

Alan STRATHERN

Immanent Power and Empirical Religiosity

Conversion of the Daimyo of Kyushu, 1560–1580

The baptisms of the lords of the Ōmura, Arima, and Ōtomo families formed the breakthrough for Christianity in Kyushu. These conversions are analyzed here in light of the relevance of “empirical religiosity,” the tendency to alter religious commitments and ritual practices according to their perceived efficacy in bringing about this-worldly outcomes. This article arises out of a larger project of comparative global history, which establishes a threefold model of ruler conversions. The revelation of immanent power forms the second element of this model. Close analysis of the sources reveals that in sixteenth-century Japan, just as elsewhere, the daimyo in question were driven to experiment with and then commit to the new cult due to its capacity to bestow military success, healing, exorcism, and fertility. In particular, this is shown through a detailed account of the changing religious affiliations of Ōtomo Sōrin, and his son Yoshimune. However, since the bulk of the sources relating to these conversions are European, this article also considers whether these themes are simply missionary projections. After consulting Japanese sources, this article concludes that both pro- and anti-Christian parties framed their arguments in terms of a shared empiricist epistemology.

KEYWORDS: Christianity—Kyushu—conversion—empirical religiosity—Ōtomo Sōrin—miracles

Alan STRATHERN is Associate Professor of History at the University of Oxford.

THE MOST significant elite conversions to Christianity in early modern Asia occurred in Japan. Leaving aside the conversion of certain elite families in the Gokinai 1563–1564 (HJ 1: 252–266), the key breakthrough was made by three rulers on the southern island of Kyushu. Ōmura Sumitada (1533–1587), who held a petty domain on the Sonogi Peninsula, was baptized in 1563. Close by, Yoshisada of Arima was baptized in 1576, followed by his son Harunobu in 1580. Easily the most significant, however, was the baptism of Ōtomo Sōrin, the lord of Bungo, in 1578. His son Yoshimune (1558–1605), who took over his domain around this time, also came very close to conversion in 1578, then pulled back and was finally and briefly a baptized Christian in 1587.

Much scholarly attention has focused on the sophistication of Jesuit accommodationism under the leadership of Alessandro Valignano, who first came to Japan as Visitor to the East in 1579. However, appealing as the Valignano period is from the viewpoint of intellectual history, it must be recognized that the Kyushu breakthroughs happened before his arrival, during the superiorship of Francisco Cabral (1570–1579). Rather ironically, Cabral tended to present a gloomy picture of the state of the mission and even begged to be relieved of his office, partly because the circumstances around these conversions did not conform to the image of the ideal conversion (ZAMPOL D'ORTIA 2017). How Christian could the subjects of such daimyo be, converting in their thousands once their lords had decided to become baptized?

What drove these radical switches of religious allegiance among the daimyo is in fact a matter of some significance for comparative understandings of Christian mission. They have plausibly been interpreted in terms of the military and commercial advantages accruing from association with the Portuguese and the

* Some of the material in this paper was presented on two occasions in May 2017: a symposium at Sophia University organized by Kuwabara Naoki and a lecture at the Institute for Research in the Humanities, Kyoto University, organized by Silvio Vita (Italian School of East Asian Studies) and Martin Nogueira Ramos (École française d'Extrême-Orient). Kojima Yoshie, Orii Yoshimi, Patrick Schwemmer, Goto Harumi, Akune Susumu, Kage Toshio, and James Raeside also helped my research in Japan in various ways, while Moriwaki Yuki provided excellent assistance in accessing libraries and sources. I am grateful to Christopher M. Mayo for help with many matters in relation to Japan and the Ōtomo, and to Kanda Chisato for extreme generosity in assembling Japanese sources and discussing them. I am only able to use these sources thanks to the translation work of Xia-Kang Ziyi. Ian MacDonald translated a vital article by Kanda Chisato. Kanda also read a longer text from which this article has been extracted, as did Kiri Parmore, Richard Bowring, and James McMullen. I am very grateful to all.

perceived potential of Christianity in fashioning new forms of common cult, obedience, loyalty, and discipline (BOXER 1951; ELISONAS 1991; KAWAMURA 2009; PARAMORE 2015). Both these imperatives were indeed in play, as I emphasize elsewhere, and in fact conform to the first and third elements of a tripartite model of ruler conversion which can be applied to any period or region of world history (STRATHERN 2019, 257).¹ However, here I would like to consider the importance of the second mode or stage of that model, which was typically critical in terms of triggering commitments to baptism: the perception of the power of the Christian deity to intervene in the world on one's behalf. Focusing on this theme in our sources also illuminates how far an "empirical religiosity" prevailed in this period, where ritual activities are expected to produce results in the observable world and may, therefore, be assessed as more or less efficacious.

First, it is necessary to briefly explain two theoretical terms deployed here which result from a much larger project of global comparative history (STRATHERN 2019). They pertain to two forms of religiosity. Immanentism is the default mode of religious behavior: it is driven by universal cognitive tendencies toward imagining that significant processes of cause and effect are controlled by supernatural forces and beings who are present ("immanent") in the world and amenable to persuasion via ritual communication. If the intent behind immanentist action is the amelioration of life in the here-and-now, the *raison d'être* of transcendentalism, by contrast, is salvation. This means attaining a newly transcendent state of being such that the human condition is escaped altogether through a process of abiding by a set of core teachings and moral injunctions. These teachings are attributed to individual prophets or thinkers and set down in texts, which generates an authoritative clerisy to guard and interpret them. Thus the guiding principle shifts from questions of earthly felicity to a regard for truth, ethics, and soteriology.

It is crucial to appreciate, however, that transcendentalist traditions never survive without combining with profoundly immanentist elements (note that the reverse is not true). Indeed, from its inception, a tradition such as Christianity—framed around a man-god and ever alert to the work of providence in the world—displays both elements simultaneously. Furthermore, when religions such as Christianity, Islam, or Buddhism spread into areas dominated by immanentism they must meet it on their own terms. The desire for other-worldly salvation is not an inherent desideratum of human life whereas the need for this-worldly assistance is truly universal. The situation is much more complex in a

1. This tripartite model consists of (1) religious diplomacy, (2) accessing immanent power, and (3) enhancing authority. These represent the primary modes of attraction, but also tended to follow consecutively. I will explore their application to Japan in STRATHERN (forthcoming). To these we may add the attraction of liquidating the wealth of Buddhist and Shinto religious establishments, suggested in STRATHERN (2020).

situation such as Japan where one transcendentalist religion (Christianity) was attempting to make headway in a society in which others had already become deeply established, especially in the shape of various forms of Buddhism. Indeed, in such cases, I have argued, the chances of missionary success among ruling elites were significantly lower. This is not the place to explore how and why that should be so. Instead the task here is more straightforward: to show how there remained a deeply immanentist quality to religious life in Japan, which constituted the essential context for explaining why those daimyo who did bend for the baptismal waters were induced to do so. If this dimension to the conversion process has attracted less attention, it may be because such matters are not quite taken seriously from a secular perspective (can beliefs in magic or miracles really be at work in events of such import?) or from a religious one (surely conversion reflected movements of the intellect and the heart?).

The bulk of the evidence deployed here has issued from the pen of Jesuit missionaries, and in particular Luís Fróis. How far, then, should we see the theme of empirical religiosity as emerging from the pious concerns, propagandist aims, genre expectations, and Eurocentric assumptions of such sources? Fróis's letters and his monumental chronicle, the *Historia de Japam*, are no doubt influenced by his struggle to make providential sense of the tumult into which he was thrust. Soon after landing in Japan he was plunged into jeopardy in Ōmura, and his own chances of success and even survival necessarily then tracked the sharp peaks and troughs of Bungo's fortunes. He also needed to turn these events into a history that was both edifying and inspiring, one which bathed the Japanese mission field in the glow of sacred theater (*The First European Description of Japan*, 25; MORAN 1993, 72; ELISON 1973, 112). His delight at the divinely arranged mishaps and accidents that befell those who opposed Christianity and mocked its symbols is unmistakable (HJ 1: 117–118, 264–265; 2: 388, 430; 3: 179–182; C 1: 352v–353).

Still, of all the Jesuit sources, Fróis is perhaps most likely to yield some grasp of the Japanese viewpoint (LOUREIRO 2010). He knew Japanese better than any of his colleagues, acting as a translator for Toyotomi Hideyoshi at one point, and had spent one year being tutored by a Buddhist monk (*The First European Description of Japan*, 6, 18). He was the author of a treatise that placed contrasting Japanese and European customs side by side as if to underline their essential arbitrariness, a remarkable feat of Renaissance cultural relativism if we leave to one side its bald negativity about Buddhism. It was probably commissioned by Alessandro Valignano as a primer in accommodation (*The First European Description of Japan*). And when we compare Fróis's narrative to the letters he was using as his main source, we do not often find significant discrepancies.

Certainly, in terms of his basic reading of events he was hardly exceptional. It is true that Valignano had a somewhat different approach to providence,

noting quite explicitly that the Lord had not helped the missionaries by providing the gift of tongues or miracles in the way that he had helped the early Church (*Sumario de las cosas de Japon*, 271). Valignano was perhaps unusually stringent on such matters: he was, for example, a notable skeptic of the reported miracles of Francis Xavier (PINCH 2011, 120). His predecessor as superior, Francisco Cabral, had explicitly listed such miracles in Japan in the form of exorcism and healings in his letter of 1576 (C 1: 355v–363v, 360–362). Valignano's stance was moreover shaped by the fact that he was writing in 1583 after some disturbing reversals of fortune for the mission.²

The empiricist logic does not emerge from our Jesuit sources through authorial asides but as a causal mechanism in the flow of events. Most significant is how often it is presented as working to the disadvantage of Christianity. It is difficult to see any reason why Fróis would spend stretches of his letters and chronicle inventing painful arguments about the unhappy experiences of converts to put into the mouths of Christianity's opponents, a strangely masochistic strategy from an exhortatory viewpoint.³ For such arguments are not only presented in a generic manner but are attributed to specific individuals on specific occasions. An early example from the 1550s is when missionaries were threatened by angry soldiers who blamed them for continuing war because the missionaries had angered the gods by claiming that they had no power to save themselves or others (HJ 1: 52; compare with an incident from 1579 in HJ 3: 118–120). Valignano was also insistent that every set-back for recently converted rulers was seized on by Buddhist monks and lords who could “with the appearance of reason” attribute it to the punishments of the gods and buddhas (*Sumario de las cosas de Japon*, 271–281).

