López-Gay, Jesús
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Universidade Nova de Lisboa
Lisboa, Portugal

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FATHER FRANCESCO PASIO (1554-1612)

And his Ideas About
the Sacerdotal Training of the Japanese

Jesús López-Gay, S.J.
Gregorian Pontifical University, Rome

It is precisely in this year - 2001 - that we commemorate four hundred years of the sacerdotal ordaining of the first Japanese Jesuits, namely Lewis Niabar (from Nagasaki) and Sebastian Kimura (from Hirado), who were ordained in September 1601 by the Bishop, Don Luís Cerqueira. This event leads us to reflect upon the attitude of the missionaries with regard to the ordaining of native clergy. From very early on, all the missionaries were in agreement about the necessity to ordain Japanese. It is also true that some missionaries stressed upon certain aspects regarding the training of these Japanese such as, for example, the creation of an intercontinental seminary in Macao, the texts to be used in their education, etc.

For the purposes of this article, we chose to focus upon Father Francesco Pasio as he was an extraordinary personality, both in terms of the important positions that he held (Vice-Provincial of Japan, Visitor of China and Japan) and his prolific literary outpourings (he wrote several letters), as well as for his original, and sometimes even strange, ideas that he wished to implement in the Japanese mission. At the same time, despite having written numerous letters, he is also a missionary who is not very well known, as we shall later see. Father Pasio deserves our attention.

Some brief biographical details. Father Pasio was born in Bologna in 1554, and joined the Society of Jesus in Rome on 25th October 1572. Before leaving for Portugal, he was received by Pope Gregory XIII. In Lisbon, in 1578, he celebrated his First Mass at the Church of São Roque. Along with the other missionaries who were also bound for India, he was received by the King, Dom Sebastian. The missionaries set sail for India on 24th March 1578, the same year as Matteo Ricci, although in a different ship. The expedition consisted of 14 missionaries, seven of whom were Portuguese, as was also the Superior, Father Duarte de Sande. Father Pasio reached Goa in September, where he held the post of Minister in the College at Goa, and soon after
became the Jesuit Procurator for the entire Indian Province. For official reasons he had to visit Malacca in 1582, from where he continued on to Macao. From this point onwards, the story of the life of Father Pasio takes place in China and, above all, in Japan. From the Chinese mission he visited Macao in August 1582, and then made a brief visit to Shiuiling, from where he returned to Macao once again. Father Ricci was decisively bound for China, and Father Pasio, likewise, was destined for Japan.

Father Pasio always maintained the love and esteem that he nurtured for China, a fact that Ricci himself acknowledged when he recalled the occasion when Pasio was nominated Visitor of China. To cite Ricci’s words, “Father Pasio, having already been a member of the China Mission, deeply loved China and, thus, greatly encouraged the mission.” A hundred years later, Father Couplet, who was working in China, collected material to defend the Mission in Rome and recalls that, “I arrived at the City of Macao in 1680, from whence I left on 5th December, 1681. This year was the centenary of the Chinese Mission which was founded by Michaele Rogerio, Matteo Ricci and Francesco Pasio, Italian Fathers of the Society. The occasion of this Jubilee was celebrated in our churches by the Christian community throughout China.” From the very beginning, Father Pasio was considered to be one of the “founders of the China Mission”.

On 25th July, 1583, Father Pasio arrived in Nagasaki. From then onwards, Father Pasio was to spend the rest of his life in Japan, till 1612, a
period of almost thirty years. In March 1612, he returned to Macao, where he died a few months later, on the 30th August. Since 1611, he had held the position of Visitor of China and Japan.

In the context of his activities in the Mission, we can recall two or three episodes, before we begin an analysis of his ideology. The Mission in Japan, with approximately 150,000 Christians - about 1% of the population, was to experience moments full of hope and new prospects. In 1580, a College had been established in Nagasaki, a city that had been Christian from the very beginning, having been granted to the Society. Shortly before Father Pasio arrived in Japan, Oda Nobunaga died in the insurrection which was led by Akechi Mitsuhide, a fact that posed a threat to the mission. Subsequently, Toyotomi Hideyoshi took control of the entire country, and proved to be benevolent with the missionaries until 1587, when he decreed that they should be expelled en masse. The expulsion was more notional than effective as, in practice, the missionaries continued to carry out their activities. However, Hideyoshi was determined to realize his political projects to unify the country, along with his plans to invade Korea (an invasion which took place in 1592), for which he had intended to utilize Lusitanian ships, as well as a planned invasion of China. Father Pasio did not repose much faith in Hideyoshi’s sincerity and makes mention of how “for many years now, he has been averse to and nurtures a hatred towards Christianity.” Nevertheless, Father Valignano was able to realize his second (1590) and third (1598) trips to Japan as Visitor, and Hideyoshi later permitted the Franciscans to work in Japan (1593), thus breaking the monopoly that the Jesuits had maintained up until then. Hideyoshi died in 1598, and Father Pasio wrote an extensive report on his death. The dictator had, a year earlier, decreed the martyrdom of the 26 martyred saints of Japan.

