

Japanese Context of the ‘Good Manners’ of the Legates of the Tensho Embassy in Italy (1585): The *Buke Kojitsu*, the Ise, and Kyūshū

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Abstract The Tensho Embassy has been predominantly portrayed from the ecclesiastical, European, or missionary perspectives, largely because of the availability of relevant sources. This article attempts to acknowledge the implicit agency of the legates by looking at their behavioural context through the *buke kojitsu* of the warrior class in sixteenth-century Japan. It partially uncovers a Japanese cultural layer that their hosts in Italy and even Jesuit missionaries in Japan may not have perceived. It thus offers a non-European, novel approach to the historiography, while introducing Japanese textual sources on the *buke kojitsu* to Western readership.

Keywords Buke Kojitsu. Ceremony. Education. Ise. Japan. Jesuit. Kyūshū. Manners. Sixteenth century. Tensho embassy.

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1 Introduction

se ven en ellos tanta concordia y quietud, que ni entre muchachos se dicen palabras mal criadas, ni suelen pelear dándose de bofetadas o puñadas como los nuestros, antes se tratan con palabras de mucha cortesía, sin nunca se perder el respeto los unos a los otros, con tanto seso y gravedad que no parecen niños, antes hombres muy graves. Esto es en tanto grado que no se puede creer.

much concord and calm are seen in them, and even among boys rude words are not spoken, nor are they prone to fight slapping or punching each other like ours, but rather they are treated with words of much courtesy without ever losing respect for each other, with so much sense and gravity that they do not seem to be children, but very serious men. It is so much so that it cannot be believed.¹

The Chieti-born Jesuit Visitor of all East Indies, Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), thus described Japanese children in the *Sumario de las cosas de Japón* (1583) sent to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva, from Cochin, India, in October 1583 (Valignano 1954, 24).² The passage is found towards the end of the first chapter, entitled “On the description, customs and qualities of Japan”.³ Valignano may have felt the urge to write the new report on Japan to Rome as he saw off the Tensho Embassy to Rome in Goa in December 1585.⁴ The passage shows that even after spending three years in Japan, the Italian Jesuit was still incredulous about the ways in which the children behaved in public, remaining unable to fathom how it was possible.⁵

In Venice on 7 July 1585, one local person similarly observed the Japanese legates of the Embassy, namely, Chijiwa Miguel 千々石ミゲル (1569-1633), Hara Martin 原マルチノ (1568/69-1629), Ito Mançio 伊東マンチヨ (1569/70-1612), and Nakaura Julian 中浦ジュリアン (1568-1633).⁶ He describes them as being “very well educated, [...]”

1 All the translations in this article are by the Author.

2 For Valignano’s biography, see, for example: Pizzorusso 2020; Valignano 2016; Tamburello, Üçerler, Di Russo 2008; Üçerler 2003; Schütte 1980; 1985.

3 No English edition of the *Sumario* has been published.

4 Valignano was going to travel with the Embassy. But he had to stay in India: In Cochin, he received Acquaviva’s letter that appointed him the province of India.

5 The Portuguese Jesuit Luís Fróis also remarks similarly in his *Tratado em que se contem muito susintae abreviadamente algumas contradições e diferenças de costumes entre a gente de Europa e esta provincia de Japão* (1585). For the *Tratado*’s English edition, see Fróis et al. 2014.

6 For the legates’ biography, see, for example: Valignano 2016; De Sande 2012; Cooper 2005.

very modest and reverent, and in all the while that they have been in this city, no childlike or thoughtless act was observed" (HIUT 1961, 132 and 107).⁷ Equally, Guido Gualtieri, the San Ginesio-born papal secretary and author of the *Relationi della venuta degli ambasciatori Giaponesi à Roma* (1586), who must have similarly personally observed the legates in Rome,⁸ writes:

we discovered their acuity and ingenuity to make a great progress in whatever science, letters and music [...]. They equally demonstrated the same capacity in making a judgment and prudence, which was without doubt well advanced for their age: thus in their action nothing was noticed but their maturity and gravity of a very prudent man. And their manner of talking, among themselves and with their servants [...] were always well composed and far from any fickleness and indecency. With the same gravity, these gentlemen never expressed their wonder at what they heard or saw, although they did not let their praise stay in their minds as they talked about it and gave words of praise to it among themselves. (Gualtieri 1586, 159)⁹

Other hosts of the Embassy in Italy described the legates' qualities with such adjectives as "ingenuous", "sensible", "modest", "well educated", "discreet in manners", "gentle mannered", "reverent" (HIUT 1959; 1961). In the *Relationi*, Gualtieri remarks on the legates' decent, reliable, and well-composed manners of discussion, emotional and expressional restraint, and manners of honouring each other in their conversation. While many positively remarked on the legates' behaviour, Gualtieri believed that they, despite what he understood as Japanese ceremony 'so different and diverse from ours', "learned and practiced it [ours] so quickly and so exactly that they seem to have been nourished in a Court of ours for a long time" (Gualtieri 1586, 159-60).¹⁰

⁷ "sono benissimo creati, [...] molto modesti et riverenti, et in tutto il tempo che sono stati in questa Città non si è veduta alcuna leggerezza, nè operation giovaille [sic]".

⁸ For Gualtieri's biography, see Rosa 2022.

⁹ "si scopriva in loro quell'acuteza d'ingegno [...] per far gran progresso in qualunque scienza, così in cose di lettere, come di musica [...]. Questa medesima capacità mostravano parimente nel giudizio, e prudenza, la qual senza dubbio avanzava di gran lunga l'età loro: perciòche non si notò già mai in loro attione, o parola giovanile, ma una maturità, e gravità d'huomo ben prudente, e li loro ragionamenti etiamdio fra di se e con li stessi domestici, et familiari, era no sempre molto composti, e lontani da ogni leggerezza, non che indecenza. Dalla qual gravità medesima nasceva in questi Signori il non mostrar mai fuori meraviglia di quanto vedessero o udissero, benche però non lasciavano nell'animo loro farne quella stima, et anco poi con parole fra suoi familiari dargli quella lode, che la cosa meritava".

