

# CATECHISMVS CHRISTIANAE

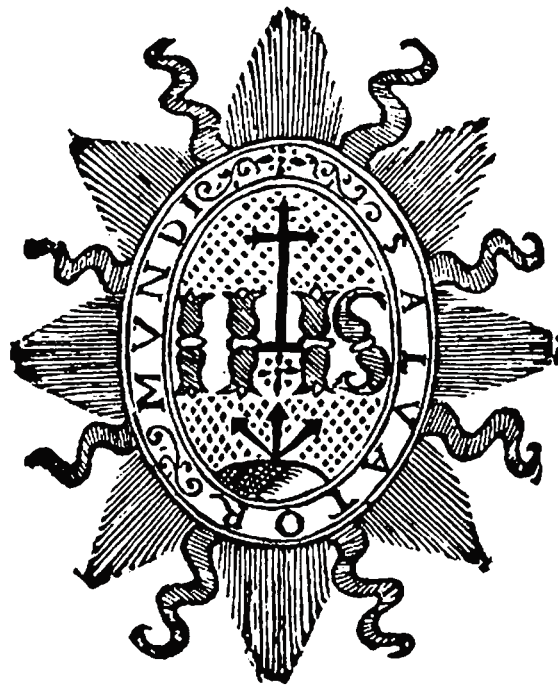
FIDEI, IN QVO VERITAS

nostræ religionis ostenditur, & sectæ

Iaponenses confutantur, editus à

Patre Alexandro Valignano

Societatis IESV.



Cum facultate supremi Senatus sanctæ & generalis  
Inquisitionis, & Ordinarij.

*Olyssipone, excudebat Antonius Ribcrius.*

1586.

*Kirishitan Bunko*

# Alessandro Valignano and the Christian Press in Japan

RUI MANUEL LOUREIRO\*

Alessandro Valignano, at the end of his first visit to Japan, was responsible for organising a complex Jesuit propaganda operation that has been designated in specialized literature as the “first Japanese embassy to Europe”.<sup>1</sup> The Jesuit Visitor conceived of the project to send a delegation of young Japanese converts to the European Catholic sovereigns, for two fundamental purposes. The first was to publicise the spiritual inroads that the Jesuits had made in Japan in order to gain renewed material support from certain rulers and to arouse new missionary zeal amongst young Europeans. The visit to Europe, under Jesuit patronage, of legates from several Japanese potentates could provide immense dividends for the Society of Jesus in terms of their missionary strategy. Secondly, the Japanese envoys would have the opportunity to make first-hand contact with Europe, thereby being able to confirm the image of Europe that the Jesuits tried to transmit to the Japanese Christians. After their return to Japan, the envoys could spread to their fellow countrymen their impressions of the trip, and especially the important role that the Society of Jesus played in the

nations of southern Europe, particularly the main Catholic courts.

Valignano’s plans were strictly executed. In February 1582 a group of four Japanese youths, close relatives of the *daimyo* of Bungo, Arima and Omura, travelled in Portuguese ships under Jesuit escort from Japan to Lisbon, with landfall at the ports of Macao, Malacca and Goa. Having arrived in Europe in August of 1584, the Japanese delegates undertook an extensive journey through the main centres of civil and religious power in the Catholic world, visiting Madrid, where they met King Phillip II, and Rome, where they were received by two successive popes, Gregory XIII and Sixtus V. The whole visit was carefully monitored by the Jesuits, and obviously the Japanese only saw what they were allowed to see. In 1587 they set off on their return to India, bound for the islands of Japan, where they would finally arrive in July 1590, after another stopover in Macao.

The Japanese delegation, in spite of its ambiguous nature in purely diplomatic terms, seems to have been enormously successful from the propaganda point of view, which was what most interested Alessandro Valignano. From then onwards, the Jesuit mission to Japan began to enjoy greater visibility all over Europe, sparking off a significant growth in missionary vocations amongst young people, as well as increased patronage by European sponsors. From the Japanese point of view, it is difficult to evaluate whether the objectives initially anticipated were in fact attained, since in the meantime

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the situation in Japan had undergone important changes. Oda Nobunaga, previously a Jesuit supporter, was tragically removed from the scene in 1582, power being assumed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. This continued the violent process of political unification of the Japanese archipelago, which in 1590, when the delegation returned, was practically concluded. Jesuit interests had suffered serious reverses. After 1587, Nagasaki, the great Christian port of Japan, was beginning to come under the direct control of the central government, and the imperial regent or *kanpaku*, a title

assumed by Hideyoshi, had promulgated the first anti-Christian edict in the same year, decreeing the immediate expulsion of all missionaries from the Japanese archipelago.