Finally, a vital role is played by a select group of Japanese sources, which are used to corroborate the broad lines of the analysis, along with more general support from the scholarship of Kanda Chisato in particular. The relevant Japanese texts relate to the case of Ōtomo Sōrin and Yoshimune of Bungo, and indeed

2. His writing was also influenced by a rhetorical strategy of arguing that the Japanese must be converted by reason and persuasion and accommodative performance. His general understanding of providence was rather orthodox, but in this instance he argued that God had recently deliberately withheld intervention in order to stimulate a revised missionary strategy (ÜÇERLER 1998, 162–177).

3. See, for example, HJ (4: 292) on the gloating of “the great multitude of bonzes and sorcerers in Satsuma” surrounding the daimyo after their victory over Bungo in 1586, which was attributed to their sacrifices. What Fróis may do from time to time, however, is insert counterarguments into his text in a way that he could not always do convincingly in life to reflect what he wished to have said, or did say but was ignored, or what now seemed apparent to him. This may be behind the claim in HJ (3: 87) that when the prince was first presented with the anti-Christian interpretation of Mimigawa he replied that it had turned out so badly because he temporized with his mother and uncle over his Christianity.

the bulk of this article is devoted to tracing the complex weave of events that culminated in Sōrin's conversion.⁴ Of the three warlords, he was easily the most powerful. It may seem as if the result is essentially a detailed narrative, but it is one organized by the analytical purpose of revealing the role of empirical religiosity at every turn.

Empirical Religiosity and the Reception of Christianity

First, however, we may note some more general features of empirical religiosity in our period. Consider how Thomas Conlan describes fourteenth-century attitudes toward the kami and *hotoke*: “Their behavior could be observed and their motives deduced. Omens, dreams, and an unusual configuration of stars were recorded with scientific precision, for it was believed that such phenomena were evidence of divine disorder or displeasure.” The intervention of the gods was conceived in concrete and direct terms; the battlefield was “a realm where gods and Buddhas mingled with men” (CONLAN 2003, 166). This was a world in which a priest might complain of inadequate compensation for the part that his outstanding prayers played in victory (the war booty had insultingly gone to soldiers instead), or in which the shogun Ashikaga Tadafuyu and his officers might report that Hachiman had come to their aid by sending humming arrows from his shrine against an enemy attack (CONLAN 2003, 171, 79–81; TURNBULL 2006, 63–67).

The sixteenth-century world into which Jesuits arrived would appear to have been little different. Warrior elites continued to patronize temples in order to secure their battle-winning prayers (HAYASHI 1986, 263–267). The missionaries aroused hopes that matters of serious existential import—victory in battle, fertility, and healing—could be addressed through their ritual techniques and the new deity they propitiated. On some level, the Jesuits tended to realize this and operated accordingly; on another level, of course, they were not in control of the hopes and fears they generated.

Samurai had long gone to battle laden with the accouterments and symbols of supramundane support. On a collective level, the divine may award victory; on an individual level it surely brought most immediately protection. Warriors marched under banners of war emblazoned with Hachiman, with Buddhist

4. After making these arguments initially based on European sources, I was much emboldened to discover that the work of KANDA Chisato (2010; 2014) had come to very similar conclusions. Meanwhile, my analysis has also been influenced by the work of Ikuo HIGASHIBABA (2001) and Hiroshi HINO (2004). In general terms, the vital practical importance of supernatural relations in battle comes through documents relating to the Usa Hachiman Shrine: Ōtomo vassals in 1561 (OS 418), and the letter by Bekki Akitsura, on the thirteenth day of the ninth month of 1562 (ZTHOS 21: 114–115; STRATHERN 2020).

mandalas sewn into capes, “Amida Butsu” on their lips, figurines of gods in their pockets, and rosaries in their hands (CONLAN 2003, 179; HINO 2004, 819). They trusted in *myōjo*, the “otherworldly assistance” provided by the kami, and *hotoke* (C 1: 161; CONLAN 2011, 131). As Hino Hiroshi has pointed out, when Christian samurai began to appear with the cross painted on their armor and their banners, or medallions of Jesus and Maria on their helmets, and with Catholic rosaries in their hands, they were resorting to new powers in a traditional manner (HINO 2004, 808–817). In 1566 Fróis saw the efficacy of such symbols in a battle that took place close to Sakai, in which the Christian warriors bedecked with such symbols were victorious with the loss of little life on their part (C 1: 208v). The cross warded off evil just as prayer papers had done (HJ 1: 309–310). The Jesuits were responding then to a distinct appetite already well primed (HIGASHIBABA 2001, 33; HINO 2004, 834).

A letter by João Francisco in 1580 shows how these objects of condensed supramundane power might draw a fighter to experiment in a blatantly empirical manner with the new cult. It describes the case of a non-converted lord who nonetheless put much store by some Christian beads, which he always carried in his hand together with his lance. One day a gunshot hit him with great fury in the spear without doing any other injury, which he attributed to the protective power of the beads. This stimulated him to receive baptism a few days later “and now he does not cease to preach to the prince on his conversion.” He then ordered a cross to be fixed onto the sheath of his lance and put beads into his helmet. One day he encountered one of Nobunaga’s most formidable captains at church who noticed the talismanic objects. The captain decided to let him in on a secret of his own: all the fame and glory he had won in war was due to the cane cross he carried, which endowed him with courage and his enemies with fear. Indeed a few days ago a wild thrust at his throat had caused him no injury. “Praise the lord for his marvels” (C 1: 480v; 391; HJ 4: 144).

Francis Xavier was initially taken as a member of a Buddhist sect, and the notion long persisted that Christianity was a species of Buddhism or some such salvific creed from India (HIGASHIBABA 2001, 44; KAGAWA 1913). But the Jesuits could also be understood as something like sorcerers; I follow here the arguments of Ikuo Higashibaba, who has also made the more specific suggestion that missionaries might be taken as the broad equivalents to *yamabushi*, practitioners of Shugendō (HIGASHIBABA 2001, 47; WARD 2009, 145). In keeping with the way in which transcendentalist authority tends to generate immanentist radiance, these were monks of the esoteric Shingon sect who adhered to austerities in the mountains but were now increasingly found at work in villages where they were credited with considerable powers (C 1: 173v; BOWRING 2005, 225–226). The *yamabushi* owed some of their reputation to the fact that they were transgressive figures who lay outside the normal social order, and the Jesuits also of course

presented outlandish qualities (LEUCHTENBERGER 2013, 13–14). It may be that such associations with the liminal and non-domestic suggested a power to control the forces that threaten domestic society (HELMS 1988). For similar reasons, no doubt, Jesuits could be associated with the demonic. As early as 1551 we have a diary entry of the Yoshida Shinto family that describes Christianity as a *mahō* (“demonic doctrine”) and attributes the downfall of Ōuchi Yoshitaka to the fact that his vassals had come under its sway (HIGASHIBABA 2001, 45; OKADA 1955, 160; JOSEPHSON 2012, 282).

Previous waves of religious change in Japan, such as the arrival of Buddhism or particular deities from South Asia, had been associated with healing episodes and powers (TEEUWEN and RAMBELLI 2003, 27). In the sixteenth century, people looked to priests, either itinerant or based in temples, for their healing powers, and frequently attributed illness to malevolent supernatural entities (FUJITANI 2019, 83). The Jesuits’ willingness to diagnose demonic possession and overpower it through exorcism therefore resonated with preexisting assumptions about health and well-being, while the rite of baptism also spoke in a recognizable register of purificatory rites. There were already categories of demons or wicked meta-persons who existed “outside the more ethical purview of more respectable buddhas and gods” in the Buddhist imaginaire, although they were usually held to be capable of offering benefits as well as misfortune and ill-health (JOSEPHSON 2012, 33; REIDER 2010, xix).⁵ The Jesuits used the transgressive actions of the possessed—crying out for interpretation and resolution—to articulate a testimony of the superiority of Christian ritual and the deity it supplicated; through leading questions, the cries of the possessed became the laughter of demons scorning the feeble attempts of the other ritual specialists (C 1: 355v–363v, 360v–361v; compare with C 1: 352v–353, 355). Among some communities then, there was a (distinctly immanentist) willingness to emphasize the capriciousness or even malevolence of their local deities as they were redescribed as Christian devils (C 1: 373; WARD 2009, 161).

Exorcism was but one way among several that missionaries could demonstrate extraordinary healing prowess (HIGASHIBABA 2001, 37–38; ZUPANOV 2008). Xavier had encouraged the idea that Christian objects and prayers could heal the sick, and when Luís de Almeida visited Kagoshima in the 1560s he found these still in use and credited with miraculous efficacy (HJ 1: 213–214).⁶ Holy water was particularly credited with healing powers by converted and non-converted

5. KAWAMURA (2009, 165–166) suggests that sixteenth-century Japan was beset by a generalized fear of sorcery from which Christianity functioned, much like Pure Land Buddhism, as a mechanism of release. Compare Central West Africa (STRATHERN 2018).