¹⁰ "Nella conversatione erano molto compiti in far'ad ogn'uno il debito honore, senza pur mancar'un puntino; il che anco fu in essi stimato fra i segni non minori del lor valore, che, essendo le cerimonie Giaponesi tanto differenti, et diverse dalle nostre,

Judith Brown's modern view on the legates echoes Gualtieri's. Discussing the legates' "courtly refinement", Brown concludes by suggesting that "under the clothes and the body of the Japanese", there was the "heart of a European courtier", that the Embassy was "a Japan devoid of Japanese" (Brown 1994, 905). Based on that the art of effortlessness was stressed by courtesy manuals in Italy since Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (1528), and on the evidence that one observed in Rome that the legates did not show much wonder at what they saw but a "great and noble disposition", Brown suggests that the legates "thus drew praise for the apparent ease with which they carried off the artifice of seeming to be European" (1994, 903-4). Brown thus maintains their hosts' view on their behaviour, in line with the Italian perspective.

Michael Cooper writes that the legates were the Other who was "remarkably similar to the beholders" in Italy, Portugal, and Spain (2005, 165). Cooper raises the European garments that they wore, the European languages that they studied and spoke to an extent, the European musical instruments that they knew playing, their general education and good manners, and their display of religious piety (166). Yet, as Cooper observes that there is "little in contemporaneous reports to give us much idea about the individual personalities" and can only suggest that they "appear to have been likeable and well-mannered youths who created a good impression wherever they went" (169), Cooper - like Brown - is unable to sufficiently explore their agency, markedly circumscribed by the lack of extant and relevant historical sources.

In this article, I explore the legates' behavioural, cultural, and social attributes in the context of Japanese culture, society, and politics. I propose that the ways in which the hosts of the legates described them in Italy reflect the attitudes and behaviour that were expected of members of the *buke* 武家 or warrior class, which were further regulated by the Ashikaga 足利 shogunate in Japan for over a hundred years. I argue that the legates did not 'become' Christian and European as Brown, Cooper, and Gualtieri may suggest; but rather that they already and latently had possessed such qualities that courts, Jesuits, and prelates generally viewed as virtuous in Italy in 1585. However implicitly and negatively appeared in the eyes of their hosts in Italy, the legates' agency, which was nourished by the tradition of the *buke* and complementarily by that of court nobles of the *kuge* 公家, should not be dismissed, ignored, or overlooked. Recognising the agency, I propose, may provide another perspective to interpret European or Jesuit sources on the Embassy and evaluate the *accommodatio* of the Jesuit mission in Japan.

quanto à pena si può dire, ne credere, pur essi tanto presto, e tanto esattamente l'havessero imparate, e l'essercitassero, come se fossero stati per gran tempo nutriti in una Corte delle nostre".

2 The Jesuit Education in Japan

First of all, how much the legates may have been already accustomed to the ways in which Europeans (Jesuits) behaved at the Arima seminary in Nagasaki prior to their departure to Rome on 20 February 1582? They spent approximately two years at the seminary, which was effectively a boarding school, and they were only allowed to leave the seminary to see their parents at weekends (Schütte 1980, 353). As Valignano chose them as the legates partly because they were young and were therefore expected to absorb what they would see in Europe more than adult Japanese Christians (De Sande 2012, 8), one can similarly consider if their experiences with the European fathers at the seminary may have instructed them on European, or missionary, manners. Yet, Jesuit sources related to the seminary, such as the *Rules*, do not show if the legates had education on such manners in general at the seminary, but academic subjects (Schütte 1980, 353).

It would appear that the European fathers did not have any specific programmes to teach behaviour to Japanese Christian children. In this sense, the children would have informally learnt about European or missionary behaviour from the fathers, if they had done so. In this relation, Valignano printed an edition of the Spanish Jesuit Juan Bonifacio's *Christiani pueri institutio* (1575) in Macao in 1588 (before he finished printing the well-known *De missione legatorum iaponensium* in early 1590) (Loureiro 2006, 138). Although this post-dates the return of the Embassy, it suggests that Valignano intended to teach Christian moral values to the children: The *Christiani* is a manual for Christian youth on chastity, prudence, and virtuous conduct with exemplary episodes drawn mostly from the Bible and Classic authors, with which Valignano intended to teach also rhetoric (Elison 1991, 67-8). The taught behaviour and values are thus *narrated* in the *Christiani* (Bonifacius 1988), which is in stark contrast to the use of bullet points in Japanese *buke kojitsu sho* 武家故実書.

As far as his written works suggest, Valignano was not aware of the presence of the tradition of the *buke kojitsu* 武家故実 among members of the *buke* society across Japan. As he wrote the *Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumes e catangues de Jappão* (1584), Valignano did observe practiced ceremonial formality among people and members of the *buke* in Kyūshū and probably more rigorously among more influential figures of the *buke* in Kyoto (Valignano 2011). Yet, his written works do not demonstrate his knowledge of the *buke kojitsu* that the Ise 伊勢 and other few selected clans had helped establish at the Ashikaga shogunate in Kyoto since the fourteenth-century as the code of behaviour in the spheres of ceremony and military arts among members of the *buke* across the country. Valignano's understanding of Japanese cultural, political, and social fabric is, I observe, characteristically and predominantly materialistic, practical

(or teleological), and structural. He was thus probably not able to describe the ceremonial aesthetics, ethics, and manners that tacitly dictated the communication and ethos as unspoken languages among members of the *buke* society.

3 The Buke Kojitsu, the Ashikaga Shogunate, and the Imperial Court

According to Futaki Kenichi, the *buke kojitsu* is a kind of study on Japanese ancient courtly and military practices for the purpose of learning appropriate behaviour on ceremonial occasions (Futaki 1985, 5-6). There are two broad spheres, one related to archery and horsemanship, arms, armour, military formation and so on, and the other related to dress, food, and daily life in general (Futaki 1985, 6). While the former is traditionally of the cultural legacy of the *buke*, the latter is that of the *kuge*, which the third Ashikaga shogun Yoshimitsu 義満 (1358-1408), firstly adopted to the *buke* to establish the *buke kojitsu* (Hongo 2010). The Ashikaga, having placed their seat of governance of the Muromachi bakufu 室町幕府 in the Imperial city of Kyoto, would have felt the urge to behave accordingly to the culture and political and social standing of the *kuge*, which had the Emperor at the head of their *kuge* society (Futaki 1985, 6). Thus, the *buke*'s life came to be increasingly influenced by the ceremony of the *kojitsu* 故実 from the fifteenth-century onwards.

