

Between Languages, Genres and Cultures: Diego Collado's Linguistic Works

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Dominican Diego Collado can be rightfully counted among the most influential missionaries of the sunset of the Christian Century in Japan. Although he spent only three years there, between 1619 and 1622, and never achieved the palm of martyrdom, it transformed the rest of his life. After his return to Europe, he fought vehemently against the Jesuit monopoly in Japan at the Roman curia and the court in Madrid. While severe Christian persecution was raging in the land of the rising sun, he prepared a plan for an ambitious and highly controversial project for a new Dominican congregation devoted only to the missionary activity in Japan and China. This endeavour failed bitterly. His literary activity was similarly focused on a single goal – to promote his mission. He wrote multiple reports disputing and fighting the Jesuits, finished and published a history of the Christianisation of Japan from the Dominican perspective, and – most importantly for this article – composed three linguistic works: a grammar of the Japanese language, a Latin-Spanish-Japanese dictionary and a Japanese-Latin model confession. This study understands these three influential works as a trilogy that should be treated together as mutually complementary. It recognises them not only as examples of missionary linguistics but as part of a long European (and, in particular, Latin) tradition of language description, language learning and pastoral care.

Keywords: Diego Collado; Christianity in Japan; Japanese grammar; dictionary of Japanese; confession; Early Modern Period

Diego Collado¹ is one of many fascinating, yet still not thoroughly researched missionaries of the seventeenth century. During his controversial life, he clashed many times not only with the enemies of faith but also with other Christians. Even his own religious brothers opposed his extraordinary zeal on multiple occasions, accusing him of using any means to achieve his ends. Some of his endeavours succeeded, others ended up as bitter failures. His literary work corresponds to his life: it is often hasty and imperfect, yet passionate, written with one clear goal in mind, namely, promoting his missionary cause. This preliminary study discusses his three linguistic works with a special focus on his work on Japanese confession. To understand them properly, it is first necessary to introduce the author.

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1 In his Latin works also known as Didacus Colladus. In the Portuguese secondary literature, he is sometimes named Diego Colhado; in the Japanese literature, he is known as デイエゴ・コリヤード.

The Life of Diego Collado

Diego Collado was born in around 1587 in Extremadura in Spain. He entered the Dominican order and professed at the famous monastery San Esteban de Salamanca in 1605.² He was ordained priest at the same monastery in 1610. Similarly to many others, he was captivated by the missionary vocation and went to the Philippines in 1611. In the remote regions of the province Cagayán, he proved himself a quick learner of multiple local languages and as a person of impeccable character. This made him suitable for his most difficult and dangerous mission: in 1619 he departed to Japan.³

The preceding decades were notable for the remarkable and unprecedented success of Christianisation in the land of the rising sun. In only seventy years since the arrival of the co-founder of the Jesuit Order, St. Francis Xavier, in 1549, the missionaries were able to show a number of impressive achievements: they converted hundreds of thousands of Japanese,⁴ among them more than eighty powerful local lords called *daimyō*; established seminaries; ordained local priests (albeit not many);⁵ organised a Japanese delegation to Europe and even founded their own city serving as a harbour for Portuguese merchant ships in Nagasaki.⁶ Most of these feats can be justly attributed to the Jesuit mission and its ability to adapt to local conditions (according to the so-called Jesuit accommodation method).⁷ Nevertheless, Franciscans, Augustinians and Dominicans gradually started to challenge the Jesuit dominance, providing a more conventional Catholic missionary approach.

When Diego Collado arrived in the city of Nagasaki, the situation was very different than in the »golden age«. Even though waves of Christian persecution had already occurred from the late 1580s, it was Tokugawa Ieyasu (d. 1616), the last of three famous unifiers of Japan and the founder of the Tokugawa shogun dynasty who, after a period of tolerance, gradually took a hard line on missionaries and Christians. In 1614, he promulgated a decree⁸ (which could also be interpreted as a political manifesto)⁹ expelling missionaries and banning Christianity. As a result, in 1619 Diego Collado found out that all Dominicans in Japan except three were either dead or in jail.¹⁰ He instructed his religious brother Jacinto Orfanell to write a

2 Hence also his nickname »El Salmantino«, see Pagés, *Religion chrétienne*, 506.

3 There is still no monograph on Diego Collado. The most substantial study on his life is Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado. Substantial, yet older information can also be found in Quintana, *Historia del insigne*, 398-429 and Cenjor, *Insinuación*, 577-579. Also valuable is Pagés, *Religion chrétienne*. The recent studies include especially works by Hiroshi Hino, Carla Tronu Montané, Noriko Hamamatsu, Fernando Cid Lucas and Antonio Doñas Beleña.

4 Estimates of the number of Christians in Japan during this period vary wildly. Scholars mention numbers between 300,000 and 760,000 at its height, see Whelan, *Beginning*, 11, and Miyazaki, *Roman Catholic mission*, 7. Diego Collado himself mentions that Jesuits estimated around one million believers in 1623, see Doñas Beleña, *Diego Collado*, 62.

5 Nevertheless, this was still rather a remarkable feat. In many regions, there was a strong opposition to the ordination of any native priests. By contrast, Collado was a strong proponent of this approach, which conflicted with his Dominican brothers, see Boxer, *Native clergy*, 92-93.

6 On the importance of this endeavour in the Jesuit strategy of Christianisation, see Hesselink, *Dream of Christian Nagasaki*, 5-6.

7 See, e.g., Tronu Montané, *Jesuit accommodation*. The accommodation, however, should not be understood as some form of religious tolerance, see Schrimpf, *Pro- and Anti-Christian*, 41.

8 Boxer, *Christian Century*, 317-319. Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, 139.

9 Screech, *English*, 9.

10 Delgado García, *Salmantino Diego Collado*, 240.

history of the Dominican mission in Japan, thus fulfilling the order he had received from his superiors in Manila.¹¹ Orfanell's original manuscript covered the period from the year 1602 to the year 1620. After the latter's imprisonment in Japan and execution, Diego Collado continued the work until 1622 and later published it in Europe.

Collado's main task was evangelisation. To be able to fulfil the task, he spent the first year in hiding, learning the Japanese language. According to Jacinto Orfanell, he mastered it so well and quickly that he was already able to hear the confessions of natives in March 1620.¹² He visited various regions in order to serve the Christian populations there, changing his accommodation frequently in order to avoid being arrested. Nevertheless, he faced not only Japanese »enemies of faith« but also Christian ones.

In 1620, a Red-Seal ship of the Japanese Christian convert Joaquín Díaz Hirayama was detained by the English ship Elisabeth, a member of the joint Dutch-English »Fleet of Defence«, on its route from Manila to Japan.¹³ Among the deer leather, two suspicious persons, dressed as merchants, were found hiding – in fact, two missionaries: Dominican Luis Flores and Augustinian Pedro Zuñiga. This suspicion was corroborated by the documents found with them. The Englishmen confiscated the cargo and handed the suspects over to the Dutch, who imprisoned them in their factory in Hirado. The »Fleet of Defence« would be allowed to retain the confiscated goods if able to prove that the two prisoners were indeed missionaries. Otherwise, it would be accused of piracy, because the so-called Red-Seal ships operated with the express approval of the Japanese government (in the form of the Red-Seal) and under its protection. This led to the frequent and brutal torture of the said missionaries.¹⁴ There were multiple attempts from Nagasaki to rescue them, that by Diego Collado probably being the most daring. After Pedro Zuñiga was unable to bear the weight of evidence against him anymore and confessed, Collado tried to save at least the remaining Dominican. His plan included collecting alms for bribing a guard and sending a rescue party consisting of Japanese Christians in a boat.¹⁵ The attempt failed. After that, Luis Flores finally confessed as well. Both missionaries were executed on 19th August 1622. Later, the Jesuits argued that the adventurous actions of Diego Collado actually caused the persecution of Christians in Japan.¹⁶

In the year 1622, Collado was ordered to return to Europe, where he served as a procurator for his province in Rome and Madrid.¹⁷ In the following decade, he vehemently and fervently challenged the Jesuit monopoly in Japan in the curia and at the court. The Jesuits claimed their rights mainly based on their primacy in Japan and the necessity of preventing confusion among believers if multiple customs were allowed. They were supported by the bull of Gregory XIII of 1585 *Ex pastoralis officio*.¹⁸ In 1600, Clement VIII allowed mendicants

11 Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado, 240.

12 Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado, 241.

13 Hartmann, Augustinians in seventeenth century Japan, 646-647.

14 On the British role in Japan, see Screech, English.

15 Hartmann, Augustinians in seventeenth century Japan, 659.

16 Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado, 263-264.

17 Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado, 253.

18 Boxer, *Christian Century*, 160.

to proceed to Japan with his bull *Onerosa pastoralis officii cura*. However, mendicants had to travel through Lisbon and Portuguese India.¹⁹ It was Paul V who opened Japan for all religious orders with his bull *Sedis Apostolicae providentia* in 1608.²⁰ Nevertheless, this was not put fully into effect and mendicants faced much hostility from the Jesuits.

In the year of Collado's departure from Japan, 1622, an institution was founded with which Collado's future became closely tied. Pope Gregory XV issued a bull *Inscrutabili divinae providentiae arcano*²¹ which established the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Congregatio de propaganda fide*).²² It was intended to serve two main purposes: (1) to win back souls lost to the Reformation and (2) to further advance the propagation of the faith among non-Christians.

The reach of this congregation was supposed to be enormous.²³ Yet, precisely this aspect necessarily led to conflicts. On one side, there was an old patronage system, which guaranteed the respective royal powers supervision and control over missionary activities in their colonies – Portuguese »padroado« and Spanish »patronazgo« (in modern Spanish »patronato«).²⁴ On the other side, various religious orders had also previously received numerous privileges and enjoyed vast independence in their missionary work. None of these actors were willing to be subjected to central supervision from Rome, and especially not the Jesuits.²⁵

When Diego Collado presented the arguments of mendicant orders for opening Japan to all missionaries, the Congregation sided with him and sent him to deal with the problem in the Spanish court. Finally, after difficult negotiations, in 1631, King Philip IV of Spain (who also served as King Philip III of Portugal) ratified the decision that opened Japan to all missionaries.²⁶

Concurrently, Diego Collado was trying to achieve another objective. Already in 1626, in his role as the general procurator of his order for the Philippines, he petitioned the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to create a new Dominican Congregation of St. Paul aimed primarily at missionary activities in Far East Asia. It was supposed to take control over various churches and buildings pertaining to the province of Saint Rosary, which Diego Collado was supposed to represent. Moreover, the new congregation would be subjected directly to the Master of the Order of Preachers, at that time Serafín Secchi.²⁷ However, when Collado discussed the matter with Secchi, the latter vehemently resisted the proposition, fearing that it would cause damage to the said province. The Master of the Order even stripped Diego Collado of his function of procurator and forbade him to engage further in the matter.²⁸

19 Boxer, *Christian Century*, 240.

20 Boxer, *Christian Century*, 241.

21 For a critical analysis of this bull, see Prendergast and Prendergast, *Invention of propaganda*.

22 Santos Hernández, *Orígenes históricos*.

23 Prendergast and Prendergast, *Invention of propaganda*, 21: »Let them oversee all the missions for the proclamation and teaching of the Gospel and Catholic doctrine, and let them appoint the necessary agents for this work.«

24 Boxer, *Christian Century*, 255.

25 Despite the fact that the founder of the Congregation, Gregory XIII, as well as his successor, Urban VIII, were both educated by Jesuits, see Lach and Kley, *Asia in the Making*, 223-224. On the conflicts between the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and the Jesuit order, see Pizzorusso, »Propaganda Fide«.

