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FOREWORD

Portuguese and Japanese have an important common history, which is remembered today in many cities of Japan, by monuments, statues, streets' names small memorials and museums. Those events have been studied for many years by a large number of scholars. However, Japanese studies did not develop in Portuguese universities until the last decade; a few scholars, such as João Abranches Pinto, Armando Martins Janeira and Maria Helena Mendes Pinto, published some important works, but there was not any systematic work.

Nowadays, the situation changed, and we can say that the Japanese studies are growing significantly in Portugal, specially in the New University of Lisbon. In the last years, several M.A. dissertations were presented in this university and also in the University of Lisbon, analysing different aspects of these relations, such as trade, art, culture, religion or literature; some museums and laboratories have new technicians specialised in Japanese art. At the same time, the research on the Portuguese presence in other regions of East Asia, like China or Vietnam, and also on Southeast Asia has also many new scholars working in Portuguese universities. All those who study the Portuguese activities East of Malacca have already understood that it is necessary to work together because comparative history can stress the specificities of each region.

The *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* appears as a consequence of this development of studies, and also as the result of the international contacts that were established in these last years, by which we got many good friends, as it is the case of the members of our advisory board. We are very grateful to them by their support. We hope that the *Bulletin* will be a space where we can present the research work that is taking place in Portugal, as well as it will be a space opened to the scholars from all over the world who wish to present here their studies. As you can see in this first number, we are not focused only in the islands of the Rising Sun and its people, because we want to understand the Portuguese-Japanese history framed in several global histories, such as the Japanese history, the Portuguese expansion history, the China Sea history or the Christianity history.

Articles, news and book reviews are welcomed, and we hope that every semester a new number of this *Bulletin* will be a small step in the long way of the Portuguese Japanese studies.

Lisbon, 1 December 2000
João Paulo Oliveira e Costa

THE JESUITS, THE DEVIL, AND POLLUTION IN JAPAN

The Context of a Syllabus of Errors

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When the Basque priest Francis Xavier and his two fellow Jesuits, Padre Cosme de Torres and Irmão Juan Fernández, landed in Kagoshima in 1549 to found the Christian mission of Japan, they did not come completely uninformed. Indeed, thanks to the overly great enthusiasm and small expertise of their informants, they bore with them from India the picture of a Japanese wonderland, a country where “almost all the rules” of the dominant religion were “in conformity with ours.”¹ The missionaries had surrendered to wishful thinking. They visualised too much of themselves in the Other.

Their distant vision had been faulty, and they were not cured of their delusions on the spot. On returning to India after two difficult years in Japan, Xavier remained full of praise for the national character of the Japanese. “Such a prudent and talented people, eager for knowledge, obedient to reason, endowed with many other good qualities,” he wrote to Europe, “cannot fail to yield much fruit.”² With the accumulation of experience, however, came a measure of disillusion, and Xavier’s successors were less certain about their prospects. By 1557, for instance, Padre Gaspar Vilela (who had arrived in the country the year before) was wondering how to explain the “great perplexity” he felt at the sight of “people who are white, and prudent in their worldly customs, yet so bereft of the knowledge of their creator.”³

1 Nicolò Lancillotto SJ, “first report” on Japan compiled for Ignatius Loyola, General SJ, third draft, autograph (Cochin, 28 December 1548): “In questo quaderno se contene la informazione de una insula che se è scoperta novamente nella parte setentrionale, chiamata Giapan,” in *Documentos del Japon 1547-1557*, ed. Juan Ruiz-de-Medina SJ, Monumenta Historica Japoniae 2: Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu 52: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 137 Rome, Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, 1990, doc. 8, p. 55. This is one of the reports treated in detail in J.S.A. Elisonas, “An Itinerary to the Western Paradise: Early European Reports on Japan and a Contemporary Exegesis,” *Itinerario*, 20.3 (1996): 25-68.

2 Francis Xavier SJ to the Jesuits of Europe, Cochin, 29 January 1552, *Documentos del Japon 1547-1557*, doc. 56, p. 312.

3 Gaspar Vilela SJ to the Jesuits of Portugal, Hirado, 29 October 1557, *ibid.*, doc. 127, p. 705.

The solution to the seeming paradox had of course already been discovered. Padre Baltasar Gago perhaps explained it best in a letter he wrote to fellow Jesuits in 1555. In some regards, matters appeared to be satisfactory. Not only did the lord of Yamaguchi favour the Christian mission, Gago reported, but also the converts there treated their padre with much love and obedience. All was not well with Japan, however. How could this “white people, so well - proportioned and handsome, and so polished in human ways that nothing is lacking in their manner” nevertheless sink to depravities “so foul and vile and beyond all good sense and reason”? The Enemy never rests, was the answer. Basically, there was nothing wrong with the Japanese except that they were in the clutches of the devil.⁴

Misled by excessively enthusiastic reports compiled in India before any missionary had set foot in Japan, the famous French savant Guillaume Postel, a man who was in general subject to excess enthusiasms, wrote in a book published in Paris in 1553 that despite a drift from orthodoxy caused by the passage of time, the failure of human memory, and the negligence of ignorant priests, the “Law of Jesus Christ” prevailed in Japan—“he who does not see that has no eyes.” Identifying Shaka, that is, Sâkyamuni, the historical Buddha, with Jesus, Postel asserted that “XACA is adored there as IESVS CHRIST CRVCIFIED.”⁵ By then, however, “Xaca and Ameda, and all the rest” of the Buddhas had been demonised by none other than Xavier himself,⁶ and the Jesuits of Japan were well on their way to compiling a syllabus of errors that condemned all of Japanese religion.

That text, superscribed “Summary of the errors in which the heathen of Japan live and of some heathen sects on which they principally rely” and attributed to Cosme de Torres or to Juan Fernández, was presented by Torres to Padre Melchior Nunes Barreto, the Jesuit Provincial of India, during Barreto’s visit to Japan in 1556.⁷ It begins with an account of beliefs and practices associated with the religion that grew out of the native Japanese tradition and is known as Shinto, the Way of the Gods. There follows the exposition of “another sect, which is called *bupoo*” - *Buppô*, the Law of the Buddhas - “and is divided into eight or nine sects.” This second, longer part of the “Summary” is of considerable interest, and a close look at it would be rewarding. On balance, however, the shorter part, which deals with Shinto, is the more significant portion.

4 Baltasar Gago SJ to the Jesuits of India and Portugal, Hirado, 23 September 1555, *ibid.*, doc. 114, pp. 561-562.

5 Elisonas, “An Itinerary to the Western Paradise” p. 50; Postel’s *Des merveilles du monde* is discussed on pp. 47-57.

6 Xavier, *Documentos del Japon 1547-1557*, doc. 56, p. 308.

7 “Sumário dos erros en que os gentios do Japão vivem e de algumas seitas gentílicas en que principalmente confiã,” *ibid.*, doc. 124, pp. 652-667. Buddhism is treated from p. 659.

8 “Sumário,” p. 656.

Historically, that religious tradition began to be codified in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era, in response to the introduction of Buddhism and within the context of the Japanese monarchy's formation. The politically dominant family group in the emergent state - the founders of the Japanese imperial dynasty - sought to justify their arrogation of power by referring it to their divine ancestors' creation of the land, conquest of the domain, and pacification of the people they ruled. Hence, as the Jesuit missionaries had learned by the time they composed the "Summary," there is a strong euhemeristic strain in Shinto. As yet, they lacked the experience to realise how much this religion had been penetrated by Buddhism; accordingly, they made a decided distinction between the two. It would, however, be fair to say that in the 1550s Shinto existed only as an ingredient in an institutional and doctrinal amalgam. The doctrine which defined that amalgam had been current in Japanese religious circles since the middle of the Heian period (794-1185) and was known as the theory of *honji suijaku*, "original substance manifests traces." This syncretist theory held that the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, adapting themselves to circumstances in their grand scheme of salvation, had manifested themselves in Japan in the form of Shinto deities. To be sure, since the thirteenth century a counter-theory had also gained currency; it reversed the association, holding that Japanese deities formed the base ground of all existence. Either way, Shinto was to a large extent integrated with Buddhism. Taoist thought and Yin-Yang theories had also contributed much to the formulation of Shinto doctrine. In short, there never was a pristine set of native beliefs called Shinto - certainly not in the sixteenth century. Shinto did not emerge as an independent structure until after the Meiji Revolution of 1868, when the new imperial government established it as the national religion and a prop of the state, purging it of external accretions in a fierce anti-Buddhist iconoclasm. In the "Summary," however, Shinto is set apart as a separate sect. To be sure, it is not called by that name but described informally as *seita dos camins*, sect of the kami.

Its followers, the "Summary" asserts, principally adore twenty idols whom they call *camins-kami*, the Japanese for "spirit," "deity," or "god" (the term is used for "god" with either a lower-case or a capital G, nowadays) - and whose origins are human, as their worshippers freely admit. "Human persons of ancient times, natives of these kingdoms," the *kami* are the ones who built the foundations of society in Japan, which is therefore called *terra de chamins*, the Land of the Gods.⁸

Twenty is not a number associated with any single group of prominent Shinto deities, nor one gained by adding the members of such primary groups as the three deities of creation (*zôka no kami*), the seven generations of the

gods of heaven (*amatsukami*), and the five generations of the gods of earth (*kunitsukami*). That in itself does not indicate lack of accuracy on the part of the "Summary's" authors or dearth of expertise on the part of their Japanese informants. More likely, it merely reflects the general lack of accord among mediaeval Shinto scholars, who disagreed regarding the names of the principal *kami*, their relative status, and the manner of counting their generations.⁹ Shintoists did not, however, "confess" that their paramount deities were all "human persons (*homens humanos*).¹⁰ That is, at best, an overly comprehensive claim, and the assertion that follows - "They have no knowledge of the creation of the world" - while no doubt true from the missionaries' dogmatic standpoint, appears rhetorically clumsy from a more neutral point of view, as it is immediately contradicted by the text of the "Summary" itself, which refers to a number of creation stories current in Shinto.

First, the "Summary" cites the famous story found in the oldest Japanese sources, *Kojiki* (*Records of Ancient Matters*; 712) and *Nihon shoki* (*Chronicles of Japan*; 720), garbling it: The pair of divine progenitors, Izanagi and Izanami - the seventh generation of the gods of heaven - is reduced to one mortal. The Heavenly Jewelled Spear with which they stirred the primeval brine, causing it to congeal and form the first of the Japanese islands, is transformed into a great ladle (*huma grande colher*). And the rest of the phallic myth-Izanagi's proposal to Izanami, "Then let us, you and me, walk in a circle around this heavenly pillar and meet and have conjugal intercourse," and so forth - is contracted to the single (that is, lonely) wish, "Here I want to stay and make progeny."¹⁰

Another account, according to the "Summary," holds that at the beginning of the world "there was a great egg, which opened by itself. Its white rose upwards and turned into heaven, as it was the lighter matter. The yolk, being bulkier, remained below and turned into earth. Of it, as the female, and heaven, as the male, all creatures were generated." The original substance of this passage may be retraced in mediaeval Shinto thought without difficulty. Its

⁹ An excellent example of speculation on this topic, written from the syncretist standpoint, is the anonymous treatise *Tenchi reiki ki* (before 1320), in *Chūsei Shintō ron*, ed. Ōsumi Kazuo, *Nihon Shisō Taikei* 19 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977), pp. 69-78; original *kanbun* text, pp. 278-281. In this text, nine deities figure in the five generations of the gods of earth. A chart set out by Ōsumi on p. 78 seeks to make order of various mediaeval theories regarding the seven generations of the gods of heaven, classifying seventeen names in all.

¹⁰ "Sumário," p. 655. Izanagi's proposal to Izanami is quoted from *Kojiki*, tr. Donald L. Philippi (Princeton: Princeton University Press and Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1969), pp. 49-51; *Kojiki*, ed. Aoki Kazuo et al., *Nihon Shisō Taikei* 1 (1982), pp. 20-23. Cf. *Nihon shoki*, ed. Kojima Noriyuki et al., I, *Shinpen Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshū* 2 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1994), 25-28.

locus classicus is *San-wu li-chi* (third century AD), one of the many Chinese sources amassed by Shinto scholars seeking to develop a theoretical basis for their cosmogony. Prominent among those authors is Watarai Ieyuki (1256-1351), a priest of the Ise Shrines, who cites that Chinese work in his monumental *Ruijû jingi hongen* (Classified Origins of the Deities; 1320) as follows: "At a time when heaven and earth did not yet exist there was a chaos shaped like an egg. [...] The pure and light [part] rose and became heaven, the turbid and heavy descended and became earth, and the centrally harmonious breaths became man. Thus heaven and earth joined their seeds [or: embraced each other's vitality] and the myriad things were born through transformation." Again, the "Summary" does not quite do justice to the imagery of the "heaven sect."¹¹

To be sure, the Jesuit missionaries were looking not for stories of creation but for knowledge of the Creator. Even so, in leaving these two accounts without comment - implicitly stamping them as unworthy of consideration - they showed that they were underestimating their opponent. Classical East Asian thought is sometimes said to be strong in cosmology but weak in cosmogony; yet it did not tolerate a vacuum at the beginning of the universe. A good idea of how that vacuum was filled may be formed from Part One of Watarai's elaborate treatise, the very model of eclecticism, which contains citations of what seems like every major East Asian explanation of the "opening up of heaven and earth" - from the classic *Book of Changes* and the *Lao Tzu* through the book called *Huai-nan Tzu* (itself an eclectic treatise, written in the second century BC) and the Taoist work *Lieh Tzu* (third or fourth century AD [?]) to the famous *Diagram of the Great Ultimate* by the Neo-Confucian philosopher Chou Lien-hsi (1017-1073). The Chinese philosophical tradition is not the only one consulted by Watarai, however. Of course the Japanese classics are included. Indeed, the Vedic tradition, too, makes an appearance via Buddhism to buttress Shinto, as Vishnu is equated with Kunitokotachi no Mikoto (Eternal Spirit of the Land) and Brahma with Ame no Minakanushi no Kami (Master of the August Centre of Heaven).¹² According to mediaeval Shinto theology, these two deities were the first generation of the gods of heaven.¹³

11 "Sumário," p. 656. Cf. Watarai Ieyuki, *Ruijû jingi hongen* (parts 1, 13, and 15), in *Chûsei Shintô ron*, p. 89; original *kanbun* text, p. 284. For the original source, see Hsü Cheng, *San-wu li-chi*, in *Yü-han shan-fang chi-i shu*, ed. Ma Kuo-han, IV (Taipei: Wen-hai Ch'u-pan-she, 1967), 2367-2368. The *Nihon shoki* (pp. 18-19) begins with a variant of this story.

12 Watarai, pp. 101-102; original *kanbun* text, p. 288; names of the Shinto deities translated according to Brian Bocking, *A Popular Dictionary of Shintô* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1996), pp. 110 and 4-5 respectively.

So Shinto had almost a surfeit of cosmogonies; the problem faced by its theologians was to select, adapt, and synthesise them. It may have been open to accusations of prolificity and inconsistency, but it was a far more complex religious system than first appeared to the Christian missionaries.

Apart from cosmogony, however, what issues did they address? Without a question, the most interesting and important thing they have to say about Shinto in their "Summary" has to do with ritual proscriptions. The believers of the "sect of these *camins*," we are told, keep five commandments. The first forbids them to eat beef, venison, or pork, especially before attending religious services. The second affects menstruating women and those who come in contact with them: A woman may not approach the place of worship during her monthly period. She may "neither sleep nor eat with her husband, nor may what she is to eat during this period either be cooked together with the food of her husband and her household or at the same fire." Indeed, to ensure that she enter into converse with no one "until she is clean," she is made to eat and sleep in a house set apart from others. These precautions are taken because menstruation is considered to be "the greatest defilement." The third commandment imposes the same restrictions on a woman who has given birth. The fourth prescribes that "when someone's father, son, or very close relative dies, that person shall for forty days neither appear before the *camim* nor before his king or the lord whom he serves or whose vassal he is." Finally, the fifth commandment states that when an injury is committed or even planned against someone, the injured party shall ask the *kami* to kill or chastise the offender.¹⁴

Who was behind these commandments? To the missionaries, the answer was obvious. They were dealing with the devil.

The padres sought to show the Japanese that Shinto must be the demon's very own sect (*seita do demônio*) by explicating the rationale that governed its rules.¹⁵ As to the first commandment: The devil wants to be adored but is invisible. His solution is to have himself worshipped in the form of an animal, so he commands humans not to kill and consume animals but rather to honour them. As to the second: The devil wants to draw humans into committing the sin of

13 See the chart in *Chûsei Shintô ron*, p. 78. Which of the two was the first to appear at the creation remained subject to debate. The *Kojiki* (Nihon Shisô Taikêi 1, pp. 18–19; Philippi, pp. 47–48) attributes primacy to Ame no Minakanushi no Kami. Takamimusubi no Kami and Kanmusubi no Kami follow; together, these three are called the three deities of creation. According to the *Nihon shoki* (pp. 18–20), however, Kunitokotachi no Mikoto was the first to appear (he ranks sixth in the *Kojiki*). According to Watarai, p. 120 (original *kanbun* text, p. 295), these two deities are designations of one and the same Truth expressed under different names.

14 "Sumário," pp. 656–657.

15 "Sumário," pp. 657–659.

sodomy. To that end he tells them that it is sinful for a man to have intercourse with his wife during her menstrual period or soon after she has given birth. Third, the devil is against human birth on principle, being envious of those about to be born; for they have the potential of going to Heaven, there to enjoy the glory he himself has lost. He therefore encourages abortion and infanticide. His fourth commandment is designed to make humans block out the memory of death (*por esquecerem da morte*). Finally, the fifth commandment is meant to counter the Christian principle that we should love those who do us evil and pray for them.

In short, the *kami* are not divine but manifestations of the devil. Naturally, those who adore them do not expect blessings in the life to come but seek safeguards in this one; they worship the idols out of fear. That fear is understandable, because the devil often enters into the bodies of human beings and then maltreats the possessed, pretending to be a *kami* punishing the violation of one of the five commandments. At other times he persuades those he has possessed that it is the fury of an animal tormenting them, not to be assuaged until they have an image made of that animal. Or he insinuates to people that they are about to become prey to a dead person's vindictiveness unless they erect a statue to that person. These are common devices used by the devil so that he can be adored in visible form. (This abhorrence of graven images sounds a trifle odd, coming from sixteenth-century Catholic clerics; after all, the great iconoclasm that was about to sweep wide stretches of Europe had none other but their churches as a target.)

Interestingly, the Jesuits were not the only ones in Japan to attribute a demonic nature to the Shinto gods. Their opinion in that regard was at least partly shared by some of their Buddhist adversaries, the priests described in the "Summary" as "bonzes in black robes" who "adore only Amida and none other, neither Buddha (*fotoque*) nor *cami*."¹⁶

That *kami* were widely disparaged if not utterly disdained in the Amidist True Pure Land sect (Jôdo Shinshû), arguably the most powerful Buddhist school in late mediaeval Japan, is notorious. The sect's founder Shinran (1173-1262) included their worship under the label "aberrant attachment to heretical teachings and pernicious falsehoods (*gekyô jagi no ishû*)."¹⁷ To be sure, Shinran himself was willing to compromise, telling his followers not to discard the native deities entirely, especially since disdain for the *kami* was sure to be interpreted by the secular powers that be as defiance of authority. While remaining single-minded in their devotion to Amida Buddha, the Shinshû

16 "Sumário," p. 662.

priests ceased, strictly speaking, to be exclusive. They took refuge in an expedient and, however unenthusiastically, embraced the *honji suijaku* doctrine.

The Shinshû dogmatist Zonkaku (1290-1373) developed that syncretist doctrine by classifying the Japanese deities into two categories. The first was called *gonsha*, "expedient deities," or *reishin*, "spirits with miraculous powers." These were avatars of the Buddhas, assisted the cause of the faith of Amida, and were to be hallowed. The second was called *jissha*, "actual deities." These were *jashin*, "malevolent spirits," and were to be shunned.¹⁷

Zonkaku's treatise *Shojin hongai shû* (The True Intent of the Deities; 1324), influential in Shinshû circles throughout the Middle Ages, first outlines the *honji suijaku* theory and then enters into specifics. We are told that the "basic ground" or "original substance" (*honji*) of Kashima Daimyôjin, a deity worshipped widely in Japan, is the Bodhisattva Jûichimen Kannon. The Sun Goddess Amaterasu, too, is an avatar of Kannon, whereas her brother Susanoo, the deity of the moon, has the Bodhisattva Seishi as his basic identity.¹⁸ As Kannon and Seishi iconographically are the standard ancillary figures in the triad of which Amida occupies the centre, it is clear at this point where Zonkaku's argument is leading.

Indeed, he goes on to show how the principal deities of the Shinto pantheon double for Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in what may be called a shadow play devised for the purpose of bestowing grace on humankind. "Insofar as their original substance is concerned, they differ severally, but they are all without exception comprehended in Amida's wisdom." Moreover, since all the salutary roads emanate from and lead to Amida, the argument can be reversed: "To devote oneself to Amida means to turn to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

17 Shinran, *Kyôgyôshinsho* (after 1235?), in *Shinran*, ed. Hoshino Genpô et al., Nihon Shisô Taikei 11 (1975 fifth printing), p. 226; original *kanbun* text, p. 400. This label is part of the topic sentence of pt. 6B, the conclusion of Shinran's treatise, where it sets off a lengthy disquisition, buttressed with scriptural quotations, on the baselessness of worshipping miscellaneous gods and spirits. Further see James C. Dobbins, *Jôdo Shinshû: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 57-60.

18 Zonkaku Kôgen, *Shojin hongai shû*, in *Chûsei Shintô ron*, pp. 182-192.

19 Zonkaku, pp. 184-186. Kashima Daimyôjin, the deity of a shrine located in Hitachi Province (now Ibaraki Prefecture), is said to have manifested himself in various other places in Japan, most notably at the Kasuga Shrine in Nara. Jûichimen Kannon: Ekâdasamukha, that is, the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara appearing in a form with eleven faces. Seishi: Mahâsthâmaprâpta. Zonkaku's command of the Shinto pantheon is shaky. In particular, his identification of Susanoo as the moon deity lacks a scriptural basis, as that role is allotted to Susanoo's and Amaterasu's brother Tsukuyomi or Tsukuyumi both in the *Kojiki* (Nihon Shisô Taikei 1, pp. 40-43; Philippi, pp. 70-71) and in the *Nihon shoki* (pp. 36-37). To be sure, Zonkaku was not the only mediaeval author to equate Susanoo with the moon deity. Among those who did so was the great Shinto theologian Yoshida Kanetomo (1435-1511); see his *Yuiitsu Shintô myôhô yôshû*, in *Chûsei Shintô ron*, p. 235.

And that being so, their trace manifestations, the gods, need not be the objects of any special devotion" - one serves them automatically by serving Amida.

What, then, is the character of those Shinto deities who do not fall into the expedient category? In the main, they are the wandering spirits of living or of dead humans and animals. Entering into people, they torment those whom they possess; therefore, "in order to appease them, one worships them as *kami*." To do so is wrong; nevertheless, "among the spirits worshipped in this world there are many of this sort." (The same point is made in the Jesuits' "Summary.") Ancestor worship, too, leads to pernicious results, according to Zonkaku: To deify one's forebears and treat their graves as shrines, far from ensuring blessings, is a delusion bound to bring on not only spiritual but also bodily disasters. These, too, are false gods; in this philosophy, actual is the antonym of true. The only cure is "single-minded devotion to Amida, the One Buddha; for those who seek the Pure Land shall be protected day and night by the [expedient] deities," who shall dispel all dangers, keeping evil spirits at a distance.²⁰

By revealing the true character of the *kami* worshipped in Japan, Zonkaku hoped to guide more people to the Buddhist path and in particular to the practice of *nenbutsu*, the expression of faith in Amida. His method, ingenious though in the end invidious to the native gods, did not lead Shinshû out of its doctrinal quandary, however. That disdain for the *kami* persisted in the True Pure Land sect despite such efforts at accommodation is evident, for example, from the warning not to make light of the gods that is found here and there in the pastoral letters (*ofumi*) of Rennyo (1415-1499), the true architect of Shinshû's greatness.²¹ Surely it was nothing other than widespread practice that drew the repeated prohibitions.

In the end, the preachers of the True Pure Land faith, Japanese themselves, recognised the difficulty - if not undesirability - of proselytising among the populace by a method that involved denying the value of some of the most hallowed indigenous traditions. This is a problem that did not bother the far more radical foreign missionaries, whose aim was to wipe out those traditions. The padres had no scruples about playing the devil with the Shinto gods.

But why taint Satan with defilement? Why should he have to be the first mover in a system of ritual pollution? There was ample proof to the contrary

20 Zonkaku, pp. 190-192.

21 See especially the pastoral letters dated Bunmei 6 (1474).I.11 and Bunmei 7.VII.15, which supply compendious explanations of how the *kami* are instrumental in Amida's work of salvation; Rennyo Kenju, *Ofumi*, ed. Kasahara Kazuo, in *Rennyo-Ikkô ikki*, ed. Kasahara and Inoue Toshio, Nihon Shisô Taikei 17 (1974 second printing), no. 29, pp. 48-49, and no. 46, pp. 73-74.

in the padres' own tradition; all they had to do to find an analogous system of divinely - not diabolically - inspired rules was to read the Bible. On the topic of sexual intercourse during menstruation, for instance, "The LORD said to Moses, ... 'If a man lies with a woman during her monthly period and has sexual relations with her, he has exposed the source of her flow, and she has also uncovered it. Both of them must be cut off from their people'" (Leviticus 20:18).²² Further, exhaustive rules on menstruation are found in chapter 15 of Leviticus, which also deals with male secretions of the body; on childbirth in chapter 12; on what may or may not be eaten in chapter 11 (dietary restrictions are also treated in Deuteronomy, chapter 14).

To be sure, this particular priestly tradition had been interrupted or, rather, superseded; it had become distant, irrelevant, and even objectionable as far as the Jesuits were concerned. It was an article of faith for them as Christians that the Mosaic Law had been supplanted by the New Testament. So there was no reason for the first missionaries of Japan to pay any attention to Leviticus, its lists of abominations, and the avoidances and observances it prescribed - although "3 Bibles, one of them large" (as distinct from "6 New Testaments") were part of the inventory made of the baggage their provincial Melchior Nunes Barreto in 1554 took with him from Goa to Japan.²³ The heritage of Leviticus had, however, persisted in their own church longer than they could have known. The idea of pollution by blood, in particular, "seems to have been a long time dying," as Mary Douglas points out in her classic analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo. Even if "now it is difficult to find instances of ritual uncleanness in Christian practice," that was not always the case. For example, the penitential of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, a handbook of penance compiled at the end of the seventh century, "requires from women 40 days of purgation after the birth of a child, and enjoins penance of three weeks' fast on any woman, lay or religious, who enters a church, or communicates during menstruation."²⁴ The devil had no monopoly on such laws.

The imputations of a direct satanic influence apart, however, the Jesuit missionaries' reports about the taboos practised in Japan were anything but fantasies. An excellent contemporary source to consult in this regard is *Fusaaki oboegaki*, a memorial written by the Shinto priest Tanamori Fusaaki

²² New International Version of the Bible.

²³ "Rol do fato que o padre mestre Melchior levou pera o Japão o anno de 1554," *Documentos del Japon 1547-1557*, doc. 102, p. 484.

²⁴ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979 paperback ed.), pp. 60-61.

of the Itsukushima Shrine. Among the patrons of this prominent religious institution, located on an island off the shore of Aki Province (now Hiroshima Prefecture) in the Inland Sea, were the daimyo Ôuchi Yoshitaka (1507-1551) of Yamaguchi, Xavier's sometime protector; Sue Harukata (1521-1555), the baron who overthrew Yoshitaka in 1551 but continued to shelter the Jesuits; and Môri Motonari (1497-1571), who defeated Harukata in a battle fought at Itsukushima in 1555 and forced the missionaries to leave Yamaguchi. Tanamori Fusaaki signed his memorial at the age of eighty-five in 1580, but there is no doubt that it describes practices current at the shrine and on its island during the time when the "Summary" was composed. On the topic of pollution he has, among other things, the following to say.

Fires that raise a high plume of smoke are prohibited on the island. Twice each year, however, the Buddhist temple that is part of the Itsukushima Shrine holds special religious assemblies, drawing large crowds, and the rubbish they leave behind must of course be burnt. Moreover, "two or three times a year, unpersons (*hinin*) go round the island, pick up bones and things that have come drifting, and throw them away on the mainland."

The death of a parent brings on various avoidances. The body is taken by boat to the mainland. When the boat returns to Itsukushima, however, the mourner is not permitted to get off it for seven days. He may then set foot on shore, but only to attend to his needs. On the seventy-fifth day, he is allowed to stay on land and to take up an abode in the remote hills of the island; on the ninety-sixth, he is free at length to reenter his own house. From the hundred and twenty-third day, it is again permissible for him to join social gatherings.

From the seventh month of his wife's pregnancy, a priest of the shrine does not ascend to the sanctuary. The new mother may return to her own house on the seventy-fifth day after giving birth, and is permitted to share the hearth with members of priestly families from the eighty-first day. If her new-born dies within the seventy-five days she is expected to spend in the parturition hut, then the pollution is compounded and she reincurs the prescribed period of shunning.

Those who eat food prepared at a fire used to cook venison are polluted for seventy-five days, and they infect others who then share their hearth with thirty-three days of pollution. The corresponding pollution levels caused by wild boar meat are thirty-three days and twenty-one days.

The final pollutant discussed by Fusaaki is menstrual blood. Upon the onset of her monthly period, a woman goes to stay in the remote hills for seven days. She then enters a secondary phase of pollution. If she belongs to the household of one of the shrine functionaries, she may leave the back hills on

the ninth day, but must then take up lodging at a house other than her own, as she is not yet permitted to enter a priestly dwelling. On the twelfth day she may finally go home. Women from ordinary laymen's families may return to their homes on the ninth day and share meals with their families from the eleventh.²⁵

Lest it be assumed that these prescriptions - directed as they are primarily at a priestly audience in a self-contained and relatively isolated provincial institution - are singular or at any rate idiosyncratic, it would be good to compare them with the following, particularly detailed set of rules which was issued in 1403 to the parishioners of a shrine in the heart of Uptown Kyoto:²⁶

GORYÔ SHRINE

REGULATIONS REGARDING POLLUTION AND AVOIDANCES

Item. One burdened with an avoidance, whether heavy or light, shall not attend [the shrine].

Item. One afflicted with the menses may attend after eleven days have passed.

Item. One [whose wife (?)] has given birth may attend after ten days.

Item. One who has eaten wild boar may attend after fifty days have passed; one who has eaten food prepared at the same fire, after thirty days; and another who has in turn eaten food from that one's fire, after three [times] seven days.

Item. One who has eaten meat (wild duck, flesh) may attend after five days have passed.

Item. One who has eaten the meat of a quadruped may attend after seven days have passed.

Item. One who has eaten fowl may attend after three days have passed.

Item. Regarding fish: [blank].

25 Tanamori Fusaaki, *Fusaaki oboegaki*, in *Shintô taikai, Jinja-hen*, XL: *Itsukushima* (Tokyo: Shintô Taikai Hensankai, 1987), 64-65.

26 Text in Yokoi Kiyoshi, "Chûsei no shokue shisô," *Chûsei minshû no seikatsu bunka* (Tokyo: Tôkyô Daigaku Shuppankai, 1975), ch. viii, pp. 289-290.

Item. Lying with a woman is to be avoided for two nights [before attending the shrine]. However, in the case of regularly scheduled monthly attendance, just one night is enough.

Item. One who eats a meal prepared at the fire of a person burdened with a heavy avoidance shall refrain from attending that day.

Item. One who eats a meal from the same fire as a woman within seven days of her menstruating shall be indisposed that day.

Item. Pollution is transmitted in three stages, from

(A) the place where someone has died - fifty days; to

(B) the place of one who has visited A - thirty days; to

(C) the place of one who has visited B - thirty days.

The avoidance extends as far as C's residence; from the fourth stage, none is incurred.

Item. Birth pollution: the place of childbirth, thirty days. After seven days have passed, the avoidance no longer extends to the second and the third stage. However, if there is an intention to attend the shrine, intercourse shall be stopped for three days (that is, the intervening two nights). [?]

Item. Miscarriage within three months is the same as death pollution for seven days; from the fourth month, for thirty. The avoidance extends to the third stage.

Item. [Contact with] a cripple: seven days of pollution.

Item. Death of a household animal: five days of pollution.

Item. Birth of a household animal: three days of pollution.

These articles have been set down in ink at the shrine priests' request. Obey their intention!

First Secretary, Department of Divinity
Urabe no Asomi [cypher]

Especially noteworthy is the stress on the contagious nature of pollution by contact with death. Seen in this context, the "Summary's" insinuation that

avoidances connected with death were inspired by the devil's eagerness to make people unmindful of the eternal predicate *memento mori* appears particularly gratuitous. The Jesuits' own reports make it appear that if anything, Japanese of the sixteenth century were hypersensitive to death. Irmão Duarte da Silva, writing in 1555 from Bungo, describes the treatment generally extended the dead there as so heartless that when a father died, his children not only did not give him a proper funeral but put his body away stealthily, out of the sight of others. Indeed, even the "bonzes" - the Buddhist priests, from whom works of mercy might have been expected - acted with cruel indifference to their fellow monks: "When someone is about to die, they order him out, lest he die on them in their house." Silva condemns the impious attitude of the heathen and contrasts it with the spirit of veneration in which Christian burial was conducted; all the Japanese who witnessed Christian funerary ceremonies were greatly edified, he says.²⁷ Padre Gaspar Vilela, writing from Hirado in 1557, draws the same contrast and the same conclusion. "They are accustomed to bury their dead like dogs, without any ceremony," Vilela observes before going on to note that "whenever we go to bury someone, a multitude of heathen follow us to see what we are going to do."²⁸ That these accusations of cruelty toward the dying and callousness toward the dead in Japanese society were not unfounded can be demonstrated without much difficulty from Japanese sources.

Two passages from the diary of the high-ranking imperial aristocrat Sanjônishi Sanetaka (1455-1537) have become notorious for that reason. The first is the entry for Eishô 2.XI.6 (1 December 1505), which reads: "Cold. Raging storm. Toward evening, a maid (*Umeeda*) was suddenly seized with paralysis and was obviously at death's door. Accordingly, at nightfall we put her out by the [river] Imadegawa. Unfortunate, unfortunate." The other entry is for Eishô 6.I.28 (17 February 1509), also in winter, and describes the final disposition made of a court lady then in her eighty-eighth year; she had entered service seventy years previously. As she was "old, sick, and helpless," it was decided that she could stay in the Sanjônishi household no longer and had to be put away. She would be taken to a hut nearby and could consider herself fortunate that a litter was available for that purpose.²⁹

Sanjônishi Sanetaka, it will be noted, has not gone down in history as an ogre. Rather, he is conventionally described as a "courtier, poet, and polymath"

27 Duarte da Silva SJ to the Jesuits of India, Bungo, 10 September 1555, *Documentos del Japon 1547-1557*, doc. 110, pp. 530-531.

28 Vilela, *ibid.*, doc. 127, pp. 699-700.

29 *Sanetaka Kô ki*, ed. Takahashi Ryûzô, IV, demivolume 2 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijû Kanseikai, 1980), 472, and V, demivolume 1, 157-158, respectively.

whose reputation rests “on his maintenance and transmission of the highest cultural standards” in an age of brutality.³⁰ Indeed, the historians who cite these passages from his diary invariably point out that he was the foremost intellect of his era, the Muromachi period (1394-1573).³¹

The courtier Madenokôji Tokifusa (1394-1457) does not enjoy quite the same renown, but his diary is just as illustrative of Muromachi-period mores. On Kakitsu 1 (1441).III.17, for example, he writes about a maid who had been ill for some weeks. When she took a turn for the worse, Tokifusa states, he began worrying about the possible consequences for him: Should the maid die under his roof, there would be complications about attendance at court and visits with military aristocrats, the shared hearth, and so forth. So Tokifusa ordered her taken away to a “beggar’s house (*kojiki no ie*).” The maid left his house about six that evening. Before midnight, she was dead, and Tokifusa congratulated himself on his narrow escape: “So there was no pollution. Excellent!” A little more than a month later, on IV.25, he had occasion to report on the death of a fellow courtier’s mother: “Before his entire house was polluted, he moved the sick person to his neighbour’s.” (The neighbour was an *aozamura*, a type of samurai in service to courtiers. Presumably, he was in no position to refuse.)³²

The problem uncovered by these sources - Jesuit and Japanese - is one of the most discussed questions in the recent historiography of mediaeval Japan.³³ The debate has to do not so much with the notion of pollution *per se* as with its instrumentality in perpetuating aristocratic dominance over society, that is, in defining (and subjugating) social groups that are associated with “cleansing” services (*kiyome*) and are therefore permanently polluted - those “unpersons” collecting offal of whom we caught a glimpse in Tanamori Fusaaki’s memorandum. Note that the word here translated as “unperson,” *hinin*, is written with two characters that literally mean “not human.”

30 *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, VII (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983), 12, s.v. Sanjônishi Sanetaka.

31 E.g., Yokoi, p. 271, and Itô Kiyoshi, *Nanbokuchô no dôran*, Nihon no Rekishi 8 (Tokyo: Shûeisha, 1992), p. 126.

32 Madenokôji Tokifusa, *Kennaiki*, III, *Dai Nihon kokiroku* [14], ed. Tôkyô Daigaku Shiryô Hensanjo (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968), 109 and 173 respectively.

33 For a short synopsis of Japanese scholarship dealing with the mediaeval notion of pollution, see Hosokawa Ryôichi, *Chûsei no mibunsei to hinin* (Tokyo: Nihon Edeitâ Sukûru Shuppanbu, 1994), pp. 16-21. The literature on social groups that were the objects of discrimination is vast; for a compendious summary of the problem as it applies to the Middle Ages, see Niunoya Tetsuichi, “Hinin-Kawaramono-Sanjo,” in *Iwanami kôza Nihon tsûshi*, VIII: *Chûsei*, II (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 215-254. The studies that laid the groundwork for the scholarly debate on pollution and discrimination in the Middle Ages are “Chûsei no shokue shisô” (1975) by Yokoi Kiyoshi, already cited, and Ôyama Kyôhei, “Chûsei no mibunsei to kokka,” *Iwanami kôza Nihon rekishi*, VIII: *Chûsei*, IV (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), 261-313.

In setting the terms of the discussion, the social historian Yokoi Kiyoshi stressed at the outset that what he calls *shokue shisô* - pollution - mindedness (*shokue* is written with two characters that mean "to touch, to come in contact with" and "filth") - in mediaeval Japan was not just a set of ideas governing ritual behaviour but rather an instrument of social domination. According to him, the origins of this complex of thought are diffuse, and the Shinto notion of *kegare* - impurity of a physical or spiritual kind - is only a part of it. At a simple level, the stain of *kegare* can be easily removed by *misogiharae*, an act or a ceremony of purification common in Shinto practice. At a more complex level, impurity is caused by the evil workings of the something or someone (in the Jesuit parlance, without a doubt the devil) that brings on distress, disease, disaster, death. To "come in contact with filth" means to be entrapped and dominated by this force, and is therefore to be feared and avoided at all costs. All efforts must be directed at escaping the entrapment. Among them are the preventive measures called *imi*, avoidances or taboos.

In seeking the sources of *shokue shisô*, Yokoi found a layer that anteceded Shinto's development as a religion, locating it in the "depths of a world of prayer maintained by 'primitiveness,' regardless of ethnicity." Another major influence, according to him, was On'yôdô, the "Way of Yin and Yang," a Chinese import. At its distant Chinese origins, Yin-Yang thought had been used to organise astronomical and calendrical systems, and had perhaps been based on natural observation. By the time it entered Japan, however, On'yôdô had become a *mélange* of speculative, mysterious, and magical ideas and practices used to ward off danger and dispel damage. The third and most important source of "pollution-mindedness" identified by Yokoi was Buddhist. To be specific, it issued from the Buddhism of the Amidist Pure Land schools. Pure Land teachings had captured the imagination of Japanese aristocrats as early as the eleventh century; by the sixteenth, they were widely diffused among all social classes in Japan. These teachings presented an explicit contrast between Amida Buddha's realm of perfect purity and our world, which they designated a "terrain of filth (*edo*);" they described the human body as inherently impure. Thus, according to Yokoi, Pure Land thought added the complication of internal corruption to the earlier view of pollution as something caused by an external agent.³⁴

Yokoi's construct has not met with unanimous approval. Particularly susceptible to criticism has been his nebulous notion of a primitive urge to

34 Yokoi, pp. 267-269 and 272-276.

propitiate, a pre-religious layer imbedded deeply in the Japanese sense of what polluted and was to be shunned. Anthropologists have shown that the "primitive" farming populations of the Japanese archipelago were unburdened with any sort of anaphylaxis regarding death and were, on the contrary, rather nonchalant about its occurrence. That layer cannot have been so profound, in that case.³⁵ There is, however, ample and irrefragable evidence that imperial aristocrats had a hypertrophied sense of *kegare*. Theirs was not an ordinary abhorrence of death. As to the reasons why, Japanese scholars tend to be of one mind regarding a major point: The aristocrats sought to keep the sacred precincts in which their ruler, the descendant of the gods, resided - the palace, the capital city, and by extension the imperial government, indeed, the entire realm - free of contamination. To control pollution therefore became the business of the state.³⁶ "Cleansing" organisms multiplied to feed the bloated *kegare* complex of the mediaeval elite. That is how the various categories of "unpersons" were created. The Japanese obsession with defilement, long assumed to go all the way back to primitive Shinto if not beyond, was according to this new interpretation a product of the Middle Ages.

The danger of pollution was omnipresent, as shown in the Jesuit "Summary of the errors in which the heathen of Japan live" no less than in the Japanese documents cited above. It could be incurred under a variety of circumstances, by one's own positive action or unavoidable indisposition as well as by contagion from others. We have seen that among its occasions were human death and human birth; miscarriage; menstruation; ordinary sexual intercourse; the death or the birth of a household animal; eating meat; eating food prepared at a fire associated in one way or another with defilement; physical deformity; and coming in contact with common rubbish, not to speak of "things that have come drifting." Ordinarily, pollution spread through well-defined and limited circles - from A to B to C, no farther. But there were also extraordinary cases, when it extended nation-wide. To cite a classical example, upon the death of Shogun Minamoto no Yoritomo in 1199, Yin-Yang diviners declared that "polluted air" was spreading throughout the realm, and a national pollution alert was issued by the imperial court; shrines were forced to postpone services until the alert was lifted more than two weeks later.³⁷ The carnage that took place in Kyoto at the outbreak of the great civil war of the Ōnin and Bunmei years (1467-1477) also caused a state

35 See, for instance, Takatori Masao, *Shintô no seiritsu*, Heibonsha Raiburari 5 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993), pp. 189-216.

