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Editorial

The Discovery of Words. Linguistic Situations of Religious Contact during the Early Phase of European Colonization

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ABSTRACT The special issue *The Discovery of Words* is devoted to situations of religious contact resulting from the encounter of European discoverers with indigenous populations. The discovery of a new world challenged the former framework of religious thinking. Here, the European explorers not only discovered new worlds but also new words, notions and concepts that resulted from communicative contact. Finding a suitable common means of communication became a salient task for the religious experts of the time although they could only imagine the other as a subject of mission. However, religious contacts in a context of discovery and early colonialism are not expressions of a mere one-way street of impact, as a reflection on one's own language and conceptual framework became necessary for the Europeans. The meta-communicative ideas developed in colonial settings all over the world are an integral and important part of the dynamics of the history of religion between Asia and Europe.

KEYWORDS Age of Discoveries, meta-communication, meta-language and object-language, situations of contact, Columbus

In the age of discoveries, prominently inaugurated by Spanish and Portuguese seafarers, the European explorers not only discovered new worlds but also new words, notions and concepts. These words, notions and concepts resulted from (communicative) contact. A reflection on language became necessary when the explorers met human beings inhabiting the newly discovered lands and tried to establish communication—and the other way around; although, [1]

unfortunately, we have, due to well-known reasons, mostly documents of only one part of the encounter.[1]

Apart from the greedily desired gold, the presence of people living in a paradise-like original state—and, following Columbus' propaganda,[2] both ready and willing to adapt Christianity—triggered the most interest in the European public after the news of the journey had spread throughout the old world. Reaching their intended destination, Columbus, and some years later Cortés, optimistically expected to be able to communicate in Hebrew, Arabic, and, above all, in Latin (see Columbus 2010, 66)—and, accordingly, were confronted with severe linguistic problems (see Konetzke 1964, 72).[3] In particular in the case of the Americas, due to the extraordinary diversity of languages found there (a fact that was stressed in 1809 by Alexander von Humboldt[4]), problems of translation and communication became most obvious.[5] The presence of peoples obviously not capable of any language the explorers could provide posed a severe and, not in the last place, theological and religious problem on a meta-communicative level. Moreover, the discovery of a new world challenged the former framework of religious thinking. As John Marenbon puts it, it provided irrefutable evidence that was contrary to the widespread belief upheld before. In fact, there "were large parts of the world where the Gospel has never been preached. This realization would eventually change thinking about what was required for salvation […]" (2015, 249). Soon the explorers realized that it made no sense to simply recite the Latin *Ave Maria* or the Lord's Prayer to the Indians to achieve missionary success. They learned that mission is not merely proclamative preaching performed by missionaries, but rather a communicative event (Dürr 2010, 171).[6] As the explorers interpreted utterances and actions of the Indians according to their linguistic, cultural and religious framework, misunderstandings inevitably took place that often resulted in violence, hampering both economic interests and missionary attempts. Finding a suitable common means of [2]

1 Though there are some traces left; Alexander von Humboldt reports on the mixture of ideas (*Vermischung der Ideen*) of Christianity and Aztec religiosity in the Aztec ritual books (here, for instance, the holy eagle is identified with the Holy Ghost, see Humboldt 2008, 182). See also Prosperi and Reinhard (1993) and Hasselhoff (2021).

2 The linguistic problems were, however, not reduced to communication with the New, but also very present in communication with the Old World. See Ferdman (1994, 488) on Columbus' language in his reports on his journey, particularly on his 'rhetoric of the marvellous other' as a means to present his findings to the European public and the results of this rhetoric to the European attitude towards the New World. On Columbus reporting languages of 'awe and wonder' and 'profit and gain,' see also Paul (2014, 46) and Rodríguez García (2001, 24): In Columbus' reports, "the language of religious emancipation is inextricably bound up with the language of economic promotion." Ferdman characterizes Columbus' linguistic problem regarding the Old World, his solution making him the 'last one of the medieval travel writers', as follows (1994, 489): "The new world confronts Columbus with the problems of representation in language, of translation and metaphor. He must find a way to say what he has seen and make it show before our eyes. The relation between what is, what is seen, and how it is made to be seen to his readers orients Columbus in a system of writing and rhetoric which has persisted in Latin American literature through the present century."

3 On the Biblical basis of this optimism regarding the common origin of all languages as based on Adam's naming of all beings, the story of the tower of Babel, and the Pentecostal event, see Dürr (2010, 165).

4 See Humboldt (2008, 167): "[…] und würklich beweist die große Mannigfaltigkeit von Sprachen, welche heutzutage im Königreich Mexiko gesprochen werden, eine ebenso große Mannigfaltigkeit von Rassen und Abstammungen. […] Diese Mannigfaltigkeit von Idiomen bei den Völkern des neuen Kontinents (man darf sie ohne Übertreibung zu mehreren Hunderten annehmen) ist, besonders im Vergleich zu den wenigen Sprachen in Asien und Europa, ein äußerst auffallendes Phänomen." Compare on the difficulties in learning European languages ibid., 186.

5 On the linguistic diversity of the Spanish Empire in the Americas, see Konetzke (1964, 77).

6 On the later councils in the New World that made the mastering of the indigenous languages obligatory for missionary purposes, see Konetzke (1964, 80). As Konetzke stresses, the use of the indigenous language led to a separation of Spanish and indigenous services and mutual isolation, thus hampering the unity of the church's flock.

communication thus became a salient task, above all for the religious experts of the time who could only imagine the other as a (possibly willing) subject of mission. Conveniently motivational to Christian theology, successful communication could be taken as proof of the effects of the Holy Spirit in a kind of Pentecostal event (see Dürr 2010, 168).

[3] Facing the unexpected discovery of 'new' worlds, the discovery of words becomes a pivotal concern, but it is, however, also not un-preconditioned. Known frames of reference are eagerly, and of course prematurely, applied in situations of contact, causing and solidifying misapprehension and misunderstanding; the prevailing situations of contact being represented in the explorer's reports on their journeys. However, in any case, as Sandra Ferdman observes, "[…] the moment Columbus puts pen to paper on that small ship, America and Europe are joined in one system through European writing and language" (1994, 492). Known frames employed by the explorers work insufficiently, but nevertheless they worked in a discernable manner.[7] To quote an early and most significant example: Columbus' ship diary from his first journey of 1492-1493 was explicitly intended to provide a true picture of what was going on on the journey (see Columbus 2010, 17–18). Here, an original scene of contact is described as follows. On November 1, 1492, the expedition encountered a people whom he describes as follows:

> [4] 'These people,' says the Admiral, 'are of the same appearance and have the same customs as those of other islands, without any religion so far as I know for up to this day I have never seen the Indians on board say any prayer; though they repeat the *Salve* and *Ave Maria* with their hands raised to heaven, and they make the sign of the cross.' (Columbus 2010, 65)

[5] On Columbus' translational expertise, Heike Paul comments: "Columbus's skills at reading and translating the gestures and exclamations of the Natives are certainly poor and symptomatic of his wishful thinking, yet his judgments are brought forward with utter self-confidence and with no attempt at self-reflection" (Paul 2014, 49).[8] However, flawed as they may be,[9] Columbus' interpretations and translations are an expression of contact and a starting point of communication. Here, in Columbus' description, religion appears as discernable as a linguistic and performative act. What the indigenous population might have considered as an action of politeness for their Spanish guests or perhaps a political custom would afterwards be considered their first contact with religion in the occidental sense of the word. That is, for instance, something to be performed as an act of politeness if someone tells you so. Thus, religion is understood as a linguistic demand of a particular situation of communication. Nevertheless, this comfortably meets with the at least official aims of future expeditions

7 On the act of naming as a pre-eminent feature of Columbus linguistic discovery of the New World, see Paul (2014, 47–48).

8 Las Casas, as the editor of Columbus' journal, even hints at Columbus' misunderstandings by means of a footnote. In his journal, Columbus interprets the word *Bohio* to be the name of a city full of gold and pearls, whereas Las Casas remarks: "*Bohio* was their name for a house. The Admiral cannot have understood what they were saying" (Columbus 2010, 68). On the many possibilities of linguistic and performative variety of Native official or formal language, see also Harvey (2015, 36–39).

9 In his journal, Columbus elaborated on the acquisition of suitable translators who could serve as mouthpieces for Christians and of Christianity—by (following the Portuguese practice in Guinea) bluntly seizing them by force and taking them to Spain (2010, 73 and 75). Stephen Greenblatt even considers the "primal crime in the New World" to have been committed in the "interest of language": kidnappings of indigenous people in order to secure translators and interpreters for the Europeans (see Greenblatt 2007, 24). It is interesting to notice that Columbus is well aware of the failure of this precedent case as the kidnapped would-be translators of Guinea escaped the Portuguese as soon as they returned to their home.

to the New World. On the record, Columbus' second and third journey accordingly had as its main task the conversion of the indigenous peoples of the New World, performed in a mild and friendly manner, whereas the establishment of trade posts was merely a secondary aim.

[6] Despite this strategic optimism, the problem of language for the European explorers and, in their wake, missionaries remained virulent. Monolinguism thus seems to be a common problem of sixteenth-century explorers and scholars of religion alike. Knowing only one language does not allow discovering new worlds. Leading scholars of Religious Studies, among them most firmly Jonathan Z. Smith (see 2004, 173), claim that current scholarship still has not yet met the challenge of Friedrich Max Müller's both comparative and generalizing approach to the study of religion performed nearly 150 years ago. Famously, Müller assumed that the only secure way to understand religion is language (see 1882, 12–13). In Columbus' *Journal* it says correspondingly on the inhabitants of the newly discovered islands: "I hold, most serene princes that if devout religious persons were here, knowing the language, they would all turn Christians" (2010, 71). Examining language, however, seems not to be enough—scholars of the history of religions also have to examine the contact situations they emerged from.

[7] In the present special issue *The Discovery of Words*, devoted to situations of religious contact resulting from the encounter of European discoverers with indigenous populations, we follow the basic idea of the Käte Hamburger Kolleg *Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asia and Europe*,[10] that is, the salient significance of a contact-based perspective in the study of the history of religion. By doing so, we focus on examining occasions where the perspective is applied by the religious traditions *themselves*, i.e., in situations of contact. Here, it is the scholar's task to scrutinize the object-language reflections regarding the presuppositions *for* as well as the possibilities *of* the perspective. In general, situations of contact trigger object-language contemplation on their own concepts and notions that are to be used to cope with the challenge of the religious other. It is the process of notion-building that might be observed and analyzed by the scholar of religion. By observing these processes, one may witness the emergence of meta-language, that is, of comparative concepts and notions *within the object-language itself*. It is thus the prevailing religious traditions themselves that introduce *tertia comparationis* in order to understand and to cope with the phenomenon of the other and the situation of contact. The elaboration of these *tertia* well depends on the prevailing cultural framework comprising notions, ideas or founding myths that were utilized to decipher the other and to promote communication. By describing this process and employing the concepts and notions evolving here, scholars may, on the one hand, keep close contact to the material itself without imposing scientific vocabulary on the phenomena in question, on the other hand.

[8] Therefore, methodologically, the *role of the religious other* in the emergence of a language a religious tradition uses to deal with the situation of contact cannot be over-estimated. For

10 The KHK's interest focused mainly on the cross-over areas of reciprocal perception that is, for instance acceptance and denial, delimitation and inclusion, tolerance and rejection, of religious traditions themselves. The trans-disciplinary, material-based and comparative approach employed at the KHK combined material and systematic studies as well as historical and contemporary research on religions. It also links the perspective of religious semantics with the perspective on social structures. The research especially focused on relational aspects as constituents of religious formation processes enabling the characterization of geographically-extensive networks of cultural and religious traditions as protracted processes of orientation and exchange. The innovative interest in relational aspects that is prominently, in the dynamics of contact, therefore, does not mean replacing traditional research interests or subjects, but first and foremost, expanding the field of vision, and, furthermore, an additional complementary focus on factors which to date have received little attention but could be significant in the formation of religious traditions. See: https://khk.ceres.rub.de/en/

such considerations on the object-language level do not appear out of the blue, but are—and this is the important hypothesis of the editors of the present volume—triggered in situations of contact between religious traditions, or rather, of traditions that might evolve from the situations of contact *as* religious traditions. The formation of religious language in this sense is, therefore, another example for a particular assumption guiding scholarly research, which "[…] consists of the claim that the formation, establishment, spread and further development of the major religious traditions (as well as other religious traditions) have been affected by mutual influences, as well as that the formal unity of the history of religions mainly consists of religious contacts, i.e., of mutual perceptions of religious traditions as religious entities that constitute regional religious fields and, in the long run, lead to a global religious field" (Krech 2012, 192). Facing the religious other, a religious tradition is forced to contemplate its own status as well to develop certain patterns of language to comprise both itself and the other in order to obtain possibilities to deal with the other in a general way. Of course, one cannot expect this meta-perspective to be balanced in the way the neutral observer wishes it to be, but some paramount level of observation and analysis is, nevertheless, established which might be described.

[9] Admittedly, there are many situations of contact imaginable, from direct contact of individuals, by chance or within an institutional framework, to indirect forms such as translating texts from another tradition. It is, however, these very situations which provide the opportunity to describe processes of emergence of meta-language on the object-language level, and accordingly prevent oneself from merely imposing one's notions to the traditions examined. "Metalanguage can best correspond with religious-historical material and avoid a sterile scientism when it links in with the reflection abductively identified as religious, in which an object-linguistic awareness of the religious arises and is actively promoted" (Krech 2012, 195).

[10] Challenges of communication for contacting parts become all the more important in situations where a *common* frame of reference provided by a shared cultural memory is lacking. The situation complicates if an assumed common frame of one part of the contact is challenged by certain 'internal' developments. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, a crisis of theology leading to the Reformation and the discovery of a New World resulting in the European colonization of great parts of the planet were in significant coincidence. The relation of both, however, was and is a disputed matter.[11] To many, above all in retrospect, the former was mainly a problem of theology, while the latter was a matter of ethics, law and politics. The theological challenge manifested in writings and actions of the reformers outshone the theological challenge that was established by the discoveries and the subsequent conquests of the early sixteenth century. As Fernández-Santamaria has put it: "The discovery of America faced contemporaries with a baffling problem: how to reconcile a society founded on premises alien to European experience with that familiar world whose social and political catechism depended so narrowly upon the moral and ethical truths of Christianity" (1977, 59). The problem was how to describe and analyze the other if the common frame of understanding that somehow, though rudimentarily, was present in previous encounters, above all with Islam, is clearly not to be expected. Language and communication, however, were already important issues at the time of the explorers. As Harvey observes, "Europeans colonized the Americas in an era that devoted considerable attention to language, rising out of the

11 Luis Valenzuela-Vermehren has described the two fundamental challenges in politics and society differently but correspondingly as the impact of the Renaissance state under the shadow of the fracturing unity of Latin Christendom on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the introduction of the new morality of Machiavellism (see 2013, 100).

centralization of kingdoms, the Protestant Reformation, and the Scientific Revolution" (2015, 8). It is not by chance, then, that explorers such as Columbus were optimistic, hoping for small-scale progress in communication and knowledge: "But now, if our Lord pleases, I will see as much as possible, and will proceed by little and little, learning and comprehending; and I will make some of my followers learn the language" (Columbus 2010, 90).

[11] Not surprisingly, in their efforts to understand, the explorers fell back on elements of collective European memory: "Echoing the religious and secular legends that formed part of the consciousness of Christian Europe in his time, Columbus presented these islands as a combination of the terrestrial paradise described in the Bible and a secular wonderland of untapped wealth" (Phillips Jr 1992, 162). Words used to describe their findings, in this context, gained significance that transcended mere reports. Regarding Columbus and the chronicler of the Pilgrim Fathers William Bradford, José María Rodríguez García states correspondingly: "They both enact a nominalist return to the language of revelation, in which ideals cannot be tainted or thwarted, and in which words are spiritual events in their own right" (2001, 15). The application of a mythological framework also played a salient role in the encounter of the Europeans and the indigenous peoples. Likewise, the repercussions of the discoveries can be traced to the self-reflection of and the communications about oneself in religious traditions that are commonly not associated with the era of exploration and colonization, such as Western European Judaism. In his article "*The agendas of the first conversos on Israel and the Portuguese Empire (16th century)*," **José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim** (2022) shows how, regarding the question of how to narrate the medieval expulsion of Jews from France, the explorations performed by the Iberian countries were interpreted and consequently utilized in Early Modern Jewish self-interpretation by means of inscribing the event of the discovery of a New World into 'their old patrimonial memory about the Lost Tribes,' thus transforming the Indians brought to Europe by Columbus into 'Hebrews sons of Israel'.

[12] Of course, the struggle for concepts is not reduced to religious encounters in the Americas but also occurred in other parts of the world reached by European explorers. In his article "*The Enemy, the Demon, Lucifer: Jesuits coming to terms with the Devil in sixteenth century Japan*," **Tobias Winnerling** (2022) scrutinizes the Jesuit's reaction to their conceptual environment in Japan. In their need to take the Japanese conceptions of spiritual forces and beings into account, via recurring on notions of the devil as their primary enemy as taken from contemporary Catholic demonology, the Jesuits flexibly refigured the question of a transcendent or immanent force of evil conceptually with regard to their challenging environment. At least for the Jesuits in Japan, the terminological question of how to address the devil in foreign parts was solved by tacitly assuming that the diabolical persona they had to deal with was the "conceptually ambiguous Demon devil, oscillating between transcendence and immanence," thus allowing for a flexible adaptation to corresponding ideas of Japanese thinking.

[13] Words and reflections on words developed in settings of discovery and early colonialism were also communicative events. The challenge of the unrelated other that manifested in the inhabitants of the New World had major repercussions in the Old World. The most visible effect is displayed regarding *meta-communication*. **Knut Martin Stünkel**'s article "*A Theologian's Answer to the Challenge of Colonization. Francisco de Vitoria on the Meta-Communicative Aspects of Religious Contact in a Colonial Setting*" (2022) examines an object-language attempt on meta-communicative issues involved in the contact of Spanish conquerors and missionaries and the indigenous population in the New World. Based on the examination of language as the pre-eminent element of human communities and criticizing former missionary practices,

Vitoria aims at establishing both the notions of reason and purity of conduct as *tertia comparationis*, allowing to connect the Christian discourse to the Indian audience of missionary efforts. His attempt resonates with basic challenges connected to the discoveries. "The discovery of America and other lands where, from all appearances, Christianity had never been preached (or, as some would hold, the traces of it had all but disappeared) did not transform discussions but it changed them" (Marenbon 2015, 285). Practical issues of communication in situations of primary contact during a journey of discovery and in the newly established colonies connected to discussions on language in Europe (Dürr 2010, 169). In theory and praxis, the prevailing situation of communication as a basis for understanding and insight gained more relevance in the New World than it had in the Old World before, and, with some delay, this relevance was also acknowledged for situations of contact within the Old World (see Dürr 2010, 164).

[14] Of course, the dark and repulsive aspects of the development of language related to early modern colonization cannot be ignored and have to be integrated into the analysis of the language used to describe situations of religious contact taking place here. As an exemplary case of the radical asymmetric hierarchy of encounter, **Roberto Hofmeister Pich** (2022) examines the phenomenon of European slave trade to the New World by means of a detailed analysis of the emergence of the ideological notions an outstanding object-language document. In elaborating on "*Race, Religion and Slavery in Alonso de Sandoval's S. J. De instauranda Aethiopum salute*," a book that describes the traffic of African slaves to Latin America and offers clues to understanding the emergence of an "ideology" of black slavery, justifying it in the Roman Catholic Church and the Iberian world, Pich shows how religious discourse and practice play a salient role in the ideology of slavery and the manipulation of race triggered by the contact with the New World and are employed to justify the practice of forced contact as manifested in the deportation of slaves to the New World. Here, religious language was conceived and used to establish, justify and confirm a status of inferiority, subjection and even natural or constitutive distance towards God that is, in order to sketch a contrasting picture, very useful for colonization and the slavery system: true Christian religion and whiteness versus false African religion and blackness.

[15] In the analysis of situations of contact, linguistic asymmetry, ideological atrocities and their practical consequences, as performed by the Christian side, however, must not result in ignoring and silencing (and, thus, repeating the colonialist attitude) its prevailing counterpart and its capacities regarding language and discourse. The subaltern can and, in fact, does speak in many tongues, their variety often handled in a virtuoso manner. Documented religious contacts in a context of discovery and early colonialism are not expressions of a mere one-way street of impact. Rather, they manifest a dynamic process leading to a meta-stable state[12] of affairs to be used as a basis for further elaboration and future contacts. After all, Europe itself at the verge of the Early Modern Age was intrinsically multilinguistic and well used to problems and praxis of communication (see Dursteler 2012)[13], above all the merchants and sea-farers

12 On the relation of dynamics and (meta-)stability in the contact of religious traditions, see Stünkel (Forthcoming).

13 As Dursteler points out, contrary to modern nationalism-based monolingualism, "[…] widespread individual and societal multilingualism […] was an essential component of the spectrum of early modern communication" (2012, 53). Surprisingly, language in early modern times was used for communication, not for demarcation. Clarifying his point, Dursteler explains: "When speaking of multilingualism, I am not suggesting a modern ideal of language mastery or proficiency. Rather, what is at play is 'communicative competence': that is, the process of negotiating effective communication. In this multilingual environment, communication was a question not of fluency but rather of necessity, where language was a 'tool for

of the Mediterranean countries. "Thus individuals in the early modern Mediterranean were multilingual not in the sense that they were polyglots who had mastered multiple languages, but rather that they were able to navigate this vibrant linguistic world through varying levels of ability in one or more regional languages, a lingua franca, or even through the use of gesture" (Dursteler 2012, 76).[14] These experiences provided the explorers with a framework of linguistic religious encounter as well: The very moment traditions pragmatically get into contact, prevailing forms of communication become translatable as they now develop in reference to each other and are, thus, involved in a process of cooperation that allows the emergence of a shared world.[15] As Keehnen, Hofman, and Antczak persistently stress: "Contributions of indigenous peoples to colonial encounters in the Americas were profound, varied, and dynamic. Instead of mere respondents, let alone passive bystanders, indigenous peoples were active agents in processes of colonialism, vital in the negotiation and recreation of new colonial realities" (2019, 1). Language is a vital part of this collective endeavour.[16] There is, for instance, the inversion of the assumed colonial hierarchy in the process of learning a native language between the native teacher and the European pupil who faces considerable difficulties and frustrations due to his improper framework of understanding as well as to an "agonizing dependency they felt as students of Native teachers" (Harvey 2015, 31)—which led to a reconsideration of the way language and the ways of learning a language was thought about. Therefore, the meta-communicative ideas developed in colonial settings all over the world[17] are an integral and important part of the dynamics of the history of religion between Asia and Europe as well as the contacts triggered by the European expansion to Asia proper.

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getting… things done', for addressing the 'immediate exigencies of communication'. This is evident in the famous figure of Christopher Columbus, who 'was used to speaking a thousand languages badly', and could 'not express himself correctly in any of them' " (2012, 75).

14 Compare the rise of pidgin languages for the purpose of trade in the Americas, a language that may well have served the Natives for communication as well as a sociolinguistic buffer "against the surveillance and interference of the newcomers" (Harvey 2015, 25).

15 For the need to overcome the Eurocentric and totalizing concept of 'conversion' as a linguistic tool to describe the processes triggered by contact, see Fisher (2012, 8).

16 See Harvey (2015, 32) on the salience of native interpreters in translating the supposed universal key concepts of Christianity into native tongues. Introducing his book, Harvey stresses the interrelation of native and European language in a situation of contact: "Philology in many ways resulted from the collision of Euro-American linguistic colonialism and Native consultants' efforts to maintain linguistic sovereignty. […] Such participation allowed Native people to shape how Christian concepts would be conveyed to their people and, at least potentially, to influence how Euro-American viewed their communities and their way of life. […] Just as language was crucial for practical and ideological aspects of colonialism, so too was language central to the maintenance of peoplehood" (2015, 4).

17 On the possible influence of Columbus African experiences in his dealings with the New World, see Phillips Jr (1992).

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Race, Religion, and Slavery in Alonso de Sandoval's S. J. *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*

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ABSTRACT One of the most significant works on black slavery written by a Catholic thinker in the seventeenth century was Alonso de Sandoval's *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* (1627/^{2}1647), which both describes the traffic of African slaves to Latin America and offers different clues to understanding the emergence of an 'ideology' of black slavery, which, to a certain extent, justified that system inside the Roman Catholic Church and the Iberian world. At the same time, Sandoval made an attempt to set up ethical criteria for the slave trade and the relationships between masters and slaves in the everyday life of the South American colonies. I propose an analysis of Sandoval's work focusing first on the theological foundations invoked for the slavery of black people, second on legal and moral debates over the justification of the enslaved condition of Africans and of the slave trade, and third on the roles of 'race,' 'racism,' and 'true religion' in Sandoval's arguments. Sandoval introduces peculiar language and descriptions that deeply devaluate dark-skinned persons in general and African black culture in particular, supporting an ideology of subjection.

KEYWORDS black slavery, Alonso de Sandoval, race, racism, religion, ideology

Introduction

In order to assess how 'race' and 'religion' played a role in the theological and philosophical history of the transatlantic, early-modern, and modern slavery of black people, we can look to the fairly large number of works by religious men, theologians, philosophers, and jurists more or less related to early-modern Iberian and Latin American Scholasticism touching or focusing on that topic. Irrespective of the use of words such as 'race' and 'racism'—'race' is used quite often in seventeenth-century Iberian literature, whereas the use of 'racism' is more difficult to trace—both notions are there to be found on the conceptual level. This is especially the case if we grant 'race' and 'racism' a meaning broad enough to encompass views and attitudes to more or less well-defined groups of human beings that are characterized by specific and stable [1]

aspects of ethnicity or collective culture and, on these grounds, are put into rigid hierarchical structures of superiority/inferiority on a historical and a 'metaphysical' level.

As M. P. Cenci recently restated, summarizing historical studies and interpretations by G. M. Hall and P. E. Lovejoy, "the connection between race and enslavement is not a necessary" one; enslavement of human beings "was accepted long before modern racism based upon differences in religion and nationality" or in culture, ethnic identity, or skin color emerged (Cenci 2015, 75).[1] There is no doubt that slavery based upon racial views—and prejudices—and then connected to difference in skin color began to characterizes slavery as an institution in the sixteenth century, together with the growth of the transatlantic slave trade. G. M. Hall argues for the thesis that "racist ideology" was used to justify "slavery in [the] Americas" (Hall 2005, 1; *apud* Cenci 2015, 75). Such an ideology needed strong narratives about "races" and made use of a "mechanism" for putting people from different racial types into a hierarchy "based on differences in skin color." Apparently, in Africa, before "Atlantic trade," slavery was usually motivated by differences *in religion*, as it was in Islamic societies, for instance. Moreover, on the medieval Iberian Peninsula—as in medieval times in general—difference in skin color was just "a corporeal characteristic" (Lovejoy 2002, 47–50, see also 2006, 9–38; Hall 2005, 1; *apud* Cenci 2015, 75). If racism based upon differences in skin color requires particular connections to be made and explained based on various contexts, narratives, and works, the same applies to connections between prejudicial views about race based on skin color and the institution of slavery. At any rate, such connections are not natural; they are certainly ideological. As a summary of the theory that American slavery presupposed "racism based on skin color," Lovejoy identifies in it two basic characteristics: "[…] the manipulation of race as way to control the captive population; and the dimension of an economic rationalization of the system" (Lovejoy 2002, 38). [2]

I believe that both characteristics raised by Lovejoy apply conceptually and historically to early-modern views of black slavery to be found in Iberian – also Ibero-American – thinkers. In this regard, I want to explore the major work by a Catholic Jesuit priest and missionary, written in the first half of the seventeenth century, namely, Alonso de Sandoval (1576–1652) (on his life and work, see Vila Vilar 1987, 25–39; as well as Saranyana et al. 1999, 252–55; Rey Fajardo 2004, 286–89; Pich 2015, 51–54). He was the author of *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* (*On the Salvation of the Blacks [Ethiopians] to Be Restored*)[2], the first edition of which appeared 1627, in Seville.[3] The meaning of the Latin title is quite peculiar indeed, and this is how Sandoval explains it: [3]

> The title *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* means "How to restore the salvation of the blacks," because its primary and fundamental goal is not to motivate people [4]

1 M. P. Cenci (2015, 75, note 1) refers to the thesis by Gwendolyn Midlo Hall (2005, 8–9), according to which slavery is a "historical," not a "sociological category."

2 The title of Alonso de Sandoval's treatise reveals an obvious acquaintance with José de Acosta's work *De procuranda indorum salute*, which is Acosta's central exposition of the doctrinal basis for Catholic missions among the Indigenous peoples of America. See José de Acosta (1984); José de Acosta (1987).

3 The edition used as a main source for this study was the one that originally appeared in 1627 in Seville, which was (re)published 1987 in Madrid, with a transcription and "translation" into (a more) contemporary Spanish by E. Vila Vilar. The inscription "De instauranda Aethiopum salute" appears directly on the front page of the amplified edition of 1647 (Madrid). At any rate, the name by which the book used to be referred also appears in the 1627 edition; see Alonso de Sandoval (1987, 27) "Suma del Privilegio," previous to the several "Aprovaciones": "Este libro intitulado *De instauranda Aethiopum Salute* compuesto por el P. Alonso de Sandoval, Rector del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús, de Cartagena de las Indias; tiene privilegio para que ninguna persona lo pueda imprimir, ni vender sin licencia de su autor, como consta de su original, que está en poder de D. Sebastián de Contreras, Secretario del Rey nuestro señor. Su fecha en 3 de febrero de

> to go to their lands to convert them (although this is a secondary goal) but instead to go to the ports where the slaves disembark. These slaves are incorrectly judged to be Christians, so we must ask them if they have been baptized. If they have not, we must instruct them. Once they have been well instructed, we can baptize them and restore their spiritual health, which has been lost (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, [To the Christian Reader] 8–9, translated by N. Von Germeten, see also 1987, [Argumento de la obra al Christiano Lector] 55).

Sandoval's work would explain the methods for restoring spiritual health to African people.[4] [5]
In a 1624 introductory *Letter* to Father Mutio Vitelleschi (1563–1645), who happened then to be the General of the Company of Jesus, he affirms even more clearly the book's purpose, in words that already indicate racial prejudice based on skin color: "The book's purpose is to help people who are poor and abandoned. Although they are black, they can be washed clean by the purity and whiteness of Christ's blood" (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, [*Letter* to Mutio Vitelleschi] 7, 1987, [A nuestro muy reverendo Padre en Christo Mutio Vitelleschi […]] 53).

De instauranda Aethiopum salute—from now onwards I shall mostly use the abbreviation *DIAS*—is a treatise on mission and catechetical theology. Sandoval's piece is arguably one of the most important works[5] for understanding the several religious, philosophical, and cultural presuppositions which, taken together, constitute what we might call the ideological mind-set for conceiving and historically dealing with the phenomenon of black slavery—or, put differently, the institution of enslaved black people—in colonial Latin America. An important part of that construction was precisely the description and, thus, representation by Sandoval of black people (Ethiopians) as a human group or groups and the characteristics of the language or evaluating discourse he uses for that purpose: 'race' and 'racism' play a role in it and, at the same time, or perhaps even primarily, are historically constructed and characterized through it. In order to see that construction there are two paths within Sandoval's book that I would like to explore: (a) Sandoval's account of the enslaved status—both slavery conditions and enslavement processes—of the Ethiopians; and (b) his plea for major missionary and catechetical work[6] with the enslaved Africans that arrive in Latin America in order to provide them access to the one 'true' religion that brings salvation. By describing and analyzing these two aspects, I intend to show (c) how religious discourse and religious practice play a role in the 'manipulation of race' and ideology of slavery. The exposition of topics (a) and (b) that follows centers on Sandoval's 1627 edition of *DIAS*. This is because, although Sandoval's reflections on the condition of slavery and the slave trade are much more complete in his 1647 edition, in which he enlarged his previous single Book I into three books of a first volume to be followed by others (which never appeared), it is only in his 1627 edition, divided into [6]

[1]625." Following Vila Vilar (1987, 38–40), there is a consensus that Sandoval prepared those materials in the period between 1616 and 1623.

4 Von Germeten (2008a, 9, footnote 11): "Throughout *De instauranda* Sandoval uses biblical references and accounts taken from other ancient and medieval sources to argue that the apostles went to parts of Africa and preached Christianity. Since that time, he believes, the devil (and, closely linked, Islam) has influenced Africans to lose their Christianity and their "spiritual health." He hopes his work will return this health to them."

5 Cenci (2015, 77), notes that in reference works to African-American history such as Hornsby, ed. (2005), and Gordon and Gordon, eds. (2006), Alonso de Sandoval is surprisingly never mentioned.

6 By highlighting religious and political ideas to be found in theological literature—i.e., history and theology of mission—the present study can be seen as a different contribution to the philosophical project "*Scholastica colonialis*: Reception and Development of Baroque Scholasticism in Latin America, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries." On this project, see Pich and Culleton (Pich and Culleton 2010, 25–45).

four books, that his religious project of mission among the blacks is fully presented, including his account of form and content for introducing the Africans into the Christian life through catechism and the sacraments.[7]

Alonso de Sandoval and the Debate on Black Slavery

[7] It seems correct to affirm that the sixteenth-century debate on slavery initially focused on the reception of Aristotle's theory of slaves by nature. This theory was meant to legitimize the subjection of the newly discovered human groups and nations in the New World, given the lack of *dominium* by the Indigenous peoples. A further significant focus of the debate was slavery as a condition resulting from allegedly 'just' wars against the Indians. In the wake of engaged minds such as Bartolomé de Las Casas O.P. (1474–1566) and Francisco de Vitoria O.P. (1483–1546), most religious men and intellectuals of the Catholic Church condemned, strictly speaking, both the natural slavery of the Indians and the civil forms of serfdom applied to them as well. This last condemnation had not only theoretical, but also practical motivations, such as the supposed unsuitability of the Indians to enforced labor, as well as the remarkable decrease of Indigenous populations in the colonies at the end of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century.[8] From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, and especially in the seventeenth century, under the authority of classical, patristic, and medieval sources on the status and the practice of slavery similar to those that the previous generation used for the debate on the condition of the American aboriginal peoples, Catholic intellectuals had to face normative questions about the slavery of Africans or, more generally, 'black people' and the moral correctness of the slave trade and its many implications. In this second, large, context of reflection on the institution of slavery and slavery as, sadly enough, a traditional form of human social relationship, we will find several approaches in authors of the sixteenth to seventeenth century. These authors repeat patterns of discussion and also enrich the debate with new considerations on human nature and rights, as well as on the justice of political and economic systems (see also Pich 2019, 1–9).

[8] There has yet to be any study that pursues an exhaustive chronological account of theological, juridical, and philosophical assessments of black slavery that might help with reconstructing, from those perspectives, the etiology and nature of such a social institution—perhaps also providing an explanation for it (see Pich, Culleton, and Storck 2015, 3–15). It is not only theoretically but also morally important to understand on that level of ideas how such a profound and long-prevailing structure of radically asymmetrical hierarchy, related to a

7 Alonso de Sandoval, De instauranda Aethiopum salute – *Historia de Aethiopia, naturaleza, Policia Sagrada y profana, Costumbres, ritos, y Cathecismo Evangelico, de todos los Aethiopes con que se restaura la salud de sus almas, dividida en dos Tomos*, Madrid: Alonso de Paredes, 1647. The topics of Volume II or Part II, which was not published then, would more or less cover the topics of Books II–IV of Sandoval's 1627 edition of the *De instauranda*; see Alonso de Sandoval (1647), ["Prologo al Letor"] n. 4 (no page numbers).