26 Jiménez Pablo, *Papel*, 159.

27 Schütte, *Wirksamkeit der Päpste*, 180-181.

28 Delgado García, *Salmantino Diego Collado*, 272-273.

Persistent as he was, Collado did not give up on his idea. After the death of the Master of the Order and the election of the new one, he was able to get approval from both the new Master of the Order, Niccolò Ridolfi in 1630, as well as from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1633. It is notable that the goals of the pontifical congregation were much the same. It also intended to coordinate and boost missionary activity in the Far East by creating an apostolic vicariate, which was vehemently rejected by the Spanish court.²⁹

Once Collado had received all the necessary permissions, he set out to return to Asia and to fulfil his plan. In 1634, a suitable occasion occurred. A ship was to sail from Seville with a group of missionaries requested by the province of St. Rosary in the Philippines. Once they had embarked and sailed off in the direction of Mexico, Collado presented them with his plan for the new congregation, of which he was supposed to be a vicar, together with the permissions he had obtained. He then persuaded a number of young missionaries to join him, who, as a sign of their new allegiance, let their beards grow long – hence their nickname »Barbones«.³⁰ On the ship from Mexico to the Philippines, he also made the acquaintance of the new Governor of the Philippines, Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera – who later became instrumental for his goals.

When Diego Collado finally arrived back in the Philippines with future missionaries under his command in 1635, he faced strong opposition from the local Dominicans. One of their worries was missing royal consent, i.e., the unsolved issue of royal patronage. Besides, they regarded Collado's activity as a critique of their own conduct. They complained that they were falsely accused of neglecting the Japanese mission to which, in their eyes, the province sacrificed many of its best missionaries.³¹

Frustrated by the lack of progress in the matter, Diego Collado was not afraid to overpower the Dominican houses with military assistance from the Governor.³² Finally, after a considerable struggle, he lost his case and was ordered to return to Spain. On his way from the Philippine province of Cagayán – where he had started his missionary career three decades earlier – to Manila, his boat was shipwrecked, and he died in 1641.³³

His death corresponds symbolically with »the death« of the mission in Japan and with the end of the so-called Christian Century in Japan. In 1637-1638, a large and unexpected Christian rebellion disturbed the regions of Amakusa and Shimabara on Kyushu Island. It took significant effort to put it down. The shogunate suspected the involvement of Catholic missionaries who were still being smuggled into the country, even though none were found in Hara Castle – the last stand of the rebels.³⁴ When, in 1639, two Portuguese ships arrived from Macau to Nagasaki, they were not allowed to trade on the grounds that they were helping to smuggle missionaries into the land. The captain was given a copy of the decree prohibiting any further Macau-Nagasaki trade and ordered to sail away as soon as possible.³⁵

29 Jiménez Pablo, *Papel*, 159.

30 Pagés, *Religion chrétienne*, 814-815, footnote 1. Delgado García, *Salmantino Diego Collado*, 274-275.

31 E.g., chapter 36 in Audarte's *Chronicle of the Philippine Province* (the part in question composed by Domingo Gonçalves).

32 Delgado García, *Salmantino Diego Collado*, 275.

33 Delgado García, *Salmantino Diego Collado*, 279-280.

34 Boxer, *Christian Century*, 383.

35 Boxer, *Christian Century*, 384.

In 1640, the inhabitants of the »City of the Name of God« (Macau) made a desperate attempt to resume business. Of the crew of the ship sent to Japan, 61 persons were executed and only 13 natives were spared, so they could bring the gloomy news back.³⁶ Only a few missionaries dared to enter Japan afterwards. They were all quickly caught and executed.³⁷ No doubt if Collado had attempted to enter Japan again, he would have suffered the same fate.

The linguistic works of Diego Collado

The literary activity³⁸ of Diego Collado bears similarities to his adventurous life – persistent, fervent and somewhat hasty. From the 1620s on, he wrote multiple reports (so-called memorials) fighting against the Jesuits' monopoly in Japan. The vast majority of them were published within only five years between 1629 and 1634.³⁹ Between the years 1631 and 1632, he prepared and published three linguistic books of Japanese (grammar, dictionary, and model confession),⁴⁰ and finally, in 1633, he published the history of Japanese Christianisation from the Dominican point of view, composed mainly by Jacinto Orfanell and finished by himself, covering the years 1602 to 1622.⁴¹

Such frantic activity was surely not a matter of chance. I would argue that all these books are the results of the sharply focused effort by Diego Collado to build up support for his missionary cause. Reports addressed to the king and the pope were designed to weaken the Jesuit position. The history of Dominicans in Japan created an alternative narrative to the Jesuits' one and was probably also designed to attract new possible missionaries. Once gained for the cause, those missionaries would then learn the language from textbooks designed for just that purpose.⁴²

36 Boxer, *Christian Century*, 384-385.

37 Boxer, *Christian Century*, 390-397.

38 There is still some confusion regarding the number of his printed books: the former seems to stem especially from Leon Allatius' work *Apes urbanae*, already published in 1633. Beside the works mentioned here, it also lists No. 4 *Formula protestandi mysteria fidei*, No. 6 *Dictionarium linguae Chinensis, cum explicatione Latina et Hispanica, caractere Chinensi et Latino*, and No. 7, *Varia opuscula... pro commodiori Evangelii propagatione apud Iapones*. The No. 4, *Formula fidei protestandi fidei* seems to be simply another title for *Modus confitendi*, based on the preface to this work. I have not been able to confirm the existence of the Chinese dictionary despite my best efforts. It is possible that Allatius confused the Japanese dictionary (maybe its *Additiones* – if they were printed out separately) with the Chinese dictionary, see Toribio Medina, *Bibliografía*, 170 and Saracho Villalobos, *Obra lingüística*, 1565. This conclusion also seems to be supported by *Elenchus librorum*, a catalogue of printed books by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith from 1639. It lists only 3 works by Diego Collado: the Grammar, the Dictionary and *Modus confitendi*.

39 Wilkinson and Ulla Lorenzo, *Iberian Books*, 292, 293, list 14 reports by Diego Collado that were printed, and 16 books in total. However, their list is incomplete and cannot be completely relied on.

40 According to Toribio Medina, these works of Diego Collado have exemplars with different and multiple publishing dates, see *Bibliografía*, 168-171. Nevertheless, the much more recent and trustworthy Laures, *Kirishitan bunko*, 122-125, lists only the date 1632 for all linguistic books. This date also appears in all exemplars I was able to see.

41 *Historia Eclesiástica de los sucesos de la Christiandad de Japón (1602-1620) ... Añadida hasta el fin de 1622 por el P. Fr. Diego Collado, O.P.*

42 Research on Diego Collado usually focuses on just one of these three works. Notable exceptions are Hamamatsu, *Obra lingüística*; Tronu Montané, *Primeros materiales*; Saracho Villalobos, *Obra lingüística*.

The linguistic work done by Collado is today somewhat overshadowed by the Jesuit linguistics. The Latin-Portuguese-Japanese dictionary (*Dictionarium Latino-Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum*) from 1595 and especially the Japanese-Portuguese dictionary (*Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*) from 1603⁴³ are incomparably more extensive than Collado's Latin-Spanish-Japanese dictionary (*Dictionarium sive thesauri linguae Iaponicae compendium*).⁴⁴ With some 32,000 words, the *Vocabulario* was the most comprehensive dictionary of Japanese until the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ Likewise, in comparison to the phenomenal grammar of the Jesuit João Rodrigues, *Arte da lingoa de Iapam*, from 1604-1608, comprising three volumes in 240 folios,⁴⁶ Collado's grammar (*Ars grammaticae Iaponicae linguae*) seems to be a dwarf with only 75 pages. Yet, such comparisons ignore what Collado was trying to achieve and the conditions under which he worked.

All three mentioned monumental works by (and for) the Jesuit mission were composed in the arguably most suitable period concerning the Christianisation of Japan. They were products of collective knowledge acquired by generations of Jesuits and printed on their own printing press, which was brought to Japan in 1587. Although the first edict against Christians was issued by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the same year, it still allowed Christian beliefs, but forbade forced proselytisation. It was almost immediately followed by the order to expel missionaries – which was, however, not strictly enforced. The press was thus able to operate until 1614, when another decree was promulgated by Tokugawa Ieyasu and the severe persecution took off.⁴⁷

Diego Collado was writing in the time of worsening persecution in Japan, ten years after he had left the country and had stopped using its language. In the preface to his dictionary, he states clearly: »[...] I could not find any help, either in books or in a Japanese, [I could not find anybody] with whom I could speak, but I only wrote what I could find in my fragile memory.« (*[...] nullum, aut librorum, aut Iaponii, cum quo communicarem, invenire potui adiutorium, sed ea solum scriptis mandavi, quae fragili memoriae occurrerunt.*)⁴⁸ In his *Modus confitendi*, he almost wonders about the circumstances of his work: »... after so long a time not only not to lose the foreign language but to preserve it in such way that without any help, I was able to compose the grammar, the dictionary of so many thousand words, the form of confession and profession of faith – all this was without any doubt granted by God.« (*tam longo enim temporis intervallo linguam extraneam non amississe; sed illam sic conservasse, ut sine aliquo adiutorio, artem grammaticae, dictionarium tot millium verborum, et formulam confitendi et fidem protestandi, potuerim perficere, a Domino sine dubio factum est istud.*)⁴⁹ He was aware of deficiencies in his work, but, nevertheless, wanted to publish his books in order to help preachers to learn the language before embarking on the mission in Japan (*ut possint illam [sc. linguam] extra Iaponiam addiscere*).⁵⁰

43 For a concise overview of Japanese lexicography, see Lewin, *Japanische Lexikographie*.

44 The Jesuits also printed out the monolingual Japanese dictionary of Kanji (i.e. Chinese characters used by Japanese) called *Rakuyōshū* (落葉集), see Laures, *Kirishitan bunko*, 58-60.

45 Frellesvig, *Japanese Language*, 302-303.

46 Frellesvig, *Japanese Language*, 302.

47 Laures, *Kirishitan bunko*, 1-24.

48 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 3-4.

49 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 3.

50 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 5.