6. Fróis was copying the letter by Luís de Almeida, 25 October 1562. For a conversion movement of the sick and maimed after an early healing event, see C (1: 45v), HINO (2004, 830), and HIGASHIBABA (2001, xiv).

alike (HIGASHIBABA 2001, 32–33; HINO 2004, 826). In fact, crucifixes, prayers, and holy water could be used to ensure good childbirth or protect cattle, too (HJ 1: 135–136). People's readiness to credit Christian symbols with these powers was undoubtedly then a "path breaker," as HIGASHIBABA (2001, 34) puts it, for the Jesuit mission in many locales. As always and everywhere, desperate medical situations demanded flexible experimentation with new ritual practices (HJ 2: 429; C 1: 352V–353). No wonder that the later genre of anti-Christian texts that developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries tended to portray the missionaries as sorcerers endowed with an uncanny gift for healing in particular (LEUCHTENBERGER 2013, 16, 23).⁷

As everywhere, the functioning of empirical religiosity pertained to particular meta-persons (deities, bodhisattvas), ritual actions, and special objects, all of which could be compared on the grounds of apparent efficacy. Undoubtedly, different traditions in Japan framed this logic in different ways, although our source rarely allows us the luxury of making much headway here.⁸ It is possible to note that the incorporation of certain philosophical and transcendentalist traditions in Japan had also established more encompassing and abstract means of interpreting the vicissitudes of life and death. Particularly noteworthy are Way of Heaven (Tentō) teachings, heavily derived from Confucian thinkers, which became influential among warriors in the sixteenth century (OOMS 1985; ELISON 1973; PARAMORE 2009). Contrary to purely immanentist cultural forms, this introduced a strong element of ethicization into the understanding of fortune and misfortune (KANDA 2014, 75–77). (Buddhism, meanwhile, provided another means of understanding and ethicizing the play of fortune.) But when put to work to explain military and political events, in many ways it functioned, rather like the Polynesian notion of *mana* or the Christian notion of providence, as a means of justifying the actions of successful warrior houses. The judgment of Heaven was identified in the changing fortunes of daimyo.⁹ Moreover, the activity of Heaven was closely associated with the gods and kami, and the former mandated the veneration of the latter (ZTHOS 24: 214–220; KANDA 2010, 43–48).

7. They are depicted as using "money, magic, and medicine" in many of these texts, which rather aptly reflects the actual circumstances of their reception, although LEUCHTENBERGER (2013, 37–39) is more concerned to emphasize the mythic qualities of these accounts. The first such text, the *Baterenki* (written ca. 1607–1614), presents a story of Constantine being cured of leprosy as a means by which the popes had gained power in Europe. This may be a reference to a common legend referred to in BROCKEY (2008, 150). See also SUZUKI (2007, 88–89).

8. I am grateful to a *JJRS* reader for making the suggestion, for example, that a shrine offering might be considered as part of a transactional exchange, while an adherent of the Jōdo Shin school might speak of Amida's mercies.

9. For an example of such judgments, see a 1562 shrine supplication in ZTHOS 21: 114–115. KANDA (2014, 97) refers to a letter of Oda Nobunaga referring to the Way of Heaven in chastising his son after military defeat.

The increasing salience of the Way of Heaven thought helped create a certain shared terrain of epistemology with Christianity. Heaven was certainly a more transcendent, less personal entity than the Christian God. Consider the criticism of Fabian Fucan in 1620: “Dislikes, likes and personal preferences are personal feelings. Deus, who has love and hate is unworthy of consideration” (HIBBARD and HIRAISHI 1963, 11; MEYNARD 2017). In another sense, however, it acted as an analogous judgmental supernatural agent (KANDA 2010, 53–54). When Valignano in his Catechism of 1586 explained the horrors of the whole civil war period as God’s punishment upon Japan for its idolatry, this was not, on one level, a particularly alien form of reasoning (ELISON 1973; *Catechismus christianae fidei*; c 1: 352v–353). Indeed, this was a theme developed by the Japanese convert Fabian Fucan in his pro-Christian polemic *Myōtei Dialogues* of 1605. He pointed to what happened when the Chinese emperor, Wu of the Liang (r. 502–549), “turned against Confucianism, converted to Buddhism, built temples, befriended monks.” For in the end he was deposed and died of starvation. “Would you call this kind of thing profiting from Buddhism?” (BASKIND and BOWRING 2016, 190). This principle is then applied rather devastatingly to events closer to home. If the worship of the buddhas and the gods is necessary for a peaceful and well-ordered society then how does one explain the past ages and current state of remorseless strife in Japan? Perhaps Fabian saw how effective this would be as a gambit of proselytism because it resembled so closely indigent reasoning about the Way of Heaven. The warring families of the period already strove to explain the downfall of opposing houses as the result of their offending the will of heaven by acting unethically, for example, or treacherously, or untraditionally (KANDA 2010, 60–61).

Ōmura and Arima: Celestial Crucifix and Mortal Illness

The first lord in Kyushu to convert was Ōmura Sumitada, who was struggling to hold on to a small domain on the Sonogi Peninsula amid much internal strife. He did, however, control the promising harbor of Yokoseura, and he was approached with the prospect of Portuguese trade ships calling at his port. In return for tax privileges and protection for Christians the carrack dropped anchor at Yokoseura in 1562 (HJ 1: 270–271; *Historia del principio*, 444–446; ELISONAS 1991, 323–324). If religious diplomacy must form the primary context for Sumitada’s association with Christianity, the details of the period leading up to his baptism in late May or June 1563 suggest that thaumaturgical considerations proved decisive, for both the creation and the destruction of life had been playing on his mind. The best source here is Luís Fróis, who had arrived in Japan at the port of Yokoseura in July 1563, shortly after Sumitada’s baptism. The crucial turning point had taken place one night in April, when the Spanish lay-brother

Juan Fernández, with long experience in Japan (VU THANH 2016, 186), spoke to Sumitada on matters of faith. He made sure to focus on what intrigued him:

[H]e said that he would finally deal with the virtues of the name Iesu and the mysteries of the cross, whereupon the Brother gave him an account also of the history of the Emperor Constantine regarding the cross. He greatly enjoyed hearing these things and the brother could see clearly by the particular questions he asked that he took away understanding. (C 1: 133V; HJ 1: 278–279)

It was the day after this discussion and its reflections on the battle-winning cross that Sumitada sent a message to Cosme de Torres saying that he now had a reasonable understanding of the new faith and that if the Lord would give him a son and heir he would become Christian. Although he would not yet be baptized, he wanted a cross to carry around with him and for the Padre to pray on his behalf. Torres replied that if Sumitada gave his support for the Jesuit's missionary work then he should have great confidence that the Lord would respond by attending to the pressing matter of male issue.

On his return to Ōmura, Sumitada had a cross of gold fashioned that he wore openly round his neck. In April, he asked for a house to be constructed for his use behind the church in Yokoseura and ordered, on the Padre's promptings, that all must be compelled to listen to their preaching. As for the baptism itself at the end of May or June, Fróis's narrative details the proper element of doctrinal instruction as one might expect, but we should rather pay attention to the urgent events that surrounded it: "On the following day he left very quickly because his brother had sent to say he should go to war." Moreover, the new Dom Bartolomeu requested the support of Jesuit prayers, and in particular that his wife would have a good labor (*parto*), suggesting, again, the significance of fertility magic (HJ 1: 282).¹⁰

This then is the context for the famous anecdote about Dom Bartolomeu's skirmish with Marishiten, a multifaceted goddess of battle taken from the wider Buddhist pantheon. On the road to battle, he passed a statue of Marishiten topped by a statue of the cockerel, which was customarily treated with reverence. But Bartolomeu ordered the temple to be destroyed—as if to show how little power it had to save him or give him victories—and delivered a blow to the cockerel, saying, "how many times have you betrayed me?" In its place he had a beautiful cross erected instead (C 1: 127V, 135). Notwithstanding the echoes of long-standing Christian stories about the overcoming of paganism, the sense of a warrior's frustration with traditional ritual services is contextually understandable and comparatively compelling (BROCKEY 2008, 154; STRATHERN 2019).

10. Sumitada's keenness for Our Lady of Grace in these accounts may be connected to the theme of fertility magic. Note that Fróis says that the Lord responded, "because afterwards he came to have six or seven sons and daughters from this woman."

While in the field with his brother, he sent instructions to begin the work of tearing down temples (HJ 1: 283).

This embrace of iconoclasm surely helped precipitate the backlash that occurred some months after his conversion, and the instability that continued thereafter (STRATHERN 2020). The ensuing conflict was now, however, conceived in terms of a battle taking place in the heavens. An anonymous Portuguese reported in 1564:

The general of the armada of Firando [Hirado] said that Dom Bartolomeu won this victory by being a good Christian and having good heart through God. This battle was on the day of Saint Francis and they say that there appeared to him a cross in the sky and he entered into this battle carrying a cross drawn onto the left side of his chest and on the right a crown of thorns with carnations, and on the back another cross, and in the battle finally a banner of the cross which was given to him by Cosme de Torres. (C 1: 152–152V)

Considered in isolation, it would be easy to view this reference to a celestial crucifix as pious Portuguese hearsay. But it fits with all we know of Dom Bartolomeu's experimental approach to the battle-winning powers of the cross.¹¹ Indeed his experimentalism may have retained a pluralist flexibility, if we consider the Japanese evidence that (probably in 1574) he also took the tonsure (*shukke*) in Shingon Buddhism along with a priest name (HIGASHIBABA 2001, 39–40). However that may be, in 1575, when a small contingent of men sallied out of his desperately besieged fortress, the women left at home were given courage by the names of Jesus and Mary. As the Jesuits saw it (in the contemporary letters of Francisco Cabral as well as the later narrative of Luís Fróis), God intervened at several points in this crisis to save his skin, render the sally improbably successful, administer rough justice to a mocking Buddhist monk, and such miracles convinced defectors to return to the fold (C 1: 350–352V; HJ 2: 381–383, 394; C 1: 416V).

Grave concerns of life and death also attended the conversions of Sumitada's brother Arima Yoshisada and his nephew Arima Harunobu (1567–1612), lords of the Takaku region of Hizen. In this instance, as also for some other lesser lords, this was associated with the threat from disease.¹² It is particularly pertinent for

11. Sumitada says clearly to Cosme de Torres that the gold crucifix given to him around his baptism had won him many victories and saved him from many dangers (C 1: 160V). Indeed, he prayed dearly for victory over his enemies.