5 With regard to the sources of information about the life and activities of Francesco Pasio in Japan, see Monumenta Historica Japoniae I. Textus Catalogorum Japoniae aliaque de personis domibusque S.J. in Japonia Informations et Relationes, 1549-1654, proposuit Josef Franz Schütte, S.J., Rome, 1975. In particular, see the Index, pp. 1266-67. The entire work by Father Schütte is based upon the Jap.Sin. (Japonica-Sinica) archives in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus. We shall make constant references to this archive as the majority of the letters written by Father Pasio are to be found here. Some additional, albeit scarce, information can also be found in volumes III and IV (1583-87) and (1588-93) of the História de Japam by L. Frós, edition by J. Wicki, Lisbon, 1983, 1984, bearing in mind that Pasio’s activities in Japan were not limited to the time frame covered in these volumes.

6 “Da molti anni aveva l’aversione e l’odio al cristianesimo”. Father Pasio to the Father General, in Jap.Sin, 10, II, f.275v. The letter is dated 14th October 1587, and describes the arrival of Hideyoshi at Shimo and his conversations with the Captain of the Portuguese ship and with the missionaries.

7 Jap.Sin. 54, ff. 13-14v.
And returning once more to Father Pasio. From 1586 onwards, three years after his arrival, he was the Superior of the residence at Sakai. The origins of the Church of Sakai date back to the journey that Xavier made to Miyako, the capital of the kingdom. Subsequently, in 1593, the Visitor was to record his appraisal of the Jesuits working in Japan and, while referring to Father Pasio, adds the following words: “He has average knowledge keeping in mind the time that he has spent studying. One could not term him erudite. He is a man of great prudence, active and effective in his dealings, has a very good understanding of all things Japanese and has a knack for dealing with the foreigners, although in the opinion of the residents of the house he is considered to be somewhat stuffy. He is desirous of understanding our Constitutions well, and has undertaken some studies of them. He has great spirit and is not a man who is perturbed by minor things. He adheres to the practice of not wasting time and, thus, makes very good use of it. He proceeds well in the mortification of the passions, although there is nothing exceptional and is, without doubt, one of the best subjects in Japan, and is regarded as such by common opinion....”

When Hideyoshi once again visited Nagasaki in 1593, he received Father Pasio and other missionaries, and as a result of this meeting, they were able to reconstitute the Church in Southern Japan. In August 1596, Dom Pedro Martins, the first Portuguese Bishop to visit Japan, arrived. He subsequently wished to meet Hideyoshi and went to Miyako. Father Pasio accompanied him, along with the interpreter Father João Rodrigues Tçuzu, a Portuguese missionary who was also the historian of the Mission and has left us many valuable details. The Bishop animated the Christian community in this remote part of the world and, presenting himself as the “Ambassador” of the Viceroy of India, requested of the King, the Taikosama, that the Church be left in peace. He also advised him to oblige the Franciscans to return to the

8 “Sabe mediocremente por el tiempo que tiene estudiado, aunque no se puede llamar docto. Es hombre de buena prudencia, activo y despachado en los negocios, tiene muy buena inteligencia de las cosas de Japón y grande modo para tratar con los forasteros, aunque para los de casa es tenido por algo seco. Es deseo para entender bien nuestras Constituciones y hace algún estudio en ellas. Tiene corazón y no es hombre que se ahoga con poca cosa; es amigo de no perder tiempo y así lo aprovecha bien, y en la mortificación de las passiones, aunque no tiene cosa señalada, procede bien, y sin duda es uno de los mejores sujetos que tiene Japón, y en la opinión común es tenido por tal...” in Jap.Sin, 7, f.50. He subsequently proceeds to speak of his spiritual life.


10 Jap.Sin. 52, f.9v.
Events changed rapidly. The Bishop returned to Nagasaki, and Hideyoshi decreed the martyrdom to which we have referred before.

It is true that Father Pasio did not have a very good relationship with the Bishop. Our missionary was perturbed by the criticism emanating from Macao about the Bishop, and after his arrival in Japan, he confessed that “with each passing day he adjusts better” although, in his opinion, he was still far from possessing the attitude worthy of a religious Bishop. Five months later he strongly criticized Don Pedro Martins in a letter addressed to the Father General. In general, the Italians criticized the Bishop, while the Spaniards and Portuguese judged him more objectively.