On the *kojitsu*, Hongo Keiko acutely points out the “power of not forgetting” in her discussion of the nature of the force that sustained (and sustains) the “extraordinary” vitality of the Emperor system in Japan (Hongo 2010, 206-10). The power is concerned with courtly precedents on behaviour and manners as well as formatting and wording in producing documents and letters (*shosatsurei* 書札礼), for both of which the *kuge* had written numerous manuals since the Heian 平安 period (c. 784-c. 1185) (Hongo 2010, 194-8). Each *kuge* family formed original manners by acknowledging, adopting, and criticising family theories, which were handed down through, for example, diaries of their ancestors (Hongo 2010, 194-5). They gave an utmost importance to the precedents, pejoratively calling new practices *shingi* 新儀, a new ceremony or matter (Hongo 2010, 194-5). In this way, as their influence waned in place of the *buke* since the twelfth century, the *kuge* instituted the system of ceremonial precedents on manners and skills as the *kojitsu* (Hongo 2010, 195-6).

While the *kuge* made use of their *kojitsu* to keep their influence and politico-social place alive within the Ashikaga shogunate's rule during

the Muromachi period 室町時代 (1338-1573),¹¹ the shogunate made use of the *buke kojitsu* to embody a hierarchical, political, and social order as a politico-cultural tool in asserting their authority among *daimyo* 大名 or feudal lords of the *buke*, the Imperial Court, and the people. The ceremony, the official rank system, and the *shosatsurei* or epistolary etiquette of the *buke kojitsu* constrained, regulated, and represented power relations among the *daimyo*, the Imperial Court, and the shogunate. In this context, it was not only those who exerted or had exerted such influence that were aware of these effects of the *buke kojitsu* or *kojitsu* but also the *daimyo*, who understood them and in their turn attempted to take advantage of the system to compete, defend, and survive among themselves in Sengoku Japan 戦国日本.

4 The Buke Kojitsu Sho and the Ise

Buke kojitsu sho or texts on the *buke kojitsu*, compile, explicate, and set the ways in which court nobles, *daimyo*, officers at the shogunate, and the shogun were conventionally expected to behave in ceremonial, formal, and public settings particularly in Kyoto during the Ashikaga rule. As mentioned above, the shogun Yoshimitsu adopted the *kojitsu* of the Imperial Court to the *buke's* conventional rules to establish the *buke kojitsu*. Soon after this, as Futaki shows, the Ise clan emerged as one of the few expert clans on areas of the *buke kojitsu* from the early fifteenth-century (Futaki 1985, 211-56). The Ise, among a few others, went on to keep the position as the expert clan within the shogunate until the shogunate's ultimate collapse in 1573 (Gomi 1986). As members of the *kuge* had recorded and continued to record precedents in a written format, the Ise similarly wrote various works on the *buke kojitsu* during this period.

As Taniguchi Yūta points out, the Ashikaga shogunate formed and maintained its own and the clan's authority as the ruler and ruling family among the *buke* and *kuge* across Japan by "repetitively" performing and practicing ceremony (Taniguchi 2019, 307-8, 319). During the rule of the shogun Yoshimitsu, detailed and various *buke kojitsu*, such as congratulatory visits, gift-giving ceremony, the rank system of family status, and *shosatsurei* were all put into practice in Kyoto and Kamakura, which was the seat of the Kamakura bakufu 鎌倉幕府 (c. 1185-1333) and of the eastern centre of the Ashikaga rule (Taniguchi 2019, 279, 287 fnn. 84-6). Yoshimitsu's heirs wilfully followed these practices as exemplary to establish the shogunate's authority in the early fifteenth-century (278, 287 fn. 82). In

¹¹ The years 1338-92 are alternatively understood as the Nanbokuchou period 南北朝時代 and those 1467-1573 the Sengoku period 戦国時代.

sixteenth-century Japan, the ceremony centred on the Ashikaga shogun was widely accepted and respected even in the places where the shogun's influence did not reach (279, 288 fn. 88). A key factor for which the shogunate was still able to, albeit increasingly ostensibly, keep its political status was because the shogun was at the head of the hierarchy of the *buke kojitsu* (279), that is, because the *buke kojitsu* sustained the increasingly powerless Ashikaga shogunate (279, 288 fn. 89).

How did the shogunate in reality keep and put into practice the *buke kojitsu*? It was owing to such expert clans as the Ise and the Ogasawara 小笠原, who not only normalised the *buke kojitsu* based on its conventions and traditions for the shogunate but also preserved it even after the shogunate's collapse (maintaining their status as the experts), that the *buke kojitsu* came to play an important part in the shogunal rule from the times of the shogun Yoshimitsu to the Edo period (c. 1600-c. 1869) of the Tokugawa bakufu 徳川幕府 (Futaki 1985; Gomi 1986). As for the Ise school of the *buke kojitsu*, the foundation was laid by Ise Sadachika 伊勢貞親 (1417-1473) and his son Ise Sadamune 伊勢貞宗 (1444-1509) (Futaki 1985, 251). Their heirs (Sadamichi 貞陸, Sadatada 貞忠, Sadataka 貞孝, and Sadayoshi 貞良) and members of branch families (Sadatoo 貞遠, Sadasuke 貞助, Sadatomo 貞知, and Sadamasa 貞昌) inherited the Ise school of the *buke kojitsu*, compiled and edited it, and handed it down to their descendants in Kyoto and the countryside (Gomi 1986).

Members of the Ise clan of different generations wrote texts on the *buke kojitsu*, which indicates the clan's influence on areas of the ceremony centred on the shogunate in sixteenth-century Kyoto. According to the *buke* section in the *Sei zoku gunsho ruijū* 正統群書類 従, which is comprised of over two hundred texts on the *buke kojitsu*, they collectively left at least twenty-four texts on the *buke kojitsu* (*Gunsho kaidai* 1960).¹² The *Sei zoku gunsho ruijū* is the edition that combines the *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類 従 (1779-1819), which is the series of publications of ancient and old documents and manuscripts that Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 (d. 1821) edited, amounting to 530 volumes and 1,270 genres of literature, and the *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類 従 (1924), which is the sequel that Hanawa's descendants and pupils