8 Vila Vilar (1987, 17–18) reminds us that, by the end of the sixteenth century, *Indios* were basically no longer enslaved: they had rather to live, according to royal mandates, under different forms of institutions, such as *encomienda*, *repartimiento*, and *peonaje*. Moreover, Philipp II signed monopoly contracts of the African slave trade with the Portuguese, who were also in need of labor forces to their South American colonies, where white or European owners had begun to successfully explore sugar cane plantations. However, the process of 'transition' from Indigenous slavery to the slavery of Africans in Latin America was not immediate and had several regional differences in chronology and characteristics. This is especially true regarding Brazil, where the transition was quite slow indeed; it began in the middle of the sixteenth century, after the introduction of sugar cane plantations, but it was accelerated only in the first decades of the seventeenth century. See Schwartz (2018, 216–22).

massive and global system of trade and economic exploitation, was ever possible. Of course, the discussion of the role of slavery in (trans)Atlantic and American colonial economic history is the object of a huge amount of research (Thomas 1997; Inikori 2002; Eltis 2006; Luna and Klein 2010; Tomich 2011; Zeuske 2006, 97–264, 2015, 296–348, 2018, 79–119). Among the first authors who reflected on the enslavement and trade, particularly transatlantic trade, of black Africans were Domingo de Soto O.P. (1494–1560), Fernando Oliveira O.P. (1507–1581), Tomás de Mercado O.P. (1525–1575), the jurist, active in Mexico, Bartolomé Frías de Albornoz (c. 1519–1573), as well as Francisco García (1525–1585).[9] But there is a consensus that the Jesuit Luis de Molina (1535–1600) was the first intellectual to consider the topic of black slavery extensively, and after him many others such as Fernando Rebello S.J. (1546–1608), Tomás Sánchez S.J. (1550–1610), Alonso de Sandoval S.J. (1576–1652), and Diego de Avendaño S.J. (1594–1688).[10]

[9] The reasons behind the ideology of black slavery, beyond the traditional juridical claims that show how and why slavery was accepted in human law, are various, and here we find notorious connections between enslavement, Christian religion, and race. In that regard the Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval has a special place in the history of ideas on black slavery. His account has multiple sides. He offers—and is in this regard perhaps the best possible example among Latin American thinkers for—a variety of explanations that can be helpful to the understanding of the emergence and establishment of the ideology of black slavery from the sixteenth to seventeenth century. At minimum, he offers a set of reasons that allows us to understand the regrettable combination of Catholic thought and acceptance of black slavery as a social institution in those times. It is worth mentioning that as late as 1839 the Roman Catholic Church published an official document, the Apostolic Letter *In Supremo Apostolatus*, issued by Pope Gregory XVI (1839), condemning slavery as a social institution, and particularly condemning every form of slave trade (see also Maxwell 1975; Adiele 2017, 380–405).[11] I use the word and the notion 'ideology,' in this study, in a general sense. The basic meaning of the word is: a complex set of philosophical, theological, legal, and cultural ideas, views, values, and narratives that are not necessarily objective, and in fact possibly and usually deviating from reality, that is constructed and shared by a group, class, or nation—even by groups, classes, or nations in the plural—in history, because of various interests and processes of social and political life. This then both determines and provides comprehension to given historical and socio-political situations and processes.

[10] For the purpose of interpreting Sandoval's views on black slavery, the words 'race' and 'ethnicity' will be employed throughout this essay. Sandoval knew these ideas in an ill-defined way. He makes use, for example, of the words *raza*, which can be related to 'race,' and of

9 See Dominicus de Soto, *De iustitia et iure*, Lugduni, (1559), lib. IV, q. 2, a. 2; Fernando Oliveira, *Arte da guerra do mar*, Coimbra, (1555), I, cap. 4; Tomás de Mercado, *Summa de tratos y contratos*, Sevilla, (1587), lib. II, cap. 20; Bartolomé Frías de Albornoz, *Arte de los contractos*, Valencia, (1573), lib. II, tit. 2; lib. III, tit. 4; Francisco García, *Parte primera del tratado utilísimo y muy general de todos los contractos, cuantos en los negocios humanos se suelen ofrecer*, Valencia, (1583). Interesting references can be found in Moreno Rejon (1994, 58–70). See also Davis (1966, 187–90); Boxer (2007, 45–53); Andrés-Gallego (2005, 32–35); Restrepo (2010, 39–42).

10 See Ludovicus Molina, *De iustitia et iure*, Venetiis, 1611, tract. II, disp. 32–40; Thomas Sanchez, *Consilia seu opuscula moralia*, Lugduni, (1634), lib. I, cap. 1, dub. 4; Fernandus Rebellus, *Opus de obligationibus iustitiae, religionis et caritatis*, Lugduni, (1608), lib. I, q. 10, sect. 1–2; Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, Madrid, 1627 / ^{2}1647; Didacus de Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*, Tomus I, Antuerpiae, (1668), tit. 9, cap. 12, §8, n. 180–205. See also Andrés-Gallego (2005, 35–42); Montes d'Oca (2017, 280–83); García Añoveros (2000, 307–29); Hespanha (2001, 937–60).

11 On the unconditional condemnation of slavery in today's Christian social ethics, see Hebblethwaite (2000, 394–96).

nación and *casta,* which can be related to 'ethnicity.' Such notions were just emerging and being conceived in Sandoval's times, and they are in fact directly related, at least in Western thought, to the rise of modern 'nation-states,' to projects of imperialism and colonization, and of course to the slave trade. Sandoval's *De instauranda* helps us to understand precisely how those notions arise, and according to which theories and narratives. He certainly did not know any specific meaning of race as a distinguishable, natural, and permanent 'biological fact,' able to definitively distinguish human types and even determine their cultural achievements. Neither did he think of geographically, socially, and culturally—or genetically—well-defined and stable human groups or populations, sharing and mutually recognizing some kind of identity according to a common language, as well as common cultural and even physical patterns, which might be taken as 'ethnicities.'[12] Nevertheless, both editions of Sandoval's work contain remarkable stories about a large number of west and east African groups, as well as of other dark-skinned human groups around the world.[13]

[11] Alonso de Sandoval was born in 1576/1577 in Seville and came from a well-established and large family. His father, Tristán Sánchez de Sandoval, was awarded, around 1583, the title of accountant of the *Real Hacienda* in Lima. Alonso de Sandoval was educated by the Jesuits in Lima and lived in Cartagena from 1605 to 1652, the only exception being the period 1617–1619, when he was again with the Jesuits in the *Ciudad de los Reyes*. This was certainly a research period towards the production of his *DIAS*. Sandoval held the position of principal of the Jesuit College in Cartagena in 1623/1624 (Pacheco 1959, 1:254; Vila Vilar 1987, 26–29), but his main vocation was as a minister and confessor. There is consensus that Sandoval showed a *sui generis* dedication to the ministry of black people in Cartagena, with a singular concern for the right administration of the sacraments, especially baptism (see below), the preparation for baptism through catechism, and the problem of getting information about whether slaves had already been baptized, in Africa, in order to avoid rebaptism (Vila Vilar 1987, 29–31; Von Germeten 2008b, IX–X, XV–XXI; Cenci 2015, 78–89). The mission of the *spiritual salvation* of black people (Zolli 1991, 177–86; Bénassy Berling 1995, 311–27; Vignaux 2009, 327–504)[14] was taken by Sandoval as a special task of evangelization given to the Company of Jesus, whose best spiritual guidance was to be located, according to him, in the founder Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) and in Francis Xavier (1506–1552). This idea is developed by Sandoval in Book IV of his *DIAS*, which might be viewed as an addition to the original plan of the book after it was finished (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, [Argumento de la obra al Christiano Lector] 55–56). Book IV is an *apologia* for the missionary work of the Jesuits in general and the mission among blacks in particular (Pich 2015, 53–54, also footnote 15). The emphasis is put on the missionary work among enslaved black people, i.e., Africans not in Africa but in the diaspora, who were transported to Latin America and arrived on the shores of the New World.

[12] *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* is a unique presentation of Africa. It brings historical and cultural descriptions of Africa, Africans and "blacks" broadly speaking. "Blacks" are for San-

12 Von Germeten (2008b, XXI–XXIX) approaches these topics. I do not fully share her descriptions regarding the Jesuits in general and Sandoval in particular. On racism and race, see Banton (1987, 1997, 142–52, 1998, 18–21). The notion of race as a biological and genetically-based fact and set of characteristics that would be able to distinguish human types was entirely abandoned by science at the end of the twentieth century; see also Sant'Ana (2008, 844 (844–47)); Schwarcz (2018, 403–9).

13 See the first paragraph of next section, as well as footnote 18.

14 At any rate, it is fair to Sandoval to recognize his concern for both spiritual *and* physical care of the enslaved Africans, as, for example, towards the "bozales" (see section "Miseries of the Blacks," below), as well as in his demands for fair physical treatment by slaveholders (see also Pich 2015, 67–72).

doval all people with black or even dark skin color, and these are, thus, the "Ethiopians" and, more specifically, most Africans, as well as all inhabitants of India, the Oceania, and the Philippines. Sandoval's uses of "Ethiopian" and "black" bear more or less the same meaning. These expressions cover the field of all *tierras* and *naciones de negros* indeed—i.e., lands where people with dark skin live or recognizable social or political groups of dark-skinned people. For these distinguishable groups Sandoval has the words *nación* and *casta*. On the other hand, "Ethiopia" and "Ethiopians" usually mean in the *DIAS* "Africa," even "all of Africa," (Von Germeten 2008a, 194, entry "Ethiopia") and "Africans," and refer more narrowly to places and regions where black people live and come from in the African continent. Sandoval's description of places in Africa focuses on Cape Verde, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Angola, and Congo, as well as St. Thomas (São Tomé e Príncipe) and Mozambique (Souza 2006, 38).[15] Sandoval's records—imperfect as they may be—were famous and original, and they probably remained until the eighteenth century the most complete report on the history and cultures of African nations—beyond the theological and missiological purpose of the work as such.[16] The Caribbean city of Cartagena de Indias,[17] in today's Colombia, was then the main harbor for the disembarkation and trade of black slaves in the Hispanic colonies (Von Germeten 2008b, X–XIII). It was thus an appropriate context for a priest to reflect upon the Catholic and Jesuit mission with the Africans, since from 1595 to 1640 about 135,000 slaves arrived in Cartagena de Indias, and a similar amount in other Caribbean harbors, such as Veracruz, La Habana, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico, Santa Maria (on the coast of today's Venezuela), as well as in Buenos Aires (Vila Vilar 1987, 18–19, see also 1977, 127–238, 239–83).

Theological-Philosophical Explanations of the 'Ethiopians'

Sandoval's main purpose in Book I of *DIAS* is to shed some light for his readers in the Western World on the hidden part of the world that is Africa or the place of the Ethiopians. In the second (1647) edition of the *DIAS*, in which Sandoval greatly expanded his anthropological-ethnological research, he dedicated Book I of Volume I entirely to Western Ethiopia, and Book II of Volume I entirely to Eastern Ethiopia and the "Ethiopians" or "blacks" to be found in Asia, the so-called "second part of the world," as well. "Western" and "Eastern" Ethiopia are parts of the single continent called "Africa," the so-called "third part of the world" (Alonso de Sandoval 1647, Part 1, Book I, 1–121; Part 1, Book II, 122–307). At any rate, in Book I of the 1627 edition Sandoval writes a sort of broad and loose cultural, ethnic, and political history of the Ethiopians (see also Souza 2006, 47–48)[18]—including accounts of the discovery of Africa by the Portuguese, as well as aspects of the history of Christian faith on the continent. [13]

15 On the Philippines and their inhabitants, see Alonso de Sandoval (1987, I, vii–ix, 93–100). A map of some "African Cultural Groups" that are important in Sandoval's reports can be found in Alonso de Sandoval (2008, XXXII).

16 Vila Vilar (1987, 37, footnote 64) mentions some of the historical sources quoted by Sandoval.

17 Vila Vilar (1987, 18). 11–12 million African slaves were transported to the New World between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century; out of them nearly 4.8 million were imported to Brazil, which was also the last independent country to suppress traffic in the Americas, forced by England, as well as the last to end slavery as an institution; see Alencastro (2018, 57–63). On the history of slavery in Brazil, see recently Gomes (2019); on the history of slavery in Colombia, see also Navarrete (2005).

18 In fact, we find in at least one passage something like a short 'natural history' of Africa written by Sandoval; see Alonso de Sandoval (1987, I, xxxi ("De algunas cosas singulares y maravillosas, que los Autores cuentan hallarse en los Reinos de todos estos Etiopes"), 206–16). On the history of Africa in 'pre-colonial' times, see for example Maestri (1988); Iliffe (1995, 1–96); Ki-Zerbo ([1999] 2009, 47–261). Whenever I mention "Alonso de Sandoval 1987" and "Alonso de Sandoval 2008" throughout this essay, both in the body of the

One of his aims is to revive the sparks of faith that are still supposed to exist among the Ethiopians, due to apostolic work in the past. Africa belongs to the divine plan of redemption by Christ (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, 57–58). This is also supported by the idea that "Africa," generally speaking, is referred to in the Old Testament as belonging to the divine plan of salvation. Moreover, both in the New Testament, in apostolic and post-apostolic times, there are references to theologians, missionaries and Catholic Saints that help attest God's interest in bringing salvation to Ethiopians (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, xxxii, 217–29).

[14] Right at the beginning, Sandoval claims to have collected information about Africa and Africans, beyond traditional ancient and medieval sources, in works and documents by fathers of the Company of Jesus and in communications with ship captains and traders—qualified informants, in his view, because they had concrete local experience. These last two kinds of sources are important to the purpose of morally assessing black slavery and the slave trade. Sandoval recognizes that Luis de Molina, in *De iustitia et iure* I, tract. 2, disp. 34 (Ludovicus Molina 1738 (1611), I, tract. 2, disp. 34 (disp. 32–40), 91–97 (86–117)), made use of the method of listening to people's testimonies and trusting them—at least *prima facie*—as veracious. Sandoval confirmed this by saying that he was following Bede's advice, according to whom "the true law of history is *simpliciter colligere, que fama vulgantur*" (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, i, 59). For the purpose of focusing on multiple, but together important sources for the justification of the enslaved condition of blacks, I skip Sandoval's insightful explanations on the origin of the name "Africa" for the continent (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, i, 61–62), but I nevertheless mention our author's view that in Scripture and in Antiquity "multitude and variety of nations" and "incomprehensibility and multitude" were associated with Ethiopia, and that is what *tenebrae* or *negrura* are supposed to mean (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, i, 63). "Ethiopia," (i.e. Western and Eastern Ethiopia) again, is taken by Sandoval as the largest part of the African continent, i.e., black Africa.

[15] It is in Book I, Chapter II ("The nature of the Ethiopians, commonly called "blacks" [*negros*]") that we have a first important view that helps us in the purpose of understanding the ideology of servitude connected to black people and sponsored by Sandoval. Essentially, the inhabitants of Ethiopia or "Abyssinia" were *chuseos*, a word that derives from "Chus," son of "Ham," who populated the land; *chus* is supposed to be how the Hebrews name those whom the Spanish call *etiope*. Moreover, if Pliny (Pliny the Elder 1942, *Naturalis historia* VI, 36) took *etiope* from the name "Etiope," son of Vulcan, and others affirm that it comes from *cremo* ("to burn"), Sandoval is able to conclude that "etiopes" are "men with burnt face," and all nations where people have black skin color may be called "Ethiopians." Thus, the use of that word is not confined to referencing the African continent (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, ii, 69).

[16] It is particularly curious and sometimes hilarious to look at the ways Sandoval tries to explain the etiology of black skin color, appealing to old biological explanations about how human beings—supposedly not black in origin—could somehow give birth to children with different skin colors. Sandoval plays with some theories of modified descendance, especially where the "imagination" of parents might play a role at the very moment of conception and in the resulting heredity of characteristics (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, ii, 69–73). He seems to endorse an interpretation of Aristotle's *De anima* II according to which, in beings such as humans that have three functional kinds of soul or animated life—characterized essentially by the rational soul, which contains and gives the form to both vegetative and sensitive souls—all

text and in the footnotes, I refer respectively to the edition of Sandoval's *DIAS* in Spanish by E. Vila Vilar and to the English translation of selections of that work done by N. Von Germeten.

three of these souls with their virtues and operations play a role in the generation of another similar being in the species.[19] It should be noted that it is the rational soul that reasons and imagines; following the imagination theory just sketched, the rational soul would play a crucial role in the moment of conception as well (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, ii, 73).

[17] In order to explain a thesis about 'race' and even about 'racism' towards the Ethiopians, I will initially focus on the singular way Sandoval searches for the etiology of black skin color. He finds a singular theological account of it that makes sense to him. The skin color of the Ethiopians could be explained through the heat concentrated in the surface of a body frequently exposed to the sun. After all, the Ethiopians used to live in sunny, exceedingly hot lands, which are fit to the arising of exotic creatures and beasts. In a nutshell, skin color might change according to the "temper"—i.e. "climate"—of the lands people inhabit, which would be sufficient ground to challenge what is commonly taken by "philosophers" as the right opinion about the "matter" of generation in animals—including human animals—which is supposed to be always "white" as milk, although it is perhaps a form of "blood" or "boiled blood" (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, ii, 74). This natural substance should in principle generate white-skinned human beings, but many are not so. In any case, Sandoval believes that the reason for blackness in skin must be a different one. Were the climate sufficient reason for that, Spanish males married to Spanish females and living in the sunny lands of blacks would give birth to black children, but experience obviously disproves such a silly view. Sandoval will then explore two theses on the origin of black skin color: (a) black people are so because they were made up of certain "intrinsic qualities"; (b) black people are so because of the will of God.[20] We can affirm that Sandoval combines both aspects of this apparent disjunction. Black skin is not produced only as a punishment by the divine will; God's will supernaturally *changes* nature at it was before: black skin color relates to a lineage of cursed people.

[18] If we accept that "whiteness" and "blackness" are called by philosophers "second qualities" of living beings, the idea is that these qualities are derived from "intrinsic" or "innate" "first qualities" such as "coldness" and "extreme heat" (*sumo calor*) to be found in the corresponding "matter of the mother." By means of such a quality that God created and planted in a human being—i.e., in the character "Ham," son of Noah, from the Book of Genesis—children were generated having in their appearance black skin color as a true mark of a particular descent: as a mark of descent from a *cursed* human being, thus as a punishment for Ham's having rudely treated his own father, as we read in the story of Genesis 9:20–29. So, although *blackness as second quality* is an effect of "extreme heat" in the ('embryonic') stuff that is planted in the mother, the latter was ultimately caused by God as a punishment for Ham's insolent behavior toward his father Noah. The name "Ham" itself becomes an object of an etymological experiment by Alonso de Sandoval, for if extreme heat is an intrinsic quality implanted

19 On Aristotle's theory of the soul, see for example Everson ([1999] 1995, 168–94). See also Aristoteles (1995), *Über die Seele* II 1–3, 58–77; Seidl (1995, IX–XII, XIX–XXII).

20 Alonso de Sandoval (1987), I, ii, 74–75: "[…]. Assi esto proviene o de la voluntad de Dios o de las particulares calidades que esta gente en si misma tienen intrinsecas. Y assi tratando los Filosofos de las segundas calidades, y la generacion dellas dizen, que la blancura proviene de la suma frialdad, como se ve en la nieve; y la negrura del sumo calor, como se ve en la pez; lo qual se confirma con el parecer de Aristoteles, y otros antiguos, […]; de donde se puede ingerir (y no sin fundamento) que la tez negra en los Etiopes no provino tan solamente de la maldición que Noé echó a su hijo Cham […] sino también de una calidad innata e intrinseca, con que le crió Dios, que fue sumo calor, para que los hijos que engendrase, saliessen con esse tizne, y como marca de que descendian de un hombre que se avia burlado de su padre, en pena de su atrevimiento. […]. Lo qual se puede entender en los Etiopes que traen su origen de Can, que fue el primer siervo y esclavo que huvo en el mundo, como veremos, en quien estava este calor intrinseco, para con el tiznar a sus hijos y descendientes."

in nature by God's wise punishing judgment, which causes blackness in human beings after Ham's descendance, there is a Patristic tradition that finds in the word "Ham" the meaning *calidus* or "hot," perhaps also *calor* or "heat."[21] By so causing a new intrinsic and, hence, a new secondary quality in human beings, God himself turned a new aspect of nature into a permanent instrument for punishment—that is, of the Ethiopians, who are the true descendants of Ham. As the Genesis story reports, Ham is taken to have been the first "serf and slave" (*siervo y esclavo*) that existed in the world, in whom that extreme heat was found and was effective in order "to burn" (*tiznar*) his descendants (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, ii, 74–75; see also Eguren 1973, 57–86; Bénassy Berling 1981, 49–60; Souza 2006, 39; on the complex history of the exegesis of Genesis 9.20–29 and the use of the story of Ham and his sons to legitimize the idea of lineages of slavery together with racial components, see Evans 1980, 15–43; Braude 1997, 103–42; Schorsch 2004, 135–65; Haynes 2007).

The fact that theses (a) of "intrinsic qualities" and (b) of punishment by God's will are connected allows both the understanding of a given 'naturalness' in the slavery of blacks, which Sandoval partially supports, and a supernatural grounding of their condition. In thesis (a) of the origin of black skin color, Sandoval sees an explanation which is 'philosophical' in nature. For the (b) idea that what explains black skin color is a punishment by God, Sandoval seeks support in the Old Testament[22] and Patristic interpreters. He refers to an exegesis of Ambrose, who noted that Abraham took care in order for his son not to marry a woman from "Chanam," not because the inhabitants of that land ("Chananeos") were "idolaters," but because they were descendants of an ignoble man. This was again a reference to Ham, son of Noah, who shamed his own father and did not show him the due respect. As a consequence, Ham lost his nobility, his liberty, and so did his descendants. It may be the case that that etiology of the first servitude in the world can be found in the interpretations by Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, ii, 75; Augustine 2000, *De civitate Dei* XIX, 15, 1923–1925; see also Glancy 2011, 87ff.), but *Sandoval* is the one who explicitly connects it with 'blackness,' for which he devises a 'philosophical' account and can now relate it to an Ethiopian dark-skinned lineage of servile people cursed in the Scripture. This is Sandoval's new move and certainly it is the interpretation that he endorses. As noted above, the fact that Ham's lineage was black-skinned was a mark of punishment and condition of subjection. When, after Ham—who *was made* a "serf and slave"—slaves *were introduced* in the world, so were black people as a human type, and *the cause of their skin color is a divine punishment decided by God* for a wrongdoing that merited *an external signal*. Sandoval also relies on Father Pedro de Valderrama (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, ii, 75)[23] in order to affirm that "good" people or people from a good lineage have good parents—they are people of "clarified blood" (*de sangre esclarecida*). "Bad" people are those from a bad lineage of people that have bad parents—they have blood "of obscure people" (*de gente obscura*). So, according to Scripture and some of its interpreters, there is a foundation in divine punitive justice for the following: wrongdoing against a father's honor, slavery as a punishment for a son's lineage, and black skin color as a signal of such punishment. The people affected by that justice are the "Ethiopians": the

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21 Sandoval's account of the etymology of the word "Cham" and the etiology of slavery based on Genesis 9:20–29 is influenced by the biblical commentaries by Alonso Fernández de Madrigal or "el Tostado" (*c.* 1410–1455), who was a professor at the University of Salamanca and later became bishop of Ávila. On accounts of slavery by Fathers of the Church, see Gülzow (1969); Sainte-Croix (1975, 1–38); Harrill (1995); Garnsey (1996); Klein (Klein 2000, 380–81).

22 On slavery in the Old Testament, see Dietrich (2000, 367–73 (with a rich bibliography, 372–73)).

23 Sandoval might be speaking here of the Augustinian Friar Pedro de Valderrama (1550–1611); see García-Garrido (2011, 253–80).

"blacks."[24] In the 1647 edition, the interpretation of such stories gets more complicated, in order to accommodate the thesis that blackness becomes, as a second quality, the external signal of a cursed lineage from Ham's descendance onwards. Sandoval emphasizes again that Ham— meaning *calidus*—was created with the extreme heat that causes blackness, and both intrinsic and secondary qualities were transmitted to Chus, Ham's first-born son. Ham's fourth son, i.e., "Chanam"—who told his father about Noah's drunkenness and nakedness—and his descendants were also cursed and enslaved, but it was Chus who was actually already born black before Ham's offence. This was due to a simple color variance in nature, and not due to any specific guilt. He was the one who became the founder of the Ethiopians: because of Ham's offence, all Chus's descendants were and remained black because of a quality planted by God to work as a mark of punishment (Alonso de Sandoval 1647, Part I, I, iii, 4–6, 17–19).

In Book I of his original work, Sandoval thus attempts to geographically and historically [20]
define Africa more specifically and all the lands and the "nations" (*naciones*) of the Ethiopians or blacks (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, ii, 76) more generally. He does so by explaining the nature and origin of their dark-skinned inhabitants. The author's narrative combines a taste for the report of marvelous and wondrous things with narratives that describe Ethiopians as miserable people—people and peoples that stay at or even are – in terms of function and position in a kind of global body of peoples – at the world's feet, as he will emphasize in the Book I of the 1647 edition of the *DIAS*.[25] We should pay attention to a further example of the patterns of derogatory discourse that Sandoval invokes of the 'human type' or 'race' and the 'ethnicities' of blacks or Ethiopians. Leaving aside some silly explanations about the parts of the body of blacks, such as "hairs" and "teeth," he emphasizes and explains their utter "ugliness" and "monstrosity" not only because of the poor conditions of the local paediatrics and, as it were, the various policies of beauty and body care, but, further reflecting "on the cause of the extraordinary monsters and other marvellous things that are found in Africa, especially on the part occupied in it by Ethiopia,"[26] Sandoval is able to formulate theses about the "cause of the generation of monsters," i.e. about the principle of their generation. He seems to follow an Aristotelian line of reasoning, i.e., that the principle of 'monstrosity' is that there are cases in nature in which nature itself does not reach its perfect end. It fails, in a certain respect at least, regarding the expected teleology of a given species. So, a specific living being of nature does not generate a descendant as a "fellow" or "similar," but rather as *a different one* (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, iii, 77). Sandoval, thus, can view in a "monster" a sort of "sin of nature," which can be understood either in terms of "defect" (like a defect of matter, say a cat born without legs) or of "excess" (like an excess of matter, say a cat born with more than four legs), for in both ways the generated item does not acquire its specific "completeness" (*perfecion*) that the corresponding living being was supposed to have (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, iii, 78). Even if this report of defects and sins of nature does not

24 Alonso de Sandoval (1987), I, ii, 75: "[…]: que por aver maldecido Noe a su hijo Cham por la desverguenza que uso con el, tratandole con tan poca reverencia, perdio la nobleza; y aun la libertad costandole quedar por esclavo el y toda su generacion, de los hermanos, que fue según los santos Augustino, Chrisostomo y Ambrosio, la primera servidumbre que se introduxo en el mundo. […]. Y siendo claro por linaje, nacio escuro. Y de ali nacieron los negros, dize el M. Pedro de Valderrama, y aun pudieramos dezir tambien los esclavos, como tiznando Dios a los hijos por serlo de malos padres. Que a los que tienen buenos, llamamos de sangre esclarecida, como a los que no, de gente obscura."

25 Alonso de Sandoval (1987, "Argumento de la obra al Christiano Letor," 55, 1647, "Prologo al Letor," (second page, with no indication of number)).

26 Alonso de Sandoval (1987, I, iii, 76–82) is an intriguing text, in which we find material for an ideology of "monstrosity" and "ugliness" related to sins and defects of nature. See also Tardieu (1984, 164–78); Olsen (2004, 92–104).

amount—at least at this point of Alonso de Sandoval's work—to a debasement of the spirit, it is a depreciation of bodily traces of the 'different' Africans.

[21] Although this is not a line of reasoning that is either systematically developed or explained in any textually connected sequence in the *De instauranda*, we can argue that Sandoval works with several tools or narratives to create a view of Ethiopians or blacks that makes of them people both related to servitude and to the status of bearers of miseries in terms of defective bodies, sufferings of all sorts and religious disorientation.

Miseries of the Blacks

[22] In fact, the depreciation of Ethiopian lineages goes even further and is articulated by Sandoval in several and complex ways. Book II of Alonso de Sandoval's *DIAS*, which bears the title "Of the evils that these blacks suffer and the necessity of this ministry, which brings help to them, whose highness and excellence shines because of several titles" (1987, II ("De los males que padecen estos negros y de la necessidad deste ministerio, que los remedia, cuya alteza y excelencia resplandece por varios titulos"), 231–361), contains in its first chapters important views on the conditions of the Ethiopians: after all, if the "evils" that the blacks suffer help us understand why they need the spiritual ministry of the Jesuits,[27] they also help to legitimize their human condition of subjection. The heart of the pious, i.e., the Jesuits, suffer together with those that live in such human misery, and they are ready "to help" (*remediar*). Sandoval emphasizes that the main evils the blacks suffer are spiritual ones. Above all, they have necessities related to their souls. Jesuit ministers are able to bring knowledge of spiritual things and to take over the "ministerio de los Negros" (1987, II, 231–32).

[23] To begin with, let us describe the evils of which Sandoval is speaking in Book II, Chapter I ("Of how of all evils and miseries a human being can suffer in general, blacks have a greater share") (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, i, 232–35). Following Aristotle's *Rhetoric,*[28] there are (i) evils of nature, such as those suffered by human nature for what it is, as composition by contraries, "sicknesses," "accidents," "disasters," "needs," "pains," "deaths," "afflictions," and "melancholies"; (ii) evils of fate, such as misfortunes in life and the absence of friends; and (iii) evils of the human soul, such as bad inclinations, vices, immorality, error, ignorance, etc. (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, i, 232–33). Reflecting on this, Sandoval affirms that when such evils come together, a man speaks inside the individual, saying that he has become a burden to himself (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, i, 233). Really, the description of those evils, for Aristotle, should be viewed as reasons for having or exciting "pity" towards those who suffer them (Nehamas 1994, 269–76; Busche 2005, 172). Alonso de Sandoval has the purpose of exciting pity towards black people in his readers, which might be seen as a way of persuading

27 Scriptural and theological reasons why, to God and Church, such a spiritual ministry for the salvation of the souls is so important, are presented in Alonso de Sandoval (1987 II, vi, xv–xviii, 252–56, 298–317). This understanding of the ministry of the Jesuits follows the missionaries Francis Xavier, who was active in India and China, and Pedro Gomez (1533/1535–1600), who was active in Japan. The practice of theological virtues – faith, hope, and charity – will be especially demanded, and martyrdom is also a possibility. In fact, there is a profound exposition of the "excellence of this ministry" of mission, for its particular connection to the practice and development of all virtues, particularly of charity (after Romans 13), in Alonso de Sandoval (1987, II, xix–xxiii, 318–61), with mentions of Francis Xavier and José de Anchieta (1534–1597).

28 The threefold typology of evils explained by Sandoval is Aristotelian. See Aristotle (1941, *Rhetorica* II 8, 1396–1398 (especially II 8, 1386*a*3–16, 1397)).

the Catholic Church, priests, missionaries, and slaveholders of the urgent religious and moral task they have of bringing black people relief and help.

[24] Sandoval emphasizes that evils and sufferings that touch the soul are the central ones. If philosophers show divided opinions about their cause, he does not hesitate to call it "sin." Because of sin, human beings suffer vices such as "greed," "ambition," "insatiable desire for living," concern for death and the future, as well as suffering shortcomings of understanding. Sin affects will and intellect, causing the soul suffering. Without faith, there is "evil" in understanding, for the intellectual soul lives, then, apart from God's principles, and blindness—error or ignorance—is the result. And a will affected by sin is able to receive all moral evils. When the *concupiscibile* and the *irascibile* control the human soul, it becomes "full of a thousand uglinesses [*fealdades*]" and is then more like the "the soul of a brute" than like a soul made "in God's image" (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, i, 233).

[25] After having made these distinctions, Sandoval confirms his belief that all these evils have a place among human beings, and *above all* among "the miserable blacks." Quite uncritically, he affirms that because the "fate" (*suerte*) of the Ethiopians is to be slaves their lives are far worse regarding their share in *males*. Inspired by a line of Homer in Latin translation—*Dimidium mentis Iuppiter illis aufert, qui servituti subiecti sunt*— Sandoval seems to endorse the view that it is a kind of divine providence that the sensing capacity of the slaves was, as it were, taken away (their bodies are in "poor condition [*vil condición*]") and, as a consequence, their understanding was also half taken away. In a sense, this made possible that they could endure terrible suffering at the traders' hands, and it also brought about the result that their bodily appetites multiplied. Though Sandoval makes this appeal to a supernatural explanation to what he considers to be an actual defective sensitive and intellectual condition of the blacks—which can at least bring about the positive side-effect of being able to bear bad living conditions and cruel and unjust treatments by the owners of slave ships—he believes that this does not mean that their souls are less perfect than the souls of free (white) human beings. The reason, we can suppose, is that their souls are equally capable of salvation.[29] In truth, in other parts of his work, our author affirms that black people are not "beasts," that they are capable of receiving the sacraments, for they have reason and free will (see also the section "Catechesis of Black People and Race Ideology," below). He even affirms that the use of reason by the African slaves equals its use by Spaniards who are silly and foolish—or, perhaps, uneducated (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, III, ii, 379–81; III, xx, 480). Sandoval never affirms that black people's status of lacking reason is a permanent state or a strictly natural condition.

[26] But in fact, in *DIAS* Book II Sandoval's position comes close to stating a sort of natural or actual condition of slavery for blacks that is caused supernaturally or, more simply, by the will of God. In Book II, Chapter 2 ("Of the evils of nature and of fortune endured by these blacks") (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, ii, 235–38), he even reminds us of Aristotle, who affirmed that some human beings are naturally born to be slaves and subjects. We might think

29 Alonso de Sandoval (1987, II, i, 234–35): "Y si todos estos males, que avemos dicho tienen asiento en los hombres por serlo, claro es que ternan mayor cabida en los miserables negros, cuya suerte por ser de esclavos, dixo agudamente aquel Poeta tan celebrado de los Griegos, Homero: *Dimidium mentis Iuppiter illis aufert, qui servituti subiecti sunt*: que parece que Dios, hablando a su estilo, avia quitado la mitad del entendimiento a los esclavos (yo aun añado considerando el grande mal, que es ser esclavo de señores de Armazones, que para poderlo sufrir lo avian de tener quitado del todo) no porque se aya de creer, que tienen menos perfetas almas que los muy libres, sino porque la mesma vil condicion del cuerpo, enbaraza el entender del alma, y entienden como si tuvieran medio entendimiento, y apetecen como si tuvieran mil apetites. […]. Sea como se fuere, que sin duda ninguna, todos los males que en comun se dizen de los hombres, parece que tienen mayor cabida en los esclavos: […]."

that he implies that this condition applies to black people, although the subjection condition in question would be supernaturally caused by God only after human beings' sin.[30] With this kind of explanation, evils of nature, of fate, and of the soul suffered by blacks would have a common cause, which is sin and the corresponding punishment by God. In particular, lack of understanding, congenial incapacity for the virtue of prudence, and simple corporeal aptness to hard work by the enslaved Africans—again, Aristotelian characterizations for slaves by nature[31]—have as an effect more responsibilities for slaveholders, for slaves will need holders who understand what is important for the goodness of their bodies and souls. Sandoval sees this situation as divine providence for the sake of black people and describes slave masters in an Aristotelian sense, where masters possess a complete understanding and the means for supplying the slaves with the other half of understanding they themselves do not possess. Their good government is done above all through "good example." Masters, thus, must have "one understanding and a half"—to supply what the slave lacks—or even a "double understanding"—to be successful in governing the house—and privileged capacity to undertake the defects of their subjects, which implies capacity to look after their souls and bodies, to care for their needs, to speak well with them, etc. (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, i, 234–35; see also Souza 2006, 41). Beginning with Ham, the first serf and slave, and passing through his lineage, blacks are depicted as being prone to or inclined by nature to slavery. This is even true if they actually live in civil liberty in Ethiopian lands and, for any given reason, they come to lose their liberty not on natural, but rather on 'legal' grounds, as is the case for those who are in what might be called the 'African-Ethiopian diaspora.'

[27] Still in Book II, Chapter 2, Sandoval affirms that the corporeal sufferings caused by severe—even perverse— treatments by Christian slaveholders are a sort of *evil of fortune* that happened to the blacks. Indeed, Sandoval denounces abuses. He denounces the fact that blacks are treated as beasts of burden, not as human beings, and that most slaveholders have no concern for their lives. This applies to blacks who are "miners," "farm workers" (*estancieros*), "cutters" (*asserradores*), "fishers," or house workers. Taking the last context of housework as an example, one would say that the famous sentence by Emperor Octavian holds: "in Herod's house it was better to be a pig than a son" (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, ii, 237).[32] After all, in the houses of slaveholders there was more care for beasts than for black slaves (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, ii, 236–37). Sandoval wants to contrast two types of masters' behaviour, i.e., the abandonment of black people by the Spaniards, and the care and concern of the religious men towards them. It is thus no surprise that Sandoval insists upon a Christian ethics for slaveholders (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, ii, 238).

[28] In a further passage, in Book II, Chapter III ("Of the evils that these blacks suffer in the supernatural") (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, iii, 239–42), Sandoval still offers a picture of (iv) evils suffered by the blacks in the sphere of the supernatural. What he means in this case is that although Christ died for all humankind, including black people, their holders seem not to like

30 Alonso de Sandoval (1987), II, ii, 235: "Bien pudieramos tratar de los males de naturaleza, que estos miserables negros tienen: que si ella apensionó la vida de los mismos Reyes, con censos y tributos de miserias, fundadas en la mesma naturaleza, raiz de donde ellos provienen: claro està que no ha de ser mas liberal, con los que la suerte hizo de tan peor condicion, que parece se verifica en ellos, lo que Aristoteles dixo, que avia hombres, que naturalmente parece, que nacieron para siervos y sugetos de otros."

31 On Aristotle's theory of (natural) slavery, see Aristoteles (2009), *Politik* I 4–7, 49–57; I 13, 1260*a*12–36, 73; I 13, 1260*b*5–7, 74. See also Brugnera (1998, 75–102); Geiger (2005, 136–38); Höffe (2006, 255–57); Pellegrin (2013, 92–116).

