before they returned to Japan to share stories of their expedition with Emperor Toyotomi Hideyoshi. In this chapter, I will examine how the four Japanese members of the Tenshō were received upon their return to Japan, and how their lives unfolded thereafter. I shall also consider whether their legacy reflects the success or failure of Valignano’s plan to grow the Japanese-Jesuit mission.

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162 Cooper, 144.
During the absence of the Tenshō Embassy, the number of Christian converts had grown substantially. In 1582, there were twenty-three Japanese converts; and by the time of the legates’ return to Japan, there were about seventy. Valignano was wary about this growing number; suspicious that the Japanese were not satisfactorily learning Latin, nor other requirements to assist in catechism or other ministries. In 1587, Hideyoshi’s edict banning Christian missionaries signaled the need for a new strategy for the Jesuits. The Father Vice-Provincial Gómez urged Valignano to consider the ordination of three Japanese Jesuits because “in times of persecution they could hide when the European priests could not.”

According to J.F. Moran, Valignano conceived of several strategies to import Christianity into Japan. In light of what was deemed a successful embassy to Europe, Valignano struck upon the idea of cultural transplantation—an immersion program of sorts for select and serious Japanese scholastics to travel to Europe. In *Sumario de Las Cosas de Japon 1583, Adiciones del Sumario de Japon 1592*, he wrote,

We have concluded here that...for the conservation of the Society in Japan, which cannot maintain itself unless it accepts many Japanese with the intention that they should become priests; and since they are in these islands, so far from all other human intercourse, and the native people here are so wrapped up in their customs and their external ceremonies, and their characteristics and conditions are so different from ours in Europe, unless some or many of the brothers are transplanted for some time from their land to our Europe, they will not be able to produce the fruit which we expect of them, nor will they have the necessary respect or esteem for the things of Europe.

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164 Moran, 167.
165 Moran, 173.
In this letter to Rome (from 1592), Valignano expressed how the Tenshō embassy to Europe convinced him that the power of “transplantation” was the most effective strategy towards Japanese Jesuit ordination and indoctrination:

And we have experience of this with the case of the four nobles who went to Europe. They have come back so changed from what they were before that they really seem like Europeans, and since their decision to be our brothers, in these few months all the others that the Japanese brothers themselves are astonished, and they are deeply impressed with what they have heard from the four, and what they actually see in them, of the things of Europe. And they are convinced that it is essential for them to go there, in order to open their hearts, and to advance to true and solid virtue, detaching themselves from their external etiquette and ceremonies, for in Japan they are tied up in these, so that all the brothers in the college have asked me, in fact begged me, to have them sent to Rome, saying that they believe that is the only way for them to make the progress they aspire to. And all of us have been very surprised by their eagerness, something we never expected, they being so strongly attached to their own country and bound to their customs, and having such a low opinion of all other nations. And the four brothers who went to Europe are constantly trying to persuade me to send others, because of the great change which they experienced in themselves.  

This raises many questions concerning the problems of enculturation, and the acceptance of non-Europeans into the Society of Jesus. Valignano and other senior members of the Japanese mission believed that in order for there to be more Japanese Jesuits accepted as scholastics, they had to teach more Japanese at a younger age. This would give them more time to learn Latin and to “detach” them from their Japanese identities—that is, their Buddhist ideology and various cultural attachments. As Valignano states above, the proof of their Christian authenticity revealed itself as a disconnection from their Japanese identity towards a European disposition. In short, he realized that their

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166 Moran, 173.
firsthand encounter with Europe would do more to indoctrinate them than any academic study in his *seminarios*.

Indeed, the four legates served as living proof of the Jesuit message, which seemed to validate Valignano’s idea of transplantation. Of the four Japanese in the legation, three of the four became active members of the Society. This may be because the Jesuits did not allow ordination of Japanese until 1610. There is some dispute regarding Valignano’s stance on Japanese Jesuit ordination. In a letter to Rome in 1606, shortly before his death, he recommended that requirements for ordination for Japanese be tightened. Other scholars, such as C.R. Boxer, believe he advocated for non-European ordination, but such recommendations appear to have fallen on deaf ears in Rome.

What happened to the four Japanese? Not much is known, mostly because the Jesuits maintained their identities as subalterns, and no known diary entries by them were preserved (all were translated and compiled by Valignano or Froís Luis).