12 *Denchū moushitugi ki* 殿中申次記; *Otomo kojitsu* 御供故実; *Ōuchi mondou* 大内問答; *Sougo ozoushi* 宗五大草紙; *Sansho no ki* 産所之記; *Tensho nenchū gotaimen ki* 天正年中御対面記; *Inuoumono tekumi nikki* 犬追物手組日記; *Kasagake ite taiiai ki* 笠懸射手躰配記; *Kasagake kikigaki* 笠懸開書; *Kuraabumi sunpou ki* 鞍鑑寸法記; *Ise sadachika irai densho* 伊勢貞孝以来伝書; *Ise no mori sadachika irai densho* 伊勢守貞親以来伝書; *Ise hyougo no mori sadamune ki* 伊勢兵庫守貞宗記; *Ise bingo no mori sadaakira kakugo ki* 伊勢備後守貞明記; *Ise rokurou saemon no jou sadanori ki* 伊勢六郎左衛門尉貞順記; *Sadanori hyoumon sho* 貞順豹文書; *Ise sadaoki hentousho* 伊勢貞興返答書; *Buzakki* 武雜記; *Ise kaga no mori sadamitsu hikki* 伊勢加賀守貞満筆記; *Ise sadasuke zakki* 伊勢貞助雜記; *Joushou gusou* 常照愚草; *Doushou gusou* 道照愚草; *Shaku i ki* 酌井記, and *Ise sadataka seiyaku* 伊勢貞孝誓約。

completed and which contains 1,150 volumes and 2,103 genres of literature.¹³ Thus, as far as the ceremony sphere of the *buke kojitsu* is concerned, the Ise's presence in the *buke* section of the *Sei zoku gunsho ruijū* is prominent.¹⁴

Surviving texts of Ise Sadataka (?-1562), who exchanged correspondence with and met Mancio's grandfather, Ito Yoshisuke 伊東義祐 (1512-1585), show that he was conversant with the Ise school of the *buke kojitsu*. The *Ise sadataka matsunaga dansho e tousho* 伊勢貞孝松永彈正江答書, which is his response to twenty-eight questions asked by the *daimyo* Matsunaga Hisahide 松永久秀 on the manners for a visit to the Imperial Palace, demonstrates that he was in the position to instruct the *daimyo* on the issues concerning *chūgen* 中間 or attendants, costume such as *eboshi* 烏帽子 and *hakama* 袴, horse gear, and *komono* 小者 or servants (Futaki 1985, 243-4). He was also acquainted with some of the military sphere of the *buke kojitsu*, as he passed on to his son Sadayoshi his knowledge of archery, horseback archery, and the measurement of a horse riding ground as a secret knowledge in 1547 (as Sadamune thus records at the end of the text of the *Kasagake ite taihai ki* 笠懸射手体配記) (245-6).

Ise Sadayori 伊勢貞頼 wrote the *Sougo ozoushi* 宗五大草紙 in 1528, at the age of seventy-four (Futaki 1999, 73). He had succeeded his father Sadakazu 貞運, served the shoguns Yoshimasa 義政, Yoshihisa 義尚, and Yoshiki 義材, and taken the tonsure to call himself Sougo 宗五 (73). In the *Sougo ozoushi*, Sadayori refers to ancestors of the Ise clan, such as Sadamune, Sadamichi, and Sadafuji 貞藤 (1432-91), as sources for his learning of the Ise school of the *buke kojitsu* (*Gunsho kaidai* 1960, 33). As this shows, members of the Ise handed down the knowledge within the clan (in an exclusive manner) and Sadayori, in his turn, dedicated the *Sougo ozoushi* to a certain Jirou 次郎, which was a common name in his family line (Futaki 1999, 73). Subsequent members of the clan consulted the *Sougo ozoushi*, too, including Sadasuke, the author of the *Ise sadasuke zakki* 伊勢貞助雜記 (c. 1570), Sadaakira 貞明, the grandson of Sadafuji and grandnephew of Sada-chika and the author of the *Ise bingo no kami sadaakira kakugo ki* 伊勢備後守貞明覚悟記 (1504-21), and an unnamed member of the clan, who authored the *Houkou kakugo no koto* 奉公覚悟之事 at some point in the sixteenth-century (Futaki 1999; *Gunsho kaidai* 1960).

13 After the *Gunsho ruiju* and the *Zoku gunsho ruiju*, Ichishima Kenkichi 市島謙吉 edited the *Zoku zoku gunsho ruijū* 続々群書類従 in the Meiji era 明治時代. Mizutani Yumi-hiko 水谷弓彦, Kouda Shigeyuki 幸田成行, and Kouda Rohan 幸田露伴 then edited the *Shin gunsho ruijū* 新群書類従.

14 No monograph on this specific aspect of the Ise clan's heritage seems to be existent in scholarship.

5 The Ceremonial Manners

How the *buke kojitsu sho* instruct one to behave in formal circumstances? In what follows, I look at the ceremonially expected behaviour of members of the *buke* towards their lords, as established and standardised by the Ise clan. While many issues of the instructions of the Ise school of the *buke kojitsu* are dependent on highly contextualised ceremonial or formal circumstances, some are axiomatic, essential in signification, and general in application. As such, they indicate in a most general sense the ceremonially expected behaviour with regard to one's superior, rendering it comparable to the ways in which the hosts of the legates in Italy described their behaviour with the adjectives above. In fact, the hosts' perceptions of the legates' attitudes reflect some of the ways in which the Ise normalised the expected manners of members of the *buke* in sixteenth-century Japan.

The above-mentioned *Sougo ozoushi* most comprehensively and generally shows the ways in which one should behave in front of one's lord (Futaki 1999, 74). For this reason, although the *Sougo ozoushi* precedes the Embassy by approximately half a century, I look at the text here. Some of the teachings on the theme of having an audience with one's lord in it are, as suggested above, continuously and similarly taught in subsequent texts of the same kind written by other members of the Ise clan. Other subsequent texts written by those other than members of the clan also follow the examples of the *Sougo ozoushi* (74). These suggest that those who studied the *buke kojitsu*, including members of the Ise clan as well as others, continued to use particular instructions in the text as a norm to follow or a basis on which to accommodate new circumstances later in sixteenth-century Japan.

One of the general characteristics of text of the *Sougo ozoushi* is the genericity of actors: Sadayori discusses general, unspecified members of the *buke* as subjects in the *Sougo ozoushi*. This suggests a broad, general application of his instructions to them. Provided the Ise's standing within the shogunate and the shogunate's ceremonial authority among members of the *buke* across the country, it may be differently put: members of the *buke* generally had to follow, learn, and practice the ceremonial behaviour set by the *buke kojitsu sho* such as the *Sougo ozoushi*. If this general application to the *buke* as a whole is probable, it would hint at the possibility that Ito Yoshisuke and his family members in the province of Hyūga 日向 were also informed of the *buke kojitsu*.

Another general attribute of the text is the fineness of details and particulars. Sadayori expounds on specific gestures and movements and specific events and matters throughout the *Sougo ozoushi*. This meticulous treatment indicates how finely and rigorously a code of behaviour was regulated in formal settings among those of the *buke*. It may also indicate that they had an eye to the detailed gestures and

movements, judged them, and culturally, politically, and socially evaluated each other in the ways that members of the *kuge* did over precedents among them. Yet, among the *buke*, it would appear that ceremonial behaviour as in having an audience with the shogun mattered rather more importantly as a measure for the shogun and shogunate to judge the extent of loyalty and obedience on the part of members of the *buke*. In this sense, the attention to the details in the instructions in the *Sougo ozoushi* seems to be concerned with the maintenance of the shogunal authority and the order thereof.