32 Alonso de Sandoval (2008, II, i, 70, footnote 8 (by N. Von Germeten)): "A reference to the Roman Emperor Augustus Caesar (27 B.C.E. to 14 C.E.), who was probably referring to Herod the Great, a Roman king of Judea born in 74 B.C.E."

that slaves are indoctrinated and baptized. They make no efforts towards those purposes, even avoiding it in all possible ways, persuading them that they should refuse to be indoctrinated and learn about Christian religion.[33] Partial, but significant, reason for that stance is the belief by the owners that the slaves are basically unable to learn the items of faith through catechism, and accordingly any attempt at baptizing them and bringing them to confession and holy communion is fruitless and potentially a way to blasphemy. This applies both to *bozales*[34] (recently arrived blacks from Africa) and to *ladinos*[35] (blacks already established in the colonies and linguistically inculturated) (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, iii, 239).

[29] These accounts of the capacities of enslaved Africans for Christian life and the sacraments and conceptual categories related to their faculties and communicative skills deserve an excursus on the relationship between language, race, and racism in Sandoval's work. After all, in the choice of words and use of language there is a notorious importation of prejudice denoting that the closer dark-skinned people from Africa are to white people, their world, and their religion, the more they are categorized in positive words. Interestingly enough, some of these prejudicial meanings connected to words remain today both in Spanish and Portuguese. For instance, as mentioned, the incoming African blacks in Cartagena who were unable to speak and understand Spanish were called *bozales*.[36] Today, *bozal* still has the meaning of "stupid" in Iberian languages, at least in their Latin American versions. Likewise, blacks enculturated into colonial society, i.e., the ones who had learned and even mastered the Spanish language, were called *ladinos*.[37] The word *ladino* is still used today for 'clever' or 'smart'. Moreover, sometimes we find, in the context of *DIAS*, the use of *moreno*, instead of *negro*, for enslaved Africans (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, [Aprovación del Padre Balthasar Mas, Rector del Colégio de la Compañia de Jesus, de la ciudad de Santa Fé de Bogota], 49; [Aprovacion del Padre Vicente Imperial, professor[r], y predicador de la Compañia de Jesus], 52), a word with a more 'positive' connotation, perhaps, which, in today's Latin American Spanish and Portuguese, is actually used to refer to dark-skinned persons in order to attenuate or euphemistically express the 'negative' or somehow 'regrettable' or 'embarrassing' fact that he/she is black or simply not white.

[30] *Bozales*, in particular, are taken as rude and slow in understanding, but this is no reason for excluding them from baptism and communion, after instructing them and creating in them a good disposition, according to Sandoval. Nothing proves that black people are incapable of learning doctrine and receiving sacraments. Doctrine should be taught to them slowly, which amounts to giving them more free time for learning the things that belong to their new faith, instead of forcing them to work all day long. Good examples by holders count as an especially effective form of religious education. Holders should feel compelled to provide slaves the adequate means for preparing themselves and taking part in the ceremonies of sacraments. This is a form of respect towards the slaves: having been removed from their

33 Sandoval exerts an honest criticism on the negative role holders play in the slaves' lives. Examples of this are causing difficulties to those who want to contract marriage and separating mothers from children. Owners become rich because of their slaves, but their conscience has no concern either for the slaves' health and safety or for their salvation (see Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, iii, 242).

34 Von Germeten (2008a, 193): "*bozal*: Rough or crude. Spaniards used this derogatory term for non-Spanish-speaking slaves who had recently arrived in the Americas from Africa."

35 Von Germeten (2008a, 193): "*ladino*: An African or Native American person who speaks Spanish or Portuguese and behaves in a manner that shows knowledge of Iberian culture and the Catholic religion. Usually *ladinos* had lived among Europeans for most of their lives. *Ladino* is often used to mean the opposite of *bozal*."

36 See footnote 34, above.

37 See footnote 35, above.

lands and set apart from their old gods, it is unfair to keep black people away from their new God as well (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, iii, 239–41).

Sandoval's multi-faceted account of Ethiopians as miserable people and ethnically prone to servitude still does not explain how and why, *as slaves*, they crossed the Atlantic Ocean towards American ports and the lands of Spanish and Portuguese colonizers. The point here is not about the economic aspects that explain the need for enslaved Africans to sustain the colonial enterprises of European empires. It is about why, irrespective of their alleged misery and proneness to servitude, blacks were sent away to the New World in the condition of enslaved people and within a complex chain of commercial practice, of which Sandoval was aware and which he was expected to morally assess. [31]

Legal Topics and Commutative Justice: Enslavement and Slave Trade

Sandoval's discussion of the examination of conscience concerning those engaged in trading slaves on the transatlantic routes between Africa and the Americas is not the main focus of this essay. However, there is an important theoretical question regarding how he combines his different accounts of the enslaved condition of black people—the first being his etiological explanation of it (as discussed in the last two sections above) and the second being his explanation of it in terms of the justice of enslavements and of trading slaves. In the structure of his book, the characterization of Ethiopians as a cursed type of human and the idea of cursed non-Christian nations come before the treatment of the legal claims of enslavement. Actually, with different emphases but common language, Sandoval's depiction of black people as miserable is to be found all over the book. Sandoval's final opinion about what to do regarding the justice or injustice of existing enslavements and the slave trade is conditioned by those narratives and the view he has, as a priest and a missionary, of the historical possibility of bringing black Africans to the Christian religion. [32]

In the 1627 edition of the *DIAS*, Sandoval treats enslavement and trade more directly in Chapter XVII ("Of the Slavery of these Blacks from Guinea and Other Ports, Speaking Generally") (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xvii, 142–49) and Chapter XVIII ("Of the *Armazones* [large slave ships] of These Blacks") (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xviii, 149–54) of Book I. He is aware of a controversy among *doctores* concerning the "business" of slave traffic. In fact, he leaves to the *doctores* the last word regarding the justification of that business. Among them, he admires Luis de Molina, with whose *De iustitia et iure* I, tract. 2, disp. 34–35[38] he is well acquainted. Sandoval endorses Molina's accounts and just wants to add something to the debate, from the standpoint of his many years of ministry. He is open to taking different opinions into account, especially those based on the experience of people engaged in slave traffic, but to consider any real change in the system is not his aim. His first concern is the question of how certain those engaged in the traffic of slaves are that black people crossing over the Atlantic Ocean on ships were really (and legitimately) slaves in their original ports and locations in Africa, such as Cacheu, Guinea, Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé Island, as well as Angola, from where slaves used to come to South America. It might be a hard task to safely judge the true [33]

38 See again Ludovicus Molina ([1611] 1738), *De iustitia et iure*, I, tract. 2, disp. 34–35 (disp. 32–40), 91–106 (86–117). Molina's views are also important for Sandoval in the 1647 edition of his *DIAS*; see Alonso de Sandoval (1647, Part I, I, xxi–xxii, 93–103). On Molina's treatment of black slavery, see Kaufmann (2014, 183–225); Joner (2015, 39–50); Pich (2019, 1–24 (e36112–e36136)).

status of Africans, considering that, in many cases, slaves were purchased at Latin American ports, where they disembarked, after already having been negotiated over three or four times (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xvii, 142). Although Sandoval seems willing to believe that purchasers in African ports act in good faith, and the traders in South American ports as well, he wants to highlight that perhaps purchasers *should have doubts* in some cases. Concrete moral worries in that regard come originally from captains of slave ships, who consulted our priest in Cartagena, in order to find spiritual relief for their conscience (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xvii, 143–44). This worry over the relief of the slavetraders' conscience is a particular aspect of Molina's treatment of black slavery, and, to a large extent, Sandoval follows that path as well (Moreno Rejón 2007, 99–101).

[34] We can affirm that Sandoval spent some time in search of trustworthy information. In the case of Angola, he received a letter by Luis Brandon (or Brandão),[39] the principal of the Collegio de San Pablo, of the Jesuits, in Luanda, dated August 21st, 1611.[40] Answering Sandoval's questions over whether black people had been made captives justly, Luis Brandão advises Sandoval not to have hesitations in that regard. Luis Brandão reminds Sandoval that the "mesa de la conciencia"[41] in Lisbon never complained about the traffic in Angola, and their members could be seen as persons both wise and of safe conscience (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xvii, 143). Bishops who had been in São Tomé, Cape Verde, and Luanda never reprimanded it, and nothing illicit in that regard was reported by the Jesuits working in Brazil.[42] Luis Brandão affirms that the merchants made the trade "in good faith," and purchases might also be made in South America in good faith. In a nutshell, merchants buy slaves in good faith in Angola and sell them in good faith in South America (Brazil and other coasts). Captive black people will always claim that they have been made slaves unjustly (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xvii, 144).

[35] The same Luis Brandão admits that sometimes black people are captured (and made slaves) mistakenly. Some have been simply stolen, and sometimes their local lords sold them for quite trivial reasons. Luis Brandão believes these cases are few in number, and it is impossible to inspect this small number of unfortunate cases[43] among ten to twelve thousand blacks that depart from Luanda each year. Moreover, Luis Brandão does not believe it is worth doing. To rescue those few unjustly captured and made slaves for arbitrary and negligible reasons and

39 "Luis Brandão" is the Portuguese name; Sandoval rendered it "Luis Brandon" in Spanish.

40 On this report by Luis Brandão, see also Suess (1998, 142–43); Block (2007, 92–93).

41 Von Germeten, in Alonso de Sandoval (2008, I, xvii, 51) translates the passage in a paraphrasic way: "In Lisbon, wise men of good conscience do not find slavery reprehensible." In id. ibid., p. 51, footnote 73, she explains: "The writer [Luis Brandão] might be referring to jurists, philosophers, and religious and secular leaders." In fact, Sandoval is certainly referring to the "Mesa de Consciência e Ordens," a kind of royal council created by the Portuguese king, Dom João III, in 1532, in order to deliberate in matters of public interest that touched "obligations of conscience" – it was officially extinguished in 1833. See also Marcussi (2013, 72–75).

42 Luis Brandão also assumes that Jesuits, in this case both in Angola and in Brazil, owned slaves perfectly licitly as well. See again a remark by Von Germeten, in Alonso de Sandoval (2008, 51, footnote 74): "During Sandoval's lifetime Jesuits were increasing their use of slaves on sugar estates in Brazil. Especially in 1700s, Jesuits ran large plantations worked by hundreds of slaves. However, it is not correct to argue, as have some scholars, that the purpose of *De instauranda* was to explain why it was morally correct for Jesuits to own numerous slaves." A fundamental work about the attitude of the Jesuits towards the slavery of Indigenous and black people in sixteenth to seventeenth century colonial Brazil is Zeron (2011).

43 Luis Brandão's judgement goes in the opposite direction to what, for example, decades later Diego de Avendaño summarizes in Didacus de Avendaño 1668, *Thesaurus indicus*, Tomus Primus, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8 ("De contractu Aethiopicorum mancipiorum"), n. 203, 329–30, as his own view, but also as a common opinion about what Jesuit moralists wrote on the matter, that is, that most enslaved Africans were either illicitly enslaved or were enslaved due to reasons which were uncertain.

to stop the whole traffic of slaves from Angola to South America—in that case, to Brazil in particular—because of these few would result in the loss of many souls that could otherwise have a unique chance of finding their salvation. Confessing that black people are captured and made slaves by several different means in Africa, Brandão claims that the alleged reasons for enslavement— following local laws and customs, for example—suffice as justification for their captivity (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xvii, 144).

[36] Sandoval does indeed seem to justify the existence of slave traders: Firstly, he accepts *prima facie* that they act *bona fide*, for they put questions about the condition of people they purchase and are (quite naturally) satisfied with the justification given for their captivity; secondly, their activity seems to be fair: they work, take risks, have expenses, etc.; thirdly, the effect of their work is to bring pagans to Christian lands, which can amount to those people's salvation. Sandoval endorses the view that slave traders work in good faith; the aspects of their risky job and the circumstances around their business seem to be acceptable (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xvii, 145; see Vila Vilar 1990, 27–28; Souza 2006, 42).

[37] But in the same chapter, Sandoval reveals hints of doubt, which arise because of his own efforts to get information about the fairness of the circumstances surrounding that business. He reports a conversation with the captain of an "armazon de negros" coming from Angola that was shipwrecked in a bay not far from Cartagena. This anonymous captain, in order to explain the large number of misfortuned slaves sent to Cartagena in those days, tells a different story from Luis Brandão concerning that practice. He reports of a war waged between two powerful kings, where one of them, having difficulties, came to the whites or Europeans, offering them a large amount of slaves in exchange for their provision of military support. The other king, his enemy, was informed of the strategy and made an even better offer. After having fought a cruel war, the victorious king again offered the whites a number of enslaved blacks who happened to be captured after their ruler's defeat. A large number of black people were thought to arrive in Cartagena as a result of such conflicts (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xvii, 145), or "wars," in Africa, about which no one was assured of acceptable just causes, clear offenders and offended, nor patterns of corrective justice at all.

[38] There are several more reasons for doubting the legitimacy of the trade. From the ports of Guinea come "blacks of the law"—i.e., Muslim blacks[44]—who are captured with the help of other blacks and *mochileros*, who in their turn go into the land and buy enslaved blacks in markets by giving quite simple goods in exchange, which ship captains and merchants had given them. In several other ports it is possible to find black people condemned to slavery because of small faults and because of wars that were waged with justifications such as offensive hearsay or irrelevant injuries. Local authorities such as kings and princes rely—with manifest tendencies to abuse of power—on crimes such as adultery, homicide, and theft to justify, as legal punishment, the captivity of black people, and in many cases also the captivity of the felons' descendants as well (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xvii, 146–47). With the help of blacks from the coast, captains and merchants entered the land and ambushed people

44 About black people from Guinea, Alonso de Sandoval (see Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xiii, 117–22) reports that they were influenced by Islam. The "perverse Mohammedan sect," particularly because of the dedication of its ministers, plays a dominant role in that part of Africa. Guineans worship Allah and honor Allah's great Prophet, whose doctrine they have in written form, i.e., in "parchments." Sandoval reports what would be an articulated presence of Islam in Guinea, namely a place where ministers preach and explain the doctrine of Muhammad, and apparently celebrate ceremonies in mosques. Preachers and missionaries of the Islam are very influential on political authorities, and so they are taken by Sandoval as a major factor for precluding the Guineans from becoming Christians. On the presence of *mouros* in those African regions and the Jesuits' efforts to diminish their influence, see Souza (2006, 46–47).

for capturing. Back at the coast, Portuguese ships—crowded with real "pirates" (*piratas*)—are waiting for the precious acquisitions (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xvii, 147).

[39] *Armadores* (men that participate in such captures at ports on the African West coast) and other people also engaged in the traffic report to Sandoval about their troubles of conscience. According to them, less than half of the reported wars in Africa, commonly used to justify the captivity and sale of black people because of alleged injury, had really taken place. To put it briefly, cases of enslavement of black people by black people in Africa and of their purchase by captains and traders are morally suspicious. Sandoval also mentions disagreements expressed by a cleric—in conversation with him in Cartagena—who, speaking from the perspective of Guinea, denounced that Luis de Molina wrote falsities about "unjust wars" in that land, the "rulership of the Kings and the captivity of the Blacks." In fact, in Guinea there were abuses of rulership because there was no free black person in the land; there, all blacks were slaves of the king, and they were simply used and sold for his own benefit and according to his arbitrary use of power (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xvii, 147–48; see Ludovicus Molina [1611] 1738, *De iustitia et iure*, I, tract. 2, disp. 34, 91–97). This amounts to the judgment that those people, as well as their relatives, were arbitrarily condemned to "perpetual servitude and slavery" in an unmistakable case of subjection and enslavement by "absolute power," not on juridical grounds of any sort at all (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xvii, 148–49).

[40] Although Sandoval does not insist on the point, he is aware that, due to such testimonies, the slave trade is not free of injustices. Together with what the *doctores* say about it, Christians should make use of quiet reflection in order to judge the justice of enslavement in cases where doubts arise. It is *implicit* in Sandoval's account that such injustices must be repaired (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xvii, 149).

[41] If slavery, in spite of possible injustices, is taken to be an acceptable social institution, most clearly (on the normative level) as a consequence of corrective law after a 'just' war won by the offended side and of punishment because of serious felonies, Sandoval is still able to make a further reflection on the cause of slavery. Why is liberty lost by people? In "the beginning," people were not put into the world, by God, as "masters" and "slaves." People began to tyrannize others by taking away their liberty because of "malice." This would amount to unjust enslavement of human beings because of the wickedness of slavers. Sandoval stresses the view that human beings are "naturally"—i.e., according to nature before the advent of sin—"free," and any human being is made a slave because of "iniquity" (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xviii, 149–50).[45] He believes that both the powerful and the poor have the same "principle" and "finality," and he is able to affirm, with Seneca, that all people "live under the sky," that "the sun shines" on all, and that all "breathe the same air" (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xviii, 150; Seneca 1988, *Epistula* XLVII.10, 28–29), which amounts to saying that, naturally/originally, all have the same share (Pohlenz 1964, 135–36; Garnsey 1996, 143; Reale 2011, 100). In fact, without much discussion of its foundations, Roman Stoic thinkers like Seneca usually located the possible legitimacy of slavery in the legal sphere—particularly in the *ius gentium*—rather than in a given account of slavery based on nature itself (see Flaig 1995, cols. 977–78; Garnsey 1996, 134–42). Malice explains why this does not happen in practice: here, by touching upon an Augustinian *leitmotif* for explaining the introduction of slavery into the world, namely "sin," Sandoval endorses the idea that it can be caused both

45 If this fits the discourse that the enslavement of black people was supernaturally introduced by God as a form of punishment because of Ham's offence, here Sandoval explores the Patristic idea that slavery was introduced by sin in the world because of human beings' iniquity towards their fellows.

by the iniquity of unjust slavers and because of sins committed by persons that were then, as a consequence, justly enslaved. But, again, the Good News is equally destined to all human beings as most excellent creatures of God, and even though there can be masters and slaves, they are equally called to the salvation of their souls through the redeeming deeds of Christ (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xviii, 150–51). In the end, it is on this level that there is the same freedom for all: a freedom, through faith, of the servitude of sin, which gives someone a "highest nobility" (because of virtues) to the eyes of God, as well as the same dignity of being Christ's serfs equally. From an eschatological perspective, everyone will receive a prize only because of their good or evil deeds on the spiritual level. In fact, people should care most about the healing of their souls, which need to be redeemed by Christ.

Sandoval's final word concerning the problem of traders' safe conscience confirms that he [42]
was at the same time aware of many situations of unjust enslavement and unable to confront the system of slave trade at a legal, economic, and political level. After all, he relieves the situations of doubt, for he accepts the idea that "blacks were captured with the justice that God knows," and in the status of corporeal slavery they happened to be touched by the hands of the Jesuit priests and missionaries, who are supposed to bring them relief, seeking their "spiritual freedom" and above all the freedom "of their souls." Surely the Jesuits would also work concretely towards the slaves' bodily relief, as soon as they arrived at South American ports after horrendous conditions of shipment, as a means towards the more important goals of catechism, doctrine, baptism, and confession (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, I, xviii, 151).

Clearly, Sandoval's reports both reveal (or help verify) and construct (or confirm) a repre- [43]
sentation of the different Ethiopians that appeals to patterns of prejudice and discrimination. The narratives selected in this study, both in content and in language, depict black people as a human type, to be found in many different human groups and nations, thus, ethnicities, full of congenial defective aspects and marked by an inferior condition—i.e., servitude or natural inclination to servitude. Moreover, "black" or "Ethiopian" as a human type is characterized by features that, in the end, are endorsed or even caused by God. Any possible critical attitude concerning the conditions in which enslaved black people are transported to the Americas is relativized by the fact that Ethiopians are not Christians and are in need of salvation: the good of the salvation of the soul relativizes the urgency of protecting any other human good that would be otherwise due to black people but denied to them in the project of colonization, like, for example, the overt fight against undeniable injustices done in the original enslavements and the slave trade. But perhaps we find the most revealing aspects concerning a religion- and race-based subjection in Sandoval's work in passages where he explicitly connects religion and race, religion and skin color. These texts, the analysis of which is the *second and final* focus of this study of the *DIAS* and which certainly, on the doctrinal level, characterize the Jesuit missions among black people, are those where Sandoval explains the key contents of a Christian catechesis. We must remember that, in the 1627 edition, Sandoval's book has a total of Four Parts. Parts One and Two are those that I have roughly described so far. In Book III Sandoval presents topics related to the correct administration of sacraments, especially the sacrament of baptism, which, since it presupposes a knowing and free-willing consent to the key contents of faith, must be preceded by proper catechesis.

Catechesis of Black People and Race Ideology[46]

We cannot analyze the catechesis of enslaved blacks without also considering that its performance presupposed a paternalistic—and, to a certain extent, symbiotic—ethics of masters and slaves inspired by the Bible (in particular St. Peter's and St. Paul's *Letters*), reflecting the exemplary role of both lay and clerical Christian masters as people chosen by God to discipline their 'children' and teach them the true religion. According to St. Paul's ethics, in particular, true believers and redeemed people live under the same spiritual freedom and, in a sense, the same spiritual servitude towards each other in love and subjection to Christ as Lord. In such a state there are no masters and slaves, although the apostle himself did not direct explicit words against the political state of slavery or civil servitude. What St. Paul says about Christian masters and (Christian) slaves must be understood under the perspective of an eschatologically-inspired pedagogy of faith that should—that at least might—be conducted in a master-slave relationship. Partly inspired by Augustine's endorsements of it,[47] Sandoval makes a careful application of this kind of human relationship with the purpose of introducing proper religious views and habits among the Ethiopians, i.e., with the primary goal of the salvation of their souls (Alonso de Sandoval 1987, II, iii–v, 242–51).[48] [44]

As Nicole Von Germeten correctly points out, Book III of Sandoval's *DIAS* "highlights the fact that" he viewed his own work "as a manual for Jesuits who wanted to join his mission baptizing African slaves in Cartagena."[49] So, he offers several pieces of practical advice to those who want to join him in the ministry of blacks. Sandoval carefully explains his approach to the Catholic sacraments, most especially to baptism—both of children and above all of adults—showing particular interest in knowing about those who had been baptized already in the African lands and under what circumstances and criteria of proper administration (Chapters 4–6) (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, iv–vi, 111–25, 1987, III, iv–vi, 382–406). He then focuses on the examination of the enslaved Africans' true status as baptized people after they disembark from slave ships and arrive at ports in the Americas, and, if necessary, on further prerequisites and the due preparation for catechism (Chapters 7–9) (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, vii–ix, 125–33, 1987, III, vii–ix, 406–20). For those whose inspection reveals that they did not receive any baptism at all, or at least no valid baptism, the Jesuit priest proposes, thus, a form of catechism (teaching of the fundamental articles and precepts of the Christian faith) which, irrespective of the presupposition that black people are both able to basically understand those contents and freely receive baptism afterwards (Chapter 3) (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, iii, 105–10, 1987, III, iii, 375–81; see also Cenci 2015, 83–85), also reveals a remarkable connection between (Christian, and the only 'true') religion, 'race', and 'ethnicity.' Despite all the hard or demeaning descriptions of the human status of black people offered by Sandoval in Book II of his *DIAS*, and granting that our author is neither always consistent nor [45]

46 For this section, see also Pich (2017, 213–26).

47 Inspired by Augustine's (2000) *De civitate Dei* XIX, 14–15, Sandoval conceives a scale of love within the scope of a household ethics: we owe love *first* to God, *second* to relatives, *third* to our children, and *fourth* to the people in the house, including here servants and slaves. But if servants and slaves are good, they should be even more loved than bad children. See Alonso de Sandoval (1987, II, v, 251).

48 In Pich (2015, 69–72) I explained several aspects of this ethics, which Sandoval develops and finds confirmed above all in passages of the New Testament. Sandoval makes honest efforts to protect the slaves and calls the attention of their white holders to their human and Christian responsibilities. On St. Paul's thought about slavery, see Schrage (1994, 237–43, 283–85); Garnsey (1996, 173–88).

49 See Von Germeten's editorial introductory note in Alonso de Sandoval (2008, III, i, 99–100, see also 1987, III, i, 363–64). I make use of Von Germeten's translation into English of selections of Sandoval's *DIAS* throughout this section of the essay.

particularly precise in his expositions, according to his opinion in Book III Africans have free will and are able to at least understand the essentials of Christian faith before actually being baptized. Sandoval even affirms that they must be brought to Christian faith by some forms of induction (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, iii, 105–10; III, x, 133–37, 1987, III, iii, 375–81; III, x, 420–26), although we must also mention that the mysteries of faith, "due to the slaves' ignorance," should be explained in a quick and simple way, without "much detail" (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, x, 133; III, xi, 137–41, 1987, III, x, 420–21; III, xi, 426–33). But the passages that I really want to analyze are about Sandoval's reflection on the kind and amount of information to be received by enslaved black people, and about how much knowledge was enough for them to be properly catechized and rightly express the acquisition of faith before receiving the sacrament of baptism. What must they know?

Summarizing what Sandoval affirms in *DIAS* III, 10, the African slaves (i) must first "be taught that without baptism, they cannot go to heaven," and they must be attentive to every instruction, because without correctly answering questions later "they will not have the water poured on them" (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, x, 133–34, 1987, III, x, 420–21). (ii) Second, they must know that "the water is not for washing their heads or refreshing them," it is instead "God's water, and baptism is a great thing that Jesus Christ commands to renew humankind," in such a way that sinners and "slaves of the devil" become "children of God."[50] (iii) Third, the slaves must be taught that "God is watching us, even if we cannot see him," hearing then an explanation in very simple words about the mysteries of omnipresence, eternity and omnipotence (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, x, 135, 1987, III, x, 422). (iv) Fourth, they must know, by means of comparisons, about the mystery of the Holy Trinity, that there are three persons and only one God (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, x, 135, 1987, III, x, 422–23). (v) Fifth, they must be told that "God has a son, also a God like him, who is the second figure" of the Holy Trinity (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, x, 135, 1987, III, x, 423). (vi) Sixth, they must be told "how this Son of God became a man and was born of Saint Mary," whose status as "Mother of God" should be made explicit (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, x, 135, 1987, III, x, 423). (vii) Seventh, the African slaves must be told that the "great and all powerful God has two houses [*sic*!]"; one is heaven, which "is very beautiful and is always full of happiness and is located up in the sky," and the other is hell, a house below that "is nothing but fire, whips, and punishment," with the warning that "Those who do not have water poured on them and who do not want to serve him go there, where they are tortured forever" (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, x, 135, 1987, III, x, 423). (viii) Eighth, African slaves must be told that "the Son of God died because he loves them and wants all of them to have their heads washed. After he died, he returned to life." Sandoval here emphasizes that Christ wants black people to do everything he commands, and this is connected to a further will, i.e., that Christ wants them to dwell in his "upper house" (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, x, 135–36, 1987, III, x, 423–24). (ix) Ninth, they must be told about "the mystery of the Resurrection," which requires an explanation of the immortality of the soul and its union with the resuscitated body in glory

[46]

50 Alonso de Sandoval (2008, III, x, 134, 1987, III, x, 421–22): "Lo segundo se les dirá, que aquella agua no se les echa para lavarles las cabezas de alguna suziedad refrescarselas o para quitarles el cabello: sino que es agua de Dios, una cosa grande, ordenada por Jesu Christo, para que con ella se renovasse el hombre perfectamente, dandole la gracia de Dios, su amistad, y grandes bienes con ella; por la cual de esclavos del demonio se buelven hijos de Dios, y de pecadores se buelven justos; y no solamente lava el alma de toda mancha de culpa, mas también la libra de toda la pena del infierno y del purgatorio, de modo que si uno muriesse luego despues de ser baptizado, iria derecho al cielo, como si jamas huviera cometido pecado [...]."

and in heaven (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, x, 136, 1987, III, x, 424–25). In all these steps[51] of basic Christian catechism, Sandoval follows a clear pedagogy: he recommends simplicity of language, patient repetition (like someone who is speaking with children), as well as some use of force or pressure with words, so that enslaved Africans realize how important to their souls the sacrament of baptism is:

> It is sufficient to teach these mysteries in this simple way, because the slaves are in desperate need and understand so little. If they die, they have learned enough to be saved and to receive the other sacraments. If they live, little by little they will learn the rest and perfect themselves. After we finish instructing them, we ask their express permission for baptism, before passing to the other actions necessary for faith, hope, charity, and contrition[52]. [47]

But in order to see the most interesting aspects of such pedagogy of salvation applied by Jesuit priests—those aspects that can reveal new perspectives which help us understand the ideologies of black slavery in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—we should give attention, again, to (ii) the second teaching recommendation or requirement mentioned above. This second step, as described by Sandoval, is accompanied by an emphatical language of truth and falsity in religion and characterized by remarkable (embarrassing!) connections between religion and race, religion and ethnicity, and religion and skin color, although such connections appear in several other passages of Book III of *DIAS* as well.[53] Sandoval affirms that baptism cleans the slaves' souls "of all stains of guilt," it frees their souls "from the pain of hell and purgatory," opening for them the doors of heaven after their death. As a matter of fact, in order to characterize the souls' states before and after baptism, Sandoval makes use of simple (even childish) language that resorts to straight and emphatic oppositions such as 'clean and dirty,' 'peace and suffering,' 'heaven and hell,' 'true and false,' etc. However, at the core of the Christian catechesis, the Jesuit thinker uses words that belong to the discourse of the previous exposition that consciously devalued black-skinned people (and peoples). In other words, Sandoval's catechetic narrative remains close to the idea that the skin color and 'race' of Africans and their status as subjected or subjectable human beings is ultimately explained by a divine punishment, and the enslaved condition of Africans in the American diaspora follows a divine plan. This derogatory narrative is related now to 'true' religion (Christianity) [48]

51 In fact, if for any given reasons the catechist is "very rushed because the person is very sick and cannot understand anything," the essentials of Christian faith can still be reduced to six basic items (see Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III x, 137, 1987, III, x, 425–26). Those six items do not mention the mysteries of Christ and the Holy Trinity, and Sandoval agrees with theologians such as Francisco de Vitoria and Melchor Cano O.P. (1509–1560) that, although according to the "common [divine] law" the explicit knowledge of Christ (and the Holy Trinity) is necessary for justification and salvation, in some extraordinary cases an implicit faith in Christ (and the Holy Trinity) should suffice. On this discussion, see Pich (2018, 16–17).

52 Alonso de Sandoval (2008, III, x, 136–37, 1987, X, x, 425): "Dichos estos misterios por este modo o por el que Dios enseñar a cada uno, o mejor se acomodare, no se les diran mas, pues parece bastan estos en tan grave necessidad y en tan grande cortedad de entendimiento, pues si mueren, saben lo necessario para salvarse y poder recebir los demas Sacramentos y si viven, poco a poco iran aprendiendo lo demas y perfecionandose en esto. Y aquí antes de passar a los demas actos necessarios de Fè, Esperanza y Caridad, contricion si pudiere ser, se les buelva antes de administrarles el baptismo, a pedir su consentimiento expresso, de recibirle y preguntarles las demas cosas que quedan referidas, de la inteligencia y noticia de lo que reciben y que utilidades tiene."

53 See, for example, Alonso de Sandoval (1987), III, iv, 389; III, v, 397–99; III, viii, 415–16; III, ix, 416–17; III, x, 424 [Sandoval talks of "animas blancas"]; III, xii, 434–35 [Sandoval defends the practice of changing the names of African slaves as soon as they are baptized, i.e., of giving them new Christian and "white" names, instead of keeping the names they received in their lands, where they still were sons of the devil].

and 'false' religion (any religion professed by blacks), 'right' or 'blessed' skin color and race (white and whites) and 'wrong' or 'cursed' skin color or race (black and blacks). This proves what I take to be one of the most powerful items of the 'philosophy of black slavery' generally speaking and thus, of the 'ideology of black slavery' more narrowly. That is to say, there is a true religion, this is the religion of the whites, this a white religion, and this is Christian faith. After his exposition of the second step in teaching blacks the essentials of Christian faith, and before describing how such teaching items should be repeated by the catechized slaves until they know by heart the answers to all questions put to them before receiving the sacrament of baptism, Sandoval writes:

> This is how they will become Christians, like the whites, and how they receive the law of Jesus Christ in order to adore him and remember nothing more of the idols and false gods of their land, [but only of the God of the whites and of Jesus Christ, His son].[54] We repeat this point as many times as is necessary for them to understand, until they give the correct answers to these questions.[55] [49]

In the following lines, Sandoval mentions a kind of script of doctrinal repetitions that must be performed as a simple interplay of questions and answers between priest or catechist and a group of enslaved Africans, regarding the essential meaning of the water of baptism to be poured over the slaves' heads. As in the case of every other basic doctrine taught in baptismal catechesis, Sandoval seems to formulate textual scripts that should be used by priests with the help of 'converted' *ladino* interpreters, who, by so directly speaking to catechumens in testimonial fashion, also play a significant role in evangelizing and thus in acculturating enslaved black people shortly after arrival. This is a role black interpreters would also play in Pedro Claver's (1580–1654) missionary work (Brewer-García 2020, 121–68). In those scripts, it is impossible not to perceive the scandalous connections between religion and race that, with similar or comparable narratives, possibly characterized Jesuit missions specifically and Christian missions in general from the end of the sixteenth up to (at least) the eighteenth century: [50]

> [Q.] What is this water that will be poured over them? [A.] They respond that it is water of God. [Q.] Do they want to receive it with all their heart? [A.] Yes. [Q.] Where will they go if they receive it? [A.] To heaven with God. [Q.] Whose children are they after receiving that water? [A.] Children of God. [Q.] If they receive the water, will they be children of the devil or of God? [A.] Just children of God. [Q.] Which gods should they have from now on, the true God of the whites [al Dios verdadero de los blancos], Jesus Christ, his Son, or the false and lying gods of their land and of witchcraft and superstition? [A.] Only the God of the whites [que no quieren sino al Dios de los blancos, etc.]. [Q.] Do they want to be Christians obeying the law of Jesus Christ like the whites, living like them, [51]

54 This important part of the original text (see next footnote) was unfortunately missing in the English translation by N. Von Germeten.

55 Alonso de Sandoval (2008, III, x, 134, 1987, III, x, 422): "[…] que con ella quedan Christianos como los blancos, y reciben la ley de Jesu Christo, para adorarlo y no acordarse mas de los idolos, Chinas y dioses falsos de su tierra, sino del Dios de los blancos y de Jesu Christo, su hijo. Y este punto se les repita las vezes que fueren necessarias, para que entiendan y como tan principal y el fundamento de todo no se passe del, […]."

> serving and obeying the great God of the Christians, or be the Moors [Muslims], gentiles, and barbarians, like they were in their land? [A.] Be like Christians.[56]

Actually, the lines next to this litany (see below) might be seen as a mitigation of the thesis that Sandoval's mission handbook works with an ideological association between 'true' religion and 'right' race—thus, 'false' religion and 'wrong' race—but in fact it does not change anything concerning the emphasis that the religious attitude of whites is the one to be imitated (after all, they had already accepted the water of Christian baptism). We must keep in mind that, on being baptized, enslaved Africans were supposed to receive new names, i.e., names to be found in a Christian colonial ethos.[57] Moreover, the personal value slaves acquire after baptism and the socio-spatial participation they win for themselves after receiving the sacrament are explicitly presented by Sandoval as a very modest integration, by means of true religion, into a 'white world': [52]

> Also say to them at this point that the whites are important because they have accepted this water that makes them Christians. If they had not, they would be unimportant and without value. If the slaves receive the water, they will also be respected, and they will be able to go to the temples and houses of God, to associate and eat with the other Christians. If they are Christians, when they die they will be buried in the church. If they are not Christians, they will be thrown in the rubbish dump, where they will be eaten by dogs.[58] [53]

Sandoval is aware of the danger of overstressing any connection between a Christian thing such as baptism and the world of the whites. He had made important reflections on it some Chapters before, in *DIAS* III.v, where he writes on the "most important topic" of his treatise, i.e., "The value of these baptisms [received in Africa, before transportation to the Indies]" and expresses the view, based on "moral certitude," thus on a probability high enough to overcome any relevant doubt, that those baptisms are "usually null and invalid, and evidently doubtful" (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, v, 117, 1987, III, v, 390–92). Regarding the due preparation for the rite of being washed by water, Sandoval made explicit that the most important thing would be to make the Ethiopians understand, through catechism, what "Christian" or "to be a Christian" means, avoiding any view that "Christian" simply amounts to "Portuguese" or "white," since that would associate Christian faith with something bad for the blacks, i.e., the enslavers, their "worst enemies" at a first glance. Carefully analyzing whether slaves still on [54]

56 Alonso de Sandoval (2008, III, x, 134, 1987, III, x, 422): "[…], hasta que preguntados que agua es aquella con que les quieren lavar respondan que es agua de Dios. Que si la quieren recebir de todo corazon, que si. Que donde han de ir con ella? Al cielo con Dios. Que cuyos hijos han de ser con aquella agua? Que hijos de Dios. Que si recebida aquella agua seran se alli adelante hijos del demonio, o de Dios? no, sino hijos de Dios. Que a quien quieren de alli adelante, al Dios verdadero de los blancos, a Jesu Christo su hijo, o al Dios falso, y mentira de su tierra, a sus Chinas, hechizerias y supersticiones? que no quieren sino al Dios de los blancos, etc. Que si quieren ser Christianos, tener la ley de Jesu Christo como los blancos, vivir como ellos, sirviendo y obedeciendo al Dios grande de los Christianos? o ser Moros Gentiles, Barbaros como en su tierra y vivir como allà vivian? que no, sino como Christianos, etc." "Q" = "Question" (by the catechist), and "A" = "Answer" (by the African slaves).