12. The conversion of an ailing lord in the Goto islands in 1566 had come after Luís de Almeida had succeeded in giving succor to him after bonzes, at one point appealing to Hachiman, had failed (C 1: 216–217); also see the case of the lord Sumoto, in HJ (5: 163–165). In C (1: 373) there is a description of how a proselytizer tried to take advantage of a bereaved wife of a lord by arguing that all her husband's recourse to local ritualists to help with his illness had done him no good. One later example is worth further investigation: in the 1630s, the Jesuits received

questions of source criticism that in the first instance this told against Christianity. That is to say, when our missionary sources reflect failures as well as successes, we may have greater confidence that they are reflecting a genuine local form of empirical religiosity rather than merely spinning pious yarns (STRATHERN 2019, 247).

Arima Yoshisada had also been drawn to conversion through the prospect of Portuguese trade and was baptized in April 1576 as Dom André, ignoring “the false pronouncements of the bonzes and the happy victories they promised him” (HJ 1: 287–304; 2: 449–454; C 1: 371V). But it was a false start; he was not Christian for more than eight or nine months before he fell ill with cancer. Our sources note that the local Buddhist monks took the opportunity to make it clear to his son that this was divine punishment from the gods and the buddhas for becoming Christian and for disregarding their veneration (HJ 1: 463; C 1: 434V; *Sumario de las cosas de Japon*, 275). Clearly, here, as in other cases in Japan, the bedside of the seriously ill was a favored battleground for competing ritualists, and healing reversals might lead to a backlash against Christianity (C 1: 353–355V; HJ 1: 267; 4: 161–164). In this case, all attempts by the missionaries to see the dying man to apply Portuguese medicine were blocked; the Buddhist monks won the day, and when his son Arima Harunobu assumed power he persecuted Christians. No doubt such arguments were particularly persuasive amid the desperation and anger of bereavement.¹³

It was external affairs—religious diplomacy in its bluntest form—that made Harunobu reconsider. After three of his fortresses went over to the enemy, he received provisions and military supplies from the recently-arrived Valignano, and he was baptized as Dom Protásio on 3 April 1580 (HJ 3: 137; ELISONAS 1991, 333–334). What is particularly fascinating about the Jesuit narrative here is how much it reveals of the intense psychological pressure that resulted from balancing the demands of realpolitik with a consciousness of the immanent power of the local deities. Harunobu finally resolved to go to Kutchinotsu and be baptized (HJ 3: 135–136). But just before departing he visited the baths, and there he

news from Japan that Tokugawa Iemitsu had been told by a Buddhist monk that he was suffering from smallpox because of his execution of the Padres at Nagasaki, and since no one else could heal him he had asked for Christian priests to attend him. The Jesuits hoped that this would precipitate his conversion. BROCKEY (2014, 405) does not indicate what the real event was that lay behind this report.

13. Compare the case of a lord based in Yono, close to Takatsuki, who converted in the 1560s under the influence of Takayama Hida no kami Zusho Dom Dario. This minor lord died shortly after baptism when the Christians were still “young and tender in the faith” and his wife was then visited by Buddhist nuns who argued that the misfortune that had befallen her and her husband was due to their abandonment of the gods and buddhas. She apostatized until twenty years later when she came back to Christianity and this time put her faith in the Christian lord when she fell ill (HJ 1: 267–269).

suddenly fainted and fell as if he had dropped dead. At once a rumor sprung up that this was the punishment of the gods and Buddhas, and such was the uproar that his resolve to convert disintegrated. With remarkable frankness, Fróis tells us that “however a few days later the youth recognized the benefit that the Visitor had made to him in making the boat enter his port of Kutchinotsu” and so he finally submitted to the baptismal waters (HJ 3: 136). Since the death of his father, the script of divine punishment had clearly gripped his mind, and it seems that his body acted it out. As he knew now on a very deep level, he was risking death by walking toward baptism: no wonder his knees buckled. If it was only mundane military necessity that pulled him forward nonetheless, in the end Harunobu also ended up placing his faith in Deus as a battle-winning god.¹⁴

Bungo and the Battle of the Gods

Whatever commercial or military advantages Ōtomo Sōrin obtained by his association with the Jesuits had already been secured by his patronage of them since the 1550s (C 1: 249v–250). Religious diplomacy was undoubtedly at work, then, as some Bungo retainers later explained most explicitly (ZTHOS 24: 237–238). But the causes for his eventual baptism in 1578 must be found outside this paradigm. Ōtomo Sōrin emerges from the evidence as the most complex personality among the daimyo converts of Kyushu, as well as the most significant, so it is fitting that his final baptism was simulated by a no less complex array of considerations, encompassing the domestic, intellectual, and even the visionary dimensions of his existence (STRATHERN, forthcoming). The following narrative touches on these matters but focuses most intently on the way that the events leading up to and following his conversion were interpreted by all parties according to an empirical logic.¹⁵

Sōrin was consistent in his favor toward the missionaries from the start. In 1553, he issued edicts for their protection, officially giving them permission to proselytize, and built residences for them in Funai and Usuki, granting them territory, and patronized hospitals. From 1557, Bungo became the principal center for Christian education in Japan. But for all his invaluable support and great curiosity, Sōrin was not inclined toward Christian teaching (HJ 3: 8). In circa 1562 he became a Buddhist initiate, which is when he acquired the name Sōrin, and it

14. See HJ (4: 73) in which Dom Protásio made a vow to God in order to obtain victory in battle, which he would repay with the revenues from a temple of Ungen, and the letter of Alessandro Valignano (Goa, 25 December 1585) discussed in HINO (2004, 822).

15. After drafting this section, I was introduced to KANDA (2014, 82), who also emphasizes the importance of immanent power, or worldly benefits (*genze riyaku*) in inducing the conversion of Sōrin.

seems that he was drawn quite deeply into the sophistications of Zen Buddhism (MAYO 2015, 56).

However, his approach to religion for most of his adult life could best be described as exploratory and experimental. This was so in both an intellectual and a pragmatic manner. His Buddhist initiation followed a number of hard military defeats. But by 1564, a Jesuit report attributed his favor toward the missionaries to his tendency to refer everything that happened to omens. Sōrin had noted the good fortune he had enjoyed since the arrival of the Jesuits: the appearance of long-wished-for sons, the conquest of further kingdoms, and wealth in gold and silver (C 1: 153v). In the 1570s Fróis would make this Sōrin's central reply to the anti-Christian arguments of his senior wife, who is unfortunately only known to us by the Jesuit slur of "Jezebel" (C 1: 374; WARD 2009, 17). It was during the war with Mōri in 1569 that Sōrin explicitly turned to the Christian God for assistance. According to Belchior de Figueiredo, the Padres now prayed to God to extend his grace to the King of Bungo by granting him victory as a reward for his support for the church (C 1: 279). Sōrin's wife dropped her opposition and sent messages to the Padre saying that he should pray to God on behalf of the kingdom of Bungo. Evidently, both Sōrin and his wife were tempted here to experiment with new ritual mechanisms in order to secure victory.

In other ways too, Sōrin was pluralist. As testimony to his growing interest in Zen Buddhism, in 1570 he invited a leading monk from Kyoto (Iun Sōetsu from the Zuihōin subtemple of Daitokuji) to come to Bungo and instruct him in meditation, and he also ordered the construction of the temple of Jurinji, which rose up in front of his fortress at Usuki (HJ 2: 439).¹⁶ The monk clearly made a charismatic entrance, was treated with great respect by Sōrin, and caused a stir of interest in Zen among the noblemen (ZTHOS 14: 237; HJ 3: 9). Sōrin also noticed here an opportunity for dealing with his second son, Chikaie. In accordance with a common practice, Chikaie was to be retired from the world by becoming a monk so that he would not seek to rebel against his older brother over the succession. He was placed as an acolyte at the temple of Jurinji (C 1: 356, 356v, 418v). Chikaie, however, showed the strong will that had perhaps aroused his father's anxiety in the first place and refused to submit to the monastic life (HJ 3: 9). Much troubled, Sōrin then decided that the solution was to have him become Christian (HJ 2: 440). Having tried to deploy Buddhist institutional discipline to solve this matter, he swiveled to Christianity.

Chikaie himself was already drawn to the faith and consented readily to baptism and his new name of Sebastião, after the young King of Portugal, toward the end of 1575. This baptism—Sōrin's maneuver—was what finally forced a significant

16. TOYAMA (1975, 171) mentions Sōrin's pledge of protection to Manjuji, the tutelary temple to the Ōtomo family and the largest temple in the Funai region.

entry for Christianity among the noble warrior families of Bungo, rendering it potentially honorable (C 1: 357). Around this time, Sōrin's nephew and son-in-law, Ichijō Kanesada of Tosa, also converted (HJ 2: 440–441; C 1: 350–352v).

From about 1576, Sōrin had begun the process of retiring as daimyo, handing over the official oversight of government to his son Yoshimune, and from this point the conversions among retainers and servants at court began to cause serious divisions. Sōrin's wife, seeing her family members and servants taken by the new cult and their loyalties turned, began to organize opposition to it along with her brother Tawara Chikakata, head of the Tawara family and one of Sōrin's most important vassals. The young daimyo Yoshimune found himself pulled this way and that between the growing Christian movement and the powerful faction around his mother.