Once the persecution had been decreed, Father Pasio had a providential opportunity to assist the Jesuits. “Father Pasio was able to separate Brother Miki Paulo along with his two companions [Diego Kisai, Juan de Goto] by means of a message from Fazaburo [Terazawa]’s servant, and with the permission of the guards, made them enter St. Lazarus’ Church, which is located a short distance away, before reaching Nagasaki and the place where they were crucified. There, he administered confession to the three at length and, in the name of the Vice-Provincial, ordained Diogo and João as brothers of the Society. He administered the vows to them in the manner of the Society, by the Society’s oaths, to the great contentment and consolation of these two [Japanese] who continuously gave thanks to Our Lord”. Father Pasio consoled and administered confession to Brother Miki, who was already a Jesuit (1586), and received into the Society a dôjuku or catechist, John of Goto.


Note 12: “Si va acodamando ogni giorno meglio.” The first quotation is cited from Jap.Sin. 13, f. 14. The second, from Jap.Sin. 13, f. 59, and was addressed to the Father General. It is true that the Italian missionaries, more concretely Valignano, expressed very strong criticism, while those made by the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries were more objective and pacific. See our study mentioned above, pp. 85-86.

Note 13: “Fazendo o P. Pássio afastar o Irmão Miqui Paolo com seus dous companheiros [Diego Kisai, Juan de Goto] com o recado do criado de Fazaburo [Terazawa] e com licença das guardas, os fez entrar ahí em huma igreja de S. Lázaro que está pouco antes de chegar a Nangasaqui e ao lugar onde forão crucificados, e ahí muito devagar os confessou todos tres geralmente, e em nome de P. Viceprovincial recebeo por Irmãos da Companhia a Diogo e João e fez fazer a ambos os votos pollo modo e fórmula da Companhia con tanto contentamento e consolação delles que se não fartavão de dar graças a Nosso Senhor”. We utilized the text of the Relação, written by Father Gómez, on Japanese paper, Jap.Sin. 52, ff. 270-304, the text copied on f. 295v. Without doubt, this scene is described in more profound detail by Father L. Fróis, in his Relación del Martirio de los 26 cristianos crucificados en Nangasaqui, el 5 febrero de 1597, we utilized the edition by Father Romualdo Galdós, Rome, 1935. The scene where Father Pasio confesses Paul Miki and receives his colleagues into the Society is on p. 94. It seems that the language used in this narrative was Castilian.
along with another layman who used to assist the Jesuits, who read the texts of their vows in Japanese. Terazawa allowed Father Pasio to be present alongside the crucifixes of the martyrs. The martyrdom took place in 1597.

The new Bishop, Dom Luis Cerqueira, arrived and shortly after, the so-called “Consulta de Nagasaki, ad modum synodi” took place in 1598, which was of critical importance for the future of the mission. Father Pasio also participated in the deliberations. The new Bishop was an extraordinary personality. At the Consulta, it was decided by unanimous consent, “unanimi consensu ut Episcopus institueret seminarium”, to train the diocesan clergy and, in 1601, there already existed a seminary in Nagasaki, apart from the other seminaries already established in other parts of Japan, as we shall see. The Bishop ordained the first two native Japanese Jesuits, and in 1604 the first native Japanese diocesan priest was ordained. Subsequently, the diocese of Nagasaki was divided into five parishes, of which four were entrusted to the Japanese diocesan clergy.

Shortly after, the Vice-Provincial, Father Pedro Gómez, died and Father Pasio was nominated Vice-Provincial of Japan in 1600. Valignano wrote to the Father General that he had proceeded with this election, aware that it was as per the wishes that the Father General himself had manifested, as well as due to the objective qualities of Father Pasio who, “was acknowledged by both our brethren and outsiders to be the most suitable person to whom one could entrust this post, and that the Japanese, both within and without the Jesuit establishment, were very pleased with this election, primarily because he was very well versed in the Japanese language”. In the very same year, after his victory at the battle of Sekigahara, Tokugawa Ieyasu became the absolute ruler of Japan, and thus began his “Shogunate” or period of military domination. It was necessary to reconstruct the Japanese Church, with particular attention being given to the seminaries which, as we have seen, had been established recently. It was at this point in time, while facing this problem,
that Father Pasio found himself battling doubts and, lacking divine inspiration, was unable to find a way out of the impasse.