Many and various matters on the ceremonial sphere of the *buke kojitsu* are discussed in the *Sougo ozoushi*. Without any introductory or conclusive remarks in the text, Sadayori explains the instructions seemingly in a random, spontaneous order. The text has twenty-six sections, which are on: serving a person and giving benevolence; giving an offering to the gods; giving a person a musical instrument; what to beware on an auspicious occasion; hanging a bamboo blind; miscellaneous issues such as *go* 碁 or the game of go; *sousha* 奏者 or intermediaries; having an audience with the shogun or in private; what a delegate should beware; serving at a private or public banquet; when there is heavy drinking at a banquet; when the shogun visits houses (of the *buke* or the *kuge*); accompanying a lord; the names of rice cakes; cooking; dressing; *katana* and *uchigatana* 打刀 or swords; how to format a letter, fold it, and choose papers for it; the *shosaturei* or epistolary etiquettes; miscellaneous issues such as giving a lord a writing brush; *karakasa* 唐傘 or bamboo and paper umbrellas; the details on when the shogun makes a visit; riding a horse; various issues at the shogun's palace; ancient teachings, and, lastly, what the ancients used to say (*Gunsho kaidai* 1960, 33-5). At the end of the text, there are written the date, the author's name, age, and seal, and the addressee's name, Jirou.

The first bullet point in the first section of the *Sougo ozoushi*, which is on serving a person and giving benevolence, instructs one on how he should – or not, indeed – behave in the presence of or close to his lord. Essentially, it teaches one to be quiet and make no noise, keep a good attitude, and discipline his own bodily movement before or near his lord (Hanawa 1901, 553):

主人の御座ちかき所にて高雑談又高はなをひ。戸のあけたてあらく。あし音高きハ尾籠の事なり。又御前に祇候之時。膝をくみ。ぬき入手すべからず。又いかにおかしきことありとも聲をたてて笑ふべからず。扇つかふべからず。あせをのごひ、鼻をかむべからず。但なんぎならば。そとかげへむかひて。鼻をかみ。汗をものごふべし。¹⁵

¹⁵ The Author would like to thank Professor Sagiyama for her comments on his reading of sixteenth-century Japanese in this article. The final interpretation is the Author's.

Near the lord, it is indecent for one to chat noisily or sneeze loudly, roughly open and close the door, or make noisy sounds with foot-steps. When serving the lord in his presence, one should not cross one's legs or pull arms inside from sleeves and put them into the bosom of the garment.¹⁶ And one should not be heard laughing no matter how funny a thing happens. A fan should not be used. One should not wipe sweat or blow the nose. In difficulty, one should turn sideways and then blow his nose and wipe the sweat.

These don'ts in the very beginning of the entire text of the *Sougo ozoushi* expect servants to remain discreet, humble, patient, quiet, and self-disciplined in gesture, and composed even in difficult situations in or near the presence of their masters. Succinctly instructing one on how he *should not* comport himself more than how one *should*, these teachings are so basic and at the same time so specific as to suggest a rigorously ordered cultural environment in which servants found themselves in front of or near their lords. These instructions, coming at the beginning of the text, may suggest Sadayori thought it most important for servants in general not to be disturbing to their lords, serve them passively, and stay self-effacing.

The second point in the first section turns to young men. Although it does not specify the range of their age, adolescence or adulthood generally started at the age of as early as eleven in sixteenth-century Japan (depending on the *daimyo* and province), which is slightly younger than the age at which Mancio left Japan for Rome (Yūki 1977, 14-17). In this second point, Sadayori tells that not only recognised *daimyo* but also anonymous young men should learn socio-cultural etiquettes of the *buke*, directly or through their parents or an instructor or *nenoto* 乳母. It is noteworthy that this instruction aimed at young men are already found in the second point of the first section, which suggests an educational nature of the *Sougo ozoushi*. The second point teaches young men an exemplary routine in serving their lords (Hanawa 1901, 553):

若き人可 レ被 二心得一事。朝には早くおきて。鬢をかき髪をゆひて。親の前へ出べし。さて主人の所へ可レ致二出仕一。退出の時も。親の前へ出て時宣 語るべし。但殿中へハ奉公の人も。いにしへハ御番 の時。又御用なくてハ無二出仕一。今ハそのさた候はず。

What young men should bear in mind: they should get up early in the morning, comb their hair and tie them, and appear in front of their parents. Then, they should serve their lord. Also when they return from their lord, they should appear in front of their parents

16 This act is called *nukiiride* 抜入手.

and salute them. If they serve at the shogun's palace their servants should also (do so). In old times, this was done when servants kept the watch and there was no need for them to serve a lord without the need. But it is different now.

Here, Sadayori points out a triangular rapport among young men and servants, their lords, and their parents. The young men function as a node that connects their lord and parents who are set apart, and they are instructed to present themselves and report to their parents before *and* after their service to their lords. As European Jesuits observed in Japan, it was customary for members of the *buke* to use a third person in their communication with their sons, fellows, and lords (Valignano 1954). On this, in the ninth section of the text, Sadayori instructs how a delegate should behave on behalf of his lord. This is the case of representing one's lord, yet, as the use of delegation was common among members of the *buke*, this instruction can be said to have applied to the case in which young men represented their parents. It reads (Hanawa 1901, 564):

詞たしかにてうしをも聞き。可レ然仁を可レ用なり。先よくよく主人の仰を心をしづめて承りて。一事も不審の儀をば返して尋申。心得すまして可レ勤。主人の詞を申おとさじと 口移しに申よりも。義と理と心根とたがひ候ハねバ。詞ハ替てもくるしからず。先人して申て。對面あらば中座へ出て。かたひぎを立て畏て可レ申候。返事など久しければ。夫は居なをりても承り候。是も不審あらば返して尋申て。義理を慥に可レ二心得一。うかうかと人のかほまもり。又座鋪見めぐる事不レ可レ有レ之。

a delegate should clearly understand words, comprehend the tone, and have appropriate virtue. He firstly listens to his lord's instructions with a calm mind, and if there is anything unclear ask the lord for clarification. He should serve with a well-honed mind. Even if he does not transmit his lord's words verbatim, if he conveys the meaning, reason, and essence of his lord's instructions, the words can be different. The delegate should firstly speak to an intermediary, and if an audience is allowed, go forward to the middle of all attendants, raise one knee on the floor, stay upright, and speak. If the other lord does not respond too long, the delegate might even change his attitude to carry out the order. If there is anything unclear, again, he should respond and ask for clarification, remaining well aware of the meaning and reason of the lord's order. He should not absent-mindedly look at the faces of the attendants and around the room.