The Jesuit correspondence takes on an unpleasantly vituperative aspect in relation to this woman and indeed Fróis's narrative of her actions is colored by a distinct misogyny.¹⁷ It is therefore somewhat against the grain of the Jesuit accounts that we pick up stray clues as to her ritual flexibility before this juncture (C 1: 279). It may be that it was the readiness to perpetrate iconoclastic violence by the new elite converts which solidified her opposition to the new faith. If we can trust Cabral's report of 1576, she initially maintained her flexibility upon receiving news of early iconoclastic violence, rather expressing confidence in the immanent power of local deities: she replied that if the kami were indeed powerful they would be able to take their own revenge as to the destruction of their temples (C 1: 360v).¹⁸ From this point on, however, it became clearer that Christianity was shifting ominously from one of many ritual options to an aggressive force that would destroy both the religious traditions and the status of her family (STRATHERN 2020; WARD 2009). The threat was surely felt particularly acutely given that she was a member of the Nata family who had supplied the high priests to the Usa Hachiman temple (HJ 4: 341; WARD 2009, 119–125; STRATHERN 2020). Haruko Nawata WARD (2009, 154–155) emphasizes the shamanic quality to the priestess's role at this temple, who “provided the bridge between the local devotion to Shintō Hibigami and to Buddhist Jinbun Bodhisattva.” Beyond this weighty and long-lived association, Sōrin's wife also patronized *yamabushi* from the Kumano Gongen Temple in Bungo, among others (WARD 2009, 145).

The crucial context in which to explain the breakthrough elite conversions of 1575–1576 in Bungo is that of demonic or spirit possession, healing crisis, and

17. The fact that she is nameless in Japanese sources, while the Jesuits resort to “Jezebel,” means that we are left with few options in referring to her. See WARD (2009) for a corrective.

18. This reply should be treated with caution as Cabral may be playing a clever rhetorical game here, inserting a prophecy that does not come true in order to prove the opposite, or it could be a rationalization of inaction on the part of “Jezebel” who was otherwise painted as such an implacable foe of Christianity.

exorcism. The only conversion in Bungo of a nobleman of standing before this year had followed the successful treatment of his medical condition in his house by the Jesuits (C 1: 357, 355v). But from the mid-1570s, Bungo seems to have been affected by a distinct atmosphere of demonic threat (HJ 1: 266, 381; 2: 427; C 1: 405v–406).¹⁹ One element of this psychodrama may have been touched off by the early acts of iconoclasm themselves. Cabral reported how a woman who had been very sick for five years suddenly entered into a fit of possession while in the presence of a Christian at prayer (C 1: 361). The spirit admitted to being a kami who had been evicted from his temple; it was made to testify to the superior power of Christian things, and the woman was liberated. On display here are the guilt and fears of the newly converted about what happens to the kami when their hallowed abodes are suddenly destroyed.

It was against this backdrop that the important conversion in 1577 of Tawara Chikakata's adopted son, Chikatora, may be understood (see WARD 2009, 115–119, for family relationships). The Jesuits reported that the young Chikatora had first been drawn to Christianity two years before after hearing about an exorcism of a possessed woman, who had expanded horribly in the throes of her torment while speaking in Portuguese (C 1: 355v–363v; HJ 2: 484–485). The demon testified to the efficacy of Christianity, laughing at the *yamabushi* who had failed to heal her. This monk then apparently converted along with many others around the exorcised woman. The sixteen-year-old Chikatora was impressed and spent months in clandestine correspondence with the Padres before being baptized as Simão.

This struck Sōrin's wife hard because the youth was expected to take on the family's special obligations to Hachiman.²⁰ She and Chikakata therefore responded with anger, writing letters to Cabral issuing threats, and using whatever influence they possessed against Christianity. At this point she fell ill, which the missionaries understood as divine punishment (C 1: 418v–420v; HJ 3: 14; ZTHOS 23: 235–236).

19. WARD (2009, 160–163) refers to the work of anthropologist Yoshida Teigo, who suggests that Japanese spirit possession was caused by the conflict resulting from rapid social change and that Bungo was historically a hotspot for the phenomenon. Elsewhere, too, people would come to church or use the name of Jesus to ward off spirit possession; from Shiki, Aires Sanches (C 1: 247v, 372) reported on how even pagans would use “Jesus” and the sign of the cross to ward off the illnesses caused by demonic affliction. The Christian power to heal through exorcism was already making inroads among vassals of Bungo in 1569 (C 1: 278).

20. This is most explicit in Fróis's account (HJ 2: 487–488) of a letter sent by Chikakata to Cabral, in which Chikakata says that the house would be destroyed if they did not keep up their priestly obligations because of Chikatora's conversion. A contemporary letter by Luís Fróis (C 1: 370) also lists three points of contention in correspondence between the two sides, although the content is different: not mentioning Hachiman specifically, concentrating on the disobedience of their son as a convert, and the dishonor attached to his conversion.

But ill-health was on the mind of her husband too, for Sōrin was “almost always sickly” according to Fróis. He too must have been placed under great duress by the way that Christianity had riven his wider family and the court as a whole into two. He resolved finally to find some way to remove himself from his senior wife, which he effected by taking up with a new woman—the mother-in-law of his son Sebastião—in a new residence in Gomiura away from the castle (HJ 3: 12–13; C 1: 418v). Soon afterwards he dispatched a message that she was to become Christian and that the Japanese brother João de Torres should come and preach. What lay behind this? Kanda Chisato has recently drawn our attention to the way in which both Luís Fróis and Japanese chronicles depict her as engaged in a distraught attempt to gain revenge by making prayers to the gods and invoking forms of supernatural assistance.²¹ According to the *Ōtomoki* family chronicle, “she gathered all the temple priests and *yamabushi* here and there to offer numerous prayers day and night without ceasing”; this was carried out in secret but everyone was curious as to what was going on, and Sōrin was enraged as a result (*Ōtomoki*, 565).²² Taken separately, each of these sources would be open to doubt: the Japanese chronicles, because they are so late, and Fróis, because this “Jezebel” evidently aroused a bitter hatred among the Jesuits and his depiction seems to draw on European images of witchcraft in order to demonize her.²³ But considered together, the essential logic of events they present is much more compelling.²⁴

Now, we know that at the point at which he took up residence with her, Sōrin’s new wife was also ill and, soon afterwards, she and her daughter were baptized as Julia and Cointa respectively (HJ 3: 16; C 1: 419). Kanda argues that this was arranged by Sōrin because he saw baptism as a means to counter his old wife’s

21. We do not need to interpret “Jezebel’s” bitterness in terms of romantic love but rather as a threat to her status; she was evidently a powerful agent and source of patronage in her own right. My thanks to Chris Mayo and Kage Toshio for discussion of contemporary forms of marriage.

22. The *Intoku taiheiki* (KAGAWA 1913) refers to the curses of Sōrin’s wife or *gorenjū* (a high-status term for a wife).

23. HJ (3: 14) refers to “Jezebel” using live frogs and toads in making spells as well as saying prayers to the kami and *hotoke*. Moreover, this section does not appear in his original letter which is otherwise his main source for his chronicle (C 1: 419). This raises suspicions that all or some of it is a rhetorical interpolation. It is equally possible, however, that he simply became privy to the information about “Jezebel’s” curses afterwards, probably while he was holed up with Yoshimune in Notsu before the battle of Mimigawa, and then embellished it.

24. On the assumption that it is unlikely that Fróis’s *Historia* would have influenced the family oral traditions on which the chronicles presumably drew, my thanks to Kage Toshio for affirming this point in conversation. The Japanese sources have “Jezebel’s” prayers directed against Sōrin, while Fróis claims they were directed against Julia. This is a very minor discrepancy. Moreover, HJ (3: 28) later also has “Jezebel” pray to “the sun and the moon” to kill Sōrin once his own baptism becomes known.

supernatural attacks (KANDA 2014, 87–89).²⁵ Set against the background of empirical religiosity explored here and in Kanda's own work, and noting in particular the dramatic theater of healing-through-exorcism staged by the Jesuits in Bungo, this proposition is entirely plausible.²⁶ When Julia recovered, Sōrin may well have interpreted this as a final piece of evidence that the healing power of the Christian God was indeed superior to that of the local deities and, given that his own health was vulnerable, a means of his own succor. Certainly, in the period after his baptism he was imbued with new vigor.

Although Sōrin's slide into Christianity was probably a gradual evolution rather than a damascene event, this must represent the most significant turning point.²⁷ Characteristically, though, this too was drawn out. According to Fróis, the king continued to listen to Christian preaching with new seriousness. Most tellingly, he stopped visiting temples and abandoned his long discipline of meditation and intellectual consultation with the Zen monks. Sōrin's retreat with Julia comes across as a kind of abdication from the irreconcilable differences in his relationship with his senior wife and his elite vassals. In the speech he is said to have delivered when he finally requested baptism, he refers to the cares of government that had prevented him from attending to this matter until now. This may indicate that it was only by retreating from his public role that he could try to overcome the legitimacy dilemmas of conversion. On 28 August 1578, he was baptized and took the name of the first Jesuit to ever impress himself on his

25. The narrative in HJ (3: 14) seems to attempt to downplay the possibility that such pagan appeals could be effective, because he tells us that God saw to it that her curses rebounded and that rather than Julia going blind she herself suffered in the eyes while her enemy convalesced.

26. KANDA (2014, 90–91) also notes that taking holy orders was traditionally seen as a medical remedy while the practice of *uwanari uchi* ("striking the second wife") was a trope at the time.

