# The Relation between Justice and Martyrdoms in Religious Art: The Paintings in the Church of the Gesù depicting Japanese Martyrdoms

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#### **Abstract**

In this article I explore the understanding of the concept of martyrdom in the context of the Christian mission in Japan in the 17th c. To that end, I will discuss a painting representing the executions of Nagasaki in September 1622, patrimony of the Church of the Gesù in Rome, and the historical accounts referring this event. Other depictions of Japanese martyrdoms focus their representation solely on the martyrs and their deeds. In this painting, however, the Christian audience observing the execution also draws the attention of the viewer, since its detailed depiction takes one third of the pictorial space. I will argue that this difference between this painting and other images reflects the various attitudes clergymen in Japan had towards martyrdom, as the analysis of the accounts of this event reveals: the friars of that mission considered the martyrdom not an end in itself but a mean for the evangelism of Japan.

Keywords: Japan, Jesuits, Nagasaki, Christian martyrdoms, religious art, 17th c.



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#### Introduction

On September 10th, 1622, the Japanese authorities executed fifty-five Christians in Nagasaki, thirty of whom were beheaded and twenty-five died in the bonfire. From this twenty-five, nine were priests, eight European and one Japanese, and twelve were Japanese friars, all of them members of the Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans. Hasegawa Gonroku, governor of Nagasaki, organized the execution in the North outskirts of the city, on the Nishizaka hill. This was the same site where other executions of Christians took place, such as the famous martyrdom of twenty-six Christians in 1597.

Since numerous Europeans were killed in this execution, the religious orders prepared several books about these events, which were sent to Europe where they were reprinted. In addition to these accounts the Jesuits sent a depiction representing this martyrdom as García Garcés mentions in his book about these events. There is a painting in the Church of the Gesù entitled *Martyrdom of Fifty-two Christians at Nagasaki in 1622* (fig. 1) which depicts the execution in Nagasaki on September 10th, 1622. Its attribution is unknown, although it is believed to have been painted by a Japanese artist member of the Jesuits shortly after the events represented in the work. Its iconography matches the description given by García Garcés of the painting that he employed as testimony for his account and that was sent by the Jesuits to Manila in 1623.

One of the key differences of this painting compared to other representations of martyrdoms is the way the Japanese witnesses are depicted. Other paintings of Japanese martyrdoms, such as the print by Jacques Callot (1627, fig. 2), focus the attention of the viewer on the martyrs and their deeds. In contrast, in this painting the Christian audience attending the execution has a strong presence and it takes almost one third of the pictorial space. Moreover, the artist depicted the garments and weapons of the people in the audience in great detail, to the extent that he must have been familiarized with the Japanese culture. This is especially evident if we compare the painting with other depictions of Japanese made in Europe at that time, such as the print by Schelte Adamsz (1628-1659, fig. 3). This divergence between this painting and other images reflects a different understanding of these events influenced by the view of martyrdom held by the friars from the mission in Japan. In order to explore their idea of martyrdom I will analyze the accounts of three clergymen from different orders dealing with the Japanese martyrdoms.

# Historical context of the mission in Japan

Before exploring the writings dealing with the executions of Christians in Japan, I will briefly explain the history of Christianity in the country.

Christianity arrived to Japan in 1549, when the Jesuit Francis Xavier (1506-1552) landed in Kagoshima, in the province of Satsuma. In the next seventy years, the

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<sup>1</sup> Garcés (1625), f. 5r.

<sup>2</sup> The style of the painting resembles other representations on folding screens which were probably made by the seminario of painting founded by the Jesuits in Japan. For more information about this seminario see: Hioki (2009) and Suntory Museum of Art, Kobe City Museum, and Nikkei Inc. (2011).

Jesuits established their headquarters in Nagasaki, the main commercial port with Europe, and founded several seminarios, schools and even a painting workshop. During this period they manage to gain the favor of numerous feudal lords, which resulted in the conversion to Christianity of their retainers. Other religious orders, namely Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians, established themselves in Japan later, supported by the King of Spain.