In 1606, Pasio went to Sumpu and Edo with the intention of meeting with Ieyasu. He was accompanied by the well known Japanese apologist, Brother Fabian Ungiou, a convert from the Zen religion who, two years before, had penned his masterpiece *Myōtei Mondō*, a dialogue written in the classic style of Zen Buddhism in which he refuted Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintoism. Father Pasio witnessed his discussions with the Confucian master Hayashi Razan, and his great sermon at the funeral services of a Christian noblewoman, a niece of Hideyoshi. As Father Pasio himself recounted, “The service was preached by Brother Fabião Japão, who is very well versed in the laws of Japan, so much so in fact, that there is no bonzo who can get the better of him, or who even dares to dispute with him”. These words were written by Pasio in a letter dated 18th October, 1606. Pasio did not witness the tragic end of this Japanese Jesuit. His audience with Ieyasu took place on 6th June, 1607, and the annual missive, which was later circulated in Europe, narrates the happenings of this encounter. It was a fruitful visit and managed to animate many Christian communities. During his return trip, he visited the young Hideyori, son of Hideyoshi. However, at best, this visit was politically inopportune and only served to arouse the suspicions of Ieyasu. After five months, Father Pasio returned to Nagasaki.

In 1611, Father Pasio was to be nominated Visitor of Japan and China, the former Visitor, Father Valignano, having died in 1606. Father Pasio thus no longer occupied the post of Vice-Provincial of Japan, and was replaced by Father Carvalho.

Father Pasio was a missionary who was extraordinarily prolific in writing epistles. Many of his works are still unpublished, and the vast majority were written in Portuguese. Almost all his writings are preserved in *The Historical Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome, in the Japonica - Sinica*
Another important archive is that of the Library of the Royal Academy of Madrid (particularly in the Cortés section). The Ajuda Library has five manuscripts, almost all of which are translations into Portuguese of his other works. The British Museum has seven manuscripts and the General Library of the University of Coimbra and the Public Library in Évora both possess one manuscript each. Based upon his writings, and in particular upon one of his letters, we shall try to deduce some of his missionary ideas.

In addition to his annual missives (8), there are a total of more than 80 letters, 28 of which were written in Italian, 18 in Spanish and 46 in Portuguese. Apart from these one can also find some Relaciones, such as that written upon the occasion of Hideyoshi’s death20, and another very extensive work in Castilian, dated 12th February 1595, which was commissioned by the Vice-Provincial, Father Gómez, and which pertains to the presence of the Franciscan friars in Japan21. Three years later, in 1598, he penned another brief Relación, written in Portuguese, about the state of affairs in Japan22. Also in Portuguese, he sent the Father General an account of the martyrdom of six Japanese, who died in Higo in December, 160323. In 1609, again in Portuguese, he penned an account of the martyrdom of five Japanese Christians, who died for their faith in the kingdom of Hondo (written as Fongo in the manuscript)24. Amongst the most important of his works are the Obediências, written jointly with Father Valignano and revised when he was Visitor, such as in the extract dated 161225. The Obediências were juridical and pastoral norms which served as guidelines for the activities of the mission.

As we have mentioned before, the future of the mission was thought to lie in the establishment of seminaries, where the Japanese would be trained to continue the mission’s activities. Let us first examine this in theory. As early as 1580, a Primera Consulta of the Jesuits took place, in which the 8th
Question dealt with the seminaries, and it was deemed “that it was to everyone’s benefit, that both the good of the Society and the salvation of [the] Japan [mission] lay in the establishment of seminaries”\textsuperscript{26}, and that these seminaries were to be divided according to the cities. In his Resoluciones, Valignano decided upon the cities as also what was to be studied in these seminaries\textsuperscript{27}. And by means of this, the act of establishing seminaries was officially set in motion. Already, the Fifth Question itself of this first meeting, dealt with the theme \textit{Si se deben hacer seminarios de los naturales} [Whether one should establish seminaries for the natives], and “it was unanimously decided by all that this was the only true solution for the conversion of and continued presence in Japan. However, there was some debate about some of the points”\textsuperscript{28}. The Visitor, in his resolutions, concluded that “The Church of Japan does not have any other or better remedy than to establish as many seminaries as possible, be they large or small, for the Japanese”\textsuperscript{29}.

In between these consultations, Father Alessandro Valignano compiled his masterpiece, the \textit{Sumario de las Cosas de Japón (1583)}, and dedicates several chapters to the matter in question such as, for example, Chapter XII, “De la importancia de los seminarios de los naturales, y del modo que se ha de tener en ellos” and Chapter XIII, “Del Instituto que se ha de dar a los que hicieron clérigos y del modo como se han de gobernar”\textsuperscript{30}.