57 See foonote 53, above.

58 Alonso de Sandoval (2008, III, x, 134, 1987, III, x, 422): "Tambien se les dirà luego en este punto que la causa de ser los blancos tan estimados de todos, es, por aver recebido esta agua con que se hicieron Christianos, que sino lo fueran no uviera quien hiziera caso dellos. Que la reciben ellos tambien y seran estimados, como ellos, podran ir a los templos y casas de Dios, tratar y comer, con los demas Christianos y cuando se mueran los enterraran en la Iglesia si son Christianos, o si no en el muladar, donde sean comidos de perros."

the African coast received a valid baptism or not—and emphasizing that a person with the use of reason is validly baptized only if he or she gives his or her free consent, knowing what the consent is about—Sandoval writes:

> [Other authors […] all agree on one thing]: […] that in order for baptism to be valid, some knowledge of baptism as baptism is necessary, i.e., as [59] a ceremony connected to religion and a belief in God and that it makes them friends or sons of God, takes away their sins, and helps them go to heaven. They must at least realize that it has something to do with the Christian religion. They cannot only say that it is something Christian, Portuguese, or white, without knowing what the word "Christian" means, other than that it refers to a person who has taken away their liberty. This is not enough information![60] [55]

> [Talking about baptisms not preceded by due catechism and a properly willing consent according to enough understanding of the sacrament and the ceremony, as they used to be done still before the slave ships crossed the ocean] If someone asks them if they want to have this water poured on them so they can be like whites, and so on, I am certain that they not only reject this but detest this water and all other things connected to the whites from the bottom of their hearts. Whites are their worst enemies: they take the slaves from their homelands, separate them from their parents and siblings, take away their liberty, put them in chain gangs, shackles, and prisons, and then confine them in a ship to take them to distant lands, without hope of returning to their own. […]. Not only do they [i.e., the blacks] want nothing to do with the whites' water, but they abhor doing something that makes them like the whites, because the Spanish have earned their great spite and hatred. The blacks hate and deeply reject anything that they believe will unite them or make them similar to their worst enemies: the whites.[61] [56]

In almost complete ignorance of what Christian baptism is all about, black slaves can even think that the water of baptism can bring them to death or that, when thrown upon them, it works like the brand masters used to burn into slaves' bodies in order to recognize their holdings in buying and selling them on a market (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, v, 119, 1987, III, v, 398). But these last conceptual links between baptism, Christian status, and whiteness are all based upon reflections and conjectures about invalid conditions according to which [57]

59 Up to this point, translation of mine.

60 Alonso de Sandoval (2008, III, v, 118, 1987, III, v, 395): "Otros […] todos convienen en una misma cosa: y es, que para que el baptismo sea valido, es necessaria noticia del baptismo en cuanto baptismo: esto es en cuanto cerimonia de religion y culto de Dios, que se endereza a hazer amigos o hijos de Dios, a perdonar pecados, a llevar al Cielo, que es conocerlo por sus efectos: o a lo menos, que sepa que aquello es cosa de Christianos en cuanto Christianos, y de diferente Religion; que si lo tuviessen por sola cosa de Christianos en cuanto Portugueses o blancos no sabiendo, como no saben, que significa aquella palabra Christianos, o en cuanto amos suyos o enemigos suyos que les quitan la libertad, cierto es que no bastaria."

61 Alonso de Sandoval (2008, III, v, 119, 1987, III, v, 397): "[…]: y cuando se lo pidiessen diziendo, si querian recibir aquella agua, y ser como blancos, etc., es cierto que no solo no le darian, pero abominarian en sus corazones de agua, y cosa de blancos, gente que ellos tienen por capitales enemigos, que los sacan de sus tierras, los apartan de sus padres, y hermanos, de sus mugeres e hijos, les quitan su libertad, los tienen actualmente en colleras, grillos y prisiones, metidos en un navio para llevarlos a lejanas tierras, sin esperanza de bolver a las suyas, […]; y esso crea passarà en los negros, que no solo no querran agua de blancos, pero aborreceran ser como ellos, porque como tienen cobrado a los Españoles tan grande ojeriza y aborrecimiento, juntamente aborrecen y apartan de su corazon todo aquello que ven o les dizen concierne a unirse y juntarse con sus capitales enemigos, que son los blancos: […]." See also Cenci (2015, 87) where the passage in question is partially quoted.

baptism was performed on African shores, picturing a context in which neither proper doctrinal instruction nor due consent were present. Christian life in the space of Jesuit ministry in the Indies should be different.

[58] Even if he shows understanding for the negative image that enslaved Africans can have of Christian religion as a contemptible set of rites practiced and imposed by white believers and enslavers, Sandoval insists on drawing quite a different picture of how Africans' lives can be better in the Christian ethos of the Indies. Sandoval will make a plea for the possibility of a Christian colonial society suitable for the Africans' acceptance of the new religion as well as a call for a strict observance of Christian duties by ministers and masters for the sake of the Africans' successful catechizing and introduction into the Catholic Church. In fact, the story told above, based on *DIAS* III.v, does not change to fit a second the view that the enslavement and transportation to the Americas was viewed as a good thing for black people: in the new land they receive the holy water of baptism, the liberty of the soul, and they live as slaves in a good house treated well by a new family – a positive message of relief that should be kindly communicated to slaves by priests, again with the help of *ladino* interpreters, as soon as Africans arrive at Latin American ports:

> [59] Tell them that their master loves them very much and that they must do what he says; they must ask and beg him to treat them well, give them gifts, and heal them when they are sick so that they will have a good master with whom they can live happily in their captivity. Make them understand that the Lord did them great mercy in bringing them to a Christian land. It is better to be a slave here than free in their lands, because here, even though the body suffers working in captivity, the soul rests in the liberty that is attained through the holy water of baptism. Tell them that in this land they have family and that if they serve well, they will have a good captivity, and they will be content and well dressed. Tell them to give up their sadness and pain and be happy.[62]

[60] This was taken as the beginning of the slaves' catechesis, in their new home, in order to prepare and conduct them as soon as possible to sacrament. But through baptism and the cleaning up of their souls, followed by obedience to God's commands, enslaved Africans will obtain, not now but in the afterlife, the condition of free men, in which the whites are already: a life in free "Christian brotherhood." Warning priests to make use of some clues by examining slaves upon arrival, Sandoval says to them that:

> [61] You must be convinced that they were baptized properly, with words said in their own language, and with some understanding of the purpose or meaning of baptism. Even the roughest and most confused person must understand that it is the water of God for the children, captives, and servants of God, in order that they may do

62 Alonso de Sandoval (2008, III, viii, 129, 1987, III, viii, 415): "Dirales, que su amo les quiere mucho y haze lo que le dize, que le pedirà y rogará les trate bien, les regale y cure, y despues les de buen amo con que vivan contentos en su cautiverio. Deles a entender la merced grande del Señor, en averles traido a tierra de Christianos, donde vale mas ser cautivos que en su tierra libres: pues acà aunque el cuerpo está en trabajo por el cautiverio, el anima está con descanso, por la libertad que ha de alcanzar con el agua del santo baptismo. Ensancheles el corazon, dicendoles tendran por estas partes muchos parientes con quien tratar, y que si sirven bien, tendran buen cautiverio, estaran contentos y bien vestidos, que desechen toda tristeza y pena y que se alegren, que luego tendran salud y en todas las cosas contento." See also Cenci (2015, 87) where the passage in question is partially quoted.

> what God commands and clean their souls of sin, allowing their souls to go to heaven and bringing them into Christian brotherhood with the whites.[63]

[62] In the narratives related to catechism and baptism, the end of slavery for black people is always referred to the future or the afterlife. In *DIAS* III.x, where Sandoval describes the teaching of Christian faith prior to the sacrament, we read that the souls of those who for the first time have validly received the "brand" of baptism will become white: being made "children" and "slaves" of God, in the future house in heaven blacks will still have a "master": God Himself, i.e., the best possible slaveholder. Slaves should know that, after resurrection and reunion of soul and body, in eternal life in the "presence of God," "enslavement and sickness" will be forgotten (Alonso de Sandoval 2008, III, x, 136, 1987, III, x, 424–25).

[63] All things considered, black people now have the opportunity to live in 'good' captivity: through baptism they will achieve the soul's liberty and will belong to the good family of the Church; moreover if things happen according to the ethics proposed by the Jesuits to the Christian-Hispanic slavery-based colonial society, African slaves will work hard but will be compensated by the prudent and Christian care of new and white families and owners. Such a white hierachical Christian society, which of course exists according to the true religion of the whites, is the ideal, and in any case best, historical possibility that God provided for the redemption of peoples originally cursed and prone to servitude, according to Sandoval.

Concluding Remarks

[64] Slavery, and more specifically black slavery, was a justifiable practice for Sandoval, both philosophically and theologically. It was so primarily as a result of 'just' wars and as a punishment for grave felonies. In this sense, the introduction of slavery into the world, ultimately because of sin, is not an offence to a 'natural right' of human beings.[64] Sandoval comes close to an account of the natural slavery of black people, but he justifies their proneness to servitude—here a status introduced into human nature—supernaturally, that is, through the punitive will of God. For that purpose, he also invokes biblical-theological foundations for slavery, for example the exegesis of the story of Ham in Genesis 9.20–29. These forms of justification are accompanied by discourses of ethnic discrimination, comprising "sins of nature" and needs of the soul, as well as "evils of nature," "of fortune," "of the soul," and a note on misfortune in the religious sphere. Such discourses of devaluation help to create an ideology of acceptance towards the Ethiopians' condition of slavery, portraying it as perhaps a better destiny for their bodies and souls.

[65] Sandoval sees legitimacy in the system of the slave trade generally, although he accepts the idea that, when firsthand testimonies report of illegal purchases, injustices are probable and cases must be verified. Sandoval's text conveys an emphatic belief that many cases—perhaps even most cases—of the enslavement of blacks were unjust, but he never develops

63 Alonso de Sandoval (2008, III, ix, 131, 1987, III, ix, 417): "Aviendo hecho las preguntas que a su parecer bastaren, si dellas o de sus respuestas constare con certeza moral, que le echaron agua diziendole las palabras del baptizmo, y que por medio de algun interprete, que supiesse su lengua o la nuestra, le dixeron alguna cosa del fin o utilidad o significacion del baptizmo, y que entendió, aunque fuese tosca, grossera y aun confusamente conforme a su capacidad, que era agua que Dios manda para hazer hijos, cautivos y siervos para hazer lo que Dios manda que limpia el alma de los pecados, que la hermosea y lleva al cielo, o haze hermanos de los blancos, Christianos como ellos a diferencia de su ley: […]."

64 Souza (2006, 40) affirms that, for Sandoval, liberty was not a part of natural law. For reasons that I presented in section "Legal Topics and Commutative Justice: Enslavement and Slave Trade," above, I do not think that this is a correct view.

a legal or political criticism or confrontation of that institution as such. Sandoval seems to be honestly worried about the safe conscience of traders. In this sense, he is in line with Dominican and Jesuits thinkers who showed concern for the normativity of relationships in the traffic and exploitation of black slave labour (Pich, Culleton, and Storck 2015, 10–11; Culleton 2015, 29–38; Pich 2019, 1–24 (e36112–e36136)). At the same time, and even more keenly, Sandoval was concerned about the salvation of the souls of the Africans. This led him to a paternalistic attitude about the religious care of those whom he deemed most in need of spiritual masters, as if the conditions of slavery in an economic system, within an imperial project of colonization, were in the end of minor importance. The effects of political servitude might be reduced by a well-articulated and biblically grounded Christian ethics of duties between masters and slaves. We may affirm that his concern for consolidating a Christian ethics of mutual obligations between masters and slaves was sincere—to a certain extent, even utopian. For the purpose of a Christian moral life in the Spanish colonies was, for him, probably the cleanest possible conscience that both masters and slaves might achieve. Alonso de Sandoval sees more benefits than flaws in black slavery. His *De instauranda* approves the institution of slavery in the Spanish and Catholic projects in the Americas, that is, an imperial project of colonization and a Catholic project of a new Christendom.

[66] As M. P. Cenci has again highlighted, Sandoval's depiction of black peoples in Books I and II of the *DIAS* (1627) clearly suggests that he works with a "hierarchical scheme ordering people in the world" (Cenci 2015, 79). In such a stance Sandoval was probably inspired by José de Acosta's hierarchical classifications of peoples according to allegedly uncontroversial different levels in civilization,[65] which had a legitimating effect on ordered hierarchies within human societies as well (Von Germeten 2008b, XXI–XXII).[66] Nowhere in Sandoval's work is there any account of creating or maintaining in this world and history a human social equality of Ethiopians and Spaniards: this is a theme only when discussing the soul and the powers of true faith.

[67] It is likely that the connection between religion and skin color, religion and 'race,' or, in our case, Christianity and whiteness as a relation between truth in religion and moral-religious correction, can be verified in several other cases of colonization in Western history or in the history of Christianity, of Western political powers and colonization systems around the world, especially in the period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Alonso de Sandoval's and the Jesuits' evangelization project among enslaved black people can be viewed as, at least indirectly, a strategy for profound control of those who were socially oppressed (Borja Gómez 2003, 292–329). Moreover, Jesuit ministry, to a significant extent, had as an effect the destruction of "African life" and culture in the African diaspora (Chamberlin 2018, 672–93). Beyond these facts, what we should emphasize here is how stories like those of doctrinal instruction and the Christian catechism have quite an ideological appeal and make strong political and, in fact, 'racial' use of words, in the sense of sketching a contrasting picture very useful for colonization and the system of slavery: true Christian religion and whiteness *versus* false African religion and blackness. These connections reinforce, at a deep level, a culture of devaluation of blacks, of subjection to what is culturally and religiously white, the idea of a natural social status of black people as inclined by nature and divine blame to live as subjects or slaves in the world, the acceptance of the status of slavery under white masters

65 José de Acosta (1962), *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* VI, xix, 418–20: "Del origen de los Ingas, señores del Pirú, y de sus conquistas y victorias"; José de Acosta (1984), *De procuranda indorum salute*, Prooemium, 60–69.

66 See also footnote 12, above.

as a possibility for finding redemption for such a God-willed condition and the bonus of an eschatologically inspired freedom from sin and new slavery under Christ as a master. Religion strengthened the ideology of slavery through its powerful literal meaning, the linguistic performances or uses, and the symbolic import of words biased by racial prejudice. In substantial parts of the Catholic rites conducted by Jesuit missionaries among blacks in colonial South America, religion was quite often put into a language of racial supremacy, including here aspects of a superior moral, social, and political status. Religious language was conceived and used to establish, justify, and confirm a status of inferiority, subjection, and even natural or constitutive distance from God. Perhaps black slavery was only possible for such a long time because—on the superstructural level, the level of ideas, mind-sets, and 'ideologies'—it received support and was reinforced by religious views of superiority and truth which clearly had a color.[67]

De instauranda Aethiopum salute was clearly understood in that way. As M. P. Cenci also [68]
notes, in agreement with a characteristic of Sandoval's discussion in his book, namely "the contrasting of the colors black and white," the second referred to positive aspects of a soul pure and good, the first, in contrast, referred to a soul ugly and evil (Cenci 2015, 79). Connected to civilizational and even mental or spiritual evaluations, it is particularly relevant to notice that one of the censors of the 1627 edition of Sandoval's book on mission theology, namely Father Vicente Imperial, understood that "This book hopes to transform them [the Ethiopians]—if not their skin color, it will at least make their souls white with grace. Father Alonso de Sandoval wrote this book in order to whiten so many souls and free them from the ugly blackness of sin."[68] Truly, these are ugly white words. In fact, here the censor quotes Jeremiah 13:23 (Vulgata): "Si mutare potest Aethiops pellem suam aut pardus varietates suas" ("Can the Ethiopian change his skin or a leopard change its spots?"), which suggests an immutable character in the skin color of Aethiopians, but a mutable character in the condition of their souls.[69] Discussing a curious question in Part I of the second, i.e., 1647 edition of the *DIAS*, whether black people will be, after the resurrection, in the body of glory, white, according to what the original human skin colour was supposed to be—a topic which became a theological issue worthy of further deliberation due to all these connections between Ethiopians and the demonic and the cursed—Alonso de Sandoval gives a negative answer. However, he stresses that only then blacks will have true "beauty" (*hermosura*): their skin color will be beautiful, "vivid" (*vivo*), "resplandecent" (*resplandeciente*), "fully penetrated by light" (*penetrado todo de*

67 There were exceptional and unequivocal critical views on the legitimacy of the slavery system in the seventeenth century, above all about the morality of every form of slave trade – based on reflections on the value of liberty and the prerogative of guaranteeing it as a natural right against any claim short of evidence for the opposite stance. I am talking here of Francisco José de Jaca (*c.* 1645–1689), who was the author of a *Resolución sobre la libertad de los negros y sus originarios, en estado de paganos y después ya cristianos* (finished in 1681) and of Epifanio de Moirans (1644–1689), who wrote the treatise *Servi liberi seu naturalis mancipiorum libertatis iusta defensio* (finished in 1682). See Francisco José de Jaca (2002), *Resolución sobre la libertad de los negros, en estado de paganos y después ya cristianos: La primera condena de la esclavitud en el pensamiento hispano*, edición crítica por M. A. Pena González; Epifanio de Moirans (2007), *Siervos libres: una propuesta antiesclavista a finales del siglo XVII*, edición crítica por M. A. Pena González. See also Pena González (2002a, 599–671, 2002b, XXIII–XCVIII, 2004, 111–45, 2005, 279–327, 2007, XVII–LXXV).

68 Alonso de Sandoval (2008), "Approval of Father Vicente Imperial, *Predicador* [Preacher] of the Company of Jesus," 7; (1987), "Aprovación del Padre Vicente Imperial, professo[r], y predicador de la Compañia de Jesus," 52: "A esse si de tanta dificultad, acude esta obra con otro si de facilidad grande, para mudar, sino la tez del cuerpo, el rostro del alma en singular blancura de la gracia; […]. Para blanquear tantas almas, y librarlas de la fea negrura del pecado, se compuso y ordenò este libro por el Padre Alonso de Sandoval, Rector del Colegio de nuestra Compañía, de la ciudad de Cartagena; […]."

69 Id. ibid.

luz), and their appearance will somehow show "meekness" (*suavidad*) and be changed and affected by the shining clarity of their redeemed souls through the grace of God (Alonso de Sandoval 1647, Part 1, I, iv, 23). Sadly enough, colors mattered.

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The Enemy, the Demon, Lucifer

Jesuits Coming to Terms with the Devil in Sixteenth-Century Japan

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ABSTRACT This article focuses on how Jesuit missionaries to Japan during the sixteenth century recurred on notions of the devil as their primary enemy. They took these notions from contemporary late medieval and early modern Catholic demonology and configured them according to local circumstances, reconfiguring the concept of the devil to make sense of their environments. Similar developments as in Japan took place in the contemporary Jesuit mission fields of South America, but yielded slightly different results. As different ways to conceptually reframe the devil were directly connected to the question of his presence in the everyday world—was he a transcendent or an imminent force of evil, and how did he manifest himself and make use of his respective attributes?—this research is guided by the analytical concepts of transcendence and immanence.

KEYWORDS Devil, Mission, Japan, Jesuits, Terminology, Demonology, Catholicism, Sixteenth Century

Introduction

This article focuses on how Jesuit missionaries to Japan during the sixteenth century recurred [1]
on notions of the devil as their primary enemy. They took these notions from contemporary late medieval and early modern Catholic demonology and configured them according to the local circumstances they found themselves in, reconfiguring the concept of the devil to make sense of their environments. When European Jesuit missionaries first established missions among non-Christian peoples outside Europe, they reacted to their new environments not only socially but also conceptually and theologically. Similar developments as in Japan took place in the contemporary Jesuit mission fields of South America, but yielded slightly different results. As different ways to conceptually reframe the devil were directly connected to the question of his presence in the everyday world—was he a transcendent or an imminent force

of evil, and how did he manifest himself and make use of his respective attributes?—this research is guided by the analytical concepts of transcendence and immanence.

[2] The sources I am examining are internal Jesuit communications taken from the edited source collections produced by the order. My main aim in doing so is to detail the discourses within which the Jesuits in Japan settled for a terminology to refer to the devil in their internal writings and to the conceptual implications this terminology bore in the circumstances of the time. This begets the entangled question whether the results obtained provide useful insights for the historical analysis of the missionary processes. While the terminological developments I am trying to track resulted from and within an interreligious contact situation, they are not part of an interreligious discourse. The Japanese side, while providing the starting point and backdrop for the terminological developments among the Jesuit missionaries in Japan, had no active share in these discussions and is thus only considered where contextually relevant. All the translations in this article are mine, as are all their shortcomings. I therefore provide the exact quotes in footnotes for each translated item.

First Contacts

[3] In August 1549 Francisco de Xavier SJ (1506–1552), accompanied by two other professed Jesuits, some lay brothers, and other companions, arrived at Kagoshima in southern Japan on board of a Chinese junk. Xavier was the highest-ranking Jesuit in Asia at the time, provincial of the first and only Asian province of the order, India, which had been founded in 1542 upon the request of the Portuguese king João III (1502–1557) whether this new order could not help in providing spiritual care for the Portuguese possessions on the Indian coast. Soon after his arrival in India however, Javier had, on his own account, extended the Jesuit order's sphere of activities far beyond this commission, as he followed Portuguese soldiers and merchants throughout southeast and east Asia. Having heard favourable reports about Japan, which had been irregularly frequented by a few Portuguese merchants since 1543, and impressed by the accounts presented to him by some Japanese who had converted to Catholicism while traveling abroad, Javier single-handedly chose to extend the Jesuit mission to this country and embarked on the expedition which would take him, two fellow Jesuits, and some equipage aboard a Chinese junk to Kagoshima in 1549.

[4] As Javier reflected upon the journey shortly after arrival in a large letter, the *Carta Grande*, to be circulated in manuscript throughout all the Jesuit order, he recalled various occasions on which he had encountered the power of evil during his travels. Already in the description of his crossing to Japan he saw himself and his companions—because after boarding the Chinese junk they were travelling on a heathen vessel—"in the fates of the demons and the power of their slaves and servants" (Xavier [1549b] 1990, 138).[1] They luckily escaped a cruel fate because, as Xavier said, it did not please God to hand them over to "the Enemy (*inimigo*), the causer of such wizardries and heathen doings" ([1549b] 1990, 139), and ultimately they arrived safely in a "way neither the Demon (*el demonio*) nor his servants could hinder our travel" ([1549b] 1990, 142).[2] He reported to his fellow Jesuits in Goa, capital of the Portuguese *estado da Índia*, organizational centre of the Jesuit order for all of Asia in 1549, to constantly live "in much fear of *Lucifer* using his many deceptions turning into an angel of light to disturb

1 „[E]n suertes de demonios y en poder de sus siervos y ministros […]."

2 "[E]l inimigo, causador destas hechizerias y gentilidades […]"; "De manera que ni el demonio ni sus ministros pudieron impedir nuestra venida."

some of you"[3] ([1549b] 1990, 152), while he imagined himself now to venture to Japan "to free those souls who for more than 1,500 years have been in the captivity of Lucifer, making them adore him as God on earth" ([1549b] 1990, 164),[4] namely, the Japanese themselves. Obviously, Xavier had at his disposal quite a differentiated vocabulary to describe the devil and his evil machinations. But why should we care today how a particular Catholic cleric worded his observations on evil in the middle of the sixteenth century?

[5] Xavier's handling of the terms relating to the devil, as that of the other Jesuits in Japan, provides a window unto the development of a discourse which was only just in the making at the time: that of European demonology. Already in late Antiquity it had been established in Christian theology that non-Christian gods were demons, with Lucifer as their master (Hödl 2002, 478), a view propagated not only by the apostles but also by Church Fathers such as Athanasius and Origenes (Borgeaud 2010, 85). The medieval Catholic church had acknowledged the existence of the devil and demons but had not cared very much about the topic theologically. Belief in both the devil as a major and demons as minor fallen spirits of evil had been officially sanctioned by the Catholic church at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, but the issue had been only at the margins of the council's discussions (Russel 1988, 136). This disinterest was also shared by the prime exponents of scholastic theology. Although Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) acknowledged the existence of the devil, he did not dwell extensively on this topic (López Meraz 2008, 135). In popular medieval media such as mystery plays, a multitude of demons with sometimes quite specific attributes was common, serving as the infernal host of wicked agents to interfere on earth at the command of a devil imprisoned in hell (Dupras 2015, 253). The fourteenth and fifteenth century had seen a slow increase in interest in demonic matters by the church (Nobis 2021). Fears of diabolic influences had been on the rise since the fourteenth century and had permeated social life at large (López Meraz 2008, 136). At the end of the fifteenth century scholastic as well as popular demonology had taken an upsurge, leading to new publications and intensified preoccupation with the topic (Vorgrimler 2013), but only towards the end of the sixteenth century had demonology become a science of its own (Machielsen 2015, 211). In 1549, Xavier was writing at a time when terminological as well as theological matters regarding evil personified were anything but settled. The discursive processes among the Jesuits in Japan about how to name the devil and his demons thus provide a window into how demonology was negotiated by actors who considered it of direct practical importance in their daily work. As they were at the same time not detached from the scholarly theological discussions of their day in the field, this view may serve to complement those which have focused primarily on academic discourses on demonology.

[6] The problem which Xavier and his fellow Jesuits faced in their self-imposed task of converting the Japanese to Catholicism was how to deal with people embracing a completely different kind of religious plurality and systems of belief than traditionally known to Europeans. This problem itself was not entirely new in 1549 however, at least not in general. The intensified engagement with overseas expansion of many European countries, foremost the two Iberian powers Spain and Portugal, since the end of the fifteenth century, had produced new missionary endeavours in its wake, most prominently the attempts to christianise the populations

3 This is a scriptural allusion to 2 Corr 11.14: "And no wonder, for even Satan disguises himself as an angel of light" [English Standard Version].

4 "[C]on mucho temor que Lucifer, usando de sus muchos engaños trasfigurándose en ángel de luz dé turbación a algunos de vosotros […]"; "[…] librar las almas que ha más de 1.500 años que están en cativerio de Lucifer, haziéndose dellas adorar como Dios en la tierra […]."

of the territories conquered in the Americas from the 1520s onwards. Especially during the Spanish expansion, the devil served as a hermeneutical key to decoding the unknown and to integrating it into existing systems of knowledge and belief (Léon Azcárate 2015, 198). The specific problems and challenges posed by each of the non-Christian peoples which now came into the focus of Europeans trying to convert them were yet new each time a new mission was initialised. In each of these cases the missionaries in question had to conceptually process the situation they found themselves in amongst people of different social and religious systems with whom they did not share any languages.

[7] The first spiritual or theological problem missionaries had to engage with was why their mission was necessary in the first place, that is, why the people in question were no Christians. The second problem, following from the first, was to determine why the people in question would choose not to become Christians although having been presented with the Gospel. Both problems became pressing for the Jesuits in Japan from the moment they first set foot on the archipelago. At this point, thinking about the devil became important. Xavier and his companions conceived of the devil as an important and malevolent spiritual entity, "exceptionally powerful and utterly antithetical in his will to God" (Raiswell and Dendle 2012, 545). This rather broad and not very precise characterization of the devil was, as I will argue in the following, conceptually fleshed out by the Jesuits in Japan in creative ways to make sense of the situations they encountered, which in turn prompted specific terminological changes in the vocabulary used to address and describe this evil entity.

[8] From the resulting terminology as visible in the documents the Jesuits of the Japanese mission produced in the sixteenth century, those concepts of the devil may be reconstructed because of the special importance they attached to words. Elisonas already pointed to the fact that soon after arriving in Japan, already in 1551, Xavier had initiated his famous policy of terminological non-accommodation: Because of the imminent danger of misunderstandings, central Christian tenets would not be framed with Japanese words, but would remain untranslated, only transliterated (Lacouture 2009, 129).

[9] This was due to the Jesuits'—understandably—slow processes of language learning and working through the Japanese religious systems. Only after having spent two years in the country Xavier began to realize that much of the information he had been supplied with about Japanese beliefs was faulty, and that having based his preachings on this information had caused him to proclaim things which ran counter to his intentions, for example equating the Christian god with *Dainichi nyorai*, a Japanese interpretation of the bodhisattva *Mahāvairocana* as venerated by the Shingon school of Buddhism (Elisonas 1991, 307). In consequence, Xavier decided, any linguistic adaptation of Japanese concepts for Christian messages was to be stopped. Words like "deusu" (*deus*) for god and "anjo" (*angel*) were the consequence (1991, 310). Xavier was quite probably acting with examples in mind, as similar problems had already occurred in the context of the *conquista* of Mesoamerica a few decades earlier.

[10] That terminology was consequential in the context of encounters between European Christians and non-European people had already been established by the conquerors of New Spain. Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) had famously described the temples of Mayas and Aztecs as 'mosques' rather than as 'pagodas,' as would have been more common for non-monotheistic places of pagan worship, as the imagined similarity to Islam conjured up by that word allowed for a much more brutal treatment of places and actors labelled in this way (Delgado 1993, 259). In the years following the conquest of Mesoamerica, the Spaniards would pull down

temples and pyramids, burn books, and generally forbid any worship of the pre-conquest deities in hopes for a quick and thorough conversion of the populace to Christianity.

[11] This attitude towards non-Christian religions was grounded in the specific theological outlook which had developed on the Iberian peninsula during the *reconquista* and which also included a specific attitude towards the devil and demons. Demonology served in this context as an everyday phenomenon, a conceptual tool to articulate widespread fears (Cavallero 2015, 318), especially towards non-Christians. A certain propensity for accepting a multitude of minor demons with relatively little spiritual or magical powers especially in southern Spain might have been the result of long-time cultural contact with Muslims, as Islam does not entertain the concept of one primary devilish antagonist of God but acknowledges a broad range of good and evil spirits (Knutsen 2009, 40). In theological discussions Aquinas's angelology served as the model upon which demonology was built, and his discussion of free will served as the blueprint for conceptualizing the leeway given by God to the devil (see Campagne 2004, 29). In general, Iberian theology was reluctant to ascribe material powers to the devil and stuck to the traditional viewpoint of the Catholic Church that he interfered with humans most of all psychically, by deception, rather than physically (Cavallero 2015, 306).

[12] These Iberian theological developments grounded much of the missionary approaches of the early Jesuits because most of them actually came from Portugal or Spain or were of Spanish extraction and had been brought up and educated in this atmosphere. Of those quoted here, this applies not only to the order's founder and first General Ignacio de Loyola (1491–1556), but also to José de Acosta (1539/40–1599/1600), José de Anchieta (1534–1597), Martin Antonio Delrio (1551–1608), Juan Fernández de Oviedo (1526–1567), Balthasar Gago (1518–c.1583), Manoel de Nobréga (1517–1570), Melchior Nunes Barreto (1519/21–1571), Simão Rodrigues (1510–1579), Cosme de Torres (c.1510–1570), Gaspar Vilela (1525–1572), and Francisco de Xavier himself.

[13] These biographical backgrounds notwithstanding, it was not inevitable that for the Japanese mission a theological approach inflected by Iberian *reconquista* or *conquista* ideas would come to be applied. The Society of Jesus only witnessed missionary developments in the Americas from the outside during the 1550s and 1560s. Whereas Jesuits had operated in the Portuguese colonial sphere in Asia since 1542 and in Brazil since 1549, they were allowed to do missionary work in Spanish dominions only in 1556, and the order opened its first American mission in Peru in 1568 (Gaune Corradi 2019, 381). The missionary work in Spanish America was mainly carried out by other orders, first and foremost the Franciscans. But the Franciscans utilized the devil conceptually in much the same way to make sense of indigenous religions. They supposed that the devil was the founder of all American religions, which he created to fool native Americans into worshipping him (Campagne 2004, 24–26). Only towards the end of the sixteenth century—at roughly the same time when Martin Antonio Delrio systematized Catholic demonology in his *Disquisitiones Magicae*—would José de Acosta (1539/40–1599/1600), in his *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, postulate that the social and political systems of pagan peoples were directly linked to how, and how much, such peoples revered the devil. The more uncivilised (from Acosta's point of view), the more pronounced the devil worship, and vice versa (Imbruglia 2014, 304).

[14] In places such as Japan where military conquest was completely impossible, missionaries could only try to implement coercive measures in baptizing, catechizing, or pastoral care similar to those in use in the Americas or in the colonial dominions of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* with the help of the local Japanese authorities, if they could be converted—as the Jesuits

did, with limited success, during the sixteenth century (see Fróis 1926, 59). But as Xavier and his companions met with varying degrees of opposition from Japanese elites most of the time instead, the only reliable way to induce people to baptism was their preaching, which made the choice of words a sensitive issue, especially in matters of theological importance.

[15] To be able to communicate their religious concepts to the outside, in this case the Japanese, the Jesuits in a certain mission field—here, Japan—however needed to establish a consensus amongst themselves how to conceptualize contentious issues. This was but an unconscious and undirected process, emerging within the environment of an intense written communication. As this communication unfolded amongst members of the same clerical order, the participants were addressing each other on the basis of a groundwork of shared assumptions, literature, and general doctrinal outlook, so that explanations and openly stated theological arguments are almost completely missing from it. What I will be doing in the following is thus to point out the implicit underlying associations of sensitive terminology, in this case the terminology used to talk to fellow Jesuits about the devil(s) in foreign parts, focusing on Japan in particular.

[16] Xavier had, as stipulated by his missionary instructions from the Jesuit General Ignacio de Loyola and by the regulations of the Jesuit Order, from the outset maintained a high frequency of letters reporting about his whereabouts and plans, the state of the mission, and other affairs both with the order's headquarters in Rome and with his fellow missionaries in the field (Balsamo 1998, 162). As the order maintained a consciously crafted public engagement strategy designed to put these letters to use in advertising the Society of Jesus and its missionary activities throughout Europe by publishing such letters from the mission fields in print, internal Jesuit letters which their authors expected to be potentially used in this way began to differ from those communications which openly addressed the problems and shortcomings encountered in the mission fields (Ferro 1993, 140). The authors of the documents analysed below thus always needed to keep in mind that their writings might not only circulate throughout their order but also within a wider literate European and predominantly Catholic public. Both potential audiences constrained the discursive and terminological leeway the Jesuits in Japan had considerably: What they wrote needed to be understandable and acceptable to both. Innovation and invention were not deemed suitable in this communication, so that terminological developments did not happen intentionally but only piecemeal and unconsciously. How such processes shaped the terminology for addressing the devil is what I am going to unfold now.

Three Infernal Personae

[17] Xavier's vocabulary for the machinations of the underworld was obviously quite differentiated, as can be seen from his *Carta Grande*. In the quotations given above, Xavier related to three different perspectives an early modern Catholic Christian might take on Satan. Those perspectives may be seen as three different infernal personae, three different conceptual roles for the devil as a spiritual being within a Christian cosmos. The first, *inimigo*, the "Enemy," describes the devil primarily in terms of an eternal antagonist of God and His creation; the second, *demonio*, the "Demon," primarily describes the active spiritual nature of an agent of evil, either as the devil himself or as one of many smaller evil spirits, the devils; and the third, *Lucifer*, refers primarily to the fallen angel whom the power of the Lord had banished to hell, to the *inferno*, where the souls of those who died with false beliefs would go after their death (Xavier [1549c] 1990, 184), as was seen as totally inevitable (Schatz 2005, 100). The firm conviction in the existence and spiritual importance of hell was an element of belief

Xavier shared with other contemporary Jesuits working in similar circumstances, as José de Anchieta in sixteenth-century Brazil, who wrote a catechism which explicitly told the indigenous Brazilian tribe of the Tupinambá that the only way not to go to hell was to be baptized (Cressoni 2014, 581).

[18] Following Xavier's lead, in the following I will disambiguate the three infernal personae he referred to as the Enemy devil, the Demon devil, and the Lucifer devil to see how exactly these terms were to be used in the context of mission in Japan and which conceptual modifications this entailed.