Often forgotten is the fact that nobody published books on the Japanese language in Europe before this. Even though Collado's books were printed using the Latin alphabet instead of Chinese signs and Japanese scripts, it was still a great challenge.⁵¹ This alone can explain difficulties with typesetting and typographical errors and inconsistencies.⁵² Diego Collado himself states in his *Dictionarium*: »Do not (please) wonder when you see a number of mistakes, because the Japanese language is so unknown to European typesetters.« (*erratorum vero multitudinem videns, ne (quaeso) mireris, cum typographis Europeis, sit lingua Iaponica tam incognita*).⁵³ The works of Diego Collado were among the first linguistic books the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith commissioned.⁵⁴

The goals of Diego Collado and the Congregation were almost perfectly aligned. Collado probably thought of preparing suitable textbooks for his planned Congregation of St. Paul, while the pontifical Congregation strove to become the central institution of all missionary activity. Nevertheless, it also seems that the Congregation forced Collado to make one important change in his original publication plan. The grammar was first composed in Spanish, as surviving manuscripts testify, and it was then translated into Latin (thus becoming the first Latin grammar of Japanese).⁵⁵ Similarly, Collado composed the dictionary in Spanish and Japanese. However, he was forced by his superiors (*ex superiorum ordine*) to add Latin lemmas very quickly. He asks the reader to place more trust in the Spanish explanations than in the Latin ones.⁵⁶

It is hopefully not a stretch to say that Diego Collado, albeit a great Japanese linguist, was somewhat insecure about his Latin. He obviously preferred Spanish, as his memorials and drafts of the grammar and the dictionary show. The Latin part of the *Modus confitendi* represents his only published Latin text that does not seem to be a translation from Spanish. It is, however, a translation of the text in Japanese. Collado describes the Latin version as *congruam tantum et non elegantem* – just corresponding, not elegant.⁵⁷ This may also explain

51 Japanese writing is notoriously difficult. The language uses not only Chinese signs (so-called kanji) but also two scripts: hiragana and katakana. Today, all three writings are usually combined, nevertheless, they were already all in use in the seventeenth century. The Jesuits were one of the most important innovators in printing in Japanese, using movable types for Chinese characters, including introducing a new diacritic mark for hiragana that is still used even today (so-called handakuten), see Frellesvig, *Japanese Language*, 165. Despite this, they still also printed out many Japanese books using Latin characters, e.g. the already mentioned (*Dictionarium Latino-Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum*) and the Japanese-Portuguese dictionary (*Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*).

52 These are mentioned multiple times by Spear, *Diego Collado's Grammar*, e.g. 5, 28, 30.

53 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 157.

54 Older grammars published directly by the Congregation are the grammars of Syrian (1628), Ethiopian (1630) and Arabic (1631), see *Elenchus librorum*, 3. The only older dictionaries are those of Georgian (1629) and Malay (1631), see *Elenchus librorum*, 4.

55 Osterkamp, Manuscript precursors.

56 »I would like to ask you to have greater trust in the proper signification of the Spanish explanation than the Latin one. I originally decided to use only the Spanish one, however, it was necessary to add the Latin one very quickly because of the order of superiors.« (*Mallem etiam te maiorem fidem adhibere proprietati explicationis Hispanicae, quam latinae: quia cum Hispanicam solam ponere decrevissem, fuit necessarium ex superiorum ordine acceleratissime latinam adicere.*), Collado, *Dictionarium*, 157.

57 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 3.

some unusual Latin constructions that make reading of his books difficult. Nevertheless, by persuading Collado to write these three books in Latin, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith made them accessible to a broader audience than just the Iberian one, and thus helped promote its own cause of opening missionary activity to all.

This study does not attempt to be a deep analysis of the Japanese language of the Early Modern period that Collado described and used. These questions lie in the domain of Japanese historical linguistics and philology which extensively use linguistic material collected by early modern Christian missionaries. I will focus instead on the overall concept of the trilogy and the Latin linguistic and philological tradition in which it is rooted.

Ars grammaticae Iaponicae linguae

The first and most important element of Collado's project was the grammar that he called *Ars grammaticae Iaponicae linguae*.⁵⁸ The preface is dated to 30th August 1631, but it was printed in 1632, as the title page shows. In the preface, Collado states that the extensive grammar of João Rodrigues *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* from 1604-1608 was neither perfect nor easily accessible at his time. For this reason, he decided to extract parts of it, leave out what he regarded as incorrect, and add new material based on his own experience.⁵⁹ An important feature is Collado's stress on the brevity (*sub brevitate*) of his explanations. And indeed, his work is miniscule compared to its model. Both works also differ in their structure. Rodrigues followed the example of his religious brother, Jesuit Emmanuel Alvarez, who in 1572 composed the highly influential grammar *De institutione grammatica*. The concise version of this Latin grammar from 1573 was published in Japan by the Jesuit Press in 1594.⁶⁰ Collado, on the other hand, states that he wants to follow the example of another renowned grammarian: »In this grammar we have observed the arrangement which the experienced Antonius Nebrissensis and others have followed in their writings on the Latin language, that is, through parts of speech, namely, nouns, pronouns, etc.«⁶¹ Antonio de Nebrija (also known as Antonio de Lebrija) composed the *Introductiones Latinae* (»Introduction to Latin«), first published in 1481 in Salamanca. Yet, it would probably be mistaken to search for any direct influence of Nebrija on Collado; Collado seems rather to profess his adherence to the long-standing grammatical tradition than to any particular work.⁶²

58 The grammar has been translated into English by Richard Spear, *Diego Collado's Grammar*.

59 [Si] extractis ab arte praedicta necessariis (sunt enim multa) et relictis, quae peritis in praedicta lingua talia non probantur, additis etiam iis, quae experientia, et usus, lectioneque continua librorum, Deo largiente (qui dat verbum Evangelizantibus) sum adeptus. Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 3.

60 Assunção and Toyoshima, Amakusa Edition, 59.

61 Usually, the translation by Spear is used when quoting from the *Ars grammaticae*. However, in this case I have decided to rework it. The original Latin version says: *In hac arte grammaticae servavimus ordinem, quem peritus Antonius Nebrissensis, et alii servaverunt in suis linguae Latinae, per partes, videlicet, orationis, nempe nomen, pronomen, etc.* Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 6. Spear translates the passage as: »In this grammar we have for the most part observed the arrangement which Antonius Nebrissensis and others have followed in Latin for the treatment of sentences, namely, nouns, pronouns, etc.« Spear, *Diego Collado's Grammar*, 111.

62 According to Takizawa, there is no direct influence of either Alvarez or Nebrija on the structure of Collado's grammar, see Takizawa, *Study of »Ars Grammaticae Iaponicae Linguae«*, 216.

To highlight the difference between the two approaches: Alvarez and Rodrigues first discuss the declensions of nouns, pronouns and the conjugations of verbs and then treat all the parts of speech again. Collado, on the other hand, seems to have preferred to streamline this and to address the declensions and conjugations within the corresponding parts of speech (noun with adjective, pronoun, verb, adverb, preposition, conjunction and separation,⁶³ interjection.) A very similar structure can already be found in Antiquity, e.g., in Donatus' *Ars minor* (noun with adjective, pronoun, verb, adverb, participle, conjunction, preposition, interjection).

Collado's grammar is divided into the following parts:

1. Prologue to the Reader with some advice on the correct pronunciation (pp. 3-5)
2. Parts of speech (pp. 6-61)
3. Syntax (pp. 61-66)
4. Japanese arithmetic (pp. 66-74)
5. Some rules on the conjugations of the verbs in the written language (pp. 74-75)

The individual chapters vary in length. The parts of speech are the longest ones, while the expositions on syntax and rules concerning the written language cover only a couple of pages. Dealing with Japanese, Collado used the framework of the Latin language, e.g., he speaks about cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative and ablative) and calls various forms of Japanese verbs »gerundium« or »supinum«. Nevertheless, he is aware of radical structural differences between the languages: »In the Japanese language there are no case declensions as they are in Latin; but there are certain particles, which when suffixed to nouns, determine the differences between the cases for both common and proper nouns.«⁶⁴

While it may be argued that Diego Collado was not able to step outside of the Latin grammatical framework, it is important to note that even today the grammars of the Japanese language for the general non-Japanese public often do something very similar. They also speak about nominative, genitive, etc.⁶⁵ And even linguistic works intended for an academic audience use terms like »nominative Case marker ga«. ⁶⁶ Such usage does not seem to be much different from the observation by Collado that »[t]he particles which form the nominative are five; *va, ga, cara, no, and iori*«. ⁶⁷ The Latin (and Greek) grammatical framework became in great part the basis for philologies studying non-European languages at the same time as European missionaries, adventurers, armies, and at least colonial bureaucratic machineries expanded across the world.

63 Takizawa translates »divisiones« as »separators«, see Takizawa, *Study of »Ars Grammaticae lapponicae Linguae«*, 103.

64 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 111.

65 E.g., Funatsu-Böhler, *Grammatik kurz und bündig*, passim.

66 E.g., Matsumoto, *Noun-Modifying Constructions*, 39

67 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 111.

Collado's grammar is, however, much more than just a description of the language. By choosing specific sample words, phrases and sentences, Collado reflects both the contemporary realities of life in Early Modern Japan as well as cultural preconceptions by him and his fellow missionaries. This is apparent in such little things as the choice of names for people appearing in sample sentences: the most common of these is not a Japanese name but Pedro, followed by Juan, e.g., *Pedro to juan to Nagasaqi ie ita* »Peter and John went to Nagasaki«⁶⁸ (*Petrus et Ioannes ierunt Nagasaquim*).⁶⁹ This may reflect the fact that the Japanese converts were supposed to use their baptismal names instead of their native names.

A large portion of the sample sentences understandably concerns religious contents, e.g.: *Jesu Cristo Deus de gozari nagara, fito ni taixite cruz ni cacaraxerareta*, »while Jesus Christ was a God, he was crucified for man«⁷⁰ (*Jesus Christus cum esset Deus crucifixus est propter hominem*).⁷¹ *Deus ni tai xite cuguio vo coraiuru*, »I endure the pain (*labor*) because of God«⁷² (*suffero labores propter Deum*).⁷³ *[Ten] ni maximasu varera ga von voia*, »Our Father who is in Heaven«⁷⁴ (*Pater noster qui est in caelis*).⁷⁵ In one case, there is also a sentence that mirrors the later *Modus confitendi: nhóbógata ni vochita coto ga atta ca?*, »did you fall into the sin of adultery with this woman?«⁷⁶ (*incidisti ne in peccatum luxuriae cum muliere?*).⁷⁷ However, we would look in vain for sample sentences regarding the ongoing persecution, with the exception teaching the imperative: *Christiani naru na to no xógun no fatto ga aru* [*Christian ni . . .*], »it is the law of the Shogun (*imperator*) that no one should become a Christian«⁷⁸ (*est lex imperatoris, quod non fiat quis Christianus*).⁷⁹

Probably the most interesting examples are those in which grammar and the cultural background of the missionaries intersect. The Japanese language is extremely sensitive in approaching various social ranks. While politeness is mainly expressed in the European languages by the 2nd person plural, 3rd person plural or 3rd person singular form of a verb in addressing another person, the Japanese language shows a complex system of politeness consisting of various particles, pronouns and verbs. The first European description of this issue comes from João Rodrigues in *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* from 1604-1608,⁸⁰ and Diego Collado followed him in his grammar, explaining the use of »-sama« after the name of a person or his/her function referring to specific European Christian social hierarchies:

68 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 166.

69 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 59.

70 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 155.

71 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 48.

72 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 164.

73 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 57.

74 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 122.

75 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 17.

76 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 129.

77 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 24.

78 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 126.

79 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 21.

80 See Fernandes and Assunção, Japanese politeness.

*Si autem loquamur cum personis in dignitatibus constitutis, nomen dignitatis, si illi super addatur particula, sama, supplet vicem pronominis: v.g. Padre samā gozare, veniat vestra paternitas.*⁸¹

When speaking to persons of high rank, if we place the name of their office before *sama*, it serves as a pronoun; e.g., *Padresama gozare* »will the Father come.«⁸²

Si vero anteponatur illis sic constitutis, vo, honorantur verba satis: v.g. vomōdori arōca? revertetur ne vestra dominatio? Tono sama vo xini atta toqi, quando dominus mortuus est, Deus cono xecai uo gosacu atta, Deus creavit hunc mundum, his particulis utimur loquendo cum personis honoratis quas diligimus, et cum quibus habemus amicitiam.