In 1590, the second General Consultation of the Jesuits took place in Katsusa, convened by Father Valignano. “Father Francisco Pasio, Superior of the Residence in Sumoto”, was also present. After discussions about the participation of the missionaries in political affairs and about the implementation of the vows

\textsuperscript{26} “Convinieron todos, que para bien de la Compañía y remedio de Japón era instituirse seminario”.
\textsuperscript{27} The original text is to be found in \textit{Jap. Sin} 2, f. 54-74v. The text has been published by Professor Álvarez-Taladriz in the edition of Valignano’s \textit{Sumario de las Cosas de Japón (1583)}, I, Tokyo, 1954, pp. 107-110.
\textsuperscript{28} “Concluyeron todos que éste era único y verdadero remedio para la conversión y conservación de Japón, todavía se disputaron acerca de él algunos puntos.”
\textsuperscript{29} “La Iglesia de Japón no tiene otro remedio que hacer cuantos más seminarios se pueda de japones grandes y pequeños”, \textit{Jap.Sin}, 2, ll. 49v. and subsequent pages. The Resolución of Valignano copied, l. 72. “Los puntos que se trataron [The issues dealt with]”, ranged from the manner in which the seminarions should dress to whether they should shave their heads as was the custom amongst the bonsos, and whether one should establish seminaries for boys or youngsters with unshaven heads who were to be separated.
\textsuperscript{30} Professor José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz’s edition, Tokyo, 1954, who has also edited the \textit{Adiciones del Sumario de Japón (1592)}. In his addenda to these chapters, he requests the Father General that there be prepared in Europe a compendium of Philosophy and another of Theology, for these seminaries. It is worthy of note that, as early as 1582 onwards, Philosophy was taught in Funai, and from 1585 onwards, Theology was taught by Father Pedro Gómez, who later compiled his magnificent \textit{Compendium Theologicum}, which is today the focus of various studies, both of the original text in Latin as well as the version in Japanese. These two editions have been cited in footnotes 16 and 25.
of a frugal lifestyle to be followed, problems which were examined evangelically, the Eleventh Question dealt with “Some things that are in common to the Novitiate, the College and the Seminary”\(^{31}\). In concrete terms, it dealt with the selection procedure, without prohibiting the ingress of locals, and above all with the training imparted.

Moving on from the theory, we can now examine the reality. Father Valignano established a seminary in Arima, after the local warlord, or daimyô, was baptized (1580), which was later transferred to Nagasaki (1595-1601), where it remained until a fire destroyed the building in 1601. The seminary was again transferred to Arima, annexed to a church consecrated by the new Bishop, Dom Luís Cerqueira, in the presence of the Visitor, Father Valignano and the new Vice-Provincial, our Father Pasio\(^{32}\). Seminaries were to be found in other cities as well. The Visitor, Father Valignano, had always favoured the idea of founding a seminary in Macao, not only for natives from China, but also those from Japan, where they could learn the language and, above all, further their studies in scholastic philosophy and theology. In 1603, this seminary became a reality, “tam Sinarum quam Japoniorum seminarium appellari merito possit....Habet collegium hoc varias classes, in quibus due ex nostris Patribus scholasticum theologiam docent, alii vero duo casus conscientiae, unus item philosophiam, duo vero humanitatem et grammaticam”\(^{33}\).

There were many problems that had to be resolved when Father Pasio began his tenure as Vice-Provincial. These included problems of an economic nature, as the subsidies from Europe did not arrive, partially due to the fact that “Dutch and English corsairs” captured the ships that brought these subsidies from the home continent. During the past four years, the mission had not received Papal sustenance. Nevertheless, there were no apparent doubts in Father Pasio’s mind about the opportunities presented by the sacerdotal ordaining of native Japanese.

We have a long letter written by Father Francisco Pasio to the Father General, Claudio Acquaviva, sent exclusively for him - “soli” - written in Italian and penned in a firm and clear handwriting which reflects his serenity at the moment in which he was expressing his thoughts. At this time, Father

\(^{31}\) “De algunas cosas que pertenecen en común al Noviciado, al Colegio y Seminario.” The text of the Consultations is to be found in Jap.Sin. 51, ff. 144-167. The question dealt with here in ff. 158-161v.

\(^{32}\) For information about the various transfers of the seminary, the cities where it was located etc, consult the index of the work cited in footnote 4, pp. 1293-94, under the heading Seminaria in Japonia.