[19] In doing so I will refrain from using 'devil' and 'demon' as interchangeable terms, something quite current in respective research. Sánchez Conicet has explicitly done so in his study of José de Acosta's demonological terminology for describing sixteenth-century New Spain (2002), and Cressoni implicitly in describing Jesuit accounts of sixteenth-century Portuguese Brazil (2014, 590–91). They are in good company, as many such studies indiscriminately use all the devil's names to refer to the same conceptual entity (Caro Baroja 1978; Clark 1997). Yet Sánchez Conicet had indeed found that José de Acosta used both *demonio* and *diablo* to account for the workings of evil, and did so indiscriminately (2002, 11)—although he much more frequently used *demonio* in his writings (Léon Azcárate 2015, 200)—so with respect to sixteenth-century South America, this approach to the terms of evil seems to be grounded in the sources. This begs the analogous question of how Xavier's three infernal personae may be conceived to have terminologically worked out for the Jesuits in sixteenth-century Japan: Were they interchangeable, did they describe coexisting yet separate spiritual beings, or were they indicative of individually distinct manifestations of evil?

[20] Elisonas has reasonably demonstrated that after encountering sixteenth-century Japan, the Jesuit missionaries genuinely believed that "[b]asically, there was nothing wrong with the Japanese except that they were in the clutches of the devil" (2001, 4)—and that they, following Xavier, had been in his clutches for over one-and-a-half millennia, I might add. In the light of Xavier's three infernal personae, I would now like to ask: Yes, but in the clutches of which kind of devil exactly?

[21] As belief in the devil and demonic powers was a vital element of the missionary teachings of the Jesuits in sixteenth-century Japan—after all, conversion was depicted as, quite literally, a question of heaven or hell—it should be telling to have a closer look at how the missionaries dealt with those evil presence(s) which they feared to be constantly at work against themselves. The conceptual representations they formed to express these fears may then figure as "iterations of the devil that can be read not just as an expression of particular social irritations and anxieties at specific temporal moments, but as diagnostic of their perceived force and intensity within a given community" (Raiswell and Dendle 2012, 538).

Working with Terminology

[22] The Jesuits in Japan, few as they were, could not ignore the cultural landscape within which they moved and needed to take the Japanese conceptions of spiritual forces and beings into account. That it would prove difficult to align the two lines of thinking present in this encounter, Jesuit (predominantly Iberian) Catholic Christianity and Japanese Buddhist-Shintoist-Confucianist syncretism, became apparent early on, although it took the Jesuits in Japan more than a decade until, in the early 1560s, they were able to explain Buddhist terms using correct Christian analogies (see Kishino 2009, 58–59). A manual detailing how to refute

Buddhists in debate was commissioned in 1570 but only completed in 1578 (López-Gay SJ, Michel SJ, and Wicki SJ 2001, 2710–1). In this situation, not only was talking with Japanese Buddhists about spiritual matters complicated, but so was representing Buddhist spiritual matters and the spiritual entities supposedly connected to them to fellow Jesuits.

[23] The most prominent record of the extent of some of these difficulties is to be found in two letters, one written by Cosme de Torres and the other by Juan Fernández de Oviedo reporting about 'discussions' the two Jesuits held with local Buddhist monks in the Southern Japanese port city of Yamaguchi in 1551. This event has met with some attention already (see Lacouture 2002, 2009, I:125–128; Schurhammer 1973, 299–309), as most scholarship on the topic so far framed it as a first interreligious dialogue, a first step towards a better understanding. This interpretation becomes problematic once one takes into account that the Buddhist monks which had gathered at the spot obviously formed no homogenous audience with shared questions but rather small individual groups, each of which posed to the two Europeans the handful of questions they were most interested in and then retreated again (Winnerling 2014, 305–8).

[24] The Japanese participants were not so much interested in discussing as in satisfying their curiosity, as it seems from the records de Torres and Fernández have left us, which of course are written with both a clear perspective and purpose. One of these purposes was to inform their fellow Jesuits all over the known world of the events in Japan, as the order circulated such letters internally far and wide. Inner-Jesuit interest in this remote mission field was great, so that the documents almost immediately met with much success (De Torres [1551] 1990, 206). De Torres and Fernández had anticipated this possibility and also knew that their letters would be read by the order's high ranks, including the Jesuit General, which meant that they would be careful not to present themselves as presenting theses to their potential converts which might be considered out of the line of the order's spirituality.

[25] This in turn means that, although one should be very careful in trying to figure out from these letters what really was spoken about in Yamaguchi, it is possible to see from these documents which ways of presenting Christian concepts to an audience of intelligent heathens were acceptable for a sixteenth-century Jesuit audience. What is to be found there thus can be taken as very basically expressed understandings of their own terms and of the teachings the Jesuits in Japan—as represented by these two members of the order—held in 1551. Of special interest here is that the Yamaguchi letters indeed describe some groups of Japanese monks as asking questions about the devil. A closer look at these descriptions should provide a better understanding of how de Torres and Fernández themselves thought about the things which they reported to have explained to their presumptive Japanese audience.

[26] The first such group of Japanese monks mentioning the devil that Cosme de Torres reported was, unfortunately, portrayed in a way not very conducive to such a line of inquiry:

> [27] There were others who worshipped the Sun and the Moon, saying that the Sun and the Moon were gods. And as they worshipped all things, they worshipped the Demon, too, because they said that the Demon was also a god as he was His creature. They were very ignorant […].[5] (De Torres [1551] 1990, 214)

[28] The only clear statement made here is that the Demon devil is obviously not equal to God

5 "Outros há que adorão o sol e a lua, dizendo que o sol e a lua são deos. E asi adorão todas as cousas, até adorar ao demónio, porque dizem que o demónio também hé deos por ser sua creatura. Estes são mui ignorantes, […]."

but an inferior type of spiritual being, but this hardly comes as a surprise and also does not tell very much about what type of spiritual being it actually is, then. But fortunately Cosme de Torres is not the only source for this event. The—much longer—letter of Juan Fernández in comparison contains some more detailed passages dealing with diabolic matters which provide ample material for an inquiry into the precise nature of the terms used (Fernández de Oviedo and Ruiz-de-Medina SJ [1551] 1990).

[29] For the discussion of the following quotes it must however be kept in mind that the original manuscript of Fernández' letter is considered lost, and that the six extant contemporary manuscript copies occasionally diverge a little from each other ([1551] 1990, 239–40). In some cases, this allows us to corroborate Fernández' writings with the interpretation(s) of his copyist(s). When a party of Japanese monks first asked de Torres and Fernández where God resided, and then what the devil actually was, the answer was:

> [30] They asked what kind of thing the Demon (*el demonio*) is. We told them how Lucifer and many other angels were chased out of paradise for being proud and seeking to be equal to the Creator (*al criador*). They asked why the Demon does evil to the people. We answered them that because the people are created for the glory which he lost because of his pride, he envies them and works at deceiving them to ruin them.[6] ([1551] 1990, 249)

[31] In this quotation the Demon devil and the Lucifer devil obviously were taken as two infernal personae which shared many, but not all, features by de Torres and Fernández. It was not the Lucifer persona whom they accused of ruining people, it was the Demon persona. This fits well with the use that Xavier had made of Lucifer as a designator for the devil in his *Carta Grande*. The instances I referred to above were both identified by Juan Ruiz-de-Medina SJ as exegetical allusions, one to the Spiritual Exercises of Ignacio de Loyola, and the other to Scripture (1990, 152, 164).

[32] Obviously, the Lucifer devil was something from the past—in Xavier's case, a distinctly remote past, since he had established his grip on the Japanese more than 1,500 years ago, that is, from Xavier's vantage point of 1549, around the time of the incarnation of Christ. Most probably Xavier meant to refer to a time even before the incarnation. Although the Lucifer devil and the Demon devil thus both referred to the same spiritual entity, the two personae were not coextensive because they were temporally separated from each other by the Fall (Russel 1988, 148). The Lucifer persona was thus portrayed as resembling an essentially transcendent entity, a *diabolus absconditus* who had initially induced the peoples of the new worlds to paganism, told them how to worship him, but from then on no longer actively interfered in their affairs. At the other end of the European reach over the world, Jose de Acosta seems to have followed a quite similar approach, as he always switched to the past tense when writing of the Lucifer devil (Sánchez Conicet 2002, 24). This does not mean that the Jesuits in Japan or Peru considered devilish interventions to have ceased in their own times; they just located their origin in another diabolic persona.

[33] While the Lucifer devil could be still invoked as a metaphor to denigrate opponents, as Gaspar Vilela did in 1559 when he wrote about the monks of the Buddhist temple mountain

6 "Perguntaron el demonio qué cosa es. Dixímosles cómo Lucifer y otros muchos ángeles fueron echados del paraíso por ser soberbios y quererse igualar al criador. Perguntaron porqué tienta y haze mal el demonio a las gentes. Respondímosles que por ser las gentes criados para la gloria que él por su soberbia perdió, tiéneles embidia y trabaja de los engañar para que la pierdan."

of Hiezan—"I add, dearest ones, that I assure you that they are a Lucifer in pride" (Vilela [1559] 1995, 150)[7]—it did not carry the implications of an immediate threat to be responded to but that of an evil long established. When Vilela, only a few lines later, mused over the devilish threats he perceived as imminent to the situation, he wrote about demons plaguing him:

> Ponder, my dearest ones, in meditation, what will become of me among so many demons, which places will I introduce myself to, and how much virtue is required of me, none of which I have.[8] (Vilela [1559] 1995, 150) [34]

The actual opponent the missionaries, as exemplified by Gaspar Vilela in this quote, saw themselves as pitted against was not the Lucifer devil of biblical history, but someone else: the Demon devil, as Fernández wrote. [35]

Differentiating Infernal Personae

This, in turn, might also be indicative of a kind of conceptual logic at work behind separating the devil's different personae. In the paragraph directly following their discussion of Lucifer's fall and the Demon's machinations, de Torres and Fernández had to deal with the question why a merciful god who created men destined for salvation would order the devil to do evil unto them, a question that Sansom has already deemed one of those that puzzled the Japanese most of all (1970, 121). [36]

> We answered that the [minor] Demon had no power against man but only to stir the memory of evildoing. And that men had knowledge of good and evil and the freedom to do as they wanted to.[9] (Fernández de Oviedo and Ruiz-de-Medina SJ [1551] 1990, 249) [37]

The unknown copyist of manuscript 1 of Fernández' letter had inserted a qualification in front of the term for the Demon devil which thus changed it from "the Demon" (*el demonio*) to "the minor demon" (*el menor demonio*). This obviously was not in the original, as the other copies do not have it, but seemed either necessary—if it was added consciously—or obvious—if it was an unconscious slippage—to the copyist, a Jesuit as Fernández himself. Such differentiation between *a* and *the* demon or devil was an early modern development, prompted by the use of the vernacular, a distinction which had usually not been made within medieval Latin (Raiswell 2012, 24). With this distinction, *the* Demon devil in question suddenly shrank to *a* demon devil, one of the minor minions of evil, a lesser diabolic spirit. The scribe probably did not want to downplay the Demon devil's powers on the one hand and could thus refer to the demonic host on the other hand, the *demonios* whom Xavier had feared when he boarded a heathen ship to take him to Japan. [38]

The Demon devil thus had the advantage of conceptual ambiguity. It could be used to [39]

7 "Supri, charíssimos, que vos sertifiquo que são hum Lucifer na soberba […]."

8 "Vejão, charíssimos, por meditação, o que será de mim entre tantos demonios onde vou meter-me e quanto me hé necessário virtude que em mim não ha."

9 "Respondimos que el demonio[b] no tiene más poder contra el hombre que solamente traerle a la memoria que aga mal. Y que los ombres tienen conocimiento del bien y del mal y libertad para hazer lo que quisieren. [[b] que el menor *corr 1*."

designate an infernal persona which was not of predominantly historic interest—that of Lucifer after his fall, after his transformation from the archangel of light into the archenemy of creation—and also to describe the infernal host of fallen angels which had accompanied him and now served as his very imminent agents of evil in this world. Perhaps the emendation was prompted by the passage about "many other angels" (*otros muchos ángeles*) who were cast out of Heaven alongside Lucifer in the preceding paragraph.

[40] Most likely this was a standard phrasing being reproduced. The influential *Fortalitium Fidei* of the Spanish theologian Alonso de Espina (c.1412–c.1464) had likewise elaborated on the creation of the demonic host "[…] when vanquished Lucifer with his followers fell miserably from heaven because he had so gravely sinned against his creator. And so those have fallen as so many demons"[10] (Espina 1525, 352r.). So the conceptual transfer to the infernal host of minor demons into which these fallen angels were supposed to have been transformed may have come easily to a writer, a Jesuit at that, who presumably had been brought up with the concept of countless minor demons constantly at work to plague mankind. This was a common belief amongst early sixteenth-century Spaniards who were ready to see demonic interferences by "diablillo[s]" occurring frequently in everyday life (Caro Baroja 1978, 64–66), and who were used to the concept of the devil at work in the world (Léon Azcárate 2015, 199).

[41] Even the founding fathers of the Society of Jesus themselves thought to have experienced such minor demonic presences in Rome in the late 1530s, when they unknowingly took up residence in a house "in which no one wanted to live, for it had a bad reputation among the people for ghosts and nocturnal specters" (Rodrigues SJ 2004, 74), and where they had to put up with several such apparitions. As Simão Rodrigues, long-time secretary to the order's founder and first General, Ignacio de Loyola, remembered in his 1577 recollections, "the vile spirit knocked on the doors of the rooms, but when they opened no one was there" and "sometimes also the devil lifted a mat hanging at the doorway, and, sticking in his head, seemed to look around at what was going on inside" (2004, 75).

[42] Those Jesuits took such European beliefs with them when they travelled to other parts of the world. Manoel de Nobréga, among the first Jesuits to sail to Brazil and a central figure for establishing the Jesuit presence in this Portuguese colony, reported very similar things when writing back to the Jesuits of the order's university at Coímbra, calling for help because "we are few and the land is huge, the demons are many, and there is very little mercy" (Cressoni 2014, 580).[11] What Nobréga omitted in this passage was that mercy might indeed have been lacking in the Brazilian mission due to the fact that the local Jesuits were considering forceful conversions as probably the best way to deal with what they perceived as obstinate natives (Alden 1992, 214–15).

[43] The problem related to this, and what so much puzzled the Japanese dialogue partners of de Torres and Fernández, was that of the possibility of a benevolent creator creating a being with an evil will. Following the reasoning of Aquinas, whose writings were officially regarded as the cornerstones of Jesuit theology, free will indeed does imply the possibility of evildoing, but not because of logical necessity; there are wills, such as that of God himself or of the Blessed, who are free but who do not imply that these agents may do something evil (Echavarría 2012, 536). Anselm of Canterbury (c.1033–1109) had already proposed a solution

10 "[…] sic miserabiliter lucifer cum sivi adherentibus victus cecidit de celo cum tam gravissime peccaverit contra creatorum suum. Et si quoras quot demones ceciderunt."

11 "[Q]ue somos pocos y la tierra grande, los demonios muchos, y la charidad es mí poca."

in a substantial treatise, so Aquinas had no necessity to elaborate on it any further: Following Anselm, the unconditioned nature of any free will, without which it could not really be called free, presupposes that this will may be used for evil choices if God permitted this possibility in creating the will (Russel 1988, 131).

[44] Both Anselm's and Aquinas's reasoning about free will, however, could be formed into a two-pronged argument: On the one hand it made punishment by eternal damnation intelligible as a retort against those who use their free will to do evil without necessity, as the Lucifer devil had done; and on the other hand it could also serve to highlight that evil is only a relational category—something is evil for someone or something else, not in itself (Baumann 2015, 14–15)—and, however bad it may be, any evil within creation is ultimately conducive to a greater good.

[45] As Aquinas himself pointed out in his *Summa contra gentiles*, one of the few books the first Jesuits travelling to Japan took with them (Anon [1554] 1990, 485), there were things such as "the patience of the persecuted" and "the punishing justice" which are good but which would not come about without some evil to cause them (Aquinas 2009, 305). The distinction between the Lucifer and the Demon devil personae fits in very well with such a reasoning, assigning the damnation to Lucifer and the evil workings in the world to the Demon devil, which in turn in itself allowed for this conceptual ambiguity in another way, too—it allowed for both transcendence and imminence, depending on which one wanted to stress.

[46] That this ambiguity was already inherent even in Fernández' Yamaguchi letter becomes clear from a later paragraph detailing the physics of demonology:

> [47] They asked in which way the Demon could come to the world to tempt and to deceive the peoples if God had created hell to punish the Demon in it and if it was located in the centre of the earth. We answered them that there are demons who are very subtle [=immaterial] coming with the air [...].[12] (Fernández de Oviedo and Ruiz-de-Medina SJ [1551] 1990, 252)

[48] The ambiguity thus resulted from the Demon devil being himself—as an infernal persona—imprisoned in hell, a transcendent being trapped in a supernatural (and sub-natural) realm, and at the same time immanently present in this world, interfering with man through his servants, the minor demons, who could rise through cracks and fissures in the earth to do their evil work as his agents. In stating the nature of minor demons as such, the two Jesuits were in line with mainstream European demonology as it began to develop contemporarily, which held that demons had retained many of the angelic properties they had before their fall, including an ethereal nature (Clark 1997, 161).

[49] According to their report, Fernández and de Torres even returned to that point once more in discussing with the same group of Japanese monks, perhaps because their former answer had not been clear enough, this time stating the same to apply to the Demon devil as well:

> [50] "They asked if the Demon (*el demonio*) was below in the earth, in hell, how and by which ways he comes to and goes from this world. We answered that because he was incorporeal and a spirit, and that as the souls of the wicked, when they

12 "Dixeron que se Dios avía criado el infierno para ser castigado el demonio en él, el qual está en el centro de la tierra, cómo viene el demonio en este mundo a tentar y engañar las gentes. Respondímosles que ay demonios que como son muy sobtíles venen con el aire [...]."

> die, go to hell, so could the Demon come and go here and there."[13] (Fernández de Oviedo and Ruiz-de-Medina SJ [1551] 1990, 254)

The Demon devil served as a flexible conceptual tool in the way the Jesuits in Japan thought with demons, to once more paraphrase Clark's title. He could come and go everywhere, he was invisible, and he had a host of minions at his command which he could send to earth to tempt and torment humans to ultimately draw them away from God and to himself, and thus lead them to damnation. The unclear distinction between phenomena caused by lesser evil spirits and by the Demon devil meant that events could be interpreted as was best suited to the way they were to be presented. If the challenge could be overcome or should be framed as of minor importance, it could be attributed to a *menor demonio*, and otherwise to the Demon devil himself, as one could always assume that he not only directed the ways of his servants but could also take their place as easily. [51]

Opting for Infernal Personae

But what about the third infernal persona, the Enemy devil? The early mission documents produced by the Jesuits in Japan are comparatively silent on this issue; they rarely used the term. From Xavier's usage of the term in his *Carta Grande*, one could draw the tentative conclusion that the devil's Enemy persona had more in common with the Demon persona than with the Lucifer persona. Both the Enemy devil and the Demon devil were portrayed as active agents of evil planning mischief against the servants of the Lord. Were they perhaps the same? Xavier's letter already contains some passages which hint at this. [52]

> The sum of all the remedies in such times is to put up a very great spirit against the Enemy, totally distrusting man as such and trusting heavily in God, gathering all [one's] powers and hopes in Him, and with such a great defender and protector keeping man from displaying cowardice, without doubting to become the victor. […] And as the Demon cannot do more evil than God gives him room to, in times as these a distrust in God is more to be feared than the fear of the Enemy.[14] (Xavier [1549b] 1990, 139) [53]

The remark made by de Torres and Fernandes that the Demon devil was jealous of the possibility for men to achieve salvation and thus tried to ruin them points in the same direction. Other letters by Xavier show the same pattern: The Demon devil and the Enemy devil are referred to close to each other, seeming interchangeable. [54]

> Two things will help those of us who are on this journey to overcome the many obstacles that the Demon (*o demónio*) puts in our way. The first is to see that God knows our intentions. The second is to see that all creatures depend on the will of God, and that they cannot do anything without God's permission. Even the demons [55]

13 "Dixeron que estando el demonio debaxo de la tierra, en el infierno, cómo y por qué camino va y viene a este mundo. Respondímosle que porque es incorporéo y spíritu, y que así como las almas de los malos quano mueren van al infierno, así es demonio va y viene de allá para aquá."

14 "En suma de todos los remedios in tales tiempos es mostrar muy grande ánimo contra el inimigo totalmente desconfiando el hombre de sí y confiando grandemente en Dios, puestas todas las fuerças y esperanças en él, y con tan grande defensor y valedor guardase hombre de mostrar covardiá, no dudando de ser vencedor. […] Y como el demonio no pueda más mal hazer de quanto Dios le da lugar, en semejantes tiempos más se á de temer la desconfiança en Dios que el miedo del inimigo."

> (*os demónios*) are at God's obedience. Because the enemy (*o inimigo*) asked God's permission when he wanted to harm Job.[15] (Xavier [1549a] 1990, 123)

It might well be that as the conceptual ambiguity the term "demon" carried was to its advantage, the conceptual ambiguity inherent in the term "enemy" might have caused the inverse, as it made it problematic to use. For the range of potential enemies of the mission—at least those the Jesuits perceived as such—was vast and included not only infernal personae but a lot of human persons as well: all those who were not very fond of the idea that a foreign creed should enter the land and convert their followers or subjects, all of whom were supposed by the Jesuits to be incited to think so by demonic influences. Xavier himself had taken recourse to wordings which were ambivalent in this way, best captured in one paragraph of the *Carta Grande*: [56]

> And for this reason God has shown us a very great and special grace in bringing us to these lands of the unbelievers, so that we will not waste ourselves. For this land is full of idolatry and enemies of Christ, and we have nothing in which we can trust or hope except in God, because here we have no relatives, friends or acquaintances, nor any Christian piety, but all are enemies of Him who made heaven and earth. And for this reason we are forced to put all our faith, hope and trust in Christ our Lord and not in living beings, since by their unfaithfulness they are all enemies of God.[16] (Xavier [1549b] 1990, 158) [57]

Here the *inimigos de Dios* clearly were not Demons themselves but those men whom Xavier took to believe in the devil, only that he did not make it clear at this point which devil, which infernal persona, he was addressing. Some paragraphs later in the same letter he variated the appeal to put all faith in Christ only slightly, and this time again coined it on the Enemy devil. [58]

> May God our Lord, by his great mercy, allow the Enemy to put so many fears, works and dangers before us in order to humble us and bring us down, so that we may never trust in our own strength and power, but only in Him and in those who share in His goodness.[17] (Xavier [1549b] 1990, 163) [59]

The conceptual relation thus suggested between the Enemy devil (*el inimigo*) and his supposed terrestrial servants, the Japanese feudal lords and the Buddhist and Shintoist priests (*los inimigos*), would be analogous to the relation between the Demon devil (*el demónio*) and his infernal minions (*los demónios*)—but this comparison was flawed as both parts were not really equal. While the relation between Enemy devil and enemies comprised spiritual as well [60]

15 "Duas cousas nos ajudão aos que nesta viagem imos pera vencer os muitos impedimentos que o demónio de sua parte põe. A primeira hé ver que Deus sabe nossas intenséis. A segunda, ver que todas as criaturas dependem da vontade de Deus, e que não podem fazer cousa sem Deus o permittir. Até os demónios estão à obediêntia de Deus. Porque o inimigo, quando queria fazer mal a Job pedia licença a Deus."

16 "Y para esto hízonos Dios muy grandes y aseñaladas mercedes en traernos a estas partes de infieles, para que no descuidemos de nosotros. Pues esta tierra es toda de idolatrías y inimigos de Christo y no tenemos en qué poder confiar ni esperar sino en Dios, por quanto acá no tenemos parientes ni amiguos ni conocidos, ni ay ninguna piedad christiana, sino todos inimigos d'aquel que hizo el cielo y la tierra. Y por esta causa nos hes forçado poner toda nuestra fe, esperança y confiança en Christo nuestro Señor y no en criatura biva, pues por su infidelidad todos son inimigos de Dios."

17 "Permite Dios nuestro Señor, por su grande misericordia, que tantos miedos, trabajos y peligros el inimigo nos ponga delante por nos humiliar y baxar, para que jamás confiemos en nuestras fuerças y poder, sino solamente en él y en los que participan de su bondad."

as human beings, the relation between the Demon devil and the demons only included spiritual beings. And although humans could, according to contemporary European demonology, be instrumented and even possessed by demons, they were of course no demons. To make matters even more complicated, the Demon devil did not carry out his work on earth through his demons but through humans who were instigated by those demons, so that the relation Demon devil/minor demons/humans included three elements, and that between the Enemy devil and the lesser enemies of God only two.

[61] Some of the other Jesuits in Japan in the first half of the 1550s did take recourse to the Enemy devil in much the same way as Xavier had done, paralleling it with the Demon devil. So did, for instance, Balthasar Gago in his description of the Japanese noblemen to the Jesuits of Portugal in 1555:

> [62] The lords of the land do not become [Christians] because they are well persuaded by the Demon, and are most attached to their life, for they have nothing more than this world. And given that when hearing, understanding the opposite, they cling to the Enemy and to the world, the reason being that these people on the contrary value it over their souls.[18] (Gago [1555a] 1990, 547–48)

[63] But the greater conceptual flexibility and unambiguity in describing this relation between the devil and the Japanese offered by phrasing it in terms of the Demon devil took hold in the second half of the 1550s. When Ōuchi Yoshinaga (+1557), the Christian lord of Yamaguchi in southern Japan, died in September 1557 and his domains were about to fall under the sway of the more powerful daimyō Mōri Motonari (1497–1571), who was fervently anti-Christian, the subsequent developments were framed accordingly by Cosme de Torres:

> [64] After my arrival in Amanguchi [=Yamaguchi] by order of our most blessed Master Francisco, the Demon, seeing the fruit that could be obtained from the word of God spread in the hearts of men, mounted his defences with wars of the king's vassals against the king himself, so that twenty days after my stay in Amanguchi the king and his sons were killed, as I have already reported to your Paternity.[19] (De Torres [1557] 1990, 730–31)

[65] De Torres did not use "enemy" as a designator for the devil here but instead referred to the devil's Demon persona. As such, de Torres accused the Demon to have turned Yoshinaga's vassals against him to prevent Christianity from spreading further. In this situation de Torres imagined himself to face two kinds of enemies, the Demon devil and Japanese lords and warriors, both acting against the Society of Jesus. When primarily faced with terrestrial, human enemies, de Torres had no reservations to use this term, as in his description of the burning of Yamaguchi:

> [66] And with this understanding, when twenty or thirty days had passed since the

18 "Os principaes da terra nam se fazem [christãos] porque a estes tem-nos bem persuadidos o demónio, e atados sua mã vida, que nam hai mais que este mundo. E posto que quando ouvem entendem o contrairo, ata-os o inimigo e o mundo, que hé o mor contrairo que têm estas gentes pera suas almas." Insertion in the original.

19 "Despues de mim ficada en Amanguche por mandado del nuestro en Christo beatísimo mestre Francisco, vemdo el demonio el fruito que se podía consigir de lla palabra de Dios estendida en los coraçones de los hombres, puso sus defenciones con guerras de llos vasalhos del rey comtra el mismo rey, de manera que de mi estada en Amanguche a viente días fue muerto el rey y sus hijos, como já tiemguo esprito a voestra Paternidad."

> burning of the city, and the enemies were a league or a league and a half away from it, the Christians would beg me with more urgency to come. So it also seemed to me that, when the business of the enemies was over, I should return so that the Christians would be more courageous in taking charge of the things of God on my return.[20] (De Torres [1557] 1990, 727)

[67] Had "enemy" persisted in use as a common designator for the devil, how should the Japanese temporal lords or the clerics and monks of Japan's many schools have been labelled when they turned against the missionaries, which frequently happened? This would have rendered accurate reports about the state of the mission in relation to the political and social environment unnecessarily difficult. So when Melchior Nunes Barreto reported back to the Province of Portugal in 1558, he described the workings of the devil in hindering the mission in almost the same way as Xavier had done, only that he attributed it to the Demon devil, not the Enemy devil.

> [68] The fruit of Japan is very great and the divine goodness has manifested its mercy in that land, according to the strength and subtle tricks with which the Demon counteracts our faith in Japan! For great are the evils which resist the grace that works.[21] (Nunes Barreto [1558] 1995, 94)

[69] Of course, the devil was seen as an enemy of the missions, but its distinguishing characteristic compared to the mission's other opponents was that he was not a human but a demonic enemy. This was important as it clearly demarcated his powers and pointed to how one could overturn them, as Xavier had also pointed out early:

> [70] All this Demon's commission to the end of disconsolating, deeply disturbing you, will not bear fruit in your souls nor in those of the ones next to you in these parts wherein you find yourself now, if you do not waste time to understand your surroundings.[22] (Xavier [1549b] 1990, 139)

[71] Juan Fernández similarly recorded as part of an answer of what the Demon devil's providential function actually was that he was needed, in a very Thomistic way, as a touchstone for men's quality: "For if men would not be tempted by the Demon, they would not come to know their virtues nor would the good become known from among the bad" (Fernández de Oviedo and Ruiz-de-Medina SJ [1551] 1990, 254).[23] This finally translated into the proper Jesuit attitude in facing the machinations of the evil one propagated by the missionaries in Japan. When Balthasar Gago recorded an incident in travelling aboard a junk with a non-Christian crew in 1562 which got into distress at sea during the journey, he reported to have

20 "Y con este pareser, pasados viente o trienta días de la quema de la ciudad, estando los inimiguos huna légoa o légoa y media delha, con más inpurtunidad los christianos me roguarão que me viniese. De manera que también paresiémdo-me que, quieto el negocio de los inimigos, bolviesse pera que con más ánimo acometiesen los christianos las cosas de Dios a la tornada."

21 "El frutto de Japón es muy grandes y la bondad divina tiene muy manifestada su misericordia en aquella tierra, según la fuerça y ardides sutiles' con que el demonio; tiene en Japón contraminada nuestra fee! Porque son grandes los males que resisten a la gracia que obra."

22 "Todo este ordena el demonio a este fim de desconsolaros, desenquietándoos [sic] que no hagáis fruto en vuestras ánimas ni en las de los próximos en las partes donde al presente os halláis, dándoos a entender que perdéis el tiempo."

23 "Porque si los hombres no fuessen tentados del demonio, no se conocerían las virtudes ni serían conocidos los buenos entre los malos."

responded to the events in much the same way as Xavier had done 13 years earlier: praying and standing firm.

> They [the crew] replied that at night they would seek their counsel, which was to cast lots and call on the devil [*diablo*] all night long. I prayed to God our Lord not to allow our sins to bring us to an end according to the will of the Demon [*demónio*]. For it seemed to me that we should not abandon the ship and all seek our own until we could do nothing else.[24] (Gago [1562] 1995, 587) [72]

The conflation of the spiritual properties of the devil's Demon persona and its Enemy persona as well as the possibility to avoid confusion favoured ceasing to refer to the devil as the Enemy devil in sixteenth-century Japan. Moreover, Gago here exemplified once more the propensity to use the term *diab(l)o* when reporting on indigenous terminology. The crew of the ship cast their lots to divine the will of an Asian deity, which Gago accordingly translated as a generic devil (*diablo*). His own perspective of the situation was that the ship was clearly in the claws of the Demon devil (*demónio*). Whereas Xavier had used both "Enemy" (*inimgo*) and Demon (*demónio*) to designate the evil at work in his description of the analogous situation he had encountered during his first travel to Japan in 1549, Gago had already dropped the Enemy devil and stuck consistently to the Demon devil instead. [73]

What becomes visible here is an implicit partition of the temporal and spiritual dimensions in Jesuit writings about the situation of the mission in Japan. Obstacles in the way of the mission which were seen as belonging to the social world of politics, economics, and human beings in general could be labelled as "enemies," whereas for adverse circumstances thought to mainly derive from the agency of malevolent spiritual beings the terms "demon" and "(minor) demons" were applicable. While the devil of course still was seen as the primal and pivotal enemy of the mission, he was less frequently referred to as the Enemy devil. [74]

How Not to Address the Devil in Foreign Parts

Terminological consistency was thus achieved by reducing the vocabulary. This not only applies to the devil's Enemy persona, however. There were quite a number of other possible designators of the devil the Jesuits in Japan usually did not use: first, proper names which could be linked to him (apart from Lucifer), like "Satan," "Belial," "Baal," or "Beelzebub"; and second, "devil." When the term "devil" (*diab(l)o*) did appear for once in a letter of Cosme de Torres, it was in an account of the standard catechetical procedure used in Japan for introducing potential converts to Christian dogma, and it was accompanied directly by the more familiar "demon," just as in Gago's 1562 remark quoted above: [75]

> Then it is shown to them how God created Adam in the terrestrial paradise, and the commandment that He made, and the causes why and how for breaking God's commandment for the deceit of the devil (*el diablo*) [Adam] was made subject to [76]

24 „Responderão que aquela noite farião seu conselho, o qual foi toda a noite lançarem sortes e chamarem o diablo. Eu pedia a Deus noso Senhor que não permitise por nosos pecados noso fim conforme ao querer do demónio. Porque era de parecer que não desemparásemos o navio e buscásemos todos os meos até se mais não poder fazer."

> the Demon (*el demonio*) and all the punishments we still suffer today; […].[25] (De Torres [1557] 1990)

Gaspar Vilela turned out to be more flexible, sometimes using the word *diabo* but once also referring to the devil not by a designator but by one of his proper names: [77]

> There have been this Lent some very conscientious married people and some young men who wish to make a vow of chastity, but we have not consented to them because of the danger into which Satan could then bring them. But we urge them to chastity and perfect life.[26] (Vilela [1557] 1990, 691) [78]

In the same document Vilela also described Japanese society for the Jesuits in Portugal, and in doing so, he made a quite characteristic use of the term *diabo*—where he used it, he primarily did so to mark reported speech. [79]

> There are three kinds of people among them, scilicet noblemen who have their levies, and bonzes, who are their priests and servants of the devil who also have many levies, and farmers, who are almost slaves to all.[27] (Vilela [1557] 1990, 705) [80]

He had done so earlier already, in 1554, when he quite similarly had described the social standing of Japanese peasants: "And this they do because there is no justice, saying that they [the peasants] are the devil's people for being poor" (Vilela [1554] 1990, 433).[28] Vilela exemplified the same use of the plain word "devil" as just seen in the discussion of Balthasar Gago's remarks in 1562. The generic term "devil" (*diab(l)o*) had, in the letters of the Jesuits of the Japanese mission, become relegated to the description of Japanese views on the personification of evil. This made sense in at least two ways: First of all, considering the patchy Jesuit knowledge of Japanese religion and the non-standardized teachings of Japanese folk belief, how could it have reliably been determined which kind of infernal persona would have been meant by the utterance in question? And second, on a more implicit level, the devil's personae were always relational terms relative to the Jesuits themselves, prioritizing their point of view. The Lucifer devil personified the evil spirit of times they considered as bygone history, and the Demon devil actively worked against their mission in their own days. The terminologically more precise and efficient infernal personae of the Lucifer devil and the Demon devil thus came to be primarily used as designators expressing the views of the Jesuits themselves. [81]

The terminological question how to address the devil in foreign parts, at least for the Jesuits in sixteenth-century Japan, had been solved after roughly a decade of missionary work. They had tacitly agreed that the infernal persona they had to deal with was the conceptually ambiguous Demon devil, oscillating between transcendence and immanence. The term *demonio* occurs so often in their writings that Juan Ruiz-de-Medina SJ used it in his edition of the [82]

25 "Loeguo se le muestra cómo Dios crió a Adán en el paraizo terrenal y el mandamento que le impuo, y las causas por que e cómo, por el enganho del diablo, quembranté el mandamiento de Dios ficando sojeto a el demonio e a todas las mas penalidades que tenemos aguora […]."

26 "Ouve nesta coresma alguns casados muito de conciência e alguns mancebos que querem fazer voto de castidade, mas os não consentimos por o periguo em que depois Satanás os podia trazer. Mas moestamolos a castidade e vida perfecta."

27 "Há três géneros de gentes entre elles, scilicet fidalgos que posuem suas rendas, e bonzos, que são seus padres e ministros do diabo que têm também muitas rendas, e lavradores, que são quasi escravos de todos."

28 "E isto fazem por não aver justiça, dizendo que aquelles são gente do diabo por serem pobres."

Jesuit documents relating to Japan as the index term for all matters diabolical (1990, 769, 1995, 715).