Michael Chijiwa, one of the leaders of the Tenshō embassy and representative of the daimyo of Arima, eventually left the Society.¹⁶⁷ Although the exact date of his departure is not known, his name does not appear in records compiled after 1603. There are various reports about what happened to Chijiwa. Some claim he left for reasons of ill-health and joined the Nichiren sect of Buddhism; others claimed he died in 1633 and is buried at Nichiren temple in Tarami.¹⁶⁸

Martinho Hara (1568-1639) had the most active career in the Society. Although he was introduced in Europe as a mere companion to Michael and Mancio, who was of lesser

¹⁶⁷ Cooper, 186.
¹⁶⁸ Cooper, 186-187.
rank, Martinho was apparently a gifted translator. His abilities in Latin are well documented beginning in Goa in 1587, when he delivered a speech in Latin in honor of Valignano. Hara continued his work as translator after his return to Japan, and became an intermediary between the Japanese and the Jesuits, working closely with the interpreter Rodrigues. He was finally ordained in 1608, alongside Mancio and Julian.

Hara is best known as a prolific translator of various devotional texts into Japanese for the Jesuit Press, especially the works of Fr. Luis de Granada, whom Hara met while in Lisbon in 1584. These include Granada’s Guia de pecadores (Nagasaki, 1599), and a portion of Símbolo de la Fe (1611). He also revised a Japanese version of Granada’s Imitation of Christ (1612-13). In October 1614, Martinho left Japan for Macao as a result of the expulsion edict issued by Tokugawan authorities. He never returned to Japan.

Mancio Itō (1569-1612) was regarded as the senior member of the Tenshō expedition. Although he was not yet ordained, Mancio, and the others of the embassy, took their religious vows as Jesuits on July 25, 1593. The four continued to study at the Amakusa novitiate under the tutelage of Diogo de Mesquita, who had accompanied them to Europe. He was ordained by Bishop Cerquira in 1608 in Nagasaki. Alongside Martinho and Julian, the three were the first Japanese to enter the Jesuit priesthood.\(^\text{169}\)

Julian Nakaura (c.1568-1633) from Ōmura, studied theology alongside Mancio and Martinho until 1604 in Macao. Upon his return to Japan in 1604, Julian continued to preach throughout Kyushu, amidst growing antagonism and persecution against Christians after the edict of 1614. A letter testifying to his final religious vows, written in Latin, and

\(^{169}\) Ibid., 187-190.
preserved in Rome, also testifies to these tensions when he signs off: “In Japan, at the time of persecution, in the village of Kazusa, in the Jesuit chapel in the house of Michael Sukeyemon, December 21, 1621, Nakaura Julian.”

The Great Martyrdom of Nagasaki took place the very next year, on September 10, 1622, where fifty Christians were executed. Julian was captured and imprisoned in 1632. For nine months, he was repeatedly interrogated and offered land ownership if only he would apostatize. Refusing, he and many others were tortured using the ana-tsurushi method, where their bodies were bound tightly and suspended upside down, their heads submerged in pits of excrement. Julian died on the 21st of October 1633. His martyrdom was recognized by the Roman Catholic Church on July 1, 2007, and he was beatified on November 24, 2008 by Pope Benedict XVI, along with 187 other Japanese martyrs.

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170 Cooper, 191.
171 Ibid., 184-192.
Chapter 10

Outcomes: Syncretism instead of Enculturation, and The Musical Impression of the Jesuits and the Tenshō

By 1659, because of growing competition among European traders (the Dutch traders forced the Iberians out in 1600), Christianity and Christian missionaries were outlawed in Japan. All Japanese were required to register with local Buddhist temples, and Christians were forced to apostatize publicly or face persecution or death. In the Tokugawa era or Edo period (1603-1868), Japan closed its ports to Europeans. Christians were forced to worship in secret, and eventually became known as the Hidden Christians,
or *kakure kirishitan*. In 1873, the official condemnation of Christianity was removed, and today there are active Christian communities thriving throughout Japan.172

As a result of the elimination of Christianity and the Tokagawa period of isolation, underground Christian communities called *Confraria* or *Companhia* developed. A fascinating example of cultural syncretism begins to emerge, after the Jesuits and other priests left Japan. Local Buddhist and Shinto customs merged with Christian beliefs and practices. Although texts printed in Japan by the Jesuits such as the *Manuale ad Sacramenta* and Martinho’s translation of Luis de Granada’s *Guia de Pecadores* remained as symbols of the presence of Christian theology in Japan, their traditions, and those able to transmit their meaning, became lost or changed with each generation of the oral tradition.173