The Christian mission succeeded in spreading the Gospel in the country, although there were times in which its continuity was in danger, especially after the martyrdom of 1597. Nonetheless, following Hideyoshi's death in 1598, the most powerful lord at that time, Christians were tolerated by the new overlord of Japan, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616), as he was invested in beginning a commercial exchange with the Spanish Empire. This beneficial situation for Christianity lasted until 1613, when Ieyasu passed an edict that prohibited this faith and carried out the expulsion of all friars from Japan in 1614. However, numerous friars remained in Japan concealed and continued the mission on the fringes of the law and ultimately were executed in public.<sup>3</sup>

# **Definition of martyrdom**

In order to understand the meaning of martyrdom in Christianity I will summarize Thomas Aquinas' (1225-1274) main ideas of this concept. I chose this philosopher and theologian due to his importance and revival in the context of the Catholic Counter Reform. Moreover, both the Dominicans and Jesuits hold in high regard his writings and adhere to his ideas.<sup>4</sup>

Martyrdom is defined by Thomas Aquinas as the virtue of enduring suffering and persecution in the name of faith and truth.<sup>5</sup> In order to consider an execution a martyrdom three main virtues are required, namely charity, fortitude and justice.

Charity is the main cause that leads a Christian to become martyr. This virtue is defined as the benevolent love, or friendship, to God in response to his affection. Consequently, charity involves the unconditional love to every man for God's sake. Aquinas even regards charity as the most important virtue, even more significant than hope and faith, since these two are directed to the truth while charity relates to God himself. In the martyrdom, the devotee is willing to sacrifice his life, his most precious asset, for heavenly and not material gains. Therefore, charity is the reason why martyrdoms bring spiritual merit: it entails the ultimate sacrifice. This love towards God, which is equivalent to the truth of faith, can be expressed both through words and actions. Thus, renouncing apostasy is not the only valid reason to become a martyr. Other virtuous acts, such as avoiding a sin, might count as cause for martyrdom. The second virtue involved in martyrdoms is fortitude. Although it is

<sup>3</sup> For more information about the Jesuit mission in Japan see: Charles R. Boxer (1951) and Bailey (1999)

<sup>4</sup> For more information about Aquinas' writings see: McInerny and O'Callaghan (2015) and Finnis (2014).

<sup>5</sup> Aquinas (1947), ST2-2 Q124 A1.

<sup>6</sup> Aguinas (1947), ST2-2 Q124 A2,3.

<sup>7</sup> Aquinas (1947), ST2-2 Q23 A1.

<sup>8</sup> Aguinas (1947), ST2-2 Q23 A6.

necessary for a martyr to endure suffering until death, fortitude by itself does not bring merit without charity.<sup>9</sup>

The third and final virtue related to martyrdom is justice. <sup>10</sup> Aquinas understands it as the constant and perpetual will to render to each one his own right. <sup>11</sup> In other words, justice can be defined as a voluntary and firm action an agent carries out toward a recipient adjusted to a certain kind of equality and proportion, either naturally or by agreement. By recipient he is referring to both the community and any of its members and, thus, justice emphasizes mainly the common good over the individual right. This is the reason Aquinas considers justice a general virtue. <sup>12</sup> Moreover, he regards it as one of the most excellent virtues, since it involves reason and its object is external, i.e. it seeks to ensure the good of another person and, therefore, it relates to charity. <sup>13</sup> In martyrdoms, the devotee affirms the divine truth above everything else. Consequently, the victim is performing a just action towards God since truth is regarded as an essential part of justice as it entails will, reason and equality of the sign and the thing it refers to. <sup>14</sup> Moreover, the persecutor perpetrates an injustice by executing the martyr, as his action contradicts the highest goodness and the divine law. In this way, he is committing a mortal sin. <sup>15</sup>

To sum up, Aquinas understood martyrdom as the ultimate sacrifice in which a Christian endures torture until death for the sake of God's truth. In order to become martyr, charity, fortitude and justice are needed: charity, the most important of the three virtues, for sacrifice, fortitude for enduring the suffering and justice for staying true to faith and God's goodness.