\(^{33}\) Ibid., p.478, “Collegium Macaense” in the Catalogue of 1603. One also finds mention of this idea of establishing a common seminary for China and Japan in Macao in previous intervenciones penned by Valignano.
Pasio was analyst and counsellor to the Vice-Provincial. The letter begins with the date, 96,30/I 34. To evaluate his opinions expressed therein, we should recall that he had already spent more than fifteen years in the mission in Japan, and had witnessed the founding and subsequent progress of some seminaries. He reminded the Father General of the two problems raised by Father Valignano, namely, the foundation of a College-Seminary in Macao and above all, about the fact that the Japanese brothers would be ordained as priests before three years, and subsequently would be ordained, “in batches of ten, those who have studied Latin, and have given a good account of themselves in the course for the Japanese”.35 His vision was clear: there is no doubt that both the young brothers as well as the seminarians should be admitted to the priesthood if they show the right aptitude and are sufficiently proficient, or rather, are well trained. This is the outcome of the various Consultas. With regard to the College in Macao, he does not agree with Father Valignano and, instead, is inclined towards the solution propounded by Father Francisco Cabral, erstwhile Father Superior of Japan, and the then Provincial in India. We shall later recall this matter, which is dealt with at the end of his letter.

It is in this context that one comes across the problem of, “all the doubt is about whether it is the moment to start, and it is still to be seen the manner in which this is to be carried out....”.36 Father Pasio generalizes this matter, affirming that, “in the opinion of all the Fathers in Japan, it is the moment to commence, and I am also of the same opinion”.37 So why did our Father Pasio hold this view? He replies that his motives are the same as those expressed by Father Valignano three years ago in his Sumario which was sent to Rome, wherein he mentions the difficulties in administrating the young Japanese Jesuits.38 These views were repeated in his Adiciones (1595) to the Sumario which were sent to Rome a year before he met Father Pasio who would later cite him in his letter39.

However, we do not find such categorical statements in Valignano’s writings. Nevertheless, in the Adición to chapters 16 and 17, Valignano stresses

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34 Jap.Sin 12, II, ff.351-354. The complete date is the year 1596, 30th January.
35 “Dieci in dieci, tutti quelli che hanno studiato latino, e proceduto bene conforme al comune corso della Giapponi”.
36 “Tutto il dubbio sta se he già tempo per cominciare, e il modo che in questo si ha de guardare...”
37 “Que a todos los Padres del Japón parece que es presto para comenzar, y del mismo parecer soy yo.”
38 We have cited the Sumario de las Cosas de Japón (1583), in footnote 27. In the Sumario, specifically see Chapter II, where he explains “costumbre extrañas de los japones [some strange customs of the Japanese]”; Chapter XVIII, “Del modo que se ha de tener en gobernar los japones [Of the manner in which one should administer the Japanese]”; Chapter XX, “De cuán peligrosamente se puede errar en el gobierno de Japón [Of how dangerously one can err in the administration of Japan]”, etc.
39 In his letter, f. 351, he explicitly recalls the eighth Adición to chapters 16 and 17 of the Sumario.
upon the qualities of the Japanese, comparing them favourably with natives of other countries and believing them to be the most apt to live in the Christian faith. We do not know upon what Father Pasio based the following observation: “The marked lack of predisposition for the priesthood that the Japanese brothers have at this moment is evident. And being a people who are so recent and fragile in their faith, one can rightly fear the obstacles that may appear. They are naturally vacillating, their own will having been scarcely subdued, they are not very obedient to the Fathers of their own Order, and [are] not very zealous in matters of the soul”\(^{40}\). As one can deduce, this is an analysis of the religious psychology of the Japanese who are being prepared for the priesthood. One wonders about the kind of objectivity with which Father Pasio arrived at this conclusion, which is a pronouncement that vastly differs from that propounded by Valignano. What is, however, true is that Pasio personally dealt with many Japanese and came to understand them intimately, while Father Valignano based himself more upon intuition and what he heard from others.

Father Pasio also further mentioned that the Fathers in Japan had their doubts about the “loyalty” of the Japanese. This, despite the fact that there existed a diehard tradition of a code of loyalty on the part of the warrior as a subject of his feudal lord. Father Valignano himself voiced doubts about the loyalty of the Japanese\(^{41}\), although in reality, during the period of the martyrdoms and the persecution, there were many Japanese who remained “faithful”.

In this manner, new problems appeared. Given that the gateway to priesthood was not barred to the Japanese, Father Pasio believed it to be of great importance that the Japanese should not be ordained immediately after concluding their studies. Many were already well prepared, and they dedicated much of their time, with impressive results, to the catechism, teaching children and counselling the new Christian converts etc. So much so that “it is still widely feared that by making them Priests, one would lose in large measure the results that they produce as brothers, because as Priests, there is much that will take up their time. Much time will be spent in reciting the divine liturgy,

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\(^{40}\) “Si vede la poca disposizione che al presente tengono li fratelli Giaponi per il sacerdotio e li inconvenienti che con molta ragione si possono temere che nascono essendo gente così tenera e fiaca nella fede, naturalmente altera, con la propria volontà puoco mortificata, puoco sogeti alli Padri in cui compagnia stanno, puoco zelosi delle anime.” \textit{in Jap.Sin.} 12, II, f. 351. We have interpreted it as “(gente) naturalmente altera” [naturally vacillating people] although there is scope for doubt in the manuscript. It could possibly say “naturalmente altiva” [naturally proud people].