The delegate was, according to Sadayori, not the means by which the sender intended to convey his message verbatim to the other person. The sender entrusted in the delegate, gave him a certain amount of discretion, and expected him to execute the mission on his behalf. The

fact that the sender gave the delegate the amount of discretion is particularly noteworthy in considering Mancio's growing stature as an autonomous young man during the Embassy's Italian journey (Mancio gradually demonstrated his own judgment in the course of the journey). In a similar vein, the fact that the legates diligently kept what they heard and saw in their (unfortunately lost) diaries during their journey as they had been requested to do so by Valignano shows that they were aware of their duty as the legates and remained loyal to the order of Valignano, who was the 'sender' of the Embassy to Rome.

The third point in this first section instructs one on a right attitude to serving his lord. It is concerned with ethics for servants and their houses to bear in mind. Here, Sadayori refers to tradition in the name of *kojin* 故人, the ancients, which would appear to be Confucian (537-8):

故人の申候しハ。主人の御氣にあひ候はんとするはわろし。さ候へばいかなる不思義をも申。又卒爾なる事を被レ仰をも同心申。又前きらめきな事をも申候へバ。人もにくみ。聊爾も出来候。只主人の御意にしたがひ申。被レ仰事をちがへじと奉公いたすべきにて候。又若き人年寄ををし。主人の前などへ差出候事見にくく候。我より下手の人なりとも。年寄たる仁を敬ひたるが見よく候。殿中にても此分 二候。

As the ancients said, it is bad of one to ingratiate oneself to his lord. This way, one says any fantastical things. In the same way, even if the lord says any careless things, one says the same careless things. And if one boastfully speaks, it is impolite, and one makes people hateful to oneself. One should speak according to the intention of one's lord only, and serve without disobeying the lord's words or intention. It is undesirable to see a young man push aside the elderly and come forward before the lord. It is deemed better if one admires virtue of the elderly even if they are lower than oneself in status. It is the same at the palace.

This third point promotes self-respect and respect for the elderly. The self-respect pertains to being honest with, loyal to, and true with one's lord, and to causing no disharmony with others around oneself in that environment. It can be said that such an attitude is reflected in the legates' behaviour during their journey in Italy. There, they remained subservient to the accompanying Jesuit fathers while not demonstrating signs of ingratiating themselves to their hosts. It is also worth pointing out in this relation that sources do not suggest that the legates had discord among themselves, while the Italian Jesuit fathers who accompanied the legates in Italy expressed their complaints among themselves in their letters to Rome (Pelliccia 2016; Yūki 1990).

The fifth point in the first section also refers to a desirable, right attitude to serving a lord. Sadayori urges one to be careful with observing the circumstances, clear in communication, aware of who

are around and behave accordingly, and have the discretion to avoid gossips (Hanawa 1901, 554):

御主の御機げんもしらず。物を披露ハ不レ可レ然候。能々 [よくよく] 時宜 [じぎ] をうかがひて。何事をも可二申入一事也。又女中近き所に何心 [なにごころ] なく祇候 [しこう / 伺候] ハ無二勿躰 [もったい] 一候。おなじく主人の人に物を被レ仰候時。心なく御前近く候事あるまじく候。そうべつ人の物を申候はんずる所をもなにとなきやうにてたちのくべし。耳だてして聞べからざる事也。

Not knowing the mood of one’s lord, one should not speak any things to his lord. Carefully observe the occasion, and one should clearly communicate to him any matters. It is beyond question for one to serve his lord absent-mindedly when housemaids are nearby. Equally, one should not be absent-minded near his lord when he speaks to the lord’s men. Generally, one should uneventfully leave, avoiding hearing what a person speaks. One should not pick up one’s ears and listen in.

This point equally seems to suggest an observational nature of the legates who would have probably paid attention to their surroundings to better record what they heard and saw and accordingly behave. Sources do not hint at the possibility that the legates enjoyed having gossips while they journeyed through Italy. Some of the few, if not the only, references to their casual conversation or spontaneous behaviour are their mentioning of rice cakes in their conversation with a local notary in Montefiascone (Angelucci 1984, 83-4), and how they behaved in the ball in Pisa, which Valignano and De Sande wrote about in the *De missione* (Valignano 2016, 283; De Sande 2012, 257). Meanwhile, gossiping on the part of their hosts in Italy was not scarce, as their letters among them display (HIUT 1959; 1961).

The sixth point in the first section instructs one to be virtuous, warning against becoming a smooth talker. “As you serve, you should not be a smooth talker”, it teaches, because “that way, you can be found careless by other people. [...] those who are a smooth talker end up crossing the line” (Hanawa 1901, 554).¹⁷ The seventh point of the first section, in which Sadayori explains what kinds of servants a lord should employ, lists desired and undesired qualities of the servants: one has to be “altruistic”, “loyal in serving”, and “modest and trustworthy”, and it is not desirable to employ one who is “avaricious, barbarous, and questionable” or one who is ‘not dutiful and likes someone

¹⁷ “奉公し候人さのみ利根 なるも不レ可レ然。左候へバ卒爾 なる事も候。[...] 利根なる人ハかならず入すぎたる事有といへり”。

else’s mistakes” (554-5).¹⁸ In the eighth point of the first section, the author goes on to instruct that “men should not generally behave in the ways in which they exceed the extent of expected behaviour accorded with their own social status”, with a simile: “what is heavy at the edge will eventually collapse. It is not good for branches and leaves to weigh more than roots, and therefore it should not happen that the low weighs more than the high. You should not underestimate the high and not prioritise the self” (555).¹⁹

Back in the fourth point of the first section, Sadayori writes that “when you speak to your lord or a respectable person, slightly turn your face sideways and make sure that he is not touched with your breath” (554).²⁰ Some of those who met the legates in Italy, in fact, observed in them the gesture of averting one’s face from the addressee. In Siena, the notary named Marcantonio Tolomei wrote in a letter to his brother-in-law that the legates “had great fear of their guardians and interpreters [Jesuit fathers] and they would not even raise their eyes without obtaining permission from them” (Sanesi 1894, 124-8; Brown 1994, 877).²¹ What appeared to be “fear” to Tolomei, in this context, may have had other cultural implications among the Japanese legates, such as, for example, a humble act of lowering oneself and showing respect to one’s lord, parent, or indeed Jesuit fathers.