*Particula, nasare uru, honorem supremum, aut satis magnum dat verbis; postponitur vero eorum radicibus: v.g. Deus cono xecai uo go sacu nasareta, Deus creavit hunc mundum.*⁸³

If you add *vo* in front of the verb it is honored moderately (*satis*); e.g., *vomodori arōca?* »Your Lordship is going to come back?« *Tono sama vo xini atta toqi* »when the master died,«

Deus cono xecai vo gosacu atta »God created the world.« We use these particles when we are speaking with honored persons whom we like and with whom we are on friendly terms.

The particle *nasare,uru* gives the highest (*supremus*), or moderately great (*satis magnus*) honor and is placed after the root of the verb; e.g., *Deus cono xecai vo gosacu nasareta* »God created the world.«⁸⁴

The same hierarchisation also applies to places: »*Mairi,u* means to go to a place to which honor should be shown; e.g., *iglesia ie maire* »go to church!«⁸⁵ (*mairi, u, significat ire ad locum cui honor debetur: v.g. iglesia ie maire, eas Ecclesiam*)⁸⁶.

Probably the most peculiar example of hierarchisation given by Collado is the following: »The particle *ra* forms the plural of nouns which indicate very low things which are to be despised; e.g., *ludeo ra* »Jews.«⁸⁷ (*Particula, ra, facit pluralia nomina significantia res vilissimas, vel quae despectui habentur: v.g. Iudeora, Iudaei.*)⁸⁸

81 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 14.

82 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 119.

83 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 39.

84 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 145.

85 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 148.

86 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 42.

87 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 113.

88 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 8.

Dictionarium sive thesauri linguae Iaponicae compendium

The *Dictionarium sive thesauri linguae Iaponicae compendium* (Latin-Spanish-Japanese dictionary)⁸⁹ was published as the third in the series. However, it was clearly planned as the second book – hence its position in this analysis. Collado mentions it already in the preface of *Ars grammaticae Iaponicae linguae* (Grammar of the Japanese language) and promises its imminent publication.⁹⁰ In the grammar we can find multiple references to the future dictionary and the dictionary, on the other hand, often refers to the grammar.

All of Collado's works were written under time pressure.⁹¹ It is, however, the *Dictionarium* where this is probably the most obvious and it manifests both in the individual lemmata as well as in its structure. As was the case with the grammar, Collado originally wrote the dictionary as a Spanish-Japanese one. After he was ordered by his superiors to use Latin, Collado still preserved Spanish explanations. According to his own words, the reader should actually trust those more than the Latin ones.⁹² The result is curious: sometimes the meaning of the Japanese expression can be understood only with the help of both the Latin and the Spanish explanations:⁹³

Commeatus, us. licencia para ir a alguna parte. itoma. yurùxi.

Commeatus, vitualla de exercito. fioro.

Commeatus, us. »licence to go to any part«. itoma. yurùxi.

Commeatus, »provisions of the army«. fioro.

Even pronouns are not spared this, and some of them can be understood only if one has knowledge of Spanish:⁹⁴

Ego: yo: vatacuxi. vide in arte.

Ego: yo, hablando mujer: mizzucara.

Ego: I: vatacuxi. »see the grammar.«

Ego: I, »for a woman speaking«: mizzucara.

89 On the history of the Spanish-Japanese lexicography, see Jacinto García, *Lexicografía bilingüe español-japonés*.

90 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 3.

91 E.g., his long memorial from 1631, see Doñas Beleña, Diego Collado.

92 See footnote no. 56.

93 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 188.

94 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 40.

This working method creates a very interesting linguistic situation here. The Latin language is formally the primary one – it is used in lemmata which are sorted alphabetically. Yet, the Spanish language is the key means for proper understanding of the Latin lexical units, without which the reader cannot access the Japanese expression. The dictionary can therefore rightfully be called trilingual – all three languages play equally important and distinct roles in it.⁹⁵

Another issue is, however, that the dictionary was a work in progress when it was printed rather than a finished and polished product. This is apparent in its two distinctive parts: the first consists of the dictionary (until p. 146), followed by *praetermissa* («omitted words») (pp. 147-156) and *errata* (p. 158). After that, a supplement, more extensive than the original dictionary, *Additiones ad dictionarium Iaponicum* («Additions to the Latin dictionary»), with a separate introduction and its own new *errata* (until p. 355), follows.

The *Additiones* were prepared when the dictionary was already in print. It is not clear whether they were printed out immediately after the dictionary was published or with some pause in between.⁹⁶ Both parts, however, were meant to be bound together – they have continuous numbering of pages and the *Additiones* have only a very simplified title page without any information on the publishing house or the year.⁹⁷

In some cases, Collado only lists the Latin lexical units with a Spanish explanation but without a Japanese equivalent. The following reason is given at the end of the *Additiones*:⁹⁸

Aliqua invenientur vocabula latina, quorum correspondentia Iaponica non mihi occurrerunt; posui tamen latina, ut possint in secunda editione a me, vel a quovis alio me eruditore addi.

There are some Latin words to which I could not remember the Japanese equivalent; nevertheless, I put the Latin ones there, so they could be added by me or by anybody more knowledgeable than me, in the second edition.

It is notable that the first part was prepared by Collado without any obvious systematic guidelines for the choice of words. Their selection therefore often seems quite random, e.g., the original dictionary contains *sacerdos* («priest»), but not *sacramentum* («sacrament»). And even words like «cheap» (*vilis*) appear in the *praetermissa* («omitted words»).

95 One may argue that the *Dictionarium Latino-Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum* from 1594 is somehow similar in this sense: the lemmas are in Latin, explanations in Portuguese and Japanese. Yet, both its origin as a trilingual dictionary and its users were different than in Collado's case. It originated as a translation of Calepinus' dictionary. And while it acknowledges possible use for Europeans learning Japanese, its first and most important intended audience was Japanese youths learning Latin.

96 Atsuko Kawaguchi makes a case for the need to study various exemplars of this dictionary since there are small differences between them (as was usual in the printing process in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period), see Kawaguchi, *Variants of Latin-Spanish-Japanese Dictionary*.

97 Laures, *Kirishitan bunko*, 124, lists the dictionary and its supplement as one item. The study by Atsuko Kawaguchi shows that there are volumes containing both parts of the dictionary as well as only one of them, see Kawaguchi, *Variants of Latin-Spanish-Japanese Dictionary*, 69.

98 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 353.

The second part (*Additiones*) was composed much more systematically. Collado added missing words following the so-called »Calepinus« (*iuxta Calepini dictionarium*).⁹⁹ Ambrosius Calepinus (d. 1510), published a Latin dictionary that became so successful that the name of its author became eponymous.¹⁰⁰ While it preserved some of the features of previous medieval dictionaries (like limited nesting of lemmas, omitting some common words, monolingual Latin), it became the basis for many adaptations and reworkings. It was reprinted innumerable times until the eighteenth century with various vernacular equivalents added to Latin lemmas. Already in the sixteenth century, versions containing six or even eleven languages were published.¹⁰¹ The dictionary was used, e.g., by Japanese Jesuits compiling their *Dictionarium Latino-Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum* in 1595. It was, therefore, also a natural choice for Collado.

It would, however, be mistaken to assume that Collado followed Calepinus closely and that he also tried to copy the structure of the lemmas. This can be shown, e.g., in the already mentioned and originally missing lemma for *sacramentum* (»sacrament«) that Collado added in his *Additiones*. The entry in the edition of Calepinus's dictionary from 1627 that Collado was able to consult when working on his work is quite extensive: it contains the etymology of the word, various translations into the vernacular languages, the opinions of ancient grammarians (Varro, Festus), quotations from Cicero and the poets (Juvenalis) and different meanings of the word. It does not, however, contain the Christian meaning of the word. Already the size of the entry is telling:¹⁰²

Sacramentum, n. s. Pecunia dicebatur a duobus contententibus in iure deposita ea conditione, ut qui vicisset, suam auferret; victi vero aerario cederet. [Germ. War vorzeiten das gelt, so zwo rechtigende parteyen hinder den obersten Priester legten mit dem geding, daß dessen gelt zu dem Gottsdienst sollte verfallen seyn, so den Rechtshandel verlure. Polon. *Základ*.] Varro libro 4. de lingua Latina: Sacramentum a sacro, et qui petebat et qui inficiabatur, uterque quingenta aeris ad pontificem deponebat. De aliis item rebus, alio certo numero. Qui iudicio vicerat, suum sacramentum a sacro auferebat, victi ad aerarium redibant [sic!], i.e. victus ea pecunia, quam deposuerat, mulctabatur in poenam iniustae litigationis, quae aerario cedebat. Cicero libro 9. Epistol. Pugna, si me amas: nisi arguta apparebunt, ut sacramento contendas, mea non esse. Idem de Oratore: Agerent enim tecum Pythagorei, quibuscum tibi iusto sacramento contendere non liceret. Iniustis vindiciis et sacramentis fundos alienos petere, Cicero pro Milone.

99 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 163. However, Hideo Hotta compared a part of Collado's dictionary with that of Calepinus and with Nebrija's dictionary, stating (my translation): »Collado is closer to Nebrija than to Calepino« (コリヤードは、カレピーノよりも、ネブリハに近い), Hotta, *Diccionario latino-español-japonés de Collado*, 19.

100 Krömer, *Lateinische Lexikographie*, 1715.

101 Kramer, *Ancient languages*, 625.

102 Calepinus, *Dictionarium undecim linguarum*, 1285.

¶ Sacramentum item, interprete Festo, dicitur, quicquid iureiurando interposito geritur. [*ὄρκωμοσία, ἰερὸς ὄρκος*. German. Ein Eyd. Belg. Den Eidt. Polon. *Obwarowanie przysięgam*.] Hinc sacramentum militare dicebatur, quo milites in verba imperatoris sui iurabant: quod nisi praestitissent, iusti milites non videbantur; eoque absoluti, in hostem legitime pugnare non poterant. Legitima (*inquit Servius*) militia erat eorum, qui singuli iurabant pro Repub. se esse facturos; nec discedebant, nisi completis stipendiis: et sacramentum vocabatur. Vegetius de Re militari, libro 8: Milites iurare solent et ideo militiae sacra dicuntur. Iurant autem, se omnia strenue facturos, quae praeceperit imperator, nunquam deserturos militiam pro Romana Republica.

¶ Iuvenalis, Satyr. 15: Sacramenta figurate pro ipsi militibus posuit: Praemia nunc alia atque emolumenta notemus sacramentorum, i.e. militum iuratorum et sacramentorum.

¶ Suetonius in Caesare: Sanxit, ne quis civis maior viginti annis minorve decem, qui sacramento non teneretur, plus triennio continuo Italia abesset. Teneri sacramento est obligari per sacramentum. Sacramento rogari est iureiurando adigi. Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 2: Sed haec inter ipsos, qui velut sacramento rogati, vel etiam superstitione constricti, nefas ducunt, a suscepta semel persuasione discedere.