When the "Summary of Errors" (*Sumario de los Errores*) was drawn up in 1556 to serve as a primer for the rest of the Jesuit order, most of all for those who were to come to Japan, on the false beliefs the Japanese were accused to hold by the missionaries, it attributed almost all of these errors to the devil. To put it more precisely, as the demonological terminology had been straightened out in the meantime, it attributed them all to the Demon devil, most prominently those of the Buddhist schools of thought: [83]

> The padres (i.e., the Jesuits) declare this to be the Sect of the Demon among the Japanese (*seita do demónio*) for beginning in this way with their commandments: [84]
>
> 1. The first, that the Demon, to establish being adored while he being invisible, to be adored in the shape of animals demanded that they neither kill nor eat them, but pay them homage.[29] (Anon [1556] 1990, 657) [85]

The conception of the binary opposition between righteous and wicked souls, metaphorically termed the Church of God and the Church of the Devil, evolved during the sixteenth century in Spain into the notion that the Church of the Devil had manifested itself on earth as an inversion and perverted mockery of the true Church of God and had been imposed upon his followers by the devil (Caro Baroja 1978, 53). Church Father Lactantius had already in late Antiquity termed this the *imitatio diabolica* (Borgeaud 2010, 88). Martín de Castañega OFM (1511–1551) had popularized the idea among the learned already in 1529 (Ferber 2013, 576), and the Franciscan order based its interpretations of native American cultures and religions on this model (Campagne 2004, 11). It became a popular topic up to the seventeenth century (Raiswell 2012, 41). The *Sumario de los Errores* hinted at similar perceptions when the habits of Buddhist monks were portrayed as similar to those of the Franciscans and Dominicans, and their vigils and hymns described (Ruiz-de-Medina SJ 1990, 660). [86]

In doing so the Jesuits in Japan responded to their environment in much the same way as their brethren in Peru at the same time responded to the pre-conquest belief in Viracocha, the almighty creator-deity of the Inca. Indigenous concepts which were deemed too similar to the Jesuits' own beliefs or practices had to be an invention of the devil (Albó 1966, 425–26). The contemporary Franciscan friar Jéronimo de Mendieta (1525–1604) depicted Mexican indigenous spirituality in the same way (López Meraz 2008, 142–43), while the conquistador Pedro Cieza de León (1520–1554) had done so for Peru (see @ Léon Azcárate 2015, 209). That Jesuit interpretations of non-Christian religions yet were by no means stable at this time becomes visible when José de Acosta put forward his concept of the connection between indigenous cults and the devil as a counterpoint to the idea of *imitatio diabolica* a few decades later (Imbruglia 2014, 305). As pointed out above, Acosta claimed that the more barbarous and idolatric, that is, the more unlikely to organized Christian worship (from Acosta's point of view) an indigenous cult was, the more pronounced was the Devil's influence on it. [87]

Outlook

A last question is now whether the attitude shown by sixteenth-century Jesuit missionaries in [88]

29 "Os padres declarão aos japões ser isto seita do demónio por esta maneira comesando polo seus mandamentos: 1. O primeiro, que o demónio, procurando ser adorado e ele sea embesible, para ser adorado en fegura de animaes manda que os não matem nem comam, mas que os fação onrra."

Japan in conceptually dealing with the devil is indicative of a historical trend. Cressoni has brought forward the claim that throughout all the Portuguese territories, regardless whether in the Atlantic or Indian Ocean, the Jesuits, or rather "the Ignacianists" (*os inacianos*), as he put it, all spoke the same conceptual language, that of an imperialism trying to subdue the other by transforming it into exercising the Jesuit orthopraxis (2014, 601). The parallel processes of a standardized differentiation between the devil's Lucifer persona and Demon persona in Japan and South America might exemplify traces of such an imperial project. This would match up perfectly with the notion that early modern Europeans tried to assure themselves of their superiority towards the peoples of the new worlds by singling out attributes or properties that could be ascribed to their local counterparts which would disqualify them from the same status as Europeans were entitled to in European eyes, be it that they were depicted as brute, savage, uncivilized, or heathen (Burghartz 2006, 316–18).

[89] But is the establishment of a particular view of the devil and its diabolic intents and abilities in relation to a certain region something conducive to an imperial project, even if it only consisted of a spiritual imperialism as in Japan, where any outright colonial endeavour would have been doomed to failure? Perhaps the discourses within which the Jesuits in Japan came to terms with evil are more indicative of Jesuit cosmology still being as much in the making in the sixteenth century as demonology was. A specific Jesuit model of interpretation for non-European cultures and religions only stabilised towards the end of the sixteenth century (Imbruglia 2014, 306–7).

[90] To put the developments within the Japanese mission of the 1550s and 1560s into a larger perspective it would be necessary to compare a broader sample of texts than examined here, across orders and secular clergy and, if possible, even denominations to see how exactly contemporary Europeans came to terms with the devil in other, similar circumstances. And such circumstances were not confined to the extra-European missions of the Society of Jesus but could also be found in the Jesuits' inner mission fields within Europe, for example in the sixteenth-century kingdom of Naples, where the spiritual situation they faced posed similar challenges to the Jesuits as circumstances in Brazil and Japan did (see Selwyn 2016, 50–53). But while a closer inspection of the global dimension of the terminology for evil within the Society of Jesus remains beyond the scope of this contribution, the impact of this terminology for the early mission in Japan seems quite clear.

[91] The net effect of opting for the Demon devil persona as the conceptual frame for everything diabolic in Japan was that the Jesuits operating there in the early sixteenth century not only were able to avoid having to choose whether the devil and its workings were transcendent or immanent phenomena—they could easily be both—but that they also could transfer a technical terminology and demonological discourse they were already familiar with from Europe to these parts, and thus operationalize the same practices connected to this terminology and discourse they were used to in Europe, regardless of whether they made sense in a Japanese environment and to Japanese proselytes or not.

[92] A fine example for such a transfer of practices conceptually connected to demonology is offered by the exorcisms performed by the Jesuits in Japan. When they encountered cases of what they took to be demonic possession, they exorcised and banned these devils exactly as they would have done in Europe, by "speaking the words 'Jesus Maria' and 'St. Michael'" during constant prayer from the local believers, so that "she [=the possessed individual] was never vexed by the demon again" (Gago [1555b] 1990, 568),[30] and the bystanders, "seeing

30 "[L]ogo disse 'Jesu Maria' e 'São Miguel' […] e nunca mais a tornou o demónio a vexar […]."

that she was free from the demon, all gave thanks to God" (Silva [1555] 1990, 529).[31] Both the prayer and the exorcism were performed in Latin, in accordance with the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, so that neither the supposed—Japanese—victim of the demonic possession nor the—Japanese—audience would have understood any of the words.

This application of pre-formulated European concepts, transformed into a special kind of [93] sixteenth-century Jesuit terminological orthopraxis in calling the devil names, led to the somewhat awkward situation—at least from a hindsight perspective—that however topsy-turvy the Japanese and Japan might appear to these Jesuit missionaries, at least one being they thought to have encountered in this strange land was an old acquaintance they knew how to face: the devil. *El demonio*, the Demon devil, to put it precisely.

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31 "Loguo disse 'San Migel', polo que, visto que era livre do demónio, todos deram graças a Deos."

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A Theologian's Answer to the Challenge of Colonization

Francisco de Vitoria on the Meta-Communicative Aspects of Religious Contact in a Colonial Setting

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ABSTRACT In Francisco de Vitoria's (1483?–1546) texts, one may witness a significant object-language attempt to contemplate on and to establish the conditions for successful communication between traditions. It is an attempt on meta-communicative issues involved in the situation of religious contact between Spanish conquerors and missionaries and the indigenous population of the New World. The Dominican professor bases his considerations on the analysis of language as the preeminent element of human communities. Criticizing former missionary practices, Vitoria aims at establishing the notions of reason and purity of conduct as *tertia comparationis* that allow the connection of Christian discourse to the mindset of the indigenous. Therefore, to Vitoria, the main meta-communicative goal of a missionizing Christian speaker in facing a non-Christian audience is to establish a situation that allows hearing reason being communicated.

KEYWORDS Mission, Meta-communication, colonialism, philosophy of language, reason, purity, Francisco de Vitoria, De Indis

Francisco de Vitoria and the Establishment of a *Tertium Comparationis*

In the late sixteenth century, scholars retrospectively considered the "brilliant, lively, humane" Dominican professor with "pungent style" (Hamilton 1963, 7), Francisco de Vitoria (1483?–1546) of Salamanca University, a paramount theologian—despite his lifelong "tendency towards inconspicuousness" (Thumfart 2012, 14). His pupil Bartolomé de Medina (1527–1580) even praised him to be nothing less than the *restaurator divinae Theologiae*; thus, in fact, linking him even more closely to Martin Luther than the mere dates of his life alone could have done anyway.[1] Vitoria is also described as "quintessentially Scholastic—an [1]

1 See, on the dispute on Vitoria's birth year, Campagna (2010, 26).

even-tempered and dispassionate intellectual who treats all questions with equanimity and is swayed only by the exigencies of reason itself" (Salas 2012, 331). Though he is most acknowledged with regard to his pathbreaking contributions to the *ius gentium*, the law of nations,[2] and his considerations on the rights of the Indians, above all in his highly celebrated lecture *De indis recenter inventis*,[3] it is remarkable that most of his later admirers stress the fact that Vitoria, albeit prominently dealing with juridical and ethical issues, was a theologian in the first place (see Domínguez-Reboiras 2002, 174; Justenhoven 2012, 122–23). Accordingly, he was willing to answer the challenges his time provided in a decidedly theological manner,[4] that is, as a proponent of religious object-language trying to develop meta-language that allowed him to deal with the tasks in question.

[2] To the Christian theologian Vitoria, the situations of contacts of religious traditions were not only a theoretical issue but probably also a dire personal experience. In both regards, the cases he was concerned with displayed an asymmetry of power that led to the subjugation and suppression of one part. From his mother's side, Vitoria had Jewish ancestry, rendering his status precarious in times *conversos* were excluded from academia (see Horst 1995, 17).[5] The question of baptism by force, accordingly, was also vital in Spain itself before it became an issue in the newly discovered world across the Atlantic. Additionally, the Dominican order, which he joined in 1505 at Burgos, had just been profoundly reformed due to the initiative of the Spanish rulers aiming at the centralization of their country. One of the first major indictments of Spanish conduct in the territories of the New World, however, also originated in the Dominican order. It manifested in Antonio de Montesinos' (c. 1475–1540) question of late 1511, '¿Estos no son hombres?', thus accusing the Spanish settlers of behaving inhumanly towards the natives (see Seed 1993). Later on, especially following Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484–1566), who entered the order in 1522, it was the Dominicans who led the campaign against the violent conquest and forced conversion of the Indios (see Terraciano 2004, 338).[6]

[3] The reform of the Dominican order provided Vitoria, as a student, the opportunity of coming into contact with Paris as the predominant classical center of knowledge, thus relieving Spanish universities from isolation (Horst 1995, 19), and at the same time getting some sense of the value of contact with regard to the process of academic theological knowledge. In Paris, Vitoria learned to admire the synthesis of Scripture and antique philosophy as manifested in the work of Thomas Aquinas, allowing the 'true philosophy' of pagan thinkers to enter academic discussions (Horst 1995, 24).[7] As John Marenbon has pointed out, the dis-

2 To Salas, Vitoria even introduces a "new humanism" to the discussion, based on the fact that the discovery of the New World "was not just the encounter of new territories and resources, but the discovery of man precisely as such" (2012, 340–41).

3 Vitoria's Latin works are quoted by using the edition by Horst, Justenhoven and Stüben (1995, 1997). For a decidedly interdisciplinary approach to *De Indis*, compare the collective volume by Brieskorn and Stiening (2011).

4 See, on theology's competence, Campagna (2010, 37, 40–49).

5 "Daß auch im Dominikanerorden die Gesetze propagiert und beobachtet wurden, ist für eine Reihe berühmter Konvente bezeugt, die die Aufnahme von 'Judenkonversen' oder deren Nachkommen untersagten. Es scheint, daß Vitoria später ebenfalls von solchen Ressentiments betroffen war, und daß ihn nur das hohe akademische Ansehen, dessen er sich an der Universität Salamanca bereits erfreute, davor bewahrte, in ein anderes Haus versetzt zu werden." On the discussion in the Dominican order concerning the *conversos,* see Horst (2015). See on this point also Thumfart (2012, 158–59).

6 For a concise comparison of Vitoria's and Las Casas' positions, compare the useful synopsis in Delgado (1994, 58).

7 Back in Spain, in Salamanca, Vitoria himself, in accordance to his studies at Paris, acted as a reformer of the university's curriculum by exchanging Petrus Lombardi's *Sententiae* for the *Summa Theologica* of Aquinas as the guiding study-book, thus inaugurating the renaissance of Thomist thinking in the sixteenth century and allowing the 'School of Salamanca' to emerge and unfold.

courses concerning the treatment of the pagan Roman and Greek philosophers and the pagan inhabitants of the New World in the context of Christian theological thinking became, above all, strongly connected by Las Casas' efforts to refute the justifications of the Spaniards taking the lands of the indigenous people (see Marenbon 2015, 249). In *stressing the role of reason* in the process of missionizing, Vitoria can also be seen as a protagonist of connecting these discourses.

[4] In contrast to later evaluations of the situation, to Vitoria, the theological struggle of the period of the Reformation was a second-class matter compared to the theological problems arising with the discovery of the New World. Contemplating the question on the legitimacy of the Europeans in the New World regarding conquests and trade, Vitoria arrived at philosophical and theological positions that carefully mediated scholastic traditions and contemporary challenges that emerged with the discovery of unknown lands and the presence of an indigenous population.[8] To some churchmen, however, the conversion of the Indios seemed a good opportunity "to create a new brand of Christianity, free from Jewish, Islamic, and Protestant interference" (Terraciano 2004, 337).

[5] But then, of course, not only the results of current discoveries and colonization attempts, but also the recent developments within European Christianity, i.e., Humanism and the Reformation, had to be taken into account with regard to the academic audience Vitoria was addressing in his *Relectiones* (see Schnepf 1992, 4). Here, in a context of a "long tradition of ritual legitimation which the kings of Castile had, since the Middle Ages, regularly enacted when confronted with uncertain moral issues" (Pagden 1991, XVII),[9] it is the theologian's competence (as someone being able to interpret the words of God) that renders Vitoria's position a remarkable contribution to the theme of religious *language* within a colonial context, apart from his merits as a theorist of natural law and the *ius gentium*, which will not be the main focus of my following considerations.

[6] Regarding this article's foremost subject-matter, i.e., the situation of contact of religious traditions, in Vitoria's texts one may witness a significant object-language attempt to contemplate on and establish the conditions for successful communication between traditions.[10] As Volkhard Krech argues, religious studies have to focus on the communicative event of the contact of religious traditions in order to scrutinize the particular ways in which parts of the contact and the prevailing subject matter are *made subject* within the situations of contact itself (see Krech 2019, 285).[11] This is clearly the case in Vitoria's writings, which are both the result of a contact situation—of Catholic Christianity, under the impact of evolving Protestantism, meeting with the indigenous inhabitants of the New World, whose beliefs have no share in the known religious background in the Old World—as well as the attempt to deal with it. Theological object-language thus aims at establishing meta-language by means of a reflection on meta-communicative issues. Confronted with the failure of missionizing activities of his Spanish compatriots in the New World, Vitoria *reflects on the situation of contact itself* that is at work there, and how to render it more 'successful.' In his *meta-communicative* efforts one may observe the attempt to establish a suitable *tertium comparationis* that may serve as a

8 See, on the influence of Vitoria's concept of colonial policy upon later generations of colonial administrators, van der Kroef (1949).

9 If not noted otherwise, all English translations of Vitoria's text are from this edition.

10 See, on communication in Vitoria's thinking, Sievernich (2001).

11 "In religionswissenschaftlicher Perspektive ist daher das Kommunikationsgeschehen des Religionskontak[t]s selbst in den Vordergrund zu rücken. Von dort aus kann die Frage gestellt werden, ob und gegebenenfalls wie Teilnehmende thematisch werden, und wie das im Verhältnis zur Sachdimension, d. h. zu den infrage stehenden religiösen Themen geschieht."

common basis of communication.[12] To Vitoria, this *tertium* is linguistically mediated *reason*. On reason, both parts of the contact may agree as means of communication that, as Vitoria argues, ultimately cannot but lead to missionary success. Of course, his establishment of reason as the basis of communication is thoroughly one-sided and intended to serve missionary aims, rendering the situation of contact as reflected on by Vitoria asymmetric (the missionaries right to reason is merely counterbalanced by the Indios' right to hear reason). However, the process of analyzing and structuring the situation of contact by meta-communicative means,[13] performed by one part of the contact itself, and the ways to establish a common basis of communication is an important subject to scrutinize in the study of the history of religions in contact (see Krech 2012, 194–95).

Vitoria on Language and Communication

Language as such is not a paramount subject of Vitoria's careful and systematic considerations.[14] Hints at a developed philosophy or theory of language are sparse and dispersed among his various lectures and commentaries. Additionally, Vitoria's remarks on language are always closely related to other themes that are the main objects of his examinations. This is, above all, the human disposition to community. It is this very combination that makes Vitoria's consideration a worthwhile subject of study. To Vitoria, language and sociality, i.e., the by nature necessary community of human beings, are closely interrelated and, accordingly, discussed within the same context. [7]

There are, therefore, some parts in his lectures that allow a glance at Vitoria's ideas on language and its relationship to reason and to its main expression, community. In his *De Potestate Civili* Vitoria promotes an 'anthropology' based on the idea that, compared to other living beings, human beings lack the natural means to protect or defend their life.[15] This lack, however, is compensated by capabilities that make man outshine other beings: *homo ceteris animalibus praestat ratione, sapientia atque sermone*.[16] By reason, wisdom, and language, human beings are able to overcome their miserable beginnings as fragile, weak, impoverished, frail, and helpless beings in their needy, naked, and hairless (*nudum incrinemque*) condition. The display of reason, wisdom, and language allows establishing virtues that are necessary for living in a community that is, according to Vitoria, humanity's answer to the challenges of the mostly hostile environment, thus manifesting the natural sociability of human beings. Anthropology, thus, by necessity turns into sociology. Vitoria adapts an Aristotelian idea: To be human and to be part of a community therefore is, by nature, the same thing: *Est enim* [8]

12 On the role of *tertia communicationis*, see Krech (2012, 193).

13 The notion of meta-communication used in the following combines different meanings. In the German-speaking world, the notion is related to the psychologist Wolfgang Metzger, a leading figure of the *Gestaltpsychologie*, and means *communication on communication in order to make communication easier*. In the English-speaking world, it is associated with the work of Gregory Bateson. Here, meta-communication deals with *ordering communication by means of contextualization, re-contextualization, or de-contextualization*. Both meanings address meta-communicative considerations as a reflection on the very possibility of communication, its preconditions that must be met to allow communication in the first place. Issues of the language spoken and translation are important, but in fact secondary.

14 Vitoria's careful use of language in his juridical and philosophical considerations is stressed by Luis Valenzuela-Vermehren, in particular regarding possible violations of the law of nations by the indigenous peoples: Here, Vitoria uses a highly conditional language (see Valenzuela-Vermehren 2013a, 285, 291).

15 See, on the *Bedürfnisnatur* (needy nature) of the human being, Bunge (2011, 208–9).

16 Vitoria, *De Potestate Civili* (1995, 122).

homo natura animal civile sicut et ignis natura calidus (The human being is by nature a social animal in the same way fire is, by nature, hot).[17]

To Vitoria, then, anthropology is basically sociology. Both the disadvantages and the advantages of human existence dispose man to community which is predominantly characterized by mutual support. Accordingly, opposing philosophers and theologians alike, Vitoria emphatically denies that egotism is the main force of human conduct, but rather the pursuit of the common good.[18] [9]

The pursuit of the common good is closely related to reason and reason-based action. Relying strongly on Aristotle, Vitoria stresses the necessity of teaching and experience to fully develop reason. In order to fulfil this aim, language is needed as the errand boy of reason: *sermo intellectus est nuntius*. The deliverance of reason, Vitoria suggests, is the sole purpose of language, serving as the device that holds human community together and guarantees (via teaching) its persistence throughout time: [10]

> Aristotle also declares that language is the messenger of understanding, and was given to man solely for this purpose, so that in this one respect he excels or surpasses all other animals. Now language could not exist outside human partnership […] Even if it were possible for wisdom to exist without language, it would be a rough and uncouth wisdom […].[19] [11]

Accordingly, to Vitoria, there is no reason and no wisdom without language that could possibly relate the individual human being to a community of human beings. Therefore, human society as essentially based on reasonable and wise behavior and thinking is basically *communication*. Nature commands man to communicative society; as a consequence, a human being separated from community loses his status as a human and has to be counted among the animals (see Aristotle, Politics 1253 a29-37). Here, Vitoria presents himself to share Aristotle's, Cicero's, and not least Thomas Aquinas' opinion on the subject.[20] [12]

> 'Nature abhors all solitary things' (Cicero, De amic. 23.88), and we are all, as Aristotle says, impelled by nature to seek society.[21] [13]

Linguistic communication provides the natural bond of these connections that are characterized by a division of labor. However, human communities are additionally characterized by some inner dynamics. For the division of labor, in turn, tends to exceed or transcend the smaller communities of families or households. By necessity, a small community naturally develops into larger communities that are more likely to provide protection from violence and injustice: [14]

> Since, therefore, human partnerships arose for the purpose of helping to bear each [15]

17 Vitoria, *De matrimonio* (1995, 506).

18 See his claim in *De homicidio*: "Ad hoc quamquam sint clari philosophi et theologi, qui ita esse arbitrentur, ego vero nego hominem inclinari ad diligendum se plus quam Deus vel proprium bonum plus quam commune. […] [E]x naturali inclinatione, homo, quem Deus fecit partem rei publicae, natura inclinator ad bonum publicum plus quam ad privatum" (1995, 464).

19 "Rursum etiam sermo intellectus est nuntius et in hunc solum usum datum Aristoteles tradit, quo uno homo ceteris animalibus antecedit, qui extra hominum societatem nullus foret. Atque adeo etiam, si fieri posset, si sapientia esset sine sermone, ingrata et insociabilis esset ipsa sapientia." (Vitoria, *De Potestate Civili*, 1995, 122, 124).

20 See, on Aquinas' categories regarding the unsurmountable difference between men and animals, Seed (1993, 638).

21 "Nihil enim natura solitarium amat, omnesque, ut ait Aristoteles, natura ferimur ad communicationem." (Vitoria, *De Potestate Civili*, 1995, 124).

> other's burdens, amongst all these partnerships a civil partnership […] is the one which most aptly fulfils men's needs. It follows that the city […] is, if I may so put it, the most natural community, the one which is most conformable to nature. The family provides its members with the mutual services which they need, but that does not make it whole and self-sufficient […] especially in defense against violent attack.[22]

[16] To achieve its protective aim, Vitoria argues, a community is in need of a guiding force balancing the interests of its prevailing parts. This balance provides a benefit and a necessity to human communities that only gods can resist ("cui non nisi dii repugnant").[23] As balanced, a community is just, and accordingly communication is a matter of theological consideration, for every just community is established by God: "Quia quaelibet res publica iusta constituta est a Deo."[24] In sum, Vitoria promotes theologically the all-encompassing community of mankind on the basis of communicative reason (Thumfart 2012, 33).[25] As communication is essential to human existence that is, existence in communities, Vitoria contemplates intensely on communication,[26] thus introducing *meta-communicative elements* to the discussion on the rights of the Indians and the question of mission as a special situation of contact.

[17] This idea is not left to mere theoretical considerations. The examination of metacommunication is not at last valid in Vitoria's personal conduct as an academic teacher. With regard to the meta-communicative elements in Vitoria's thinking and academic practice, some authors stress the forward-looking characteristics.[27] Although in his own situation of speech, he is relieved of the immediate need for decision on this subject (Wagner 2011a, 165), still, as an important aspect, authors emphasize Vitoria's courageous risk to discuss current questions publicly (Justenhoven 1995, 7),[28] thus establishing a 'public theology' (Thumfart 2012, 12), or rather a 'public philosophy' (Böckenförde 2006, 344). His new style, though based on the system of theories of Aquinas, rejected scholarly polemics, thus establishing an open and dialogical attitude that allowed other scholarly currents without condemning them. Accordingly, as Domínguez-Reboiras put it, "without doubt, Vitoria was a tolerant mind in an intolerant century," displaying an "open and frank way of uttering his opinion" (Domínguez-Reboiras 2002, 178–79).[29] Vitoria used the traditional annual *Relectiones*, that consisted in extraordi-

22 "Cum itaque humanae societates propter hunc finem constitutae sunt, scilicet ut alter alteruis onera portaret et inter omnes societates societas civilis ea sit, in qua commodious homines neccesitatibus subveniant, sequitur communitatem esse, ut ita dixerim, naturalissimam communicationem naturae convenientissimam. Quamquam enim mutua officia sibi praestent, non tamen familia una sufficiens est sibi, et maxime adversus vim iniuriamque propulsandam." (Vitoria, *De Potestate Civili*, 1995, 124).

23 Vitoria, *De Potestate Civili* (1995, 126).

24 Vitoria, *De Potestate Ecclesiae* (1997, 282).

25 On the interrelatedness of communication and colonization, compare Todorov (1985, 213).

26 Johannes Thumfart has emphasized the fact that Vitoria's *ius gentium* comprises the *ius communicationis* (guaranteeing the social unity of the whole world) as a central element, even allowing the Spaniards to wage war against the Indios in case they should prevent the former from exercising it (see 2012, 20). Compare also Vitoria, *De Indis* (1997, 460, 462).

27 On the importance of meta-communicative aspects in linguistic situations of religious contact, see Müller (2015) and Stünkel (2015).

28 See, on the establishment of a public sphere in the theological discussions of the period of the Reformation, Stünkel (2016, 71–76).

29 Domínguez-Reboiras' characterization is confirmed by Carl Schmitt, who writes on Vitoria's *relectiones*: "Der erste Eindruck, den der heutige Leser von diesen Vorlesungen erhält, ist der einer ganz außerordentlichen Unvoreingenommenheit, Objektivität und Neutralität. Die Argumentation erscheint dadurch nicht mehr mittelalterlich, sondern 'modern'" (Schmitt 1950, 71). There is, however, according to Schmitt, the question of how to explain Vitoria's astounding objectivity (1950, 79) and its relationship to the conquest and the colonization of the New World.

nary lectures on a subject freely chosen by the lecturer, in order to spread his opinions on current matters that could hardly be discussed in the normal curriculum. The choice of subject is guided by the conscience that is, above all, the turf of the theologian.

Vitoria on Religion and Theology

According to Ernst Feil's history of the concept 'religion,' in his commentary on Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* Vitoria explains *religio* as ordering the human being towards God. It is, however, not a theological virtue (*virtus theologica*), but rather a paramount moral virtue. Hence, Feil argues, Vitoria considers *religio* to be a *habitus* towards the divine, a way of conduct and action one is by nature obliged to adapt (Feil 1997, 126).[30] [18]

Vitoria seems to recognize different forms of this kind of religion and acknowledges the fact that these forms are a matter of origin and tradition.[31] Because of that, the prevailing forms of religion are not easily ignored or cast aside. Above all, the diversity of religion cannot be a cause of just war ("Causa iusti belli non est diversitas religionis").[32] Of course, to the theologian Vitoria, there is religion proper, that is, Christianity that is contested by notorious enemies, the Muslims, and the Jews. He speaks of them as the perpetual enemies of Christian religion ("de saracenis et Iudaeis perpetuis hostibus religionis Christianae").[33] There is, however, as Vitoria points out, some natural suction towards religion proper, and this is because of the close relationship of Christian religion and reason. [19]

To Vitoria, religion seems to be a matter of practical action, manifesting a faithful conduct of life. He stresses the overall necessity and persistent presence of faith. At the same time, the proper way of reverence is revealed, being the core feature of 'true religion'. [20]

> Since faith has always been necessary, and has never been lacking in any age, as shown above, it seems that revelation was accomplished chiefly with the aim of instituting the worship of God, which is the most important part of true religion and the life of the faithful.[34] [21]

In this sense, Vitoria equates religion and good work.[35] At some points, he also equates religion with reason, in particular when he lists the observations that may count for the Indios being human beings and well able to order their conduct of life. The Indios possess some form [22]

30 Compare also Feil's comment: "Ganz selbstverständlich erscheint in diesen Ausführungen Vitorias 'religio' schlicht als jene Tugend, die in lateinischer Tradition seit alters eine zwar wichtige, gleichwohl aber spezifische Haltung des Menschen zum Ausdruck bringt, nämlich eine sorgfältige Achtung und Beachtung der Gott gegenüber angemessenen Verhaltensweisen und Handlungen" (1997, 126).

31 "Esset enim intolerabilis lex, ut homo cogeretur deserere religionem a maioribus acceptam tam atroci poena." (Vitoria, *De Indis*, 1997, 510).

32 Vitoria, *De Iure Belli* (1997, 556). See Justenhoven (2012). See, on Vitoria's considerations on the topos of the just war and his pathbreaking 'desacralization of martial law' and his foundation of the law of nations, Zahnd (2020, 27–28).

33 Vitoria, *De Indis* (1997, 402, 404).

34 "Quia si fides semper fuit necessaria et nunquam defuit in quacumque aetate, ut dictum est, maxime videtur relevatio facta de ratione colendi Deum, quae potissima pars est verae religionis et vitae fidelis." (Vitoria, *De potestate ecclesiae I*, 1995, 219).

35 "Nec tales sunt haeretici dicendi, sed apostatae a fide, ab aiis bonis, ut a religione ad mundum revocati dicuntur apostatae et apostatae a religione aut a bono opera inc{}epto." (Vitoria, *De Indis*, 1995, 531).

of religion[36] and that requires the use of reason.[37] Connecting the display of religion to reason (see Pich 2012, 390) provides him with the interface that allows missionizing the Indios of the New World without spoiling one's conscience by conversion by force. The *religio* of the missionary manifests itself as the true one in the way he deals with a religious situation of contact, i.e., the way he treats his target group. To establish *religio* proper, theology is required.

[23] To Vitoria, theology was more than a closed-shop academic discipline or some kind of special knowledge, but rather a fundamental science (*Grundlagenwissenschaft*) that provided the ordering principles for other fields of human knowledge. Due to its subject-matter, theology is by essence a transgressing and unlimited discipline. This characterization renders it independent of any other discipline of human knowledge. However, the proposed independence of theology means a stern obligation of the theologian. On the theologian, the claim of his discipline is absolute and forces him to a permanent pursuit of knowledge and insight.[38]

[24] As such, the problems obviously transcending the old medieval world-views can only by solved by the transgressing way of thinking unlimited by disciplinary boundaries—and this way is, according to Vitoria, theology.

[25] Vitoria leaves no doubt about the paramount role of theology in the field of human knowledge and science. The theologian therefore is the very epitome of human wisdom. In his *De potestate civili*, Vitoria insistently stresses theology's special status:

> [26] The office and calling of a theologian is so wide, that no argument or controversy on any subject can be considered foreign to his profession.[39]

[27] In fact, nothing that is human is alien to the theologian, and there is no field of human action that cannot be treated theologically. Nothing escapes theology's preeminence: "For theology is […] the chief and first of all sciences in the world."[40] So, the first and main approach to any subject given should be theological, though, as Vitoria admits, good and reliable theologians are hard to find. Interestingly enough, here he refers to Cicero's *De Oratore*, thus linking Cicero's lament on the little number of eminent masters of (political) language in a community (the *res publica*) to the subject of theology.

[28] Theology's particularity and eminence refers to its expertise on *conscience*. The concept is of paramount importance for the contact situation examined here. Also in the contemporary discussion of the role of the Spanish conquerors, conscience played a key role.[41] According to Carl Schmitt, Vitoria himself speaks as an advisor in matters of conscience and as a teacher

36 See, on Vitoria's attitude towards the religiosity of the Indios, Hasselhoff (2021, 128): "Es wurde […] ein aus europäisch-exklusivistisch anmutender Perspektive sehr umfangreiches Eigenrecht der indigenen Bevölkerung in politischer wie religiöser Hinsicht eingeräumt. Zwar wird ein Existenzrecht der Religion(en) der 'Inder' nicht im eigentlichen Sinne zugestanden, aber es wird eingeräumt, dass sie ein anderes Glaubenssystem haben als die bis dahin in Europa bekannten. Damit hebt er sich von der Mehrzahl seiner Zeitgenossen ab, die sich zur gleichen Zeit mit in anderer Hinsicht ebenso drängenden Fragen der Auslegung und Interpretation der eigenen Traditionen beschäftigten."

37 "[H]abent pro suo modo usum rationem. Patet, quia habent ordinem aliquem in suis rebus […] quae omnia requirunt usum rationis, item religionis speciem" (Vitoria, *De Indis*, 1997, 402).

38 Vitoria reminds his students insistently: "Nullas habemus studiorum ferias, nullam vacationem ab exercitiis litterarum." (Vitoria, *De homicidio*, Vitoria 1995, 442).

39 "Officium ac munus theologi tam late patet, ut nullum argumentum, nulla disputatio, nullus locus alienus videatur a theologica professione et institutio" (Vitoria, *De potestate civili*, 1995, 116).

40 "Est autem theologia omnium disciplinarum studiorumque orbis prima" (Vitoria, *De potestate civili*, 1995, 116).

41 See, on conscience as a key concept of the discourse on the conquest and the Christianization of the New World, Sievernich (2011).

of future advisors of politicians (Schmitt 1950, 79). Accordingly, Vitoria establishes a close relationship of the judgement of experts and a good conscience:

> […] in every case of doubt there is a duty to consult with those competent to pronounce upon it, since otherwise there can be no security of conscience, regardless of whether the action concerned is really lawful or unlawful.[42] [29]

Now, when it comes to conscience itself, to Vitoria, there is no doubt that it is exclusively about the clergy to decide matters: "Yet since this is a case of conscience, it is the business of the priests, that is to say of the Church, to pass sentence upon it."[43] Nevertheless, as Vitoria complains, the theologian's expertise is very rarely enlisted in order to decide these problems. This is all the more regrettable for the course of things, because to him, there is even an obligation to listen to theologians in matters of conscience: [30]

> It must be so, because in matters which concern salvation there is an obligation to believe those whom the Church has appointed as teachers, and in cases of doubt their verdict is law. Just as a judge in a court of law is obliged to pass sentence according to the evidence presented, so in the court of conscience every man must decide not according to his own inclination, but by logical arguments or the authority of the learned. To do otherwise is impudent, and exposes one to the danger of sin, which is itself sinful.[44] [31]

Vitoria's juridical background provides him with the decisive metaphor of his considerations. As a court of sorts (*in foro conscientiae*), conscience bridges the gap between objective validity and subjective obligation, thus between theoretical consideration and practical conduct. Accordingly, it is theology's double competence, with regard to its expertise and its ability to decide in theoretical as well as in practical matters that secures the theologian an outstanding position on issues of the Spanish conquest of the New World.[45] [32]

Meta-communication, and Reason as a *Tertium Comparationis*

The discovery of America provided the theologian Vitoria with one of the paramount issues of his thinking.[46] This issue was in many ways disturbing, for, as John Marenbon has put it, "contrary to the widespread belief before, there were large parts of the world where the Gospel has [33]

42 "In rebus dubiis quilibet tenetur consulere illos, ad quos spectat haec docere; alias non es tutus in conscientia, sive illa dubia sint <de re> in se licita sive illicita." (Vitoria, *De Indis*, Vitoria 1997, 378).

43 "Et cum agatur de foro conscientiae, hoc spectat a sacerdotes, id est ad ecclesiam d{i}ffinire." (Vitoria, *De Indis*, 1997, 380).

44 "Tenetur enim credere in his, quae spectant ad salute, his, quos posuit ecclesia ad docendum, et in re dubia arbitrium illorum est lex. Sicut enim in foro cententioso iudex tenetur iudicare secundum allegata et probate, ita in foro conscientiae quilibet tenetur iudicare non ex proprio sensu, sed vel per rationem probabilem vel auctoritatem sapientum; alias est temerarium iudicium, et exponit se periculo errandi et hoc ipso errat." (Vitoria, *De Indis*, Vitoria 1997, 376).

45 See Stiening (2011a, 124): "Nicht nur die spezifischen Inhalte, sondern die Reflexionsform ist es, die nach Vitoria die Zuständigkeit der Theologie hinsichtlich der Frage nach der Rechtmäßigkeit der spanischen Eroberungen in Übersee aufdrängt. Nur die Theologie als theoretische *und praktische* Wissenschaft kann Entscheidungen fällen, ist mithin nicht allein wissenschaftlich analytisch, sondern praktisch, d.h. handlungsleitend virulent, weil sie nicht nur überlegt, sondern abschließend beweist."

46 To Thumfart, Vitoria's insistence on himself being a theologian provides the paramount methodological issue for the interpretation of *De Indis* (see 2012, 182).

never been preached. This realization would eventually change thinking about what was required for salvation […]" (Marenbon 2015, 249). It is such an influence displayed by the New World on Old Europe that can be found in Vitoria's writings that react to the new situation as well. Therefore, Vitoria was part of "a remarkable top-to-bottom rethinking" of how one should "*conceptualize* the 'others' " and how one should "*regulate behavior*" with the Indios of the New World (Strenski 2004, 638). Being an eminent and persuasive academic teacher, his findings and results displayed influence over time and space. Bernice Hamilton emphasizes Vitoria's importance beyond the university as follows: "But the influence of the 'university philosophers' must certainly have been great: e.g. several thousand students, lay and clerical, passed through the classrooms of Francisco de Vitoria, and many of his pupils later occupied prominent positions in church, university or administration in Old and New Spain" (1963, 2). What is more, some of his early students became missionaries who were defenders of the Indians (see Horst 1995, 168).[47] At last since the year 1534, Vitoria exchanged letters with missionaries in the New World, as they were the most important and most authentic sources of information about it (Horst 1995, 19).