The gesture of averting one’s face when speaking to a person of a higher social status was not uncommon in sixteenth-century Japan. Such a behaviour is repeatedly mentioned in other texts of the *buke kojitsu*. The *Ise Sadasuke zakki* shows that “when you speak to your lord or nobility, slightly tilt your face sideways and make sure that he is not touched with your breath” (Hanawa 1925, 103).²² And, similarly, the *Kawamura seishin zou zou ki* 河村誓真雑々記 (c. 1577) reads (173):

對面の時。かほもちハ凡一間ハかりさきを見るやうに。あふのきもうつむきも候ハて向申へし。又立ての時ハ。二間々半ハかりさきを見るやうに。かほもちあるへしと也。惣別かほもちたかくもつ事。見くるしきことなり。又貴人

18 “建武十七ヶ條 [建武式目] にも。近習 の人を可レ撰 といへり。[...] 一ニ正直廉潔にして極信 なる人。二ニ奉公の忠を致し私をかへりみざる人。三ニハ弓馬の道に達して心いさみ ある人。四ニ和漢の才藝あらん人をよとすべし。わろきには。一ニ胡亂猛惡にして欲心にふける人。二ニ不奉公にして人の科をいふ事を好む人。三ニ武藝につたなくして臆病の人。四ニ狂言綺語を以て人に笑はるるをめんばくにするたぐひといへり”。

19 “惣じて人は身のほどよりも過分にふるまふ事不レ可レ然。末重き物ハかならず折るといへり。根よりも枝葉のかちたるハ終にわろきと申也。かまへて上に下のまさる事あるべからず。上をかろしめ おのれを先とするたぐひ尤しかるべからず”。

20 “主人又敬候人に物を申候時ハ。ちと我かほをそばへふりて。我息のあたらぬやうに可レ被二心得一候”。

21 “due Chietini, e’ quali sono loro precettori et interpetri, et de’ quali havevon gran timore, e non arebbono pur alzati li occhi senza domandarglene licenzia”。

22 “主人貴人へ物を申時ハ。ちと我顔をそばへふかて。いきなとのかかり申さぬやうに可心得”。

へまかり出。御禮等の時ハ。さしうつむきて参。御禮可申なり。

when you meet [a lord], keep your face sober and try to look beyond a ken 間 [a unit of space] ahead. Try not to look up or down. And when you stand keep your face as if looking ahead for two and half a ken. Generally, to keep your face high is unsightly. When you appear before the nobility or in a ceremony, keep your face looking down and greet.

Moreover, the *Manaita ki* 魚板記 (the mid-sixteenth-century) reads that “when you speak to your lord and so on, do not speak directly face to face. This is so that you do not blow on the lord” (264).²³ The *Jintou ki* 人唐記 (1590) also tells that “when you are in front of your lord, lower your head, look down, and speak. Do not speak with your head raised” (283).²⁴ These suggest that the gesture of averting one’s face from his lord was one that was most basic among members of the *buke* in sixteenth-century Japan.

Thus, the *Sougo ozoushi* shows that members of the *buke* were generally expected to be able to keep certain basic behaviour in formal settings, such as when serving one’s lord, having an audience with him, and even within one’s household. Such a code of behaviour was kept as an expert knowledge within the Ise clan, who helped maintain the shogunate’s authority through ceremony and, in doing so, their own status within the shogunate. The content of the *Sougo ozoushi*, as well as the way in which it is written, suggests that there was a certain ceremonial community among the *buke* in sixteenth-century Kyoto. Or better still, the ceremonial community expanded to the regions, as the Ise school of the *buke kojitsu* increasingly spread to the countryside in the sixteenth-century, including Kyūshyū, where the legates all grew up.

As far as the legates’ behaviour in regard to courtiers, Jesuit fathers, prelates, and signori in Italy is concerned, I propose that the legates perhaps unconsciously maintained such a code of behaviour of the Japanese *buke*. They did not particularly intentionally or specially comport themselves in the ways in which they did and their hosts perceived, but they did so as they would usually do in the context of sixteenth-century Japan. In this sense, they remained Japanese in Italy, did not ‘become’ European, and their hosts in Italy were hardly able to discern the Japanese cultural construct, suitably describing their good manners as Christian and European – despite the fact that they had not properly seen persons from Japan before.

23 “主人などに物を申時は。ろくにむかひてはいはぬものなり。是はいきを主人につきかけまじきためなり”。

24 “主人の御前に祇候の時は。御顔を下目に掛けて見申物也。打上て見申さぬ也。”。

6 The Spread of the Buke Kojitsu to Kyūshū

How the Ise school of the *buke kojitsu* did not exclusively stay in the Imperial and shogunal city of Kyoto but spread to provinces in Western Japan even before the collapse of the shogunate in 1573? Ise Sadahisa 伊勢貞久, or Doushou 道照 after taking the tonsure, authored the *Ōuchi mondou* 大内問答, with which he responded to such a request from Ōuchi Yoshioki 大内義興 (d. 1529), the *daimyo* of the province of Suou 周防, who probably met Sadahisa while staying in Kyoto around 1509 (Hanawa 1925, 29; Futaki 1999, 72).²⁵ The *Ōuchi mondou* teaches how one is expected to behave in the shogun's palace. Similarly, Ise Sadaoki 伊勢貞興 reveals in his *Ise sadaoki hentou sho* 伊勢貞興返答書 (1572) that his ancestor Sadamichi had composed a text to respond to queries on the *buke kojitsu* posed by Ōuchi Yoshioki as well as Ōtomo Yoshiaki 大友義鑑 (1502-1550), the *daimyo* of the province of Bungo 豊後, Kyushu (Sadaoki composed his *hentou sho* based on this text of Sadamichi) (Hanawa 1925, 195).

Moreover, Sadataka allowed his vassal Kawamura Seishin 河村誓真 (Masahide 正秀) to write about the Ise school of the *buke kojitsu* in the mid-sixteenth-century (*Gunsho kaidai* 1960, 200-1). Seishin authored the *Kawamura seishin zou zou ki* 河村誓真開書 based on not only what he had heard from Sadataka, but also other members of the Ise clan and the *Imagawa ozoushi* 今川大双紙, the fifteenth- or fourteenth-century text on the *buke kojitsu*, which Imagawa Sadayo 今川貞世 or Ryoushun 了俊 (1325-1420), a member of another clan specialised in the *buke kojitsu* at that time, had written (188, 201). Seishin wrote the text after being asked to do so by an unknown person, according to the postscript in the *Kawamura seishin zou zou ki* (201).