## The concept of martyrdom in the context of the Japanese mission

In order to explore the relation of Aquinas' concept of martyrdom with the friar's view on this matter, I will discuss three accounts about the events represented in the painting of the Church of the Gesù written by the Jesuit García Garcés, the Franciscan Diego de San Francisco and the Dominican Melchor Manzano de Haro. <sup>16</sup>

In the descriptions of the martyrdoms, the three authors praised the martyrs for showing the three virtues discussed by Aquinas. For instance, when the Jesuit García Garcés narrates the execution of the Dominican Luis Flores and the Augustinian Pedro de Zúñiga in Nagasaki in 1622, he focuses on their endurance by explaining the horrible tortures and great suffering they had to face. Moreover, he also relates that the victims' fortitude was praised by the audience attending the execution. The author continues describing how the example of previous martyrs helped the current victims to withstand all their difficulties true to their believes. Here he is praising both the charitable and just character of their behavior. The Franciscan Diego de San Francisco

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9 Aquinas (1947), ST2-2 Q124 A2.
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<sup>10</sup> Aquinas (1947), ST2-2 Q58 A1.

<sup>11</sup> Aguinas (1947), ST2-2 Q58 A1.

<sup>12</sup> Aguinas (1947), ST2-2 Q58 A5.

<sup>13</sup> Aquinas (1947), ST2-2 Q58 A6, A12.

<sup>14</sup> Aguinas (1947), ST2-2 O109 A3.

<sup>15</sup> Aguinas (1947), ST2-2 Q59 A4.

<sup>16</sup> Garcés (1625), Manzano de Haro (1629), San Francisco (1625).

<sup>17</sup> Garcés (1625), f. 9r. See Appendix, cit. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Garcés (1625), f. 8v. See Appendix, cit. 2.

mentions that the martyrs refused to accept the official pardon during their interrogatory since they wanted to held on their faith. <sup>19</sup> This is another example of justice, since they stood by what they understood to be truth. In relation to these virtues, the Dominican Melchor Manzano states that only a few could become martyrs since martyrdom is an honor granted by God to those who have a virtuous behavior. Therefore, a Christian should deserve it and be worthy of what they considered a privilege. <sup>20</sup>

Martyrdoms gave moral authority to the religious orders, since they proved that some of their members were virtuous enough to reach the highest spiritual merit by performing the utmost sacrifice. In this way, martyrdoms were used by the orders to justify enterprises carried out by their martyrs when these were criticized. For example, the Franciscan Diego de San Francisco based his defense of Luis Sotelo's Keicho embassy to Europe in 1613 on the fact that he was executed in Japan.<sup>21</sup> According to him, since God only grants the martyrdom to those who earn it through their pious actions, He is also approving any past action no matter whether it was or not accepted by men.<sup>22</sup>

These historical accounts reflect the idea that martyrdom brings great spiritual merit to the victims and prestige to the orders to which they belonged. Thus, martyrdom was considered an end in itself. However, there is an episode included in the three books that contradicts this statement. The event in question revolves around the imprisonment of Luis Flores and Pedro de Zúñiga by the Dutch in 1619. Between their arrest and their execution in August 1622 in Nagasaki, they concealed the fact that they were friars for a long period of time. Moreover, after Pedro de Zúñiga confessed his condition of clergyman, Luis Flores tried to escape from his prison unsuccessfully. Based on the ideas I exposed before, these actions go against the ideal of being a martyr: the hiding of their nature goes against the concepts of truth and justice, and escaping shows a lack of fortitude. The three authors of the accounts were also aware of this fact and, consequently, they tried to justify it in different ways.

The Dominican Melchor Manzano is the author who spends the most pages explaining the behavior of his fellow friars. He tries to justify using theological arguments why both Luis Flores and Pedro de Zúñiga did not confess their condition of friars during their interrogations. The author begins his argumentation mentioning that in theology there are two precepts called "positivo" and "negatio" which compel Christians to confess and never deny their condition of friar whenever any public authority, even from tyrannical governments, requests them this information. However, the author states that there is no precept prohibiting Christians to remain silent. Therefore, and if the reasons for the authorities' request are unfair, Christians may refuse to answer without committing any sin, as they do not lie about the requested information. <sup>23</sup> He continues explaining that, according to the Shogun's law, any Christian who helped a friar, and his neighbors, no matter if they participated in the criminal act, will be executed and their belongings will be confiscated. Therefore, he argues that both Luis and Pedro decided not to confess in order to cover up for the

<sup>19</sup> San Francisco (1625), f. 46v. See Appendix, cit. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Manzano de Haro (1629), f. 23r. See Appendix, cit. 4.

<sup>21</sup> For more information about the Keicho Embassy see: Takizawa (2008).

<sup>22</sup> San Francisco (1625), f. 56r. See Appendix, cit. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Manzano de Haro (1629), f. 37v. See Appendix, cit. 6.