Though lacking first-hand knowledge of the situation in the New World, it becomes clear that the information Vitoria gained from these letters and from accounts of missionaries returning to Spain shook him profoundly. The reports he received challenged him as a theologian. In a letter of advice to his religious superior, Miguel de Arcos, from November 8, 1534, Vitoria gets everything off his chest. Commenting on the massacre at Cajamarca, the assassination of the Inca Atahualpa, and the subsequent claim of the looting and pillaging soldiers to have their booty legally confirmed, he writes: [34]

> As for the case of Peru, I must tell you, after a lifetime of studies and long experience that no business shocks me or embarrasses me more than the corrupt profits and affairs of the Indies. The very mention freezes the blood in my veins. Yet I work as best I can, so that if they [the Spanish conquerors of Peru, KMS] make off with the assets, at least I suffer no loss of that other asset, a clear conscience. Mine may be less eye-catching but I think it no less valuable. (1991, 331) [35]

Here, Vitoria distinctly separates himself from the conduct of the conquistadores by recurring on the incompatible opposition between a clear and a spoiled conscience. This issue provided the Salamancan professor of *prima theologia* with the reason to intervene into the discussion. To Vitoria, the matter of the conduct of the Europeans in the New World is nothing less than a matter of spiritual welfare, as the conquerors of these lands are in danger of forfeiting the salvation of their souls because of their greed for worldly goods in the form of booty stolen from the innocent. [36]

> Some of these Peruvian adventurers I fear, may be the type 'that desire to be rich [and fall into temptation]' (1 Tim. 6: 9), of whom it was said '[it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than] for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. 19: 23-4). (1991, 332) [37]

Of the spoiled conduct of the conquistadors Vitoria would be no part. He furthermore stresses his stern disapproval of the actions of the Spanish soldiers persistently in the same letter as follows: [38]

> Even if I badly wanted the archbishopric of Toledo which is just now vacant and [39]

47 See also the list of Salamanca students in America provided by Rodríguez (1984).

> they offered it to me on condition that I signed or swore to the innocence of those Peruvian adventurers, I would certainly not dare do so. Sooner my tongue and hand wither than say or write a thing so inhuman, so alien to all Christian feeling. (1991, 333)

[40] Of course, Vitoria in his considerations was not without predecessors. First, his thought is firmly based on traditional theology and philosophy, but also recent intellectual developments and discussions are carefully taken into account.[48] To some degree, due to his studies at Paris, Vitoria was indirectly related to the Scottish scholar John Mair (Major) (1467–1550), who was of great influence to him as he quotes him extensively and, above all, who was also the first (in 1510) to consider the political and moral problems emerging with the discovery of the New World.[49] Though suggesting that the Indians might be the Aristotelian 'slaves by nature' (see Castilla Urbano 2013, 4–6),[50] in his considerations on the discoveries, Mair stresses the importance of situations of contacts with regard to the establishment of Christian ethics among the pagans of the newly discovered territories. These people, he argues, could be made accustomed to Christianity by means of mutual contact (Horst 1995, 27). Not least, Mair also addresses communicative issues, above all, the issue of language as a means of communication: According to him, because the Indios do not understand Spanish ("linquam hyspanicam non intellexerunt")[51] and do not allow Christian preachers to them without being forced, one is entitled to establish fortified places in order to allow accustomizing contact and adaption of Christian ethics (Sievernich 2001, 189). Thus, for Mair it is not only linguistic communication that causes the success of mission, but also an element of habituation one gets used to in daily contact.[52] As we will see, Vitoria himself, in his meta-communicative considerations, here moves beyond Mair as he examines the precondition of contact and linguistically guided adaption described by Mair, as *reason*.

[41] The early phase of Spanish colonialism is differentiated from later phases by means of its "astounding liberty of speech concerning ethical questions of colonialism," but nevertheless not by the extent of oppression it displays (Delgado 2011, 542–43). The relative freedom of speech, however, allowed Vitoria to come to the defense of the Indians in the only way he could: as an academic theologian wielding the intellectual weapons of the jurist.[53]

[42] The *Relectio De Indis* and the following discussion of Spanish jurists and theologians on it found no parallel in other countries. Vitoria launched a most powerful attack on most aspects of Spanish behavior in America. John Marenbom describes it as follows: "Although he stops short of openly condemning the entire colonial venture, he allows only a few ways in which the Spaniards might have justly come to rule in America, and does not accept that they have in fact gained the lands in these ways" (Marenbon 2015, 251). No less dubious are the methods of spreading the gospel, the techniques of mission the Spanish conquerors apply to the unfortunate Indians. To Vitoria, the missionary efforts of his time in the New World suffer from correspondingly severe defects, questioning the very basis of the missionizing process. Moreover, as a consequence of his considerations, Vitoria had "left his king with only a slender

48 See, on the previous discussion, Thumfart (2012, 76–124).
49 See, on the importance of Mair for Vitoria, Thumfart (2012, 76–80).
50 See, on Vitoria's stance towards the question of natural slaves, Pich (2012, 392–96).
51 Joannes Maior, In secundum sententiarum, Paris 1510 fol 96 va. (quoted in Hasselhoff 2021, 119).
52 "ut succesu temporum effrenis populous ad mores christianorum assuresceretur" (Maior 1510, quoted in Thumfart 2012, 78).
53 See, on the discussion of Vitoria's role in the development of colonialism, Cavallar (2008, 186–88). Cavallar himself, instead of outright debunking Vitoria (as he does with Grotius) as an agent of European colonialism, considers "Vitoria's moral cosmopolitanism [as] incomplete, but still [as] an impressive feat" (2008, 209).

claim to jurisdiction (*dominium iurisdictionis*) in America, but no property rights whatsoever. […] Vitoria had not quite argued the emperor out of the larger portion of his empire; but he had come perilously close to it" (Pagden 1991, XXVII-XXVIII). It does not come as a surprise, then, that Vitoria's propositions gained him a decree muzzling freedom of speech by the Emperor, Charles V (who was himself famously suffering from pangs of conscience about the situation in his new lands), forbidding him to treat political matters in his lectures in a letter from November 1539.[54]

> You [i.e., Vitoria's pupil Domingo de Soto] shall command the clerics and teachers in question to refrain, now and in all future times, from engaging in discussions, sermons, or debates without Our express permission regarding the topic mentioned above.[55] [43]

In *De Indis,* Vitoria takes his point of departure from the necessity to interpret Christ's order to teach and baptize the peoples in view of the Indians who are now under Spanish rule but who were "unknown to our world before" ("ignoti prius nostro orbi," Vitoria 1997, 370). In this process, language seems to be of some importance. To Vitoria, however, the order to "teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Mt 28,19) is closely related to the question of whether it is allowed to baptize the children of unbelievers against the will of their parents; a question that has been discussed controversially since Aquinas and Duns Scotus (Horst 1995, 84). The answer to this question is a matter of law, and leads Vitoria to scrutinize the prevailing rights derived from it. To him, it is necessary to examine the rights the Spanish rulers *in temporalibus et in civilibus* have, on the one hand, and the rights the bishops and the church *in spiritualibus et <in> spectantibus ad religionem* have, on the other hand (Vitoria 1997, 370). The lecture *De Indis* thus is above all an evaluation and delimitation of competences. As Ulrich Horst has pointed out, it is Vitoria's main matter of concern that the expertise of the theologians has been neglected in the previous discussion. For it is the application of divine laws (as the core competence of the theologians) that is crucial in this matter (1995, 84–85). Furthermore, the theologian's expertise on conscience demands to be taken into account: [44]

> In these matters, the decision is not only the jurists' to make, but - as it is all about the court of conscience - it is also the task of the theologians to declare their position.[56] [45]

Because it is all about the court of conscience, not only jurists, but also theologians have to be consulted in the first place; and they have, finally, to decide on this matter. So, considerations on matters of the New World with regard to the question of mission according to Matthew 28.19 (which is the scriptural basis of Vitoria's reflection) require both, i.e., legal and ultimately theological, expertise. [46]

Concerning the promotion of the Christian religion (*religionis Christianae propaganda*), Vito- [47]

54 See, for a more pessimistic reading of Vitoria's impact on the discussion about the rights of the Indios, Noreña (1978, 71): "Nevertheless, his [i.e., Vitoria's, KMS] hasty and biased endorsement of the right to free trade and tutelage laid the foundations of modern colonialism." Furthermore, Noreña adds: "Vitoria's religious prejudice was immediately felt in the course of historical events. His crude theory of free trade and international trusteeship was to have a long and not entirely positive effect upon later theoreticians of mercantilism and colonialism" (1978, 85).

55 The letter is quoted in van der Kroef (1949, 143). See, on the relation of Vitoria and Soto with regard to the justification of the Spanish conquest, Tellkamp (2011).

56 "Determinatio huius negotii non spectat ad solos iuriconsultos, sed cum agatur de foro conscientiae, hoc spectat ad theologos definire" (1997, 372, my translation).

ria is firm in his basic conviction that Christians have the right to preach the Gospel in the lands of the pagans: *Christiani habent ius praedicandi evangelium in provinciis barbaorum* (1997, 472).[57]

This does not mean, however, that Christian rulers of lands populated by pagans might simply order them by law to renounce their religious beliefs and to become Christians. This reservation holds true for the New as well as for the Old World, for Muslims as well as for pagans. The main task of the rulers is not to threaten their subjects with loss of life, banishment, or confiscation, but rather to enlighten their subjects and teach them reasonably about Christianity. [48]

> A law would not be tolerable, if an edict was to be established that on pain of death the worship of Mohammed or of idols was generally forbidden and that Christ is to be worshipped on pain of banishment or confiscation. Rather, it has to be achieved that they are enlightened and instructed about the vanity and falsity of their law or their rites; and they have to be industriously be made to hear the holy law of Christ in order to recognize its probability and to recognize the improbability of the other law to which they are deludingly subjugated.[58] [49]

The right to preach (and to hear) the Gospel is, according to Vitoria, closely related to the role of reason in the process of thinking and justification. The relationship, at least according to him, is the main reason for accepting Christianity unforced out of free choice, which is, in turn, one major argument for acceptance. To break with this reasonable custom, Vitoria argues, would diminish Christianity's glorious preeminence and spoil its name: [50]

> It is no irrelevant argument for the Christian religion that it grants free choice to anyone, if he wants to be a Christian. Force was never used, but the infidels were treated with reasons and signs. It would destroy this glory, if we began to force people to accept Christ's law.[59] [51]

Though being quite optimistic about the peaceful spreading of Christianity here, to Vitoria, nevertheless, displaying one's capacity of reasonable thinking and behavior is salient for the evaluation of one's rights. He leaves no doubt that "[H]omo est homo simpliciter inquantum rationalis […]."[60] The distinctive quality of man is reason ("Praecipuum autem in homine est ratio").[61] This definition is something that speaks in favor of the inhabitants of the New World, and is of paramount importance for their treatment by church and state alike. Vitoria strongly opposes the idea that the inhabitants of the New World are to be counted among the animals. Though the Indios might lack sophistication, to Vitoria, however, it is clear from [52]

57 See, on the notions of *barbarous, barbari* in Vitoria's writings, Pich (2012, 398).

58 "Non emim esset tolerabilis lex, si statim faceret edictum, ut sub poena capitis nullus col{e}ret Mahumetum vel etiam idola vel ut col{e}ret Christum vel etiam sub poena exilii vel confiscatione bonorum, sed oportet primum dare operam, ut instruantur et doceantur de vanitate et falsitate suae legis vel ritus, et industria trahendi sunt ad audiendam legem sanctam Christi et ingenio, ut videant probalitatem eius et improbalitatem alterius legis, sub qua decepti vivunt" (Vitoira, *De Indis*, 1997, 508, 510, my translation).

59 "Est enim inter alia unum non exiguum argumentum Christianae religionis, quod semper facit liberum cuilibet, ut sit Christianus, neque umquam fuit vis adhibita, sed semper actum est cum infidelibus rationibus et signis. Et tolleretur quodammodo haec gloria, si inciperemus cogere homines ad recipiendum legem Christi" (Vitoria, *De Indis*, 1997, 510, my translation).

60 Vitoria, *De Homicidio* (1995, 456).

61 Vitoria, *De Indis* (1997, 402).

their ability to order their conduct of life that reason is at work here,[62] though it might be the case that the human capacity for reason is, in their case, not fully developed. At this point, in accordance with his Aristotelian emphasis on teaching and education as the main promoter of reasonable human community, Vitoria also promotes the image of the Indios as promising children with regard to their capacity of reason. Ultimately, of course, the capacity for reason is synonymous with the capacity for Christianization (compare Seed 1993, 638–39).[63]

[53] However, there is more to reason than that. Reason comes dangerously close to being a means of salvation of its own.[64] The importance of reason can be shown by Vitoria's remark that even an unbeliever may reach grace by doing his share via his use of reason and his consequent decision for a good life.[65]

[54] It is, above all, meta-communicative aspects that Vitoria takes into consideration in *De Indis* regarding the contact of religious languages. In general, Vitoria presents a situation of religious contact as situation of communicating. He describes a certain setting of communication, elaborating on a certain situation of the missionizing process, i.e., the Christian missionary talking to a pagan audience on the reasonability of the Christian faith. The theologian, according to him, has to analyze this situation according to his overall aim: the promotion of the Christian faith.

[55] Language is the errand boy of reason and the main instrument of the wise, as Vitoria, quoting Terentius, insistently points out: *Omnia sapientes prius verbis experiri decet.*[66] Accordingly, to promote mission, Vitoria scrutinizes the conditions of successfully talking about the Christian religion in a meta-communicative manner. If there is a Christian ruler, he may command his non-Christian subjects to participate at sermons on the Christian teachings (Höffner 1969, 396–97). To put that positively: the Indios "have the right to hear arguments and so become convinced" (van der Kroef 1949, 149). But success, Vitoria claims, is only probable if the audience is willing and, above all, able to listen. With regard to the Indios' acceptance of the Spanish king as their overlord, Vitoria also stresses the fact that a situation of fear and ignorance (*metus et ignorantia*), i.e., if the pagans do not understand the Spaniards and are intimidated by their weapons, surely makes any free choice obsolete:

> [56] For the barbarians do not know what they do, and perhaps they even do not under-

62 "[…] non sunt amentes, sed habent pro suo modo usum rationis. Patet, quia habent ordinem aliquem in suis rebus, postquam habent civitates, quae ordine constant, et habent matrimonia distincta, magistratus, dominos, leges, opificia, commutations, quae omnia requirunt usum rationis, item religionis speciem" (Vitoria, *De indis*, 1997, 402). "[…] they are not really of unsound mind at all, but have, according to their lights, the use of reason. This is evident, because there is some method in their arrangements; they have organized communities, they certainly have marriages and magistrates, overlords, laws, workshops and a system of exchange, which all demand the use of reason; they even have a religion of sorts" (Hamilton 1963, 121). See, on the role of reason in Vitoria's reasoning about the Indians, Castilla Urbano (2013, 11).

63 Seed also emphasizes the fact that 'reason,' in particular, was part of Spanish self-ascription (*gente de razón*) that continued well into the eighteenth century and, as a consequence, served as the basis of Spanish Orientalism (1993, 648).

64 Compare Valenzuela-Vermehren (2013a, 295): "From the perspective of Vitoria's theological view, ontologically man bears a resemblance to God, the author aof natural law, to the extent that reason in him is an inheritance of the perfect divine reason of his creator. It is in that relationship and in that resemblance, that man is said to enjoy dignity and to be equal to others of his species who possess the same qualities."

65 "Veniat ille ad usum rationis qui nihil novit nisi per lumen naturale, proponat bene vivere. Jam ille erit in gratia, quia facit totum quod potest ad esse bonum et ad bene vivendum […]" (de Vitoria, Comentarios a la Secunda secundae de Santo Tomas, quoted in Horst 1995, 73).

66 Vitoria, *De Indis* (1997, 468)

> stand what the Spaniards demand. Moreover, they demand it from a defenseless and frightened crowd, which they surround while being armed.[67]

Accordingly, Vitoria examines the necessary conditions of speaking and hearing properly in a colonial setting. These conditions are, above all, a pacific attitude on behalf of the missionaries, and a certain openness of mind on behalf of his audience, an openness that is manifested in the willingness to hear. [57]

> If the barbarians are asked and admonished to listen to those who speak peacefully about religion, and if they do not want to listen, then they are not excused of mortal sin.[68] [58]

Therefore, a pagan audience may well be expected to listen carefully to the missionary's talk, if it is performed peacefully. However, this is not because the missionary claims to be Christian, but rather because he is able to give convincing reasons for his faith, i.e., reasons that are able to show and to disprove the errors of the audience's former beliefs. These pagan people, Vitoria argues, are deeply in error, and fall victim to misconceptions for which they cannot provide probable or credible reasons—something they have in common with Muslims[69]—and which make their conversion likely if communication is performed properly. Because of that, listening to reasonable religious talk can be demanded: to Vitoria, there is a duty to listen to (*tenentur audire*) and to think about the contents of a reasonable talk. Additionally, proper hearing is confirmed by answering the address. In case of a proper, reasonable talk by the missionary, the audience, to Vitoria, will be unable to answer by defending their former beliefs—leaving them only the performative answer of conversion. [59]

> One does not consider someone to be convinced if something becomes clear to him, but rather because they cannot answer in a probable way. And they are not to be excused because of ignorance. So, infidels can indeed be convinced about the truth of Christian faith.[70] [60]

Formally and regarding content, reason is, therefore, to Vitoria an indispensable element of the religious contact situation described as 'mission.' Accordingly, to him, the contact of religious language in the form of the missionary's sermon is solely based on reason. And this reasonable basis of the Christian religion is, as a consequence, manifested by an honorable conduct of life that is, as such, itself a profound reason for the truth of the Christian religion. If the situation of contact is performed in this manner, i.e., both reasonably and credibly, then it is, according to Vitoria, even mandatory[71] to accept the Christian faith: [61]

> If the Christian faith is presented to the Barbarians in a probable way, i.e. employ- [62]

67 "Nesciunt enim barbari, quid faciunt, immo forte non intellegunt, quid petunt Hispani. Item hoc petunt circumstantes armati ab imbelli turba et meticulosa" (Vitoria, *De Indis*, Vitoria 1997, 454, my translation).

68 "Si barbari rogati et admoniti, ut audient pacifice loquentes de religione, nolunt audire, non excusantur a peccato mortali" (Vitoria, *De Indis*, 1997, 442, my translation).

69 "Et non est dubium, quin converteremus ad fidem Christi maiorem partem saracenorum, si cum eis haberemus familiaritatem, quia in secta sua non habent nisi meras fabulas et meras nugas." (Vitoria, *De Indis*, Vitoria 1997, 535).

70 "Non enim dicitur convinci aliquis, quia fiat ei evidens aliquid, sed quia non possunt probabiliter respondere. Et non excusantur ignorantia. Et ita convincuntur infidels, quod fides Christiana est vera" (Vitoria, *De Indis*, 1997, 512).

71 See, on the mandatory character of objective norms in Vitoria's thinking, Stiening (2011b).

> ing probable and reasonable arguments, associated with an honorable and serious (with regard to the natural law) conduct of life—which is a weighty argument to confirm the truth—, and if it does not only occur once and superficially but carefully and seriously, then the Barbarians on pain of mortal sin are obliged to accept the Christian faith.[72]

Now, this means that if the 'Barbarians' are, because of their previous errors, obliged to listen to the peaceful and reasonable talk of the credible and honorable missionary, then they are also obliged to agree with the reasons that are reasonably communicated ("Because if they are obliged to listen, then they are also obliged to approve, provided that the things heard are reasonable").[73] In Vitoria's definition, reason consists of the ability of the human being to discuss necessary action and to consider carefully.[74] In this definition, Vitoria seems to closely relate reason to communal communication and to a consensus of reasonable discussants. [63]

Mission depends on the obligation of the people to be missionized to listen to and to accept reasonable grounds peacefully communicated. As such, Vitoria argues, the communicative situation of contact can only lead to conversion (if the hearers are not utterly obstinate—in which case they have to be punished). But as he himself freely and regretfully admits, there is no reason to believe that previously the Christian faith was communicated to the Indians in such a manner. This well explaining lacking success. Vitoria even justifies their reluctance to accept Christianity because it has not been communicated in an obliging way: [64]

> It is not sufficiently clear to me, if the Christian faith has been expounded and preached to the Barbarians in such a way that they are obliged to believe in case of a recent sin. I say this, because […] they are not obliged to believe if the faith has not been expounded with probable persuasion. But I do hear nothing about miracles and signs, [hear] about an impious conduct of life, hear about many offences and brutal crimes and many impieties. Therefore it does not seem to be the case that the Christian religion has been preached to those people in a way that is sufficiently adequate and pious, so that they would be obliged to accord.[75] [65]

Though the infidels are obliged to follow revealed law,[76] to Vitoria, it still holds true that if the meta-communicative preconditions of mission are violated or ignored, the communicative situation of contact can only lead to failure. [66]

72 "Si fides Christiana proponatur barbaris probaliter, id est cum argumentis probabilibus et rationabilibus et cum vita honesta et secundum legem naturae studiosa {}, qua magnum est argumentum ad confirmandam veritatem, et hoc non semel et perfunctorie, sed diligenter et studiose, barbari tenentur recipere fidem Christi sub poena peccati mortali" (Vitoria, *De Indis*, 1997, 444, my translation).

73 "Quia si tenentur audire, ergo ita acquiescere auditis, si sunt rationalibilia" (Vitoria, *De Indis*, 1997, 444, my translation).

74 See Vitoria, *De eo, ad quod tenetur homo, cum primum venit ad usum rationis* (1995, 112): "Dico enim, quod est hominem esse in tali statu, ut possit consultare et deliberare de agendis."

75 "Non satis liquet mihi, an fides Christiana fuerit barbaris hactenus ita proposita et annuntiata, ut teneantur credere sub nove peccato. Hoc dico, quia […] non tenentur credere, nisi proponatur eis fides cum probabili persuasione. Sed miracula et signa nulla audio, exempla vitae non adeo religiosa, immo <contra> multa scandala et saeva facinora et multas impietates. Unde non videtur, quod religio Christiana satis commode et pie sit illis praedicta, ut illi teneantur acquiescere" (Vitoria, *De Indis*, 1997, 444, my translation).

76 "[…] tenetur tamen insequi rationem a Deo revelatam" (Vitoria, *De Indis*, 1997, 518).

Conclusion: The Contact of Religious Language in *De Indis*

The process of communication sketched by Vitoria in *De Indis* operates on the basis of a firm belief in the ability of human beings to receive, to accept, and to answer reasonable arguments that are transferred via language. So, in essence, Vitoria's concept is intended to be dialogical in the sense of a teacher-pupil relation. In proper religious communication, reason is communicable and conclusive—if it is heard. It is thus Vitoria's main aim to establish reason as a *tertium comparationis* allowing for communication and, ultimately, mission and conversion. [67]

The main aim of the missionary is therefore to secure an undisturbed course of communication. Correspondingly, for the theorist of law, the *ius gentium* is closely related to a *ius communicationis* (Llano Alonso 2015, 113).[77] In fact, to Vitoria the freedom to communicate including the freedom to travel or the freedom to trade, is closely related to the justification of Christian mission.[78] In meta-communicatively fashioning the basis of the (missionary) contact of religious languages, Vitoria relies on the fact that the Indios already had some form of religion—or better, something the Spaniards could interpret as religion. This proves that they are capable of reason that might be communicated to them (see Pich 2016, 765–66). The main meta-communicative aim of a Christian speaker (a missionary) in facing a non-Christian audience is therefore to establish a situation that allows hearing (listening to) reason being communicated. As usual, however, the situation of contact in place here is not restricted to only two parts contacting. To a certain degree, Vitoria seems to extend the validity of the (Protestant) individual maxim *fides ex auditu* to religious situations of contact. [68]

As the missionary can not rely on a commonly shared tradition or frame of knowledge, communication has to be secured otherwise, i.e., 'solely' by employing reasonable argument and a supporting background for it. This is the basic religiosity of the Indios and the unspoiled purity of the missionary's performance. The Christian part has to guarantee the credibility and reasonability of his arguments, the flawlessness of his conduct of life, and the sustainability of his performance. This is, above all, a matter of laborious and repeated effort (*diligenter et studiose*), and not to be achieved easily and superficially.[79] It is also a matter of practice, and thus in accordance with the philosophical and theological turn from metaphysical speculation to more practical issues Spain and Christianity in general faced during the period of colonization (Valenzuela-Vermehren 2013b, 115). Vitoria stresses that violence, force, negligence, and a dishonorable conduct of life of the Christian speaker prevent this situation from being established, because if such failures happen, the non-Christian audience by no means can be forced to listen to the misconducting speaker, let alone to accept Christianity on his demand and example. Accordingly, the *purity* of conduct might be a complementary *tertium* Vitoria tries to establish in order to guarantee the possibility of community and communication between the [69]

77 See Thumfart (2012, 148–49, 245): "Das *Ius communicationis* ist insofern die unverhandelbare Basis des *ius gentium*, als es den interkulturellen Kontakt festschreibt, der zur Bildung eines tatsächlichen, nicht virtuellen *consensus* innerhalb der *res publica totius orbis* notwendig ist. Das *ius communicationis* bildet eine unverzichtbare Grundlage der Weltgemeinschaft […]." On the ius communicationis, compare also Pich (2015).

78 Concerning "Vitoria's idea of an intrinsic Christian morality of global trade," compare Thumfart (2009, 85, 82): "To Vitoria, global trade was powerfully connected to the global Christian mission, which was entrusted to the supervision of the pope."

79 See on this point Vitoria's thoughts on the development and continuation of a *habitus* in personal conduct: Vitoria, *De augmento caritatis et diminutione* (1997, 67).

missionary and his audience.[80] To him, in a situation of contact one not only communicates linguistically but also performatively via a pure and coherent (reasonable) conduct of life.

[70] It is the combination of theoretical and practical aspects in the communicative missionary situation, that is, the inseparable combination of reasonable talk and proper (pure) conduct, that makes this situation the theologian's issue. First, he has to examine the conditions to successfully stage the situation, and secondly, he has to describe its formal requirements. Among these, the preparation of a setting that allows hearing the interface of reason and the justification by conduct are the most important.[81] The theologian's expertise on conscience is an additional, interrelated factor. To allow the Indios to join the (Christian) community, the conscience of its members has to be unspoiled and innocent. If this precondition is fulfilled, the Indios, to Vitoria, will out of necessity join the Christian community: *contra naturam est vitare consortium hominum innoxiorum.*[82] Accordingly, it is the theologian's main task to prevent the situation of mission to be an offence to the Gospel, and if necessary to abolish the misguided offensive attempt. After all, it is the community that is communicated in the attempt to missionize.

> [71] Because of that, one has to prevent oneself from posing a stumbling block for the Gospel. For if it is posed, one has to abandon that method and to look for another.[83]

[72] It is thus the "spiritual responsibility of human beings for another, a responsibility extending far beyond the bounds of one's country" (Hamilton 1963, 105) that renders the theologian's expertise as indispensable in Vitoria's meta-communicative thinking. The meta-communicative principles (as part of a universal sociology of communication, compare Sievernich 2001, 199) are, however, to Vitoria universal, all-encompassing, and basically missionary, and will in consequence lead to global community; a process that is synonymous with Christianization (see Campagna 2010, 15).

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80 See, on purity as a *tertium comparationis* in situations of contact of religious traditions, Frevel (2017).
81 See, on law as a possible (secondary) medium of communication, Wagner (2011b, 580).
82 Vitoria, *De Indis* (1997, 462).
83 "Et ideo hoc inprimis cavendum est, ne offendiculum ponatur evangelio. Si enim poneretur, cessandum esset ab hac ratione evangelizandi et alia querenda esset" (Vitoria, *De Indis*, 1997, 476).

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The Agendas of the First New Christians Regarding Israel and the Portuguese Empire (Sixteenth Century)

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ABSTRACT This paper aims to reveal and interpret the messianic messages arising from the Inquisition of Évora (Portugal) trials against a group of first generation converts following the general expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal in 1492 and 1496 respectively. These messages point to a memorialist construction on the phenomenon of the expulsions of Jews from France until they reached Portugal. Consequentially, both their new status as Christians and the context of the Portuguese imperialist expansion are considered essential predestined stages for the meeting of the Lost Tribes and the final redemption. These messages also reveal a 'contamination' of other records, such as the famous *Toledot Yeshu* or the Christian or Jewish versions of the Story of Barlaam and Josafat, and must be overlooked in the context of other known (more or less) contemporary texts of a teleological nature.

KEYWORDS Messianism, Portuguese New Christians, Expulsions, Lost Tribes, Portuguese Empire

Introduction

This paper focuses on the reworking of memory regarding the Jewish Expulsions during the Middle Age, assumed by Spanish *conversos* living in Portugal in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century. They belong to the first generation of Jews converted to Christianity and living in Portugal during a period in which the Empire was consolidated. The main concern of this paper is to consider the various messianic lucubrations of men from this generation concerning their special 'place' in this imperial state, as persons anchoring their perspectives in a changed Judaic world. [1]

It was by mere chance when mapping the trajectory of Garcia Fernandez Baxira, a *morisco*[1] who had been imprisoned on his escape route from Castile by Évora's Inquisition in 1546 after killing Inquisitor Juan Martinez in Hornachos, that an extraordinary testimony was discovered, placing France as the country of origin of the Jews who had settled in Spain and [2]

1 *Morisco* was the term used to refer to the Muslims converted to Christianity in Spain and Portugal.

later in Portugal. This is a marvellous account in which the Jewish expulsion from France was interpreted in the different context of the forced removal of the Jews from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1496) much later, as well as of the conversion and segregation dynamics of the converts by the Inquisition, and by the increased use of the Purity of Blood Statutes.[2]

The Witnesses

A group of individuals, imprisoned at Évora's Inquisition jail in the 1540s, exchanged opinions on many matters, including religion. Garcia Fernandez Baxira, the *morisco* from Hornachos, would have been the least integrated member of this group. [3]

Garcia was one of the witnesses of the recounting of the Jewish expulsion from France at the jail of Évora, although there is no account of his reaction to it. Nonetheless, one of the central characters of this account, the *Cristão-Novo* (New Christian)[3] João Dias, originally from Odemira, claimed to have befriended other imprisoned New Christians as well as the *morisco* from Hornachos, from whom he received "good deeds." These "good deeds" lead to the suspicion that they probably all shared similar principles, namely the rejection of Jesus Christ as the son of God in the Christian tradition.[4] [4]

The other imprisoned men were all New Christians, such as Salvador Vaz from Lisbon;[5] Francisco Aires and Henrique de Miranda da Torre from Braganza; and Francisco Mendes, referred to as *Beicinho* [Pout], and Nuno Rodrigues from Vinhais. Each one of them would address his socio-religious condition while jailed in Évora in 1546. Henrique told Salvador, in *Castellano*, that "it would be better to be in Castile, the lesser of two evils, and to run away from these men and these gentiles," which hints at his possible Spanish origin.[6] Despite having a Portuguese mother and a home in Braganza, a town in the North of Portugal, Francisco Aires had been born in Medina del Campo.[7] Another cellmate, Nuno Rodrigues, had been born near the border with Spain, in Campo Maior,[8] and Salvador Vaz still knew the meaning of the Hebrew words he would chant: "Thovejeno Adonay Aloeno (…)," meaning "Adonai, my God."[9] [5]

This dispersed data reveals the strong ties that linked this group of men to the north of Portugal and neighboring Castile. Castile was also the place of origin of a central character of this study, namely Luis de Carvajal.[10] He was the ancestor (possibly the grandfather) of two namesakes, the renowned governor of Nuevo Léon, Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva (1539–1590), and of his nephew (Toro 1982, 278–79; Temkin 2008, 2019). Curiously, Martin Cohen mentions one member of this family, a man called Diego Rodriguez, who left S. João da Pesqueira in Portugal for Medina del Campo in Spain before settling in the south of France [6]

2 See, among others, for the case of Spain, Sicroff (1960); for the case of Portugal, Figueirôa-Rêgo (2011); and in general, Bethencourt (2021).
3 The term *Cristão-Novo* (New Christian) was the most common term used to refer to the converted Jews or their descendants in Portugal.
4 ANTT, *IE*, proc. 3308.
5 There are some "Autos de Sumários feitos a um Salvador Vaz" in Lisbon between 1545 and 1546 (ANTT, *IL*, proc. 17064). It is not known whether this is the same person as the individual in Évora.
6 ANTT, *IE*, proc. 6047, 57.
7 ANTT, *IE*, proc. 6117.
8 ANTT, *IE*, proc. 11239. The reading of this document was not permitted, due to its poor conservation.
9 ANTT, *IE*, proc. 6047, 57.
10 ANTT, *IE*, proc. 8976.

(Cohen 2001, 35.).[11] Could this have been the source of the tradition regarding the expulsion of the Jews from France?

[7] As for João Dias of Odemira, he was accused of performing Jewish ceremonies by the inquisitors and sentenced as a heretic in 1543 but acquitted of major excommunication. João Dias received an order of release on June 26, 1544 and hid the *sanbenito* under a cloak as he left Évora. In 1546, he was back in Évora's Inquisition jail, where he held discussions with other New Christian inmates, such as Salvador Vaz, on the veracity of Jesus Christ as the Messiah, which Dias refused to accept since in Christ's lifetime the Jews had not been scattered around the world. In his view, the coming of the Messiah was imminent since the Jews had finally been disseminated throughout the world.[12] Dias was later transferred to a cell shared by Luis de Carvajal, the *morisco* Baxira and other New Christians, such as Pedro Esteves, the *Licenciado* [graduate] Estêvão Pereira, and Alonso Garcia, known as the "Fermental." This latter prisoner was undoubtedly Spanish, as was Carvajal.[13]

One Version of the Expulsion of the Jews from France

[8] During the session held on May 31, 1546, João Dias testified that he had had a conversation with other inmates on "the captivity of the New Christians and their exile." Dias stressed in his testimony that "they [his cellmates] had all participated in the discussion." However, he only told the account that had been narrated by Luis de Carvajal regarding the expulsion of the Jews from France and their migration to the Iberian Peninsula, or, in Dias' words, "how the Jews had come from France and spilled into Castile and Portugal."

[9] The 'story' is as follows: While the king of France was at Mass, his Jewish physician passed in front of the host without offering a sign of respect, as he did not remove his hat, thus indicating his socio-religious identity. The king summoned him to reprehend his behavior, but the Jewish physician replied that he had not acted wrongly, as "that God" was not his God. The king subsequently decided, for "his [the physician's] sake" to expel all the Jews from France, which led the physician to beg him to reconsider his decision. Given the monarch's adamancy, the physician made a merciful request, asking the king to walk with him to a field that was located two shots of a crossbow away. Having obtained this grace from the sovereign, the physician returned home, dug a hole in the ground, and jumped inside wearing a coarse cloth referred to as an *argal*,[14] covered in ashes. Just as the biblical Queen Esther had fasted for three days, so did the King of France.

[10] Once his fast had ended, the king summoned the physician and the Jew left the hole and walked barefoot to the field. There, the monarch awaited him and the two walked away from the crowd the distance of two crossbow shots, as promised, when suddenly a man wearing only a small cloth (*panetes*) around his waist appeared, showing an open wound on the right side of his chest, holding a cross in his hand and carrying a small bundle of wood on the top of his head. The king began to tremble before this apparition, but the physician told him "Sire, fear not," and insisted that he should ask who the ghost was. "Jesus Christ," replied the man, and the monarch then asked what he was doing walking in tatters and carrying a

11 For further information on the branches of Carvajal's family, see Cohen (1968); Liebman (1970); Uchmany (1982); Gitlitz (2002); Bodian (2007, chap. 3); Temkin (2007); Temkin (2019).

12 ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 6047, 3.

13 ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 6047, 70.

14 Argal is a kind coarse textured mantle (*Grande Dicionário de Língua Portuguesa* [Great Dictionary of the Portuguese Language] 1949, 1:1097).

bundle of wood on his head. And Jesus replied, "I am here to pay a great penance given to me by God our Father to carry this small bundle of wood with which I immolate myself twice a day for every evil committed against the Jews, for every evil committed for my sake by the gentiles against the Jews." After hearing this reply, the king asked the Jew, "Will you not show me your God?" The physician nodded but said it was necessary to walk the distance of two crossbow shots again, which they did. As they set off, the air and earth were suddenly shaken by thunder and lightning, which inspired great awe in the king of France, and the physician Jew told him not to fear, as it was nothing, and that no one who had ever seen God had lived to tell the tale. Then the sovereign said he had had enough and "for the sake of that" he would let the Jews remain in his kingdom for seven years until they could sell all their possessions.