36 Ôyama, pp. 288-289, stresses this point. "Hypertrophied sense (*bidaika shita kannen*)" is an odd phrase that he uses repeatedly.

of national pollution to be proclaimed. It did not necessarily take the death of a lofty personage or a massive slaughter of people to bring on such a catastrophic state, however. Two days before the end of the year Kakitsu 1, for instance, a labourer fell into a well and died on the imperial palace grounds. That polluted the residence of the emperor, the sacrosanct figure in whose propinquity purity absolutely had to be preserved. Moreover, it was practically New Year's eve. Again, a national disaster - *tenka no shokue*, pollution of the realm - was proclaimed.³⁸

The need to maintain the emperor as the absolute subject of purity brought about what the mediaevalist Ôyama Kyôhei calls a "bizarre parsing" of the status of the discriminated and downtrodden,³⁹ best illustrated by the information that Madenokôji Tokifusa entered in his diary on Shôchô 1 (1428).VI.10. Tokifusa noted that *kawaramono* (riverbed dwellers) - "that is, *eta*" - used to be permitted inside the grounds of the imperial palace to do garden work. "Since they are impure, this was found improper, so it was stopped last year. Now *sanjomono* (that is, *shômonji*) are summoned." *Shômonji* were a diffuse group that characteristically included people associated with magic and with miscellaneous performance arts. In the same entry Tokifusa states that *sarugaku* performers were banned from entering the palace grounds after lots were thrown to determine the "divine judgement (*shinryo*)" in the matter. In other words, one group of "purifiers" was banned because it was found to be impure through and through, to be replaced by another that was considered less so; and one group of performers was kept from entering the palace grounds to put on their "songs and dances" while another was permitted inside to make sure that everything in the garden was lovely.⁴⁰

Eta, a word that is never used now, at least in public, is written with two characters meaning "filth" and "much." In the Japanese-Portuguese *Vocabulario* published by the Jesuits in Nagasaki in 1603-1604 (not only an invaluable guide to the language but also a useful index to the society of late mediaeval Japan), *eta* - "that is, *chôri*" - are defined as "certain low people

37 Yoritomo died on Kenkyû 10.I.13 in Kamakura. On the 1st day of the Second Month, the courtier Konoe Iezane (1179-1243) entered in his diary that the decision to declare a national emergency had been taken in Kyoto the previous night. On the 4th, 5th, and 11th, he reported the cancellation of important ceremonies normally scheduled on those days, "on account of the pollution." On the 16th, the national alert was lifted; over the next nine days, the postponed ceremonies were made up. See Konoe Iezane, *Inokuma Kanpaku ki*, I, *Dai Nihon kokiroku* [15], 151-154 (1972).

38 Yokoi, pp. 270-271. See Madenokôji Tokifusa, *Kennaiki*, V (1972), 38; entry for Kakitsu 1.XII.28 (8 February 1442).

39 Ôyama, p. 297.

40 See *Kennaiki*, I (1963), 184.

who among other things are employed in flaying dead horses & oxen, & in doing various things with the hide.” *Chôri* also has an entry of its own that gives an additional meaning: “Those who flay dead beasts or oxen, or head-man who acts as the overseer of lazars.” Save for the specification “head-man,” this is a definition shared in substance with *kawaramono*, “one who flays dead beasts & acts as the overseer of lazars.” (Lazar is an archaic term, taken from Middle English, for a poor and sorely ill person, especially one afflicted with Hansen’s disease.) *Sanjomono* are not defined, but *shômonji* are: “certain people like dancing sorcerers & diviners, who engage in prayers, spells, &c.” The same terms that are applied to *shômonji* - “sorcerer or diviner” - are also used to define a practitioner of prognostication by the Yin-Yang method, *on’yôji*, additionally described in Japanese as “one who engages in divination, that is, doctor.” (Unlike *shômonji*, however, Yin-Yang practitioners are not viewed as overlapping with dancing entertainers, *bailadores*.) *Sarugaku* are “persons who put on morality plays or farces.” One or two more sub-classes ought to be added to this list. The first is *kojiki*. One should think that to be a plain enough word for “beggar,” and that is how it is defined in the *Vocabulario*, but with the added notation: “In the Nagasaki region, lazar.” There remains *raijin*: “Lazar, or leper.”⁴¹

One of the reasons the *shômonji* were permitted to take over gardening duties in the imperial palace probably was that they were affiliated in some sort of a subordinate capacity with a noble patron, a characteristic of *sanjomono* groups in general. Moreover, even if the profession of vulgar entertainers was considered to be low-class, they were not thought to be polluting in and of themselves. Neither was the case with the people called *kawaramono*, “that is, *eta*.” As a category, they were associated with the worst sort of pollution, involved as they were not only with the normal scene of death and the disposal of corpses but also with the scenes of slaughter and execution.

41 See *Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam com adeclaração em Portugues*, feito por algvns Padres, e Irmãos da Companhia de Iesv. Com licença do Ordinário, & Superiores em Nangasaqui no Collegio de Iapam da Companhia de Iesvs. Anno M.D.C.III. *Supplemento deste vocabulario* impresso no mesmo Collegio da Cõpanhia de Jesv com a sobredita licença, & approuação. Anno. 1604. (Bodleian Library, Oxford, shelfmark Arch.B.d.13): *Yetta. i, Chôri*. Hûs homens baixos queêtre outras cousas tem por officio esfolar caualos mortos, & bois, & fazer diuersas cousas cõ a pelle (f. 321v); *Chôri*. Os que esfolão as bestas mortas, ou bois, ou cabeça que tem superintendencia sobre os lazarus (f. 50v); *Cauarano mono ...* O que esfolo bestas mortas, & tem superintendencia sobre os lazarus (f. 44); *Xômonji*. Hûs homens como feiticeiros, & adeuinhos bailadores, que fazem deprecações, feitiços, &c. (f. 311v); *Vonyôji*. *Vranaiuo Juru mono, I, facaxe*. Feiticeiro, ou adiuinho (f. 282); *Sarugacu*. Pessoas que fazem autos, ou farsas (f. 219v); *Cojiqi*. Pedinte. ¶ Item, No Ximo Lazaro (f. 56); *Raijin*. Lazaro, ou leproso (f. 206v). The *Vocabulario* is readily available in a modern Japanese translation: *Hôyaku Nippo jisho*, trans. and ed. Doi Tadao et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1980); see pp. 821, 128, 111, 793, 715, 559, 143, and 524 respectively.

Theirs was not the sort of affliction that could be remedied by a purifying act of *misogiharae*. Not only were they permanently infected with pollution, they generated it. These unfortunates were despised in late mediaeval Japan as a thoroughly alien element: Contaminated externally and internally, they were the scum of society. Their descendants are the victims of discrimination to the present day. It is worth reiterating that the *kawaramono* and their boss, called *chôri*, were put in charge of the supervision of "lazars."

Few institutions in mediaeval Japan concerned themselves with the welfare of the poor, the lame, the sick, and the dying. One of them was the group of born-again Buddhists known as the Jishû (Timely sect). The world of this Pure Land school and its wandering preachers overlapped with that of the "unclean" and downtrodden; it had room for the lazars and lepers, those afflicted with "filthy" diseases; it extended to the margins of society, as far as the riverbed, the habitation of the *eta*. Another of those rare institutions appeared at the very end of the Middle Ages. It shall be pointed out to the great credit of the Jesuits, aliens themselves, that it was the early Christian mission.

The centre of the Jesuits' charitable activities in the 1550s was Funai, the castle town of the daimyo of Bungo in northeastern Kyushu, Ôtomo Yoshishige (later known as Ôtomo Sôrin and as Dom Francisco; 1530–1587). Portuguese ships had been calling at Bungo harbours since the middle 1540s; Xavier visited there in 1551; the Jesuits established a permanent mission in Funai in 1553; and it became their Japanese headquarters after they were forced to leave Yamaguchi in 1556. By 1554 they were operating what by stretching the definition may perhaps be called a rudimentary type of dispensary in Funai. According to Irmão Duarte da Silva, the missionaries' concern for the cure of bodies as well as of souls started when a man whose vision was impaired converted to Christianity and fully regained his sight. The fame of this cure drew to Funai the sick "from all parts and with all infirmities - the blind, the leprous, the dumb, and those with fevers and other diseases." Those who were healed invariably turned Christian themselves; moreover, each of them also attracted "two, three, ten, and fifteen" others to Christianity. Thus "a great part of the poor of this land were made Christian, including [*nota bene*] their boss (*o maioral delles*)." First they came to learn prayers, "then to ask for charity." Silva notes that the only "corporal medicine" made available at this so-called infirmary was holy water, reputed to be so effective against eye disease in particular that people came for it from ten or twelve leagues away.⁴²

By 1557 the Jesuits had a doctor of medicine and qualified surgeon, Irmão Luis de Almeida, in their ranks in Funai and could contemplate open-

ing a serious hospital. (Almeida, a Portuguese merchant with a Jewish background, had dedicated a considerable part of his fortune to the foundation of an orphanage in Funai in 1555; he was admitted to the Society of Jesus in that city the following year.) They realised, according to Padre Gaspar Vilela, that they were proposing something thoroughly novel and not necessarily attractive to their Japanese hosts, who in spite of their better impulses considered it “defiling and base (*cousa çuja e baixa*) to mingle with the poor.” True enough, when approached on the matter, the daimyo equivocated. The Jesuits, however, went ahead and built a “large house” for their hospital. There were two separate wards, one for fevers and relatively light diseases, the other for “lepers, of whom there is the greatest abundance in this land. Before long, a goodly throng of them had gathered.” Almeida had a Japanese colleague (praised by Vilela as a “virtuous man, a man of letters ..., and a great physician”) who had become a Christian, been baptised with the name of Paulo, and joined the Jesuit Order. Paulo made house calls, even to distant locations, and distributed herbal medicines and alms “to the poor and to widows.” A poor box was kept in the church of Funai for that purpose. “All sorts of people come and are cured. We give them medicines from our house, because most of the people are very poor,” Vilela reiterated. He looked forward to the growth of the hospital’s activities, for the greater glory of God.⁴³

In June 1561, however, Almeida withdrew from the hospital he had run expertly for four years. The reason given in a letter his confrère Juan Fernández wrote from Funai a few months later is simply that Almeida “stopped healing bodies and began to heal souls.”⁴⁴ The latter, of course, was and is the first priority and a totally unexceptionable motive for a missionary. For all that, it is hard to believe that the greater demand for the cure of souls - put another way, the dearth of catechists - would by itself have justified Almeida’s abandoning his medical practice. After all, it had by all accounts been precisely his medical work that attracted a great many people to Christianity. His quitting it for work in the field must, from that standpoint, have been counterproductive. What is the alternative explanation? There had always been trouble with canon law about priests’ engaging in medicine or surgery. Certainly, exceptions had been made; for that matter, Almeida was not yet a priest. Nevertheless, the suspicion remains that Almeida was ordered

42 Silva, *Documentos del Japon 1547-1557*, doc. 110, pp. 527 and 529.

43 Vilela, *ibid.*, doc. 127, pp. 688-690.

44 Juan Fernández SJ to Antonio de Quadros SJ, Funai, 8 October 1561, *Documentos del Japon 1558-1562*, ed. Juan Ruiz-de-Medina SJ, Monumenta Historica Japoniae 3: Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu 61: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 148 (1995), doc. 45, p. 415.

to discontinue his medical mission by his superiors, who may have been acting on the orders of their own superiors in Rome.⁴⁵ Whatever the case may be, the Jesuits' Funai hospital languished after Almeida left.

Apropos of that hospital I once wrote: "The intention was most charitable, and the medical success quite gratifying; but the results of charity were not what the padres had hoped. The hospital was popular among the very poor; but persons of quality were reluctant to associate with missionaries who left themselves open to contamination with the most dreadful afflictions."⁴⁶ The statement may now be clarified: The "persons of quality" were not afraid of catching a disease. They did not want to be polluted.

Can the Christened "boss" - *maioral* - of the "poor of this land," mentioned by Silva, be identified with the *chôri* of the *kawaramono* of the Funai area, the "headman who acts as the overseer of lazars"? Without more evidence, it would be rash to do so.⁴⁷ Whether or not that was the case, however, it is clear that as long as they permitted the scurvy and the leprous to flock to them, the Jesuit missionaries would be associated with the apparatus of pollution. At the very least, they would be contaminated in the eyes of their noble patrons; at worst, they would be considered contaminants. They themselves risked becoming orifices that produced filth.

The Jesuits would in successive decades amend their mission method in Japan with the intention of accommodating themselves better to the elite; eventually, they adopted the refined public manner of Zen monks as their model. A relative crudeness is, however, the hallmark of their mission in the 1550s. Their populist phase in Bungo is distinguished by at least one truly magnificent gesture of disdain for "pollution-mindedness," and that spectacular demonstration of scorn for the Enemy deserves to be fully noted. The occasion was Easter 1557. "As it was a memorable day, the day of a great feast, we invited all the Christians, amounting to 400 people and more," Vilela writes.⁴⁸ "For this banquet we had bought a cow. So we gave them rice cooked with the

45 For a strong statement to the contrary, see Ruiz-de-Medina, "Los jesuitas y la beneficencia," *ibid.*, appendix 2, pp. 656-662.

46 George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, Harvard East Asian Series 72 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 85-86.

47 It will, however, be noted that "Chô-ri" is defined as "O mayoral" in the elaborate glossary appended to what was probably the first Japanese publication of the Jesuit mission press, *Sanctos no gosageveono vchinuqigaqi quan dai ichi*. Fiianno cvni Tacacvnogvn Iesvs no Companhia no Collegio Cazzusa ni voite Superiores no von yuruxi uo cômuri core uo fan to nasu mono nari. Goxuxxe irai MDLXXXI. *Sanctos no go sagvio no vchi nuqigaqi*. [Quan daini.] Fiiën no cvni Tacacvno gvn Iesvs no Companhia no Collegio Cazzusani voite Superiores no von yuruxito xite core uo fan to nasu mono nari. Goxuxxe irai 1591.; facsimile edition, with explicatory essays by H. Cieslik, Fukushima Kunimichi, and Mitsuhashi Tsuyoshi, *Santos no gosagyô*, Kirishitan Shiryô Shûsei (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1976).

48 Vilela, *Documentos del Japon 1547-1557*, doc. 127, p. 698.

beef, and all ate with great pleasure. Afterwards, many poor came, and of what was left over [lacuna in original]. And thus they praised the Lord inwardly as well as outwardly. He whose wish it is to be glorified and praised even unto these distant regions, blessed be His name."

Abstract

The reports of the Jesuit mission to Japan (1549-c. 1640) are the earliest comprehensive source of Western knowledge about that country. Within this corpus, the document known as the "Summary of the errors in which the heathen of Japan live and of some heathen sects on which they principally rely" (1556) marks a distinctive moment in the Jesuit representation of Japanese religious life.

An early-modern exercise in comparative religion, the "Summary" - attributed to either of two missionaries, Cosme de Torres or Juan Fernández - classifies and evaluates Japanese religions against an explicit norm: Christianity. Beliefs and practices that challenge the norm are identified, often with considerable subtlety of reasoning, as the work of the Devil. If the Japanese, who seemed to embody so many qualities attributed to the self - a "white people," as the mission's founder Francis Xavier described them, "prudent and talented" - nevertheless persisted in ways the padres found perverse, this was explained, not by constructing them as an alien race who were corrupt in some organic sense, but rather by locating that corruption in the workings of a diabolic will.

Arrestingly, the "Summary" defines Shinto as a religion independent of Buddhism - a designation that only attained the status of social fact in the nineteenth century, with the modern state's refiguration of Shinto as a nationalist ideology. Nevertheless, the Jesuits were not the only premodern party to argue for this distinction, as references to medieval Japanese sources, including both nativist and Buddhist polemicists, make clear. Instructive similarities as well as differences emerge from this comparison among Western and Japanese theological arguments.

Pursuing further the project of contextualization, the author focuses on two sites at which the authority claims of Shinto were identified and contested by the "Summary": cosmogonic narratives and ritual prescriptions governing the maintenance and containment of purity and pollution. A discussion of the latter problem invokes the argument, current among Japanese historians, that pollution taboos functioned as an ideological apparatus in which ritual purity was an index of social hierarchy. The essay concludes by relating the theological rhetoric of the "Summary" to the sociological register of the Jesuits' missionizing strategies: the text's excoriation of Shinto doctrines governing pollution voices a historical moment in which conversion was being pursued with success among precisely those social classes whose affiliation with "impure" spaces and practices had rendered them abject in the view of the native ideology.

Resumo

Os relatos da missão jesuítica do Japão (1549-c.1640) constituem a mais antiga fonte de conhecimento ocidental sobre este país. Dentro deste *corpus*, o documento conhecido como o “Sumário dos erros em que os gentios do Japão vivem e de algumas seitas gentílicas em que principalmente confiam” (1556) marca um momento especial na representação da vida religiosa dos Japoneses pelos Jesuítas.

Sendo uma comparação entre religiões, o “Sumário”, atribuído a um de dois missionários, Cosme de Torres ou João Fernandes, classifica e avalia as religiões japonesas de acordo com uma norma explícita - a do Cristianismo. Crenças e práticas que contrariam a norma são identificadas, frequentemente por via de um raciocínio subtil, como a acção do Demónio. Se os Japoneses, que pareciam ser possuidores de inúmeras qualidades - uma “gente branca” descrita pelo fundador da missão, São Francisco Xavier, como “prudentes e talentosos” - apesar de tudo persistiam em práticas que os padres classificavam de perversas, isto era explicado como sendo uma obra do diabo, em vez de ser entendido como características próprias de um povo estranho e corrupto.

O “Sumário” define o Xintoísmo como uma religião independente do Budismo, uma ideia que só se definiu formalmente na sociedade japonesa do século XIX, com o novo enquadramento do Xintoísmo como uma ideologia nacionalista. No entanto, os Jesuítas não foram o único grupo desta época a propor tal distinção, pois há afirmações semelhantes em documentos medievais japoneses, incluindo autores budistas e xintoístas. Semelhanças e diferenças podem ser distinguidas pela comparação dos argumentos teológicos de ocidentais e japoneses.

Num esforço de contextualização, o autor atenta especialmente em duas questões dos canones xintoístas que foram identificadas e contestadas pelo “Sumário”: narrativas cosmogónicas e prescrições rituais que condicionavam as noções de purificação e de poluição. Ao analisar a segunda questão é invocado o argumento, comum entre historiadores japoneses, que os tabus relacionados com a poluição funcionavam como um modelo ideológico em que o ritual de purificação definia a hierarquia social. O estudo finaliza relacionando a retórica teológica do “Sumário” com o registo sociológico das estratégias de missionação dos Jesuítas: a análise sistemática das doutrinas xintoístas, no que respeita à poluição, marca um momento histórico em que a conversão estava a decorrer com sucesso precisamente entre os grupos sociais, cuja ligação a espaços e práticas impuras tinha-os tornado objectos de acordo com a ideologia nativa.

JAPANESE ELITES AS SEEN BY JESUIT MISSIONARIES

Perceptions of social and political inequality among the elites

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1. One of the basic features of the Jesuit evangelization was the concern to understand, respect and adapt their actions to the socio-political reality of the territories where they established their missions, developing what could be called a contextual evangelization. With this method they tried, no doubt, to assure the success of their activity. In the case of Japan, for instance, one may detect the development of a strategy of evangelization according to the social inequality of Japanese society. In fact, the letters sent by Jesuits settled in Japan to Europe¹, the reports prepared to provide a strengthening of missionary strategies², and other sources for the history of the presence of the Society in Japanese soil³, show us the persistence and the adaptation of the missionary work to the reality of the extremes of society: on one hand the most ill-favoured, and on the other hand the socio-political elites in their different degrees of performance.

In fact through charity and mercy actions, the establishment of hospitals or taking care of lepers, which were characteristic of missionary work, the Jesuits attracted not only the poorest, but also gained credibility with the population. This performance assumed still more significance due to the fact that those tasks which involved blood and the dead were considered in Japanese society to be sources of impurity. This culture had evolved since the

1 For example *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão e China aos da mesma Companhia da India, e Europa des do anno de 1549 ate ao de 1580. Primeiro Tomo. Nellas se conta o principio, socesso, & bondade da Christandade daquellas partes, & varios costumes, & falsos ritos da gentildade. Impressas por mandado do Reuerendissimo em Christo Padre dom Thetonio de Bragança. Arcebispo d'Evora, 2 tomos, Évora, Manuel de Lyra, 1598.* It will be quoted as *Cartas...*, followed by the indication of the tomo and folio.

2 Alexandre Valignano, *Sumário de las cosas del Japón (1583)*, ed. José Luis Alvarez-Taladriz. Tokyo, Sophia University, 1954.

3 Luís Fróis SJ, *Historia de Japam*, 5 vols., Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional, 1976-1984.

14th century proceeding from shintoist myths and had promoted the emergence of out-caste groups, the *hinin*, whose social exclusion was due to devoting themselves to activities considered impure such as criminal executions or the removal of dead animals⁴. It was this connection to the humble and ill-favoured groups in Japanese society, the first main target of the Jesuit conversion work, that resulted in the perception of the Christian faith as the religion of the poor and of the sick. However, this image would change as the Jesuits moved on to other social groups.

The approach to the social and political elites was a fundamental strategy of the Jesuits that soon became an urgent, *sine qua non* condition to the success of the Mission in Japanese territory. In the context of the civil war, that Japan was living at the moment of the arrival of the missionaries (1549), only the protection by local authorities, allowed by the establishment of cordial diplomatic relations with the government elites, could provide the safety for free circulation and protection from the risks that the Jesuits faced daily. This precariousness occurred, on one hand, due to the absence of institutional protection, either by the Crown or by a local Portuguese community, as happened in Macao, and on the other hand, by the fact of preaching a religion that constituted an insult to local religious beliefs. It is in this context that one can explain the constant concern of the missionaries' who were residing in the mission to describe the centers of authority and the Japanese socio-political reality in great detail. This information, which was sent to Europe and to India, enabled the preparation of new missionary strategies which were adapted to local realities, and at the same time justified the previous policies that were used in the evangelization of the area.

2. The Jesuit's approach to the Japanese elites allowed them a full understanding of their diversity. Nevertheless, this perception occurred only after 1559, when the missionaries arrived in Miyako⁵, capital of the empire, where the two traditional structures of authority were established: the imperial institution and the *bakufu*. It was only then that the Jesuits understood the existence of two main elites, whose social prominence derived from the duality of Japanese

4 Ikegami Eiko, *The taming of the samurai. Honorific individualism and the making of modern Japan*, Harvard, pp.113-116.

5 After the brief visit of Francis Xavier to Miyako in 1551, Gaspar Vilela SJ, accompanied by the Japanese Lourenço and Damião, were the first elements of the Society of Jesus to establish themselves in the capital. This Mission arose as a consequence of the expulsion of the missionaries from the cities of Hakata and Hirado. On this subject see Léon Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jésus et le Japon. 1547-1570*, Paris, Centro Cultural Português, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Comissão Nacional para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1993, pp. 379-381.

political system, settled in both the imperial institution and the military order. It was also at this stage that the missionaries learned about the respective political role of the elites.

First of all, the missionaries understood the social prominence of courtiers, who by living in the surrounding of the imperial entity enjoyed the maximum status in the heart of the social Japanese society. This is obvious in the missionaries' statements, such as, for example, that in order of merit the courtiers were the principal persons in Japanese kingdom⁶. However, the Jesuits also recognised how their public influence was minimal⁷. According to them, the *kuge* were reportedly counsellors and servants of the emperor, and sometimes, ambassadors in the shogun's service⁸. However, by a systematic perusal of the Jesuit letters one can see that, in practice, these posts did not imply effective political power. The first evidence of this lack of effective political power is the scarcity of references to the *kuge*, especially when compared to the frequent references to the *buke*. In fact not even the increasing importance of the Emperor, and thus consequently also of the courtiers, in the latter half of the 16th century, as a result of the policies implemented by first Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), and later by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598), would alter this scenario. There are also some specific situations that show the secondary role of the courtier elite. For example, in 1565, in the context of the Emperor's edict of the expulsion of the Jesuits⁹, some warriors who favoured the Christians brought pressure on the *kuge* to intervene on their behalf¹⁰. If initially these *kuge* were reluctant to do so, they acquiesced immediately when faced with the possibility of the Jesuits returning to the capital despite the imperial verdict, by means of military action by the warriors. This *volte-face* in the attitude of the *kuge*, even though it did not have any practical consequences because the authorization for the return of the Jesuits to Miyako did not come about by these means, shows to what extent the imperial institution found itself to be at the mercy of the warriors' will.

With regard to the warriors, the Jesuits immediately recognised their status of effective authority. The decline of the traditional structures of power - the shogunate/*bakufu* and the imperial institution - promoted the socio-political

6 See letter from brother Lourenço to the Jesuits of Bungo, Miyako, 1 June 1560 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.70

7 About courtiers' progressive loss of public authority see Jeffrey P. Mass, "The Kamakura bakufu" in *Warrior rule in Japan*, dirg. Marius Jansen, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp.2-7.

8 It's precisely this statute of ambassador that explains the shogun's interest in turning to a *kuge* for help to act as ambassador between Ōtomo Yoshishige and Mōri Motonari for the purpose of making peace between the two warriors. *Vide* letter from Luís Fróis, Miyako, 20 February 1565 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.173.

9 See letter from Luís Fróis, Kaga, 3 August 1565 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.191v.

10 *Vide* carta de Luís Fróis, Sakai, 8 July 1567 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.241v.

emergence of minor warriors - the *sengoku daimyô* - whose capacity to emerge as an unchallenged authority in their territories legitimized their proeminence. The missionaries defined them as noble people with a clear objective of clarifying the social standing of these warriors¹¹. However, the need to specify their political and military projection forced the Jesuits to use, not only general concepts, but also to evoke the commonly understood categories of European nobility. If the main descriptions of the classification of each individual was done by using the title of "king", the titles of "marquis" or "dukes" also occurred¹². For instance, Ôtomo Yoshishige, daimyo of Bungo was in fact referred as "duke", in a way to reinforce his unique status, according to a Jesuit author¹³. But it is important to notice that the appropriation of European categories by the missionaries did not follow a pattern and therefore did not emerge from a rigorous effort to transcribe the warrior hierarchy properly. In fact, this terminology should be considered as an useful instrument by which the missionaries wanted to simplify the understanding of the events and success of the mission.

However, in the decade from 1580-1590, this situation changed and the Jesuit reports frequently resorted to the use of Japanese words which showed the respective rank in the hierarchy. This change in usage (by the very same individuals who had until then dominated the writing of missives to Europe) very probably was an outcome of the reforms introduced by Alexandre Valignano, *Visitador* of the Society in Japan, in the writing of missives, on his first visit to Japan. This can be based on two assumptions. On the one hand, the fact that the usage of terms of the Japanese military hierarchy appeared for the first time in the description of Japanese society written by Alexandre Valignano in *Sumario de las cosas de Japon*¹⁴. Secondly, because in 1601, in the *Libro primero del principio y progreso de la religión christiana en Japon*, Valignano reiterated the ambiguities that the juxtaposition of European titles

11 *Vide* for exemple the following description of a warrior written by Luís Fróis: "Por certo carissimo padre, que ver hum moço destes fodalgos de quinze, ou desazeis annos muito mais aluo que os -espanhões com hum terçado douro, que he maior que elle, que val quinhentos cruzados, a pè, ou a caualo acompanhado de toda a gente [...] & seu ensino, & cortesia, he muito pera dar gloria ao Senhor, & pera se auer por bem empregado todo o trabalho do Miaco, por os trazer ao conhecimento de seu Deos e saluador." Letter from Luís Fróis to Francisco Peres SJ, Miyako, 6 March 1565 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.180

12 See, for instance, the following definition of a daimio presented by Fróis: "Em as partes do Miáco ha ahi tres maneiras de fidalgos, os primeiros se chamam Daiméos, que são como Conde ou Marquezes [...]". Letter of Luís Fróis to the General, Nagasaki, 27 August 1585 in *Cartas...*, tomo II, fl.153.

13 See the explanation presented by Baltazar Gago SJ to justified valuation of Ôtomo Yoshishige as a duke: "E posto que em alguãs cartas que de cá forão lhe chamassem Duque, a causa he, porque tem estes senhores por costume nomearem se de nomes meãos, que querem que os de fora lhe dem a honra que lhes cabe." Letter from Baltazar Gago SJ to the Jesuits in Portugal, Goa, 10 December 1562 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.98v.

14 Alexandre Valignano, *op.cit.*, pp.11-13.

caused when applied to the Japanese situation¹⁵. What is certain, is that from the aforementioned decade onwards, the European terminology, which was earlier applied indiscriminately, tends to disappear from the missives, or to appear as an explanatory note¹⁶.

The different abilities of the two elites to interfere in Japanese society had a clear influence on the ways of approach and evangelization of these main elites. Indeed, perceiving the genuine difference between the representative power enjoyed by the *kuge*, and the effective power carried out by the *buke*, led the missionaries to concentrate their efforts on the latter. This does not mean that the Jesuits neglected the approach to the courtiers, which could provide them a closer position to the imperial institution. The sparse contacts with the *kuge* were not therefore the result of a premeditated choice, but were a consequence of effective political conditions: on one hand, the physical separation that divided the *kuge* from the Jesuits, since the courtiers were confined to the imperial court; on the other hand the indifference shown by the courtiers about Christendom even when huge profits were involved. For example, we know of the refusal of some *kuge* to intercede on behalf of the Jesuits, for them to be received by the Emperor, even when the warriors offered the restoration of some taxes that they had lost¹⁷. This reluctance may be justified by their religious convictions, but also by the fact, as occurred with many other Japanese, that the *kuge* believed the general idea that the missionaries were the cause of calamities in every place to which they moved¹⁸.

However, one can see that not even the approach to the warriors followed a linear progression. On the contrary, it was necessary to adapt to the different political contexts where they operated. In Kyûshû, the landing place for every missionary, the evangelization benefited from a situation of political impasse caused by the civil war. Here, where the power was disputed by equally distinguished warlords, the hostility of a warrior could be overwhelmed by the authorisation of freedom of circulation on preaching given by other warrior. Besides, as the island was the *terminus* of the *nau do trato*, the missionaries used their influence among the merchants to obtain benefits from the Japanese authorities¹⁹. Not even the definitive choice of the merchants of the

15 J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, Londres-Nova York, Routledge, 1996 (1993), pp.29-30.

16 For example, Luís Fróis applies for the first time the term daimyo in 1585, presenting him as the former of the fidalgos. Vide letter from Luís Fróis to the General, Nagasaki, 27 August 1585 in *Cartas...*, tomo II, fl.153

17 For an example see letter from Luís Fróis to António Quadros SJ, Miyako, 21 September 1571 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.313v.

18 See letter of Luís Fróis, Sakai, 8 July 1567 in *Cartas...*, I, fl.241v.

19 About this subject see Jurgis Elsionas, "Christianity and daimyô" in *Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. IV, ed. John Whitney Hall, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp.301-372.

harbour of Nagasaki in 1571, the decree of Ômura and Arima territories as Cristian realms (in 1574 and 1580), and the institutionalization of the bishopric in Funai, province of Bungo (1588), had modified this strategy²⁰. In 1583 Alexandre Valignano, after his stay in the Japanese archipelago, complained of the persistent pressure of the governing elite on the missionaries to obtain commercial benefits²¹, such as the possibility of influencing the choice of the port of the *nau do trato* or to obtain loans. However, while referring to the fact that conformance to Christian rites by converted warriors varied according to the economic benefits conceded by the missionaries, Valignano admits the Jesuit acceptance of the very same incentives in which the initial strategy was based²²:

[...] los señores que están en estas partes de Shimo, y aun de Bungo, siempre tienen puestos los ojos en sus intereses que de la Compañía pretenden por respeto de los navíos de los portugueses que van a sus puertos, y con esto, aunque sean cristianos, siempre cojean [faltar á rectidão nalgumas ocasiões] persuadidos de que los Padres pueden hacer entrar los navios donde ellos quieren y que tienen por suya buena parte de aquella hacienda, [...] y como sean pobres pretenden dones y empréstitos de dineros que nunca los pagan; y no haciéndolo o no pudiendo hacer los Padres lo que ellos quieren, luego se enfrían y perturban y mostrándose enfadados no hacen caso de ellos como conviene ni acuden como deben y es razón a sus obligaciones y a las iglesias [...] ²³.

In Miyako, capital of the empire, where the courts of both the shogun and the Emperor were established, the situation was quite different. Here, the political posture of the Society of Jesus, that evangelization had to be extended to the political center as a way to get the support of the ruling classes, confined the missionary's establishment to one specific region - Miyako. Miyako was also the center of a civil war, for the final goal of *sengoku daimyô* was the control of the traditional structures of power established there - the *bakufu* and the imperial institution -, with to view to conquer the government of the capital and the Kinai region. So, in this case, the missionaries were forced to concentrate their efforts on a single warrior: the one whose military power overwhelmed the capital and consequently obtained effective ruling power.

20 See, for example, [...] Alexandre Valignano's recommendations to avoid that police in *Sumario de las cosas de Japon* (1583), cap. XI, p.163.

21 p.163 *ibidem*

22 See Jurgis Elisonas, *op. cit.*

23 Alexandre Valignano, *op. cit.*, cap.XI, p.163.

3. In this way, the description of the Japanese elites reflects the dicotomy between the two social groups that differed in their capacity to intervene publically : a courtier elite that was at the apex of the social chain but that was living in an unstable political and economic situation, while the wealth and real power lay with the warrior elite. However, the Jesuit view of the political reality, which was inherent to the missionary strategy of the Society of Jesus, also elaborated on other inequalities related to the wielding of power. From the missionary descriptions in this regard, two essential aspects are revealed - in the first place, the contrast between the role of the imperial institution and of the *bakufu* in the Japanese political system, and secondly, the distinct social concepts which are evident in the appropriation of power used by Oda Nobunaga, and by Toyotomi Hideyoshi - both of whom were warriors whose socio-political rise exemplified the *gekokujiô*²⁴, and whose politico-military activities²⁵, emanating from Kinai (a critical region of Japan), promoted the unification of the Empire, and who, in this way, came to dominate the Japanese political reality in the 16th century. This latter fact made them the central protagonists in the reports sent by the missionaries who were based in the capital (the political center of the archipelago).

The Jesuit perception of the importance of the heads of the military and imperial hierarchy in the Japanese system of governance (derived from the Jesuit viewpoint of the missionary establishment at Miyako, where, as already stated both these authorities were established) did not happen immediately on establishing the mission in the capital. In fact, the Jesuit understanding evolved with the progression of events, which would explain why the image that results from the Jesuit's initial descriptions is confused and does not clarify the importance of the capital in the wider context of Japanese politics²⁶. In the case of the *bakufu*, the role of the shogun in the political scenario only became clear to the Jesuits in 1565, when the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru (1536-1565) was assassinated. It is only then that the shogun appears as the head of the military hierarchy, as not only the disorder in Miyako is attributed

24 The term *Gekokujiô* encapsulates the reality that historians have called "an upward movement" i.e. the upwardly mobile social movement of individuals of more or less humble origin, promoted by means of military exploits.

25 About the trajectory of Oda Nobunaga see the summary presented under "Oda Nobunaga" in *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, vol. VI, Tokyô, Kodansha, 1983, pp.61-64. About the trajectory of Toyotomi Hideyoshi see Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi*, Cambridge-London, Havard University Press, 182, pp.71-98.

26 As an example see the brief description of Gaspar Vilela, who limits himself to describing Ashikaga Yoshiteru as a "main lord" and "landlord", thus utilizing the same terms that were used in the report about the political situation in other parts of the archipelago. See letter from Gaspar Vilela to the Jesuits of India, Sakai, 17 August 1561 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.91-91v

to be a consequence of his assassination, but also the restoration of peace is associated with the re-establishment of the military government²⁷. In this regard, it is also on this occasion that the policy of control to which the military institution was subjected is clarified. In fact, after the assassination of Ashikaga Yoshiteru, the traitors Miyoshi Chōkei (1522-1565) and Matsunaga Hisahide (1510-1577)²⁸, tried to restore the *bakufu*, by means of promoting another member of the Ashikaga family, who would however remain under their tutelage²⁹. It is also in the course of the episode of the assassination of the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru, but only in 1568, that the Emperor emerges in Jesuit writings as a primordial figure in Japanese society. The Jesuits record the attention of Oda Nobunaga in looking after imperial necessities, restoring lost dignity by the reconstruction of the imperial palace³⁰ when he came to Miyako that year with a view to restoring the shogunate in the person of Ashikaga Yoshiaki (1537-1597)³¹.

In this way, the missionaries' stay in the region of Kinai enabled the understanding of the policy of the *sengoku daimyō* to move to the traditional centers of power as a means of legitimizing their authority, acquired by force of arms. It is in the context of this power strategy of the warriors, incorporated in the so called "Kyoto orientation" movement³², that the figure of the emperor and of the shogun appear in Jesuit writings as characters in a political scenario where they are no longer dominant, but in which they still play a significant, if unequal, role. In fact, in the Jesuit reports one clearly sees the disdain of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi towards the *bakufu*, as distinct from the attention that both warriors demonstrate towards the imperial institution. In the first case, both warriors, with a view to establish

27 [...] fica o Miáco tão perturbado, desenqueto com estas guerras, que de nenhuã maneira se pode agora estar nelle sem notauel perigo, por não ter cabeça, & senhor que o gouerne. Depois que ouuer Cubôcama, as guerras cessarem farei mais instancia [...]". Letter from Luís Fróis to the Jesuits, Sakai, 30 June 1566 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.208v.

28 About the political careers of these two warriors, see Jurgis Elisonas, *op.cit.*, p.319.

29 "Agora dizem que quer Mioxindono [Miyoshi Chōkei] aleuantar por Cubucama [shogun] outro primo com jrmão do que morreo, que esta no reyno de Aua, donde elle he natural, e telo aqui posto de sua mão, sem nenhum poder." Letter from Luís Fróis to the Jesuits in Bungo, Miyako, 19 June 1565 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.188.

30 "Depois que o Nubonanga [Oda Nobunaga] veo ao Miáco pera restituir ao Cubôcama & vendo o Dayr que tambem se lhe offereça aboa ocasião pera se aleuantar de sua miseria & pobreza, meteo por terceiro de suas cousas Nequijoxonim [Nichijō Shōnin] ..." Letter from Luís Fróis to Belchior Figueiredo SJ, Miyako, 1 June 1569 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.263.

31 About the claims of Yoshiaki to succeed in the Muromachi *bakufu* see John W. Hall, "The Muromachi bakufu" in *Warrior rule in Japan*, dirg. Marius Jansen, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp.93-94.

32 About this subject *vide* Asao Naohiro, Marius B. Jansen, "Shogun and Tennō" in *Japan before Tokugawa*, ed. John W. Hall, Nagahara Keiji e Kozo Yamakua, Princeton - New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1981, pp. 251-259.

themselves as the "Lord of Japan", develop a policy that in one way or another rejects the shogunate. During the government of Oda Nobunaga, the missionaries relate the process of how, beginning with the curtailment of the powers of the shogun³³, the political action of Ashikaga Yoshiaki³⁴ is undermined and finally overthrown³⁵. Likewise, the descriptions referring to the government of Toyotomi Hideyoshi show how Ashikaga Yoshiaki, living in exile since 1575, when he was evicted from the capital by Nobunaga, continued to be without any political role. In this way, there are references to the contacts established by Yoshiaki with a view to have his former authority restored, and the lack of interest of Hideyoshi to these appeals³⁶. Equally indicative of the situation in which the shogunate had fallen is the fact that the abolition of the institution *in jure* by Hideyoshi in 1588 did not merit any reference on the part of the Jesuits. The imperial institution, on the contrary, always appears in the letters as an entity given great prestige by the unifiers. Unaware of the conflicts that existed between the latter and the Emperor³⁷ - given the lack of effective power of the imperial entity, these animosities did not affect the mission's fortunes - the Jesuits highlight the attention shown by Nobunaga and Hideyoshi towards that institution with a view to obtain legitimacy to the respective governments. Both take great care to safeguard the physical integrity of the Emperor³⁸ and both, likewise, exert themselves to win his favour and maintain him in accordance with his status³⁹.

It is also in the context of reporting the strategies of the two warriors that the Jesuits learn of the emergence of a new concept of power, the *tenka*, used by these warlords as a result of the process of unification. While delineating

33 The most important example is Luís Fróis' report about the missionaries' request to obtain a licence that would authorize them to circulate freely. In the first place, it is only after having obtained the consent of Nobunaga, that the missionaries concern themselves with obtaining the authorization of Ashikaga Yoshiaki. Secondly, the shogun was compelled to follow the suggestions of the warlord, despite the pressure brought to bear by the emperor Ogimachi to accept the imperial resolution which was contrary to that of Nobunaga. See letter from Luís Fróis to Belchior de Figueiredo, Miyako, 1 June 1569 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.259v, 261-262 e fl.265v; letter from Luís Fróis to Belchior de Figueiredo, Miyako, 12 July 1569 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.270, fl.273v.

34 See the description of the missionaries with reference to the the public ire of Oda Nobunaga caused by the non conformance on the part of the shogun to orders which had been stipulated. *Vide* letter from Luís Fróis to Francisco Cabral SJ, Miyako, 290 April 1573 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.340.

35 See *ibidem*, fl.347v.

36 See letter from Luís Fróis to the General, 20 January 1584 in *Cartas...*, tomo II, fl.100v.

37 With reference to Oda Nobunaga see Fujiki Hisashi and George Elison, *op. cit.*, pp.173-184; with reference to Toyotomi Hideyoshi, see John W. Hall, "Hideyoshi's domestic policies" in *Japan before Tokugawa...*, p.197.

38 When Nobunaga falls out with the Shogun in 1572, and begins the destruction of Miyako, he immediately ensures his protection with the imperial entity. See Letter from Luís Fróis to Francisco Cabral, Miyako, 27 Mai 1573 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.346.

in no uncertain manner the figure of the Emperor from that of the Lord of the *tenka*, presenting the former as a symbolic structure and the latter as the wielder of effective political and military power, the missionaries showed the maintenance of the duality of the Japanese political system by Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi and show an exact understanding of this reality.

The Emperor thus appears, symbolically classified in the missives as an “absolute”, “supreme” and “universal” lord of the archipelago, and at the same time as a figure without power⁴⁰. The type of adjectives used by the missionaries when describing the emperor and the thoroughness with which they refer to his day to day habits allow us to conclude that they managed to perceive his unique status in comparison to other Japanese political entities. The fact of the emperor living restricted to the area of his residence, not being able to touch the ground, and being exclusively served by the aristocracy of the court⁴¹, helped the missionaries to comprehend the symbolic power of this entity. However, it is the description of the social role of the emperor, in comparison to a European monarch, that shows the recognition of his unequivocal supremacy in Japanese society⁴². The European monarch, according to the political concept of 16th century (*modelo corporativo*), had the responsibility of maintaining the social order “giving to each what was his [...], guaranteeing to each his status”⁴³; to the emperor fell the task of dictating the rules in society and distributing honours among his subjects :

“O officio & presidencia deste, he nas cousas ha hōra, porque a elle só pertence dala a cada hum segundo lhe parece, e segundo a qualidade das pessoas, & as cousas que fez, & assi seu officio he dar nomes, ou titulos aos senhores, cōforme ao que merecem, por onde se sabe de que horna, equalidade he cada hum, & respeito & reuerencia se lhe deue ter. A este tambem pertence conserualos em seus titulos, acrescentando a cada hum, os graos de honra que lhe parece terem merecido. [...] Assi que

39 Both Nobunaga as well as Hideyoshi reconstruct or build palaces for the Emperor. As an example see, with reference to the former, see letter from Luís Fróis to Belchior Barreto, Miyako, 1 June 1569 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.263 e 264; for the latter see letter from Gaspar Coelho to the General, 24 de February 1589 in *Cartas...*, tomo II, fl.260-261.

40 Luís Fróis defined the emperor in the following way: “Trabalhamos muito o padre, & eu por ver se podiamos auer do Dayrí [emperor Ōgimachi] que he Rei & senhor absoluto de todo o Iapão, mas de ninguem obedecido, antes está em seus paços como pagode donde nunca sae [...]”. Letter from Luís Fróis to the Jesuits, Sakai, 30 June 1566 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.208v.

41 Vide letter from Cosme de Torres to António Quadros, Bungo, 8 October 1561 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.74v; and letter from Gaspar Vilela to the Jesuits of Portugal in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.143.

42 Other imperial prerogatives such as the celebration of ritual ceremonies, jurisdiction over the court aristocracy or the legitimization of the *bakufu* government by the empowering of the shogun were not mentioned in the missionaries' letters.

43 Ângela Barreto Xavier, António Manuel Hespanha, “A representação da sociedade e o Poder” in *História de Portugal*, vol. IV, coor. António Manuel Hespanha, dir. José Mattoso, Estampa, 1993, p.123.

a elle pertencem todas as cousas da honra & graos dellas pera cõ todos os Duques & Sñores e Iapão, & nenum a pode ter senão delle”⁴⁴.