Japanese devotees and their families who brought them to Japan.<sup>24</sup> Melchor Manzano also justifies the attempts to liberate Luis Flores stating that it was a fair act according to the following logic: if a prisoner who is sentenced to death is able to escape with external assistance, it is licit to help him, especially if he was imprisoned for unfair reasons. In order to illustrate his statement the author mentions the case of Pope S. Marcellus.<sup>25</sup>

The Jesuit García Garcés also discusses the case of Luis Flores and Pedro de Zúñiga. In the manuscript version of his account, he argues that the two friars hide their condition of clergymen to the authorities in order to discredit the Dutch who accused them of being priests. Moreover, he also states that every friar was needed in the mission due to the lack of Fathers for the evangelism of Japan. This idea was also supported by Franciscan Diego de San Francisco stating that Franciscans hide in the mountains of Nagasaki because they could not afford to lose more priests, since the number of clergymen in Japan was already insufficient to carry out the Christian mission. Furthermore, he also justifies sending Japanese devotees to their martyrdom in order to protect the priests.

These arguments contrast with the passages where Melchor Manzano describes how the Dominican Antonio Navarrete went publicly to Omura to preach the Gospel at risk of being caught and executed.<sup>29</sup> Melchor Manzano explains how a rumor which was circulating among Japanese Christians said that friars were convincing Japanese devotees to die for their faith while the Fathers themselves were hidden. Because of this rumor, Antonio decided to come out from his hiding and surrender to the authorities in public.<sup>30</sup> The Franciscan Diego de San Francisco also mentions how the same rumor made Apolinario Franco go to Omura to preach instead of remaining in hiding.<sup>31</sup> Based on these passages, it seems that the martyrdom was a mean used by the orders to gain more followers in Japan, since the virtuous example of the executed priests aroused religious fervor among Japanese Christians. This idea is supported by Diego de San Francisco, who explains that martyrdoms attracted a great number of Japanese devotees willing to travel to the execution grounds to try to acquire relics of the martyrs.<sup>32</sup> Melchor Manzano also discusses this idea arguing that missionaries knew that martyrdoms had a profound effect on the Japanese devotees and, therefore, they saw in them an opportunity to regain converts through their own exemplary deaths. He continues arguing that martyrdoms proved to be a very effective method for evangelizing, complementary to the teaching of the Gospel.<sup>33</sup> For these authors, Japan's evangelism had a higher priority than attaining the martyrdom, which began to be embraced by clergymen when they saw it as an opportunity to gain more devotees. Therefore, martyrdom was only understood as a tool for a higher goal.

24 Manzano de Haro (1629), f. 38v. See Appendix, cit. 7.

<sup>25</sup> Manzano de Haro (1629), f. 33r. See Appendix, cit. 8. 26 Garcés (1623), f. 37v. See Appendix, cit. 9.

<sup>27</sup> San Francisco (1625), f. 35v. See Appendix, cit. 10.

<sup>28</sup> San Francisco (1625), f. 36v. See Appendix, cit. 11.

<sup>29</sup> Manzano de Haro (1629), ff. 13v-14r. See Appendix, cit. 12 and 13.

<sup>30</sup> Manzano de Haro (1629) f. 14r. See Appendix, cit. 13.

<sup>31</sup> San Francisco (1625), f. 40r. See Appendix, cit. 14.

<sup>32</sup> San Francisco (1625), f. 31r. See Appendix, cit. 15.

<sup>33</sup> Manzano de Haro (1629) f. 9r. See Appendix, cit. 16.

Although the Jesuit García Garcés also justifies the silence of Luis Flores and Pedro de Zuñiga, he is against the liberation of Luis Flores, stating that the people who helped him were not conscious of the great damage they would cause. He even criticizes the silence of the two friars in the final version of his account: in this text he does not try to justify them but, on the contrary, he mentions their obligation to confess they were priests.<sup>34</sup> Thus, in the final version the author stresses the importance of the martyrdom over the evangelism of Japan. Nonetheless, he originally held the idea that the evangelism was the common good to which all acts of the Fathers, including martyrdom, should be directed, as he wrote in the manuscript of his account.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, since the accounts referring the martyrdoms in Japan were commissioned by the Holy See, it is highly probable that Garcés might have changed his account to favor the idea of martyrdom as an end in itself in order to discredit the behavior of the members of other religious orders in the context of the Holy See.