27. The *Intoku taiheiki* (KAGAWA 1913) has it that from this point "his hatred grew into a severe loathing of Buddhism and Shintoism." On 9 June and 29 July 1578, Sōrin signed two documents acknowledging the prayers of shrines for his family and used the signature "Sanhisai" or "Sanpizai" (ZTHOS 24: 81). Although these appear in Sōrin's communications patronizing the Tenmangū Shrine, the signatures are often taken as a reference to some emergent Christian commitment (MAYO 2013, 20; personal communication). This is because the name is interpreted as a reference to three Christian vows that Sōrin took while he was in Hyūga; HJ (3: 91–92) describes Sōrin as subsequently referring to these vows in the aftermath of defeat at Mimigawa. This certainly was the period by which Sōrin was living with his Christian wife Julia and listening to preaching. However, what the link is, exactly, between "Sanhisai" and the three vows is not clear. The character for the middle of the name (*hi* or *pi*) is a negative, but of the three vows described by Fróis, while the first and the third indicate a vow not to do something, the second vow is more positive, essentially amounting to "I will keep the laws of god and the counsel of the Padres." Therefore, the use of the *hi* character in a seal of Sōrin's in an undated letter which some scholars have dated to 1575 is quite slender grounds on which to indicate evidence of Christian commitment in 1575. It is true, however, that he used his signatures and seals to indicate changing religious affiliations and after his baptism used the seal FRCO for "Francisco."

mind, Francis Xavier (HJ 3: 28; C 1: 422). Francisco Cabral took the occasion to remind him of the benefits God had bestowed on him and the masses said in his name (HJ 2: 22).²⁸

If Sōrin thought that he might escape the dilemmas of state religious policy through his retreat, the gravitational pull that his conversion exerted on the court merely brought these to the feet of his beleaguered son Yoshimune. Fróis's account in his letter of this year returns insistently to the theme of ritual efficacy, the way that Yoshimune came to disregard the power of Japanese meta-persons and disavow all traditional gestures toward them from the most personal to the most public (HJ 3: 26–37; C 1: 373v–386). When Sōrin's senior wife first heard of her impending baptism she sent a message to Yoshimune advising him to summon the *yamabushi* to perform their ceremonies on behalf of his newborn son and to continue their rites in the palace (HJ 3: 26). In Yoshimune's reply he said that the more trust had been placed in the gods and buddhas, the worse their affairs had turned out (C 1: 425). Within a month of his father's conversion, he was requesting the attendance of a preacher and putting various questions to him including on his father's namesake Francis Xavier and the miracles associated with him, while his interest in exorcism and the power of the cross is also apparent (HJ 3: 29–31; C 1: 428, 430v). He claimed that he could not yet convert but that if he steadily took revenues away from the monks and dismantled their temples then his noble vassals would come to see how little they in fact owed to the assistance of native gods (HJ 3: 31; C 1: 424v).

Bungo had been a major center of religious patronage. Among the traditions that Yoshimune discarded were the giving of alms to *yamabushi* from the three temples of Kumano Gongen and to devotees of Amida during Obon (HJ 3:33; WARD 2009, 145–158). It was one thing to reject his mother's offer of two chests packed with many rich garments to make as offerings to temples in Kyoto to request success in war (HJ 3: 32; C 1: 425). But what did it signify for him to cease the tradition of sending newly made arms to Atago Shrine in order to have military success and political peace? Or, to abandon the festivals to the two protector gods of the family, Hachiman and Gion, patronized by generations of Ōtomo—great set pieces of Durkheimian ritual solidarity drawing vassals from miles around? The festival in Funai dedicated to Hachiman was traditionally attended by lords marching in procession with thousands of men. But on that day in 1578 when Yoshimune and Sōrin set out to Funai, apparently making for the festival, they pointedly turned into the church and spent the day there instead.

28. HJ (3: 20) and C (1: 420–423) also report that Sōrin wanted to fully penetrate the teachings of Japan, but they had not brought him any sense of emotional or intellectual satisfaction. The suggestion that he had long wanted to convert seems dubious, but it is possible that the legitimacy dilemma had restricted his freedom of religious maneuver.

Around this time, Sōrin's daughter and her husband Kiyota Shigetada found themselves cast into a desperate healing crisis.²⁹ Their much-loved two-year-old daughter fell ill and for fifteen days the father engaged various ritual healers (bonzes and sorcerers) who promised to cure her, much encouraged by "Jezebel." But to no avail. When she died, Shigetada determined to kill the sorcerers who had deceived him. At this juncture Sōrin intervened and suggested that he become Christian and so he called for baptism (HJ 3: 34–36; C 1: 426V–427). This clear example of supramundane disconfirmation through personal tragedy was the stimulus too for a more public reaction. According to Fróis, it was the opportunity for Yoshimune to proclaim that all "public sorcerers" were to be put to death, as were *yamabushi* from other territories, and for peddler monks from Mount Kōya if they did not stop their activities (HJ 3: 35). This again might come across as missionary hyperbole, if it were not for the fact that the Japanese family chronicles also say that orders were issued for all the priests "to be put to death without exception" (*Ōtomoki*, 565; KAGAWA 1913). However, they also explain (as Fróis does not) that the minister Yoshioka Sōkan then successfully intervened in order to have them banished rather than executed.³⁰

If the narrative up till now has centered on the vital role of healing, it is no less clear how strongly the changing religious policy is related to military affairs. In exactly the same period that Sōrin was moving toward baptism, from the start of 1578 to the summer, Bungo was gearing up for war. The Shimazu of Satsuma to the southeast had begun to expand and had moved against the Itō of Hyūga, whose daimyo fled to seek help from his relatives, the Ōtomo. Yoshimune decided on a bold response and in March pushed a large army into Hyūga. They met with success, capturing Matsuo Castle in May (ZTHOS 24: 27, 22–23).

Although as late as July Sōrin was still hedging his bets and propitiating the Tenmangū Shrine for success in battle (ZTHOS 24: 81), it was when the Ōtomo were at the height of their military success that he was finally baptized. In early October, he was roused from his double retirement to lead an expedition to the territory of Tsuchimochi in Hyūga accompanied by a force of Christian samurai decked out with crosses and rosaries. He had been no less avid than any other

29. The timing of this crisis is not clear, that is, whether before or after Sōrin's baptism. This was the same daughter who had married Ichijō Kanesada (Dom Paulo) but their marriage had been dissolved amid the backlash against him.

30. The Japanese chronicles differ from Fróis, however, in making this the product of Sōrin's anger over "Jezebel's" curses (see above). However, one would expect such details to alter over the course of the presumably many decades of oral tradition on which the chronicles were based. Moreover, the logic is fundamentally the same: that Sōrin or Yoshimune's order is precipitated by arguments over ritual efficacy in a family healing crisis. It is also true that the chronicle account allows for the possibility that the banishment occurred due to the antisocial and dangerous practice of casting curses, rather than out of some sort of Christian commitment.

warrior for rosaries and relics, for the holy wood of the true cross, and his embarkation flew a white banner with a red cross gifted by the Viceroy Dom Afonso de Noronha (HJ 3: 17, 23, 122). His aim was apparently to found a new society in the town of Mushika governed by the laws and customs of Europe. All local temples and monasteries were to be destroyed and clear ground provided for the Jesuits to build on (HJ 3: 28, 31–32, 37–39; *João Rodrigues's Account of Sixteenth-Century Japan*, 100). In this new physical space, he was to create a new opportunity for harmony, at once bodily, familial, societal, political, and religious.

Meanwhile, Yoshimune moved to Notsu a few miles from Uzuki to direct the campaign, where, somewhat removed from the purview of his mother, his attachment to Christianity reached its high point and some of his leading vassals were baptized. Indeed, according to Luís Fróis, for whom the prince summoned to his camp, the extent to which he attended to spiritual matters as opposed to the war disturbed the principal captains of Bungo who complained to him as a consequence. Fróis had the prince reply that his dealings with Christianity were vitally important in themselves, but moreover they did not realize how necessary they were for the good success of the war (HJ 3: 47). One of the interlocutors against whom Fróis struggled in Yoshimune's war camp was the figure of the old soothsayer or diviner, Sekiso. He was much venerated among the elite as the "war fan" of the army, called upon to prognosticate the most expedient times for action and likely outcomes.³¹ He came to attend Yoshimune in his war camp, and sought to counteract the influence of the Padres. Clearly a frustratingly wily individual, he even pretended to be convinced when the Padre began to read from a book that dealt with the "lies of the kami." Reading between the lines, he emerges as a significant player in the debates over military empirical religiosity at this time.

In November, Yoshimune set out for Notsu once more and asked for a mass to be recited on the morning of his departure. He had not gone two leagues on the road when he received news of the greatest victory so far: three fortresses in Hyūga had delivered themselves to Bungo without bloodshed. Even before finishing the letter he had dismounted and was on his knees giving thanks to God. He sent a letter to the Padres attributing this wondrous success to the mass (HJ 3: 57; C 1: 439; WARD 2009, 170).

The conflicts that now wracked the highest echelons of Bungo were at once a marital argument, a factional struggle, and a wrestling match between two gods of war, Deus and Hachiman. Deus had been in the ascendant, but perhaps the prayers of Sōrin's spurned wife were not so much in vain as the Jesuits wished.

31. The war fan (*gunbai*) was used by commanders to convey troop orders. The use of the term for this augur Sekiso (Xequiro) is further evidence here of how much ritual considerations impinged on war. He may have used the *Yijing*. The Ashikaga College for Confucian Studies in Kanto provided many generals with such diviners (OOMS 1985, 19).

In December, Tawara Chikakata had been ordered to encircle Taka castle, but was himself caught in a pincer movement by Shimazu forces. The Bungo troops were routed and lost thousands of men and many of their leading commanders. The Battle of Mimigawa, as it became known, was a devastating defeat. Sōrin was forced to abandon Tsuchimochi and flee to the south of Bungo. In the Darwinian world of the Warring States period such a show of weakness had immediate repercussions and lesser lords rose up in rebellion. And the remnant troops that lived to tell that tale cast around for something to blame.

...so great was the hatred that was raised against us that it was almost indescribable, and if the Lord was not protecting us there is no doubt that we all ran a great risk of being killed... [they] began to put the blame for all the destruction on us, saying that it was because King Francisco had become Christian and abandoned the veneration of the cult of the kami and *hotoke* that Bungo had received so great a punishment.... (HJ 3: 85, 87, 120; C 1: 440V–441)

This was a calamity for Christianity and clearly a personal calamity for Fróis, whose narrative returns again and again to the fickleness of heaven. The faith of Sōrin himself was strikingly unshaken, and he vowed that the defeat would not undermine it, “not if all the world rejected the faith” (HJ 3: 90; MAYO 2015, 45). But it was around this time that Yoshimune turned to favor his mother’s faction and his support for Christianity ebbed away. Just as his movement toward Christianity coincided with the mounting success in war, so his retreat coincided with defeat. Fróis even tells us—and his embarrassment is still palpable over the centuries—that the very night news of the disaster arrived, he had been reading to the young lord and a large number of his nobles from a treatise written to disprove the argument that where Christians went the punishment of the gods followed (HJ 3: 67; C 1: 297V). For the disaster had been predicted by the anti-Christian party even as the army set out to war (C 1: 201V).