Because he retained the power to confer honours on his subjects, thus distinguishing them, the emperor superceded all the other entities in prestige. For example, Cosme de Torres SJ (1510-1570) shows the direct relation between the military success of a warrior and his prestige in honours when he stated that, since his arrival in Japan, Ôtomo Yoshishige (1530-1587) daimyo of Bungo, had already altered his insignias, which were an external indicator of his status, thirty four times, in accordance with the increasing titles conferred on him by the emperor⁴⁵. In this way, the imperial dignity, far from being reduced to a mere figurative role, showed itself to be an entity that, due to it's symbolic authority, confirmed the social order.

In the Jesuit letters, the association between the Japanese government and the political concept of the *tenka* appeared only consequent to the process of unification, however, both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi already exploited the original meaning of the word, which, according to Chinese political theory designated “everything under the sky”, or “empire”, for the purpose of the notion of a unified territory⁴⁶. It is exactly to designate the power that the effective government wielded, i.e. the warrior that controlled military and judicial powers in a legitimate manner, that the missionaries utilized the word. In fact, although the term *tenka* was translated by the missionaries to be the “monarchy of Japan”, the Jesuits did not in this way try to equate the Japanese political system to the monarchical regime, because, as we saw they recognised the figure of the emperor to be the element of order in Japanese society - the “supreme” lord. In resorting to this comparison, the missionaries tried aboveall to give a sense of a centralized administration, given the absence of a corresponding word in the European vocabulary.

4. In this way, the Jesuits learnt the similiarities of the attitudes of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi with reference to the central role attributed to the traditional centers of power and to the perpetuation of the dual political system. However, the necessity of the missionaries to supply information about the political and social organization of the people with whom they interacted,

44 Letter from Cosme de Torres to António Quadros, Bungo, 8 October 1561 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.74v.

45 See letter from Cosme de Torres to António Quadros, Bungo, 8 October 1561 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.74v.

46 See Bitô Masahide, “Thought and Religion, 1550-1700” in *Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. IV, ed. John Whitney Hall, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, p.406.

reveals a different concept of society as idealized by both warriors. While Oda Nobunaga appears as a military man who wields his authority without ever insinuating himself in the heart of the imperial hierarchy, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, on the other hand, is depicted as someone who tries, throughout his government, to reconcile the worlds of the courtier and the warrior.

There is no doubt that Oda rehabilitates the emperor, but the reports of the Jesuits show how, in public ceremonies, he is attributed a secondary role. In the description of the sumptuous party given by the warlord in Miyako in 1581, the warrior is described as a grande protagonist, while the presence of the emperor is only mentioned. The attention paid by the Jesuits in describing the games that took place, to the magnificence of the clothes of the leading lords of Japan, and the care taken by them in preparing their horses all point towards a minimal impact of the imperial presence⁴⁷. In its turn, the gesture of Oda, who stands out from his guests and seated himself in a chair gifted by the *Visitador* Alexandre Valignano⁴⁸, should be interpreted as an externalization of the power of the warrior in relation to the highest political entity of Japan. In practice, this attitude of irreverence by Oda revealed an utter disdain of the courtier elite. Hideyoshi, in his turn, according to the Jesuit viewpoint, shows himself to be a warrior who tries to ensure his political activity by his elevation to courtier dignification. The missionaries show the appropriation of the courtier titles by Hideyoshi, when, in 1585, they record his elevation to *kanpaku*, the principal dignitary in the heart of the imperial hierarchy, that elevated him to the position of regent to the emperor. This shows the strategy of the warrior in attributing a political connotation to a title that had, since the 9th century, been a purely courtier designation⁴⁹. It is in the context of the concession of a licence that authorised the missionaries to preach their faith, that the missionaries reflect further on this concept of governance. Here, they reproduce Hideyoshi's speech, in which he states that his elevation to the title of regent had made him the lord of all of Japan⁵⁰. In assuming the position of principal dignitary in the heart of the imperial hierarchy Hideyoshi did not limit himself, as Nobunaga had done, to merely preserving the status of the institution; he ceased portraying himself as a warrior

47 The amagement of Fróis at the extravagance of the party is obvious: "Digo a vossa Reuerencia que tiradas as cousas de Europa em minha vida vi cousa semelhantes". Letter from Luís Fróis, Miyako, 14 April 1581 in *Cartas...*, tomo II, fl.5.

48 Letter from Luís Fróis, Miyako, 14 April 1581 in *Cartas...*, tomo II, fl.4-5.

49 On this question see Mary Elizabeth Berry, *op. cit.*, p.179.

50 See the following description of Fróis: "[...] como eu sou o Quambacudono [kanpaku], não tenho necessidade de falar em meus reinos pois sou senhor de todo Iapão, senão que se pregue por toda a terra de Iapão". Letter from Luís Fróis to Alexandre Valignano, Shimonoseki, 17 October 1586 in *Cartas...*, tomo II, fl.179.

who governed the provinces conquered by arms, to project himself instead as a courtier with a hegemony of military authority.

Likewise, the greater or lesser necessity of physical proximity to the imperial entity confirms the different social order projected by the unifiers. Nobunaga does not, at any point of time, opt to reside in the city of Miyako. This attitude does not, however, signify that he neglected the tradition of the capital⁵¹. The position of the warrior merely reinforces the *status quo*, in the sense that it preserves the perpetuation of the two elites. Further, keeping in mind that he personified the government of Kinai, this decision signified the transfer of the center of political decisionmaking from the capital of the empire to the place where he resided : initially, after the conquest of the province of Mino (1567-1568), to Guifu, and later to Azuchi, a city that he founded, in the province of Ômi. In Azuchi Oda Nobunaga not only reinforced his detachment from physical proximity to the imperial entity, as well as realized his concept of social order. The description given by the missionaries shows a city dominated by the palace of the warlord, built on top of a hill, from which radiated the residences of the warriors, while the commoners lived on the slope⁵². In contrast, Hideyoshi, went to great lengths to ensure the physical proximity between the two worlds. If one goes by the report of Luís Fróis SJ, the warlord even envisioned transferring the imperial institution to Osaka, where he resided⁵³. However, the reluctance shown by the Emperor, the sole impediment mentioned by the missionaries to the realization of this project⁵⁴, and the later initiatives by the warlord to construct a new palace in Miyako, the *Juraku*, built in 1587 near the imperial residence⁵⁵, reflects the strategy of the warlord in trying to guarantee a connection to the *milieu* of the courtiers.

51 The documents show the care taken by Oda Nobunaga to maintain the prestige of Miyako with references to his care in establishing a road that directly linked the capital to Azuchi, or when it narrates his concern to have representation in Miyako, through Wada Koremasa. See letter from Luís Fróis to the General, Kochinotsu, 5 November 1582 in *Cartas...*, tomo II, fl.61 and letter from Luís Fróis to António Quadros, Miyako, 21 September 1571 in *Cartas...*, tomo I, fl.312.

52 See the description presented by Gaspar Coelho to the General, Nagasaki, 15 February 1582 in *Cartas...*, tomo II, fl.35v-36. The archaeologist Naito Akira likewise concluded, based on an archaeological study of the building, that Azuchi reflected the intentions of Nobunaga in imposing himself as sole and absolute Lord, in conformance with a very personal politico-religious ideology. See Shun'ichi Takayanagi, "The glory that was Azuchi" in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. XXXII, n°4, 1977, pp.515-516. Jurgis Elisonas is also of the opinion that Azuchi must be understood as a cult to the personality of the warrior. Cf. George Elison, "The cross and the sword" in *Warlords, artists and commoners*, ed. George Elison and Bardwell L. Smith, Honolulu, University press of Hawai, 1981, pp.64-66.

53 See letter from Luís Fróis to the General, 20 January 1584 in *Cartas...*, tomo II, fl.100.

54 *ibidem*, fl.100.

5. In this way, it is evident that the partial nature of the information contained in the Jesuit letters does not compromise the quality of the missionaries' writings as testimony of the complex nature of the socio-political reality in Japan. The missionaries report the existence of the two social elites, defined as two homogenous bodies who are distinct in the context of their capacity to intervene in the Japanese government; they recognize the particular of the political reality when make the distinction between the two political institutions that head these hierarchies and explain the unequal roles in power relations; they present a clear picture of political vicissitudes, even though they solely portray the exploits of the more prominent warlords; and perceive the innovations of the governments of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi when they refer to the political position and social ideas conceived by the unifiers. In this sense these images reveal the awareness of the missionaries and their integration in Japanese society.

55 See letter from Luís Fróis to Alexandre Valignano, Shimonoseki, 17 October 1586 in *Cartas...*, tomo II, fl.175-175v.

Abstract

This article attempts to present an overview of the missionaries' view of the social and political scenario of Japan, which resulted from their increased interaction with the Japanese elite. These impressions, reconstructed from letters sent by members of the Society of Jesus living in the Japanese archipelago in the 16th century, are however without doubt only a partial and selective portrayal of the prevalent realities. In the first place because it depended on the logic of the missionaries' operations, i.e. the specific elite with whom they interacted and the degree of success or failure of the contact that they managed to establish. Secondly, because those impressions are based on Western cultural standards. In this way, one can comprehend in what manner the support given by the elites was reflected in a more or less distorted presentation of reality, and understand the impact of Western on the Jesuit descriptions of another civilization.

Resumo

No presente artigo procura-se reflectir sobre o olhar missionário da realidade social e política do Japão resultante da aproximação às elites nipónicas. Estas imagens construídas a partir das cartas enviadas pelos membros da Companhia de Jesus residentes no arquipélago durante a era quinhentista, constituem, sem dúvida, um retrato parcial e selectivo da realidade. Em primeiro lugar, porque depende da lógica operativa dos missionários, isto é das elites com as quais contactaram e do grau de sucesso ou insucesso dos contactos estabelecidos; em segundo lugar, porque trata-se de uma imagem construída a partir dos padrões culturais do Ocidente. Nesse sentido procura-se entender em que medida o apoio dispensado pelas elites se reflectiu numa apresentação mais ou menos distorcida da realidade, e descortinar o impacto dessa grelha nas descrições jesuítas de outra civilização.

Largos Caminhos e Vastos Mares

Jesuit Missionaries and the Journey to China in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

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On January 12, 1629, Álvaro Tavares wrote a letter from the Lisbon Jesuit noviciate to General Muzio Vitelleschi thanking him for granting permission "to embark, in the company of Padre António Rodrigues, Goa Procurator, for the East Indies."¹ Expressing his hopes to catch the springtime fleets, Tavares proclaimed his desires "to render some worthy service to God Our Lord" after his arrival in the Society's mission territories.² This letter gives a glimpse of the exuberance and anxiety that the prospect of imminent departure brought. Literally hoping and praying for word from the Roman Curia, young Jesuits, many still in their formative years, waited for their turn to set sail from the Tagus estuary for the Indies, a journey that was to be the most trying physical experience of their lives. Far greater was the possibility of dying during the journey to the East than the prospect of being martyred. For the period from 1581 to 1712, a recent statistical analysis has shown that 127 of 249 China-bound Jesuits died during the voyage - more than fifty per cent.³ Curiously, the historiography of the overseas missions provides little information about the perils of this extended voyage despite the long tradition of naval history that has attempted to bring to life the various travails of the *Carreira da Índia*.⁴ Although documentary evidence of the year-long voyage east from Lisbon is not abundant, the individual testimonies that survive

1 ARSI *Lusitania* 74, fl. 181r. Letter from Álvaro Tavares to General Muzio Vitelleschi, Lisbon, 12 January 1629.

2 On April 18, 1630, Tavares sailed for India in the company of the same Procurator, it is not clear whether he survived the trip or not. See Josef Wicki, "Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer 1541-1758" *Aufsätze zur Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 7 (1967), p. 293.

3 Various statistics exist of the numbers that perished between Lisbon and Macau. Nicolas Standaert cites a number of them in his article "The Jesuit Presence in China (1580-1773): A Statistical Approach." Citing a 1789 text, he gives the figures used here. Although he notes that it is difficult to know for certain the exact number who died *in via*, he indicates that these numbers were close to half of all who sailed. See Standaert, "The Jesuit Presence in China (1580-1773): A Statistical Approach," *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, vol. XII (1991) pp. 4-5.

evoke dramatic incidents of shipboard life, from the cramped conditions below deck, to the specter of shipwreck or starvation, and to the clashes between people forced to cohabitate for such a long time.

For most travelers on the Cape route, however, drama was far from a daily occurrence - their largest problems were the very tedium of the journey, and the ever-present threat of disease. One contemporary author even likened the ship to a prison, saying: "Certainly no one, to whom a house was offered, even if it was regally appointed, to live enclosed in it for six months, could remain so long detained and locked in it; much less in a ship, filled with so many and so varied inconveniences."⁵ Others would lament seeing their companions go delirious from scurvy, see sailors and crew fall irrecoverably overboard, or even find themselves stranded on deserted islands after their ships had run aground. Despite nearly insurmountable odds however, the Society aimed to provide a steady flow of missionaries for the East Asian missions and expedite them east efficiently - a challenge it would never overcome. Even when large groups of Jesuits set out for China in the company of a Rome Procurator, only a fraction arrived healthy or even alive in Goa, and still fewer ever set foot in the Middle Kingdom. For example, 6 of the 22 Jesuits who left Lisbon with Nicolas Trigault in 1618 died in Goa, while 12 of the 36 returning with Martino Martini in 1657 died on ship or in India, with more perishing before reaching China. When Procurator Philippe Couplet sailed in 1693, 8 of his 15 companions died during the trip.⁶ Such an intense, continual drain on the mission's allotted resources meant that beyond the problems of selecting adequate, willing candidates, the Society also had to try to structure the journey so that a maximum of potential missionaries would survive. Yet besides merely concentrating on remaining alive, the Jesuits on ship also

4 The most important reference works for any analysis of the *Carreira da Índia* can be found in the numerous works of C.R. Boxer, for example, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825*, (London: Hutchinson Press, 1969), or more specifically, "The Carreira da Índia (Ships, Men, Cargoes, Voyages)" and "The Principal Ports of Call in the 'Carreira da Índia,' 16th-18th Centuries" in *From Lisbon to Goa 1500-1750* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984). Artur Teodoro de Matos also gives general insights into shipboard life in "'Quem vai ao mar em Terra se avia' Preparativos e Recomendações aos passageiros da Carreira da Índia no século XVII" in A.T. de Matos and L.F. Thomaz, eds., *A Carreira da Índia e as Rotas dos Estreitos: Actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*. (Angra do Heroísmo: Barbosa e Xavier, 1998). Anthony Disney has also recently analyzed the accounts written by China-bound missionaries Tranquillo Grassetti and Agostino Tudeschini in 1629 in "Getting to the China Mission in the Early Seventeenth Century" in Artur T. de Matos and Luís F. Thomaz, eds., *Actas do VI Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa: As Relações entre a Índia Portuguesa, a Ásia do Sueste e o Extremo Oriente*. (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional das Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses and Fundação Oriente, 1993).

5 Duarte de Sande, *Diálogo sobre a Missão dos Embaixadores Japoneses à Curia Romana*, trans. Américo da Costa Ramalho, (Macau: Fundação Oriente, 1997), p. 66.

6 See Standaert, "The Jesuit Presence in China...", pp. 4-5.

engaged in spiritual and corporal ministries that contributed to their formation as effective missionaries. Our analysis therefore will concentrate on the organizational principles that the Jesuit hierarchy devised to face the double ordeal of two separate sea voyages, from Lisbon to Goa and onwards to Macao, aiming to make the journey to the East Asian mission fields as safe and successful as possible. Here we will focus on the missionaries' shipboard activities and the perils confronted on the 'long routes and vast seas' that they need to traverse only to arrive at the gates of the Middle Kingdom.

Da ocidental praia lusitana: preparations and departures

Due to their hierarchical position at the head of the Society of Jesus' Portuguese Assistancy, the officers of the Province of Portugal were charged with directing the logistical operation of dispatching educated missionaries to their assignments. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the province had developed an efficient system of responding to the manpower needs of the overseas provinces. The provincial procurators, the Jesuits in charge of temporal affairs, were also responsible for the missions to Angola, Madeira, and the Azores and therefore were constantly aware of the comings and goings of ships at Lisbon harbor. Therefore, some form of institutional organization was integral for managing the generous numbers of missionaries shipped abroad yearly on the ships of the royal armada. Besides preparing the cargo destined for the Society's Asian colleges and missions, the procurators also had to assign the Jesuits to the different ships, distributing them so they could ensure the forms of discipline proper to members of a religious order - one that did not readily correspond to the lifestyle of the passengers and crew on the *Carreira da Índia*. In addition to selections drawn from voyage narratives describing the journey, we will use here two invaluable documents that reveal the intended structures of missionary life on ship. These are contemporary compilations of rules written by Jesuit superiors, drawn from over fifty years' experience, that attempted to give a form and a routine to the missionaries' time at sea by providing tips on topics as diverse as managing food and water resources to maintaining the spiritual rhythm of a religious congregation. One of these is the set of orders left by João Álvares after his 1610-1613 visit to the Province of Portugal.⁷ The other, a more specific set of rules especially for the journey to Asia, was composed by

⁷ Álvares was sent as Visitor to Portugal by General Claudio Aquaviva in 1610 to make sure that the Portuguese Jesuits kept the *Constitutions*, decrees, rules, and orders sent from Rome. AN/TT Armário Jesuítico, Livro 5, *Visita da Provincia de Portugal pelo P. João Álvares*. (1613), fl. 26 or ARSI *Fondo Gesuitico* 1540, bundle 6, fl. 23, hereafter referred to as Álvares AN/TT and Álvares ARSI.

Francisco Vieira, visitor of the Japan and China Provinces, in conjunction with the Provincials of Goa and Malabar, in 1616.⁸ Both documents follow the organizational impetus of the Society's *Constitutions*, the order's foundational document written by Ignatius of Loyola, and the more contemporaneous sets of orders written by General Claudio Aquaviva for the various Jesuit offices.⁹ One of the factors that make these *regimentos* such a valuable source is that they were destined to be read aloud once at departure and at various times during the journey so that all would be aware of what was expected of them, just as with the Society's *Constitutions*.¹⁰ Although both sources come from the same decade, they can serve as the model to which both earlier and later travel narratives can be compared.

At Lisbon, two types of planning were required to dispatch the outbound Jesuits: marshalling them at the capital, and organizing them into manageable groups to be divided among the ships composing a fleet. Both tasks were handled by the Lisbon India procurators in conjunction with the Provincial, and both required considerable diplomatic skill to transplant small religious communities into the midst of the cross-section of Portuguese colonial society aboard each ship. Since the Colégio de Santo Antão was the largest Jesuit establishment in the capital, it served as the temporary residence for most of those who arrived to meet the fleets.¹¹ By 1599, after fifty years of dispatching missionaries to the farthest corners of the Portuguese empire, this burden caused the superiors at Santo Antão to claim that only a small in-house community could possibly live there, "because of the many guests of the Society that continually frequent it."¹² If there were delays with the fleet, or if

8 This document bears Vieira's signature along with a notation that it was devised in conjunction with Goa Provincial Jacome de Medeiros and Malabar Provincial Gaspar Fernandes. ARSI *Fondo Gesuitico* 721/II folder 3, *Regimento pera os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia que se embarcão de Portugal pera a India feito em Janeiro de 616*. (Goa, January 1616) Hereafter referred to as Vieira.

9 See *Institutum Societatis Jesu*. 3 vols. (Florence: 1893), esp. vol. 3, *Regulae Particulares*. These rules were conceived by a variety of the Society's general and general congregations, but they began under the direction of Aquaviva.

10 Rule 9 in the section entitled "Before Leaving" reads: "Before embarking the India Procurator will read aloud this regimen to all those who are embarking, and will give a copy of it to the ship's Superior [Jesuit], so that during the voyage he can read it a few times to all, and have it obeyed..." Vieira, *Regimento*, fl. 14r. (This instruction also appears in a more abbreviated fashion in Álvares' rules, ARSI *Fondo Gesuitico* 1540, bundle 6, fl. 54.) Luce Giard, discussing the *Constitutions*, notes that public and private readings of the text were encouraged, though it is hard to determine how frequently they occurred. Similar to the *Spiritual Exercises*, this set of rules was meant to be a meditation tool, reminding members of the Society of their institutional unity, rather than their physical unity in a specific place, ministry, or environment. Continual readings of the foundational documents were aimed to keep the administrative rules in the minds of all, especially those living in larger communities. See Luce Giard, "Relire les *Constitutions*" in Luce Giard and Louis de Vauclles, SJ, *Les Jésuites à l'âge Baroque*. (Paris: Jérôme Millon, 1996).

11 Others stayed at the Professed House of São Roque, depending on how long they lingered in Lisbon.

the ships had to return to port for some reason, missionaries would be sent to the nearest colleges capable of housing and occupying them, usually Évora or Coimbra. Depending on the time of year they arrived at Lisbon, foreign missionaries would often experience considerable delays in Portugal waiting for the armada's next sailing.¹³

The issue of how much time India-bound Jesuits should spend in Lisbon seems to have been one that deeply concerned the province's hierarchy, for both financial and spiritual reasons. Álvares' 1613 regiment notes that those who are to embark, curiously just like those who are to teach Latin, should only be informed of their selection in adequate time for the journey to Santo Antão and a few days' rest. "As experience had shown," those who arrived long before the ships were to leave frequently got ill or lost their missionary vocations, not to mention incurring various expenses on the Asian provinces' account.¹⁴ Vieira's rules are a bit more encouraging on the subject - they remind the India Procurators in Lisbon to ask the General to have those from other provinces arrive at least one month before their scheduled departure "so that they may prepare, with a suave spirit, for such an arduous voyage, retreating for prayer or saying their general confessions, if they like."¹⁵ The Portuguese Provincial was instructed to have his subordinates in Lisbon at least 15 days before the ships are to leave, so that they do not begin their journey in ill health; "for as doctors and experience have said, they should go to sea with their full forces, and not tired."¹⁶ Provisions were also made for outbound missionaries to break their Lenten fasting habits so that their health would not be weakened by devotional practices.¹⁷ The concern for rest and

12 In this year, there were 12 Jesuit professors and 4 scholastics in residence. ARSI *Lusitania* 39, *Catalogo Terceiro que llaman de cosas de la Provincia de Portugal hecho en Octubre de 1599*, (Lisbon?, October 1599) fl. 19v.

13 Noël Golvers notes that François de Rougemont and Ignatius Hartoghvelt arrived at Setúbal, near Lisbon, on April 10, 1655, two weeks after the India fleet had sailed. They were then sent to Coimbra both to learn Portuguese and continue their theology studies. The community of foreign Jesuits at Coimbra seems to have been considerable during the end of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth. The 1601 Brief Catalog for the Province of Portugal lists a set of *Padres e Irmãos Italianos* in various stages of their academic careers. Included among them is Sabatino de Ursis, who left for India the following spring. See Noël Golvers, *François de Rougemont, S.J., Missionary in Ch'ang-shu (Chiang-Nan)*, (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), p. 14 and [de Ursis] ARSI *Lusitania* 39, *Brief Catalog for Province of Portugal 1601*, fl. 36r. and [de Lessa] ARSI *Lusitania* 74, fl. 288r, Letter from António de Lessa to General Muzio Vitelleschi, Coimbra, 13 April 1642.

14 One of the most frequent phrases used in the orders is 'como a experiencia mostra...' Álvares, fl. 2.

15 Vieira, fl. 13r.

16 Vieira, fl. 13r.

17 Looking over the lists provided by Wicki, one sees that the dates for fleet departures were usually at the end of March or during April. Lent, the forty days preceding Easter, was and is traditionally observed during these months, accompanied by fasting and a heightened rigor of devotions and penance. These practices, especially for the young Jesuits, were of such an intensity that they presented a legitimate health hazard for those departing for India. See Wicki, *op. cit.*

prayer before embarking reminds us of the extremely perilous nature of the voyage, where contemporaries found the best insurance for a safe passage in repeated prayer. Allotting time for general confessions, an exercise typically reserved for people on their deathbeds or in mortal danger, helped to allay the missionaries' fears of eternal peril if they died suddenly at sea with unconfessed sins weighing down their consciences.

Once the departure date had been scheduled and the ships were being loaded with their cargoes, the India Procurator and his assistants would have to organize the packing of the Jesuits' rations. Likewise, the Portuguese Provincial would appoint the mission superiors and consultors, the individuals who would constitute the hierarchy of each group of missionaries. For the practical aspects of loading baggage and rations, the Procurator was instructed to work in conjunction with the travelling party so they would know "where all of the goods were put, and make an inventory, so that during the voyage they will know what they are bringing, and when it is time to use the things they are carrying, things either for the healthy or the sick."¹⁸ Space on board was sorely limited, however, and tales of dangerously overcrowded ships were legion. Although his circumstances appear exceptional, one missionary wrote that "the ship was small and there were more people than there should have been." In his room, he continued, he and his companions "were no more no less than sardines in a barrel. All of the provisions of the *padres*[...] was in the cabin: over here the wine, over there the biscuit, here the salted fish and meat[...] [not] less than forty barrels." The cabin was so cramped that they "could neither stand or sit; to enter [the cabin] it was necessary to drag one's body over barrels and crates, as snakes enter their holes."¹⁹ Both the Procurator and the Provincial were specifically ordered by the 1613 rules to review the items brought aboard by the out-bound Jesuits to make sure they carried no merchandise for sale in Asia either on their own or anyone else's account, such things being contrary to "religious poverty."²⁰ Vieira also forbade outbound Jesuits from receiving any packages, "because these *Padres* have no voyage experience, some get sick, others die, and things get stolen or lost, and in India they are incapable of accounting for them, provoking complaints and scandal..."²¹ By prohibiting their subordinates from serving as

18 Vieira, fl. 13v.

19 Biblioteca Nacional Lisbon, Mss. 245, no. 98., fl. 1v. Letter from a Dominican missionary to his Portuguese superior, late 17th century.

20 Álvares AN/TT, fl. 2. The issue of Jesuit trading has long been part of the 'anti-Jesuit myth' recently disproved by Dauril Alden. See *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire and Beyond, 1540-1750*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

21 Vieira, fl. 13v.

commercial intermediaries, the Visitors aimed to remove the possibility of infamy that could tarnish their reputation in the small colonial communities in Maritime Asia, not to mention back in Portugal or elsewhere in Europe.²²

The other task entrusted to the Portuguese Provincial, or to any missions procurators returning to Asia, was the division of Jesuits among the fleet's ships. Since those departing were charged with "allotting the usual time for prayer, examinations [of conscience], and spiritual lessons," a form of hierarchy was needed to maintain discipline and devotional regularity. Coming straight from the college environment, most of those who embarked had not yet formally professed vows as full members of the Society, and therefore were not deemed capable of travelling without supervision. For this, it was necessary to appoint temporary superiors for organizing both spiritual and material routines, appointing chores to different individuals, and representing the group of Jesuits in their dealings with the ship's officers. In both sets of rules, provisions were made for the selection of a superior for each ship who carried special dispensatory powers during the voyage, as well as the powers of a local superior, or college rector. It was recommended that this individual be an "older member of the order, charitable, prudent, of good nature, and congenial [*de facil condição*], so that he does not make the voyage any more of a burden for his companions, since it is in itself so long and arduous."²³ These criteria, similar to those found in the Society's triennial catalog evaluations, sought to ensure that the most diplomatic individuals would be appointed to this managerial position. This superior was also ordered to ask the Provincial with whom he should consult on important matters, who would be the group's confessor, and who would be his first and second replacements "in case Our Lord disposes of him."²⁴ The hierarchy established here on each ship mimics the organization Jesuit colleges, the Society's basic administration units outlined in its *Constitutions*.²⁵ Here, as in

22 Jesuits were also forbidden from acting as witnesses to wills made out by dying passengers, duties best left to the ship's scribe or other officials. See Álvares ARSI, fl. 53 and Vieira, fl. 21r.

23 Vieira, fl. 14r.

24 Vieira, fl. 13v.

25 Josef Wicki's lists of the groups of Jesuits that left for India each year show that, on average, ten to fifteen sailed each year. What is more interesting for our purposes is that each group that sailed was composed of approximately one-third priests and two-thirds brothers (students or temporal coadjutors). Clearly these proportions were variable, yet no fleet sailed without priests, and only brothers, since none of the latter could have been appointed superior. Where Wicki does not give any more indication of the Jesuit grade more than indicate whether each was *padre*, *irmão* (implying student), or brother (temporal coadjutor), other rarer sources give more specific information. For instance, a list of the Jesuits who sailed to India to the Provinces of Japan, China, Brazil, and Maranhão from 1694 until 1696 shows that those who sailed to China were students either in one of the first three years of their theology studies (including those who had already been ordained) or were finishing the philosophy course. Novices were also found among those who embarked. See Wicki, op. cit. and ARSI *Lusitania* 46, fl. 370r/v, "*Qui navigarunt in Indiam, Brasiliam, Japoniam, Maranonem, ed as Sinas ab anno 1694 usque ad annum 1696 inclusive*", in *Triennial Catalog for the Province of Portugal, 1696* (Manuel Correa?, Lisbon, 1696).

the case of the flexible system of education described in the *Ratio Studiorum*, the Society relied on the same institutional structures that ensured the governance of the largest colleges for the cohesion of even the smallest groups of missionaries. Loosely stated, this meant that the superior, beyond seeking to “keep them happy,” was entrusted to make sure his subordinates kept “all of the rules of the Society which apply and can be well fulfilled, and provide edification to one’s neighbor[...].”²⁶ The combination of prudence and experience found in the description above of the ideal candidate were to form the basis for his good judgement of how to bend or enforce the order’s rules during the journey.

The Floating College: Jesuit communities on the *Carreira da Índia*

Once the ships had weighed anchor in Lisbon harbor, the rhythm of life began in earnest with the Jesuit fathers and brothers exercising their appointed ministries. In order to effectively describe how they dealt with each other and with the passengers and crew, we will separate the various facets of their activities in the same manner that their superiors did: rules for subordinate missionaries, rules for health, and rules for dealing with one’s neighbor. Acting under the supervision of their leader, the Jesuits first sought to plan their own communal life before attending to the spiritual and temporal concerns of the passengers. For this, Vieira’s *Regimento* provides the following recommendation:

“When all of our missionaries are aboard remind them that above all, three things from them are necessary: commending themselves to Our Lord to suffer the voyage with all diligence; taking care of their lives and health so that they can be employed in the missions in India and the salvation of souls; and on ship helping their neighbors in both the corporal and spiritual matters, as is expected of us, and that our predecessors always did on these voyages, leaving great examples [of virtue].”²⁷

With these broad concepts in mind, the superiors constructed a daily rhythm of activity that resembled the Society’s ministries in Europe. Tending the sick, preaching the Gospel, teaching doctrine, and providing an edifying example through their virtuous comportment, the young Jesuits slated to be missionaries would get a first taste of their future ministry on ship, while also practicing the core ministries of the Society of Jesus.

²⁶ Vieira, fl. 14r.

²⁷ Vieira, fl. 14r.

In order to provide a recognizable communal routine for the younger Jesuits fresh from their academic training, daily and weekly spiritual activities were instituted. At mealtimes, spiritual books were read with the *Martyriologium Romanum* holding the pride of place. Frequent readings from this book, a compendium of edifying stories of martyrdom read aloud in all Jesuit colleges, helped to sustain the devotional intensity of the young preachers as they traveled to potentially dangerous mission fields. At other times, the usual prayers and examinations of conscience were to be said, and spiritual lessons to be given, just as in any college on *terra firma*.²⁸ And, in order to ensure that every missionary's attention was focused on their prayers, communal meetings were to be held in the staterooms, or on some other part of the ship away from fresh air and out of sight of the ocean. Routine was also provided by the superior's appointments of each Jesuit to a spot within the rotating system of duties. The 1616 regulations suggest scheduling the tasks for month-long intervals, sending one to man the dispensary, another to cook, a third to be the nurse for the sick Jesuits, and a fourth, more robust than the third, for sick secular passengers, possibly aided by a companion. Others were assigned to hear confessions and preach.²⁹ In 1583, João Rodrigues Girão wrote that the superior assigned tasks to all after the ships had reached the open ocean, with him teaching doctrine to the sailors because he was the only one who could speak Portuguese.³⁰ The goal of this repartition was inspired by the very nature of the voyage and claustrophobic conditions of the ships, rotating tasks to diffuse possible jealousies, "because in voyages as long as this, occasions are never lacking for some displeasure, run-ins, or bitterness, even among our own[...]"³¹ Well aware of this political problem, João Álvares had indicated earlier that all missionaries should avoid being nasty to each other "because besides turning charity and fraternal unity lukewarm, it could cause scandal on the ship if others found out[...]"³² And, just as they were commended to treat each other with 'religious respect and courtesy' in front of the passengers, the Jesuits were also ordered to speak softly in their cabins, and only "of things that if seculars heard they could be edified, and in no way feel that there is any immodest bickering [*perfiar discompostas*] or the shadow

28 Vieira, fl. 16r.

29 Vieira, fl. 15v.

30 The other missionaries were Italian, Spanish, or Flemish. Cited in Josef Wicki, ed. *Documenta Indica*, vol. XII, p. 866. Letter from João Rodrigues Girão to João Correia, Rector of the College of Coimbra, Goa, 1 December 1583.

31 The original text reads "algum desgosto, encontrosinhos, e amaretudines." Vieira, fl. 15v.

32 Álvares ARSI, fl. 50.

of discord among us [os nossos], and this applies even to disputations of academic subjects."³³

This last note draws the comparison between the groups of India-bound missionaries and the Jesuit colleges even closer. Since the routine of Jesuit college life included regular debates on philosophical and theological themes, as well as public orations of prose and poetry, their life on ship included recreation, academic or otherwise, outside of their ministries among the passengers and crew. Despite having older Jesuits capable of helping their younger colleagues finish their studies during the tedious journey, Vieira ordered that only those who were preparing sermons should spend any time studying, and that the others should only read the bible or other spiritual books, such as the lives of the saints or confessional manuals. Raising his tone, he continued: "But in no way should anyone begin philosophy or theology studies, or read books by saints or preachers taking notes or writing; because in this way we have buried many of ours on these voyages, and even on the mission this year, 1615, 2 or 3 died because they remained in the staterooms on purpose to study."³⁴ Since the stagnant air of the cabins was considered lethal, Vieira maintained that the Jesuits should limit their academic pursuits to infrequent discussions, debates, or informal courses in navigation and astronomy taught by Jesuit specialists or the ships' pilots. This practical complement to their natural philosophy studies (the second year of the *curso das artes*) was especially useful for those missionaries bound for the Middle Kingdom, where a familiarity with applied sciences such as astronomy and mathematics would have provided an initial pretext for discussions with educated Chinese. For instance, the future European director of the imperial Chinese observatory Ferdinand Verbiest wrote that during his trip to Asia, "at night under the stars," China procurator Martino Martini taught about "not superstitious astrology, but the principles of astronomy and the rising stars."³⁵ Yet outside of prayer and discussion, one is left wondering what the Jesuits were permitted to do for recreation. Some accounts mention "playing musical instruments" or "relaxing the spirit with the fishing," or contemplating the maritime fauna like albatrosses and flying fish.³⁶ Since they were specifically

33 Vieira, fl. 16v.

34 Vieira, fl. 17v.

35 Letter from Ferdinand Verbiest to Ignace Malgaert, Genoa, February 1656, printed in H. Jossion and L. Willaert, *Correspondence de Ferdinand Verbiest, SJ, Directeur de l'Observatoire de Pékin* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1938), p. 9.

36 Duarte de Sande, *Diálogo...*, p. 66 and Josef Wicki, ed. *Documenta Indica*, vol. XII, p. 868-9. João Rodrigues Girão describes the flying fish saying "God gave them these wings to flee from an inopportune fish, that there is in the sea, that is called albacore, and so conserve there life."

instructed not to stay in their cabins or staterooms, but encouraged to spend as much time on deck as possible, it was only natural that they would spend it mingling with the other passengers.³⁷ Besides preaching, Jesuits were encouraged to make use of their experience in public speaking for “entertaining the people with good discourses or readings from a good history book.”³⁸ Such books were most likely drawn from the vernacular literature of the day - from saint’s lives to accounts of Portuguese Asia such as Fernão Mendes Pinto’s *Peregrinação* with the likely exception of popular shipwreck narratives - since few among the crew and passengers would have been able to understand readings from the Greek and Roman historians the Jesuits knew best. Strikingly, Vieira also allowed them to play dice or gamble with the crew and passengers so long as it was done “in a good way so that swearing, fighting, and great losses [of money] can be avoided.” The superior “should not attempt to ban all gambling on the ship, since it is better than idleness.”³⁹ It is interesting to note that here Vieira attempts to reign in some of the excessive morality of the older Jesuits aboard by ensuring they did not turn the ship into the devil’s workshop by reducing all entertainments to a virtuous minimum. All the while, it was necessary for the superior to be particularly vigilant of the recreational conduct of his younger companions, either novices or students, whose moral character would be tested by constant contact with seculars of all stripes in the ‘corrupting’ atmosphere of the Portuguese ships.⁴⁰

O que toca à saúde: health and food during the voyage

In order to maintain the viability of the Jesuits’ missionary enterprise, it was necessary for them to strike a balance between their charitable ministries and the physical limitations of the unhealthy climate of the ships of the *Carreira da Índia* where the filth produced by hundreds of confined passengers mixed with the stench of rotting meat or provisions in the tropical heat.

37 Figures for the number of passengers on the typical *nao* bound for India averaged about 500 people. Disney notes that the two ships that carried Grassetti and Tudeschini in 1629 had 400 and 600 passengers and crew respectively. A.J.R. Russell-Wood tells of a fleet of four ships that left from Lisbon for India in 1677 with 2000 people aboard. He also notes that the average 17th century Indiaman carried 112 crewmen and 250 soldiers. See Disney, p. 102 and A.J.R. Russell-Wood, “Ritmos e Destinos de Emigração” in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, eds. *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, 5 vols., (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998), vol. 2, pp. 122, 124.

38 Álvares ARSI, fl. 52.

39 Vieira, fl. 18v.

40 For those who succumbed to temptation and “(God save us) merit a heavy punishment, discipline, imprisonment, enclosure, etc,” the superior was told not to directly confront disciplinary problems or “even threaten such punishments, but leave everything for the Superior of India.” Vieira, fl. 16r.

Yet the Society's concern for the physical and mental health of its members was not something that originated directly from the conditions of early modern travel. In the Society's *Constitutions* (part III), Ignatius of Loyola had already addressed the 'conservation of the body.' These rules aimed to prevent excessive forms of individual devotions that would prejudice one's health, and in turn, the Society's capacity for public ministry.⁴¹ Likewise, João Álvares included a section of his orders specifically devoted to India-bound missionary health, rules amplified in Vieira's later revision. Fasting at sea for "much time" was prohibited, especially the type of severe Lenten fasting that was prohibited before embarking.⁴² To ensure that devotions would not present a health risk, the superior could "dispense with the fasts, and forbidden foods as he sees fit."⁴³ Here again, as in the rules found in the *Constitutions*, the goal was to avoid weakening one's health voluntarily when heading to where other perils were sufficiently abundant.

Given the large number of rules specifically concerned with the missionaries' cabins, one can deduce that they were believed to be the most dangerous areas, even for diligent cleaners like the Jesuits. Therefore they were told to visit the ship's deck frequently, if only for brief periods, so as to not spend too much time below. Vieira left little room for interpretation of his orders on matters as important as missionary health insisting that to stay healthy, Jesuits needed to get out of the cabins early in the morning, when it was not cold nor rainy, for prayer and preaching. Recalling his orders on studying, he declared no one should spend much time below deck "because it has hurt many on this voyage, and even killed those who were always, or for the better part of the day, in the cabins."⁴⁴ One missionary wrote that he "was never in the cabin," and that he believed "for certain that not staying much below accounted for [his] health."⁴⁵ Even the sick were instructed to get on deck, since "it greatly improves one's health to walk about the ship, besides clearing the head, and taking fresh air, it serves as entertainment for the soldiers and passengers[...]"⁴⁶ Emphasis was placed on having all missionaries frequently change and wash their clothing, as well as having their cabins "swept, dusted, and washed with winds [aired out]."⁴⁷ Even so, those who were especially conscious of the risks

41 See Ignatius of Loyola, *Constitutions*, part 3, chapter 2, rule 5, p. 121. (Version used here is Ignatius of Loyola, *Constituições da Companhia de Jesus*, (Lisbon: 1975))

42 Álvares ARSI, fl. 51.

43 Vieira, fl. 14r.

44 Vieira, fl. 17r.

45 The original text reads "cuido por certo quo o não deter me muito em baixo foi minha saude." Biblioteca Nacional Lisbon, Mss. 245, no. 98, fl. 2r.

46 Álvares ARSI, fl. 47, 51.

47 Álvares ARSI, fl. 51.

of sleeping in the cabins would do as one *padre* who “at night for sleeping, looked for crate or other spot above deck to lay down.”⁴⁸

The insistence that one finds regarding the quality of the air is in line with early modern thought about the nature of sickness and disease. Combating the serious illnesses of the *Carreira da Índia*, however, required much more practical than scientific reflection. Apart from the initial nausea that many first-time sailors experienced - an affliction that at least one observer lauded since it “liberated you from the sad memory of home and the fear of the dangers [ahead]” - many would succumb to delirium-inducing fevers and the agony of rotting gums, legs, and arms that scurvy provoked.⁴⁹ Since the equatorial course of the journey with its passage through the doldrums was the part of the voyage that claimed the most lives, high temperatures and still air were seen as especially dangerous. A report by the India Procurator Adrião Pedros on the fleet that had left Lisbon on April 2, 1681 with 19 missionaries aboard gives a good illustration. “It was a voyage without storms,” he writes, “but with such calms near the coast of Guinea, before as well as after crossing the line [the equator], that because of them so many illnesses followed on the ships that on the captain’s ship out of 312 people, only 5 did not get sick. Since the sick were many, our missionaries had the continual experience of the zeal and charity that carried them to India, and since they were molested by the calms and so tired from the labors of attending to the sick of all the 19 only 2 escaped illness and the infirmities were so severe that they took the lives of four.”⁵⁰ Of these four who did not live to see their arrival in India, two were from the China mission and two from the Province of Goa. In 1629 as well, Jesuits attending to those who had succumbed to disease in the African calms, spent so much time assisting the sick that they became ill themselves.⁵¹ At these times, the missionaries would assist at repeated bleedings, a practice seen as the most effective remedy for dealing with the fevers or symptoms of scurvy that knew no other treatment. As Rodrigues Girão wrote in 1583, he himself had been bled four times after falling ill.⁵² Knowing that few who fell ill recovered, provisions were made by both Álvares and Vieira for Jesuits to be buried at sea, where their bodies would be a “meal for ferocious fishes.”⁵³

48 Biblioteca Nacional Lisbon, Mss. 245, no. 98, fl. 2r.

49 Duarte de Sande, *Diálogo...*, p. 33.

50 ARSI Goa 9-II, fl. 323r. Letter from Adrião Pedros to Giovanni Paolo Oliva, Lisbon, 7 October 1681.

51 Disney, p. 102.

52 Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, op. cit., p. 872.