Summing up, the three accounts of the Jesuit García Garcés, the Franciscan Diego de San Francisco and the Dominican Melchor Manzano de Haro, show the influence of Aquinas' definition of martyrdom in their narratives. However, they agree that the evangelism of Japan was the ultimate goal of the mission. As such, every action carried out by the friars, including becoming martyr, should always be in benefit of evangelism.

#### **Conclusion**

The idea of martyrdom as means for evangelism might explain why the artist of the painting of the Church of the Gesù focused his depiction not only on the martyrs but also on the crowd of Japanese Christians witnessing the events. Their detailed representation praying while contemplating the death of Christians might reflect the idea held in the accounts that martyrdoms were very effective in converting Japanese. Moreover, this painting might convey not only the great virtue of the victims, but also the devotion their actions inspired in the Christian community.

Other representations reflect a different context, where the martyrdom was stressed over the goals of the mission. This difference explains the changes made in García Garcés' final version of his account. However, he mentions this painting as a source of inspiration in the first manuscript, in which he still justified the silence and hiding of the friars. Therefore, the painting of the Church of the Gesù reflects the understanding of martyrdom held in the three accounts. It is a product of the mission in Japan and, as such, embodies its values, which stress evangelism as the ultimate goal of the mission.

<sup>34</sup> Garcés (1625), f. 6v. See Appendix, cit. 17. 35 Garcés (1623).

# **Appendix: Quotes**

This section contains all the excerpts from the accounts of García Garcés, Diego de San Francisco and Melchor Manzano de Haro that I mention in the article. In the transcriptions I keep the original orthography and punctuation. However, I expand the contractions.

# 1 Garcés (1625), f. 9r:

Los tres gloriofos Martires [Luis Flores, Pedro de Zuñiga y Ioachin] perfeueraron en el atroz tormento muy conftantes, y cafi inmobles, hafta que dieron fus almas en las manos del Señor, que las recibio en fuaue holocaufto, dexando grande confuelo y edificacion a aquella infinita multitud de Chriftianos que los eftauan mirando, y no menor admiracion de ver la fortaleza y conftancia con que acabaron.

#### 2 Garcés (1625), f. 8v:

y asi como començò a correr la fangre, tomo la mano el valiente Capitan [Ioachin] por orden de los dos Padres, que no eran tan dieftros aun en la lengua, porque auia poco que auian paffado a Iapon, y el lugar de la carcel no era acomodado para eftudiarla: y dizen los que fe hallaron prefentes, que predico con tanto feruor, que todos quedaron admirados.

#### 3 San Francisco (1625), f. 46v:

Llego la otra esquadra, y exercito del Señor, de los Santos Martyres, presos en la carcel de Nangasaqui, en la qual venian treynta y tres Christianos, hombres, niños, y mugeres, para los martirizar a todos juntos, por caseros, y doxicos de los Santos Religiosos: a los quales prometieron primero en la carcel, que si renegavan, y dexavan la Fe de Christo, los perdonarian: y ninguno de ellos quiso renegar.

#### 4 Manzano de Haro (1629), f. 23r:

AVNQUE el morir por CHRISTO es tan gran coſa, que no cae debaxo de merecimiento humano, y DIOS lo da gracioſamente a quien quiere: con todo eʃſo ſuele auer algunas buenas diſpoſiciones para alcançarlo. Lo primero, parece, que fue querer pagar el Señor a las Religiones, lo mucho que en cultiuar eſta Chriſtiandad han trabajado, y padecido en diuerſos generos de contradiciones y trabajos que han tenido, en premio de los quales quiſo ſu diuina Mageſtad darles eſta honra, y acreditarlas entre eſtos Chriſtianos nueuos. Lo ſegundo, quiſo premiar en particular las virtudes deſtos Santos Martires.