The Jesuit *Dictionarium* (Amakusa 1595) basically follows this structure, just simplifying it, and omitting several examples. Collado's lemma on the other hand resembles a simple gloss rather than a proper dictionary entry:

*Sacramentum, i; sacramento, sacrifico, as; sacrificar bazer accion sagrada; sãzzuqe, uru.*¹⁰³

Sacramentum, i; »sacrament«, sacrifico, as; »to sacrifice«, »to do a holy action«; sãzzuqe, uru.

Collado's dictionary resembles much more simple glossaries that were already common in the Middle Ages than an advanced dictionary by Calepinus¹⁰⁴ It is nevertheless his largest linguistic work by far. While still being small and compact, it has 355 pages. The choice of primary languages (Latin/Spanish) together with the use of the Latin alphabet for all entries, show that his main intended users were priests learning Japanese, while the Jesuit *Dictionarium* was much more intended for Japanese learning Latin. However, this means that the dictionary cannot easily be used for understanding Japanese texts. This is an important feature when considering the last of the three linguistic books by Diego Collado.

103 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 324.

104 For the history of Latin lexicography in the Middle Ages, see Weijers, *Lexicography*.

Modus confitendi et examinandi penitentem Iaponensem

The most unusual and intriguing part of Collado's trilogy is the collection of Japanese-Latin model confessions *Niffon no Cotōbani yō Confesio*, in Latin known as *Modus confitendi et examinandi poenitentem Iaponensem* (Way of Confession and Examination of a Japanese Penitent).¹⁰⁵ It seems to be a little bit of an afterthought. When Collado finished his grammar and was preparing his dictionary for printing, he arrived at the conclusion that these two books were not enough for sufficient acquisition of the language. A model training text was needed »to verify the rules of the said grammar« (*ad verificandas praedictae artis regulas*).¹⁰⁶ Traditionally, fictitious dialogues had served in this role since Antiquity.¹⁰⁷ The most elaborate example of this genre is probably the famous *Colloquia familiaria* of Erasmus of Rotterdam that surpassed just a simple teaching tool and became a vehicle for the spread of Erasmus's ideas. Equally common were dialogues oriented to business, study and everyday life.¹⁰⁸ One late example from the Far East can be found in the *Grammatica Latina ad usum Sinensium juvenum* of Joaquim A. Gonçalves from 1828, published in Macao.¹⁰⁹ Diego Collado, however, explicitly refuses this genre:

*Placuit autem hoc, non in dialogis materiam inutilem continentibus efficere; sed ordinando quandam confitendi, et fidei mysteria protestandi formulam, ut a principio auditus ministrorum et linguae rebus, in quibus continuo debent exerceri, assuescant.*¹¹⁰

I have found it better not to do it in the form of dialogues without any practical value but rather to compose a model confession and profession of the mysteries of faith, so that already from the beginning, the ears and tongues of missionaries gets used to things in which they have to train continuously.¹¹¹

Instead, Diego Collado chooses to write something more useful (in his eyes). He uses the words *formula confitendi et protestandi mysteria fidei*. The word *formula* – the form – is a reference to one of the types of confessional literature, the so-called »form of confession«¹¹² or »confessional formulary«.¹¹³ These are often from the penitent's point of view and intended for personal confession.¹¹⁴ However, I chose to translate them here as »a model confession«, because Collado's work is not intended for penitents but for priests. *Modus confitendi* thus fulfils two peculiar roles at the same time: it is a language textbook and it provides the confessor – a future missionary – with a guideline on how to handle a Japanese Christian.

105 The work was recently edited and published in a modern Japanese and Portuguese translation by Hino Hiroshi, see Hino, *Modus confitendi*. Ramírez Pardo published a Spanish translation in Ramírez Pardo, *El modus confitendi*. There is also an unpublished master's thesis by Thomas Jo Johansen that may contain the English translation. Unfortunately, access to this work is closed and it is not possible to obtain a copy of this, see Johansen, *Collado's Niffon no cotōbani*. Small excerpts in English were published by Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan*.

106 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 3.

107 See Dickey, *Learning Latin*.

108 See McLelland, *Dialogue and German language learning*, and McLelland, *Teaching and Learning Foreign Languages*, 40-41.

109 Joaquim A. Gonçalves is known especially for his *Arte China*, grammar of the Chinese language, see Levi, *Arte China*.

110 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 3.

111 Translations of the Latin text of *Modus confitendi* are my own.

112 See Cornett, *Form of Confession*.

113 Goering and Mantello, *Notus in Iudea Deus*.

114 Goering and Mantello, *Notus in Iudea Deus*, 254.

Visually, the more prominent language is Japanese.¹¹⁵ The Japanese text is situated on the verso of the folio and the Latin version is on the following folio recto. This means that the Japanese text precedes the Latin translation. According to the author, the Latin text is only congruous, not elegant.¹¹⁶ This, however, does not mean that the individual versions are on the same stylistic level. The Japanese language has been praised in the respective research for its closeness to the spoken word. The Latin text, on the other hand, may be described as written in a standard, unremarkable, maybe even slightly clumsy theological Latin of the time.

It is therefore understandable that it has been suggested by multiple scholars that the Japanese text of *Modus confitendi* contains actual recordings of penitents.¹¹⁷ However, Collado neither claims anything like that in his prologue nor would it be congruent with the tradition of fictitious texts composed for didactic purposes. Collado admits that he has not used the Japanese language for ten years. This suggests that he used his experience from hearing many confessions in Japan to create model confessions rather than copying genuine recorded confessions.

Besides, the Japanese part contains various terms in Latin (*Deus, fides*), Spanish (*confesion, sancta iglesia catholica*) and Portuguese (*gentio*).¹¹⁸ Moreover, some of these terms are ambiguous and can belong to multiple languages, like *catholica* or *Adam*. Initially, the Jesuits tried to use Japanese words for describing the contents of the Christian faith. However, this approach caused many misunderstandings. This forced the Jesuits to reconsider their strategy and to turn to Portuguese and Latin terminology.¹¹⁹ Collado's work corresponds to this rather complex linguistic situation but it retains only a couple of Portuguese words, using Spanish instead of Portuguese. The character of the text raises the question whether it could indeed mirror some part of the language situation in Japan: the Christian terminology used by Jesuit Japanese converts could differ slightly in their use of Portuguese terms from the language of the converts from mendicant orders who would prefer Spanish terms.¹²⁰

While the socio-cultural situation in Japan is reflected in the background in the grammar and the dictionary – especially in the choice of sample sentences – it plays an understandably much more important role in the *Modus confitendi*. Nevertheless, its basic structure does not differ from other similar works.

115 Quotations from the Japanese text are given according to the edition in Hino, *Modus confitendi*, which also contains a transliteration into the Japanese writing (kanji and kana), language analysis and a modern Japanese translation.

116 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 3.

117 Hino, *As vozes naturais*, 157; Yamamoto, *Scholasticism*, 255-256. Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, 74-75.

118 See the list of the European words used in the Japanese text in Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 669-700.

119 See Schurhammer, *Kirchliche Sprachproblem*.

120 For the complex multilingual situation of the Christian community in Japan, see Alonso Romo, *Portugués, castellano y latín*.

The content of the *Modus confitendi* consists of the following parts:

- Preface to the reader (p. 3)
- Examination of the faith (pp. 4-17)
- Confession of sins
 - Sins according to the ten commandments (pp. 16-53)
 - Mortal sins (pp. 52-57)
 - Works of mercy (pp. 56-59)
- Absolution (pp. 58-59)
- Advertentiae (deliberations) (pp. 58-65)

The priest is supposed to carefully examine the penitent before the confession. The part dealing with the examination of the faith is surprisingly long – covering 14 pages (7 in Japanese and 7 in Latin). This part is also the only one which is in the proper dialogue form between the P (*pater*, father, confessor) and R (*respondens*, respondent, penitent).

The very first question is: »P. When did you make your [last] confession?«¹²¹ What follows are three possible elaborated answers which can be shortened and paraphrased as: 1) I became a Christian this year and therefore this is my first confession.¹²² 2) Even though I have been a Christian for multiple years, I could not find an occasion [to confess] because of the persecution.¹²³ 3) I have been a Christian for 15 years, but I converted only by imitating others. I only recently started to be interested in the faith again.¹²⁴

121 P. *Quando fecisti confessionem Sacramentalem?* (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 5). Japanese: P. Itçu, vel. itçugoro confession vo mõxi atta ca? (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 4; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 110).

122 R. *Ego ex Dei misericordia hoc anno Christianus factus, nunquam confessionem Sacramentalem feci: unde haec, quam modo incipio, erit prima.* (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 5). Japanese: R. Soregaxi ga cotoxi Deus no von jifi no vie iori Christian ni nari maraxi te gozaru iuie ni, mada confesion vo mõsaide gozaru. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 4; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 111)

123 R. *Vel: etiam si a quatuor, quinque, vel sex iam annis fuerim Christianus, quia tamen sicut vestra experitur paternitas, sacerdotes ob persecutionem sunt absconditi, etiam si saepius ad confessionem faciendam, quoad potui, diligentiam adhibuerim, non potui tamen occasionem nancisci: unde usque modo nondum sum confessus.* (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 5) Japanese: R. Vel. Varega xi go rocu nen saqi iori Christian de voro iori redomo, go zonji no gotoqu, padre sama no von fisco ni iotte, renren confesion vo mõxi agueõ tote, chicara no voioibi saicacu itaita redomo tçuini sono chõbi ga gozaraide, ima made confession vo mõxi ague maraxenande gozaru. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 4; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 112-113)

124 R. *Vel: etiam si a quindecim iam annis fuerim baptizatus; quia tamen baptismum sine consideratione alios imitatus suscepi: circa Doctrinam Christianam usque ad dies praeteritos nondum conceptum formaveram, neque curabam de Christianorum exercitiis sicut, verbi gratia, de confessione annuali; neque de decem legis Dei praeceptorum observantia; sed fui tantus [sic!] occupatus et intentus rebus momentaneis, et huius saeculi vanitatibus. Sed cum diebus elapsis Dei sermones audissem, ita in cordis mei visceribus excitata est erga Deum animi devotio, quod ex illo tunc decreverim addiscere omnia et singula mysteria fidei Christianae, ex quorum fide cum morum perfecta reformatione, et omni ex parte secundum, quod vires suppetent virtutum exercitio, possem meam salutem aeternam operari, unde ex tunc omnia didici, et ad confessionem coepi me etiam disponere. Sed a quatuor iam annis non sum confessus.* (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 5) Japanese: R. vel. Vatacuxi ga jũ gonen maie, vo mizzu vo sazzucari maraxite gozare domo, sore va musato fitonami ni tçucamatçutta tocoro de, cono fodo made xpan no von voxie ni tçuite, imada xicaxica funbet tocuxin to mõsu coto va gozaraide, Christian no guiõgui, tatoieba, mainen, zzutçu xemete ichido no confesion no coto, mata tovo no go voqite vo tamotçu coto, nando ni camavaide, tada vqio no nandemonai coto ni tazzusavatte macariite gozaru. Sari nagara, cono giũ go dangui vo sucoxi vqetamotte cara, xingiu ni Deus ni taixite xinjin no cocoro vo moiovoxi, tocacu, daijinaru goxõ vo tasucaru tame ni, mazzu Christian no coto vo ichi ichi gatten xi, mimochi vo aratame, core ni nomi xeije vo tçucusaide va, to, vomoi atatta ni iotte, sore cara sunavachi Christian no coto vo mina narai maraxite, mata confesion no cacugo mo itaite gozaru. Sari nagara, suie no confesion va sõionen no maie de gozatta. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 4; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 114-116)

While the first question is typical for confessions in general, the answers show various types of believers a confessor could meet in Japan. Even at the peak of the spread of Christianity in Japan, the number of priests was always very low¹²⁵ and demand for confessions very high, as claimed by the missionaries.¹²⁶ The confession, one of the defining features of the Christian Catholic religion, was regarded by the Japanese authorities as one of the means through which Christian priests manipulated and controlled the converts and which had to be prevented.¹²⁷

The amount of knowledge on the Christian religion expected from the penitent in the *Modus confitendi* is very high:¹²⁸

P. [...] Cum ergo praedicta sicut dixisti erga te acciderint, iam absque dubio scies orationes Christianas, et minutim de singulis fidei articulis notitiam habebis.