53 Ibid., p. 870.

Reading the above passage, one recalls that among the shipboard tasks required of the Jesuits was the tending of the sick, whether members of the Society, passengers, or soldiers. Francisco Vieira's rather detailed set of orders concerning the Jesuits' role as shipboard nurses and pharmacists noted that the first step in dealing with the sick was to make sure they had confessed their sins.⁵⁴ Yet since there were no confessionals aboard Portuguese Indiamen, the very act of getting close enough to hear a private confession was believed to endanger one's health and so Jesuits were instructed "to place themselves in such a way that they do not imbibe the breath [of the infirm]."⁵⁵ Their second task was to find a space in the crew's quarters to make an infirmary, and ask the ship's master to assign a number of cabin boys to keep it very clean.⁵⁶ Following the long-standing tradition of serving as nurses on the India fleets, the superior appointed one or two missionaries to "visit all of the sick two times daily with the doctor, surgeon, or barber and have them assign those remedies available on the ship, knowing that he will be charged with administering most of them."⁵⁷ Besides serving as the bedside attendants, these Jesuits were instructed to see that the sick were given the *provisão do Rey*, or king's provisions, stocks of food and "unguents, precious liquids and various medicines" that were sent with each ship to ensure that the sick had adequate food for their recovery.⁵⁸ The regulations concerning the king's provisions betray a profound mistrust of the crew and other passengers. The Jesuit superior was instructed to assist the captain in verifying that the officials "who guard this food do not eat it or waste it."⁵⁹ Vieira suggested that they ask the ship's captain to store it in locked cases whose keys he would entrust to "some trustworthy and charitable person" who would also help the sick.⁶⁰ Occasionally, the Jesuits themselves were put in charge of these food and medicine supplies. Far from being an easy chore, this task had its perils - as Agostino Tudeschini found out during his 1629 journey, where men were prepared to use force to lay their hands on these drugs.⁶¹

In addition to watching over the *provisão do Rey*, India-bound Jesuits

54 Contemporary sailing orders for ship's captains given by the Portuguese crown ordered them to ensure that as soon as the passengers fell ill, they were to confess and make out their wills. See *Regimento da Nau São Pantalião*, Lisbon, 25 March 1592, in A.T. de Matos, *Na Rota da Índia* (Macau: Instituto Cultural, 1994), p. 167.

55 Vieira, fl. 17r.

56 Vieira, fl. 19v.

57 Vieira, fl. 19v.

58 Duarte de Sande, *Diálogo...*, p. 320.

59 Vieira, fl. 19v.

60 Vieira, fl. 20r.

61 Cited in Disney, p. 103.

were admonished to protect and husband their own rations carefully. Stressing the length of the journey and the extreme temperatures they would experience, Álvares cautioned that “since the voyage is long, and that it may happen that an accident causes it to be longer, be careful to not to waste anything at the beginning by being more generous than necessary[...]using first always the things that spoil quickest, because at the end of the voyage needs are always greater.”⁶² Vieira stressed the importance of managing water supplies well, since “in the conservation of sweet water resides everyone’s life.”⁶³ Superiors were ordered to keep the water jars locked, and frequent visits to the store-rooms were mandated to ensure that food stocks were not damaged or stolen.⁶⁴ The key ingredients of the Jesuit shipboard diet included the water and wine mentioned above as well as cured meats (both hams and sausages), chicken, biscuits, dried fruits including figs and raisins, beans, cured olives, cheese, nuts such as almonds and chestnuts, and sweets such as marmalade.⁶⁵ A large part of preservation of health, Vieira also wrote, consisted in keeping regular eating hours: a light breakfast between 8:30 and 9:30, a full lunch after two, and fruit, cheese, or sweets at night along with cold leftovers.⁶⁶ Another health tip ‘proven by experience’ and common to “foreigners and servants who drink more wine” was that all should eat some biscuit and drink a small cup of wine upon waking.⁶⁷

What seems to be a standard rhythm of eating and drinking, however, carried several moral and social problems. As the journey wore on and provisions grew scarce among the passengers, the ample provisions of the Jesuits might draw the covetous eyes of others. As members of a religious order bound by their vows to be charitable, they were frequently asked, or even begged, by the hungry or thirsty, to share their rations. Always responding to these pleas, however, would have put their own health in jeopardy, presenting a moral quandary for the Jesuits that the mission superior was charged with resolving. Vieira’s regulations state that any *padres* or brothers faced with

62 Álvares ARSI, fl. 51.

63 Vieira, fl. 15r.

64 Vieira, fl. 15r.

65 Vieira, fl. 17v. A. Teodoro de Matos confirms that these foods were standard items in the missionaries’ ‘baggage.’ He also mentions that for the captain and crew there were also other specific regimens for managing food stocks. See A.T. de Matos, “A bagagem e os alimentos nas viagens dos Jesuítas do Japão (1576-1604)” in Roberto Carneiro and A. Teodoro de Matos, eds. *O Século Cristão do Japão, Actas do Colóquio Internacional Comemorativo dos 450 anos de Amizade Portugal-Japão*, (Lisbon: Instituto de História de Além-Mar, 1994), pp. 251-258. Elsewhere, he describes in detail the types of foods (and the standard amounts) that were brought on ship for the crew. See A.T. de Matos, “Preparativos e Recomendações” pp. 385-390.

66 Vieira, fl. 17v.

67 Vieira, fl. 17v.

such requests should respond “with all charity [possible], that only the superior to whom they owe obedience, and not they themselves, has this power” but that they will forward such pleas to him if there was an extreme necessity.⁶⁸ Yet while aiming to prevent zealous missionaries from being manipulated by all comers, the orders do instruct the Jesuit nurses to petition the captain and other well-provisioned individuals for food and water for the poor and the sick.⁶⁹ Knowing that there would be times when other passengers would be particularly sensitive to seeing others eating and drinking while they had nothing, Vieira’s rules insist on keeping any signs of abundance, or even subsistence, well hid. He specifically mentions the chickens and sweets carried among the Jesuits’ provisions, saying that they should be eaten with moderation “to not scandalize the seculars,” telling onlookers that such foods are mainly for the sick and convalescing to regain their strength.⁷⁰ Moderation, in Vieira’s opinion, meant eating such delicacies on Sundays, or more frequently if the ships passed Mozambique quickly and seemed to be progressing swiftly towards their destination with few infirm Jesuits.⁷¹

O que toque ao Próximo: spiritual ministries during the journey

Although they were relied upon to look after the physically ill in their times of need, the India-bound Jesuits were more often concerned with something they were fully trained in - providing spiritual education and comfort to their *proximos*, the others on board. In an atmosphere filled with illness, poverty, and natural dangers, the missionaries were given many opportunities to exercise the Society’s spiritual ministries. Through their communal activities and their charity towards the crew, passengers, and *fidalgos*, the Jesuits were instructed to promote the reputation of the order. In fact, both Álvares and Vieira mention that the voyage had always been a good means for the “winning souls for God and many friends for the Society.”⁷² Since the Jesuits often provoked strong emotions from those who knew them in both Europe and Maritime Asia, they sought to build positive relations with individuals destined to live in Portuguese colonies as either merchants and crown officials (potential benefactors), or members of other religious orders (potential secular religious authorities). The physical or spiritual support they could afford during

68 Vieira, fl. 20r.

69 Vieira, fl. 19v.

70 Vieira, fl. 18r.

71 Vieira, fl. 18r.

72 Álvares ARSI, fl. 52 and Vieira, fl. 18r.

the journey, the Visitors knew, could help them when political, religious, or financial circumstances brought the Society under attack. In the regulations we have been analyzing, the various social strata found on each ship are clearly indicated, with specific manners of dealing with different kinds of individuals, whether crewmen, soldiers, ship's officers, *fidalgos*, or other passengers for whom the Jesuits represented either moral or spiritual authority.

One of the qualities required of the mission superior was that he could command a certain degree of respect from the ship's passengers by virtue of his age and experience. Just as the Rector of a Jesuit college was one of the most important religious figures in a Catholic European city and the local representative of the Society's affairs, so the mission superior was to serve as the liaison between the members of the 'floating college' and the ship's nobility and officials. He was specifically encouraged to develop a friendly relationship with the captain, and to respect his orders concerning all matters.⁷³ The superior was also charged to promote peace between the nobles on board. *Fidalgos* accustomed to privileged positions within society, when forced to cohabitate in straining circumstances, frequently let their festering jealousies explode into violent confrontations. One of the crucial tasks of the Jesuit superior, or another delegated by him, was build his own "authority and be esteemed by the men, to maintain peace and harmony on the ship, primarily among the *fidalgos* and nobles; and if there are any disagreements, seek to cut them short so they do not become anything more[...]"⁷⁴ In case he could not summon the moral weight to make peace between the parties involved, this Jesuit was to call upon the captain and the other nobles to defuse the conflict.

Although it was necessary to keep peace between the *fidalgos* on ship for the general peace of the ship, it was even more important to ensure good relations between the ship's officials themselves. Whereas the captain was typically a noble appointed to be the ship's highest authority, the pilot and master were the technical specialists actually responsible for sailing the vessel. Vieira noted that it was crucial for the Jesuits to ensure that these individuals got along, "because many times ships have been lost due to dissensions between these officials[...]" He cautioned, however, that while they should "perform this duty of making all agree, they cannot appear biased or partial towards anyone."⁷⁵ The superior was to mind the missionaries so that they did not "interfere in [the officials'] governing of the ship, speaking neither in front

73 Vieira, fl. 19r.

74 Vieira, fl. 15r.

75 Vieira, *Regimento*, fl. 15v.

of them, nor with others, through whom they could find out and be scandalized.”⁷⁶ João Álvares, aware of the consequences of bad decisions, provided another rule concerning the role that the Jesuit superior was to play among the important individuals on the ship: “In case of doubts over whether to put into port or continue the voyage, to go ashore or not, [...] to fight or not, to keep trying to repair the ships or leave them, [...] ours should not attempt to give their opinion, unless they are consulted [on the matter], [and even then] trying to excuse themselves and when this is impossible, they should declare their opinion to the Captain, but never giving it in writing, nor signing along with others, because of the many serious inconveniences that can follow, [but adding the disclaimer] that these are not things we know about, nor in which we have any experience.”⁷⁷

For the majority of the ship’s passengers and crew, however, the missionaries played the same role of popular preachers and doctrine teachers that they did in Portugal. Amid those gathered on deck in the afternoon they would sing the litanies of the saints, or on Saturdays and feast days, the litanies of the Virgin. Vieira reminded them that these prayers should always include special invocations of the saint that the ship was named after; *Santiago, São Tomé, [Nossa Senhora da] Conceição, Nossa Senhora de Vencimento*[...] ⁷⁸ Foreshadowing a practice that Vieira would institutionalize, Rodrigues Girão noted that since his ship “had the name of the apostle St. James [Santiago], on his feast day we held[...]a procession around the ship, and there was a sung mass, and some artillery was fired, that made everyone happy.”⁷⁹ Processions were also made in times of danger, such as when the winds had calmed or the ships sailed perilously close to the shore. Although individual Jesuits would say masses frequently in private or for small groups, large public masses for all of the crew, passengers, and nobles were only to be said “on the feasts of Christ Our Lord and his mother most holy.”⁸⁰ On a typical voyage that left Lisbon in March or early April and sailed during the spring and summer months, these feasts would include Easter, Pentecost, the Annunciation, the

76 Vieira, fls. 19r/v.

77 Álvares ARSI, fl. 53.

78 Vieira, fl. 16v.

79 They had also made another procession on the feast of *Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres*, the patron of sailors. See Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, op.cit., pp. 867-8.

80 Vieira, fl. 16v. Álvares instructed each Jesuit to confess and receive communion weekly. See Álvares ARSI, fl. 50. Maria de Jesus do Mártires Lopes relates that after the Council of Trent, saying mass on the ship of the *Carreira da Índia* was limited to ‘missas secas’, or ‘dry masses’ where the prayers of the mass were said without consecration or communion. This prohibition, she says, gradually gave way at the end of the sixteenth century when full daily masses were said. See Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes, “Devoções e Invocações a bordo da Carreira da Índia (Séculos XVI-XVIII)” in A.T. de Matos, and L.F. Thomaz, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi, Ascension, Assumption, and the Nativity of the Virgin. Vieira's *Regimento* reminded the superiors to consult with the ship's pilot and masters to find the best time for holding large masses, as well as asking the captain for his permission to set up the altar on the deck behind the forecastle.⁸¹ Before these feasts, he insists, the Jesuits should devote their energies to exhorting everyone to confession and to preparing themselves spiritually for receiving communion. Likewise, Vieira states, there should be public preaching when the *padres* are healthy enough for it, and at the times when the "captain, master, pilot, and other nobles" find appropriate, "so that in this way they will attend with greater pleasure and [preaching] can be done with greater fruit."⁸² On the days when no sermons were given, the *padres* and *irmãos* were instructed to "speak about God with the people on board," teaching doctrine to those who did not know it adequately, publicly praying the Rosary, explaining its mysteries, encouraging them to confess, reading from spiritual guides, and teaching them how to examine their consciences. In assisting the dying, hearing confessions, or dealing with seculars, and especially women, the Jesuits were ordered to always have a witness present.⁸³

As we have noted, the corporal and spiritual activities that the Jesuits were instructed to perform on the ships of the *Carreira da Índia* reflect the basic ministries that Ignatius of Loyola envisioned for the Society of Jesus: preaching, teaching doctrine, hearing confessions, performing lowly services, and caring for the sick. The founder had insisted on a third year of novice training after finishing their studies, expressly aimed at giving young students a taste of the various ministries demanded of Professed Jesuits, as well as helping to test the commitment of those who joined the order for its academic ministries.⁸⁴ But those who were sent to the missions were typically sent East before the end of their theology studies, before they would have completed these 'tertian' (third year) experiences.⁸⁵ While evidence from the provincial catalogs and administrative documents is ambiguous about whether or not this third year was completed in India, it is clear that the Jesuit missionaries of the East Asian provinces were fourth-vow professed, and therefore had completed all of

81 Vieira, fl. 16v.

82 Vieira, fl. 16v.

83 Vieira, fl. 19r.

84 See Ignatius of Loyola, *General Examen*, chapter IV, pp. 51-53.

85 Technically, then, the missionary assignments were only to given to the Forth Vow Professed, but the nature of the voyage to Asia required the order to send those who were found to be qualified, but had to await the right age to make their profession, typically after being in the order for at least 17 years. This fourth vow, to attend to any matters anywhere in the world that the Pope should require of them, was unique to the Jesuits and was added to the standard three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

the required training experiences.⁸⁶ The routine of Jesuit ministries during the journey to Asia closely resembles the tertian experiences - attending the sick, taking care of cooking and cleaning, teaching doctrine to the soldiers and sailors, preaching and confessing, all under the direct supervision of the mission superior. For the China Jesuits, these experiences on ship would have been their first concrete experience with the pastoral work and humble service that was to make up the bulk of their missionary activity. It may also have been allowed to replace the tertian year. Whereas their European colleagues would only get a taste of the 'outside world' during that tertian year, the young Jesuits sent to Asia were quickly plunged into a physically demanding experience that involved daily trials. Hardened early on by such intensive service, they would arrive at India ready to be dispatched to their mission fields once they underwent the further difficulty of learning the local language.

Trabalhos de naufrágio: shipwrecks and other ways to arrive in India

As the ships of the *Carreira da Índia* made their way southward and around the Cape of Good Hope, they left the equatorial calm and neared the Indian Ocean where they hoped to find monsoon winds to impel them to the Malabar coast. After passing through the Mozambique channel, the passage to India was relatively swift - at the optimal times for the journey, early August or March, Goa was a little over a month's sail from Africa. But just as during the initial phases of the voyage, disease and disaster still lurked on the crest of every wave. It is a well-known fact that before being optimistically renamed the Cape of Good Hope, the southern tip of the African continent was known as the *Cabo das Tormentas*. The frequent storms that arise at the nexus between the Indian and Atlantic Oceans were the cause of so many shipwrecks that survivor's tales became one of the most popular literary genres in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European literature. Since articulate Jesuits were often found among the passengers on these doomed ships, accounts of their travails often appeared in continental bookshops and Jesuit college libraries. In 1585, Pedro Martins and five colleagues abandoned the sinking *Santiago* off the coast of Mozambique, where he witnessed four of his fellow

86 In a set of seventeenth century compendia of orders for the Province of Goa, one finds that the Provincial was entitled to dispense with the third year if necessary. Likewise, he was allowed to reduce it to one or two months for Jesuits who had been teaching for many years. The first order was given by Claudio Aquaviva in 1588, the second by the same in 1610. Josef Wicki, "Dois Compêndios das Ordens dos Padres Gerais e Congregações Provinciais de Província de Goa feitos in 1664" *Studia*, 43-44 (1980) p. 511.

Jesuits "consumed by hunger, privations and illnesses, together with many others die, or better, attain eternal life."⁸⁷ The story of Agostino Tudeschini's 1629 five-year voyage to China was particularly dramatic - the future missionary heard many last-minute confessions after vainly attempting to calm the storm by suspending relics over the crashing seas, only to be attacked by a crazed passenger once he washed ashore.⁸⁸

Witnesses to the dramatic stories that accompanied each arriving fleet, the Jesuit superiors in India even attempted to provide rules for dealing with such unfortunate occurrences. Both Álvares' and Vieira's orders contain the same provisions for saving as many India-bound missionaries as possible, rules that required contrasting Christian moral precepts with practical necessities. Since there would inevitably be sick or convalescing Jesuits on board being tended by healthy ones, the mission superior had to make the crucial decision of who would have to abandon ship. Álvares encouraged all to "remember what Christ Our Lord says, *maiolem charitatem* etc."⁸⁹ and what a glorious thing it is to give one's life to help those who cannot be saved in such instances, and how respectable it is in the eyes of God and the Church to assist them [to die]."⁹⁰ But if there are many Jesuits, he continued, the superior should "save those that are not necessary [for the dying], obliging them even with the precept [of obedience, telling them] that the Lord will give them another occasion to put their lives to good use." Vieira modified this only slightly, instructing the superior to demand obedience since "not all of them will be necessary for the spiritual benefit of those who cannot be saved."⁹¹ This suggests that even in the direst of circumstances, the first impulse of the Jesuits would have been to attend to the spiritual needs of the dying, and not to abandon ship. This also implies that the staffing problems of the Asian provinces were partially compounded by the fact that healthy Jesuits sometimes chose to perish alongside their hopeless brothers.

After the heat of Guinea and the storms of the Cape of Good Hope, a stop at Mozambique gave the fleet's crews and the Jesuits a moment to refresh themselves after months on ship. Although many voyages did not stop at any ports besides Lisbon and Goa, various reasons would have compelled the ships' captains to anchor at other African ports. Both the 1613 and 1616 ordinances

87 Duarte de Sande, *Diálogo...*, p. 323.

88 Disney, p. 105.

89 This Latin phrase refers to John 15:13, "A man can have no greater love than to lay down his life for his friends."

90 Álvares ARSI, fl. 53.

91 Vieira, fl. 20v.

indicate that the Jesuits arriving at Portuguese port cities should continue their charitable work among the infirm, but not at the risk of getting ill themselves.⁹² Here again, these rules were drawn from experiences such as that of Rodrigues Girão, whose ship paused at Mozambique in 1583 for two weeks, time enough for him to recover from his illness.⁹³ Knowing the nature of relations between Muslims and Christians in the Indian Ocean basin the Visitors provided specific warnings about disembarking in non-Portuguese ports such as Mogadishu, Melinde, Cochin. At ports controlled by "Heathens or Moors," Vieira wrote, "they should not leave the ship without good reason, nor without the advice of the Captain or other prudent men on when or what they think, due to the dangers and disasters that have happened during similar temerarious disembarkations."⁹⁴ Although disembarking in these ports might have been safe for Portuguese or other European merchants, the presence of Christian missionaries could have been seen as an open provocation in certain Muslim port cities. And, since tales of kidnappings and murder were legion among the Portuguese communities in Asia, the Jesuit superiors were quick to voice their concerns about unnecessary sorties in openly hostile territories.

The sight of land after six months at sea was a cause for general rejoicing aboard the ships of the *Carreira da Índia*. Before disembarking, however, arriving Jesuits were instructed to wait until the local members of the Society "come find them, as is custom, with the due celebration and happiness," just as Rodrigues Girão was greeted on September 21, 1583 by his colleagues and choirboys singing a *Benedictus*.⁹⁵ After greeting the Goa Provincial and other superiors, the ship's superior would hand over the inventory lists and correspondence sent from Lisbon, and ensure that the Procurators for the Far Eastern provinces residing in Goa received their supplies. Other goods, especially uneaten rations, were to be given over to the local Procurator for sale to the *Reinois*, or colonial Portuguese, since "biscuit, wine, olive oil, cheese, and olives, etc." brought high prices in the *Estado da Índia*.⁹⁶ Likewise, Vieira informed the arriving superior, "do not ignore the crockery, either of tin, copper, or wood, because everything is valuable in India, saving the kegs, containers [quartos], and barrels at least disassembled, because the seamen with more India experience than our countrymen [Renois], usually ask for these things, saying they are worth nothing, and then selling them in India."⁹⁷

92 Vieira, fls. 20v-21r.

93 Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, op.cit., p. 872.

94 Vieira, fl. 20v.

95 Vieira, fl. 21r. and Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, op.cit., p. 872.

96 Vieira, l. 15r.

97 Vieira, fl. 15r.

Counting on the demand for foodstuffs from Europe, the procurators also turned the staples of the Portuguese diet into a key source of revenue for the Asian missions. For many Portuguese living in Goa, such items often served as the only reminders the colonists would have of their lives back home. And, since many of the East Asian Jesuits suffered from the same *saudades* as their colonial compatriots, these same foods, especially olives, cheese, *chouriço*, and olive oil, would appear on the lists of goods requested for the college of Macao and even the China mission stations. Sent along the same routes as the yearly shipments of Portuguese sacramental wine used by the missionaries, sausages as well as spices also formed the links between the outposts of empire and the metropolis.

Relíquias de nós mesmos: the last leg of the journey

After being welcomed by their Goan colleagues and visiting the shrine of their patron St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuits fresh from Portugal would have been quickly integrated into the Society's local community while they awaited either onward travel or further study. When the springtime monsoon winds picked up, it was possible for those educated missionaries assigned to the Province of Japan or the Vice-Province to sail onward to Macao. During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, while the Japan trade filled the coffers of the *Estado da Índia*, ships sailing for Macao from Goa were plentiful. But after the expulsion of the Portuguese from Nagasaki in 1639, and the fall of Malacca in 1641, the lines of communication connecting Macao to Goa and Portugal were repeatedly severed by European rivals. Dutch control of the key sea routes through the Sunda Straits and the Straits of Malacca made it difficult for Portuguese fleets to arrive at the far-off Portuguese colony. As the interests of the newly restored, yet overextended, Lusitanian crown shifted to defending and consolidating their power in Brazil, much less effort was expended to keep up the Asian outposts of empire. Their reliance on Portuguese shipping, therefore, meant that the Jesuits would encounter numerous problems trying to reach Macao and provision the China and Southeast Asian missions. Although travelling aboard the ships of the English East India Company or the Dutch V.O.C. were options that the China Jesuits used when no Portuguese routes were open, both were fraught with problems. Likewise, the few attempts to discover an overland route from India to China were also found to be too exhausting or too dangerous to consider as viable alternatives - despite the fact that some like François de Rougemont would leave Goa to walk barefoot across India, just like Francis Xavier, hoping to

arrive more quickly at Macao.⁹⁸ Regardless of whether or not it was the most reliable or most efficient way of getting from Goa to Macao, Jesuits heading to this farthest outpost of the *Estado da Índia* typically depended on the infrequent Portuguese fleets.

It is very difficult to encounter descriptions of the voyage from Goa to Macao that provide the same wealth of details as those narratives of the journey from Lisbon to Goa. The few testimonies that survive describe a voyage similar to the first leg of the journey - "very long and very frequently dangerous" - a two month trip typically broken into two legs, Goa to Malacca in the first month, and Malacca to Macao in the second.⁹⁹ Especially dangerous was the passage around Cape Comorin at the southern tip of the subcontinent, where ships frequently risked running aground. Likewise, calms encountered while crossing the Bay of Bengal caused one observer in 1582 to lament "the violence of those dog-days [canícula] that left us all with the fear of coming down with serious illnesses."¹⁰⁰ The ship's captain was therefore forced to take up "the conservation and distribution of water," in order to avoid "some very serious danger" that would cause all to suffer. Prior to 1641, ships passed through the Straits of Malacca that Duarte de Sande described as "so narrow that passing though it for the first time in ships of such big dimensions seemed entirely an example of insanity and temerity."¹⁰¹ Stopping at Malacca the ships' crews would restock the rations needed for the haul to Macao while any Jesuits would visit their colleagues at the Society's local college. After the Dutch had captured this key waystation between India and China, the dangers of being intercepted by the Dutch and held for ransom increased. For example, an account of Visitor Francisco de Nogueira's 1686 voyage through Southeast Asia mentions an unplanned stop in V.O.C. Malacca where his companion was imprisoned by 'Calvinist heretics.'¹⁰² But human perils notwithstanding, once the ships exited the straits and turned to the northeast, they would traverse the dangerous South China Sea. One voyager explained the problem saying that because the area was "filled with shoals, since it is strewn with islands, it boils with more violence and agitates more rapidly than that

98 Noël Golvers, *François de Rougemont*, p. 16. In 1602 brother Bento de Góis left from Agra for 'Cathay' disguised as an Armenian merchant named Abdullah Isai or Banda Abdullah. In 1656, Johann Grüber and Bernhard Diestel left Rome to go overland to China where they arrived in July, 1658. See Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*. (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1973), pp. 77, 111, 121.

99 Duarte de Sande, *Diálogo...*, p. 35, 328.

100 Ibid., p. 41.

101 Ibid., p. 36-37.

102 Biblioteca da Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, Codex 49-V-19, fls. 833r-842v. Anonymous account entitled *Successos da Viagem que fizemos de Goa para Macao*, Malacca Jail, 18 December 1686.

part of the sea that is like an extensive plain without any interval of islands, that goes on for a very long distance[...]and for this the ships[...]are shook with greater violence.”¹⁰³

Just as we have seen above, when the natural dangers seemed ready to send the passengers to be “sadly devoured by the profound abyss of the sea,” the religious pitch of the voyage increased.¹⁰⁴ Confessions were heard, relics carried about in procession, and the saints were implored to calm the wind and waves. When heat and calm threatened disease, one voyager wrote, “we drew recourse from the divine remedies, directing frequent prayers to God, to the Virgin most holy and to all of the Saints of heaven, invoking daily the name of every one, according to the custom of the *padres* of the Society during voyages at sea.”¹⁰⁵ But while the ship sailed under normal conditions, the Jesuits carried out the same ministries that they had before. The 1686 relation of Visitor Nogueira’s trip to Macao mentions that “everyday he said mass[...]and God was pleased that he should never be interrupted by winds, rain, or the swaying of the ship.”¹⁰⁶ He sang the litanies every afternoon and continually encouraged the people aboard with spiritual exhortations, except when he was incapacitated by illness. Making up for his occasional incapacity, he went “at eight o’clock at night to sing doctrine songs with the Kaffirs [the ship’s African slaves] and sailors, to whom he explained the prayers after singing.” Early in the morning, before attending to the sick, he would go to the center of the ship and “in a very loud and devout voice exhort all to praise God and the Virgin most holy, Queen of the Angels.”¹⁰⁷ During this second voyage on the ships of the *Estado da Índia*, Nogueira and the other missionaries had another opportunity to exercise the Jesuits’ central ministries, reinforcing the lessons in pastoral care and preaching they had learned on the way to Goa.

The length and travails of these voyages over “long routes and vast seas,” however, took their toll on many - with over half of all the missionaries dispatched to China dying en-route. “So serious and continual are the illnesses,” wrote André Ferrão in the 1656 Annual Letter from the China mission, “so many the miseries and necessities (not for lack of adequate provisions, but the voyages are very long and the inns, despite being on the water, are very dry [uncomfortable]), so undone and finished do we arrive that they speak well, those who call us relics, not only of the China mission, but of our very selves.”

103 Duarte de Sande, *Diálogo...*, p. 33.

104 Ibid., p. 33.

105 Ibid., p. 41.

106 Biblioteca da Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, Codex 49-V-19, fl. 834v.

107 Ibid., fl. 834v.

¹⁰⁸ Yet the time that the missionaries spent on the ships of the *Carreira da Índia* was far from wasted. For them, the time aboard ship provided the transition between the European college environment and the mission field, a place where they would be trained in pastoral care under the supervision of older, more experienced *padres*. Besides getting this practical spiritual experience among the passengers and crew, China-bound Jesuits also acquired practical domestic skills, astronomical knowledge and medical techniques that would be necessary at their mission stations. Also, by plunging young missionaries into an extreme physical and emotional trial where they were called upon to be the moral support to others, the voyage helped build the sense of mission that would be necessary to face the hardships of spreading the faith in the Middle Kingdom. Likewise, the shared suffering of seeing friends and companions die forged a unity among the China missionaries that would help them maintain their zeal during times of persecutions or misfortune. Yet even those who had been steeled by the experience such as Ferrão would lament the journey's strains, "because we are flesh, after all, and being missionaries does not mean we are unmovable."¹⁰⁹ Recalling the friends he left behind merely to arrive at the gates of the Celestial Empire, he declared that mission's few successes were better called the fruit of tears - enough tears shed for "such good companions to make another fountain, like the one in Coimbra, called the *fonte das lágrimas*."

108 Biblioteca da Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, Codex 49-V-14, fl. 63r. *Annu da Vice Provincia da China*, 1656. André Ferrão, Macau, 29 January 1657.

109 Ibid., fl. 63r.

Abstract

This article is an analysis of unique primary source material concerning Jesuit missionaries on the sea voyage to China during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During this period, hundreds of men embarked in Lisbon on the ships of the *Carreira da Índia* for India and beyond. Sailing from Portugal around Africa and eventually to Goa, the members of the China mission had only completed half of their voyage. After months or years waiting at the capital of the *Estado da Índia*, they would board ship once again for another perilous journey around the subcontinent, through the Straits of *Malacca* and over the China Sea to Macao. But far from being a leisurely journey, this trip took a heavy toll on the numbers of zealous missionaries impelled across the world by religious fervor. For the chronically understaffed China mission, who only drew limited numbers of men from Europe, the death of each prospective recruit on the ocean was a tragedy. But since the missionary enterprise was a perpetual one, the Jesuits were forced to make efforts to protect their men as well as possible during the journey east. Using a combination of administrative documents and voyage narratives, this article describes the trials passed and skills gained during the missionaries' trip to China.

Two sets of official regulations drawn up by the Portuguese Jesuit hierarchy form the basis of this study. These texts reveal how the Society of Jesus organized (or attempted to organize) its members during the year-long passage, making sure that they not only survived, but were also prepared to begin their missionary work. Beyond regulating the everyday life of the Jesuits, touching on aspects from food to study to prayer, the rules instruct them how to deal with the problems of sickness, death, and shipwreck. But as members of a religious order, the Jesuits were obliged to carry out charitable and spiritual work among the crews and passengers who traveled with them. One finds that their tasks on ship among the travelling nobility, crew, and passengers were designed to keep them healthy while carrying out a vital form of pastoral training. Since most of the Jesuits sent to the Asian missions were very young, they gained valuable skills during the journey that would later help them when they headed for their missionary assignments. From doctrine teaching to confession skills to peacemaking abilities, young Jesuits learned how to diplomatically deal with people from all levels of society. Yet while working in the life-threatening environment, the Jesuits were not dupes to the wiles of their less scrupulous fellow passengers - the regulations make clear how to keep zealous missionaries from losing their rations and provisions to the undeserving. With prescriptions for acting at times of crisis and times of boredom, the Jesuit rules for travelling missionaries present an unique look at the routines - and perils of sea travel on the *Carreira da Índia*.

Resumo

Este artigo apresenta a análise de uma invulgar fonte documental relativa à viagem marítima dos missionários Jesuítas em direcção à China, nos séculos XVI e XVII. Durante este período, centenas de homens embarcaram em Lisboa nos navios da *Carreira da Índia* em direcção à Índia e outras paragens mais longínquas. Partindo de Portugal, navegando em torno de África, e chegando por fim a Goa, os missionários da missão da China completavam apenas metade da sua viagem. Após

meses, ou anos, de espera na capital do Estado da Índia, esses homens embarcavam de novo para uma arriscada jornada em torno do subcontinente, através do Estreito de Malaca, e ao longo do Mar da China em direcção a Macao. No entanto, longe de se tratar de uma viagem apazível, este percurso cobrava um pesado tributo no número de missionários zelosos, impelidos pelo fervor religioso a atravessar o mundo. Tendo em conta a situação crítica da missão da China, que recebia um número restrito de homens europeus, a morte de um membro aguardado constituía uma tragédia. Não obstante, na medida em que a actividade missionária era contínua, os Jesuítas viram-se obrigados a fazer um esforço para proteger os seus membros, tanto quanto possível, durante a viagem para Leste. Fazendo uso de documentação administrativa e de relatos de viagem, o presente artigo descreve as experiências vividas e perícias obtidas pelos missionários na viagem para a China.

Este estudo assenta em dois tipos de regulamentos oficiais redigidos pela hierarquia Jesuíta portuguesa. Estes textos revelam de que maneira a Companhia de Jesus organizava (ou procurava organizar) os seus membros durante o ano de viagem, com vista a assegurar não só a sua sobrevivência, mas também a sua preparação para o trabalho missionário. Para além de regular o quotidiano dos Jesuítas, referindo aspectos como a alimentação, o estudo e a oração, os regulamentos instruíam-nos como lidar com problemas como a doença, a morte, e as tempestades. Contudo, enquanto membros de uma ordem religiosa, os Jesuítas eram obrigados a levar a cabo trabalho caritativo e espiritual junto dos passageiros com quem viajavam. Verifica-se que as tarefas a realizar pelos missionários nas embarcações junto da nobreza viajante, tripulação e passageiros destinavam-se a mantê-los saudáveis enquanto levavam a cabo um método vital de treino pastoral. Uma vez que a maioria dos jesuítas enviados para as missões da Ásia eram muito novos, adquiriam uma experiência valiosa durante a viagem que mais tarde lhes seria útil nas tarefas missionárias. Desde a doutrinação, à confissão, e ao apaziguamento, os jovens jesuítas aprendiam a relacionar-se com todos os níveis sociais. Além disso, podiam evitar as artimanhas lançadas pelos passageiros menos escrupulosos - os regulamentos ensinavam os missionários a proteger as suas provisões e rações dos menos sérios. Contendo prescrições sobre a forma como actuar em tempo de crise e tempo de paz, as regulamentações jesuítas para os missionários viajantes constituem uma fonte única para o entendimento da rotina e dos perigos da viagem da Carreira da Índia.

A ROUTE UNDER PRESSURE

Communication Between Nagasaki and Macao (1597-1617)

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During my research into the activities of Luis Cerqueira S.J., Bishop of Japan (1598-1614)¹ we noticed the importance of communication for the missionaries who worked in East Asia, especially for those who were in Japan. They were totally dependent on successive maritime routes for getting mail from Europe, and also to inform or to influence their superiors. Usually, from the Japanese mission, mail was also sent to India and to Macao. From the end of the 16th century onwards, the Manilla Route was also used by the Jesuits to send their letters to Europe.

In this article, I shall seek to analyse some of the characteristics of the communication between Macao and Nagasaki in the dramatic period of the early 17th century, when the annual voyage of the Great Ship failed many times. It seems to me that this particular question is a good example of the intensity of communication that circulated between various ports of East Asia at the time.

1. The Portuguese in the China Sea (1597-1618) - the specifics of the scenario

When they arrived in Asia, the Portuguese tried to control pre-existent networks of maritime trade; they established themselves in the main ports of the Indian Ocean, sometimes by war, on other occasions by political alliances with local authorities or simply by commercial agreements². A notable exception to

1 See my doctoral thesis *O Cristianismo no Japão e o episcopado de D. Luís Cerqueira*, 2 vols., Lisbon 1998 (photocopied text).

2 For a general overview of Portuguese expansion in Asia see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700. A Political and Economic History*, London and New York, 1993. For an understanding of the main characteristics of Portuguese dynamics in Asia see the studies of Luís Filipe Thomaz: "A estrutura política e administrativa do Estado da Índia no século XVI", in *De Ceuta a Timor*, Lisbon, 1994, pp. 207-243; "Do cabo Espichel a Macau: vicissitudes do curso português" in *As relações entre a Índia Portuguesa, a Ásia do Sueste e o Extremo Oriente (actas do VI Seminário Internacional de História Indo- Portuguesa)*, Macao-Lisbon, 1993, pp. 537-568.

this model of penetration in the Asiatic world took place in the China Sea, where the Portuguese founded two new cities - Macao, in China (c.1557),³ and Nagasaki, in Japan (1570)⁴ - which very quickly became two major centers of East Asia maritime trade⁵. These two cities supported Lusitanian trade in the area, and the connection between them was made by the famous *kurofune*, the Black Ship, whose voyages have been systematically enumerated by Charles Boxer in his book *The Great Ship from Amacon*⁶.

The Portuguese participation in Sino-Japanese commerce grew in importance during the third quarter of the 16th century, and reached its peak in the final years of this century. According to a memorandum which was presented to Phillip II of Spain in 1581, when he became King of Portugal, the voyage of the Great Ship was the "most profitable" that the Portuguese controlled in asian waters⁷. By the end of the century, its route began to suffer some difficulties, which increased significantly in the early 1600s. Until 1590, the *kurofune* made its annual voyage almost every year⁸, but later a new scenario began to emerge, mainly due to two different reasons.

Local ruling powers were changing in several areas of Asia, and some of the rulers who emerged pursued an anti-Portuguese policy, like for example,

3 For the foundation of Macao see Robert Usellis, *As origens de Macau*, Macao, 1995; Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves, *Um porto entre dois impérios. Estudos sobre Macau e as relações luso-chinesas*, Macao, 1999. For a general overview of Portuguese presence in East Asia, I must also mention the global studies coordinated by A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, Lisbon (1998-2000), 3 vols already printed.

4 The main studies on the founding of Nagasaki were made by Diego Pacheco S.J. (today Diego Yuuki), who wrote: *A fundação do porto de Nagasaki e a sua cedência à Sociedade de Jesus*, Macao, 1989; "Historia de una cristiandad: Yokoseura", in *Missionalia Hispanica*, Madrid, vol. 21, 1964, pp. 137-172; *El hombre que forjó a Nagasaki*, Madrid, 1973.

5 Apart from the aforementioned studies, see my study "Macau e Nagasaki - os pólos da presença portuguesa no Mar da China na segunda metade do século XVI", in *Portugal e a China. Conferências no III Curso livre de História das relações entre Portugal e a China (séculos XVI-XIX)* (coord. Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves), Lisbon, 2000, pp. 79-104.

6 See C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon. Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640*, Lisbon, 1963.

7 *Livro das cidades e fortalezas que a coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da Índia e das capitánias e mais cargos que nelas há e da importancia delles* (ed. de Francisco Paulo Mendes da Luz), Lisbon, 1960 (separata de *Studia*, Lisbon, nº 6, 1960), fl. 95. For the finances of the *Estado da Índia* and the role of the East Asian trade, see Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Les finances de l'État Portugais des Indes Orientales (1517-1635)*, Paris, 1982; *O orçamento do Estado da Índia 1571* (dir. e prefácio de Artur Teodoro de Matos, Lisbon, 1999; Artur Teodoro de Matos, *O Estado da Índia nos anos de 1581-1588. Estrutura administrativa e económica, alguns elementos para o seu estudo*, Ponta Delgada, 1982; Idem, "A situação financeira do Estado da Índia no período filipino (1581-1635)", in *Na rota da Índia. Estudos de história da Expansão Portuguesa*, Macao, 1994, pp. 61-107.

8 Until 1597, the *Great Ship* did not make the voyage to Nagasaki six times: 1573 (shipwrecked off the Amakusa islands); 1582 (ran ashore Taiwan coast); 1587 (Toyotomi Hideyoshi's first decree of banishment of the missionaries); 1589 (death of the captain-major); 1592 (probably due to the instability of the entire region because of the Japanese invasion of Korea); 1594 (shipwreck off Sumatra's coast). See, C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship ...*, pp. 21-60.

the new Shah of Persia, and the Mughals in India⁹. At the same time, internal politics in Japan was also changing and the long civil war (1467-1590) gave way to peace under a central authority - Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the *kanpaku*¹⁰. Since he controlled most of the Japanese Empire, Hideyoshi forbade Christianity and ordered the missionaries to leave the country, even though he was still very interested in maintaining trade with the Portuguese, who came from Macao¹¹. After Hideyoshi's death, Japan was in danger of regressing to a civil war, but Tokugawa Ieyasu assumed control of the realm after the battle of Sekigahara, in 1600, and founded a new Shogunal dynasty in 1603¹². Ieyasu was also interested in commerce with the Portuguese, but Christianity did not gain a foothold under his autocratical regime, and from 1614 onwards, the Tokugawa Shogunate systematically persecuted the Christians and their clergy¹³.

At the same time, relevant changes were taking place in Europe and in the Atlantic. In the 1590s the Iberian powers definitively lost their hegemony over the Atlantic, and the route to the East was opened to rivals of the Spanish Crown. From 1580 to 1640, Portugal was under the rule of Spanish kings, and the Portuguese were therefore forced to give up their traditional policy of neutrality in European conflicts. Thus, their traditional allies, England and the Netherlands became their enemies, and they utilised the passage via the Cape Route by force. The Dutch and the English were welcomed by most of the rivals of the *Estado da Índia*, and they were able to surprise the Portuguese, whose military system in Asia was concentrated in the Arabian Sea, in order to face their main rivals.

Despite the lucrative trade that they controlled in the Malaysian Archipelago and in the China Sea until the end of the 16th century, the Portuguese had no need to organise a large military system in these areas, as they had done in the western waters of the Indian Ocean¹⁴. The Dutch, who

9 See Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia ...*, pp. 144-180.

10 For Hideyoshi's biography see Mary Elisabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London, 1982.

11 For an understanding of the evolution of Portuguese-Japanese relations in this period see Michael Cooper S.J., *Rodrigues, the Interpreter*, New York, 1974; J.F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits. Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth Century Japan*, London and New York, 1993.

12 For Tokugawa's career, we especially referred to A.L. Sadler, *The Maker of Modern Japan. The Life of Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu*, Tokyo, 1992 (original, 1937); Conrad Totman, *Tokugawa Ieyasu: Shogun*, Heian, 1983.

13 For this question see George Ellison, *Deus Destroyed, the Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, 1988 (original, 1973); Peter Nosco, "Japanese Policy toward Religions in the «Christian» Century", in *O século cristão do Japão. Actas do colóquio internacional comemorativo dos 450 anos de amizade Portugal-Japão (1543-1993)* (ed. Roberto Carneiro e Artur Teodoro de Matos), Lisbon, 1994, pp. 569-588; Valdemar Coutinho, *O fim da presença portuguesa no Japão*, Lisbon, 1999.

knew the organisation of the Portuguese Empire in Asia very well, focused their initial activities in Southeast Asia, and then extended the scope of their attention, in particular to the Bay of Bengal and to the China Sea, in the first decade of the 17th century¹⁵. A few years later, the English followed them¹⁶.

Unable to defeat these challengers, the Portuguese were losing their monopoly, as the sole European power which operated in the area. This exclusivity had already been broken by the Spaniards, when they had come to the Philippines, in 1565. The Spanish came from America, but they wished to trade in Asian markets. However, despite a certain commercial rivalry, there was no military conflict between the Portuguese and the Spaniards in the China Sea, and Philip II forbade Spanish activities in the areas under Portuguese jurisdiction, which nevertheless continued despite the royal decrees. The Iberian rivalry arose in East Asia due to the submission of Portugal to the court of Madrid, and commercial and ecclesiastical competition also increased in the last decade of the 16th century. However, these disputes did not affect the sailing of Portuguese ships in Asiatic waters¹⁷.

On the contrary, the appearance of the Protestants in the area represented not only a new trading rivalry, but also a military menace to the *Estado da Índia*, which had adapted itself to the strategies of the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese were therefore not prepared to face the new opponents, and many of their ships were successfully attacked by the Dutch and by the English. The entire Portuguese maritime trading system East of Malacca was under considerable pressure from the beginning of the 17th century onwards, and the route between Macao and Nagasaki was no exception¹⁸.

14 For the Portuguese presence in Southeast Asia in the 16th century see: Anthony Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550-1650" in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era. Trade, Power and Belief* (ed. Anthony Reid), Ithaca and London, 1993, pp. 151-179; Luís Filipe Thomaz, "Os Portugueses nos mares da Insulíndia" in *De Ceuta a Timor*, Lisbon, 1994, pp. 567-590. Recently some Portuguese scholars have presented new dissertations on some aspects of this theme: Paulo Jorge Sousa Pinto, *Portugueses e Malaíes. Malaca e os sultanatos de Johor e Achém. 1579-1619*, Lisbon, 1997; Jorge Manuel Santos Alves, *O domínio do Norte de Samatra. A história dos sultanatos de Samudera-Pacém e de Achém e das suas relações com os Portugueses (1500-1580)*, Lisbon, 1999; Manuel Lobato, *Política e comércio dos Portugueses na Insulíndia. Malaca e as Molucas de 1575 a 1605*, Macao, 1999.