\(^{41}\) “La segunda mala cualidad de esta nación es haber entre ella poca fidelidad para com sus señores, contra los cuales se rebelan cuando les viene bien...[The second undesirable quality of this nation is the existence of a lack of loyalty to their lords, against whom they rebel at the slightest opportunity...]”, \textit{Sumario}, p. 29.
saying Mass and in administering confessions, tasks for which they will require much more time than our Europeans on account of their insufficient abilities". It was in this manner that it was feared that the mission could not effectively carry out the functions that the Japanese realized as catechists and students. And that Christianity would lose many of the pastoral values that it had at the time.

Aware that the sacerdotal ordaining of the Japanese in the mission was something that was inevitable, Father Pasio made some proposals. The first one is of great interest to us: that before their ordaining they should be tested in the way of life of the “Residences”, “where they will be with one sole Father or where they will take care of the cultivation of Christianity because, thus, one will discover obedience, the zeal of the soul, the love of the faith, the hopes that one maintains as to their chastity, the rigour with which they maintain their devotion and religious discipline, and finally this will be a true test and one can see who is apt and who is not....” This form of companionship would be the occasion to get to know them better from the spiritual and pastoral point of view. On the other hand, the young Japanese were not in a hurry to be ordained as, due to the wave of persecution, they were widely dispersed. Likewise, the new Bishop would be consecrated two years after the date of Pasio’s letter.

Another proposal by Pasio was perhaps less fortunate. He seems to have been inclined to have priests of two categories : the first category being superior and consisting of Jesuit religious priests, and the second, inferior, category being that of secular and diocesan priests. With regard to the priests of the first category, Father Pasio required a long and serious training: first, ordinary studies, followed by the stage of the novitiate (of the Society itself), and after having worked in the residences and “having crossed forty years of age, or close to this age, studying Cases of conscience, and instructing them for the priesthood, they could be ordained”. The stipulation of forty years referred, above all, to the affective maturity necessary for chastity.

42 “Temese ancora molto che con tali Sacerdoti si perda in grande parte il frutto che farebbero, essendo fratelli, perché oltre il Sacerdozio gli aver de ocupar, molto tempo col recitare l’officio divino dir Messa e confessare, per le quali cose per la loro insufficientia havevano biso di molto piú tempo che li nostri europei.”

43 “Dove stanno con un solo Padre o dove curano la cultivazione delle cristianità, perché ivi discoprono la obedientia, il zelo dele anime, l’amore alla religione, la speranza che si può tenere della loro castità, la cura che tengono del loro raccogliemento e disciplina religiosa, e finalmente li si provano veramente e si vede quale he di speranza e quale non...” in Jap.Sin. 12, II, f.351v. (towards the middle of the page).

44 “Tener quarenta años de edad in circa e giunti a questa etá studiare Casi di conscientia, e istroendolli per il sacerdotio, si potrebbero ordinare.”
In the case of the secular priests, before their ordaining, the requirements included a brief apprenticeship, along with living and working with other Fathers in the residences, the study of the Cases of conscience and the age requirement was thirty years. There was no need to be in a hurry to ordain a large number of priests, as Valignano had desired. This proposal made by Pasio, of a dual distinction of priests, is not convincing, at least when contemplated from a modern day viewpoint. It seems that it was necessary to establish a dual categorization of priests - a superior category for Jesuit priests and another, lesser, category for the secular priests with less rigorous age requirements and fewer years of study.

His insistence on laying so much stress on the “Cases of Conscience”, thus reducing the sacerdotal training to the moral aspect, is also baffling. However, as we have already mentioned elsewhere in this article, the mission had a magnificent theological library and possessed several texts on philosophy and theology.

It is true that Pasio was not an outstanding theologian and, according to the catalogues of the Japanese Province, he only studied theology for two years and never taught the subject.

The conclusion was clearly obvious: open the doors to priesthood to the Japanese, but without the hurry to do so upon which Father Valignano had insisted. Often, the training suggested by Father Pasio seems to be inadequate. It was a training based principally upon a pastoral “praxis” (i.e. living in the residences) as well as an ideological tradition which entailed studying the Cases of Conscience.