Fróis was taken into Yoshimune’s confidence during the key part of 1578 and his narrative of this period affords much detail on the ins-and-outs of arguments in the vein of empirical religiosity (C 1: 428–430V; HJ 3: 44–51). For example, the Jesuits tried to point out that it was not, after all, their Christian samurai who had led the doomed attack but the heathen Chikakata. However, Fróis also discloses “Jezebel’s” rejoinder: that while so many men of Bungo were left dead on the field of battle, Chikakata himself had survived, claiming that he had escaped thanks to the intervention of Hachiman (HJ 3: 93).

It is not surprising then that a brother-in-law of Yoshimune, who was a very high-ranking monk in Kyoto, should point out how badly things had gone for the prince since he dabbled with Christianity and how scandalized his men were (HJ 3: 87). Indeed, a number of the most prominent lords presented to Yoshimune the case for a change in religious policy as a priority to restore the

fortunes of the house. While the kami and buddhas were venerated the kingdom had been prosperous and flourishing, they said, but when these rites were abandoned, they withdrew their protection. The temples must be rebuilt and their revenues reinstated (HJ 3: 98–109). His mother too was at work in advancing this argument. Clearly Yoshimune had little option, politically speaking, but to yield to its force. He sent a message to Fróis, who was superior of the mission, to announce that he could no longer be friendly with the Padres. Recent elite conversions melted into apostasies.

If any concerns of source-criticism about such reports remain, they are surely dispelled by considering a letter written in 1580 by Tachibana Dōsetsu, one of Sōrin's most experienced and trusted (though unconverted) vassals, to thirteen men who had been placed in charge of territories in southern Bungo (ZTHOS 24: 214–215).³² Dōsetsu had not been present at Mimigawa but was writing in its aftermath about a range of issues, including the best way to respond to the rebellions breaking out. One theme of the long letter is the clear deterioration in the legitimacy of the Ōtomo regime and its perceived standards of governance. The first article combines a mundane explanation for this (regarding the loss of two experienced retainers) with a baldly supramundane one:

Since the death of Sōkan and Akihaya, your country [Bungo Province] has not been run according to principles, and *due to divine punishment*, in recent years, you have not been victorious in battle, and your reputation has been ruined everywhere. Eventually, this will cause trouble for you. Because of this, we are criticized in other provinces, and even young children who beat dogs for fun mock us.

He then referred to a letter written by a rebel in the north, Akizuki Tanezane, about the unprincipled activities of the Ōtomo:

... about which you have surely already heard. In the first article it begins by writing about the religious adherents in your country [Bungo Province] claiming that beginning with the noble people, young and old men and women were all made converts of some Indian sect [Christianity]. [It also said that] temples and shrines were destroyed, and images of the buddhas and kami were thrown into the rivers or used as firewood. These are conditions that have never been heard of in previous generations! (ZTHOS 24: 214–215)

32. The translations given here are by Xia-Kang Ziyi but drawing on Chris MAYO's (2015, 52–50) helpful translation of it. Mayo's close examination of the letter has been very helpful, although he interprets it somewhat differently (KANDA 2014, 97–98; ELISONAS 1991, 341). Mayo points out that the concern about Christianity was just one of a number of issues Dōsetsu was addressing, that he had not written before about these problems, and that he was steadfast in his loyalty to Yoshimune.

To be sure, such arguments were picked up and deployed opportunistically by the rebels who were intent on breaking apart Bungo's hegemony, but the old retainer recognized their force nonetheless. It was not, in his eyes, the acceptance of Christianity per se that was the main concern but the abandonment of the traditional relations with the gods.³³

His correspondents, the southern retainers, agreed with him, and then sent their own letter to Yoshimune's advisors. The theme of religious transgression runs through this missive even more strongly (ZTHOS 24: 228–241). Yoshimune is castigated for his misrule; he is advised to break filial piety rather than side with his father's descent into the sect of the southern barbarians. The retainers are mostly interested in maintaining appropriate forms of hierarchical order, repeatedly comparing liege-vassal relations to human-deity relations. But it seems they had to do this in the face of a Christian polemic of empiricism: "Although deities are invisible and do not move, people worship them.... Moreover, if (the retired lord) thinks Buddha and kami are unnecessary, Deus is just similarly invisible and should not be necessary, either" (ZTHOS 24: 238).

More than forty years after Mimigawa, its lesson still resounded clearly enough to appeal to Fabian Fucan in composing his anti-Christian work *Hai Daiusu* of 1620. Now an apostate, he merely needed to swivel round the argument that he had deployed as a Christian fifteen years earlier:

Therefore [the followers] of Deus who mock at gods and buddhas need not wait for the future; even in the present life they cannot escape the retribution of the gods and buddhas which they deserve.... As long as Ōtomo Sōrin relied on the gods and buddhas, his military power spread throughout Kyushu and made his fame extend to the four seas; but after he became a follower of Deus, his military fortunes deserted him, he invaded Hyūga Province along with Yoshimune, his eldest son; and in fighting with Shimazu, he was defeated in battle at Mimikawa, and having been deserted by everyone, he slunk back to his fief. Since then his clan has gradually decayed....

(HIBBARD and HIRAISHI 1963, 6–7)

There is no space here to relate in detail further twists and turns in the fate of the Ōtomo after this (ELISONAS 1991, 342–347; WARD 2009, 174–177). Sōrin again left retirement to lead an army against the major rebellion of 1579 and was victorious, the rebel Chikahiro died in 1580, Valignano arrived, and once more the stock of Christianity rose (ZTHOS 25: 286). Sōrin's third son Chikamori

33. Dōsetsu also comments, "Since the time of the Genpei [War, 1180–1185], we have been told to pray for the protection of buddhas and kami, fulfill our obligations based on what is proper, and then take up the bow and arrow to fight.... Japan is the land of the kami; in private and public matters, and in religious belief, we must act without going against the proper principles and Way of Heaven" (ZTHOS 24: 214–215).

converted to become Dom Pantaleon along with some other important individuals. Sōrin went to war against the Satsuma and regained many lost territories; even “Jezebel” softened her attitude to Christianity while never embracing it. But then the Shimazu again began to muster their forces and threatened to sweep Bungo away entirely. The Ōtomo were only really saved by the sudden intrusion of much larger national affairs: Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s invasion of Kyushu in 1587, which defeated the Satsuma and restored Yoshimune to the family domain, albeit in a much reduced state.³⁴ Yoshimune was finally baptized in April of that year during the invasion, under the influence of the lord of Buzen, Kōdera Kanbei, or Kuroda Simão as he became (HJ 4: 341–342; C 2: 196–197V; WARD 2009, 183–184). Merely three months later he apostatized under the pressure of Hideyoshi’s edict expelling the Padres.

Conclusion

Yoshimune was baptized as Constantino, surely the result of wishful thinking given his failures on the battlefield both before and after baptism.³⁵ Still, the name clearly reflects the role played by the notion of divine-power-immanent-in-victory that animated all convert warlords. In the next phase of Christian history in Japan, the theme appears in some of the folding screen art associated with the Seminary of Painters founded by Valignano in 1590. In a screen now in the Kosetsu museum in Kobe produced at some point in the years before 1614, we may see Constantine’s victory at Milvian Bridge conflated with Philip II’s victory over non-Christian foes at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 (VLAM 1977; LEVENSON and RABY 2011; RANERI 2015).³⁶ In another roughly coeval folding screen in the Namban style, probably for the Christian-sympathizing daimyo patron Gamō Hideyuki, the themes of princely conversions, global religious struggle, and divine victory are also elaborated. Thus was the art of holy war introduced to Japan (SCREECH 2012, 303–310).

Such images provided reassurance that, notwithstanding current tribulations, Christian warriors would prevail over their enemies, over apparently insoluble political obstacles, over the frustrations of infertility and childbirth, over sickness and death itself: a message that missionaries had long brought to

34. Sōrin died shortly before this and received first a very grand Christian burial, possibly echoing some Buddhist themes, and then a hundred-day Buddhist ceremony (TRONU 2012).

35. His advisors complained that he stayed hundreds of miles from the battlefield (ZTHOS 24: 231–232).

36. RANERI (2015) also sees eschatological themes of universal empire in the screen paintings and connects the imagery to the Tenshō embassy of 1582–1590. As always with art history, multiple interpretations are possible, and I am grateful to Yoshie Kojima for presenting an alternative approach in discussion. The imagery of Constantine became a popular theme in Catholic imperial diplomacy in this period; see FUMAROLI (1995) and FREIBERG (1995).

the warlords of the Warring States. The lords discussed here came to believe, for a time at least, that the Christian God did indeed provide succor more reliably than the vast array of local alternatives. Most warlords, however, did not draw this conclusion, and in fact, as a whole, Japanese elites remained rather impervious to Christian deployment of these arguments. Apart from offering its own forms of immanentist succor, Buddhism offered a transcendentalist means of cognitively reframing the sting of ill-fortune that was ultimately equivalent to the conceptual control wielded by Christianity itself—and more than a match for it. But that story will have to be told elsewhere.

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

- C *Cartas qve os Padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreverão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India, & Europa, des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580. Primeiro tomo... Impressas por mandado do Reverendissimo em Christo Padre dom Theotonio de Bragança Arcebispo d'Evora* [facsimile edition of the 1598 Évora edition]. 2 vols. Maia: Castoliva, 1997.
- HJ *Historia de Japam*. 5 vols. Ed. J. Wicki. Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976–1984.
- OS *Ōita ken shiryō* 大分県史料. Vol. 24. Ed. Ōita Ken Shiryō Kankōkai 大分県史料刊行会. Oita Prefecture: Ōita Kenritsu Kyōiku Kenkyusho, 1964.
- ZTHOS *Hennen Ōtomo shiryō: Narabi, Ōita ken komonjo zenshū, zōho teisei* 編年大友史料—併・大分県古文書全集、増補訂正. 33 vols. Ed. Takita Manabu 田北学. Oita Prefecture: Takita Manabu, 1962–1979.