15 For the Dutch expansion we used especially C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800*, London, 1965; Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740*, Oxford, 1989.

16 For the English expansion in East Asia in the early years of the 17th century see Derek Massarella, *A World Elsewhere. Europe's Encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, New Haven and London, 1990.

17 See my study "A rivalidade luso-espanhola no Extremo Oriente e a querela missionológica no Japão", in *O século cristão do Japão. Actas do colóquio internacional comemorativo dos 450 anos de amizade Portugal-Japão (1543-1993)* (org. Roberto Carneiro and Artur Teodoro de Matos), Lisbon, 1994, pp. 477-524.

18 See George Bryan de Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea*, Cambridge, 1986.

It is this initial period of the 1600s that I shall analyse in this article. I begin in 1597, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi ordered the first martyrdom of Nagasaki, which took place on February 25th. This incident obstructed the sailing of the Great Ship from Macao to Nagasaki that year, and it actually signalled the beginning of a period of extreme difficulties for the sailing of the *kurofune*. In the subsequent years, the macanese merchants were unable to send Macao's Great Ship to Japan several times, sometimes because of the pressure of Japanese authorities or due to the evolution of the military situation in Japan, and on other occasions because of the intervention of Dutch fleets. This period ended in 1618, when the Portuguese finally found a solution for their problem - in that year the Great Ship was replaced by six galleons. From then on, Portuguese ships arrived in Japan almost every year until the close of official relations in 1639¹⁹.

From 1597 to 1617 the Macanese merchants could not organise the annual voyage of the Great Ship ten times, and another voyage was interrupted when the Lusitanian carrack sank near Nagasaki²⁰. Macao particularly suffered severe losses due to this situation, because most of the city's maritime connections were in the hands of Portuguese traders, and the VOC power in this area grew rapidly during this period. All its commercial routes consequently came under pressure, which did not happen in Nagasaki's case.

Actually, after having been founded by the Portuguese, Nagasaki had developed other important maritime routes connecting the city with Manila²¹, and also with continental ports. The Japanese themselves sailed to ports in Southeast Asia during some decades and Chinese merchants, most of whom came from the Fujian region, as well as those who lived in Macao²², came to Japan and founded an important community in Nagasaki, that grew considerably during this period²³. Chinese and Japanese ships were not attacked by the VOC or by the EIC fleets and could therefore keep sailing and trading, while the Portuguese routes faced considerable difficulties. As we can see, Nagasaki was not dependent on the Macanese trade despite the great importance of the *kurofune* for its economy. That is why Nagasaki continued to

19 See Valdemar Coutinho, *O fim da presença portuguesa no Japão*, Lisbon, 1999.

20 See C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship ...*, pp. 60-95.

21 See Juan Gil, *Hidalgos y samurais. España y Japón en los siglos XVI y XVII*, Madrid, 1991.

22 Despite the fact that Macao was located on the Guangdong coast, there is much evidence to show that its Chinese community mostly consisted of people from the Fujian region. See my introductory study of *Cartas Anuas do Colégio de Macau (1594-1627)*, Macao, 1999, pp. 11-40, quoted ahead as CAM.

23 See Aloysius Chang, *The Chinese Community of Nagasaki in the First Century of the Tokugawa Period (1603-1688)*, New York, 1970 (PhD dissertation, policopied version); Marius Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, 1992.

grow, as a rich city, during these years. In 1590, it had about 5,000 inhabitants, ten years later 15,000, and more than 30,000 in 1614²⁴.

2. Communication between Macao and Nagasaki

As we have seen, the Great Ship often did not realise its voyage between the two cities. These successive interruptions affected trade significantly, and also the finances of the Japanese mission²⁵. Nevertheless, we have documental evidence that the two cities kept communicating regularly during this period, especially by small ships. In the appendix to this article we present the 24 occasions on which news from Macao arrived in Nagasaki, and the 41 arrivals of Nagasaki's news in Macao; these movements are summarized in Table 1.

TABLE 1
SENDING OF INFORMATION TO THE OTHER CITY²⁶

YEAR	MACAO - NAGASAKI	NAGASAKI - MACAO
1597	-	2 *
1598	1 *	2
1599	1	1
1600	1 *	-
1601	1	2 *
1602	1 *	-
1603	1	2 *
1604	1 *	1 *
1605	1 *	2
1606	1 *	2 *
1607	1	3 *
1608	1	3
1609	1 *	1
1610	-	1
1611	1	2
1612	1 *	3
1613	2	4 *
1614	1 *	2
1615	1 *	3 *
1616	3	2 *
1617	3 *	3
TOTALS	24	41
	1.14 / Year	1.95 / Year
VOYAGES OF THE GREAT SHIP	11	10
	45.8%	24.3%

Looking at this table, we note that there were many more voyages from Nagasaki to Macao than in the other direction, which also implies that the Great Ship was less important for Nagasaki's mail than for Macao's. As we can see, 45.8% of the mail from Macao to Nagasaki was transported by the Portuguese carracks, while only 24.3% of the mail from Nagasaki to Macao used the same system. It seems to me that this is an evidence of what I have referred to before: that Macao was much more dependent on Portuguese shipping. Therefore, it was difficult for the Macanese to rig ships to send information to Nagasaki, while for the Jesuits in Japan, and the *casados*²⁷, it was easier to rig a ship, or also to ask other merchants who were going to sail to Southeast Asia ports, for help, who consented to pass by Macao in order to leave letters from Japan there.

With regard to the voyages from Macao to Nagasaki we find a certain regularity until 1615: usually news arrived in Nagasaki once a year, and there were only three exceptions: two failures (1597 and 1610) and one year with two arrivals (1613). The years of 1616 and 1617 can be viewed as a prelude of the following period, when Macao sent several smaller ships to Nagasaki every year. Due to the religious persecution in Japan, the Jesuits tried to enter in the country in different ways, which contributed towards this enlargement of contacts.

TABLE 2

ARRIVALS OF NEWS IN MACAO

YEARS	ARRIVALS	ARRIVALS / YEAR	ARRIVALS OF THE GREAT SHIP
1597-1602	7	1.16 / Year	2 - 28.5%
1603-1610	16	2.00 / Year	4 - 25.0%
1611-1617	19	2.70 / Year	3 - 15.7%

When we look at the voyages from Nagasaki to Macao we do not find the same regularity as in the opposite direction. Table 2 shows that there was

24 There are several versions about the number of Nagasaki's inhabitants in this period. The numbers that I propose were suggested in my doctoral thesis (p. 507). I have used the two studies quoted in the previous note, and also some references taken from the Jesuit documents and also the following studies: Carlos Francisco, "Nagasaki, cidade portuguesa no Japão", in *Studia*, Lisbon, n° 26, 1968, pp. 115-148; Herbert Plutshow, *Historical Nagasaki*, Tokyo, 1983.

25 Apart from Michael Cooper's book quoted above, see our study "A crise financeira da missão jesuítica do Japão no início do século XVII", in *A Companhia de Jesus e a missão no Oriente*, Lisbon, 2000, pp. 235-246.

26 (*) means that in this year the Great Ship made its voyage in the direction referred to.

27 Portuguese men who had married native women, and settled in an Asiatic port.

a steady increase in arrivals in Macao during this period. From 1597 to 1602 there were two years without arrivals and the annual average was 1.16; from 1603 to 1610 there was always, at least, one arrival, and the annual average grew to two; in the last years there were always, at least, two arrivals, and the annual average grew again (2.7). At the same time that the number of arrivals in Macao increased, the Great Ship was less relevant to communication - it was responsible for 28.5% of the arrivals in the first years, but it represented only 15.7% of them in the last years. These elements are a good example of Nagasaki's commercial strength during this period, which facilitated the sending of news to Macao, despite the difficulties of commerce.

We also know that sometimes the missionaries in Japan took advantage of the recently intensified sailing from Japan to Southeast Asia to directly send mail to Malacca or to India, usually by way of Patani, on the siamese coast. In 1600, Alessandro Valignano S.J. sent a letter to the Rector of Malacca which was to be taken to Patani by some Chinese or Muslim traders²⁸. In 1604, Francesco Pasio S.J. sent a letter to the Viceroy of India via some Japanese who were going to sail to Malacca by the way of Patani²⁹.

* * *

Apart from the movements on which we have commented in the appendix, many more ships arrived in Nagasaki during this period, and some of them could have passed by Macao. However, it seems to us that almost none of these ships were used by the Portuguese for mail, because the Jesuits used to report every arrival of news from the other city. This, however, does not mean that some other ships did not bring messages - we have the example of the voyage of Pedro Ramón S.J., in 1599, from Macao to Nagasaki in an asiatic ship that is only mentioned in a private letter of the Rector of the College of Macao, and it is not reported by any member of the Japanese mission³⁰.

Nevertheless, the information provided by Jesuit documentation shows us that there was a permanent effort from both sides to keep the two cities informed of what was happening on the other side of the Sea. This effort was reinforced by traders and missionaries, as we can see by the references presented in the appendix.

28 "[A carta segue] por via de Patane, sendo os portadores certos chinas ou mouros que de Nagasaku partirão em Fevereiro". BL, *Add.*, 9860, fl. 84v.

29 "[...] uns japões que por via de Patane vão para Malaca." BL, *Add.*, 9860, fl. 87.

30 Pedro Ramón left Macao suddenly because he had a conflict with the College's Rector. This is probably the reason why the incident is not referred to by the Jesuits who were in Japan. See letter of Manuel Dias senior S.J. to the General of the Society (Macao, 16/1/1600), ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 I, fl. 15v.

In this article I have identified the news that arrived in both cities, either coming directly from the other, or via Southeast Asia. However, there was another route that could have increased communication between Macao and Nagasaki. Since the 1590s there were ships sailing between Nagasaki and Manilla almost every year, and the Jesuits always used this route in order to send mail to Europe through the Spanish Empire. There was also some correspondence between the missionaries of the two archipelagos.

Despite the orders issued by Madrid, sometimes ships from Manilla arrived in Macao, and it was common for Asiatic ships to make the connection between the two cities. Therefore, it is possible that Macao and Nagasaki received information about the other city via the Philippines route, but I do not find many references to this in the Jesuit letters.

Conclusion

In the early years of the 17th century, many nations sailed East Asian waters - more than usual, we can say. There was consequently intense rivalry - between Asiatics, between Europeans and later, between the surviving powers.

Macao and Nagasaki had been founded by the Portuguese in the second half of the 16th century as two major ports of maritime trade, and they grew quickly while trade was prosperous. Later, the two cities were unable to withstand the Dutch attack on the route that connected them, but they were able to maintain the communication between them. The exceptional conditions of this period and the strength of Nagasaki's asiatic links allowed the Portuguese to find alternative routes for their mail.

APPENDIX

Voyages between Nagasaki and Macao with documental evidences
(1597-1614)

1597

Macao - Nagasaki:

There was no official voyage from Macao to Nagasaki, probably due to the martyrdom of February 25, news of which arrived in Macao in April. It seems that there was no voyage from Macao to Nagasaki in this year³¹. On November 10, Alessandro Valignano S.J. wrote in his letter to the General that the Bishops Pedro Martins and Luís Cerqueira had done everything they could to find a way of sending a ship to Japan in this year, but they had failed³².

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. The Great Ship of 1596 returned to Macao in March³³.
2. A small ship (a *soma*) sailed to Macao in October, and it arrived there on November 9³⁴; it was rigged by some merchants who had come in the Great Ship of 1596 and who had remained behind in March, because they had not sold all their goods at that time³⁵.

1598

Macao - Nagasaki:

1. Captain Nuno de Mendonça sailed for Nagasaki with two junks, on July 16³⁶, and he arrived there on August 5.

31 Charles Boxer contended that a junk belonging to Francisco Gouveia had sailed from Macao to Nagasaki, because it left Nagasaki for Macao in February 1598 (See *The Great Ship*, p. 60). However, Francisco de Gouveia was an half-caste, probably the son of a Portuguese man and a Japanese woman (See J.F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits* ..., pp. 84-85; António de Morga S.J., *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas. Crónicas y Memorias*, Madrid, 1997, p. 157), who was a citizen of Nagasaki. According to Francisco Pires S.J. he was sailing to Cambodia, when he brought some missionaries to Macao (See *Monumenta Historica Japoniae I* (ed. Josef Franz Schütte SJ) Roma, 1975 (quoted ahead as MHJ), p. 411. Despite the fact that he sailed the China Sea very often there is no evidence that he made a voyage from Macao to Nagasaki in 1597. Francisco de Gouveia would die in 1599 in Cambodia (see the letter of Valignano to the Rector of Manilla (28/10/1599) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 13 II, fl. 351).

32 See ARSI, *Jap-Sin* 13 I, fl. 87v.

33 The departure was on March 21, according with the Annual Letter of Japan written in October 1597 (See ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 52, fl. 304), or on March 25 (See *Breve relação do estado de Japão*, ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 53, fl. 142).

34 See Annual Letter of Japan (October 1597), ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 52, fl. 304 (the arrival of the ship was added in Macao).

35 See *Breve relação do estado de Japão*, ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 53, fl. 145.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. In February, the junk of Francisco Gouveia sailed for Macao, and it arrived there in March³⁷.
2. By the end of October, the smaller junk of Nuno de Mendonça and an Indian carrack³⁸ sailed for Macao³⁹.

1599

This year, the junk of Nuno de Mendonça departed from Nagasaki on February 26⁴⁰ but it sank with all its crew. In June/July Macao did not send the Great Ship because the tragic destiny of Mendonça⁴¹ was not yet known. 10 Jesuits were nominated for the Japanese mission, but they could not make the voyage this year⁴².

Macao - Nagasaki:

1. According to Manuel Dias *senior*, the Rector of the College of Macao, at the end of the year, the jesuit Pedro Ramón had sailed unexpectedly for Nagasaki in an asiatic ship⁴³.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. In October some Portuguese who had come from Manilla decided suddenly to rig a small ship (a *soma*) to sail for Macao. The Jesuits had no time to write a new Annual Letter, but they sent some correspondence by this ship⁴⁴.

1600

Macao - Nagasaki:

1. The Great Ship made its voyage between July 13 and August 13⁴⁵.

36 See the letter of Bishop Luís Cerqueira to the King (Nagasaki, 24/10/1598). ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 13 II, fl. 201v.

37 See letter of Alessandro Valignano S.J. to the General of the Society of Jesus (1/7/1598), ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 13 I, fl. 136.

38 This ship was sailing from Malacca to Macao, but the pilot erred in the route and went directly to Nagasaki without touching at any port and it anchored in Nagasaki on August 12 or 14. On October 16, Valignano reported that this ship was going to sail for Macao with the small junk. See ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 13 I, fl. 167.

39 Valignano wrote his last letter of this year on October 25 (See ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 13 I, fl. 212-213v).

40 See letter of Manuel Dias *senior* S.J. to the General of the Society (Macao, 2/1/1600), ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 I, fl. 7.

41 See C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship*, p. 61; see also the Annual Letter of Macao's College (17/1/1600) in CAM, p. 88;.

42 See *Ibidem*, p. 88.

43 See letter of Manuel Dias *senior* S.J. to the General of the Society (Macao, 16/1/1600), ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 I, fl. 15v.

44 See Annual Letter of 25/10/1600, BA, 49-IV-59, fl. 1.

45 See letter of Baltasar de Torres S.J. to his brother (Nagasaki, 21/9/1600). ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 36, fl. 218a.

Nagasaki - Macao:

The Japanese crisis reached its peak in the summer of this year, and it was decided in the battle of Sekigahara. Trade was affected by the insecurity, and the Great Ship delayed its return for a few months. In October a *soma* as rigged to send information to Macao, but finally the small ship was not in a condition to sail⁴⁶.

1601

This year, the Portuguese lost a ship off the Guangdong coast, due to a typhoon, and two other ships, which were also coming from India, suffered significant damage. For the first time, Dutch ships came to the China Sea⁴⁷.

Macao - Nagasaki:

Macao did not send the Great Ship. According to Carlo Spinola, this was because of a lack of silk; the Jesuit also reported that they had no money to send a ship with mail to Japan (“para avisar Japão”)⁴⁸.

1. However, news of Macao reached Nagasaki by means of a ship that came from Cochinchina⁴⁹.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. In March⁵⁰, the Great Ship sailed for Macao.
2. In October a small ship (a *soma*)⁵¹ was suddenly rigged (“de repente”) by Portuguese traders who had come from Manilla⁵².

1602

Macao - Nagasaki:

1. The Great Ship reached the Gotô islands on July 10/11⁵³, therefore it must have left Macao by the end of June.

46 See letter of Bishop Luis Cerqueira, ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 20 II, fl. 76; letter of Valignano for the Assistant of Portugal (Nagasaki, 1/2/1601), ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 I, fl. 56

47 See C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship*, pp. 62-63.

48 See letter of Carlo Spinola S.J. to the Assistant of Portugal (Macao, 25/1/1602). ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 36, fl. 147.

49 See letter of Bishop Luís Cerqueira to the Rector of Manilla (Nagasaki, 17/10/1601) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 20 I, fl. 107; letter of Valignano to the General (Nagasaki, 24/10/1601), ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 I, fl. 83.

50 See letter of Valentim de Carvalho S.J. to the Assistant of Portugal (Macao, 29/1/1602). ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 I, fl. 99.

51 See letter of Carlo Spinola S.J. to the Assistant of Portugal (Macao, 25/1/1602). ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 36, fl. 147.

52 See the Annual Letter of Japan of 30/9/1601. BL, *Add.* 9859, fl. 150.

53 See the Annual Letter of Japan of 1/1/1603. BA, 49-IV-59, fl. 79v. Other Jesuit sources confirm the arrival of the ship in July (see: ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 I, fl. 109; *Jap-Sin*, 34, fl. 16).

Nagasaki - Macao:

This year, no ship was sent from Nagasaki to Macao. The silk trade was very difficult⁵⁴, and the Great Ship delayed its return to China. However this lack of voyages between the two cities only means a gap of 15 months, because Macao received news from Nagasaki in November of 1601 and in February of 1603.

1603

This was one of the most difficult years for the Portuguese interests in East Asia: the carrack *Santa Catarina* was captured by the Dutch near Singapore, *en route* from Macao to Goa. On July 30th the Great Ship was attacked and plundered by the Dutch in Macao's waters. The Portuguese lost more than 900.000 ducats⁵⁵.

Macao - Nagasaki:

1. On August 18 a *patacho* was sent to Nagasaki with the news of the Dutch attacks.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. On January 18, the Great Ship sailed for Macao⁵⁶.
2. The *patacho* that had been sent with news to Nagasaki, left this harbour in the beginning of October⁵⁷.

1604

Macao - Nagasaki:

1. The Great Ship sailed for Nagasaki in July⁵⁸.

54 See C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship ...*, pp. 64-67; Michael Cooper S.J., *Rodrigues, o intérprete ...*, p. 206.

55 See J.F. Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

56 See letters of Bishop Luis Cerqueira to the Assistant of Portugal (Nagasaki, 20 and 25/2/1603) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 20 II, fl. 158 and 160; these letters were sent by the Philippines route. Later, on November 12, Valignano, in a letter to the General, would write that he had left Nagasaki on January 18 (see ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 I, fl. 137), which seems to be a mistake.

57 This ship carried across the Annual Letter of Japan of 6/10/1603 (BA, 49-IV-59, fl. 112v-156; ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 54, fl. 168-213v). According to Valignano the ship arrived in Macao before October, 18 (see letter to the General - Macao, 12/11/1603; ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 I, fl. 138v).

58 See letter of Valignano to the Assistant of Portugal (Macao, 20/1/1605). ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 II, fl. 186v.

59 The ship carried across the Annual Letter of Japan of 23/11/1604 (IAN/TT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, n° 1951; ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 55, fl. 61-155). See the Annual Letter of Japan of 20/3/1606 (BA, 49-IV-59, fl. 280). See also the letter of Bishop Luis Cerqueira to the General of the Society of Jesus (Nagasaki, 10/3/1605). ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 I, fl. 73.

60 See letter of Valignano to the Assistant of Portugal (Macao, 20/1/1605). ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 II, fl.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. The Great Ship sailed for Macao by the end of November⁵⁹ and it arrived in Macao on December 8⁶⁰.

1605

Macao - Nagasaki:

1. The Great Ship arrived in Nagasaki on August 18⁶¹. During its voyage, on July 24 the ship survived a huge typhoon⁶², and it weathered yet another, the worst typhoon in 70 years⁶³, while it was anchored in Nagasaki.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. A junk sailed for Macao by the end of September or in the beginning of October⁶⁴.

2. On November 7, a ship with three Portuguese passed close to Macao; these men sent a message to the city reporting the situation in Japan⁶⁵.

1606

Macao - Nagasaki:

1. The Great Ship sailed for Nagasaki on July 19; during its voyage it survived a huge typhoon on July 31 and arrived in Nagasaki on August 14⁶⁶.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. The Great Ship sailed for Macao by the end of March⁶⁷.

2. In October, Bishop Cerqueira sent mail to Macao by a ship that was sailing to Siam, but that would pass by the Chinese harbour⁶⁸.

60 See letter of Valignano to the Assistant of Portugal (Macao, 20/1/1605). ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 II, fl. 186v.

61 See letter of Camilo Constâncio S.J. to the General (Arima, 24/2/1606). ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 34, fl. 207v.

62 See *ibidem*.

63 See the Annual Letter of Japan of 20/3/1606. BA, 49-IV-59, fl. 282.

64 In his letter to the General, Sabatino de Ursis S.J., wrote: "Del Giappone venne il mese de Ottobre un giunco qual por ordinario sogliemo mandare quando la nave non pove tornare subito." Macao, 9/2/1606. ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 II, fl. 234.

65 See letter of Valignano to the General (Macao, 12/11/1605) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 II, fl. 249. On March 10, 1606, Bishop Cerqueira referred to the fact that he had sent mail to the Assistant of Portugal in October of 1605; see ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 I, fl. 114.

66 See the Annual Letter of Japan of 15/2/1607. BA, 49-IV-59, fl. 319.

67 The ship carried across the Annual Letter of Japan of 20/3/1606 (BA, 49-IV-59, fl. 280-378; *Jap-Sin*, 55, fl. 175-289).

68 See letter of Bishop Cerqueira to the General of the Society of Jesus (Nagasaki 20/10/1606) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 I, fl. 119.

1607

Macao - Nagasaki:

The Great Ship did not sail for Macao due to a Dutch blockade⁶⁹.

1. However, the Jesuits sent mail to Japan via Siam and the Philippines⁷⁰.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. The Great Ship sailed for Macao in March⁷¹.
2. Bishop Cerqueira sent mail to Macao in a ship that sailed for China in October⁷².
3. A junk sailed for Macao in November⁷³.

1608

Macao - Nagasaki:

The Great Ship did not sail for Macao due to the Dutch⁷⁴. Macao faced many difficulties in running the blockade and the Jesuits in China, feeling the improbability of communicating with Europe through India, sent this year's mail through Japan ("pela via de Japão")⁷⁵.

1. Macao sent news by a small ship (a *fragata de aviso*)⁷⁶ probably in August.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. In the beginning of March a junk was going to sail for Macao⁷⁷.
2. The *fragata de aviso* sailed for Macao a few days after its arrival to Nagasaki⁷⁸, probably in September⁷⁹.

69 See C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship ...*, p. 70.

70 See letter of Diogo Pinto S.J. (Macao, 6/2/1608), ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 II, fl. 306-307. Diogo Pinto adds that they had received the answer from Japan, probably by one of the ships that sailed directly from Nagasaki to Macao in that year.

71 Bishop Cerqueira wrote to the General of the Society of Jesus on March 1 and informed him that the *Great Ship* was going to sail for Macao (ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 I, fl. 135).

72 See letter of Bishop Cerqueira to the General (Nagasaki, 10/10/1607). ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 I, fl. 145.

73 See letter of Bishop Cerqueira to the Assistant of Portugal (Nagasaki, 10/11/1607). ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 I, fl. 155.

74 See letter of Bishop Cerqueira to the Assistant of Portugal (Nagasaki, 15/10/1608) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 I, fl. 170.

75 See letter of Manuel Dias senior S.J. to the General (Nancham, 19/4/1609) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 14 II, fl. 330. They expected that the mail would go to Europe through the Philippines.

76 See letter of Bishop Cerqueira to the Assistant of Portugal (Nagasaki, 15/10/1608) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 I, fl. 169. See also the Annual Letter of Japan of 14/3/1609; ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 56, fl. 1.

77 See letter of Bishop Cerqueira to the General (Nagasaki, 5/3/1608) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 II, fl. 163. It carried across the Annual Letter of Japan of 25/2/1608 (see ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 55, fl. 366).

78 See the Annual Letter of Japan of 14/3/1609 (ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 56, fl. 1).

79 On March 5, 1609, Bishop Cerqueira informed the General that he had written to him twice in the previous year: in September and in October (ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 II, fl. 190).

3. A ship sailed for Macao by the end of October⁸⁰.

1609

Macao - Nagasaki:

1. The Great Ship arrived in Nagasaki by the end of June, probably on the 29th. It took 45 days to complete the voyage, because it left Macao very early in order to escape the Dutch blockade⁸¹.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. In the beginning of November, a small ship (a *fragatinha*) sailed for Macao⁸².

1610

On January 6, the Great Ship sank near Nagasaki after three days of fighting against Japanese troops under the orders of Tokugawa Ieyasu⁸³.

Macao - Nagasaki:

This year, neither ships from Macao, nor from Manilla came to Japan⁸⁴.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. A ship sailed for Macao, probably in March⁸⁵, with the traders who were not in the Great Ship when it was attacked by the Japanese⁸⁶.

1611

A junk sailed from Macao for Nagasaki on July 10⁸⁷, but it was wrecked in a storm off the Fujian coast, and the survivors were killed by the Chinese⁸⁸; one

⁸⁰ See *Ibidem*. It sailed after October 25; see letter of Bishop Cerqueira to the Assistant of Portugal (Nagasaki, 25/10/1608) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 I, fl. 169.

⁸¹ Bishop Cerqueira, in a letter of 15/10/1609, informed the Assistant of Portugal that he had received news from Europe through India in July of this year (see ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 II, fl. 204). It was, undoubtedly, in the first days of the month. According to Hubert Cieslik S.J. The Great Ship arrived in Nagasaki on June 29, and it had departed from Macau on May 16 (see H. Cieslik S.J. "The case of Christovão Ferreira", in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Tokyo, n° 29, 1974, pp. 1-54, p. 3). See also the Annual Letter of Japan of 15/3/1610 (ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 56, fl. 165), and an account about the Dominican activities in Japan (BA, 49-IV-60, fl. 9).

⁸² Bishop Cerqueira refers to this ship in his letter to the Assistant of Portugal of 15 October (see ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 II, fl. 204), and later, on February 28, 1610, Afonso de Lucena S.J. mentioned that he had sent a letter to the Assistant of Portugal in November 1609 (see ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 II, fl. 207).

⁸³ See C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship ...*, pp. 71-77.

⁸⁴ See the Annual Letter of Japan of 13/3/1611 (ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 57, fl. 1); see also MHJ, p. 420.

⁸⁵ There are a number of letters from Jesuits which were written in the first days of this month.

⁸⁶ See C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship ...*, pp. 78-79.

⁸⁷ See the Annual Letter of Macao's College (1/11/1611) in CAM, p. 134; letter of João Rodrigues *çuzzu* S.J. to the General (Canton, 25/1/1612) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 15 I, fl. 100v.

of them was Rui Barreto S.J., who had sailed for Macao in April with messages from the citizens of Nagasaki, and from the Jesuits, in order to reopen the trade between the two cities⁸⁹.

Macao - Nagasaki:

1. A small ship (a *chô*⁹⁰) sailed for Nagasaki⁹¹, probably in June.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. In April, Rui Barreto sailed for Macao in a small ship that would pass by that city⁹².

2. Another ship brought news from Nagasaki before October 31⁹³.

1612

Macao - Nagasaki:

1. In July, two ships sailed for Nagasaki - the Great Ship and a small galleon *de aviso*⁹⁴; the Great Ship arrived in Nagasaki on August 17⁹⁵.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. A ship sailed for Macao on March 22⁹⁶. One of the passengers was Francesco Pasio S.J., the new *visitor* of the Japanese Province, who was taking with him messages from Tokugawa Ieyasu expressing his desire to continue Portuguese-Japanese trade⁹⁷.

2. The small galleon which came with the Great Ship sailed for Macao before October 22⁹⁸.

3. By the end of October a Chinese ship sailed for Macao⁹⁹.

88 See C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship ...*, p. 80; letter of João Rodrigues Girão S.J. to the Assistant of Portugal (Nagasaki, 20/11/1612) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 15 I, fl. 193.

89 See letter of Bishop Cerqueira to the King (Nagasaki, 11/3/1611) RAH, *Cortes*, 9/2666, fl. 255v; see also letter of Diogo de Mesquita S.J. to the General (Nagasaki, 24/3/1611) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 36, fl. 12v-13.

90 See MHJ, p. 421.

91 See C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship ...*, pp. 79-80.

92 See letter of Diogo de Mesquita S.J. to the General (Nagasaki, 6/4/1611) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 36, fl. 14. 93 On November 1, it was already known in Macao that the junk of Rui Barreto had not arrived in Japan. See the Annual Letter of Macao's College (1/11/1611) in CAM, p. 134.

94 According to Mateus de Couros S.J., the *Great Ship* arrived in August, before the small galleon. See letter to the General (Nagasaki, 8/10/1612) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 35, fl. 3v.

95 See MHJ, p. 422.

96 See MHJ, p. 1266.

97 See letter of Bishop Luís Cerqueira to António Colaço S.J. procurator of the Japanese mission in Madrid. RAH, *Cortes*, 9/2666, fl. 267-270.

98 See letter of Mateus de Couros S.J. to the General (Nagasaki, 22/10/1612) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 35, fl. 8.

99 See *Ibidem*.

1613

Macao - Nagasaki:

There were no direct voyages from Macao to Nagasaki.

However the Jesuits received information through Siam and the Philippines. In October 1613 they already knew that Francesco Pasio S.J. had died in Macao on August 30, 1612¹⁰⁰.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. The Great Ship sailed for Macao in March. Francisco Luís S.J. embarked because the sailors required the presence of a priest aboard to hear confessions, because they were afraid of Dutch attacks¹⁰¹.
2. In August or in September a small ship sailed for Macao¹⁰².
3. On October 7, a small ship (a *chô*) sailed for Macao¹⁰³.
4. Another ship sailed for Macao a few days after October 13¹⁰⁴.

1614

Macao - Nagasaki:

1. The Great Ship sailed for Nagasaki, probably in July.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. Macao was informed of Tokugawa Ieyasu's law decreeing the expulsion of the clergymen by the way of Cochinchina¹⁰⁵.
2. In November, three junks sailed for Macao, with the exiled missionaries.

1615

Macao - Nagasaki:

In Jesuit documents we find references to other ships that could have made the voyage between Macao and Nagasaki. On May 12, Afonso de Lucena S.J.

100 See letter of Jerónimo Rodrigues S.J. to the General (Nagasaki, 4/10/1613) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 15 II, fl. 303.

101 "[...] porque se arreceavam de encontrar com duas naus de holandeses que cá estão para terem um padre para se confessarem." Letter of Afonso de Lucena S.J. to the Assistant of Portugal (10/3/1613) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 15 II, fl. 240.

102 On October 15, Manuel Barreto informed that he had come to Macao by a small ship because the *Great Ship* had not sailed for Japan; see letter to the General (Macao, 15/10/1613) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 34, fl. 127.

103 See letter of Bishop Luis Cerqueira to the General of the Society of Jesus (Nagasaki, 13/10/1613) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 21 II, fl. 300.

104 See *Ibidem*. On October 5, Gabriel de Matos S.J. informed that two small ships were going to sail for Macao very soon (ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 15 II, fl. 309).

105 See ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 16 II, fl. 115.

expected the arrival of a Japanese junk coming from Siam whose captain had promised to pass by Macao to bring some priests to Japan¹⁰⁶.

In August, a junk with Portuguese traders was captured by the Dutch in the vicinity of the Japanese coast¹⁰⁷.

1. The Great Ship sailed for Nagasaki in July¹⁰⁸ and it arrived in Nagasaki in August¹⁰⁹.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. The Great Ship sailed for Macao in March¹¹⁰.

2. According to Afonso de Lucena, some Chinese traders brought letters to Macao from the missionaries in Japan¹¹¹.

3. According to Mateus de Couros S.J. the Jesuits in Cochinchina sent news to Macao about the war between the shogunate and Toyotomi Hideyori, that they had heard from Japanese sailors¹¹².

1616

Macao - Nagasaki:

The Great Ship did not sail for Nagasaki, despite the fact that it was ready to set sail¹¹³.

1. On September 11 Richard Cocks, the factor of the EIC in Hirado, already knew that the Great Ship would not come this year; the news had come from Manilla¹¹⁴.

2. Japanese ships which passed by Macao carried across letters to the missionaries in Japan¹¹⁵.

3. Other Japanese ships which had passed by Macao had brought some *dojuku* back to Japan¹¹⁶.

106 See ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 16 II, fl. 183.

107 See letter of João Rodrigues Girão S.J. to Gabriel de Matos S.J. (Macao, 25/1/1616) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 16 II, fl. 291; see also letter of Jerónimo Rodrigues S.J. to the General (Nagasaki, 20/3/1616) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 16 I, fl. 307.

108 See letter of Giacomo Giannone S.J. to the General (Macao, 26/1/1616) ARSI, *Jap-Sin* 35, fl. 205.

109 See letter of Jerónimo Rodrigues S.J. to the General (Nagasaki, 1/3/1616) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 16 I, fl. 299v; see also the Annual Letter of Japan of 15/3/1616 (ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 58, fl. 285v).

110 See ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 58, fl. 410.

111 See letter of Afonso de Lucena S.J. to the General (Macao, 6/1/1616) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 16 I, fl. 260.

112 See letter of Mateus de Couros S.J. to the General (Nagasaki, 15/2/1616) ARSI, *Jap-Sin* 35, fl. 49.

113 See letter of Afonso de Lucena to the Assistant of Portugal (Macao, 2/6/1616) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 16 I, fl. 312; see also letter of Giacomo Giannone S.J. to the Assistant of Italy (Macao, 6/8/1616) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 35, fl. 208.

114 See C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship ...*, p. 89.

115 See letter of Francisco Pacheco S.J. to the Assistant of Portugal (Japan, 2/10/1616) ARSI, *Jap-Sin* 36, fl. 104.

116 See letter of Carlo Spinola S.J. to the General (Nagasaki, 15/3/1617) ARSI, *Jap-Sin* 36, fl. 185.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. The Great Ship sailed for Macao by the end of the winter. It was in danger off the Chinese coast¹¹⁷; it probably arrived in Macao in April¹¹⁸.
2. António de Sousa S.J. was sent to Macao through the Cochinchina route¹¹⁹.

1617

On October 11, Afonso de Lucena S.J. refers to the fact that there was much correspondence between the Japanese Jesuits in Macao and their friends and relatives in Japan¹²⁰.

Macao - Nagasaki:

1. The Great Ship arrived in Japan by the end of June¹²¹.
2. On July 16, visitor Francisco Vieira S.J., sent a letter to Europe in a ship that was going to sail for Japan; the letter would then be sent to Manilla and subsequently would follow the American route¹²².
3. Five Jesuits coming from the Cochinchina arrived in Japan in November¹²³.

Nagasaki - Macao:

1. A ship sailed for Macao in September¹²⁴.
2. A galliot sailed for Macao on October 14¹²⁵.
3. Five Jesuits coming from the Cochinchina arrived in Macao¹²⁶.

1618

The last Great Ship sailed for Macao probably in March¹²⁷.

In the summer of this year, for the first time, Macao sent a fleet of six galliots, instead of a great galleon¹²⁸.

117 See the Annual Letter of Macao's College (8/1/1617) in CAM, p. 163.

118 In September, Lucena remarked that the last news from Japan had arrived in April. See letter of Afonso de Lucena S.J. to the Assistante of Portugal (Macao, 21/9/161) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 17, fl. 12v.

119 See letter of Jerónimo Rodrigues S.J. to the General (Nagasaki, 26/3/1617) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 17, fl. 76.

120 See letter of Afonso de Lucena S.J. to the Assistant of Portugal (Macao, 11/10/1617) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 17, fl. 97v.

121 See C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship ...*, p. 91.

122 See letter of Francisco Vieira S.J. to the General (Macao, 16/7/1617) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 17, fl. 84.

123 See ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 58, fl. 410v.

124 On October 12, Francisco Pires S.J., who was in Macao, informed the Assistant of Portugal that the *Great Ship* had escaped from the Dutch vessels, and that business was doing very well in Nagasaki. See ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 17, fl. 101.

125 See letter of Francisco Vieira S.J. to the General (Macao, 17/12/1617) ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 17, fl. 113.

126 See the Annual Letter of Macao's College (8/1/1618) in CAM, p. 166.

127 According to Mateus de Couros S.J., on February 25th, the *Great Ship* would sail very soon (see ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 35, fl. 77), but it had not yet arrived in Macao, on April 8 (see letter of Afonso de Lucena S.J. to the Assistant of Portugal, ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 17, fl. 139).

128 See C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship ...*, pp. 95-97.

Archives

ARSI - Archivium Romanorum Societatis Iesu (Rome)

BA - Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon)

BL - British Library (London)

RAH - Real Academia de Historia (Madrid)

Abstract

This article analyses the communication system between Macao and Nagasaki in the early 17th century (1597-1617), and it has a list of all the occasions that messages were sent from one city to the other according with Jesuit sources. The intensity of communication shows that Macao and Nagasaki kept in touch very often although the Portuguese trade in the China Sea was then in crisis. Nagasaki had less difficulties to send mail because it was not so dependent of Portuguese navigation as Macao.

Resumo

Neste artigo analisamos o sistema de comunicações entre Macau e Nagasaki no início do século XVII (1597-1617) e identificamos todas as ocasiões em que as duas cidades comunicaram entre si, de acordo com a documentação produzida pelos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus. A intensidade das comunicações mostra que apesar das dificuldades por que passava o comércio português no Mar da China, Macau e Nagasaki encontraram meios alternativos para comunicarem frequentemente entre si. Foram menores as dificuldades sentidas por Nagasaki para o envio de correio, pois esta cidade não estava tão dependente da navegação lusa quanto Macau.

IMAGES AND REPRESENTATIONS OF JAPAN AND MACAO IN PETER MUNDY'S TRAVELS (1637)

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"From the land, small boats put out to meet them, in which came men whiter than the Chinese, but with small eyes and short beards. From them, they had learned that those islands were called Nipongi, [...] which we commonly term Japan. And finding that those people were kind, they mingled with them, by whom they were very hospitably received."

Diogo de Couto (1542-1616), *Década Quinta da Ásia*, Book VIII, chapter XII, fl. 183-86 (1612).

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Macao's history was intimately related to the Portuguese trade with the archipelago of Japan, although after the first attacks against the Christians, in 1614, the Portuguese started to trade with other partners, namely in Indochina.¹ Several writers² and historians³ have described the relations between the Chinese enclave administrated by the Portuguese, up to 1999, and the Islands of the Rising Sun since the sixteenth century.

Many of the writers who visited the "City of the Name of God" and China described the Japanese inhabitants of the city as well as the traffic of vessels going to and coming from Japan. Because of the Japanese piracy along the China Coast, direct commerce between the two empires was forbidden by

1 Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *Cartas Anuas de Macau (1594-1627)*, C. T. M. C. D. P-Fundação Macau, Macau, 1999, p. 34-36; George Bryan de Souza, *A Sobrevivência do Império: Os portugueses na China (1630-1754)*, Publicações Dom Quixote, Lisbon, 1991 (1986).

2 Fernão Mendes Pinto in his *Peregrinação* (translated into English in 1653) describes the relations between the Portuguese, the Chinese and the Japanese people. António Bocarro in his description of Macao (1635) mentions some products sold in Macao and Japan, namely silk and "China Root [drug], which has a great sale in Japan" (p. 37). The «Description of the City of the Name of God in China» by the Chronicler-in-Chief of the State of India António Bocarro was translated by Charles R. Boxer in *Macau na época da Restauração / Macao Three Hundred Years Ago*, col. «Obra Completa de Charles Ralph Boxer», vol. II, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon, 1993 (1942), pp. 27-47. Marco D' Avalo, an Italian traveller, in his description of Macao (1638, in Charles Boxer, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86), also mentions the monopoly of the Portuguese traders in Macao, who "go, according to the monsoons, to Manila (mostly Chinese) or to Japan (whither only Portuguese go) [...]." For the quotation from Bocarro's and Avalo's works we used Charles Boxer's translation (texts in English).

the Emperors of the Ming dynasty, giving the Portuguese in Macao a favourable opportunity to act as the principal importers of Chinese silks as well as other goods into Japan, while bringing Japanese silver back to Macao. The development of the city is, therefore, related to the commerce of the *nau do trato* (black trading ship), operated by merchants and missionaries.⁴ This profitable activity⁵ gave place to great competition from the Spanish, the Dutch and the English until the Portuguese were expelled from Japan in 1639.⁶ During the first half of the seventeenth century, the Chinese trade in Nagasaki was already significant. "From 1608 onwards, the Chinese community [in Nagasaki] grew rapidly, and, in 1618, two thousand people were

3 João Paulo Oliveira e Costa has written a substantial amount of studies on this matter, therefore we mention but a few of his works: «Os Portugueses na China» (vol. 4, pp. 180-196), «Os Portugueses no Japão» (vol. 4, pp. 197-211) and «As missões cristãs na China e no Japão» (vol. 3, pp. 143-157), in Luís de Albuquerque (ed.), *Portugal no Mundo*, Alfa, Lisbon, 1989; *Portugal and the Japan: The nanban century*, Portuguese State Mint, Lisbon, 1993; «Japão», in Luís de Albuquerque (dir.), *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, vol. I, Editorial Caminho, Lisbon, 1994, pp. 537-541; *A descoberta da Civilização Japonesa pelos Portugueses*, Instituto Cultural de Macau-Instituto de História de Além-Mar, Macau, 1995; «Macau e o Japão nos Séculos XVI e XVII», in Macau, II 2n series, n. 67, November 1997, *Livros do Oriente*, Macau, pp. 190-197; João Paulo Oliveira e Costa and Ana Fernandes Pinto, *Cartas ânuas do Colégio de Macau (1594-1627)*, CTM-CDP-Fundação de Macau, Macau, 1999; Luís Filipe Thomaz, «Les Portugais dans les mers de l'Archipel au XVI siècle», in *Archipel*, n. 18, CNRS, Paris, 1979, pp. 105-125; *Nanban Jin: os portugueses no Japão*, C.T.T., Lisbon, 1993; Artur Teodoro de Matos, «A carreira do Japão, Macau e o comércio português no Oriente», in *Revista Macau*, Março 1999, *Livros do Oriente*, Macau, pp. 86-91; Valdemar Fernando da Silva Coutinho, *O fim da presença portuguesa no Japão (1639)*, S.H.I.P., Lisboa, 1999; C. A. Montalto Jesus, *Historic Macao: International Traits in China Old and New*, second edition, Salesian Printing Press and Tipografia Mercantil, Macao, 1926 (1902), pp. 20-1; Jorge Manuel Flores, «The "discoverers" of Japan», in João Paulo Oliveira e Costa (coord.), *Review of Culture*, n. 17 (2nd Series), Instituto Cultural de Macau, Macau, 1993, pp. 5-16; Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967; *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770*, London, 1968; *The Great Ship of Amakon*, Fundação Oriente-Museu e Centro de Estudos Marítimos de Macau, Macao, 1988; G. Schurhammer, «O descobrimento do Japão pelos Portugueses no ano de 1543», in *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História*, 2nd series, n. 1, Lisbon, 1946.