[11] After the seven years had passed, the Jews moved to Castile and to "Spain," where they lived until the reign of King Ferdinand (of Aragon). Some of them then moved to Portugal, others chose to travel to Muslim countries, and another group remained in Castile. Carvajal explained the meaning of "Portugal," which is literally translated as "port of here" (*gá*), a port of salvation and port of remission, and was inhabited on one side by the *egyptores* (Egyptians), who were the Castilians, and on the other by the sea, as Cape St. Vicent in the southernmost point of Portugal was considered to be the end of the world. He also stated that Portugal represented the end of the trials and tribulations for the Sons of Israel. Neither the *morisco* nor the New Christians commented on Carvajal's 'story,' though they were stunned by "such things."[15] And as will be seen, this 'story' had an influence on the teleological discourse of João Dias.

The History of the Jewish Expulsion from France: How to Narrate Expulsions

[12] As is common in these wonderful stories, the social memory's interpretation and selection of facts, recalled by its agents within a given context, depart from the social reality, the accuracy of which can be checked through the existing sources.[16]

[13] In short, there was not one but several expulsions of Jews from France during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries—from 1182 to 1394—which were motivated by different royal decisions, as were the various motives to allow them to return again and again. Although royal insolvency is the common denominator underlying all of these expulsions, growing nationalism in France from the end of the fourteenth century as well as the simultaneous evolution of royal power not only affected the immanent religious dimension of the process but also made the choice between conversion or expulsion more visible and pressing. Despite the different exile locations, most of the French Jews preferred to settle in neighboring Provence and the Iberian Peninsula (Jordan 1989; Schwarfuchs 1975; Nahon 1999; Dahan and Nicolas 2004; Einbinder 2008, 2009; Sibon 2016). All the memories of the Jews expelled from France were practically 'crushed' by the later catastrophe of their general expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula in the late fifteenth century. In this regard, the literature relating to this period was extensive and subsisted throughout the ages.

15 NTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 6047, p. 70–72, for the reproduction of João Dias; NTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 8976, p. 38–40, for the original version of Luis de Carvajal.

16 See, for example, Halbwachs (1997); Halbwachs (1952); le Goff (1984); Namer (1987); Connerton (1989); Ricoeur (2000).

[14] However, the great Jewish 'chroniclers' of the Iberian expulsions never ceased to refer to the expulsion from France in their mythical and messianic teleology (Yerushalmi 1982, chap. 3).

[15] Such is the case of Selomoh ibn Verga in his *Sefer Sebet Yehuda* (The Stick of Judah), written in 1550. The king referred to in ibn Verga's 'story' is called Philip, the son of "Filip," thus identifying him with Philip IV 'The Fair' (r. 1285–1314). Selomoh described the king as a cruel man who seized all the Jews' goods and properties, leaving them naked and deprived. Ibn Verga also reported a high total number of French Jews—twice as many as in Egypt—and mentioned only a small number of conversions. On the matter of the 1306 expulsion, ibn Verga referred to an "extraordinary" episode between the king and one of his favorite "sages." This man, with the unusual name of Abugardan Delkadih, had asked Philip several times to put an end to the expulsion within three months and to adopt laws that would ultimately lead to the conversion of the Jews or their death. The king, however, declined the request, arguing that the mob had already risen violently in arms against the Jews, and his decision to expel them would protect the community from further harm (Selomoh ibn Verga [1550] 1991, 115–20).

[16] *'Emeq ha-Bakha* (The Vale of Tears), written by Yosef ha-Kohen in 1558, displays similarities with ibn Verga's work, hinting at the use of similar sources. In the thirty-ninth story of his example collection, Kohen recounts the French revenge on the Jews, who were accused of drinking wine from chalices stolen from sanctuaries and of crucifying a Christian every year. It was on this basis that Philip II decreed their expulsion in 1186 (although the event occurred in 1182) and seized all their gold and silver. In Kohen's narrative, a theme that is dear to this apocalyptic prose emerges: the use of strong *topoi* to compare the history of the Hebrews with recent events connected to the Jews. For instance, both ibn Verga and Kohen refer to the fact that twice as many Jews were expelled from France as those in Egypt. Kohen also states that they fled the evil country by seven different routes (ha-Kohen [1550] 1989, 79–80). The sequence of expulsions from France from 1306 onwards was summarized in the seventy-seventh story, with references to the few converts to Christianity and the kings who had expelled or readmitted the Jews. Here, once again, Philip IV's tragic end is associated with divine retribution, although this is never stated, as a punishment for his expulsion of the Jews and cupidity. The king died while hunting dears, falling with his horse into the water where they both drowned (ha-Kohen [1550] 1989, 93–94).

[17] Between these two books, Samuel Usque's *Consolação às Tribulações de Israel* (Consolation for Israel's Tribulations) was printed in 1553, in Ferrara, in which Philip 'The Fair's' cruelty, the small number of conversions, and the king's violent death as a sign of punishment are reiterated. Usque also mentions all the expulsions and returns up to 1394 (Usque [1553] 1989, 2:cicccix vº-cxci).

[18] As highlighted by Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, the birth of this Jewish historiography refers us back to the specific context of the Iberian expulsions at the end of the fifteenth century, considered a major catastrophe within the context of a series of negative events. These expulsions are interpreted as a teleological chain with a messianic content, as the ordeals endured by the Jews indicated the imminent and expected final remission of the 'Chosen People' (Yerushalmi 1982, 73–91).

One History, Many Stories

The expulsion of the French Jews is present in the memory of the Jewish ordeal in Europe, even when the reason for this occurrence is to stress the more modern and dramatic events taking place on the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 (Spain) and 1496 (Portugal) and to present them as a long line of similar episodes. For instance, Abraham Zacuto (1450–1510), in his *Sefer Yohassin* (Book of Lineage), explicitly mentions that both his grandfather and father had been expelled from France in 1306 and had taken refuge in Spain. There they faced enemies on one side and the sea on the other. Zacuto witnessed the expulsion from Spain in 1492 and, in the same year, from the Sicilian and Sardinian territories of the Kingdom of Aragon. Finally, in 1496, he was forced to leave Portugal with his son Samuel to avoid conversion to Christianity, but they were both taken prisoner in North Africa twice (Zacuto [1566] 2006, 545). [19]

According to his narration of the story of the Jews expelled from France in the Inquisition jails in Évora, Carvajal appears to allude to Joseph's story as told in the *Book of Genesis*: that of a man who became famous for interpreting the dreams of powerful Egyptians, including the Pharaoh (*Genesis*, 37. 50). Furthermore, Michael McGaha has proven that 'Joseph's story' was a transcultural theme dear to the Spain of the 'Three Religions' and cultivated by many literati of the Golden Age (McGaha 1997, 1998). [20]

Conversely, the bizarre Abugarden Delkadih mentioned by Selomoh ibn Verga appears to be a character taken from an oriental tale, which may represent the 'intrusion' of an Islamic narrative—perhaps of Persian origin[17]—in the history of the expulsion of Jews from France. This distant episode was eventually transformed into a confusing and somewhat enigmatic event. [21]

The story of Luis de Carvajal as narrated in Évora's Inquisition appears to have undergone a similar process. The Jewish behavior of hiding in a hole to meditate on the king's order of expulsion, and the intimate dialogue between the two, also as a means of demonstrating Jehovah's power, reminds us, with the usual caution of adjusting this fantasy to the factual context of the Jewish expulsion from France, of the celebrated "Story of Barlaam and Josaphat," which was highly popular at the time, particularly in the reading of the *Flos Sanctorum*. Much has been written and proven as regards the Indian origin of this narrative, and its integration in a Christian context is fully understood given its original virtues and their similarity to those expressed in the teachings of Christ. This purged Christian 'adaptation' of the story of the Buddha (Siddhārtha Gautama), first in Persia and then in Syria, frequently taking its textual inspiration from the *Lalitavistara Sūtra* (Pereira 1915–1917),[18] was rightfully recognized as such by Portuguese chronicler Diogo do Couto in the early seventeenth century (do Couto 1616, vol. 7, chap. X). Barlaam and Josaphat's story had a specific objective in its Oriental roots: to prove that learning pushes mankind beyond the borders of material comfort to focus on spirituality (of the celestial city) (Lucas 1986, 24). [22]

Marie Campbell has shown how excerpts of the 'Story of Barlaam and Josaphat' have en- [23]

17 Is this designation a corruption of the name of the theologian, preacher, and Sufi, of Persian origin, 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djilani (c. 1077–1166), considered one of the greatest Islamic 'saints', with an important intermediary role, and for whose body Süleyman I (1520–1556) ordered the construction of a tomb, in Bagdad? (see Braune 1960).

18 On the subject of the popularity of this story in Portugal, see also Abraham (1938); Pupo-Walker (1967); Martins (1969); Sobral (2000). One of the witnesses who testified in the trial raised by the Inquisition of Évora against João Dias de Odemira—namely the old Christian Francisco Rodrigues—stated that João had already read the *Flos Sanctorum* (ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 6047, 111).

tered into Jewish folklore, especially the main episode of the "Three Teachings of the Bird" (sometimes specified as the Nightingale) (Campbell 1960). The story was translated from Arabic into Hebrew in the thirteenth century, with the title *Ben ha-Melech veha Nazir* (The Prince and the Hermit) by Abraham ben Hasdai from Barcelona (Habermann 1950, 346–60).

[24] Beyond the question of whether or not the "Story of Barlaam and Josephat" underlies Carvajal's story on the expulsion of the Jews from France, and if so, which version influenced him—the Jewish, the Christian (to which the cultivated New Christians had the same access as any other Christian), or both—it is important to search for further evidence of plasticity in addition to the oral material acquired by the author. This will reinforce the hypothesis that the "Story of Barlaam and Josaphat," or something similar thereto, can be discovered in Carvajal's story.

Towards an 'Archeology' of the Stories Surrounding Luís de Carvajal's Luso-Hispanic Messianic Circle

[25] As already mentioned, Luís Dias, born in the Alentejo, was accompanied by cellmates in jail when he heard Carvajal's story. Most of his cellmates were Spaniards and lived in Portugal's northernmost region, near Braganza. This was also the case for Carvajal and his relatives. Through the trial of Lisbon's Inquisition against Catarina de Carvajal, Luis' daughter, one learns that his widowed aunt, Francisca de Carvajal, lived near Mogadouro, and another widowed aunt lived in Fermoselle, in the Castilian province of Zamora. As the trial informs us, Fermoselle was also the birthplace of Luis de Carvajal. Married to Margarida Nunes while living in Sambade, Portugal, he was sixty years of age at the time of his arrest in 1548 and was pardoned later that same year by a bull issued by Pope Paul III (1538–49).[19]

[26] Other relatives of Carvajal were also imprisoned at Évora's inquisitorial jail during his imprisonment there, such as his daughter, Leonor de Carvajal, who was married to Álvaro de Leão. Álvaro had been born in Trás-os-Montes, in Mogadouro, although he lived in Cortiços near Macedo de Cavaleiros.[20] Another member of the family, called Diogo de Leão, born and living in Mogadouro, claimed that his parents Afonso and Ana de Leão were Jews from Alcanizes (Alcañizes), a Zamoran locality close to the Portuguese border, though they later settled in Miranda do Douro.[21]

[27] Through the inquisitorial trials, it is possible to note themes in their discourses and in the accusations made against them by witnesses that share similarities with those of Luis de Carvajal's story. For example, Álvaro de Leão was accused of mentioning to his cellmates that the Messiah was still to come and that the Old Christians would regret having caused so much harm to the New Christians—which is echoed in Jesus' words in Carvajal's story.[22]

[28] This group's ideological mentor appears to have been António de Valença, a physician established in Mogadouro, who had been the Jew Moses until his baptism in Miranda do Douro in 1495, a year before the expulsion or forceful conversion of Jews in Portugal. Valença was considered Mogadouro's chief dogmatist by the inquisitors and had been arrested for his apocalyptic views. One João Fernandes Pinheiro, from Vinhais, had accused him of denying Christ's divine character and his being the Messiah. According to Valença, the Messiah would

19 ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 8976.
20 ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 6065, 11.
21 ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 4532, 20.
22 ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 3659, 27.

descend from the House of David, while the anti-Christ would come from the tribe of Dan to destroy the world. He believed that Jewish Law would replace Christianity in the 1550s, and everyone would become a Jew. Not surprisingly, he denied Mary's virginity and prophesied that prince João (1537–1554) would be the last King of Portugal after the death of his father, King João III (r. 1521–1557).[23]

[29] Another member of Évora's circle was Francisco Aires, a landowner who lived in Braganza. Aires had been born in Medina del Campo, the famous trading and banking center in Castile, and was baptized in Lousã, Portugal. The Inquisition accused him of spreading the rumor that Jesus was a sorcerer and a conjuror, crucified on a cross made of wicker, as this was charm-proof material, or on a cabbage stalk. Aires also accused Jesus of having stolen the Temple's flag bearers (*semíforos*), of making small birds out of plaster and, more importantly, of denying his resurrection from the dead, and since he was a "dead man" all Christian "things" were "ephemeral" ("cousas de vento").[24]

[30] All his ideas were taken from the Hebrew *Toledot Yeshu* (Stories about Jesus): as the theft of the *semíforos* and the use of God's secret name—*Shem ha-Meforash*—enabled *Yeshu* to perform miracles using wizardry with this magic name.[25] The *Toledot Yeshu* existed as far back as the tenth century, as there are fragments of this narrative in the Cairo Genizah written in Aramaic (Schäfer 2011, 3). It is known to have been used in Castille in the late fourteenth century in a controversial text written by Semtob ibn Shaprut (Sokoloff 2011, 13), as well as in Aragon, where some Jews successfully dissuaded a former coreligionist who converted to Christianity, using extracts of the *Toledot* (Tartakoff 2011). One may suspect that Aires had access to a Christian version of the *Toledot Yeshu* since the Franciscan Alfonso de Espina copied Raimundus Martinus' work, *Pugio Fidei adversus Mauros and Judaeos* (Dagger of Faith against Moors and Jews), (1280) verbatim, where extracts of the *Toledot* were transcribed (Carpzov [1280] 1687, 362–64; see also Deutsch 2011, 288–89; Cuffel 2015a, 2015b; Hasselhoff and Fidora 2017) in his famous work *Fortalitium Fidei* (Fortress of Faith), published in 1470 (Ginio 1998). However, this is only a hypothesis, since, as proven by Paola Tartakoff, the *Toledot Yeshu* circulated orally and across the Iberian Jewry (Tartakoff 2011, 303).

[31] As mentioned, this group had close links with Spain, particularly with its border regions, shared elements of Jewish culture in their daily life, was more jovial and prone to reflect on the Jewish expulsion (its own in particular and of the rest in general), and to understand the eschatology of their position as converts. Luis de Carvajal's story is more objective regarding the desired New Christian integration, as Jesus appears as an 'intermediary' character with a positive image since he sacrificed himself to atone for the misdeeds of Christians towards the Jews. If the Spaniards were like the Egyptians of the Old Testament, Portugal was to Carvajal the land's end of Western Europe and emerged as the messianic destination for the exiled. Considering Portugal as the end of the trials and tribulations for the Sons of Israel, Carvajal revealed a theme common to his time, as shown by Samuel Usque in the *Consolação às Tribulações de Israel*, printed in 1553. The final destination of the Jews after their expulsion from France and "exile" from Castile had to be Portugal, according to Luis de Carvajal, perhaps

23 See the trial of Master António de Valença (ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 8232, mostly 2–3, 24–25, 58–59, 73vº–78vº, 94–94, 136, 166–170 and 180–190). On António de Valença and his religious teachings, see Tavares (1985, 381, 383–88, 1991, 265, 1993, 253–54).

24 ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 6117, 3, 7, 15, 89–90 and 160 (see also Tavim 2015, 166). On Francisco Aires see Tavares (1987, 358).

25 In the Vienna, Strasbourg, and Wasengeil versions of the *Toledot Yeshu*, the *Shem ha-Meforash* was inscribed on a rock placed inside of the Holy of the Holies (see Osier 1984, 38–39, 71–72, 89–90).

as he remembered the early benevolent policy of King Manuel (r. 1495–1521) towards the converted.

[32] Conversely, in face of the Jewish dissemination throughout the world and the dangerous inquisitorial persecutions, it is logical that many men belonging to this circle were closer to Usque's thought since it appealed to resistance based on his knowledge of Judaism. Of all the men imprisoned with Carvajal, João Dias was his counterpart and the man with more affinities with Usque's vision. Both claimed that the salvation of the New Christians could only be achieved in the Diaspora, not in Portugal, because only there could they live freely as Jews. However, Dias' vision differs from Usque's ideals since he admitted the possibility of crypto-religiosity. According to Dias, the Jews had been expelled from France to Castile, then to Portugal, and from Portugal they were exiled to Flanders, where Dias expected the reunion of the nine and a half tribes to await the coming of the Messiah. Afterward, the Jews would rule the world, which meant that Jesus Christ was a simple messenger and not the Messiah, as during his lifetime only two and a half tribes had stayed together while the rest had remained in hiding.[26]

[33] João Dias was well aware of the world around him, as the mercantile activity and the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal (1536) had led to a migratory flux of New Christians to Flanders. Most of the *conversos* had settled in Antwerp around the Portuguese Royal Factory, feeling they would be better protected from the grip of the Holy Office, although their religion was kept secret as Judaism was still forbidden there (Goris 1925; Tavares 1987, 21, 90, 1993, 282, 332–33). Carvajal's ideas were more dramatic regarding the means used to justify Portugal as the location to put an end to the wandering of the Jews, particularly in his use of Jesus Christ to atone for the hardships inflicted by the Christians on the Jews. This difference in perspective can be explained by their own lives.

[34] Luis de Carvajal usually spoke Castilian even after his long sojourn in Portugal, since he is said to have replied "no mas, no mas" to the *bacharel* (Bachelor) Manuel Álvares. He was 58 to 60 years of age in 1548 and informed the inquisitors of his circumcision as a Jew (though Carvajal had forgotten his Jewish name), and was later baptized in Fermoselle by Fr. Miguel Gonzales,[27] which meant that he had been converted in Spain before the expulsion in 1492 (Suárez 1992, 325–27, 341–44; Tavares 1987, 348–50; Soyer 2007, 122). Years later, Carvajal married Margarida Nunes in Sambade (Trás-os-Montes). In his opinion, Portugal would be the location where the wandering of the Jews across Europe, from the East to the farthest West, would have an end—the last place of the multiple expulsions since the times of medieval France, to be remembered by the Jews. However, due to the pressing inquisitorial persecution, Carvajal created a discourse denying Christianity.[28] Other references reveal that Carvajal's ideas tended to become similar to João Dias' thoughts, though he exceeded his fellow inmate from Odemira by using Jesus in the story of the expulsion of the Jews from France. For instance, he asked to be taken to the King under protection, to say to all the bishops that Christian Law was false and the true law was Mosaic Law.[29] He also told *bacharel* Manuel Álvares that Jesus Christ had done penance by carrying a cross on his back for all the evil committed against the Jews.[30]

[35] Luis de Carvajal was pardoned by a bull issued by Pope Paul III dated June 10, 1548,[31] and

26 ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 6047, 93–94 and 110.
27 ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 8976, 42–44.
28 ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 8976, 14.
29 ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, 14 and 41.
30 ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, 41vº.

the family name continued, as seen in the namesake of the governor of Nuevo *Reino de León* (in present-day Mexico) and the 'martyrized' nephew. The family saga showed how crypto-Judaism ran strong, as the old Luis Carvajal wanted all Christians to assume that Mosaic Law was better than their own, and dreamt that the authorities, including bishops, and even a humanized Jesus Christ, would serve as the vehicle of a teleological victory against the oppression exerted by many Christians. Until then Carvajal had traveled very little outside the Hispanic world but entered into the gallery of *conversos* whose resistance was heroic.

In Conclusion: New Christians and the Empire

Luis de Carvajal's story appears to be objective regarding the desired New Christian integration, as Jesus appears to be an 'intermediary' character with a positive image due to his sacrifice to atone for Christian misdeeds against the Jews. But why, according to Luis de Carvajal, did the destination of the Jews after their expulsion from France and 'exile' from Castile have to be Portugal? [36]

As already mentioned, the teleological discourse of Luis de Carvajal changes dramatically following his trial, perhaps due to inquisitorial pressure, which may have led him to consider the figure of Jesus Christ as being close to the image of *Yeshu* in the famous *Toledot*. [37]

However, did his final teleological dream not reveal the dreams of many coreligionists of transforming Catholic Portugal into a Jewish Portugal, when this extreme Western part of Europe, in an age of building Empires, was seen as a concrete and messianic step towards a world adventure? Since he considered Portugal as the end of the trials and tribulations of the Sons of Israel after their expulsion from other European countries, this means that he believed that the Jews had reached a new stage here, maybe one conducive to the discoveries he had witnessed. [38]

One may suspect the existence of a bridge with the millenarianism of the ideology characterizing the Portuguese Empire during the reigns of King Manuel (1495–1521) and King John III (1521–1557). In the case of both Jews and Christians, insistence on a new period is observed—a period of harmony and material abundance—as a sign of the beginning of a messianic age. Furthermore, in both cases, the idea of the superiority of a Chosen People—Jews and Portuguese alike—is based on their smallness and humility, which attracted divine favor, as well as their loyalty to God. The idea of considering Portugal as the end of the trials and tribulations for the Sons of Israel after their expulsions from other parts of Europe appears to have a connection with the dream of a messianic Portuguese imperialism of the unification of the word by the Portuguese, where King Manuel is seen as the future emperor (Thomaz 1990). The famous Jesuit Father António Vieira brought together different versions of the immigration of the Jews to the biblical *Sefarad* in his famous *História do Futuro* (History of the Future), written in the second half of the seventeenth century, to assume how this phenomenon had benefitted Christian realms, since the prophet Malaquias or Samuel, who became Pedro, the future bishop of Braga (later known as S. Pedro de Rates), converted by Santiago after his resurrection by this apostle, may be found among these migrants. Thus, according to Vieira, the biblical prophecy in Abdias—that the sons of Israel who had migrated to *Sefarad* would conquer Austral territories—would apply to Israel and then to Portugal (in this sequence), as the Portuguese had discovered and conquered these "southern lands" (Vieira [1649] 1953, [39]

31 ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, 94vº.

244–49).[32] Therefore, one may wonder whether this idea of Vieira regarding the prophetic migration of Jews to Portugal is, as seen in the idea of Carvajal, a common eschatological topic in the messianic circles of Jews (and crypto-Jews) and Christians during this period, with different patterns and purposes.

Let us explore a little of the prophetic topic of Portugal as the westernmost point in Europe. [40]
The famous shoemaker from Trancoso, Gonçalo Anes Bandarra (1500–1556), sought after by the New Christians (Tavares 1991, 255–61), said in his prophetic *Trovas*:[33]

> Forte nome é Portugal, [41]
> Um nome tão excelente,
> É Rei do cabo poente,
> Sobre todos principal.
> Não se acha vosso igual
> Rei de tal merecimento.
> Não se acha, segun sento,
> Do Poente ao Oriental. (Costa, n.d.)

> Strong name is that of Portugal, [42]
> Such an excellent name,
> It is the King of the West Cape,
> Principal among all others.
> Its equal cannot be found
> King of such merit.
> Or comparison, say I,
> From West to East.

The position of Portugal can be considered peripheral at first glance but becomes privileged [43]
in the Christian or Jewish prophetic mind, thus paving the way for millenarian lucubration. The western point of Europe appears to mean 'mirus locus,' far from disturbances, which facilitates the transition to a better stage of humanity. For example, during the Portuguese Restoration (from the rule of the Spanish Habsburgs, 1580–1640), Fr. Gil (d. 1265), one of the first Dominicans in Portugal, prophesied:

> Portugal, thanks to its kings, will weep many tears and suffer in many ways. But God will offer His hand and, unexpectedly, [Portugal] will be redeemed by an unexpected one. (…) All will be transformed. (…) It will live again a Golden Age. Peace will reign everywhere. Blessed are those who will see this.[34] [44]

The redefinition of Portugal as a Jewish Kingdom—the same Kingdom considered as the [45]
end of the trials and tribulations for the Sons of Israel—in the lucubration of Luis de Carvajal appears to incorporate the messianic *topoi* developed in the Christian milieu. The idealized 'Jewish Portugal' was formally the neighbor of the 'mirus locus' expressed by Portuguese

32 Vieira is based on the work of the Archbishop of Braga, who cites, D. Rodrigo da Cunha (see da Cunha 1634, 1:62n8; see also Saraiva 1992, 83–84).

33 All translations by the author unless indicated otherwise.

34 "Portugal, por parte de seus reis, gemerá por muito tempo e padecerá de muitas maneiras. Mas Deus te será propício e, não esperadamente, será remido por um não Esperado. (…) Tudo será transformado. (…) Reviverá a Idade do Ouro. Por toda a parte reinará a Paz. Bem-aventurados os que virem isto" (in den Basselaar 1987, 43).

Christian messianic ideals. But the 'Portuguese dream' of Luis de Carvajal may also reveal the powerful influence of Iberian Jewish eschatology and messianic hopes, expressed during his youth by the well-known Don Isaac Abravanel.[35]

[46] One of the most important issues in "the path to final redemption" was the end of the *Galut* (Exile)—the reunion of the Lost Tribes—and the establishment of the Fifth Empire as a universal empire. Don Isaac Abravanel argued that the fourth empire was still Rome, as the head of the *Respublica Christian* was the papal capital. Yet according to Abravanel, its end was near as shown in the struggle between the *dar al-Islam* and the West. A Fifth Empire would be established with the coming of the Messiah and the role of Israel. Contrariwise, to the Christians—as can be seen in Fr. António Vieira's works—the Fifth Empire was the Universal Christian Empire, which in Vieira's case was the Portuguese Empire. This empire would be established after the rule of the Antichrist, Judgement Day, and the coming of Christ.[36]

[47] As already highlighted, the agonic ideal of Luis de Carvajal appears to be reborn in Portugal: His main objective is to transform Christian Portugal into a Jewish Portugal, but there are no signs of the Ten Tribes in his Discourse. Instead, this topic is present in the teleological discourse of another man imprisoned in the same jail as Carvajal, namely Luís Dias, the New Christian from Odemira. As previously mentioned, according to his testimony, France expelled its Jews to Castile, which, in turn, expelled them to Portugal, from where they went into exile in Flanders, where Dias expected the reunion of nine and a half Jewish tribes to await the coming of the Messiah, after which the Jews would rule the world. In his view, Jesus was a simple messenger, as during his lifetime only two and a half Jewish tribes had lived together, while the rest had remained in hiding.[37]

[48] In the converted milieu of early modern Portugal, and in the Jewish milieu abroad, the question of the reunion of the Ten Lost Tribes became, as highlighted by Benzion Natanyahu, deeply connected with the issue of the discovery of new worlds, where it was thought the Lost Tribes were hidden (Netanyahu 1982, 229–30). In the prophetic dream of João Dias, the New Christians fleeing to Flanders met the Ten Tribes from the newly discovered countries, thus escaping the Inquisition's grip. This powerful topic 'overflows' to the Christian milieu, as seen in the "Third Dream of Bandarra," where he spoke of the hidden Ten Lost Tribes and their reunion (Costa, n.d., 81–85). This is also present in the eschatological thoughts of Fr. António Vieira, even if he included it "to conceive" the Universal Kingdom of Christ. In his *Esperanças de Portugal* (Hope of Portugal), the Jesuit uses the topic of the sudden reappearance of the Ten Tribes, which a Portuguese king—King John IV (1640–1656)—will present to the Pope and to "The Faith of Christ": a sign of the rapid concretization of the Universal Christian Kingdom, ruled by that resurrected king (Vieira [1659] 1952, 34–37). Of course, the Inquisitors of Coimbra who judged Vieira stressed in their sentence read on December

35 Among the many studies on Don Isaac Abravanel and his work, see Netanyahu (1982); Attias (1992); Skalli (2007).

36 A part of the book of Netanyahu (1982, 205–42); and the article of Tavares (1991, 248–53), see Scholem (1971) and Idel (1998). On this process of purification seeking to impose religious uniformity, see Terpstra (2015).

37 ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 6047, 93—94 and 110. The question of the nine and a half tribes arose as the tribes that formed the (Northen) kingdom of Israël were the tribes of Reuben, Simon, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulon, Ephraim and a half of the Manasseh tribe. Therefore, it is supposed that during the period when Jesus Christ lived, only the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and half of the tribe of Manasseh survived in the Judaea Roman kingdom (Wigoder 1996).

23, 1667 the heterodoxy of his proposition concerning the "ten tribes of Israel (Exodus XIII), which had disappeared more than two thousand years ago without a trace (…)."[38]

[49] The 'migration' of this eschatological topic to the messianic Portuguese agenda, with transformations for its insertion in a Christian teleology, also reveals how strong and generalized it was at the core of the Iberian Jews' agenda. An extraordinary letter, whose authorship is attributed to the Jewish moneylender Davide di Dattilo da Tivoli by Cédric-Cohen Skalli and the late Michele Luzzati in their book *Lucca 1493: un sequestro di Lettere Ebraiche. Edizione e Commento Storico* (Lucca 1493: a Seizure of Hebrew letters. Edition and Historical Commentary), refers to a relationship between the topic of the Lost Tribes and the first discoveries in the New World. In the letter, probably written around 1496, David says that while in Siena with his brother-in-law (possibly Isaac da Vitale da Pisa) the latter informed him of the arrival of Spanish ships carrying some eighty sons of Israel in Lisbon. We are dealing here with the arrival of Christopher Columbus (Cristoforo Colombo) from America in 1493, bringing aboard his ships some natives taken in Hispaniola. Columbus kidnapped around 10 to 25 natives and took them to Spain with him. Only seven or eight natives arrived alive in Spain, where their presence caused a strong furor (see Phillips and Phillips 1992; Marques 1992; Axtell 1992). Far from the real facts, the Jewish milieu tried to inscribe this event in their former patrimonial memory of the Lost Tribes. The seven or eight natives were transformed into eighty in the news that reached Davide di Dattilo da Tivoli in Italy; but more importantly, according to his story, they were described as being "Hebrews [of Judea] or Hebrews, sons of Israel." The only doubt was whether they belonged to a single Tribe or the Ten Tribes. David asserted the truthfulness of the news, even if the Jews could live in Spain no more.[39] But this news could, and probably was, transmitted by Jews allowed to enter Spain for business, or others who visited the country in disguise, or by New Christians exchanging correspondence with their Jewish relatives living outside the Iberian Peninsula (see García-Arenal 2003; López Belinchón 2003; Muchnik 2005; Tavim 2013a, 2013b).

[50] Hence, the 'transmigration' of the old major topic of the Ten Tribes to the new early modern Jewish and *converso* context may be verified, enriched by, and adapted to the conjuncture of the European discoveries and expansion: a phenomenon whose nuances and complexity have been studied in relation to the political and/or intellectual activity of such different men, separated in time and ideas, as David Reubeni (see Birnbaum 1958; Eliav-Feldon 1992, 2001; Tavim 2004; Benmelech 2011) or Menasseh ben Israel.[40]

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38 "(…) os dez tribos de Israel (Êxod. XIII), que desapareceram há mais de dois mil anos, sem se saber deles,"* "Sentença que no Tribunal do Santo Ofício de Coimbra se leu ao padre António Vieira" [Coimbra, December 23, 1667] (in Vieira [1659] 1952, 183).

39 "(…) ebrei [of Judea] o ebrei figli di Israele" (see Skalli and Luzati 2014, 189–90).

40 Highly prolific subject. See among others, ben Israel ([1650] 1979); Roth (1945); Katz (1982); Kaplan, Méchoulan, and Popkin (1989); Popkin (1994); Ifrah (2001); Rauschenbach (2012).

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Transfer, Begegnung, Skandalon? Neue Perspektiven auf die Jesuitenmissionen in Spanisch-Amerika, *edited by* Esther Schmid Heer, Nikolaus Klein, and Paul Oberholzer

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ABSTRACT This contribution offers a review of Esther Schmid Heer, Nikolaus Klein, Paul Oberholzer (eds.). 2019. *Transfer, Begegnung, Skandalon? Neue Perspektiven auf die Jesuitenmissionen in Spanisch-Amerika*. Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte 26. Basel: Schwabe / Stuttgart: Kohlhammer. ISBN 978-3-7965-3818-6 / 978-3-17-035494-4

KEYWORDS review

Colonialism in the South and Middle Americas could partially also be described as a history of the missionary orders, mainly the Blackfriars, the Greyfriars, the Carmelites and the Jesuits. The volume under review focuses on one of these orders, the Societas Ihesu. It is the result of an international conference that took place in Fribourg (Switzerland) in May 2017 to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the dissolution of the order in 1767/68. [1]

The volume is divided into four parts. The first part deals with introductory matters and a contextualisation of the occurrences in the aftermath of the end of the South American Jesuit missionaries. Johann Meier shows that one of the reasons for the prohibition of the Jesuit Order was that the Marquês de Pompal, who served as the prime minister of the Portuguese crown, feared the order's political power. The result was nonetheless that the educational system in Brazil had to face a fundamental step-back. Mariano Delgado demonstrates that the singularity of the Societas Jhesu in South America should not be seen in their missionary endeavours, but in their ability to create an economical-social organisation according to the order's modern rationality. Fabian Fechner shows that the anti-Jesuit pictorial satire was only one side of the medal: Although the Jesuits mainly wrote against their adversaries, they were also able to employ caricatures themselves. Michael Sievernich gives a survey of the translation of all forms of Christianity (texts, music, culture) into the context of the indigenous peoples of the Americas. [2]

The book's second part deals with knowledge and knowledge transfer. Javier Francisco [3]

shows that the Jesuits in Paraguay recruited a significant number of members from all over Europe promising mission work, but offering work in the educational sector. The impact was thereby rather one-sided—European knowledge was transferred to the Americas whereas American knowledge found only few ways back to Europe. Irina Pawlowsky analyses a map that originally was created by the former Jesuit Franz Xaver Veigl and printed by the Lutheran printer Christoph Gottlieb von Murr in Nuremberg in 1785. Although the map is introduced as a map of the Río Marañón area (the northern Amazonas region), she shows that its main interest is to show the mission works of the Jesuits and display ethnographic knowledge. Whereas the Christians had built settlements, the 'barbarian pagans' were indicated as nomads. Among these nomadic areas are those where Portuguese-Brazilian Carmelites or Spanish Franciscans in the Ucayali region were active. Renate Dürr turns to the English Protestant translator John Lockman, who, in the middle of the eighteenth century, translated a number of French Jesuit letters into English. The translations were supplemented with critical comments that the translator called "antidotes" against the Jesuits' "dangerous knowledge." A closer look at the printer Chr. J. von Murr is given by Christoph Nebgen. After the Order's dissolution in 1773, Murr acted as publisher of a huge number of letters, reports, and memories of several former Jesuits.

[4] The third part of the volume is dedicated to the reception and further developments in former missionary stations in Spanish America. Corinna Gramatke gives first results of new research on art history in the Jesuit colonies in Paraguay. Other than is usually held, it seems that there were only few German artists active in the colonies. Only P. Anton Sepp SJ from Kaltern, South Tirol, has left traces as sculpturist. Ten further brethren with a German background are still known today. Eckhart Kühne gives a number of examples (including many images) for Chiquitos and Mojos in Bolivia that show that after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the missionary work as well as the exploitation of the indigenous inhabitants continued and came to a new zenith in both the craftsmanship in building churches and in art production for export. Sieglinde Falkinger reports on a tradition of the Chiquitanos to commemorate the sermons and traditions of the Jesuits in their own native language that is preserved until today. Severin Parzinger also turns to traditions of the Chiquitanos, namely their musical traditions. These were transmitted orally and their practise follows strict rules. The performance of the music is seen as a "holy duty".

[5] The final, fourth part is dedicated to traditions and renewals in the nineteenth to twenty-first centuries. Guillermo Wilde demonstrates how the Jesuits' Guaraní traditions were transformed and kept in the regions. Ignacio Telesca gives evidence of the sociological changes in Paraguay and the reductions after the expulsion of the Jesuits, which lost more than half of their inhabitants within thirty years. In the Paraguaian historiography after the Triple-Alliance-War (1864–1870), any influence of the Jesuits on nation-building was denied. Maximiliano von Thüngen turns to the mission, San Cosme y San Damián, that today is one of the tourist centres of the state of Paraguay. Nikolas Klein, finally, demonstrates how the Jesuits of the twentieth century contributed to a peaceful society in the South American states.

[6] The articles of the volume give good examples of how the Jesuits' missionary work in South America, especially in Paraguay and in Bolivia, was on the one hand part of the project of a lasting Christianisation of the continent, and had on the other hand a lasting impact on the political, cultural, and religious transformation of their societies, despite their expulsion in 1767/68. Although the intended readership are historians, the volume nonetheless has

some importance for religious studies as it demonstrates transformations of Jesuit religiosity in South American cultures.