## 5 San Francisco (1625), f. 56r:

mas parece que el cielo tomo la mano para defendelle, y pregonar en la tierra, quan al gusto de su Magestad divina sue esta Embaxada [Keicho], pues por dichoso fin della, y como a Celestial Legado, porque lo era de Dios, concedio su Magestad el excelentissimo don del martyrio, ni podra jamas la censura del juyzio humano, desminuir la gloria de tan santo Varon [Luis Sotelo], que si bien echando el cartabon, y compas de las leyes de prudencia, parecieron a algunos sus empresas heroycas, menos prudentes, y acertadas:

#### 6 Manzano de Haro (1629), f. 37v:

Mas para facar al letor desta duda, es de saber, que es diferente cosa el negar y callar vna persona ser Christiano, o ser Sacerdote; porque de lo primero ay precepto, (que los Teologos llaman) positiuo, que nos manda y obliga a confessar que lo somos, siendo preguntados con autoridad publica de algun luez, aunque sea tirano. Ay tambien precepto negat[i]o, por el qual estamos obligados a no negar que somos Christianos en ocasion alguna. Mas no ay precepto alguno de suyo por donde al Sacerdote obliguen a dezir que lo es, ni a negarlo, por ser vn estado libre que le puede tomar, y no tomar el que quisiere. Y assi quando al que lo fuere, el juez injustamente preguntare si lo es, puede auiendo justas causas (como aqui las auia) callarlo, sin que en ello aya mentira, ni osensa contra nuestra santa Fe.

#### 7 Manzano de Haro (1629), f. 38v:

Para lo qual es de faber que el Emperador de Iapon tomo tan apechos el perfeguir a los Christianos, desterrarlos y destruyrlos de su Imperio, que no se contento con poner penas de ser quemados los Predicadores y Sacerdotes (assi naturales del Reyno, como estraños que alla fuessen o estuuiessen,) sino que promulgo vna muy rigurosa contra qualesquier personas que lleuasen, o ayudassen a entrar algun Religioso, que sue perdimiento de bienes, y condenados a quemar viuos.

#### 8 Manzano de Haro (1629), f. 33r:

Que fea justo y fanto hurtar a los que en tales angustias se ven, es cosa tan llana en Teologia, que la gente letrada tema por ignorancia grande el mouer duda sobre ello. Porque si vn hombre que esta en prision, condenado a muerte, o en peligro de serlo, se puede huir, licitamente le puedo ayudar, pues es obra delicita, y con mas razon a los que estan injustamente, como lo estauan estos dos Padres, pues era por ser Religiosos Predicadores del santo Euangelio. [...] Passados nueue meses en tan baxo oficio, y en lugar tan ageno del que el Santo Pontifice [san Marcelo] merecia, llegaron los zelosos Clerigos, y le hurtaron, sacandole de aquel aposento sucio, y poniendole en casa de vna santa muger llamada Lucina.

## 9 Garcés (1623), f. 37v:

Enbarcado en el sobre dicho nauio yiuan al Jappon a sus negocios como otros muchos, los dos [Luis Flores y Pedro de Zuñiga] hasta aquel tiempo nunca acabauan de confessar que lo eran, antes auian sufrido grandes tormentos de los olandeses para hacerles que se descubriessen y siempre lo auian negado por no poner en peligro de las vidas a los Japones que inocentemente los auian lleuado. El gouernador de Nangasaque deseaua grandemente que en este ultimo [?], y Juicio difinitiuo perseuerassen los dos en lo que siempre auian dicho, para que los olandeses quedassen vencidos en el pleito y tenidos y juzgados por Cossarios que ni aun a los nauios de los Japones perdonauan y consiguientemente fuessen destruidos del Emperador.

#### 10 San Francisco (1625), f. 35v:

Tenemos quatro Ermitas en estos montes de Nangasaqui, a donde residen los hermanos legos; y los Religiosos ensermos se van a curar con ellos, y a retirarse algun tanto, y respirar del trabajo, para cobrar nuovo aliento, y fuerças: y tambien en tiempo del rigor de la persecucion nos escondemos alli, por dar lugar a la yra, considerando la falta de ministros, y obreros que ay en estos Reynos, y la mucha mies.

#### 11 San Francisco (1625), f. 36v:

Dixeron ellos: Padre fray Diego; si nos prenden, y matan por causa de no entregar a estos cinco Padres, seremos Martyres? Yo les respondi, que si, pues morian por Dios, y por librar de la muerte a sus Ministros, a quien en odio de la Fe, querian consumir; y que assi era morir por el zelo de la honra de Dios, y caridad de sus proximos, porque no les faltassen ministros del Evangelio.

#### 12 Manzano de Haro (1629), f. 13v:

Yo [F. Alonfo Nauarrete] voy a Vomura a confessar y consolar a aquellos Christianos, porque agora es buen tiempo, pues con la sangre fresca de los martires estaran mas animados.