4 Cf. Manuel Teixeira, «The Japanese in Macau», in *Review of Culture*, n. 17, pp. 154-172: "One of the [...] most fascinating aspects of Japan's Christian century is the role of Macao as a key port on the missionary route with its consequent development as a cultural and inspirational base for missionaries and Japanese priests and, finally, as a resting place for the relics of many of the Japanese martyrs" (p. 154).

5 Diogo de Couto (1542-1616) in his *Diálogo do Soldado Prático que trata dos Enganos e Desenganos da Índia* (c. 1570), Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, Lisbon, 1980, p. 211, informs: "the silver, which comes from Japan every year in our great ship of commerce [...] the cargo of which is exchanged for bullion and amounts to more than a million in gold."

6 Cf. Charles Boxer, *op. cit.*, p. 1; Austin Coates, *Macao Narrative*, Heineman, Hong Kong, 1977, chapter III. Both the text and the sketches that we will study in this article («Peter Mundy's description of Macao - 1637-») were reproduced in English and Portuguese by Charles Boxer, *Macau...*, pp. 49-75. Taken from *The Travels of Peter Mundy (1608-1667)*, (5 vols.) vol. III. Part II, edited by Sir R. C. Temple and L. Austey, Hakluyt Society, London, 1907-1936, pp. 159-316. The original manuscripts are preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Mss. Rawl. A 315).

7 Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *O cristianismo no Japão e o episcopado de D. Luís Cerqueira*, Phd's Thesis on History of the Portuguese Discoveries and Expansion, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2 volumes, Lisbon, p. 528.

already part of it.”⁷ The English, while fighting, with the Portuguese and Dutch, for territories and trade in India (1604-1623),⁸ also founded a trading post in Hirado⁹ – an ideal hub port for accessing new markets in China – which lasted only ten years, ceasing its functions, bankrupted, in 1623.

Since the end of the sixteenth century, several Dutch and English vessels visited Macao and China, without much success.¹⁰ On 27th June 1637, two years after the English ceased to attack the Portuguese in the Eastern seas, four East Indian Company’s ships, under the command of Captain John Weddell, anchored among the islands south of Macao, bringing some Jesuits from Malacca.¹¹ It was, according to Austin Coates,¹² the first English trading voyage to China. Aboard one of the vessels of the “Squire” Courteen, which left England in April 1636, was Peter Mundy, commercial officer of the voyage, who went ashore, on the 28th June 1637, to deliver a letter from King Charles II to the Captain-General D. Domingos da Câmara Noronha and the Senate of Macao.

Mundy, who spoke some Portuguese – *lingua franca* throughout the East – and Spanish, John Mountney and the interpreter Thomas Robinson were invited to have lunch at the Jesuit seminary, and visited the city two years after the stone façade of the church of Our Lady of Assumption (of the Jesuit College of Mother of God) had been added with the participation of Japanese artisans from Jesuits missions in Japan.

Mundy’s journal of the voyage contains a description and sketches of the city and its Asian, European and Eurasian inhabitants, which the author saw while Weddell decided to travel up to Canton (29th July) and trade directly with the Chinese merchants, while both the Chinese and Portuguese, one month after the fleet’s arrival, wanted the English as far away as possible. In September, the Chinese authorities advised Macao’s

8 Cf. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, «A intervenção inglesa na Índia (1604-1623). O ataque às Molucas pelos Holandeses», in Luís de Albuquerque (dir.), *op. cit.*, vol. 5, pp. 27-37.

9 Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *O cristianismo...*, pp. 762-764.

10 In 1635 an English ship, the *London*, under charter to the Portuguese, called at Macao and the mandarins fined the Portuguese for allowing the “red barbarians” into the city. Cf. Austin Coates, *Macao and the British (1637-1842): Prelude to Hong Kong*, Oxford University Press, Hong Kong, 1989 (1966), p. 7 and p. 28.

11 Cf. Peter Mundy, «Descrição de Macau», in Charles Boxer, *Macau...*, p. 53. According to Sanjay Subrahmanyam, «Portugal no jogo das lutas interimperialistas (finais do século XVI – primeira metade do século XVII)», in Luís de Albuquerque (dir.), *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 68, John Weddell’s fleet had attacked some Portuguese ships in the end of 1930.

12 Cf. Austin Coates, *Macao and the British ...*, p. 1. Peter Mundy was “one of the most travelled Englishmen living [...]” In relation to the date of arrival of the fleet in Macao, Charles R. Boxer, *Macau...*, p. 51, says it arrived on the 5th July 1637. Probably the English crew spent eight days in the islands south of Macao before entering the city limits.

Senate to force the English fleet to leave Bocca Tigris and return to Macao, where Peter Mundy rented a house and carried out "a limited trade".¹³ Weddell returned to Macao and formally recognised he had disobeyed Portuguese and Chinese orders. However, the tribulations of the voyage were not over,¹⁴ as in November, the fleet returning from Japan brought back Portuguese refugees fleeing from Christian persecution which was then at its height in Japan. These refugees came to Weddell seeking for a place to travel westward, thus annoying the Portuguese. Direct trade with Japan influenced the relation of Macao's administration with other European traders.

The Captain-General demanded the English fleet to leave the city and six months after their arrival, Peter Mundy and the rest of the crew sailed away from the Pearl River to India and then Europe, in January 1638.¹⁵ Mundy reached Dover almost on his own, as the majority of the fleet members were lost in the Arabian Sea.

Peter Mundy's adventures are recorded in the edition of his *Travels*,¹⁶ while his description of Macao was written shortly after the city's height of prosperity (1585-1600), due to the commerce with Japan. Throughout the text, Mundy portrays the community's daily life as well as its habits and cultural differences. Therefore, anthropological and literary exoticism is a constant presence in the author's journal, revealing the ways of life of the Macanese people, nearly absent from other seventeenth century descriptions of Macao, namely those of António Bocarro (1635) and Marco D' Avalo (1838).¹⁷ Mundy refers and describes the local architecture ("the roffe of St. Paules Church [...and its] New Faire Frontispice"), local fruits such as leicheea,¹⁸ comparing it to similar objects and fruits already known in Europe. Like other writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Mundy compares what is different and what is similar to European objects and habits, using these the former as references to represent the newly found exotic objects and products.¹⁹ He also compares Macao's size to the islands back home, in England (*Moorestones*),²⁰ and its geographic situation and aspect to Goa:

13 *Apud* Austin Coates, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

14 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 24-26.

15 According to Charles Boxer, for other accounts of Weddell's expedition see Foster, *English Factories in India, 1634-1644*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1911-12; Morse, *Chronicles of the East Indian Company*, vol. I.

16 See note 7.

17 These other accounts were also published by Boxer, *Macau...*

18 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 53. The same happens on page 57 and pages 65-6 (compares local games and horses with European ones).

"Macao standeth at one end of a greatt Iland built on rising hills, some gardeins and trees among their houses making a pretty prospecte somewhatt resembling Goa, although not so bigge [...]"²¹

After describing the city and the islands, the English traveller starts presenting the political and economical situation, which determined the English fleet's destiny in the China Seas. In the chapter called "A Fleete For Japan", the author mentions six vessels on their way to Japan, waiting for the arrival of the "lanteea" or "Caphila"²² with goods from Canton,²³ which were being held by the Chinese who demanded money in exchange for the boats and their cargo.

The trade with Japan was, therefore, of great importance to the inhabitants, missionaries²⁴ and administration of Macao. On the 12th of July the fleet arrived at the city, "where the Portugalls make yearly investments For the lading off their Japan Fleete [...], who [is] to Depart within these few Daies, until when (if then) wee are not like to have any trade in this place [...]"²⁵

The English were not allowed to trade, communicate with local fishing ships or come ashore until the Japanese fleet departed, as the Portuguese wanted to keep and protect their profitable trade monopoly. The author, therefore, presents the "Reasons of the Portuguese not admitting us trade":

"[...] when the Japan Fleete is gon wee shall have pratticke, that voyage beeing the Mayne upholding of this place."

19 For studies on exoticism see: Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, «O exotismo ou a "estética do diverso" na Literatura Portuguesa», in *Literatura de Viagens. Narrativa, História e Mito: Actas do Colóquio realizado na Universidade da Madeira, 11-14 de Julho de 1995*, Edições Cosmos, Lisbon, 1997, pp. 565-578; *Babel ou a Ruptura do Signo: A gramática e os gramáticos portugueses do século XVI*, IN-CM, Lisbon, 1983; our articles: «Exotismo», in Carlos Ceia (dir.), *Dicionário de Termos Literários*, Editorial Verbo, Lisbon (to be published); «O exotismo enquanto "estética do diverso" em *Os Lusíadas*», in *Actas do Colóquio Internacional "Histórias Literárias Comparadas" na Universidade Católica Portuguesa em 11 e 12 de Novembro de 1999* (to be published); «Da Baía Cabralia ao Maranhão: o exotismo enquanto "estética do diverso"», in *Actas do Congresso Portugal-Brasil: Memórias e Imaginários, organizado pelo Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, realizado na Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian de 9 a 12 de Novembro de 1999*, Lisbon, 2000; Victor Segalen, *Essai sur l'exotisme*, Le Livre de Poche, Paris, 1999; Jean-Marc Moura, *Lire l'Exotisme*, Dunod, Paris, 1992; Tzevan Todorov, *Nous et les autres*, Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1989; Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, Routledge, London, 1998.

20 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

21 *Idem, ibidem*.

22 Convoy of small cargo ships.

23 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

24 Regarding this topic, see Ana Maria Leitão, «The Jesuits and the Japan trade», in *Review of Culture*, n. 17, pp. 23-34. Both King Philip I of Portugal (1608) and Pope Urban VIII (*Constitution*, 1633) prohibited the fathers of the Japanese Mission from trading (cf. *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 30-31).

25 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

"[...] if wee had Free trading here would allsoe trafficke For Japan, and thatt theirby theirs would Decay [...]."6

"[Peter Mundy concludes that the Portuguese] kept the Maine cause of all themselves, which was thatt our Comming in Would quickly eat them outt of all trade."²⁷

On the night of 23rd of July, "departed the Japan Fleete to sea on their voyage. And now expected wee open admittance of trade".²⁸ Which did not happen. On the contrary, the Portuguese advised the English to beware, as the Chinese would have no problems to shoot them. Four days later, the General sent some merchants to the English fleet to inform them that the Chinese would not allow the Portuguese in Macao to trade with any other nation, even with the Spaniards, although subjects of the same king. As we said before, Weddell decided to trade directly with the Chinese in Canton, finding several fleets of Chinese junks on their way up the Pearl River. At this moment, Mundy describes several boats used by the Chinese, referring "others thatt trafficke abroad viz., To Japan [...]"²⁹

Macao was, therefore, the bridge for Europeans aiming to trade with Japan, but the Portuguese would not open their door to other nations. Defence and awareness are constant in Macao as the Dutch "await all oportnityes to Dispossesse them off this as well as of others."³⁰

When some members of the fleet returned from inner China, in October, after all the trouble they had had with corrupted Chinese and Portuguese messengers, the Admiral of the fleet, as well as the rest of the

26 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 55.

27 *Idem, ibidem*. Although he never visited Macao, António Bocarro mentions the importance of the city's trade with Japan, giving the reader a more complete view and understanding of this activity than Mundy did during the only six months of his stay in the Portuguese enclave. We should remember that Bocarro, being a Portuguese living in Goa, had more access to the information from and about Macao: "Of the voyages which are made from this city of the Name of God, it is clear that the chief and most important is that of Japan, whither go yearly four pinnaces laden with silks of various kinds, taking 10 or 12 days on the outward voyage, and eight to ten on the return; by staying in Japan for about a month, a good market is secured for all these commodities, which include, in addition to the silk, much gold, and much China-root, all of which are exchanged for some of the mass of natural silver there is in Japan; in addition we export the aforesaid copper which is specified in the Regulations, much camphor, and furthermore many gold lacquered cabinets, for those of Japan are much better than those of China or elsewhere [...]."

28 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 56. According to Boxer, the Japanese fleet of 1637 consisted of 6 galliots under the command of the Captain-Major Dom Francisco de Castelbranco.

29 *Idem ibidem*, p. 59. For details of the voyages between Macao and Japan at this period see C. R. Boxer, «Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan three hundred years ago (1630-1639)», in *Trans. Japan Society*, vol. XXXI, London, 1934, pp. 27-77.

30 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

Commanders, were invited to go to Macao and Mundy joined them. While being received by Counsel and the "Antients of the [?city]" they were taken to a "very faire house retchedly furnished with Plate, Beeumbos, Chaires, Cottes, hangings [...]"³¹ and other exotic elements.

Surprised while observing the screens (*beeombos*), Mundy describes the uses of these decorative objects, which, nowadays, are far more associated with Japan than with China.³² The author describes the strange object: "certaine skreenes of 8 or 9 Foote Deepe, made into sundry leaves which principally serve to Divide a roome or to sequester some part therof, as allsoe for Ornament, placing them against the walles. They make a Most Delightsome shew [...]. They are commonly in 2 pairts [*sic*] [...]"³³

In several chapters of his Journal, Mundy describes other exotic habits ("A Dinner served in") and elements of the city: "Sundry habitts of Chinois", informing that the term "Mandareenes" is "a portugall word".³⁴ Another curious fact that the author mentions is the existence of only one "Portugall woman in Macao".³⁵ Portuguese men married either to Chinese women or to "Mestizninhos".

While staying at the house of Captain António Oliveira Aranha,³⁶ Mundy and his friends could watch "3 or 4 very pretty Children playing [...] that except in England, I thincke not in the world to bee overmatched For their pretty Feature and Complexion, their habitt or Dressing becomming them as well, adorned with pretious Jewells and Costly apparrell, their uppermost garmentts beeing little Kimaones, or Japan coates, which graced them allsoe."³⁷

31 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 59.

32 Maria Helena Mendes Pinto in her work *Biombos Namban/Namban Screens*, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, 1993, p. 6, says that these objects were "taken to Japan in the eighth century directly from China or through Korea, [and] formed an integral part of Japanese life after modifications, which made them increasingly different from the original models of the Asian continent."

33 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

34 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 60.

35 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 64.

36 According to Boxer (*Macao...*, p. 64), António de Oliveira Aranha had been Captain-Major of the Japan voyage in 1629, staying there for nearly two years.

37 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

38 Cf. António Bocarro, *op. cit.*, p. 49: "[...] although the Chinese are forbidden on pain of death to receive Japanese in China [...] when they come to our city of Macao they are allowed to land, and we give them all they want, as do the Fukienese and still more the Hollanders, who strive hard to deprive us of this profitable trade." In 1636, Macao received 287 women and children, all married to Portuguese men or children of those mixed marriages. Another group arrived in 1638. (Cf. Almerindo Lessa, «The population of Macao», in *Review of Culture*, no. 20 (2nd Series), Instituto Cultural de Macau, Macau, p. 98. As Bocarro also remembers, the Japanese were forbidden to enter China. Recalling this fact, José Ignácio de Andrade, in his «Carta XXXII-Estado actual de Macau», in *Cartas Escriptas da India e da China*, Imprensa Oficial de Macau – Livros do Oriente, 1998, quotes the edict of the Chinese Emperor Chin-Tsoung, carved in a stone in Macao's Senate, in 1614: "Article 1: It is forbidden, from today onwards, to the Portuguese to allow any more Japanese in Macao."

The reason why Mundy identifies Japanese costumes is explained by the fact that there were many Japanese people (exiled Christians) and priests, who had returned from Japan, living in the city.³⁸ Japanese clothes – brought by these people or imported – were, therefore, not an unusual sight in Macao's streets. These exotic garments, different from the also exotic Chinese ones, made the girls that Mundy saw playing look prettier. In the whole world, one could only find children as pretty as these in England. Again, the author compares “here” and “there”, making Otherness more visible, even for the Other. This comparison is also present when Mundy describes “the Cavallero”, “one halffe of them like Moores or Barbary and the other halffe like Christianes, each having their Negroes or Capher, Cladd in Dammaske, an ordinary wear here for slaves and Servauntts.”³⁹

Clothes, once again, are seen as symbolic and cultural marks, distinguishing different cultures and civilisations.⁴⁰ While rich girls dressed in expensive and probably rare Japanese clothes, Portuguese Christians dressed like respectable Europeans and African servants were also distinguished because of their colourful clothes. “very Many ritche Men, Claddle after the Portugall Manner. [...] Only the better sort [of women] are carried in hand Chaires like the Sidans att London, all close covered, off which there are very Costly and ritche broughtt From Japan.”⁴¹

Japan is once again associated with prestige and luxuries (litters and vests) which only the rich can afford. The influence of the Japanese culture was, therefore, highly noticeable in the Portuguese city: women in Macao, “when they are within Doores wear over all a Certaine wide sleeved vest caled Japan kamaones or kerimaones because it is the ordinary garment worne by Japanese, there beeing Many Dainty ones broughtt From thence off Died silke and of others as Costly Made here by the Chinois off Ritche embroidery off coloured silk and golde.”⁴² After the written description, Mundy refers to the sketch he

39 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

40 Cf. our article «A imagem dos navegadores portugueses na literatura inglesa setecentista: Robinson Crusoe, Captain Singleton e Gulliver na senda das rotas marítimas portuguesas», in Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa (dir.), *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*, n. 8, Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia – Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses/F.C.S.H-Universidade Nova, Lisbon, 1999, pp. 47-79.

41 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 67. According to Charles Boxer, Mundy is referring to the Japanese *morimo* or *kago*. The word *morimo* was naturalised in Portuguese under the form of *norimano* since the end of the sixteenth century. In the chapter “*Japan language*”, Mundy translates “2 or 3 words off the Japonian language, viz., as [he] was told. *Sagashoo gooseeka*, how Doe you? *Yunggosere*, well or good. *Varoogoosere*, ill or bad. *Goodaree*, Come(e) *Mundalee*, goe. *Sakee*, wine, *Mesh*, Rice” (p. 74). Charles Boxer (note 27, p. 74) says these words are “a good deal corrupted” and presents their correct spelling. For the translation of exotic languages see Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, *O estudo das línguas exóticas no século XVI*, col. «Biblioteca Breve», ICALP, Lisbon, 1983; Alaistar Pennycook, *English and the discourses of Colonialism*, Routledge, London, 1998.

has done, which portrays a Chinese woman dressed in Japanese costumes. These women, according to the author, are as beautifully presented in these quick to dress clothes as those women who spend half a day in front of their mirror.

Nearly four months after the departure of the Japanese fleet, heading for Nagasaki – the Portuguese permanent trading base since 1570 –, it returned to Macao, on the 5th of November. Representing a threat for the English trade, it comes back “while [...] they] lay tumbled, tost and Crost through variable Fortunes.”⁴³ Mundy compares the dangers of the fleet’s voyage to and from Japan with the uncertain life and fate of the English in Macao. The Japanese fleet comes and goes, the English don’t know where they stand. All these defensive measures taken by the Portuguese had a reason to be, as Mundy learns from the Japanese fleet that twelve Dutch vessels had arrived in the archipelago before the Portuguese and harmed their trade with the local traders. Mundy notes that “They [Dutch] may not Meddle with the Portuguese there, beeing Forbidden by the King or Emperour of Japan.” The monopoly of the Portuguese trade with Japan had been supported by the former shogun, regardless of the fact that the Dutch had a Factory there and not the Portuguese, who organised a “faire town” to trade.

“Now att present when they arrive with their yearly Fleete, they keepe their Mart on faire on a certaine Iland, and are to Depart on such a day of the Moone precise.”⁴⁴

In a chapter called “The Emperour of Japan his hatred to Christians: his Cruell Lawes against them”, Mundy refers to the persecution which was taking place in Japan against Christians, both European and Japanese. Many of these ran away to Macao and other Portuguese settlements nearby. Mundy explains the harsh measures taken by the Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu to stamp out Christianity since the beginning of his rule in 1623.⁴⁵

“This Emperor beareth Mortall batred to the Jesuitts, having of late yeares putt Many of them to Death by sundry sorts of tormentts. And Now lastly this

42 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

43 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 68.

44 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 68-69. According to Boxer and some of the authors listed on note 3, the artificial islet of Deshima was excavated from Nagasaki harbour in the years 1634-5, and here the Portuguese, from 1636 to 1638, and the Dutch from 1641 onwards, had to reside when they came to Japan for trade.

45 Cf. Charles Boxer, *Macao...*, p. 69 and Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, «The underground work of the missionaries in Japan», in *Review of Culture*, n. 17,..., p. 148, This same Shogun expelled all foreigners from the Japanese Empire in 1639-40, with the exception of the Chinese and Dutch. António Bocarro, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43, mentions these same measures. Regarding references to Portuguese traders in Japanese sources see G. Bouchon, Luís Filipe Thomaz and João Paulo Costa, «Le miroir asiatique», in *Lisbonne hors des murs, 1415-1580: l' invention du monde par les navigateurs portugais*, Autrement, Séries Mémoires, 1 (Sep. 1990), pp. 253-266.

voyage they killed 5 Churchmen thatt came From Manilla; And by relation, if any shippe bee knowne to have broughtt any, the said shippe is to be burned, the goods conffiscated, the Company imprisioned, the house thatt harbours them shallbee rased, the owner of Master Foffeits his life and all the Neighbours Fined.”⁴⁶

The Shogun left no one unpunished, thus making sure that his orders were obeyed by the whole community, from traders to lodgers and their neighbours. Terror was widespread, so that people would not take any chances or hide anything they knew or saw related to namban matters. Giving any information about trade and connection with Christians was rewarded with “the vallue of (blank) Ryal off eight a head. Yett Neverthelesse some reapaire yearly thither.”⁴⁷

As João Paulo Oliveira e Costa says: “History, completely separated Macao from the country that had justified its creation as a great Chinese city controlled by foreigners without giving it a similar fate, as the Macanese managed to adapt to the winds of History, finding alternatives by creating new trade routes in the Far East.”⁴⁸

According to all the facts described in Mundy’s Journal, it stands clear that the will to trade and to convert must have been strong in Macao, as many tried their luck knowing what could await them in Japan.

The Jesuits in Macao used theatre plays, with children and adults as actors, to teach the Christian doctrine to local people, overcoming the difficulty of explaining strange European religious concepts to Chinese and Japanese people living in Macao. As said before, Mundy saw some Japanese in the city, most of them Christians. The author distinguishes the Japanese Christians from those who are not: “Those thatt are nott [Christians] shave the one halffe of their heads. From the Crowne Forward, the rest of their haire tied beehind in a little knotte, butt very short. They were buskins like Mittens, in 2 parts, one For their great toe and the other For the rest On thatt a sandall which one tye coming tharwt over and the other before in the partition.”⁴⁹

The way that non-Christian Japanese people dressed must have surprised Mundy as he describes their appearance in a quite long paragraph.

46 Cf. Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

47 Idem, *ibidem*, p. 69. Peter Mundy makes sure it is understood that all this information and facts are not imagination: “Soe much by common report; not unlikely to bee true.”

48 Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, «Macau e o Japão...», p. 197. For a description of the different attitudes towards the Portuguese from the different Emperors, as well as the competition from Dutch traders since the beginning of the sixteenth century, see Idem, *ibidem*, pp. 194-197, and by the same author, «Oda Nobunaga e a Expansão Portuguesa», in *Review of Culture*, n. 13/14, January 1991.

49 Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

Dressing again separates people with different religious beliefs, even people from the same country, that is Japan.

Mundy also describes another strange and exotic habit that he observes amongst the Japanese people in Macao: "They blow their Noses with a certaine sofft and tough kind of paper which they carry aboutt them in small peeeces, which having used, they Fling away as a Filthy thing, keeping handkercheifes off lynnen to wype their faces and hands."⁵⁰ The author describes how this paper is produced as well as its uses, continuing to describe the way Japanese men dress, while complementing his text with some sketches of these same men:

"I have hereunder sett the Figure off a Japonian, as allsoe of a Chinois Doing his salutation. A. A Japan(ese) in his Kimaone or vest, with his Cotan by his side, and Dagger or Cuttbelly, of whome I cannot say much. You may read off them att large in Mr. Purchas his pilgrimage."⁵¹

The English traveller confesses his lack of knowledge regarding Japan and the Japanese way of clothing, addressing the reader of his Journal and

⁵⁰ *Idem, ibidem.*

⁵¹ *Idem, ibidem.* António Bocarro, *op. cit.*, p. 41, also mentions that the "Christianity which the Portuguese planted in this kingdom [of Japan] was formerly very great and spread throughout the whole of it, including many of our people married with Japanese women, and virtually naturalised [...]"

Charles Boxer lists some of his own studies regarding the Japanese Christians and their descendants who were buried in the Church of São Paulo: *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau*, April 1937, year 34, n. 397, pp. 726-740; (review) *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. I, pp. 265-9, Tokyo, 1938.

⁵² Samuel Purchas (c. 1575-1626) an English historian and travel-writer, and also an assistant to Richard Hakluyt in his later years. He published *Purchas His Pilgrimage, or, Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in All Ages* (1613), *Purchas His Pilgrimage: Microcosmus, or, the Histories of Man* (1619). Purchas also inherited Hakluyt's manuscripts and compiled the extensive *Hakluyt Posthumous, or, Purchas his Pilgrims: Containing a History of the World, in Sea Voyages and Land Travels by Englishmen and Others* (1625-26: 5 vols.). The second part of this last work contains William Adam's description of his journey to Japan and his residence there. [Cf. Ian Ousby (ed.), *The Wordsworth Companion to Literature in English*, Wordsworth Editions, Ltd, Ware, 1994, p. 755]. Peter Mundy may have been referring to this last voyage's account by William Adam, who tried to set up a Factory in Japan until the English left the country in 1623. In one of his letters (1611) he describes Japan: "The people of this land of Japan are good of nature, curteous above measure, and valiant in warre; [...]. They are governed in great civilitie. [...] There be many Iesuites and Franciscan friars in this land, and they have converted many to be Christians and have many churches in the land." (*Apud* Charles Boxer, «Some aspects of Portuguese influence in Japan, 1542-1640», in *Review of Culture*, n. 17, p. 37.) Many English literary writers searched for inspiring exotic worlds in Portuguese travel accounts, being Shakespeare one of them. See our article: «Shakespeare e os Descobrimentos Portugueses», in Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa (dir.), *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*, number 7, Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia – Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses/Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Lisbon, 1998, pp. 21-36. For translation of English literary works, namely travel accounts, see Isabel Maria da Cruz Lousada, *Para o estabelecimento de uma bibliografia britânica em Portugal (1554-1900)*, Tese de Doutoramento apresentada à Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998.

advising him to read more about the Japanese in another English travel account: *Mr. Purchas his pilgrimage*.⁵²

Reading the seventeenth century source that we have been studying along the article, it stands clear that the Dutch and English presence in the China Seas became a threat to the trade between Macao and Japan, leading to several disputes between these traders and to the banishment of Portuguese and Japanese Christians from the Empire of the Rising Sun.⁵³

This same trade also gave place to the emigration and exile of Japanese people to Macao, which influenced the city's culture, turning it into an even more multicultural platform in the East. Commerce, protection and religious education were some of the factors and activities that Japanese people looked for while moving to Macao.

Silver, clothes, fashionable and expensive objects from the neighbouring Empire became a constant presence in Macao. Peter Mundy's Journal describes the importance of the trade between the Portuguese and Japanese to the city and presents reasons for the measures taken by the administration of Macao to keep other nations away from their routes.

The description of Macao presented in the Journal reflects an era of the city's history on the edge of its end. The trade with Nagasaki, after years of great stress, finally came to an end. Famine stroke in the city in 1648 affecting its 40.000 inhabitants, and in the 1660's, the Manchus invaded the South of China, while most of the Chinese were forced to leave the city, which was fighting for a "poverty-stricken and cowed survival".⁵⁴

53 For a description of the context that lead to the Anglo-Portuguese *entente cordiale* against the Dutch India Company at the Straits of Mallaca in the seventeenth century, see: Marcus P. M.Vink, «The entente cordiale – The Dutch India Company and the Portuguese shipping through the straits of Malacca (1641-1663)», in *Review of Culture*, ns. 13/14, pp. 289-309. Regarding the height of the persecution to Christians, see Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-150.

54 Cf. John E. Wills, Jr., «The survival of Macao, 1640-1720», in Jorge M. dos Santos Alves (coord.), *Portugal e a China: Conferências no II curso livre de História das relações entre Portugal e a China (séculos XVI-XIX)*, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon, 1999, pp. 111-124.

Abstract

In 1637, an English fleet, commanded by John Weddell anchored in Macao. Aboard one of the ships was Peter Mundy, who, during his stay in the city, described its Chinese and Japanese inhabitants' way of life and their influence in the culture of the enclave, as well as Macao's trade relations with Japan. In this article, we analyse the Japanese presence in Mundy's Journal, as well as the beginning of the Anglo-Portuguese relations in China, which were influenced by the Portuguese merchants' interest in the trade with the Islands of the Rising Sun.

Resumo

Em 1637, uma frota inglesa, comandada por John Weddell atraca em Macau. A bordo de uma das embarcações, encontra-se Peter Mundy, que, durante a sua estada na cidade, descreve o modo de vida dos habitantes chineses e japoneses, bem como a sua influência na cultura do enclave e as suas relações comerciais com o Japão. No presente artigo, analisamos a presença japonesa no diário de viagem de Mundy e o início das relações anglo-portuguesas na China, influenciadas pelo interesse dos mercadores portugueses no comércio com o Império do Sol Nascente.

THE ANXIETY OF THE SILENT TRADERS

Dutch perception on the Portuguese banishment from Japan

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Introduction

In 1635, Manuel Ramos, a Portuguese crown official on duty as *Ouvidor* of Macao, in a letter addressed to the Vice Roy D. Miguel de Noronha, count of Linhares, expressed his concern about the future of the commercial relations between Macao and Nagasaki, and pointed out the main reasons for the difficulties faced by the Portuguese in Japan. In this missive, he stressed the secret entry of missionary priests into the country and the rivalry with the Dutch as the main obstacles for the preservation of the privileged position held by the Macanese in the Japanese trade. Manuel Ramos showed his concern about a possible Dutch attack on the city of Macao and warned the Vice Roy that such a powerful enemy, if not stopped, would be capable of harming the Portuguese and ousting them from their position in Asia. In fact, the Dutch East India Company in the 1630s thought about the possibility of seizing not only Macao but all the Iberian settlements in the Far East. Having in account the Portuguese restlessness regarding the VOC aggressive manoeuvres in the region, Charles Boxer, the scholar who translated Manuel Ramos' letter, reasonably considered the Luso-Dutch strife in the Far-East as a serious threat to the safety of Macao.¹

Nevertheless in 1635, the strength attributed by the Portuguese to the Dutch in the Far East was apparently not perceived with the same intensity by the men of the United East India Company. While an assault on Macao during the 1630s was considered, the VOC never felt fully prepared for such an adventure. Moreover, regarding their position in Japan, the Dutch were not

1 Letter of Manuel Ramos, December 11, 1635, in Charles R. Boxer, "The Swan Song of the Portuguese in Japan, 1635-39", in *Transactions of the Japan Society of London*, London, vol. XXVII (1930), pp. 5-11.

less concerned about the future of their trade with the Japanese than the Macanese. It is interesting to note that the feeble position of the Portuguese in the Empire of the Rising Sun, apparently, did not seem to be fully grasped by the Company's officials. As late as December 1638, E. Koekebacker, Dutch factor at Hirado, while considering the imminent banishing of the Macanese traders from Japan still considered the support given by the Nagasaki Governors to the Portuguese harmful to Dutch affairs and important for the former to maintain their position in the country.²

Based on an analyses of mainly printed Dutch sources, the aim of this text is, through the comparison of the Luso-Dutch situation in Japan in the decade of 1630 and the VOC's activities in that country, to examine its perception on the Portuguese during the last years of their presence in Japan.

"Les menaces sont armes au menacé"

In the 1620s and 1630s the operations of the Dutch United East India Company were mainly concentrated in the Far East and its main interest in the region was then focussed on the control of the lucrative Sino-Japanese trade. The profits of this trade were derived from the handle of the most valuable Asian commodities, such as Chinese silk and Japanese silver, which were sought by the Dutch mainly in order to find enough revenues for financing the Company's Asian enterprise.³ The VOC directed its energies primarily towards two lines of action: trying to settle on the China Coast and eliminating competition in the Far Eastern waters. The main obstacle in fulfilling these plans was Macao, the Portuguese stronghold through which they had virtually controlled the Sino-Japanese trade since the mid 1500s. In the late 1620s the United East India Company's Asian eastward expansion revealed a limited success. In 1622 it not only saw the failure of their attempt to seize Macao and, hence, their failure to displace its enemies from the area, but also saw its wish to establish in China unfulfilled. Shortly after the Dutch expulsion by the Chinese from the Pescadores island in 1624, the authorities of the Celestial Empire tacitly conceded permission for the VOC to settle in Taiwan, alongside the China coast though out of its territorial waters. In spite of this achievement, the Company's

2 "t apparent, dat desen Fezo ende den Nangesacksen gouv. [Sabroy Seymondonne] de handen dap- per gesalft ende soolange schenckagie aennemen, van haerlieden ten hove gefavoriseert worden ende vertrouwen, als met Fezo ende sijne adherenten communiceren, verkeerde absolutie become, want veel in de Portugeesen gehouden is.[...] Onaengesien dit ongewoon favorabeltractement ende 't cred- it, dat hun verleent is, vertrouwt men, den Portugees groote swarigheyt te naecken staet ende appar- ent Japan ontseyt sal werden " *Generale Missiven* p.741

3 Leonard Blussé and Jaap de Moor, *Nederlanders Overzee; the eerste vijftig jaar, 1600-1650*, 1983, Franeker, pp.208.

volume of trade was still considered unsatisfactory.⁴ In 1632, the Dutch situation in Far-Eastern waters was not living up to the VOC's expectations: "In summary, the trade with China is as bad as in the time of de Wit. However, considering Japan the situation is still not hopeless [...]"⁵

In the early 1630s the VOC did see the gradual improvement of their situation. Not only did the Taiwan trade with the Chinese increase but also at the same time its relations with the *bakufu* were shortly thereafter restored, following the temporary embargo on Dutch trade in 1628 motivated by the Japanese disagreement on Dutch pretensions of monopolising the Taiwan trade.⁶ Still, due to its inability to expel the Portuguese from the region, who still possessed the lion share of the Sino-Japanese trade, the biggest obstruction to the VOC's control of the valuable Far Eastern traffic had not yet been overcome.

In spite of their fruitless effort to conquer Macao in 1622 the Dutch did not give up very easily.⁷ Throughout the whole decade of the 1630s, the possibility of ousting the Portuguese from their position in China was considered. In 1632, due probably to the VOC's still limited resources for its Asian enterprise, the plan was postponed.⁸ As was reported: "Occupying Macao will yield no profit, we will remain engaged in trade until we receive the forces, not yet available, with which to do so".⁹ The conquering of Macao was not the only military adventure in Dutch minds. The seizing of other profitable Portuguese strongholds in Asia, such as Malacca in the Malay peninsula, was

4 See, Mark Vink and George Winius, "South India and the China Seas: How the VOC Shifted its Weight from China and Japan to India Around 1636" in *Actas do VI Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, Macao-Lisbon, 1993, pp. 134-137; Leonard Blussé and Jaap de Moor, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-219.

5 "In somma den handel van China staet voor de Comp.^{ie} soo slecht, als ten tijde van De Wit gedaen heeft. [...] Evenwel dewijle de saecke soo in respecte van Japan als van sich selven noch niet desperaat of buyten hoope van beetering is [...]" *GM*, Vol. I, p. 312. The de Wit mentioned is most probably Andries de Witt, elected Pensionary of Holland in 1618, after the fall of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, he held this responsibility until January 1621.

6 Leonard Blussé and Jaap de Moor, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-7.

7 For a full account on the Dutch attempt to seizure Macao cf. C. R. Boxer, "Midsummer Day in Macao, Anno 1622" in *Fidalgos In The Far East, 1550-1770*, The Hague, 1948, pp. 72-92.

8 "The VOC is synonymous with profit and successful management in the seventeenth century. But the results of company operations during 1613-40 (the earliest period for which reliable data survive) suggest that the VOC had not yet earned its reputation. The VOC actually sent more capital to Asia to support trade and other operations than it returned to the Netherlands in the form of pepper and spices." J. C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640*, p. 112. To support his thesis Boyajian estimates that the capital sent by the directors to Asia in the period 1623-1640 averaged 16,220,831 cruzados while the returning capital from Asia, in the same period, picked 16,037,374 cruzados, see, *ibid.*, p. 113.

9 "Macao selver beset te houden can ons tot geen voordeel gedijen, [...] totdat ons van verscheyde quartieren de machten sullen toecomen, alsoo yegenwoordich geene schepen op de reede liggen, ofte sijn gedestineert om eerstdaechs ten dinste van de Comp. Te verseylen, soo de annotatien, op de lijst van de navale macht gestelt, sijn medebrengende.", *GM*, Vol. I, p. 340.

also considered; although, as related by the Dutch in 1632, the Company still did not feel fully prepared for such an undertaking “The occupation of Malacca would demand garrisons and other expenses. True, it would damage the enemy, give the Company a great reputation, and have important consequences, mainly because it would make possible guaranteed trade with China and Japan and fortify the Company. But we lack the strength. Therefore, the benefits not outweighing the burdens, the Company will not take action”.¹⁰

In 1635, the VOC officials at Hirado sought Japan's help for a combined Dutch-Japanese onslaught on Macao; at the time the Dutch were already well aware (especially after the incidents underlying their temporary banishment from Japan in 1628), that they could not act in the region without taking into account the Japanese interests and demands. Hence, the Company adopted a more prudent attitude towards the Japanese authorities: “In order to ensure that no new rows break out, E. Koekebaker was asked to find out if Japan would see a Dutch attack on Macao as an offense. More precisely, whether the Japanese Emperor¹¹ would agree to an offer in which the Dutch would compensate any of Japan's interests and provide the same trade the Portuguese otherwise would have provided.”¹² In February 1635, the Dutch factor received a letter from the financial curator Streumondo advising him to think over the aggressive plans towards the Portuguese city, and informed him of the probable consequences of a Dutch attack on Macao: “As for the occupation of Macao, this can not hap-

10 “Mallacca soude niet alleen swaere besettinge van garnisoenen maer oock alsulcken vorderen onkosten te dragen hebben [...] 't Is wel waer, dat het den vijandt een groot verlies, de Comp.^{ie} een groote reputatie ende van importante consequentie sijn soude, principalijck als den handel van China ende Jappan voor de Comp.^{ie} geopent ende verseeckert waere. Maer wat is 't? De macht gebreeckt ons [...], daerbij presentelijck ten minsten niet soovele voordeelen als lasten voor de Comp.^{ie} connen verseeckert werden, waermede wij willen te verstaen geven, dat om geenige apparente aenstaende profitelijcke consequentie de Comp.^{ie} tot voordere nieuwe lasten mach gebrackt werden.”, *GM*, Vol. I, p. 318.

11 The Dutch did not refer to the Emperor of Japan (*Keiser*) but to the Shogun who, although in theory exercising power delegated by the Emperor, held the real control on Japan, being, in fact, the absolute ruler of the country.

12 “Om geen redenen van nieuwe onlusten in Japan te geven hadden wij den E. Koekebacker belast discretelijcken te onderstaen, off het ons in Japan ten quaetsten soude werden affgenomen, dat wij bestonden Macao te besetten ende ter zee te belegeren, soo met Malaca doen, het welke in 't overdragen soo verre wiert geduyt, dat wij voornemens soudon wesen Macao te conquesteren, daerop ten hove naer veele debatten, dogh sonder conclusie aen den E. Coekebaker van den heere van Firando ende eenige andere des Keyzers raeden wiert gerapporteert, dat Sijne Maj.^t hem die saecke niet begeerde aen te trecken ende indien wij genegen waeren om Macao te vermeesteren, dat wij volstaen soudon connen met den Japanderen haeren intrest te vergoeden, midts dat wij dan oock Japan van soodanige quantiteyt Quantonse stoffen soudon voorsien, als de Portuguysen doen [...]” *GM*, Vol. I, p. 514.

13 “Aengaende de besetting van Macuw sall mede niet sonder prejuditie en naedeel van de Comp.^{ie} niet connen geschieden [...], ter contrarie in goede termine staan, denckt dat ghy lieden noch jonck ende verst uyt de moeijten gecomen syt en door sulken doen well lichtelijcken weder in swaerdicheyt geraecken soudet, derhaelue raade ick U noch iaer te wacten en siet wadt de uyt compste wesen sall daer nae condit wederom op nieuws resolveeren ende voortsvaeren”. *Dag Register*, 8 Februarij anno 1635, ARA, 1.04.21, Inv. 53, Fl. 61v-62.

pen without prejudice for the Company. To be on good terms, remember, that your people, who only recently have seen their problems solved, will get into troubles again by acting like this. That is why I advise you to wait another year and see what happens. After that you can go on".¹³ In April 1635, at the Shogun court, the Dutch were asked how they intended to seize the city, how many ships they would need and if they would be able to hold Macao. Also a very pertinent question was raised by the Japanese; that is, whether the Chinese would be interested in trading with the VOC as they then did with the Portuguese.¹⁴ It is obvious that even though the Dutch offer was attractive in Japanese eyes,¹⁵ they were not completely sure about the VOC promises to replace the Macanese in the supplying of Chinese silk. In addition, regardless of the Dutch effort to accommodate national sensibilities, the Japanese were not totally convinced of their true intentions. The petition was discussed in the Japanese State Council but due to the divergent opinions of the five state councilors it did not proceed further.¹⁶

If the VOC did not fulfil its desire to subdue Macao, it was at least successful in intimidating the Portuguese. The Macanese were aware of the Company's aggressive plans and considered them a menace to the safety of the most important Lusitanian stronghold in the Far East, just as Manuel Ramos did in his letter to the Vice Roy. It is thus credible that the Portuguese may have tried to discover real intentions of the Dutch. In 1636, the presence of a Portuguese trader in Fort Zeelandia (considered by the Dutch a spy who went there to discover their purposes regarding Macao), can be perceived as a sign of concern and restlessness about the Company manoeuvres in the region. As reported by the Dutch, Philipo de Miranda, a Macanese merchant, on his way to Macassar, dropped by in fort Zeelandia allegedly to offer them his services

14 "Vorders vragende ende voorstellende op verscheijde wijze hoe deese belegeringe ende veroveringe van Maccauw int werck gestelende soude werden met hoeveel volcx ende scheepen, schoon bij ons veroveret sijnde, wij t'selfde wel soude connen innehouden, ofte oock de Chineesen met ons gelijck nu met de Portugeesen doen alsoo omtrent 100 jaeren daer geresidert hebben soude willen handelen, ende Japan als de Portugijsen van schoone Cantonsche stoffen versien soude connen." *Dag Register, Aprill, anno 1635*, ARA, 1.04.21, Inv. 53, Fl. 65.

15 Especially in regards to the Dutch argument that by the destruction of the Portuguese, the entry of missionary priests and the spread of Catholicism in the country, which so must disgusted the Shogun, would have an end. In other words, the conquering of Macao would help the *bakufu* release Japan of its main cause of instability: "Der halven raade ick U in desen tyt ende gelegentheyt op U proffyt ende eere te willen letten eerstelyck U Extie ere want Synne Maytt ende raats heeren als lants heeren en coningen in Japan, hebbe alle een walch ende tegenheyt inder Portugijsen vermits sy niet naer en laeten christenen te verbrijden ende papen in te brengen waar door dagelycx veel onnoosel bloet gestort wert, dien volgende indien ghy deese luyden verdestrueert en uyt jaecht sult ghy Synne Maytt en Japan grooten dienste doen." *Dag Register, Aprill, anno 1635*, ARA, 1.04.21, Inv. 53, Fl. 65.