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Catechismus christianae fidei, in quo veritas nostrae religionis ostenditur, et sectae japonenses confutantur*. Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606). Olyssiponae [Lisbon]: Antonius Riberius, 1586.
- The First European Description of Japan, 1585: A Critical English-language Edition of Striking Contrasts in the Customs of Europe and Japan by Luis Frois*, S. J. Richard K. Danford, Robin D. Gill, and Daniel T. Reff, trans. and eds. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Historia del principio y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias orientales (1542–64)*. Alessandro Valignano. Ed. J. Wicki. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1944.
- João Rodrigues's Account of Sixteenth-Century Japan*. Ed. Michael Cooper. London: Hakluyt Society, 2001.

- Ōtomoki 大友記. In *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従, vol. 397. Tokyo: Onko Gakkai, 1989.
- Sumario de las cosas de Japon*. Alessandro Valignano. Ed. José Luis Alvarez-Taladriz. Tokyo: Sophia University, 1954.

SECONDARY SOURCES

BASKIND, James F., and Richard BOWRING

- 2016 *The Myotei Dialogue: A Japanese Christian Critique of Native Traditions*. Leiden: Brill.

BOWRING, Richard

- 2005 *The Religious Traditions of Japan 500–1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BOXER, Charles R.

- 1951 *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

BROCKEY, Liam Matthew

- 2008 Surpassing Sylvester: Jesuit missionaries and Asian rulers in the early modern period. In *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, ed. Jay Levenson, 150–167. Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery.
- 2014 *The Visitor: André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

CONLAN, Thomas D.

- 2003 *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth-Century Japan*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan.
- 2011 *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth-Century Japan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ELISON, George

- 1973 *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

ELISONAS, Jurgis

- 1991 Christianity and the daimyo. In *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 4: Early Modern Japan*, ed. John W. Hall, 301–372. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

FREIBERG, Jack

- 1995 In the sign of the cross: The image of Constantine in the art of counter-reformation Rome. In *Piero Della Francesca and His Legacy*, ed. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, 67–86. Washington, Hanover, NH, & London: University Press of New England.

FUJITANI, James

- 2019 The Jesuit hospital in the religious context of sixteenth-century Japan. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 46: 79–101. doi.org/c7ww

FUMAROLI, Marc

- 1995 Cross, crown and tiara: The Constantine myth between Paris and Rome (1590–1690). In *Piero Della Francesca and His Legacy*, ed. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, 89–102. Washington, Hanover, NH, & London: University Press of New England.

HAYASHI Fuminori 林 文理

- 1986 Sengokuki Wakasa Takedashi to jisha 戦国期若狭武田氏と寺社. In *Sen-gokuki kenryoku to chiiki shakai* 戦国期権力と地域社会, ed. Arimitsu Yūgaku 有光友学, 233–280. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

HELMS, Mary W.

- 1988 *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

HIBBARD, Esther L., and Yoshimori HIRAISHI

- 1963 *Refutation of Deus by Fabian*. Tokyo: International Institute for the Study of Religions.

HIGASHIBABA, Ikuo

- 2001 *Christianity in Early Modern Japan: Kirishitan Belief and Practice*. Leiden: Brill.

HINO, Hiroshi

- 2004 Que bênçãos mundiais e seculares os fiéis e os in fiéis japoneses quinhentistas procuraram no interior da fé crista? In *D. João III e o Império. Actas do Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do Seu Nascimento*, 807–835. Lisbon: Centro de História de Além-Mar, Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa.

JOSEPHSON, Jason Ā.

- 2012 *The Invention of Religion in Japan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

KAGAWA Masanori 香川正矩

- 1913 Bungo no kuni ikokusen raichaku no koto 豊後国異国船来著之事. In *Intoku taiheiki* 陰徳太平記, book 2, vol. 58, 272–273. Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu.

KANDA Chisato 神田千里

- 2010 *Shūkyō de yomu Sengoku jidai* 宗教で読む戦国時代. Tokyo: Kōdansha.
2014 Ōtomo Sōrin no kaishū: Sono jittai to haikai 大友宗麟の改宗—その実態と背景. *Tōyō Daigaku Bungakubu kiyō, shigakkahen* 40: 71–110.

KAWAMURA Shinzo

- 2009 Communities, Christendom, and the unified regime in early modern Japan. In *Christianity and Cultures: Japan & China in Comparison, 1543–1644*,

M. Antoni J. Üçerler, eds., 151–168. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu.

LEUCHTENBERGER, Jan C.

- 2013 *Conquering Demons: The Kirishitan, Japan, and the World in Early Modern Japanese Literature*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, the University of Michigan.

LEVENSON, Jay A., and Julian RABY

- 2011 A papal elephant in the east: Carthaginians and Ottomans, Jesuits and Japan. In *New Studies on Old Masters: Essays in Renaissance Art in Honour of Colin Eisler*, Colin T. Eisler and Diane Wolfthal et al., eds., 49–67. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies.

LOUREIRO, Rui Manuel

- 2010 Turning Japanese? The experiences and writings of a Portuguese Jesuit in 16th century Japan. In *Empires Eloignés: l'Europe et le Japon (XVIe-XIXe siècle)*, Francois Lachaud and Dejanirah Couto, eds., 155–168. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

MAYO, Christopher M.

- 2013 The Ōtomo and competition in the ritual marketplace. In *Ōuchi to Ōtomo: Chūsei Nishi Nihon no nidai daimyō 大内と大友—中世西日本の二大大名*, Kage Toshio 鹿毛敏夫, Suda Makiko 須田牧子, Wada Shūsaku 和田秀作, and Yagi Naoki 八木直樹, eds., 1–30. Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan.
- 2015 Tachibana Dōsetsu's thoughts on warrior society and religion in sixteenth-century Japan. *Kōgakkan shigaku* 30: 64–33.

MEYNARD, T.

- 2017 Beyond religious exclusivism: The Jesuit attacks against Buddhism and Xu Dashou's refutation of 1623. *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 4: 415–430.
doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00403003

MORAN, J. F.

- 1993 *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan*. New York and London: Routledge.

OKADA Akio 岡田章雄

- 1955 Kirishitan bateren キリシタン・バテレン. Tokyo: Shibundō.

OOMS, Herman

- 1985 *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570–1680*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

PARAMORE, Kiri

- 2009 *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*. New York and London: Routledge.
- 2015 Christianity as feudal virtue or as civilization mission? Mission strategy and contra-individualization in Japan and China (1560–1860). In *Individualisierung durch christliche Mission?*, Martin Fuchs, Antje Linkenbach, and Wolfgang Reinhard, eds., 403–420. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

PINCH, William R.

- 2011 The corpse and cult of Francis Xavier, 1552–1623. In *Engaging South Asian Religions: Boundaries, Appropriations, and Resistances*, Matthew N. Schmalz and Peter Gottschalk, eds., 113–132. Albany: SUNY Press.

RANERI, Giovanni

- 2015 *Folding Screens, Cartography and the Jesuit Mission in Japan, 1580–1614*. PhD dissertation, University of Manchester.

REIDER, Noriko T.

- 2010 *Japanese Demon Lore: Oni from Ancient Times to the Present*. Logan, UT: Utah State University Press.

SCREECH, Timon

- 2012 *Obtaining Images: Art, Production and Display in Edo Japan*. London: Reaktion.

STRATHERN, Alan

- 2018 Catholic missions and local rulers in sub-Saharan Africa. In *A Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions*, ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, 151–178. Leiden: Brill.
- 2019 *Unearthly Powers: Religious and Political Change in World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2020 The many meanings of iconoclasm: Warrior and Christian shrine destruction in late sixteenth-century Japan. *Journal of Early Modern History* (online): 1–31. doi.org/10.1163/15700658-BJA10023
- Forthcoming *Converting Kings: Kongo, Japan, Thailand and Hawaii Compared, 1450–1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SUZUKI Keiko

- 2007 The making of Tōjin construction of the other in early modern Japan. *Asian Folklore Studies* 66: 83–105.

TEEUWEN, Mark, and Fabio RAMBELLI

- 2003 *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*. New York and London: Routledge.

TOYAMA Mikio 外山幹夫

- 1975 *Ōtomo Sōrin* 大友宗麟. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

TRONU, Carla Montané

- 2012 Jesuit accommodation method in 16th & 17th century Japan. In *Los jesuitas. Religión, política y educación (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, 3 vols, José Martínez Millán, Henar Pizarro Llorente, and Esther Jiménez Pablo, eds., 1617–1642. Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas.

TURNBULL, Stephen R.

- 2006 *The Samurai and the Sacred*. Oxford and New York: Osprey.

ÜÇERLER, M. Antonio J.

- 1998 Sacred historiography and its rhetoric in sixteenth-century Japan: An intertextual study and partial critical edition of *Principio Y Progreso De La Religión Christiana En Jappón* (1601–1603) by Alessandro Valignano. DPhil thesis, University of Oxford.

VLAM, Grace A. H.

- 1977 Kings and heroes: Western-style painting in Momoyama Japan. *Artibus Asiae* 39: 220–250. doi.org/10.2307/3250166

VU THANH, Hélène

- 2016 *Devenir japonais. La mission jésuite au Japon (1549–1614)*. Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne.

WARD, Haruko Nawata

- 2009 *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century: 1549–1650*. Aldershot: Ashgate. doi.org/10.4324/9781315233697

ZAMPOL D'ORTIA, Linda

- 2017 The Cape of the Devil: Salvation in the Japanese Jesuit Mission Under Francisco Cabral (1570–1579). PhD dissertation, University of Otago.

ZUPANOV, Ines G.

- 2008 Conversion, illness and possession: Catholic missionary healing in early modern South Asia. In *Divins Remèdes: Médecine Et Religion En Asie Du Sud*, Ines G. Zupanov and Caperina Guenzi, eds., 263–300. Paris: École des hautes études en sciences sociales.