Father Pasio was opposed to the idea of sending native Japanese to a seminary in Macao, where the future priests of the Far East would undergo their training. This would certainly have had some advantages such as, for example, having access to better professors, a new library, cultural enrichment, etc.

45 Ibid., f.352. The entire matter is explained on this page of the letter.
46 See footnote 30, where we have mentioned the Compendiums of Theology and Philosophy compiled by Father Pedro Gómez, a Spaniard, who studied in Portugal, including at the University of Coimbra, where he also taught Art for two years. The Latin text and the Japanese translation of these Compendiums are still preserved.
48 See the volume by Father Schütte, mentioned in footnote 5, p.338, under the number 20.
49 In this context, according to Pasio’s words, Valignano had spoken of the benefits that had been afforded to an embassy of young Japanese by their journey to Rome, their cultural contacts, etc. However, Pasio stresses that in Macao, the young Japanese would find neither “la corte Romana ni de Spagna [the court of Rome, nor that of Spain]”, etc.
In his opinion, the moral environment in Macao was far from healthy, not just amongst the merchants, as also “amongst the priests and men of religion”. Pasio wondered how young students would react when they came in contact with these situations, particularly as many of them had been baptized only recently. His second reason was that if the best students were to go to Macao to study Theology, and those of the lower category were to go to the Philippines to study cases, in a short span of time, the Jesuit seminary and college would find itself empty, at least for extended periods of time.

It was also necessary to take into consideration the difficulties that the Japanese encountered in having to study a new language such as Portuguese, and at the same time maintain the Latin that they had already learnt. The fact that the Japanese would study alongside Europeans during this nascent stage of the mission, would create an inferiority complex in the native students. It would, likewise, be necessary to assign a Father who would accompany the young Japanese during the journey and also in the new residences. And speaking of journeys, one should also keep in mind the dangers inherent in such journeys. There then follows his concluding reason, which was to him perhaps the most important of them all: it was evident that the principal purpose of Father Valignano’s proposal that the young Japanese students be sent to the new seminary in Macao was aimed at ensuring that as a result of contact with other students from Europe and Asia, the Japanese would change their habits and even their very nature. However, in Pasio’s opinion, as also in the views of his counsellors, given the current circumstances, this “exchange” would only serve to intensify their nostalgia for their own country.

In our opinion, this letter written by Father Pasio deserves to be read and analyzed. One discovers therein many “internal problems of the mission”, including problems pertaining to the necessity of incorporating an indigenous clergy within the mission and the specific method of training to be utilized. Behind this conceptualization, one can also discern the esteem in which the missionaries held the native Japanese. Some subjects such as, for example, the establishment of an intercontinental seminary in Macao are fascinating, albeit utopian, ideas for the time. The letter amply demonstrates the mindset and rationale of great missionaries such as Valignano and Pasio. They agree in certain points, but differ in others. This letter also serves to shed light upon the question of acculturization. Likewise, it also highlights the fact that there are many manuscript treasures to be found in our archives that could help us to better understand our missionary history.
Resumo

Este artigo analisa a vida do padre Francisco Pasio S.J. (1554-1612) e as suas concepções missionárias. Na primeira parte, apresenta-se uma síntese da biografia do jesuíta e uma relação dos seus escritos com a indicação dos arquivos em que se encontram. Depois, é analisada detalhadamente uma carta que Pasio enviou ao Geral da Companhia, a 30 de Janeiro de 1596. Nesta Pasio manifesta a sua discordância em relação a Alexandre Valignano em duas questões bastante sensíveis: a fundação do Colégio de Macau e a perspectiva de virem a ser ordenados brevemente sacerdotes japoneses. No ano em que se celebra o 4º centenário da ordenação dos primeiros presbíteros nipónicos, procura-se compreender a posição do padre Pasio sobre essa questão e, de um modo mais geral, os problemas complexos que se colocavam aos missionários no Japão.

Abstract

This article analyses the life of Father Francisco Pasio S.J. (1554-1612) and his missionary conceptions. First it is presented a biographical synthesis of this Jesuit and a digest of his writings with information about the archives where we can find his manuscripts. Then it is analysed in detail a letter that Pasio wrote to the General of the Society, on January 30, 1596. In this document, Pasio shows his disagreement towards Valignano in two very important questions: the foundation of the College of Macao and the possibility of giving soon the sacerdotal ordination to Japanese clerics. In the year that is celebrated the 4th century of the ordination of the first Japanese priests, this article tries to understand Father Pasio conceptions about these important questions and, in a more general level, to pay attention to the difficult problems that the missionaries faced in their daily life in Japan.