16 C. R. Boxer, "The Swan Song of the Portuguese in Japan, 1635-39" in *Transactions of the Japan Society of London*, vol. XVII (1930), pp. 6-7.

and to incite the VOC to conquer the city. The Dutch doubted the Portuguese trader's real intentions and, wisely, declined his offer, hiding from him their ambitions regarding Macao.¹⁷

Although attractive, in the 1630s the plans to assault Macao were never carried out; however, other procedures were then used to harm the Portuguese. One of the strategies most used against the Lusitanian enterprise in the Far Eastern waters was privateering. In 1633, while considering the seizure of Macao from Taiwan, privateering actions and blockades against Macao shipping were thought of as eventual weapons to be used in case of a Dutch military debacle.¹⁸

If privateering can be viewed as a way of intimidating the VOC's trade rivals, the policy of preying upon the wealth of the Portuguese had a more immediate and practical purpose: the assault for potential prizes derived from the capture of Portuguese ships on road to Japan richly loaded with silk and silver. The importance of these prizes for the VOC's profits in the first two decades of its activities in the Far East was quite considerable and only saw a decrease in the 1630s, when the volume of trade increased.¹⁹ Although this practise had been prohibited by the shogun Hidetada in 1621, this conduct was still in usage as late as 1636. By this time the Company was seeking the policy of increasing its profits by less aggressive means in the area and, was trying to hold its participation in trade with Japan by adjusting to the *bakufu* demands. Still, the VOC officials showed their frustration, when, to avoid further contentions with the Japanese, they were urged not to assault the

17 "Seecker Portugees, Philippo de Mirando, eertijts in Nederlandt geweest, bij ons desen jare met een fregatedt, comende van Macao nae Macassar, nevens andere Portugesen aengehaelt, hier gecomen sijnde, heeft ons sijnen dienst gepresenteert ende door verscheyden inductionen getracht t'animeren tot d'incorporatie van Macao; [...] gelieft nae te sien ende alsoo wij seeckerlijck gelooven, desen persoon express is uytgemaect om bij die gelegentheyt onse intentie te ontdekken, hebben hem tot antwoorde gedient, dat Macao voor ons inprennabel oordeelden [...]. Macaos incorporatie heeft sijn bedencken in vele respecten; alles dat gedacht wordt, dient niet geseyt: les menaces sont armes au menacé." *GM*, Vol. I, pp. 649-50.

18 "Dat hij Macao, dartoe Putmans groote hoope heeft, veroverst hebbende, alle de forten ruineren ende tot onse naerder ordre alleenlijck een van de bequaemste sterckten sal besetten. Dat ingreviewle den tocht op de reviere van Quanton en Macao om eenige voorgreviewlen incidenten geen voortganck en mochte hebben, dat den gemelten Putmans twee à drie bequaeme jachten ende sooveel joncken meer, [...] in 't eerste van januarij 1634 tot afbreuck vaan onsen algemeenen viand naer de cust van Champa versenden sal omme omtrent Pulo Cambir of Pulo Cecijr de Mar ende Poulo Cecijr de terra te cruysen op de Chinese joncken, aldaer passerende, alsmede op de Portugeese navetten, die van Macao naer Malacca souden mogen vertrecken." *GM*, Vol. I, p. 377.

19 Leonard Blussé and Jaap de Moor, *op. cit.*, pp. 207.

20 "In 't resumeren [...], wat rescontre Sijn E. op de voyagie nae Tayouan voorgreviewlen is ende dat vier Portugeese galiotten, comende van Maccauw nae Japan, rijck gelaeden, onder schoot heeft gehad, die Sijn E., achtervolgende onse ordre omme geen nieuwe becommerringh in onsen Japansen handel te veroorsaecken, ongemolestereert heeft laten vaeren, dat echter een harde saecke is, soo treffelijcken buyt te moeten sien passeren ende wellicht in eenige jaeren soo schoon niet voorkomen sal." *GM*, Vol.

Macanese galliots on their way to Japan. For, by doing so, they wasted the possibility of winning precious booty.²⁰ But not only economical aspects were involved in the aggressive Asian expansion of the Dutch East India Company. The VOC was shaped not merely as a trade organism created exclusively for commercial ends, but also as a potent structure endowed with powers of a sovereign state such as the right to sign treaties, conduct war and build fortresses. Due to its dual and complex nature, the VOC tended to be used also as a military instrument in the weakening of the Spanish Habsburgs (with whom the Dutch Republic fought a war for independence) by depriving them of resources from their Asian empire.²¹

The foreign merchants and the Japanese trade in the 1630s: the inconvenient sharing of a gold mine

The Portuguese standing in Japan gradually became more precarious in the 1630s. In spite of the severe anti-Iberian policy of the Shogun (it became gradually more difficult to endure, mostly because of the incapacity of the Macao traders to stop the illegal entry of missionaries into Japan after the expulsion edict of 1614), the vitality of the Portuguese trade in the Empire of the Rising Sun was still impressive.²²

In 1633, the Dutch recorded the interception of Portuguese letters which gave an account of the decline on the prosperity of Macao, due to problems with the Chinese authorities, the suffering of shipwrecks and the VOC's aggressive actions against Lusitanian shipping in the straits of Malacca. Nevertheless, the Dutch pointed out that in spite of their complaints about their commercial decline, the Macanese traders were able to load eight ships, from which four were sent to Malacca, two to Ceylon and two to Manilla, which revealed their ability of resisting the emergent changes in the Far Eastern *status quo* around 1600 that so negatively affected them.²³

The VOC officials in Japan, throughout the entire decade of 1630, mentioned the precious cargo and the profits the Portuguese made with their

21 Femme Gaastra, *The Geschiedenis van de VOC*, Leiden, 1991, pp. 56-7; Map Meilink-Roelofs, "Aspects of Dutch Colonial Development in Asia in the Seventeenth Century" in *Britain and the Netherlands in Europe and Asia*, J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossman, (ed.), 1968, pp. 61-62.

22 As Bryan de Souza pointed out "While the figures for Portuguese trade with Japan especially exports for 1636-37 and apparently were never equalled by the VOC, the continuation of this trade did not coincide with the *bakufu's* politics which were emerging as anti-Iberians and anti-Christians even prior to the Shimabara rebellion of 1637". See George Bryan de Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Seas, 1630-1754*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 62-3.

trading of their merchandise in Nagasaki. In the period of 1635-1638, the Macanese galliots visiting the Nagasaki harbour carried little white silk but, alternatively, were loaded with a huge cargo of silk piece goods. By exchanging other goods, the Macanese merchants found a way of escaping Japan's imposition on the selling of white silk by a preestablished price, considered too low by all the foreign traders dealing with Japan. This measure, called *pancada* by the Portuguese, eroded the extremely high profits reached by the selling of this coveted commodity in Japan market.

After the credit crises of 1633, when the Macanese merchants, forced by the accumulation of huge debts, were asked to liquidate their indebtedness, for the Japanese creditors had seemed to lose some of their confidence and were no longer so convinced of the significance of the Portuguese trade.²⁴ When confronted with these severe demands, the most important Macanese traders declared bankruptcy. To avoid a financial disaster, Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho, the *Capitão-Mor* of the Macao-Nagasaki commercial trip, agreed with the Japanese creditors on the repaying of the outstanding capital in three parcels of 73,000 tayls each, to be satisfied in the following three years. The Portuguese seem to have been successful in their enterprise since, shortly thereafter, in 1635, they managed to liquidate two thirds of the total debt to the Japanese. That year they exported only 160 picol raw silk (when the total

23 "Naer wij uyt de...vier gequetste ende geberchde mesticen als verscheyde geintercipieerde brieven verstaen, soo was de stad van Maccauw in Handel, welvaeren, rijckdommen ende couragie seer afgenomen ende gedeclineert, het Malacse vaerwaeter door de menichte van onse cruyssende jachten gesloten ende qualijcke langer gebruyckelijck, de vextatien van de Chinese mandorijns onverdraechelijck ende de ongelucken, die haer van iaer op iaer treffen ende overcomen, excessijf groot sijnde. [...] Niettegenstaende alle voornoemde ongelucken ende quade resconters wierden echter bij die van Maccauw noch acht stuck navetten uytgerust ende toegemaect, waervan tegen februario aenstaende vier nae Malacca, twee nae Ceylon ende twee nae de Manilha soudent vertrecken." GM, Vol. I, p. 396-97. Sanjay Subramanyam pointed out the importance of the changes in the Asian political context in the beginning of the seventeenth century, as much as the rivalry with the Dutch in Asia for the retreat of the Portuguese Asian Empire. Cf. Sanjay Subramanyam, *Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700*, London, 1993.

24 For a detailed description on the credit crises of 1633 cf., James C. Boyajian, *op. cit.*, p. 235; C. R. Boxer, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-19; Valdemar Coutinho, *O Fim da Presença Portuguesa no Japão*, Lisbon, 1999, pp. 133-37. The Dutch sources also give an account of the situation suffered by the Macanese traders in Nagasaki when they were forced to pay their debts to the Japanese creditors, see GM, Vol. I, pp. 441-442;

25 "Desen jaere sijn de Macaose Portuguysen met drie navetten gemant met 480 coppen in Nangesacque geweest, die om den pancado te ontgaen nu hun grootsten handel met stuckwerken drijeven, hebbende daer gebraecht 110 000 witte pangsys, 3 000 stux roode, 60 000 pelings, 50 000 witte gilems ende 50 000 rode; item maer 160 picol witte rouwe zijde, 200 picol bogij ofte geele dito ende 150 picol rouwe poolzijde; voorders goede quantiteyt quicksilver, roode zitcleeden, cangans, spiauter ende andere cleyngheyden, daarvoers weder uytgevoert soudent hebben 1200 kisten gelt, yder van 3000 gulden, is 36 tonnen gouts, waeronder den Japanderen een vierde part soudent herideren. Gemelte Portuguysen hadden het tweede derdepart van haere oude schulden, beraegende 73 000 thaayl, in Japan betaelt ende sullen het aenstaende jaer 1636 het derde voldoen." GM, Vol. I, p. 514.

of this commodity exported to the Japanese market averaged 4.040 picol); however, by selling other goods in Nagasaki, they once again managed to elude the *pancada*.²⁵ One year later, the VOC sources reported once again the arrival of four Portuguese galliots loaded with an extremely valuable cargo, although bringing little raw silk.²⁶

In 1636, the foreign merchants achieved good profits in the Japanese market especially due to Shogun Iemitsu's decree which prohibited his subjects to trade abroad. This drastic measure put an end to the activity of the *goshuin-sen*, ships licensed to sail to Indo-China. Their activity had previously increased when the short-termed embargo on Portuguese and Dutch trade, in 1628-30, was imposed.²⁷ As the VOC registers relate, the imperial edict of 1636 forbidding the Japanese from trading abroad was also related to the *bakufu* desire to avoid direct contact between its subjects and the European

26 "Desen jaere sijn de Portuguesen met vier navetten uyt Maccauw in Japan geweest, seer rijk geladen, gelijk U Ed. bij de cargo, hiernevengaende ende wat die gereend heeft, gelieven te behoogen. Omme de pancado te ontgaen hebben niet meer als 250 picols 26 catty rouwe sijde uyt China gebracht [...]". *GM*, Vol. I, p. 588.

27 C. R. Boxer, *op. cit.*, p.115.

28 "Dat hij [the iemitsu] om verscheyden consideratien alle Japanderen hadde verboden egeene vreemde vaerten meer bij der hant te mogen nemen, het waere dan naer Cochinchijna, tot Quinam, ofte Tonquyn, item naer Champa, Cambodja, Siam, Patane, Tayouan ofte andere plaetsen [...]. De redenen, die den Keyser hiertoe moveren, verhaelt den E. Koekebacker te wesen naer de gemeene gerughten de vijff naervolgende: [...] ten vierden, dat door de communicatie van den handel der Japanderen in Cochynchina de Spaenjaerden ende Portuguysen, soo daer mede comen negotieren, comoditeyt vinden om met de padres, soo in Japan sijn, te communiceren ende middel become om hun subsidien tot onderhoud secreetelijck toe te brengen.[...]

Ten Ansien Japan door vreemdelingen, als Chijnesen, Portuguysen ende Neerlanderen become can, alles wat van buyten begeeren mogen ende gelijk hij dese can inlaeten ende buytenhouden nae sijn believen, soo can hij oock uyt hunne comeric de proffijten doen trecken, die hem welgreviewlen, sonder dat dese alsulcke heeleren in negotie hebben connen, als sijn natuyrlijke onderdanen doen etc." *GM*, Vol. I, p. 513. "Op dato soude d'heer president uijt gemelte plaetse synne reijse gevordert hebbe doch dor dien esselijcke landts heeren dien dach volgens iaerlijke gewoonte naer boven reysden waar door de herbergen besproocken en besett waeren als qualijken parden te huer become. conde genoot saeckt tot des sanderen daeghs te verblijven t geduerende onse aen weesen alhier en in Osacca verstonden uijt ver schijde coopluysden hoe eenige daagen geleeden brieven (by de Raets Heeren Sossa Canqadonne Matsendeyro Insindonne en Abeno Bingodonne onderteijkent en gedateert negen dach van de eerste Japansche maene) aen coopluysden ofte reeders van de Ioncq in Nangasacqi tot vertrock naer Touquijn en Couchenchina gereet leggende aldaer syn Firano Serodonne, Simonoera en Iaya uyt het hoff gecomen waeren waerjnne haer Hoogheeden ditto reders aenschrijven het miscontentemendt dat de keijseren Maytt heeft op die van Toncqijn omdat eenige iaren herwaerts het geweer by de varende personen uijt gewourdt niet weder te rugge gekeert maer aldaer vercocht is, op die van Couchenchina omdatt in gemelte rijck die van Maccauw en Manilla Iaren handelen oock de Japaners van daer naer Maccauw vertrecken en door sulcke ofte diergelijke middelen niet naerlaeten maer altijt trachten sullen japansche christenen te maecken en seeckere somme goets tot onder hout der paepen in Japan seereetelijcken connen gebracht werden, de ordre uyt hett hoff was soodanich datt soo Ionqi van Saya Soyserodonne naer Couchenchina en van Ange naer Camboya niet hadden vertroucken geweest niet tegenstaande pas van den reyser voorleeden jaer becommen hebben, soude mede van haere voyagie gerusteert syn geweest." *Dag Register, Maert, anno 1635*, ARA, 1.04.21, Inv. 53, Fls. 62v-63.

catholic priests largely Spanish and Portuguese. However, because of the elimination of an important competitor in the Japanese market, the decree was, after all, favourable to both Portuguese and for Dutch commerce in Japan.²⁸ Although the Macanese had to face increasingly dynamic competition from the Dutch, who visited Hirado annually, and from the Chinese, who came to trade in Nagasaki, the Japanese trade thus continued to be a very advantageous enterprise and, in spite of its vicissitudes, was still worth over one million *cruzados* to the city of Macao in 1639.²⁹

In 1637, the volume of the Dutch trade was still behind expectations, which engendered bitter complaints about the restrictions imposed by the Japanese on business. It was stressed that "if the legislation is not mitigated, it will become not only unbearable in the future, but also damaging to the continuation of the trade".³⁰ The 'unbearable restrictions' the Dutch had in mind were certainly linked to the imposition of selling its silk for a fixed price, to the retention of their ships by the Japanese authorities after the trade season had ended, considered very damaging to the VOC business (*schadelijck ende prejudicable*), and to the interdiction on the import of Japanese copper coins (*Sen*). As late as 1638 the Dutch believed that the Portuguese might be able to hold an advantage over the Company's trade and reported the arrival of two Macanese galliots making good profits at Nagasaki.³¹ All of this in spite of the disadvantageous Portuguese position in the country after the Shimabara rebellion of 1637-38, a tragic peasants uproar against heavy taxation levied by the lord of Arima. Though, because of the strong influence of Christianity in this area, the Japanese considered it a Christian riot supported by the Portuguese, an event that worsened their already unsteady situation in the country.³²

In the late 1630s the Japanese trade continued to be seen as a gold

29 C. R. Boxer, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

30 "Soo bleeff alles gelijk voorleden jaer in staete, de negotie gelimiteert sonder eenige verlichtingh, de vervolginge der Roomse Christenen continueert als voren ende wort ons hope gegeven, den Portugees d'een off d'ander tijt uyt Japan wel mocht geseyt worden, dat qualijck connen aennemen, ten ansien dat noch al in faveur van de Portugesen onse schepen 15 ende 20 dagen naer 't vertreck der galliotten ophouden, dat voor de Comp.a in dese gelegentheyten een onlijdelijcke verachteringh causeert. Soo sijn oock de Japanse humeuren soo teer dat te beduchten staet, d'een off d'ander tijt metten anderen overhoop sullen raacken ende bijaldien hunne mandaten ende wetten niet mitigeren, sal het in toecomende voor ons in Japan niet alleen onverdraechelijck, maer schadelijck vallen de negotie te continueren ende daer sal op andere middelen moeten worden gedacht." *GM*, Vol. I, p. 660.

31 "Desen jaere sijn de Portugesen van Macao met twee galiotten rijckelijck geladen tot Nangesacke verschenen, alwaer in den handel beter als voor desen getracteert sijn geworden ende goede proffijten hebben bevaeren. [...] Voor deselve haere coopmanschappen hebben uytgevoert 1259 kisten silver van 1000 tayl ijder ende daerboven credit bij de Japanders becomen van 400 000 thayl, dat op bodemerije tegen 25, 26 ende 27 per cento nae Macao gevoert hebben. Dese goede bejegeningh veroorsaecte vele bedenckingh ende werde g'opinieert, dat nimmer over 't gepasseerde in Arima ende 't niet brengen van de resterende voor dese g'eyschte ses cooppluyden uyt Macao soudien werden aengesproken." *GM*, Vol. I, p. 741.

mine to by both Portuguese and the Dutch which was enough to raise competition for the control of such a valuable trade route. The VOC had strengthened its position in Japan, especially after 1635, mainly because of the increase of Japanese confidence in its intentions,³³ but it is worth mentioning that the East India Company never equalled the volume of the Portuguese trade in the Japanese market. "Dutch exports from Japan peaked at some 900.000 cruzados in 1637, but Portuguese trade meanwhile had swollen to 2.1 million *cruzados*. As long as the Portuguese galliots frequented Nagasaki, VOC trade in Japan was never more than a fraction of *casados* trade."³⁴

The Portuguese and Dutch diplomatic endeavour at the Shogun court

In the 1630s the Portuguese were confronted with the deterioration of their relations with the Japanese authorities. At the time, the VOC, through its efforts to accommodate Japanese customs and demands and, by a vigorous diplomatic endeavour, had apparently gained the confidence of the *bakufu* authorities. In 1636, the Dutch efforts at the court in Edo were crowned with their first great success. The presents brought by François Caron for the annual court journey (*hofreis*) were then highly appreciated by the Shogun. To show his contentment he released Piet Nuyts, the former governor of Taiwan, imprisoned in 1632 as an aftermath of the Dutch-Japanese quarrel about Formosa in 1628.³⁵ It seemed that the VOC's situation improved at the same rate as the one held by the Portuguese deteriorated. The imbalance of power between the Portuguese and the Dutch in the country was already notorious in 1635, when the former were confined to the artificial island of Deshima and their movements were strictly watched by the Japanese.³⁶ If the VOC, through its insolent attitude in the Far East, had earned a distasteful reputation, it seems that the Japanese considered the Dutch at least more controllable than the Portuguese, whose missionary priests and Catholic Christianity were seen as a menace to Japan's traditional social order.

32 Over the Shimabara rebellion and its consequences for the Portuguese expulsion from Japan, cf. Charles Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650*, Manchester, 1993, pp. 375-384; George Ellison, *Deus Destroyed, the Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, Cambridge-Massachusetts, 1973, pp. 217-221; Valdemar Coutinho, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-56.

33 "Eenige jaaren voor en ontrent dien tyd [1635-36] groeide onzen handel in dat Ryk zeer aan, waar by de Iapanders ondervonden, dat wij met zilver handelden, en niet meer met buit, gelyck wel bevorens, hier aan de markt quamen, waar door wy in dieper gunst by hen geraackten [...]", François Valentinijn, *Beschryvinge van Japan in Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, Vijfde Deel, Tweede Stuck, 1724-1726, p. 34.

34 J. C. Boyajin, *op. cit.*, p. 234; G. Bryan de Souza, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-63.

35 Leonard Blussé and Jaap de Moor, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-25; N. MacLeod, *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als Zeemogendheid in Azie*, deel 2, 1927, pp. 297-98.

36 Valdemar Coutinho, *O Fim da Presença Portuguesa no Japão*, Lisbon, 1999, p.142; C. R. Boxer, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-15; Leonard Blussé and Jaap de Moor, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

Despite the improvement of the Dutch standing in the Empire of the Rising Sun, the Lusitanian still had enough influence in persuading the Shogun to impose severe measures on the Company. In 1634 it was decided by the State Council, the *Roju*, that the Company's ships were only allowed to leave Japan after the trade season had ended, only 15 to 20 days after the Macao galliots had departed. This measure was implemented by the *bakufu* to prevent VOC attacks on Macanese shipping. This friendly gesture, very positive for the Macanese business, was not based on the Shogun Iemitsu's compassion for the Portuguese cause. It is worth remembering that, since the Japanese were important creditors of the Portuguese traders, they had a direct interest in protecting the Macao galliots (loaded with Japanese silver), in order to safeguard their capital involved in this commercial journey.³⁷

The next year again the Shogun received both the Dutch and the Portuguese ambassadors in audience. The primacy given to the Lusitanian delegation disappointed the Dutch who expressed their dissatisfaction in bitter words: "the Portuguese have already an established "route" to his majesty while the Dutch are still fighting their way through an underbrush".³⁸ The Dutch demands at the court were not fulfilled by the Shogun Iemitsu. Their main claim was against the retainment of the Company's ships after the departure of the Macanese, which was considered a severe limitation of the VOC's affairs. In 1636, the Dutch were informed by the Shogun that they were free to leave Japan whenever they wanted as long as the Portuguese ships were not molested.³⁹ In 1637, the VOC shipping was still detained after the departure of the Macanese. An incident which was harshly reported by the VOC's servants who related that the Japanese humour was then so delicate that they expected

37 "het versoeck der gemelte Portugijsen aen Sijne May.t, bestaende in vier pointen, was als volcht: [...] ende ten laetsten, dat Sijne Mayt. gellieffde te ordonneeren, de Hollanders haere galjotten, die meest met Japans capitael gelaeden waeren, niet en souden neemen [...] Niettegenstaende den coopman Caron bij den heere van Firando, in Jedosijn de, alle bedenckelijcke middelen hadde aengewent omme de schadelijcke gestelde ordren ende restrictienop het vercopen van onse aenbrengende waeren, uytvoeren van zeenes ende prejudiciabel vertrecken van onse schepen uyt Japan, soo hadde denselven evenwel niets van allen connen verwerven [...]" GM, Vol. I, pp. 484-85.

38 "Tenselven dage, dat gemelten Caron bij de May.t audientie bequam, soo waeren de Portugijsen aldaermede om reverentie te doen verscheenen, die door gunst en toedoen van den voornoemden Oyedonne, wesende tweeden raetsheer, om voor Sijne May.t te verschijnen voor d'onse wierden geprefereert, omdat de Portugijsen, soo men voorgaff, eenen gebaenden wech tot Sijne May.t jaerlijck hadden ende de Hollanders uyt eenn creupel bosch, die noch eerst moesten prepareeren." GM, Vol. I, p. 484.

39 "Dat alle naerder limitatie in Comp.ies handel ende het versoeck van de hofden der vijff kijserlijck steden in ons regard uyt Keyzers name door den raetsheer Sannickedonne, met scherpe reproches was affgeslagen. [...] Dat onse schepen uyt Japan sullen mogen vertrecken, so spoedich als vaerdich sijn, onder acte de galiotten van Macao niet sullen beschadigen. Echter is ons schip Wassenaer noch 15 dagen nae dato opgehouden, dat in toecomende niet meer geschieden sal." GM, Vol. I, p. 586.

their interests to be negatively affected by it.⁴⁰ In 1638, E. Koekebacker, believed that as long as the Portuguese had permission to trade in Japan the retention of the Company's shipping would proceed. Indeed, this measure was not suspended as long as the Portuguese were allowed to stay in Japan.

The Macanese traders apparently had supporters who lobbied for their interests in the *bakufu* court. Only through this support could the Portuguese persuade the Shogun to undertake restrictive measures against the Dutch commercial affairs even in a period when their footing in the territory was already very fragile. The Lusitanian claims and the aggressive VOC actions in the Far East provoked, amid the Japanese, considerable doubts about the Dutch real ambitions.

The Portuguese and the Dutch in Japan: two branches of the same tree?

The differences between the two European peoples in seventeenth century Japan, however, may not have been sharply perceived by the Japanese, particularly in what regards to the distinctions between their hostile forms of Christianity. For the Japanese, the two European religious beliefs only differed from each other as "two branches of the same tree". This remark gains importance if one considers the Shogun's large dissatisfaction with the Christian religion, thought to be subversive and dangerous for the maintenance of the social and political order sought by the Tokugawa rulers in a period of centralization of power.⁴¹ The Japanese were also aware of the Dutch religious indoctrination efforts in Taiwan, a phenomenon equivalent to the pattern of action

40 "Dat qualijck connen aennemen, ten aensien dat noch al in faveur van de Portugesen onse schepen 15 ende 20 dagen naer 't vertreck van der gallioten ophouden, dat voor de Comp.a in dese gelegen-theit een onlijdelijck verachteringh causeert. Soo zijn oock de Japanse humeuren soo teer, dat te beduchten staet, d'een off d'ander tijt metten anderen overhoop sullen raecken ende bijaldien hunne mandaten ende weten niet mitigeren, sal het in toecomende voor ons in Japan nie alleen onverdraechelijck, maer schadelijck vallen de negotie te continueren ende daer sal op andere middelen moeten worden gedacht." *GM*, Vol. I, p. 660.

41 On the political and ethical principals of the Tokugawa régime in its formative period cf. G. B. Sanson, *The Western World and Japan. A study on the Interaction of European and Asiatic Cultures*, New York, 1944, pp. 167-196; *ibid.*, *Japan. A short Cultural Story*, New York, 1943, pp. 455-463.

"Noch vraechde hy off de Hollanders Christenen waren ende off sy oock in den Naeme van des Vaders, des Soons ende des Heyligen Geest gelloffen. Caron antwoorde iae. Dat stinckt ende dat maeckt U vuyl, syde Phesodonne, met noch meer Godts lasterlijck worden daer by vougende dat het schrikelijck om te hooren was [...]". *Dag Register, November, anno 1635*, ARA, 1.04.21, INV. 53, Fls. 86-86v.

"Deze zaak quam de Japanders in 't eerst zeer vreemd voor, gelyk zy die ook zoo niet ten eersten gelooven konden, ter tyd toe dat zy met ons zelf daar over gesproken hadden, al 't welke, na hunne bevating, dan daar op uit quam, dat wy, en de Portugeesen, een van de zelve boom des geloofs hadden, en dat wy maar als zekere takken van dien van malkanderen verschilden, waar uit zy daan voor ons ook gansch geen voordeelige gedagten behielden." F. Valentinijn, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

of the Iberian missionaries. However, the Dutch were clever enough to give a political explanation for the most significant difference between the two antagonistic forms of Christianity. They stressed the fact that if the Portuguese, as subjects, were physically subordinated to their king, they were therefore, spiritually dependent on the chief of their Church. By permitting his subjects to devote their obedience to the Pope, the Portuguese king lost thus jurisdiction over his subjects. This fact, according to the Dutch, engendered a lack of power leading to the fragility of civil authority. In turn, the Dutch, by not observing the Pope authority, addressed their total obedience to the secular powers. This argument underlined the subversive nature of the Catholic Church and its threat for the maintenance of the political order.⁴²

In the late 1630s, even taking into account the rigid constraints suffered in Japan, the Dutch judged their situation more favourably than the position held by the Portuguese. The Company was then well aware of its rivals' feeble condition and was informed of their eventual expulsion from the country. In 1634, when the VOC claims at the court were not satisfied by the Shogun, the *daimyô* of Hirado asked François Caron to be patient and, secretly informed him that the Portuguese would soon be cast out. In 1635, the financial curator Streumondo, a Company friend, advised the Dutch to reconsider their project of attacking Macao in order to avoid further quarrels with the Shogun. He argued that the Portuguese cause, because of their insistence in supporting the missionary priests in Japan, was so precarious that the Company should await further developments before taking action.⁴³ In 1637

42 "Men voegde daer by, dat het verschil tusschen het Christengelove der Portugesen, en dat van ons, v^rdesen handtastelijck was aangewesen, en verschil, dat niet alleen in de uytterlycke cerimonien en godsdienstigheden bestaet, maer dat voorall mede het innerlycke raect, te weten het gemoet; dat sy onder anderen mede als hooft van haer kerck en gelove hebben den paus van Romen, aen denwelcken sy in het geestelijck, en sulcx voor sooveel haer siel belangt, alle gehoorsaemheyt bewysen, en gevolglijck deselve aan haren koninck en politicque overheyt, het essensieelste deel van alle subjectie sijnde, niet alleen ontrocken, maer deselve t'eenemaal onder het bedwang van den paus overgeven. Invoegen dat, gelijck de koningen over de lichamen, hy over de zielen der menschen heerschende, een gelove, dat voor den keyser seer bedenckelijck en sorgelijck moet wesen, en waerom het oock te geloven is, dat deselve sodanige religie in sijn lant niet kan dulden, maar deselve t'eenemaal tragt uyt te roeyen; daer wy ter contrarie verstaan, niet alleen in het reguarde van de lichamelycke, maer selfs mede in 't geestelycke, alle gehoorsaemheyt, aen die over ons in het politijcq sijn gestelt, schuldig te wesen.", W. Stapel, *Pieter van Dam's Beschryvinge van de Oost-Indische Compagnie*, Boek II, Deel I, 1927, p. 375.

43 "Aengaende de besettinge van Maccauw sall mede niet sonder prejuditie en naedeel van de Comp.^{ie} niet connen geschieden want vl. is kennelijck het mandaet van de Hooge Overicheyt waer bij gelast werdt sonder consideratie ofte aensien van uwe schaade dat de scheepen 20 daagen naer degalliotten vertrecken moeten dat alleenlijckom het Japans capitaell daer mede versonden ende wech gevourdt werdt, soo datt bij het binnen houden der galliotten de coopluysden en alle die daer geinteresseert sijn haar garantd op de Comp.^{ie} sullen souchen te haelen en niet weijnich met clachten te houe vlieden te beswaeren. Doch dit alles aen syde gestelt weet ghy niet well der Portugesche haar saacke om stuck der Christenen willen vrij slecht en wanclelbaer om t'eeniger tyt uyt Japan gestooten te werden [...], derhalve raad ik U noch een jaar te wachten en siet wadt de uyt compste wesen sall daer nae condit wederom op nieuws resolyeren ende voortvaeren". *Dag Register, february, anno 1635*, ARA, 1.04.21, INV. 53, Fl. 62.

the VOC was as well informed so as to know that the Japanese were provoking the Portuguese in order to make their situation unbearable and thus to force them to leave the country.⁴⁴ Indeed the VOC officials reported that the Portuguese provoked negative feelings amid the Japanese.⁴⁵ In 1638, the Dutch were again told of an eventual expulsion of the Macanese merchants. The state councillor Taeckemondonne informed the Dutch that the Portuguese had been responsible for much evil and for the killing of many people in Japan, an offense for which they should be cast out.⁴⁶ However, they also knew that the Shogun's distastefulness regarding the Portuguese also comprised the VOC to a certain extent. When in May of 1635 Koekebacker landed at Edo for an audience with his majesty, he was not given one, which was said to be due to the Shogun's illness, an event that troubled Koekebacker greatly. The Dutch believed, though, that considering the fluctuating esteem in which the Japanese held the Company, this incident would soon blow over.⁴⁷

44 "Hoe dat de regenten curieus waeren geweest te vernemen wat der Portugeesen om den handel op Iapan al verdragen ende over soude willen comen, ende hadden tot dien eynde haere renegados en spions als tolquen verraders etc. op dese maniere uyt gemaect, dat sy luiden by de principaele Portugeesen soudan gaen uytstroyen en haer denpols voelen met dese woorden, Srs. ende vrenden uwen saet en personen werden hoe langer hoe meer gedrucht en benauw wy syn uwent wegen bedroust en weten haest niet watter noch al meer voor tegenheyte voorcomen wil, wy hebben seeretelycken verstaen dat de regenten met haeren Raet van meninge zijn, U alle die die int Japan comen into encomende te belasten dat ghy uwen baert ende hair sult moeten aff ende naer de Japansche wyse scheeren niet te mogen dragen als Iapans gewaet te weeten somers, catabers, swinteren rocken met eenen bandt om de naeckte huyt, met den blooten hooftde sonder hoet sonder hembt sonder coussen noch shoenen noch yets dat u dracht gelyck is, ende wat gaet vls aen hoe sult ghy dat connen waere het niet better Iapan verlaten off soudet ghy lieve dit alles over comende in Iapan willen continueren de Portugeesen waeren om dese nieuwe tydinge bedroust ende antwoorden met opgetrocken schouderen al suchtende, wat sullen wy doen, verlaten wy Iapan soo trecken wy het broodt uyt ons ende onser kinderen mont, noch willen wy dat liever verdragen (soo wy daer maer vry mede mogen zyn) als uyt Iapan te blyven, siet (seyde Fesen), hoe men haer vexceert ende wat men haer te last lecht noch willen sy niet wech blyven, daer syn voorgeslagen geschiet van haer te belasten ende seggen dat al die in Iapan comen renegeeren ende affvallen sullen moeten [...]". *Dag Register, November, anno 1635*, ARA, 1.04.21, INV. 53, Fls. 86 - 86v.

45 "Den heere van Firando hadde d'onse mede onder den duym secreete verstaen gegeven, dat de Portugijsen Japan wellicht sal werden ontseyt ende geweygert langer aldaer te handelen, omdaet niet naer en laeten de papen in te voeren. Nietegenstaende den coopman François Caron bij den heere van Firando, in Jedo sijnde, [...] soo hadde denselven evenwel niets van allen connen verwerven nochte oock in geenderhande manieren geraden gevonden hebben tselve alrede aen den raetsheeren te versoeken, seggende, dattet noch te vroeck was, teselve qualijck soudan neemen ende wij niet te veel tefens moeten bij der hant neemen [...]". *GM*, Vol. I, p. 485.

46 "Gemelte heere[raedsheere Taeckemomdonne] verde [...] dat de Portugesen veel quaets in Japan veroorsaecten ende schuldigh waren, veel menschen jaerlijck gedoot wierden, derhalven 't landt van Japan wel mochten ontseyt worden, doch daer was alsoch gheen conclusie op genomen." *GM*, Vol. I, p.740.

47 "Persoonelijck is den President Kouckebacker primo mey passato in Jedo aengelandt omme de ordinarie reverentie te doen, maer heeft geen audientie bij de May.t become, twelck op debilityt des keyzers g'excuseert wort [...]; twelck den President veel bedenckens gaff [...]. Maer onse opinie is, gelijk den Japander van tijt tot tijt moediger wort ende de vreemdelingen (soo men ons noempt) dienvolgende in minder estime, dat nae desen ter presentie des keyzers niet meer verschijnen sullen, gelijk bij 't gepasserde wel aff te nemen is." *GM*, Vol. I, p. 739.

In fact, the Dutch were allowed to stay in the territory after the Portuguese expulsion from the country in 1639, but the situation did not improve as much as the VOC had desired. As van Dam pointed out, if until 1639 the Portuguese had been the major suppliers of Chinese silk in the Japanese market, afterwards it was the Chinese merchants who replaced the Macanese.⁴⁸ Moreover, the grievances suffered by the Company in Japan shortly after 1639, related by François Caron in 1641 to the Governor General and Council from India in Batavia, clearly suggests that the Dutch position in Japan was still very delicate. After 1639, the Company was ordered to move to Deshima, the same island where the Portuguese had dwelled during the final period of their stay. This happened under many restrictions which, according to Caron, were thought to create a Dutch dislike of the country and thus compel them to leave on their own volition. This did not happen and the Dutch tried to bear the Japanese mistreatment and suspicion. As Valentijn wrote in his *Bescryvinge van Japan*: "All these terrible sufferings we had to endure in order to achieve our goal regarding the increase of trade and to make us so tolerated by the Emperor and this nation that they would accept us at least as silent traders".⁴⁹

Conclusion

The Dutch footing in the Empire of the Rising Sun had, indeed, experienced a concrete improvement around 1635 due to the increase of their trade and to the amelioration of their unsteady relations with the *bakufu*. At the same time, the Dutch were confronted with a resilient suspicion, regardless of their attempts to engage the trust of the Japanese. The Dutch reputation as pirates and their resemblance to the Portuguese and Spanish in matters of religion offered the Japanese good reasons to doubt their real intentions. Notwithstanding the increasingly feeble Portuguese situation, the volume of its trade, its long experience in and knowledge of Japan, as well as its contacts

48 "De Portugesen dan, als gesegt is, daer uytgeseth zijnde, raecten de Chinesen seer in daet vaerwater, en besaten ten principalen in den handel aldaer [Japan]", W. Stapel, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

49 "Egter hield de Keizer dit nog eenigen tyd in beraad, oordeelende het beter te zyn, dat hy ons Japan moede maakte, en ons dus dwingen mogt, daar een walg van te krygen, en zoo van zelf ons afscheidt te verzoeken. Dog eindelyk ziende, dat dit niet volgde, vond hy goed ons te belasten, met al ons omslag van Firando op te breken, en na Decima te verhuisen. [...] Alle deze onlydelyke quellingen en mishandelingen, hoe ondragelyk ook in zich zelve, hebben wy moeten verduren, om ons oogwit ontrent den aanwasch van den handel daar te bereiken, en om ons by den Keizer, en deze Natie, zoo aangenaam te maken, dat zy ons ten minsten als stilte kooplieden zouden willen dulden." F. Valentyn, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

with the Tokugawa court, distress was engendered among the VOC officials at Hirado. This, combined with their own difficulties experienced in the country, led them to overestimate the strength of the Portuguese, failing utterly to see the fragility of their enemies. Even if they were well informed of an eventual expulsion of their Iberian rivals from the territory, it seems that they were not certain of this drastic move until the last moment.

It is relevant to stress that the Company was persuasive enough in showing that its interest in the country solely concerned trade. That may have been the most significant Dutch achievement and probably the main reason for them to be allowed to stay in Japan in the turbulent late 1630s. In order to keep engaged in the Japanese trade, the VOC officials were able to convince the Shogun that in Japan they were determined to obey promptly his laws without defying his wishes, existing there merely as silent traders, which so distinguished them from the Portuguese merchants.

Abstract

Around 1635 the VOC situation in Japan have seen a positive shifting due to the increase of its trade and the ameliorating of their relations with the *bakufu*; however the Dutch have been then confronted with a resilient distrust regardless their attempts to conquer the Japanese acceptance. The Dutch reputation as pirates and the resemblance with the Portuguese and Spanish in matters of religion offered the Japanese good reasons of suspicion on their purposes. Notwithstanding the increasing feeble situation of the Portuguese at the time, the volume of trade, their long experience and acquaintance in Japan, as well as their contacts kept in the Tokugawa court, combined with their own difficulties in the country, prevented them to utterly predict the fragility of their enemies, overestimating hence their strength. Even if they were well informed of an eventual expelling of their Macanese rivals from the territory, it seems that they have been unsure of this drastic move till the last moment. Based on the analyses of Dutch sources, mainly printed material, the aim of this text, through the comparison of the Luso-Dutch standing in Japan in the decade of 1630, is to examine the VOC's weight in the country at the time and its perception on the Portuguese banishment from in Japan in 1639.

Resumo

A vitalidade do comércio português com o Japão na década de trinta do século XVII contrastava claramente com a política anti-ibérica e anti-cristã levada a cabo pelo xogum Iemitsu, política essa que culminaria com a sua expulsão em 1639. Paralelamente à deterioração das relações luso-nipónicas, os contactos dos Holandeses com as autoridades japonesas, sobretudo a partir de 1635, sofreram uma gradual consolidação. Todavia a associação dos Holandeses a actos de pirataria, assim como as semelhanças com os Portugueses em assuntos de religião, criaram uma desconfiança entre os Japoneses que fragilizou a situação da Companhia no país. As vicissitudes sofridas pela VOC, combinadas com a vitalidade do comércio português ao longo da década de 30 de século XVII, assim como a percepção da longa experiência dos mercadores lusos no território e dos contactos mantidos na corte dos Tokugawa, parece ter provocado alguma insegurança nos funcionários da VOC, impedindo-os de perceberem a fraqueza dos seus rivais, sobrestimando-os, pelo que não conseguiram antever a expulsão dos mercadores portugueses do Império do Sol Nascente.

BOOK REVIEWS

Jacques Proust,

La Supercherie Dévoilée. Une réfutation du Catholicisme au Japon au XVII^e siècle

(Paris: Éditions Chandeigne, 1998)

Among the various personalities that compose the complex and dramatic history of the Jesuit missionary enterprise in Japan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, few are as tragic as Cristóvão Ferreira. Indeed the life of this Jesuit has all the ingredients of a major drama. Born around 1580 in Portugal, Ferreira was sent to Asia and lived as a missionary in Japan from 1609 to 1633. Exercising his apostolate under the extreme conditions of the Tokugawa's persecution, he came to be an admired and respected missionary, reaching the top of the Jesuit hierarchy in Japan. In 1633 he was captured and apostatized after five hours of torture. He then became Sawano Chuan, the most famous of the "fallen priests", and collaborated with the Japanese authorities, to the point of being present at the trials of other captured Jesuits. Cristóvão Ferreira died in Nagasaki in 1650.

It is no surprise that such a life has already inspired books, films, and all types of speculations. Scholarly attention has not been meagre, either. The funda-

mental study on Ferreira is still the one by Hubert Cieslik ("The case of Cristóvão Ferreira", *Monumenta Nipponica*, 29 (1974) 1-54), but before and after Cieslik many others have directed their attention to this dramatic story. Two studies deserve special attention: Masaharu Anesaki, "Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 7 (1930) 1-15, and George Ellison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991).

The core of *La Supercherie dévoilée* is the translation of a text refuting Christianity written by Cristóvão Ferreira in 1636, three years after his capture and apostasy. This occupies pages 63 to 95 of the book. A lengthy "Introduction" precedes it (pp. 8-57), and a "Petit dictionnaire" (pp. 97-142) and abundant "Notes" (pp. 143-181) complete the work. The idea of translating this text to a Western language is not new. George Ellison had already translated it to English, and Proust merely translates this English version to French – but collating with a 1927 Japanese edition and introducing some different criteria and a few variations.

But in writing *La Supercherie dévoilée* Jacques Proust has a wider objective than merely providing a new translation of Ferreira's text. In the introduction he states his ambitious goal: to clarify "le mystère de Ferreira". The mystery, of course, lies in understanding Ferreira's personality. In particular, solving this mystery is nearly equivalent to ascertaining if his rejection of Christianity was a result of the horrible torture he suffered (which renders his subsequent collaboration with Japanese authorities in need of some explanation) or if it was the culmination of a sincere and intimate process of alienation of Christian belief (which makes it difficult to understand his life as a Jesuit). These are questions that have interested all persons that wrote about Ferreira, but Proust addresses these issues with some novelty. It must be pointed out that on these questions, that have intrigued so many before him, Jacques Proust has no doubts whatsoever. More than once he declares that when Ferreira was thrown in the pit of the *ana-tsurushi* he was already a man without certainties. To Proust, it seems clear that Ferreira had already abandoned Christianity before his capture.

The author tries to show, by an internal examination of the text written by Ferreira, and by an analysis of the training and influences he had received, that the Jesuit was acquainted with much non-orthodox materials and that this progressively eroded his belief in Catholic faith and in the value of the

missionaries' efforts. This is an interesting approach, not very common in the historiography of the Jesuits in Japan. A careful study of the education, mindset and cultural background of these Jesuit missionaries has never been performed. The common assertion that these missionaries had a "scholastic training" is much too vague to be of any use. Jacques Proust is quite right in doubting that the mentality of a seventeenth century Jesuit can be described in such narrow terms. Thus, a more precise characterization of the intellectual world of these Jesuit missionaries is a very interesting task.