The book of liturgical chant known as the *Manuale ad Sacramentorum* was printed in Nagasaki in 1605. It remains the oldest example of printed Western music in Japan. The musicologist Tatsuo Minagawa has compared the Nagasaki *Manuale* with three other versions: one from Mexico (1560), Salamanca, Spain (1585), and Madrid (1595). He concluded that there are strong structural, compositional, liturgical and musical similarities between the two chant books from Madrid and Salamanca, where the Nagasaki version has many differences to support the claim that the chant book was not a mere

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reproduction of a European original, but rather was a unique work reflecting the Japanese mission.\textsuperscript{174}


Figure 10-0-2 – (a) Domine quando veneris. Matins responsory for the Office of the Dead. Cerqueira, Ludouici, and Toshiaki Kōso, 2006. *Manuale ad*
There is a very distinctive musical phenomenon called *uta-orasho* (derived from oratio) that is still practiced in southern Japan. Through centuries of oral tradition, the Latin chants of the *kakure kirishitan* are heard today on Ikitsukijima Island (Nagasaki Prefecture). The musicologist Tatsuo Minagawa has matched several Japanese chants such as “Daodate/domino/oonee/zente” and “Gururiyoza” with their originals—“Laudate Dominum/omnes gentes” and “O Gloriosa Domina.” Minagawa found the original hymn to the Gloriosa at the National Museum in Madrid.\(^{175}\) Recordings of the *uta-orasho* demonstrates how the Hidden Christians continued their worship in secret, with noteworthy similarities in performance to Buddhist sutras.

The following example of syncretism and ideological transformation demonstrates several unique Christian phenomena that are peculiar to Japan. The Christian underground continued to worship for over two hundred years, primarily through oral traditions. A text, the *Tenchi Hajimari No Koto*, or *Beginning of Heaven and Earth*, originates from the eighteenth century. Written by a Kirishitan, it quotes mainly from the Old and New

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\(^{175}\) Minagawa, Tatsuo and Katayama Miyuki. *Yogaku toraiko*, CD/DVD. OCLC: 692411138
Testament; however, it integrates Buddhist ideology and mythology with Christian concepts. For instance, God is called *Hotoke* or Buddha, and heaven is associated with the twelve heavenly beings of Buddhism.\(^{176}\) Relics of Christian worship, such as the Virgin Mary or other images of Jesus, became subverted into Buddhist deities. Often times, Christian icons were actually hidden inside Buddhist statues during funeral services. The most famous of these became known as *Maria Kannon*. As seen below in Figure 10.4, a hybrid of Christian and Buddhist iconography is embodied in the statue of a woman or goddess sitting peacefully in prayer or meditation. The Buddhist figure known as *Kannon*, or goddess of mercy and compassion, was associated with Mary by the kirishitan.

\(^{176}\) Kim, 113-4.
Figure 10-4 – (a) The Virgin Mary disguised as the Buddhist Kannon became known as “Maria Kannon” 17th century Japan. Salle des Martyrs, Paris Foreign Missions Society.

Unlike many other Jesuit missions in Central and South America and other parts of Asia, the Christian Century in Japan (1549-1650) came to an abrupt close in the middle of the seventeenth century. Despite the inroads made by Francis Xavier and Alessandro Valignano in their approach to conversions and education, and the success of the Tenshō Embassy to Europe, Japan became a closed door to Jesuit attempts at enculturation and the adaptation of Christian liturgy.
Chapter 11

Conclusion

This study of the Tenshō Embassy in Renaissance Europe and the Jesuits in Japan reveals a very complex picture of the interaction between Jesuit cultures in Europe and Japan, particularly the conflicts between two very different cultural traditions. Francis Xavier, Alessandro Valignano, and other Jesuits saw a great opportunity to further their Christian doctrine in Japan. Japan seemed a likely match for the Jesuits’ own European culture because it weaves together immeasurably sophisticated customs, language, and aesthetics, with a deep connection with religion—Buddhism in the case of Japan.