R. Ita est profecto, magna ex parte hac notitia calleo.

P. Quid ergo est hoc quod dicitur Deus?

R. Hoc quod Deus dicitur, est quaedam maiestas omnipotens, principium omnium, quae caelum et terram et omnia, tam non viventia quam viventia creavit, et de omnibus habet providentiam et curam, cum eius Sancta substantia neque principium neque finem habeat.

P. Quot ergo sunt Deus?

R. Non ita se habet res, essentia enim divina, eius substantia est una tantum.

P. [...] When the things concerning you happened as you say, you will definitely know the Christian prayers and you will have precise knowledge about all articles of faith.

R. Yes, indeed: I know the better part of it.

125 The number of priests never exceeded 137, Whelan, *Beginning*, 11.

126 Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, 109-117.

127 Cf. Renouncing the Kirishitan Faith, 1645: »We were also taught that, unless a person committing a sin confesses it to the padre and secures his pardon, he shall not be saved in the world beyond. In that way the people were led into believing in the padres. All that was for the purpose of taking the lands of others.« (Lu, *Documentary History*, 224)

128 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 7.

Japanese:

P. [...] Xite? sô aruga, sadamete oracio to, mata fides no giô giô vo cotocomaca ni voxiri arô made.

R. Nacanaca tabun Deus no vo coto voba xiri maraxite gozaru.

P. Deus to mōsu va nande gozaru ca?

R. Deus to mōxi tatematçuru coto va, banji canai tamō, iorozzu no minamoto, tenchi xinra manzō vo tçucuri, sore sore no go facarai te, fajime mo nai fatexi mo nai go sontai, voncata de gozaru.

P. Sareba: Deus va icutçu de gozaru zo?

R. Iia iia: Deus no sontai va tada go ittai de gozaru.

(Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 6; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 118-121)

P. What is that which is called »God«?

R. That which is called »God« is some type of omnipotent majesty, the beginning of all things that created the heaven, the earth, and all the non-living as well as the living things, he has knowledge of everything and he takes care of everything, because his Holy substance has neither beginning nor end.

P. How many are the »God«?

R. It is not like this, the divine essence, his substance is only one.

The priest however persists, and even has some tricky questions:¹²⁹

P. Ubicumque de hoc auditur; non ita videtur referri: ego enim tres esse profecto audivi.

R. Profecto sicut vestra dicit Paternitas, verum est quod quando de Deo fit sermo, et audiuntur tres et una essentia, sed quando tres dicuntur hoc pertinet ad divinas personas; quando vero dicitur una essentia, hoc intelligunt Christiani ad divinitatem, quae est divina natura, pertinere: unde verificatur quod est tres personae et unus in essentia Deus.

P. One can hear it everywhere, but he does not seem to be referred to like this. I have heard that they are three.

R. Indeed, it is true, as your paternity says, that when the speech is about God, one can hear both »three« and »one essence«. When »three« is being said, it pertains to the divine persons. When, however, »one essence« is being said, Christians understand it as pertaining to the divinity which is the divine nature. Therefore, it is true that there are three persons and one God in the essence.

It is questionable to what extent an average Japanese Christian was able to answer these questions as proposed here.¹³⁰ And it is still not enough, because the priest says:¹³¹

P. Si ergo res in Deo ita se habent, referas ergo mihi obsecro singula minutatim.

P. If God is as you say, please, explain to me everything in detail.

129 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 7.

Japanese:

P. Docu de qiqi marasuru mo, sono sata ga gozaranu. Tocacu mitçu to qiqi voiobi maraxite gozaru.

R. Vö, sono vo coto de gozaru. Guioi no gotoqu, Deus no vo cotovari ni tçuite, mitçu tomo go ittai tomo qicoie marasuredomo, mitçu to mõsu toqi va, Deus no persona no von tocoro ni atari marasuru. Mata goittai to uqetamoru va, Deus no diuindad to ippa, go sontai ni ai canai tamö to, Christian mina gatten tçucamatçuru.

(Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 6; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 121-122)

130 Higashibaba notes the fact that this part is a very »text-book response« but claims that reading other confessions, »we may say that such a doubt [about the credibility of the source] is groundless,« Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, 95. Nevertheless, this presupposes the genuine nature of other confessions without any firm evidence.

131 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 7.

Japanese: P. Xicareba sono sata vo comacani catatte tamore. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 6; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 122)

The penitent does not fail. He explains in which aspects the Christian concept of God is known to the pagans (infinite and incomprehensible knowledge of God, his glory and mercy etc.). The peculiar feature of the Christian religion, according to him, is the concept of the divine trinity. The explanation of the relationship between three divine persons then takes up the whole page – the largest uninterrupted speech in the whole work. It demonstrates the key role the concept of the Holy Trinity played in defining the Christian religion as opposed to Buddhism and Shinto.

Once the penitent passes all the questions, the text can move to various sins. First it follows the Decalogue, then continues with mortal sins and finally with the works of mercy. Nevertheless, the distribution of sins is neither proportionate nor complete. The first and the sixth commandments receive the most attention, while the ninth and the tenth commandments are represented by just one joint example. There are also only three of the seven mortal sins listed (pride, gluttony and greed) and three sins related to the works of mercy.

The definition of the nature of sin follows both the Christian tradition as well as local specifics. The peculiar factor is the presence of persecution and what it causes:¹³²

[R.] Praeter hoc: cum e curia regis quidam eius minister descendisset ut Christianos omnes huius territorii compelleret ad negandam fidem magnamque inferret violentiam omnibus ut subscriberent non esse Christianos et exercitia Christianorum relinquerent, et saltim in exteriori fidem se dicerent abnegare, ut ego cum uxore et filiis mortis periculum fugerem, fidem ore tenuis solum negavi.

P. Eo ipso quo fides abnegatur etiam in exteriori tantum, est necessarium, iterum palinodiam recantare. Feciste ne sic iam?

R. Nondum feci, et hoc est quod maxime me affligit. Cum enim praedictus minister regis iam Christianitatem destruxisset, iterum ascendit in curiam: ideoque nihil potui efficere; sed sic usque modo perseveravi. Sed faciam quod vestra paternitas ordinaverit mihi: unde vestrum consilium exequendum obsecro.

P. Ubinam sunt scripta, que fecit ille regis minister, v. g. subscriptiones quas extorsit et index eorum qui fidem abnegaverunt etc.? Si enim secum illa duxit est necessarium ad minus per literas [sic!] seu per nuntium renuntiare illi quomodo Christianus es, et vis emendare quod tunc errasti, et idem notum facere in tota tua familia et apud vicinos ad quorum notitiam pervenerat te fidem abnegasse.

132 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 19.

Japanese: [R.] Mata cono giũ, xõgun sama no go fatto ni xitagatte, sono buguiõ Miiaco iori cudararete, jenacu cono atari no Christian xu vo corobaxeõ tote, mina ni fan mo suie, Christian no guiõgui vo saxivoqe, xemete vuamuqi ni naritomo corobe to xiqiri ni susumerareta niotte, varera ga nhõbõ, codomo no inochi vo nogareõzuru tame ni, tçuini cuchi bacari de corobi maraxita.

P. Vuamuqi bacari demo corobu mono ga sore vo ii modosaide naranu ga, sono bun de gozatta ca?

R. Iia mada de gozaru. Sore coso fucõ canaxũ gozari marasure. Tocacu sono vo buguiõ Christiano coto vo uchi cuzzuite cara va sonomama Cami macari noborarete gozaru sacai ni, nani mo ye itaxi maraxeide ima made cono bun ni macari iru ga, go iqen vo tanomi marasuru.

P. Sono buguiõ no xerareta coto domo no niqi va doconi aru zo? Sunavachi sore vo motte noborareta raba, sono buguiõ ie fumi nari tomo, tçucaï vo iatte nari tomo, ii modosaide va. Sono vie vare sama ga qenzocu mo atari no mono domo mo, sore vo xirareta niotte, mofaia xinjit no Christian ni nari navori atta to, mina tocuxin xeraruru iõni ni mesarete iõ gozarõ zu. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 18; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 158-161)

[R.] Moreover, when a certain official came from the royal court to compel all Christians of this region to deny the faith, he inflicted great violence towards all so they signed that they are not Christians, that they relinquish Christian rites or – at least – they say that they deny Christianity in public. I have denied the faith only orally [i.e. outwardly] in order to save myself, my wife and my children from death.

P. Because your faith was renounced in public, it is necessary to recant your denial. Have you done it already?

R. I haven't done it yet and that inflicts great pain on me. After the said official of the king destroyed Christianity, he returned to the court, therefore I could not do anything, and so I remained until now. However, I will do what your fatherhood commands me. Therefore, I ask you for your advice that I would follow.

P. Where are these documents that the court official prepared, e.g., signatures that he extorted and the list of those who renounced the faith etc.? If he took them with him, it is necessary at least to inform him in a letter or by a messenger that you are Christian and that you want to correct your previous error. And you must make it known to all your family and your neighbours who came to know that you renounced your faith.

Such atonement would mean the death sentence for the penitent if he or she were to follow it. Nevertheless, it is in accordance with the narratives in the canonical late antique martyrologies which made famous the phrase *Christianus / Christiana sum*. (I am a Christian.)¹³³ The priest basically asks the penitent to follow the first Christian martyrs (*renuntiare illi quomodo Christianus es*). Interestingly, while a Christian should never deny his or her faith,¹³⁴ the priests could deny their priesthood, as the example of Luis Flores and Pedro Zuñiga from the Hirayama incident shows.

Diego Collado does not forget to mention also his enemies – the Dutch – with whom he had plenty of experience. He puts the following words into the mouth of a penitent:¹³⁵

Ego pulverem tormentarium conficio: cum ergo ita sit: haereticis et pyratis Holandis vendidi huiusmodi pulverem; illis etiam ministravi quaerendo victu alia, sclopos, et glandes seu globos tormentarios, et tormenta et alia instrumenta bellica. Cum vero illi sint, tum haeretici, tum pyratae determinate huiusmodi praedicta vendere, et in his illis adiuvere¹³⁶ et ministrare esse in lege Dei prohibitum credens, per quatuor annos continuos illud exercui.

133 Kitzler, *Passio Perpetuae*, 4.

134 Nevertheless, Jesuits were accused of using the so-called »deliberate ambiguity« – it was a way of not confessing their identity without actually lying, see Screech, English, 21.

135 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 57.