Unfortunately, I am not of the opinion that Jacques Proust has succeeded in his purpose. Some minor errors reveal a fragile command of the Jesuits' educational system at the time of Ferreira's formation. It is said that Ferreira had classes at the University of Coimbra (p. 11), which he certainly never did. He attended the Jesuit College at Coimbra - a very different institution. It is also stated that he had been taught in mathematics and cosmography (p. 27). This is indeed possible, but very unlikely. At the period there were no regular classes of mathematics in Coimbra, only infrequent private courses. The same applies to his sojourn in Macao. Proust also informs the reader that Fernão Mendes Pinto was one of Francis Xavier's fellow Jesuits in Japan (p. 50) - a rather serious error in a book such as this.

But all these are, one should concede, minor objections. Taking into

consideration the strategy that Proust develops – analyzing Ferreira's mind from the education received and the influences he had possibly been exposed to – I find it more serious the fact that Proust ignores the massive production of Post-tridentine theology, and systematically refers to medieval authors when discussing Ferreira's doctrinal background. For the questions that Proust discusses, books such as Melchior Cano's, *De locis theologicis* (1563), the immensely influential work of Roberto Bellarmino, *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos* (1586-93), or Benito Pereyra's, *Commentariorum et disputationum in Genesim tomi quatuor* (1591-1595), were certainly much more relevant in shaping Ferreira's mind than the medieval Thomas Aquinas or Averroes – the first considered by Proust to be Ferreira's main source. Moreover, these works, and many others of the period, are of a controversial nature and would provide Ferreira with the knowledge of the ample arsenal of critiques directed against Catholic doctrine. I do not think it is necessary to proceed along the extremely hypothetical and rarified path of trying to figure out obscure and indirect ways for a Jesuit to be acquainted with heterodoxy. It seems to me that in this regard Proust speculates somewhat excessively. He speculates on the diffusion of erasmian notions in Italy and their possible influence in the Italian missionaries in Japan; he speculates on the possible influence of the New-Chris-

tians in Japan. These are all interesting questions. Moreover, Proust treats them with ease and in a learned manner. But I find the final result very far from convincing.

The problem I see with the text written by Cristóvão Ferreira lies precisely in the fact that it agrees *too* well with what would be expected of him. A leading and well-known Jesuit writing three years after his apostasy of Christianity should state clearly his absolute rejection of Catholic doctrine, the evilness of its morals, the absurdity of its principles. All this should be accomplished in a highly informed manner, as far as possible from within the *corpus* of Christian doctrine itself. More than a mere rejection of Christianity, the Japanese authorities would certainly want of Ferreira proofs of the *inconsistency* of Catholic faith, from inside. All this Ferreira performs dutifully. To use such a text to substantiate a real and personal rejection of Christianity prior to the apostasy is an enterprise that I consider to be extremely risky.

In sum, the rendering of such an important text in French, thus making it accessible to a wider audience, is a laudable task even when considering that an English translation was easily available. But the project that Jacques Proust attempts, of trying to prove a real rejection of Christianity on the part of Ferreira from the analysis of the text is highly disputable and, at least in this reviewer's opinion, far from convincing. I feel that, besides widening the audience

for such a text, in what concerns a better understanding of the personality of Cristóvão Ferreira not much was gained in relation to previous works. But I also feel that Proust's emphasis on the importance of intellectual aspects and on the complex variety of influences that could affect a seventeenth century Jesuit is challenging and deserves attention.

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Diálogo sobre a Missão dos Embaixadores Japoneses à Cúria Romana, (pref., translation from Latin and notes by Américo da Costa Ramalho), Macao, Comissão Territorial de Macau para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses – Fundação Oriente, 1997, 353 p.

In 1590, the work entitled *De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam ...* was printed and published by the missionary centre of the Jesuits in Macao.

After its first edition, this work had been partially translated and re-edited, but only in 1997, with the present edition of *De Missione Legatorum*, we can count on the first integral translation of this source on a modern language such as Portuguese. This meritorious work is due to Prof. Américo da Costa Ramalho, who, during the translating process had also

studied all the facts concerning the text and his author. The Portuguese edition appears with a preface that resumes the most pertinent conclusions of such study.

Upon Alessandro Valignano, S. J., Visitor of the Japanese mission and the mentor of this work, it completed a trilogy of printed books, planned for the conversion of Japan, as he defended among the students of the local seminaries, to whom he had begun to write some words of presentation. After having made all efforts to teach them the principles of the Christian faith, namely writing the *Catechismus Christianae Fidei in quo Veritas nostrae religionis ostenditur et sectae Iaponenses confutatur*, printed in 1586, and also after having promoted the publication of *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, written by João Bonifácio, S. J., and edited in 1588, work which Valignano believed illustrated the good virtues concerning costumes, it remained to present to the Japanese people the European civilisation, unfortunately unknown in the far-east.

Since the beginning of the Padroado' missions in Japan, the distance that separated the two civilisations had contributed to some misunderstandings, mostly because of the lack of a political, social and cultural framing of the foreign missionaries that approached the Japanese territory. As a matter of fact, those men were often seen with some discredit. For instance, when they preached the Christian poverty, not easily attractive, they were equalised to lower classes, losing their social influence.

One of the concerns of the missionaries was to find a way to supply the absence of European structures, such as royalty or papacy, on their material or spiritual strength and richness, looking for a sound judgement of their greatness among the Japanese society. We can say that, due to this circumstance, Alessandro Valignano, S. J., had promoted a well known project - an embassy, representing the Japanese local power with stronger links to Christianity and that it was available to send a small legacy of obedience to the Pope, following the European tradition. The choice relapsed on four young princes of Kyushu, future authors of the book: Mâncio Ito, nephew of ÔtomoYoshishige, *daimyô* of Bungo; Miguel Chijiwa, nephew of the *daimyô* Arima Harunobu, *daimyô* of Arima and of Ômura Sumitada, *daimyô* of Ômura;; and two relatives of the *daimyô* of Ômura, Juliano Nakaura and Martim Hara. They left Nagasaki in February 1582, made contact with the Portuguese overseas dominions, the splendour of Europe, and they returned to the Far East in 1587-1590, stopped over in Macao, arriving at the same port of Nagasaki in July of 1590.

The Jesuits, proud of the success of this embassy, intended that the Japanese should be informed by the ambassadors themselves, of the favourable reception they had met in Europe, and the remarkable things they had seen on their voyage, which itinerary is fallen along thirty-four colloquies, on the humanistic stile. During their standing in Macao, Duarte

de Sande, S. J., based on their travel's notes, had the opportunity to compose the Latin text, in dialog form, presenting as interlocutors the young ambassadors and two cousins of Miguel: Lino, from Omura, and Leão, from Arima, who had played the roll of suspicious Japanese curios about European news.

The book contains a very stimulant description of the state of Europe, often compared with the state of Japan, giving some account of the differences. Nothing was left behind. From the several forms of government - monarchical, aristocratic, or democratic - passing by the pomp and magnificence of the European Princes, the splendour of their Court, their richness and power, the manners, customs, and the way of life of the nobles, and also the flourishing condition of trade and commerce, without neglecting matters such as slavery, or the way of carrying on war in Europe, both by sea and land. All these subjects merited complex development. We can either find some anthropological remarks. For each place, the ambassadors have reserved a large description, about the urbanism, or the local power. In Europe, they had been particularly in Lisbon, Évora, Vila Viçosa, Madrid, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, Padua, Verona, Mantua, Cremona, Milan, Genoa. On the power and authority of the Pope at Rome, they emphasised the magnificence of his Court, the several audiences the ambassadors had of Gregory XIII, who died soon after their arrival and the ceremonies observed

upon the election of Sixtus V, his successor.

As the young Japanese mention on the colloquies, their statement has not been exclusively verbal, since they had brought with them many instruments, books and maps to better illustrate the extent of European knowledge.

Regarding the strong use of adjectives, it is clear to understand that we are in front of an apologetical view of Europe, and, above all, an apologetical view of Christianity, that is presented as the source of every greatness, in opposition of Paganism, which compromised the straight prospering of civilisation in Japan.

If it is comprehensible that the great majority of the attention goes to the western topics, it is also true that a brief account of Oriental Civilisation was not forgotten, including the Kingdom of China, the closest neighbour of the ambassadors.

To conclude the appreciation of the work, only a few words about this particular edition.

Concerning the translation, the competence and the large experience of the latinist avoids any suspicion. We have also to underline the honesty of proceeding, for instant, when the translator made some subjective choices, mostly in what concerns the modernisation of the vocabulary, what is always clearly signed.

Along the complex and prolix report of this interesting embassy, the reader can be sure of founding a signifi-

cant work of annotation, where it provides all kinds of information, since biographical reports about many personages, probable sources of certain arguments, other contemporary opinions about certain subjects, monetary equivalencies, geographical and urbanistic information, etc, etc.

For the intrinsic interest of this source and the erudition of the translator, all confirms its value to the story of the portuguese-japanese encounter.

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BÉSINEAU, Jacques

Au Japon avec João Rodrigues 1580-1620, Lisbon-Paris, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1998, pp.240 + 8 with pictures.

In the post face, Michael Cooper, the great João Rodrigues' biographer, considers this book an "abridged version of João Rodrigues' biography". He is quite right in his qualification, because we feel that on reading it. Another main characteristic is given by Bésineau himself, when he calls attention for his idea of putting this Jesuit's life into the Japanese happenings and we must add the the Portuguese connections with Niponic islands in the second part of 16th century and in the first quarter of the 17th.

We have added those portuguese connections, because before referring the Japanese situation in the second part of the 16th century, Bésineau refers some circumstances of Portuguese East Empire, pointing out, among others, the *Padroado* matters, as they had many implications in the missionaries' activities. Besides, the writer reports many affairs of the Portuguese business in Japan, quite connected with the Jesuit's mission there, as in many other areas. It is a good idea to introduce Rodrigues' bibliographical data along the Japanese/Portuguese relationship narration. Like this, the reader will be completely aware of them, as he can integrate this Jesuit's life into its real circumstances.

It is clearly stated that in the Shogun's territory, as elsewhere in the Portuguese overseas empire, the trade and the mission were run quite together. This happened since the very beginning, when St. Francis Xavier landed at Kagoshima in 1549 or in the glorious mission times. This fact makes us to understand João Rodrigues's great role in both activities.

In chapter III, the writer asks a very important question on the relation between trade and mission: "Couldn't the pioneers in mission, including Saint Francis Xavier, understand that the Japanese Landlords were taking business advantages of the Christian religion? Were they more interested in trade than in mission?" It is hard to answer this, but you may be sure that some landlords had

a lot of trouble because of their faith. On the other hand, nobody can deny the deep connection between Portuguese trade in Nagasaki and Japanese christianism in 16th and 17th centuries.

As Rodrigues spent a great part of his life in Japan and had his studies there, he had the opportunity of getting a good knowledge of the native language and getting acquainted with the Japanese language ways of living. It was a very appreciable value and his religious superiors used this facility to improve the mission and other activities more or less connected with it, such as official contacts with the ruling lords so he became known as the *Interpreter*. Indeed, he played a very important role in Valignano's official embassy in 1591, during Hideyoshi's audience in his palace in Kyoto. Thanks to the interpreter's influence, the embassy was so well succeeded either for Portuguese business in Japan and for the mission.

In spite of that, the rigid Valignano considers the *Interpreter* a little short in his ways of facing the problems, stating he needs maturity. This Visitor's judgement may be right, but it is easy to judge the others when you only came now and then and do not stand at every circumstance.

A letter written by Rodrigues, when he was quite young, shows some real problems the Jesuit mission had to face: the old age of the local religious superiors and the attitudes of the priests who had finished their mandate. In his opinion, the old superiors had not enough energy to rule the mission and

after they had finished their commission, very often they became a burden for those ones who had to take decisions, when they were not favourable to previous superiors who had taken some private privileges and did not want to loose them. By this, you can understand that the renowned Jesuit obedience had some troubles too.

Rodrigues became so much appreciated by Japanese authorities that he was appointed as the official delegate for Japanese-Portuguese trade. This post brought him many troubles either from the missionaries, from the Nagasaki governors or from the central rulers. He worked quite close with two different great warriors, who ruled the Japanese Empire: Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Iyeyasu. Later, in Iyeyasu's time, an unfavourable conjuncture led to his expulsion from Japan. Some reasons have been appointed for this fact.

The Nagasaki governors were afraid of Rodrigues' influence near the Shogun and they wanted to have more profits with the foreign trade in Nagasaki port. On the other hand, the arriving of the Dutch had given the opportunity to diversify that trade. Besides, William Adams, an English seaman, working for the Dutch who was the pilot of *Liefde*, got into trouble with his fellows, when he arrived, in 1600, but little by little he won the sympathy of the rulers and was appointed later as the official interpreter. Bésineau refers also Rodrigues' private attitudes connected with his chastity vote, which could rein-

force his expulsion, due to a too much intimate behaviour with a Japanese lord's wife. As a matter of fact, the writer refers that the statements about that were sent up by a Jesuit who had heard it in Macao, so it wasn't completely sure but there had been some suspicions and our Jesuit was expelled from Japan in 1610 and had to go on with his apostolic activity in China.

It is thrown into a very due relieved Rodrigues' written works: *Arte da língua de Japam* and *História da Igreja de Japão*, because they became a precious support for everyone who intended to work in Japan, either in business matters or in Christianity. The first one, used to be a great help for those who were interested in learning the Japanese language and the second gives a deep idea of Japanese ways of living, which were unknown by Europeans. In *História da Igreja de Japão*, Rodrigues, who had a deep knowledge of the niponic culture, presents many details on painting, architecture, social behaviour, putting into relief the tea ceremony, which must have impressed this missionary in the many times he had the opportunity to attend that ceremony. All this information was very useful for all those who were supposed to deal with Japanese people.

In our opinion, Bésineau should deal longer the coming of the Dutch vessel, *Liefde*, to Bungo, in 1600, because the Jesuits were called as interpreters in that situation so that the Japanese authorities could communicate with the new comers. In some years time, things

changed in Japan in connection with the Europeans presence. From now on the international trade could be done with no links to religious matters as it was wished and the Portuguese were too much involved with the missionaries. It is said that the Tokugama policy created an authoritarian state, so that they could control all aspects national, economic, social life. Bésineau puts into relief this last aspect and he is quite right, because the expelling edict of 1614, according to which every missionary had to leave Japan, safeguarded the Portuguese trade on the condition it wasn't connected at all with christianity activity.

Having again in mind Michael Cooper's statement according to which this book is an "abridged version of João Rodrigues' biography", we may say it is intended for the common readers and not only for experts. The shown bibliography must also be considered an abridged one, as we can find many other papers with information about this subject. There should be more quotations and more accurate refereals, not forgetting the manuscripts, as there are lots of them which haven't been published.

Any way, you may be sure that in *Au Japon avec João Rodrigues 1580-1620*, you can find a quite objective account of the relations between the Japanese and Jesuits. It is clearly stood that the mission did not have a permanent flourishing success, from the beginning till its defeat after the expelling edict of 1614. The analysis of the facts shows that there were lots of ups and downs

and this idea is fully stood along these pages. At the same time, Bésineau points out the Interpreters character, stating he was, above all, a real action man and a very generous priest. It is a pleasant book, full of a substantial information.

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A Companhia de Jesus e a Missionaço no Oriente, Actas do Colóquio Internacional, Lisboa, Fundação Oriente / Brotéria – Revista de Cultura, 2000

The Society of Jesus and the Missions in the East is the title of the International Symposium held in Lisbon from the 21st until the 23rd of April 1997, whose papers are now published by Fundação Oriente and Brotéria, the two institutions that have promoted the event.

All twenty six papers written by Portuguese and foreign scholars are distributed by the six main parts or chapters in which the book is divided. The first section – "The Foundation of the Society of Jesus and its Historical Context" – opens with a text by Mario Fois on the "European Church by the time of the Society of Jesus' foundation", in which the author points out the decadence that was being felt within the church itself and, simultaneously, its reformation attempts. This somewhat "general" approach is followed by a

more particularised view respecting the Portuguese role on the establishment of the first Jesuit Administrative Province. António Lopes' paper – "History of the Portuguese Province of the Society of Jesus" – refers to the fact that it was in Portugal that the Jesuits established their first Administrative Province, the first house of the Society and its first educational institution (Colégio de Jesus, Coimbra), departing from Lisbon to distant and remote places of the world, thus beginning the missionary action that would take place in Asia, America and Africa. Jesuits' undertakings in Asia is the subject chosen by Dauril Alden on the essay "Some considerations concerning Jesuit enterprises in Asia". This historian discusses the particularities of a most cosmopolitan Order with geographically dispersed enterprises where the Jesuits acted as evangelists, educators, explorers, diplomats, administrators, government advisors and technicians.

It is precisely the analysis of one or more of this multifarious and composite character of the Society of Jesus that will be the essence and basis of all other essays. Hence, on the second part – "Teaching and Missionary Methods: a Comparative Approach" – texts by Jorge Couto, Horácio Peixoto de Araújo, Jesus López-Gay SJ, Teotónio de Souza, Juan Ruiz-de-Medina SJ, Nuno da Silva Gonçalves SJ and Francisco de Borja de Medina SJ, allow us to perceive some of the missionary methods applied by the Jesuits, respectively in Brazil, China, Japan, India, Korea, Cape Verde, the

Spanish America and the Philippines. The main ideas here discussed express the endeavour of the Jesuits and all their auxiliaries in the apprenticeship of language, teaching and schooling and, particularly in China and Japan, the adaptation to new habits, the attempts to conquest credibility among political hierarchies and the exploration of up-to-date scientific information.

"The Economical Life of the Society of Jesus and its Institutional Relations with the Political Power" is the topic of the third part, historically perhaps the most controversial one, with essays by Charles Borges SJ, António Graça de Abreu, João Paulo Oliveira e Costa and Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes. In this section all the authors focus on the Jesuits in Asia, specifically in Beijing, Japan and Goa, referring to all the other ways of funding when the Crown failed in doing so, namely the establishment of connections with merchants and political powers. A most interesting subject has to do with the involvement of the Jesuits in Japan with local country traders in order to fund themselves, an association that gave origin to countless debates, both ethic and moral, to whether trade was a matter of charity rather than of commerce.

The fourth and fifth parts – "The Role of the Society of Jesus in the Scientific Interchange between Europe and the Far East" and "The Society of Jesus and the Art" – resume and expand some of the subject matters betoken in part II. Luís Archer SJ, Alfredo Dinis, Ugo Baldini,

Luís M.R. Saraiva and João Manuel S.A.Miranda contribute with articles about debates and new data brought up to light in Europe and its echoes and replies in the East, as well as the encounter of different systems of knowledge. Not only science, but also art served as a most powerful vehicle of evangelization and a connective bond between missionaries and local people in India and China, as Nuno Vassalo e Silva and Gonçalo Couceiro's texts and pictures allege.

The last part, entitled "The Jesuitical Sources", includes five expositions by Carmen Radulet, José Manuel Garcia, Jorge dos Santos Alves, Hugues Didier and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha in regard to some sources respecting the Jesuits' presence in India, Japan, Macao and Tibet, as well as P. António Vieira's political ideas, thus closing, but not putting and end to a most interesting and promising debate of ideas of such a complex, rich and wondrous theme.

ALEXANDRA CURVELO

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Um Porto entre dois Impérios, Estudos sobre Macau e as Relações Luso-Chinesas, Macao, Instituto Português do Oriente, 1999, pp. 229.

The six essays collected in this book, written between 1993 and 1999,

deal with the Portuguese presence in Macao and the history of Luso-Chinese relations. As the author emphasises, these are two fields of research that can easily overlap when dealing with certain historical periods, but should not be confused with each other.

Although the subject of this book does not deal directly with Luso-Japanese relations, it is a very important work to understand the Portuguese presence in the Japanese archipelago, given that Macao was of critical importance as a trade and missionary centre.

These are extremely interesting and stimulating essays, that span the period from the 16th to the 18th century, in which the author analyses and compares both Western and Eastern sources, to avoid relying excessively on just the Portuguese sources, a factor which was responsible for a certain inertia that prevailed in the Portuguese historiography of Macao and Luso-Chinese relations.

On the other hand, one can see that the author is mindful of the fact that a study of Macao must take into consideration its vast historical and geographical context. Firstly, the general historical context of the Portuguese presence in the Orient, particularly in Eastern Asia (S.E. Asia and the Far East), in which two branches, which are not always easy to distinguish, are evident - the official expansion, based in the territory of the State of India, and the private expansion, which was the result of multiple,

and often contradictory interests (both Portuguese and Luso-Asiatic).

The second factor, that the author considers to be of fundamental importance, is the history of East Asia itself, particularly that of China. It is in this context that he seeks to identify the main figures in the Chinese world, be it on a provincial or on an imperial level, to the extent that the sources allow, and to follow the opinions and the political, cultural and intellectual trends with regard to Macao and the activities of its inhabitants. Finally, as a further contextualization, he traces the constant factors and broad outlines in Luso-Chinese relations, that can be better understood when linked with the fundamental principles of Portuguese foreign policy in various maritime or continental backdrops.

Of the six essays, three are of particular interest in the context of Luso-Japanese history. Thus, we have "*O Principio do Estabelecimento dos Portugueses em Macau (1555-1565)*" ("The beginning of the Portuguese establishment in Macao (1555-1565)"), in which the author, in the form of a brief monograph, outlines the early period of the Portuguese presence in Macao, and consequently the trade with Japan. In the course of this essay, he refers to the ever increasing difficulties faced by not only the Portuguese and Luso-Asiatic merchants of Macao, but also the merchants of Malacca and Goa, in maintaining an active participation in the South East Asian trade networks to China and Japan and from China to

Japan, which constitutes a complex phenomena still to be studied in detail. By the early 17th century, Macao had to deal with the competition from Chinese traders based in the Fujian coast who operated illegally in Japan. The Macanese merchants likewise had to compete with the Chinese junks that operated in Japan by way of Manilla or Taiwan, after the establishment of the Dutch *feitoria* in that island in the 1620's. Last but not least, Macao also had to contend with competition from Japanese traders in the markets of continental South East Asia (Vietnam, Siam and Cambodia), which was legalized after 1604.

The two other essays mentioned are based on the same topic: the end of the considerable autonomy that Macao enjoyed till the end of the 16th century, with regard to the *Estado da Índia* and the Chinese Empire, whose interference intensifies with the beginning of the following century. One sees the attempts to absorb Macao into the politico-institutional and juridical orbit of the two States. In these two articles, entitled "*Um tempo de Ajustamento. Macau, O Estado da Índia e os Ming no Primeiro Quartel do século XVII*" ("A time of adjustment. Macao, the State of India and the Ming in the first quarter of the 17th century") and "*A 'Contenda da Ilha Verde', Primeira Discussão sobre a Legitimidade dos Portugueses em Macau (1621)*" ("The 'Contention of the Green Island', The first debate about the legitimacy of the Portuguese presence in Macao (1621)"),

the author studies the ways in which the city dealt with the pressures from both States, trying to manage its relationship with both entities in the best possible manner. In the context of an increased Chinese bureaucratic and military control on Macao, the Code of 1617 was imposed, by which an attempt was made to regulate some aspects of life in the city. Amongst the five articles regulating what was prohibited, there is one that deals with the presence of Japanese in Macao. On the other hand, it was in the context of this ever increasing intervention that the so called controversy of the *Ilha Verde* erupted, which peaked in 1621. This constituted the first major crisis in Macao's relations with the Chinese empire, and at the same time, caused a rift between the Jesuits and the Senate of Macao, which soon resulted in the first debate amongst the Portuguese about the legitimacy of their own presence in this settlement. It was, according to the author, a time of adjustment for all the parties involved, which resulted in an apparent paradox: all of them retained what was essential for their own particular interests, conceding only what in time would prove to be of little importance.

Thus, this is indeed a remarkable work, which contributes immensely towards the understanding of the Portuguese presence in the Far East.

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IN MEMORIAM

In Remembrance of the Historian Juan G. Ruiz-de-Medina, S.J.

Jesús López-Gay, S.J.

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As an historian, Father Juan Garcia Ruiz-de-Medina is especially associated with the history of the Jesuits in the Orient, in particular with Japan, and with Portugal. I had a profound friendship with him, and can testify as to how much he loved the Portuguese nation, esteemed the Portuguese people and was enthralled with their archives. One of his last ideas was to classify the manuscripts of the Archives of the Ajuda Library with a different system.

Father Juan Garcia Ruiz-de-Medina was born in July 1927, and studied at the Jesuit College in Villafranca de los Barros in Badajoz. He joined the Society of Jesus on the 14th of September, 1946 and belonged to the cadre of the province of Toledo. We first met while studying Philosophy in Madrid. In 1954 he left for Japan, and it was there that we renewed our acquaintance. We studied Theology in Tokyo and he was ordained as a priest on 20th June, 1959. After that he spent a few years in the Parish Mission in Yamaguchi district where he perfected his grasp of the Japanese language. In all, he spent 27 years in Japan. He died on 25th April, 2000.

He had a special enthusiasm for Japan and Japanese history. In 1981, he was sent to the Oriental department of the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus in Rome. With the death of Father Joseph Francis Schütte, another great admirer of Portugal, he pursued his research about the Jesuits in the Orient, and it was in this field of investigation that he found Japan and Portugal to be inextricably linked.

Historical research always kept the two of us together. He wanted me to write the Prologue or Introduction to his scientific books, published by the Library of the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus, and at that time I was named as editor of his two grand volumes that contain the first

Documents of Japan. In March we were invited by the Tôdai University of Tokyo, and it was shortly after his return that he was summoned by God. We were invited to some Conferences that took place in Lisbon, and the work on which we had collaborated appears in the Papers of these Conferences. I will briefly summarize his literary production, highlighting some of the hallmarks of his literary style and investigation methods.

His first scientific book was published in 1986, and forms the XLV volume in the *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I. (Library of the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus)* series, with the title *The Origins of the Korean Catholic Church from 1566 to 1784, according to unpublished documents from that period.* The subheading is of interest, demonstrating his attention to unpublished documents of that era, from which he gathered immense information. The work contains valuable insights, many of them emanating from the Korean Ambassador to the Holy See. It is typical of his style not to overlook any geographical or biographical details that appear in the text. This work, due to its novelty and sagacity, has been translated into many languages, the first of which was an almost deluxe edition in Japanese, in 1988. It was thought that the true origins of the Korean Church began only in the 19th century. Father Ruiz-de-Medina uncovered a series of documents from the 16th century about Korean converts, beginning with the case of the Japanese *Samurai* who baptised 200 Korean minors in Korea itself. There too, the catechism was already administered. In Japan, before the end of the 16th century, groups of Korean prisoners of war were baptised. In 1593, there existed a seminary for Korean catechists and soon, a veritable Church was formed, consisting of some two thousand Koreans. The first Korean church in history was erected in 1610 by these very same Koreans in exile.

Let us speak of this “scientific curiosity” that so characterized the style of Father Ruiz-de-Medina. In this first work, he writes of the Korean “slaves” in Japan, and then subsequently proceeds to dwell on the subject of slavery, which already existed, well before the arrival of the Portuguese (pg. 54 onwards), the classes of slavery etc. He researched his main information in the very same unpublished manuscripts which were written by Jesuit missionaries. In this methodology, he reminds me of the research work of Professor José L. Alvarez Taladriz, whom he considered to be, as he told me many times, the best researcher of the Christian century in Japan.

1993 was an exceptional period for Father Ruiz-de-Medina’s relationship with Portugal, and with Oriental historians. An International Conference, organized by the Catholic University of Portugal and the New University of Lisbon was held in Lisbon, from 2nd - 5th November, to commemorate 450

years of Portuguese-Japanese ties (1543-1993). The Papers of the Conference were published a year later under the title *Japan's Christian Century*. The members of the Honorary Committee included the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and other Ministers. The Organizing Committee included illustrious names such as Artur Teodoro de Matos and João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, who had a special friendship with Father Ruiz-de-Medina. There were some thirty active participants.

At this Conference, Father Ruiz-de-Medina presented a work of exceptional interest. In the context of the first part on evangelization, he spoke of the *Cultural Interaction in the Orient 30 years before Matteo Ricci*. Missionary work in Japan was, above all, based on a cultural approach and not on conquest. On Xavier's request, Captain Jorge Alvarez wrote an account of the Japan that he had discovered. This account was the first cultural bridge that introduced the world of Japan to Europe. During the first five decades the missionaries in Japan were Jesuits and they did not pursue their work as an armed conquest of the country nor an attempt to Europeanise Japan. Xavier, above all, identified himself with the Portuguese. Soon after, he tried to internationalize the Japanese mission. However, one has to keep in mind that, of the 95 Jesuits who worked in Japan up to 1600, 57 were Portuguese, 20 were Spaniards and 18 Italian. The reign of D. João III and the support offered by him were decisive. Father Ruiz-de-Medina's contention was that, even before the arrival of the Visitor Father Valignano to Japan, or that of Father Ricci to China, there already existed a veritable cultural exchange in the world of music, language, astronomy and customs etc.

Another of the international Conferences in which Father Ruiz-de-Medina participated, was organized by the *Fundação Oriente* and by *Broteria*, from 21st-23rd April, 1997. The Conference was entitled *The Society of Jesus and Missionary Activities in the Orient*. Father Ruiz-de-Medina had a prominent presentation about *Missionary Methods in the Evangelization of Korea*. The Papers of this Conference were published in 2000. Father Ruiz-de-Medina established many dates in the history of the Church in Korea, from the preparation of the Korean people, to conversions such as that of Marina Pak who, after being baptized in Nagasaki in 1606, entered a feminine religious order known as the *Miyako no Bikuni* or Nuns of Miyako (Kyoto), that already existed in Japan. In this presentation, another notable characteristic of the literary style of Ruiz-de-Medina is evident, his flowing, easy to understand manner of writing, incorporating some historical accounts.

His two main volumes comprise part of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, Volumes 137 and 148 respectively, or Volumes 52 and 61 of

the *Monumenta Missionum*. They are entitled *Documentos de Japón* (*Japan Documents*) and while the first encompasses letters and documents from 1547-1557, the second deals with 1558-1562. (Rome 1990, 1995, pg 791, 743 with magnificent illustrations). In all, more than 200 documents. The first Volume contains many letters of Xavier, written from Japan, as well as those of his colleagues (C. de Torres and J. Fernandez), in addition to letters by the first Portuguese missionaries, such as Gaspar Barzeo, Nunes Barreto or Alfonso de Noronha's letters to the King. Other texts of great interest such as the "*Sumario de los errores*" (*Summary of Mistakes*) (c. 1549) introduce us to the religious history of Japan. In the second volume, there are no letters of Xavier, who had died, while there are many letters of the Portuguese missionaries, such as Nunes Barreto, B. Gago, L. Fróis, Cabral, etc. They are of extraordinary cultural, religious and missionary value.

Here, I would highlight the methodology of the book. Each document is preceded by a lengthy introduction, of an especially biographical nature. Then, the sources are identified, which consist of existing manuscripts, and the publication of these sources in various contemporary works. There is no dearth of very interesting notes about the historical, cultural or religious information that is to be found in the document. Finally, in each volume there are some detailed appendices, in the first volume amongst others, one about the famous Saint's Prayer as well as another about Escalante's (a Spanish mariner) Japan, another about the *dôjukus*, *kambôs* and *komonos* (who were lay Japanese assistants), and finally, a glossary of the oriental terms that had appeared in the volume. At the end of volume II, the appendices are noteworthy: the ships to Japan (1543-1562), the *Confradia de la Misericordia* (*the Brotherhood of Charity*), the first Dominicans in Macao, and once again a glossary of the oriental terms used in the volume.

The last work of the historian Juan Ruiz-de Medina was *El Martirologia del Japón, 1558-1873* (*Martyrdom in Japan*), Rome 1999, p. 859, that was published as Vol. LI of the *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I.* (*Library of the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus*) series. I was witness to the love and seriousness with which he prepared this work, for which he had requested me to write a preface. It consists of three large sections, the first of which recounts the nature of martyrdom in Japan during these years - the when, where and ways of martyrdom. The second details the nomenclature of the martyrs or a chronological inventory of the martyrs, that stretches over 530 pages. We can also find here, year after year, the names of the martyrs (both religious or lay), with the addition of a biography and the way in which they were martyred. In all, there are 2072, however, this number does not imply

merely individual martyrs - it sometimes encompasses groups of 30 or 40 martyrs, who died together and it is consequently difficult to identify each one by their individual names. The archival sources, or books, where this information is to be found is always given. Finally, the third section of this book consists of sixteen exceedingly interesting appendices, the result of patient investigation carried out with great thoroughness. Here, he analyses the non Christian sources about martyrdom, the tortures, the apostates and renegades, the age and gender of the martyrs (the study of the martyred children is of interest), the *ex bonzo* (Buddhist priests) martyrs, the preparation for martyrdom, those who were canonized or beatified, etc. etc.

Father Juan Ruiz-de-Medina had great plans for the future, which included another new volume at least of *Documentos*, and the resolution to respond in the affirmative to any proposals from the Universities of Lisbon and the Fundação Oriente, entities to which he felt intimately associated and which enabled him to further and better investigate the history of the Far East.

IN MEMORIAM

AN ENDURING AFFAIR

CHARLES R. BOXER'S FASCINATION WITH JAPAN

Dauril Alden

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From his youth until his nineties the late Charles R. Boxer (1904-2000) was fascinated with Japan, its people, and their culture. Even his harsh wartime imprisonment by the Japanese did not diminish his respect for Japanese people generally, nor did it lead to the sort of bitter hatred of Japan that has characterized many former POWs ever since the Pacific War.

Charles first became interested in Japan's culture when as a young man he visited the home of his paternal grandmother on the Isle of Wight. She possessed a collection of *netsuke*, perhaps given to her by one of Charles's nineteenth-century forebears, a naval officer who participated in a bombardment of Japan in the 1850s. Wishing to learn more, he turned to the then standard Arthur D. Innes, *The History of the World* (7 v. London, 1909). There he discovered that the Portuguese had been the first European people to reach Japan (1543), that they had served as vital intermediaries in the silk trade between the archipelago and China, and that Jesuits in the Portuguese Assistancy had been the first to introduce Christianity there. He also found that during the early seventeenth century both Portuguese merchants and the missionaries were expelled from Japan and that the former were succeeded by aggressive Dutch traders. That was the beginning of Charles Boxer's interest in the imperial histories of those two bitter maritime rivals, the Portuguese and the Dutch. During the 1920s, soon after he received a commission in the Army's Lincolnshire regiment, he began to visit both Holland and Portugal, to learn their languages, and to establish vital links with scholars, archivists, and librarians.

¹ This paper is based on one of the themes in my forthcoming biography of Charles R. Boxer, *Charles R. Boxer: Soldier, Historian, Teacher, Collector, Traveler* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2000).

Beginning in 1926, he began publishing the first group of articles and books that would ultimately total 342. Among the first was his study of the loss of the Portuguese carrack *Madre de Deus*, deliberately destroyed by its captain in the port of Nagasaki in January 1610. Charles was fascinated by the dilemma and courage of Captain André Pessoa and wrote about his exploit repeatedly². He also contributed other essays about both Dutch and Portuguese relations with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japan³.

In 1930 Charles Boxer fulfilled his longtime ambition when he was posted to Japan as a language officer. There, after an intensive language course, he was attached to Japanese military units as an observer-participant. He traveled extensively throughout the archipelago, learned *kendo*, and augmented his growing scholarly library with a collection of rare Japanese books, as well as screens, sword fittings, and drawings⁴.

Charles completed his assignment to Japan in 1933 and returned to Britain where he joined the intelligence staff of the War Office. In 1935 he was invited to Holland by the Royal Netherlands Geographical Society to give two lectures that were expanded into his first book concerning Japanese history. *Jan Compagnie in Japan, 1600-1817: an Essay on the Cultural, Artistic and Scientific Influence exercised by the Hollanders in Japan*⁵, an obviously now dated effort to trace the cultural impact of the Dutch upon Japan.

In 1937 Boxer returned to the Orient. He was assigned to the intelligence staff at Hong Kong as Japanese language specialist. He was destined to remain at that beleaguered outpost for nine years. For the next several years he performed his responsibilities skillfully and competently. He often spent weekends working in the archives of Macao gathering material for future studies, including the silk trade with Japan. In 1939 he and his first wife honeymooned in Japan, where they spent three weeks in June and July ostensibly visiting Kyoto, Kobe, Tokyo, and Nikko, but Charles, who had made several return trips to Japan since 1936, was also consulting colleagues and gathering material for an intelligence report that he prepared for circulation at the highest levels. In that report he warned about the

2. He did so once from memory when he contributed an essay to a barracks magazine when he was a prisoner of war in the Argyle Street Camp in Kowloon in 1943.

3. S. George West, *A List of the Writings of Charles Ralph Boxer Published between 1926 and 1984* (London: Tamesis Books Ltd., 1984), 1-4; alternatively, see Centro de Estudos do Mar, *Homenagem ao Professor Charles Ralph Boxer. A Tribute to Professor Charles Ralph Boxer* (Figueira da Foz, 1999), 72-73.

4. The several hundred Japanese books that Charles acquired are now in the vault of the Lilly Library, Indiana University, where they await a skilled person to catalog and process them. Any interested and qualified person should apply to the Lilly for a Helm fellowship to examine these neglected sources which date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

5. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1936); revised in 1950 and again in 1968.

serious deterioration in Anglo-Japanese relations and concluded that in the event of war Hong Kong was doomed⁶.

Charles Boxer was absolutely correct. On Christmas Day 1941 Hong Kong surrendered to Japanese forces after a brief, bloody, bitter campaign. One of the casualties was Major Charles Boxer. He spent many recuperating in a military hospital and then transferred to the Argyle Street POW Camp in Kowloon. There he became implicated in the exchange of secret messages between the POW camps and a Sino-British underground. He also translated and disseminated news obtained via a secretly built and operated camp radio. The Japanese discovered those activities and Charles was among those arrested. He was rigorously questioned, though not tortured. Though some of his comrades were executed, he was spared but was sentenced to five years at hard labor, a punishment initially performed in solitary in Stanley Prison and later in a Canton jail.

Following Japan's surrender, Charles Boxer was liberated and returned to duty. However, he left Hong Kong in October 1945 and sailed to the United States, where he joined the American freelance writer Emily Hahn whom he married soon after his arrival in New York City. In January 1946 Boxer returned to Japan. Unlike many former POWs, he did not approach the stricken former enemy with hostility or with the spirit of vengeance. Despite the punishment that he had received and the loss of many of his comrades at arms, he bore no animosity toward the Japanese people. He once told a fellow former POW that "the war's over and its time that you forgot about it."⁷ That was an uncommon view but it was one shared by a number of other former captives in the Orient.

Charles's willingness to forget the past stood him in good stead with a group of Japanese scholars whom he had known and admired before the war. One recounted their encounter in a famous Tokyo bookstore in mid January 1946. As Koda Shigetomo recalled in his memoirs,

"When I arrived [...] he was already there. Since I fairly danced up the stairs in anticipation, he must have heard my step, because he quietly folded the old edition of an Edo picture scroll he was examining, rose from his chair, and walked [...] in my direction. [...] we grasped each other's hands in a very warm handshake. We greeted each other with the same words, 'How good to see you,' simple words that conveyed a wealth of meaning. [...]my

6. "Notes on a Visit to Japan during June-July, 1939," 15 July 1939 (Copy No. 2), Great Britain, Public Records Office, FO371/23573.

7. Interview with Bill Wiseman, St. Albans, 25 Nov. 1997.

eyes were watering. [Several other Japanese scholars soon joined the town] and we adjourned to a *tatami* room on the 3d floor. There, with light filtering in from the glass door, our conversation moved from one subject to another, but both he and we were careful not to speak about the recent war or about Boxer's present mission. Our guest that day was not the British army officer nor the member of the Far Eastern Commission but the great historian and book collector.

I have often heard that Westerners carry pictures of their loved ones [...] into battle. When I asked Boxer if he had carried such pictures on his person, he pulled out his wallet and said, 'See, I still do.' And he showed me a small fragment of an ancient manuscript with the Roman letters 'tadaoqui' [Hosokawa Tadaoki, a famous seventeenth-century daimyô] printed on it, and another with the signature of the great Portuguese historian Diogo de Couto dating back to 1612. 'Splendid!' I exclaimed, 'that's what I would have expected of you.'⁸

Boxer was in Tokyo as a member of a British advisory delegation headed by George Sansom. Sansom and Boxer had become close friends since the early 1930s and Sansom arranged for him to join the team so that he could search for his highly esteemed scholarly library. Japanese troops had seized it immediately after the fall of Hong Kong and it subsequently vanished. Ultimately Charles successfully traced it to a library and museum in Ueno. Except for a few missing volumes, most of his collection of over a thousand mostly rare items was still crated with his name on the boxes. By 1947 his library had been returned to him in Great Britain.

That year Boxer resigned from the Army and accepted the Camões chair at King's College, London, though he lacked the conventional academic qualifications for such a position. With one brief interlude, he retained that chair from 1947 until 1967. Those were the years when Charles Boxer crafted many of his most important writings. Several of them pertained to Japan. The best known is *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650*, portions of which he had assembled since the 1920s.⁹ In that masterful volume Boxer analyzed the beginnings, growth, and violent suppression of Christianity in Japan

8. Koda Shigetomo, *Zenshu*, 7 (Tokyo: Chuo Koron-sha, 1972), 294-299. I am very grateful to Dr. Michael Cooper for having found this source and to Fr. Francis Mathy, S.J. of Sophia University (Tokyo) for kindly translating the text.

9. (Berkeley: University of California, 1951), reprinted (Manchester: Carcanet, 1993). In 1926 the editor of a Portuguese periodical announced that Boxer had in preparation "um outro vasto trabalho que intitula 'Subsidios para a história dos Portugueses no Japão, 1542-1640.'" *Boletim da Agência das Colônias* (Sept.-Oct. 1926), Pt. V, 41. Some have objected to the title *Christian Century* but that was a creation of the publisher, not the author who, in fact, did not care for it.

during the inclusive years. He gave particular emphasis to the endeavors of the Jesuits whom he admired for their ethics, intelligence, and courage, but he also was sympathetic toward their Franciscan rivals, who were among the first Christian martyrs in Japan. The book won praise from leading Far Eastern specialists in the United States including Edwin O. Reischauer and Kenneth Scott Latourette.

Two other books that Boxer wrote about the same time also warrant mention. The first is *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550-1770*, a work that Charles originally hoped would attract commercial publishers in the United States. When it failed to do so he arranged for its publication in The Hague by his old friend Martinus Nijhoff. It has been reprinted several times since its 1948 imprint. Although the primary focus of the book's fifteen essays is upon Macao, several of the essays relate to Portuguese activities in Japan. One is entitled "*The Great Ship from Amacon*." Like classical musical composers, Charles often reused titles that caught his fancy. In this instance he utilized the same title for one of his most cited publications, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640*.¹⁰ That volume marked a return to one of Boxer's favorite themes, the silk trade between South China and Japan, for which he now provided documents drawn from archives in Goa, Lisbon, The Hague, and Japanese sources as well as supporting commentary.

By the time *The Great Ship from Amacon* was published Boxer's interests had shifted away from the Far East. He became more concerned about the activities of the Portuguese and the Dutch in Brazil and India, for example. But he always retained his personal interest in Japan and visited the archipelago to see old friends there frequently. He made his last trip in 1991 at the invitation of Tenri University. It was then that he read his last paper and was prominently interviewed by a leading Tokyo newspaper. Though in declining health and burdened by diminished vision, he retained his interest in Japan until nearly the end of his days. Not long ago the emperor of Japan visited London and was rudely treated by still embittered former prisoners of war. Charles Boxer strongly disapproved. His death was a loss for Japan and for much of the rest of the world.

10. (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1960), several times reprinted.

Note to Contributors

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