My interest in this topic was initially guided by reading Michael Cooper’s detailed translation of the Tenshō Embassy’s travelogue compiled by the sixteenth century Jesuit Luís Froís (1532-1597). Throughout Cooper’s work, he makes several
rather vivid musical allusions to the Japanese legate’s abilities to play the organ, to sing, and eventually to perform for Europeans and Japanese dignitaries. This led me to question what role music served in Jesuit missionary work, and to investigate if there was any documentation to describe what the Japanese’s musical abilities or training may have been. In addition to reading mostly musicological articles ranging from topics concerning keyboard diplomacy in Asia in the sixteenth century, to dissertations on Jesuit European musical practices, I began to uncover a more critical portrayal of the Jesuits in Dauril Alden’s work, as well as the research on the Jesuits in Japan by J. F. Moran.

I was able to investigate some of the Jesuits’ practices with their missionary work abroad and what significance music held in that work. Some of these practices conflicted with church doctrine that guarded against the dangers of the vernacular, or polyphonic complications with textual importance of the liturgy.

I do believe that much of what I found reveals the complex relationship that the Jesuits had with the “other” that they encountered outside of Europe—in Asia and elsewhere. The Jesuits were asking, “How do we reach these people who have different ideals, different tastes, different cultural outlooks? Is it possible to convey our teachings to them without their understanding of these things we hold as valuable or beautiful or without our own understanding or desire to understand their perspective?”

After beginning my initial research, and seeing it as it stands today, I feel I have many more questions than answers. I do wish that I had been able to do archival research in order to find further musical examples by composers such as Duarte Lobo (1565-1646) or Manuel Mendes (1547-1605). The research and cataloguing efforts of musicologists is ongoing in Mexico and the Americas, and also in the Philippines and eastern Africa. This
is fascinating work, and will surely lead to the discovery of further connections concerning musical practices, about instruments and idioms that the Jesuits and other missionaries brought with them, and about how those instruments evolved and adapted to their new surroundings.

The extant documents concerning this remarkable story allow one to examine late sixteenth-century music of the Iberian peninsula from the Japanese perspective, and to imagine the awe it must have inspired in them during their travels. The history of the Japanese and the Jesuits offers a glimpse into the complications inherent during this colonial period. The Jesuits attempted to acknowledge the vast differences between their history, language, culture, and religious backgrounds, and to integrate those differences into their own ideology; however, the Jesuits could not see past their own biases to allow non-European whites to become Ordained Priests. Isolationism and violent repression was the response during the Tokogawa era to the many pitfalls of these cultural biases, economic fears, and political misunderstandings.

As more records have been unearthed in places such as Coimbra and Évora, it is clear that Renaissance Portuguese music must no longer remain marginalized from its northern contemporaries, and must be considered on its own merit. Examining the Tenshō Embassy’s travels in Europe leads to many more fascinating musicological corridors into the late sixteenth century: Philip II’s Royal Chapel’s extensive musical patronage and keyboard collection; Jesuit neo-Latin theatrical plays by Orlando di Lasso (1530-1594), who was commissioned to composed music for this unique genre in
Munich; and the Jesuit musical developments in the German seminary in Rome, with its Spanish connection to Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548-1611).

Valignano, the Visitor, who masterminded the Tenshō Embassy, understood the significance that enculturation would have to strengthen and prove his missionary work in Japan. He was well aware of the difficulties for the Jesuits to learn Japanese, and for the Japanese to learn Latin or Portuguese. This study has shown, however, that Valignano’s strategy of converting the Japanese, his idea of enculturation, and thus the mission in Japan as a whole could not succeed because of the overarching doctrine of eurocentrism. Valignano failed to recognize and honor the distinctive character of Japanese politics, customs, and culture, thus proving the impossibility of success in imposing the rigid goals of the Jesuits’ Constitutiones upon the Japanese.

I believe that this is where music and musical ability demonstrates not only how the liturgy was taught, but also displays the Jesuits’ pervasive eurocentrism. In my study, I believe that the Japanese legates’ ability to play western music for European patrons and in a concert for Emperor Hideyoshi in Kyoto served as the most important evidence of the Tenshō’s enculturation and Christian conversion. Their ability to play the harpsichord or cravo or organ or sing in Mass, signified most clearly to both the Europeans and the Japanese that the Tenshō Ambassadors had been transformed from merely foreign Japanese, to embodying European ideals. Their performances of western music became a brief and succinct indicator for the potential of Valignano’s mission work in disseminating Jesuit European values and aesthetics in Japan. The Jesuits’ pedagogical use of music functioned as a significant missionary tool to transmit the
liturgy. Their Japanese converts’ ability to play western keyboard and string instruments and sing Latin polyphony also represents most directly the Jesuit’s methods towards conversion and enculturation in Japan.
References