#### 13 Manzano de Haro (1629) f. 14r:

Aunque yo [F. Hernando de San Ioſep] eſtaua determinado de no dezir ninguna razon de las que nos [a mi y a F. Alonso Nauarrete] mouieron a yr [a Vomura] (porque la principal que a mi me mouio, fue la obediencia que digo tengo dada en eſte caſo) pero quiero dar vna, y es, que algunos Chriſtianos auian murmurado que los Padres les perſuadian a ellos que ſueʃſen martyres, y ellos huian las ocaſiones: pues para quitarles eſte error, y que entiendan que no tememos los peligros, por ſu bien, nos vamos a meter en ellos.

#### 14 San Francisco (1625), f. 40r:

Holgose mucho el Santo fray Apolinario, quando vio la ocasion de poder yr al Reyno de Vomura, con tan justa causa, y necessidad tan grande, y por si se ofreciesse de camino padecer por amor de Dios martyrio: porque los infieles de Nangasaqui, y aun algunos Christianos menos recatados en hablar, dezian, que los Padres Religiosos les predicavan martyrio: pero que bien sabian ellos huyr las ocasiones de el.

# 15 San Francisco (1625), f. 31r:

Luego corrio la fama del fanto martyrio por todas aquellas partes, villas, y ciudades, y concurrio infinito numero de Chriftianos, a vifitar el lugar del martyrio, y el fanto fepulcro, fin fer poderofo el Tono a eftorvarlo: folo pufo guardas, para que no llegaffen a tomar reliquias, ni aun cerca del mismo fepulcro.

## 16 Manzano de Haro (1629) f. 9r:

Mostro verdaderamente en este hecho la fortaleza de animo que se podia desear, de que la Iglesia de Iapon tanta necessidad tenia, viendola por experiencia en los Predicadores y ministros que la predicauan con palabreas, las quales sin obras, pierden la fuerça y esicacia que con ellas tuuieran.

#### 17 Garcés (1625), f. 6v:

Finalmente defeando dar fus vidas por la fanta Fe que yuan a predicar, y por la obligacion que les corria de manifeftarfe por Christianos, confessaron de plano que lo eran, y juntamente Religios de las sagradas Ordenes arriba dichas.

# Images



Fig 1: Martyrdom of Fifty-two Christians at Nagasaki in 1622 元和八年長崎大殉教図, 135 x 155 cm, 1622–1624?, color on paper mounted on canvas Chiesa del Santissimo Nome di Gesù all'Argentina (Il patrimonio del Fondo Edifici di Culto, amministrato del Ministerio dell'Interno d'Italia), Roma. Photo © Zeno Colantoni.



Fig. 2: Jacques Callot, Les martyres du Japon, 162, Photo © Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon.

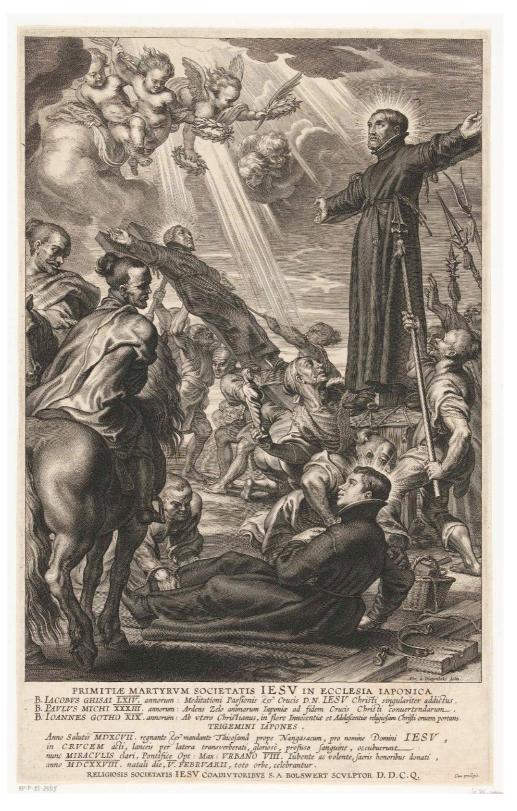


Fig. 3: Schelte Adamsz, Martelaarschap van de jesuïeten in Japan, 1628-1659, Photo © Rijksmuseum.

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