Japanese: Vatacuxi, teppô gusuri vo tçucuru mono de gozareba, Holanda no herejes caizocu nin ni sono cusuri vo vri, sono vie fiôrô teppô sono tama, ixibia, caixen no dôgu vo mo mina tazzune idaxi, sono tameni cai maraxite gozaru. Tocacu arera va corobi Christian to, mata caizocu no mono nareba, sadamete saïoni môxita coto vo vri tçuzzucuru ga von imaxime de gozarô to, suisat itaxi nagara, ionen no aida ni xi tçuzzuqi maraxita. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 56; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 260-261)

136 This is one of the occasions where the classical and humanistic Latin would require »illos adiuvere«.

I make the gunpowder, and as it is, I have sold it to the Dutch heretics and pirates. For obtaining my livelihood, I also procured other stuff for them: guns and bullets or cannon balls and cannons and other instruments of war. Although they are both heretics and pirates and I believe it is forbidden in the law of God to purposefully sell them those things, to help them in these things and to serve them, I did it for four whole years.

The persecution affected many crucial elements of Christian life. Two of the most basic ones were the annual confession prescribed by the Fourth Lateran Council,¹³⁷ combined with regular attendance at mass, based on the third commandment: »remember to keep holy the Sabbath day«:¹³⁸

Cum modo maxime vigeat sacerdotum persecutio, et maneant occulti, ob hocque non sit opportunitas audiendi missam diebus dominicis et festis, non imputatur mihi impossibile. Bis tamen vel ter cum potuissem audire sacrum; ex negligentia non audivi. Alia vice sciens locum ubi erat sacerdos missam celebraturus: ita me in re nullius momenti occupatus detinui in via, quod quando perveni iam missam inceperat: unde quartae eius parti in principio non interfui.

Because there is a great persecution of priests and they remain hidden, I have no opportunity to attend the mass on Sundays and feasts and I should not be blamed for the impossible. However, twice or thrice, even though I could attend the mass, I did not do it because of negligence. On another occasion, I knew the place where the priest was going to celebrate the mass, however, I detained myself on the way by doing things of no value so that when I arrived the mass had already started. Therefore, I missed a quarter of the mass at the beginning.

Nevertheless, there was also present a precarious question of accommodation: what participation in common rites, rituals and actions is allowed for a Christian? This issue became even more urgent in the time of the persecution when such non-participation may lead to danger. One of the penitents in *Modus confitendi* repents that he used pagan rituals when his son was seriously ill. That is an obvious case of superstition and demonstration of the lack of faith. Similar examples were nevertheless already known from the late antique and medieval *summae confessorum*, which makes it difficult to interpret it as relating to specific Japanese cultural settings. In another example, the penitent confesses that when he was staying in the home of »pagans«, he went with them a couple time to a temple, in order to prevent them identifying him as Christian.¹³⁹ The priest admonishes the penitent: when he returns to the place where it happened, he must declare his faith publicly. And when he hears others praising their gods and idols, he must praise his God.¹⁴⁰ In this example the same ideal

137 Garrison, *Handbooks for confessors*.

138 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 29.

Japanese: Ima Padre sama no von fissocu no sacari de gozareba, Domingo iuaibi ni go missa vo vogamu chôbi ga gozaraide, jefi ni voiobanu coto naredomo, ni sando va canai nagara tada iurucaxe de vogami maraxenande gozatta. Ma ichido va Padre no gozaru tocoro vo xitte, michi de nandemonai coto ni tazzusauatte, tçuita toqi va mô xi fajime saxerareta tocorode, xibuichi fodo cacaxe maraxita. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 28; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 184-185)

139 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 21.

140 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 59-61.

of the apostolic church of martyrs is celebrated. More than Japanese realities, it very probably mirrors Collado's own preferences, his own longing for martyrdom, which he seems to have planned to fulfil during his striving for mission, but which ultimately did not take place.

The second largest topic in the *Modus confitendi* is sexuality. It is not only present in the chapter on the sixth commandment, as perhaps expected, but it also constitutes an important part of the chapter on the fifth commandment, as demonstrated by the first sin mentioned in this category:¹⁴¹

In primis quemdam innocentem qui luxuriae viam adhuc nesciebat, docui substantiam et modum habendi pollutiones voluntarias et illi ut hoc peccatum committeret persuasi.

First of all, I taught the matter and way of having »voluntary pollutions« to a certain person, who was innocent before and did not know the ways of lust.

One of the greatest challenges for Christianity in Japan was the concept of monogamy and indissoluble marriage.¹⁴² While divorce is not discussed in the *Modus confitendi* at all, fidelity and continence play an important role:¹⁴³

Etiam si habeam uxorem habui etiam pellicem; quae quidem etiam habet maritum. Cum ergo ex utraque parte sit impedimentum non potuimus convenire ita frequenter sicut desiderabamus, sed fecimus secundum quod se obtulit occasio, de numero vicium non recordor. Aliquando accidit convenisse ter in uno mense, aliquando semel, aliquando nunquam. Cum vero fuit maritus eius extra villam multoties consequitive convenimus secundum concurrentiam occasionum. Sed quia huiusmodi pellicem a tempore iuventutis cognovi, et ob hoc illam alias valde amem a tanto tempore: etiam si quando confiteor praecipiat mihi confessor ut omnino abstinenceam et illam relinquam, ex parte mea ego etiam proponam me pro viribus illam relicturum et quod iam non erit amplius; cum tamen sim homo fragilis: postea saepe saepius in peccatum reincidi. Cum vero hoc fuerit per septem vel octo annorum spatium ex hoc poterit vestra paternitas negocii

141 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 33.

Japanese: Soregaxi, iocoxima no michi uo mi xiranu uosanai mono ni tezzucara no inracu uo catari, xiiö uo made mo uoxiie susumete, sono acu uo uoca saxe maraxita. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 32; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 198)

142 Vu Thanh, Introducing tridentine marriage.

143 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 37.

Japanese: Soregaxi nhöbö vo mochi nagara, chicazzuqi mo mochi maraxita. Sono tecaqe mo votto no aru mono de vogiaru. Sö gozareba futasama no samatague ga atte nozomi no mamani sore to toga ni vochi maraxeide, tada chôbi xidai ni itaxi maraxita. Cazu va ie voboie nedomo, fitotçuqi ni va, ni sando mo ari, ichido mo ari, nai coto mo gozaru. Mata nuxi no votto rusu de gozaru toqi va fi vo tçuquzete sai sai vocaxi marasuru. Tocacu xiauxaxe ni ai iori maraxita. Sari nagara jacufai no toqi cara sono vonago vo mixitta tocorode qiga amari sore ni tçuqi maraxite, farubaru no cotonareba, confession no jibun ni padre sama iori, tocacu sore vo iamei cutto saxi voqe to vôxerarete micata cara mo zuibun chicara no voiobi, mofaia catçute aru mai to sadameta redomo, iouai mono nareba sono nochi casane gasane ni vochi maraxita. Core va mö xichi fachi nen no coto de gozaru niotte go suiriö mesareio. Cono vchi ni chiguiri no ioi xiauxaxe ga nai toqi va, sore ni xitagatte nari xidai sono gotai ni te vo caqe, cuchi vo sui, idaqi, fagi vo saguru coto tö va vomö mama ni xi marasuru. Tocacu mi ni macaxete iraruru to cocoroie saxerareio. Mata fufu no chiguiri no jibun nimo ano vonna ni nen vo caqete naita coto va dodo gozatta. Mata söbet xötoqu no michi iori de gozatta redomo; nisando va vxiro, vel, xiri cara votoxi maraxita. Sono vie, sono vonago coto voba vomoi idasu tabi gotoni, isami iorocobi, sono nagori voxisa de vonozzucara mo in ga more, tezzucara mo moraxi maraxita. Core va maie no confession no igo xichi fachijü do de gozarö made. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 36; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 205-209)

gravitatem conicere. Quando vero non est occasio peccatum consumandi, oscula, amplexus, et usque ad partium verendarum tactus saepius accidere iuxta desiderium. Consideretque reverendus pater quod in omnibus praedicta sit mihi subiecta. Saepius etiam quando rem cum uxore habui, feci ac si cum pellice rem haberem de illa recordatus. Et si vero regulariter quando cum illa pellice convenio sit in vase naturali, bis tamen vel ter fuit in praepostero. Insuper quando de rebus cum illa habitis in eius absentia recordor in illis delector; illo vero desiderio et delectatione aliquando naturaliter in pollutionem venio: aliquando etiam ad illam meipsum provoco, post ultimam confessionem accidit septuagies vel octogies magis vel minus.

Even though I had a wife, I also had a mistress, who also has a husband. Therefore, because there was this obstacle from both sides, we could not meet as often as we would like to but we did it as the occasion arose. I can't remember the number of times. Sometimes we happened to meet three times in a month, sometimes once, sometimes not at all. And in fact, when the husband was out of the village, we met many times in a row, according to given occasions. However, I knew this mistress from the time of my youth and for this reason, I love her very much after that time. Even though when I confess, the confessor orders me to completely abstain from her and to leave her, and I am – for myself – determined to leave her with all effort and that it will not continue, because I am a weak human, I often relapsed into the sin. This has lasted for seven or eight years, so your fatherhood may conjecture the gravity of the sin. And when there is no occasion to consume the sin, very often kisses, embraces and touches even up to the genitals took place according to our desire. Your fatherhood should know that she is willing to do anything for me. Very often, even though I had it with my wife, I did it as if I were doing it with my mistress, thinking of her. And although usually, in fact, it happens in the natural vessel, when I meet that mistress, two or three times it was into the rear vessel. Moreover, when I remember the things I did with her in her absence, I feel pleasure. Sometimes, I achieve natural pollution with that desire and pleasure. Sometimes I masturbate. After the last confession, it happened around seventy or eighty times.

It is not surprising that female voices are very rare in the *Modus confitendi*. They appear mainly either in connection with their sexuality, their role in the family, or in their reproductive role. Women are often presented as victims of male violence. Correspondingly, as sinners, they appear only in the fifth (thou shall not kill) and sixth commandments (thou shall not commit adultery). However, their sins often result from a desperate situation in which they find themselves according to their social role:¹⁴⁴

Cum maritus meus sit natura bilosus me vel manibus aut alio quovis modo percutere et cedere non cessat: ego vero ne ex illo filios habeam et procreem: postquam gravidam esse sensi, ventrem fortiter torquens, filium abortiri feci.

Because my husband is by his nature full of bile, he never stops beating and hitting me either by hands or by any other means. I did not want to have children by him and to procreate, so after I sensed that I was pregnant, I twisted strongly my belly until I caused the abortion of my child.

144 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 35.

Japanese: R. Mata: vaga votto va igi no varui mono nareba mizzucara vo vttçu, tataitçu xeraruru niiotte, sono co vo möqenu tameni mimochi ni natte cara fara vo negitte, sono co vo voroxi maraxita. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 34; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 204)

Collado provides two descriptions of rapes. Once from the perspective of the offender (a man) and then from the perspective of the victim (a woman):

[male's experience]¹⁴⁵ *Quadam vice cum in loco solitario obviam habuissem feminam, violenter illam in terram deiectam discooperui, cumque manibus et pedibus eius compressis illi violentiam inferrem, exclamare coepit: quo factum est ut opus non potuerim perficere, sed extra vas fuerit consumatum.*

One day when I encountered a woman in a solitary place, I threw her down and revealed her and then when I pressed her hands and legs and was raping her, she started to scream. Because of this, I could not finish it but it was done outside the vessel.