The Ise school of the *buke kojitsu* spread to western provinces also through actual members of the clan. Sadataka, who corresponded with Ito Yoshisuke since as early as 1537, visited Yoshisuke in Hyūga in 1560, on which occasion he asked Yoshisuke to let him have a look at the diary of the Ito 伊東 on the *kasagake* 笠懸 or horseback archery, one of the military arts of the *buke kojitsu* (*Hyūgaki* 1911, 400-1, 420; Ishikawa 1975, 81, 103). Sadatomo, who served at the residence of the court noble and regent Konoe Maehisa 近衛前久 since as early as c. 1573 before serving as the *keishi* 家司 or steward in charge of administrative affairs (Futaki 1985, 248), was associated with the Shimazu 島津, the *daimyo* based in the province of Satsuma 薩摩, since as early as 1576 (Futaki 1985, 250, 256 fn. 43). Sadatomo was unexceptionally familiar with the *buke kojitsu*, writing the *Tensho nenchū gotaimen ki* 天正年中御対面記 (1580), in which

²⁵ Futaki attributes the *Ouchi Mondo* (*The Dialogue of the Ouchi*) to Ise Sadamichi, not to Ise Sadahisa.

he explains the shogun's expected ceremonial behaviour, including how he should receive a visitor, how he should behave when visiting a vassal, and how he should be dressed (*Gunsho kaidai* 1960, 140).

Moreover, Sadamasa (1570-1642), Sadatomo's adopted heir as well as the son of a *shukurou* 宿老 or consular dignitary of the Shimazu, was employed by the *daimyo* Shimazu Yoshihiro 島津義弘 by 1594 (Futaki 1985, 250), before going on to become the *karou* 家老 or chief vassal of the Shimazu (256 fn. 44). As Gomi Yoshio argues, Sadamasa probably played an important part in keeping alive the Ise school of the *buke kojitsu* after the Ise lost their base in Kyoto together with the fall of the shogunate in 1573: Sadamasa probably transmitted the knowledge of the Ise school of the *buke kojitsu* to Sadahira 貞衡 of the main line of the clan, whom the Tokugawa shogun Iemitsu 徳川家光 employed as a *hatamoto* 旗本 or shogun's direct vassal in Edo in 1637 (Gomi 1986, 51). Sadamasa was typically acquainted with the Ise school of the *buke kojitsu*, for which Sadatomo had handed down to him the *Onari ki* 御成記, the *Manaita ki*, and the *Jintou ki* (248-9).

Comparatively, the Ogasawara school of the *buke kojitsu* spread to the Ōtomo in Bungo from as early as 1507 (Takeda 2000). Some members of the Ogasawara clan had to leave Kyoto after the Meio Coup 明応の政変 (1493), which happened within the Ashikaga shogunate, and they found refuge in Bungo. There, they transmitted instructions in the military sphere of the *buke kojitsu* as a secret knowledge to the Ōtomo, who kept, practiced, and probably used in exercising their authority and power in their territory (Takeda 2000; 2001). Together with the spread of the courtly sphere of the *buke kojitsu* to the Ōtomo and the Ōuchi early in the sixteenth-century, the *daimyo* in these Western provinces seem to have been particularly willing to learn the *buke kojitsu* from members of the expert clans.

In this way, the Ise school and the Ogasawara school of the *buke kojitsu* spread to Kyūshū in the course of the sixteenth-century, with *daimyo* requesting and receiving texts on the *buke kojitsu* from members of the Ise clan and accommodating members of the clan who travelled to or moved to the parts of Kyūshū in Bungo, Hyūga, and Satsuma. As far as the Ito is concerned, how the Ito may have acquired the knowledge of the *buke kojitsu* in sixteenth-century Hyūga is not clear. Yet, Yoshisuke, Mancio's grandfather and the *daimyo* in Hyūga, desired to be known in Kyoto and actively approached the shogunate in Kyoto, maintaining a rapport with the shoguns Yoshiharu 義晴 and Yoshiteru 義輝 and shogunal officers such as Hosokawa Harumoto 細川晴元, the *kanrei* 管領 or shogun's deputy, and Ise Sadataka, as the *Hyūgaki* tells (*Hyūgaki* 1911, 400-1, 403, 407-8, 420; Ishikawa 1975, 80-1, 84, 103).²⁶

²⁶ Ishikawa's work is a modern free translation of the *Hyūgaki*.

7 Conclusion

In this article, taking a cue from the adjectives with which the hosts of the Embassy in Italy evaluated the behaviour of the legates in 1585, I briefly introduced the ceremonial, cultural, and political role that the *buke kojitsu* played for the Ashikaga shogunate; structurally demonstrated how the Ise clan preserved the *buke kojitsu* in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Kyoto; closely read the *Sougo ozoushi* in the light of the legates' behaviour in Italy, and partly showed how the Ise school of the *buke kojitsu* spread to Kyūshū in the sixteenth-century.

More evidence and research are admittedly needed to reconstruct the cultural environment in which Mancio, one of the legates, grew up in Hyūga in the 1570s; yet this article showed that the *buke kojitsu* began spreading to Western Japan in the early century before certainly reaching Satsuma, in the south of Hyūga and on the southern tip of the Kyūshū Island, in the 1570s. Meanwhile, this article pointed out that some of the behavioural instructions in the *Sougo ozoushi*, for example, reflect the ways in which the legates autonomously, humbly, and respectfully behaved and their hosts generally evaluated their manners, remarking on their acuity, maturity, modesty, and so on, in Italy. In the context of this, I proposed, there was a ceremonial community among members of the *buke* society, to which the legates belonged, and which was centred on the authority of the Ashikaga shogunate and the Imperial Court in Kyoto and preserved by members of the Ise. In this way, the legates' behaviour in Italy was a Japanese cultural construct, and in this sense, they were not 'European' nor 'devoid of Japanese', as some of their hosts may have suitably liked to regard them in this way (in the context of, for example, the Counter-Reformation) and as the historiography continues to follow such a view. This observation on the implicit Japanese cultural force probably has important connotation for a different reading of European, Italian, or Jesuit sources on the Embassy, for the *accommodatio* of the Jesuit mission in Japan, and, broadly, for a finer cultural evaluation of early modern Italian-Japanese encounter.

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