[female's experience]¹⁴⁶ *Praeterea tempore aestatis cum prae calore non possem noctu supra me aliquid cooperturae sufferre, et pedibus omnia levassem, essemque discooperta profunde dormiens, accessit quidam vir sensim et gradu lento, et quamvis eo quod esset media nox, esset locus obscurus, quia tamen antecedenter praeventionem fecerat, via recta ad locum ubi ego eram accedens subito supra pectus manus imponens et me palpans quin eo quod aliquid diceret voluit mihi violentiam inferre; sed cum ego conarer illum a me seiungere in aures meas obmurmurans dixit se statim me occisurum si strepitum aliquem facerem. Et quia prope erant aliqui domestici ne nos audirent non multum strepitum facere procuravi; sed alias rem tam inopinatam et repentinam ferre non valens, ex parte timendo, ex parte vero irata, coepi dentibus illum mordere et manibus levare: unde facinore imperfecto feci illum abire.*

Also, in summer I could not bear any sheet on me during the night due to the heat, and I pushed everything away from me with my feet. I was thus exposed and slept deeply. Then a man approached slowly, step by step. Even though it was midnight and the place was very dark, he went directly to where I was, because he prepared himself beforehand. Suddenly, he put his hands on my chest, he stroked me without saying a word and wanted to rape me. When I tried to push him away from me, he whispered into my ear that he would kill me immediately, if I made any noise. And because there were servants nearby, I did not make much noise so that they could not hear us. However, I could not bear further such an unexpected and sudden thing, partially from fear, partially – in fact – because of anger, I started to bite him with my teeth and push him away with my hands. So I caused him to leave without finishing his crime.

145 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 39.

Japanese: Aru toqi mo, nivacani fito nai tocoro de fitori vonna ni tçuqiôte, xiqiri ni chixô ni tauore fuxi, sono qiru mono vo carague, te axi vo mo tori sucumete votosô to xita redomo, narôzuru tocoro ni vamecareta niiotte, ie fataxi maraxeide, tada nhôbô gurui itaxi, in mo sono maie no quia fotori ni coboxi maraxita. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 38; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 215)

146 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 41.

Japanese: Sono uie, uare ga natçu no atçusa de iogui uo cabuxe canete, qe nozoite, mino uie ni nani mo nai, nete uoru tocoroie fito ga sorosoro to chicazzuite, ionaca no jibun ni sono nedocoro ga curô gozaredomo, canete cara sono caçugo ga atte, niuacani miga mune ni te uo caçe saguri, nani mo iuazu ni, uieni norareta tocoro vo sari faz-zusô tote fataraita redomo, are ua sosoiaite, zozomeita raba uchi corosô to mi uo uodosareta tocorode, chicô uoru uchi no mono iori uoboieraruru mai tameni, amari uoto vo xenanda redomo, sono iôni furio na coto uo coraie canete, nacaba ua uosore, nacaba ua xicatte, tçuini sore uo cuchi de camî, te de saxi ague, jiiûni fatasaxe maraxeide, inaxe maraxita. Core ua ichido de gozatta. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 40; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 221-222)

The narrative concludes with a standard question of the confessor whether the penitent has real contrition about the sins with the firm proposition not to sin again and whether he/she confessed everything.¹⁴⁷ After the penitent confirms it, the confessor assures him (her) about the infinite and immense mercy of God. However, Collado adds »*advertentiae necessariae*« – necessary notes. He addresses 17 out of some 89 confessions that are included in the work. In these notes, he either explains how the Christian should behave (e.g., regarding the superstitions, visits of pagan temples etc.), or the sort of atonement required. In some cases, he informs the penitent that the absolution of a particular sin can be given only after restitution has been made.

With a couple of exceptions, especially regarding the examples mentioning the ongoing persecution of Christians in Japan, the nature of enumerated sins does not seem to be very specific. Andrew Steinmetz who happened to find *Modus confitendi* in a convolute with Collado's dictionary, noted it pointedly in the mid-nineteenth century:¹⁴⁸ *This singular document [i.e. Modus confitendi] ... proves that human sins and vices of all kinds are pretty nearly the same all the world over.* Indeed, confessional interrogatories from all over the world seemingly agree with him - be they from Goa,¹⁴⁹ Mexico,¹⁵⁰ or Japan.¹⁵¹ They often deal with superstition, veneration of idols, problems of infidelity, abortions and other common sins. But more than similarity of sins »all the world over«, the similarity of textual aids for confessors produced across the centuries in the areas of European Latin Christianity and exported after 1500 into the areas of the »New World« and beyond should be addressed here. What makes the *Modus confitendi* unique among this production, beside its »living« style and the textbook character, is the dynamic between the priest and the penitent. Good material for comparison is provided by *Arte, vocabulario y confionario en el idioma mexicano* written by Jerónimo Tomás de Aquino Cortés y Zedeño in 1765. In the confionario, the only person speaking is the priest in the form of short and precise questions (hence »interrogatory«). The penitent is expected to answer them only in the most basic way.¹⁵²

Spanish	Nahuatl	English translation
Respuestas del penitente		Answers from the penitent
Si.	Quema	Yes
No.	Amo, l.	No
Quantas veces.	Quezquecpa	How many times
Muchas veces.	Miacpa.	Many times

147 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 59: *Profecto, sicut dicis, peccata tua sunt multa et gravissima; sed et si ita sit, poenitendo tamen de singulis ex intimis cordis, et cum firmissimo proposito non reincidenti, omnia nullo dempto dixisti? Non est ita?*

Japanese: Vòxearu gotoqu, mottomo toga no cazu mo fucasa mo icai coto naredomo, xintei iori sore vo ichiichi cò-quai xi, futatabi vocasu mai to vomoi qitte, mina fitotçu mo nocosazu arauaxi atta: nô? (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 58; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 265)

148 Steinmetz, *Japan and Her People*, 441.

149 Souza, Confessionários or manuals of confession.

150 Cortés y Zedeño, *Arte, vocabulario y confionario*.

151 Japanese *Salvator mundi*, published by the Jesuits in 1598, see Laures, *Kirishitan bunko*, 57-58. Partial Portuguese translation of relevant chapter published in Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 627-671.

152 Cortés y Zedeño, *Arte, vocabulario y confionario*, 129.

This manner of communicating with the penitent makes sense if the priest possesses only a very limited knowledge of the native language. He is supposed to understand what sins the penitent committed, in order to make the absolution possible.¹⁵³ On the other hand, Collado's *Modus confitendi* can be read as a complex dialogue between the priest and the penitent – it focuses on the »answers« of the penitent.

To what degree might it reflect actual confessions in Early Modern Japan? Was the confessor supposed mainly to listen to the penitents and interrupt them as rarely as possible, even if it meant that he would not understand completely their speech because of his insufficient knowledge of their language? Or did Collado chose this form because it provided a good opportunity for using various vocabulary and sentence structures – thus fulfilling better its purpose as a learning material rather than as an actual guide helping to interrogate the Japanese penitents and to make it possible to administer the sacrament of penance to them. Or did Collado produce a sort of compendium demonstrating the conduct of an ideal priest and his ideal Christian lay believer under persecution, to whose soul only, and not to the wellbeing of his flesh, the priest has to dedicate himself?

The *Modus confitendi* provides an important counterbalance to confessional interrogatories that an ordinary confessor would generally use. By featuring seemingly everyday Japanese voices, Collado elevates the importance of these converts and makes them active subjects rather than passive objects of the confession.

Conclusion

The work of Diego Collado is exceptional – not necessarily in terms of its quality or scope but by virtue of its concept and the conditions in which Collado composed it. Everything he did and wrote aimed strictly at the promotion of missionary work in Japan. The majority of his works were published in just five years, between 1629 and 1634 – when his fight against the Jesuit monopoly in Japan was at its peak, and his goals were aligned with those of the recently founded Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

He is neither the author of the first Japanese grammar, nor of the first Japanese dictionary, but he is the first one who composed and published both outside of Japan with almost no help, either from relevant textual material or from Japanese native speakers. The grammar and dictionary together with the model confession (*Modus confitendi*) form a coherent trilogy – albeit flawed and full of errors. All three linguistic books were supposed to be bound together into one volume (»*in unum ... tomum*«) and used by Christian priests during their dangerous mission.¹⁵⁴ For this reason, not only do they all have the same format (40) but Diego Collado also tried not to repeat the information in the dictionary that had to be learnt by heart from the grammar (e.g., numbers, which are notoriously complicated in the Japanese language).¹⁵⁵

153 Cf. Souza, *Confessionários* or manuals of confession, especially 32: »both the penitent and the confessor need this manual for confession: the penitent for being new to the new doctrine and in need of knowing where he failed; and the priest confessor who has difficulties with language and needs to understand what the penitent wants to say, even when he responds with just Yes or No to the questionnaire... It was therefore important that the questions were brief, precise and direct.«

154 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 3. Such a thing could be very feasible. The grammar itself has only 75 pages, *Modus confitendi* 66 and the original first part of the dictionary (to which Collado refers when speaking about putting it into one volume) has 157 pages.

155 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 3. However, he added many to them in the additions to the dictionary.

While they are mostly focused on as a source for the study of the Japanese language, they are also witnesses to the socio-cultural conditions of the time of their origin and at least some features of European linguistic and religious tradition. The grammar follows the famous grammatical theory established already in Antiquity, adhering closely to Antonina de Nebrija's work. The dictionary, on the other hand, at least partially follows the so-called Calepinus, and finally, the *Modus confitendi* originates from the tradition of confessional manuals and guides, having multiple parallels from the European Middle Ages and global early modernity.

The idea of creating a complex set of books is neither unique nor completely new. The famous medieval work *Catholicon* by Johannes Balbus from the thirteenth century also included both grammatical and lexicographical units.¹⁵⁶ The bishop of the Unity of Bohemian Brethren, Jan Amos Comenius, a contemporary of Diego Collado, created an elaborated and innovative set of educational, hierarchically organised textbooks, with a main text accompanied by corresponding subsidiary books: dictionary and grammar.¹⁵⁷ Diego Collado's aim, however, was not to create either a comprehensive compendium like Johannes Balbus, or a pedagogically perfectionist work like Comenius. His motivation was practical: it had to be just good enough for advancing the upcoming mission. A detailed comparison with the *Arte, vocabulario y confionario en el idioma mexicano* by Jerónimo Tomás de Aquino Cortés y Zdeño shows promise for future research on the topic because of the programmatic setting, which is identical with Collado's approach. It is a compact book of 184 pages, aimed at priests, containing a short grammar of the »Mexican« language (i.e. Nahuatl, previously known as Aztec) written in Spanish, a dictionary from »Romance« (i.e. Spanish) to »Mexican« (i.e. Nahuatl), and the Spanish- Nahuatl »confionario«.¹⁵⁸ It basically collects in one volume what Collado tried to achieve with his three books. Yet while the grammar and the dictionary are similar to the works of Collado, the confionario, as shown above, is structured differently.

Collado's grammar and dictionary, together with the *Modus confitendi*, represent a unique missionary and linguistic effort at the sunset of the Christian Century in Japan and as such they should remain in the focus of future interdisciplinary linguistic, philological and historical research.

156 Weijers, *Lexicography*, 143-144.

157 Comenius continued work on his method and its improvement for many decades, see Gmiterek, Comenius.

158 See also, Yáñez Rosales, *Arte y descripción del náhuatl*.

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