The now hegemonic political forces in Japan had understood the danger that a foreign religion represented. The rigid application of some of its precepts could subvert basic principles of *bushido*, the code of honour that governed the behaviour of the Japanese warring class. Solidarity between Christians, often from different social strata, created obstacles to

the operation of the rigid hierarchical norms that moulded Japanese society, especially in moments of open conflict between rival *daimyos* such as frequently occurred in Japan. Although Hideyoshi's first decree was not implemented, the future of Christianity in Japan suddenly seemed to be seriously compromised. However, putting aside this situation, which would have such a tragic outcome in the mid-term, the Japanese embassy had important cultural consequences that are worth highlighting.

Its impact in Europe provoked a flurry of texts, resulting in the publication of dozens of works in European cities, above all in Italian, German, French and Spanish.<sup>2</sup> In 1585 alone, when the young Japanese were still travelling around the European continent, there appeared no fewer than 80 printed works specifically dedicated to Japan.<sup>3</sup> In the following years the editorial pace, although falling off a little, would remain high. Alongside general or partial reports of the daily life of the Japanese

*Tratado  
dos  
Embaixadores Japões  
que foram de Japão a Roma  
no Anno de  
1582.*

*Capitulo primeiro  
De como se ordenou a Em  
baixada dos Senhores Japões  
para Europa.  
E de sua partida para  
a China.*

*De Roma foi enviado por Visitador das Índias Ori  
entais o Sr. Alexandre Valignano pelo Nôbre Sr. Jeronimo En  
rardo Mercuriano de Santa Memoria. o qual depois de  
ter visitado as partes da India, Malaca, e China, veio á  
Japão, á onde comtudo se achou, visitou pessoalmente  
os Principaes Christãos das partes de Xomo, a que por en  
to se nome chamava Saiaca, e quer dizer os Regnos de  
de Occidente, e Japão Nova, e as Continuidades em Fim.*

*Tratado dos Embaixadores Japões que foram de Japão a Roma no Anno de 1582*, by Luís Fróis, Lisbon: National Library, manuscript copy from the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

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delegation there appear geographical descriptions and ethnographies of Japan, as well as edifying chronicles of the Jesuits' missionary activities, frequently in the form of anthologies of letters. The Society of Jesus, naturally, emerges as the instigator, or even editor, of many of these works, which constitute an orchestrated propaganda campaign.

Surprisingly, Portugal remained at the margin of this intense publishing process, with only one exception. This fact may be explained by specific publishing circumstances, although it also could have been a deliberate choice of the Jesuits, who from the outset had the guaranteed support of the main Portuguese authorities for their foreign missions. At the centre of Portuguese political decision-making, Japan was already well known, so, unlike other areas of Catholic Europe, Portugal did not need any special propaganda effort.

The exception referred to above was obviously *Catechismus Christianae Fidei, in quo veritas nostrae religionis ostenditur, et sectae Iaponenses confutantur*, by Alessandro Valignano, published in Lisbon in 1586 in two volumes by different printers. Rather than a work destined for European consumption, it was an extended catechism destined for the Japanese mission, prepared by the Italian Visitor during his first expedition to Japan, and brought in manuscript form to Lisbon by the Jesuits accompanying the four Japanese delegates.<sup>4</sup> The recourse to two Lisbon printers would have been an attempt at speeding up the printing, so that the edition would be ready before the departure of the embassy at the end of their European journey. According to Luís Fróis' later testimony, Valignano produced this text in Funai, in about 1580. Besides the precepts of the Christian religion, the manual contained, as its title suggests, refutations of the main Buddhist faiths that the Visitor had prepared with the aid of "some Japanese knowledgeable in these sects."<sup>5</sup> A Japanese version of the manuscript of *Catechismus* was immediately written, the remains of which were recently discovered inside a screen conserved at the Biblioteca Pública of Évora.<sup>6</sup>

Not all the texts produced at the time concerning the Japanese embassy had the honour of being printed. At least one voluminous summary went unpublished. *Tratado dos Embaixadores Japões que forão de Japão a Roma no Anno de 1582*, composed by Luís Fróis,

provides a detailed description of the daily activities of the young Japanese from their departure from Nagasaki in 1582 to their return to Japan eight years later. The Jesuit priest accompanied, step by step, the Japanese delegates' trip through the main European courts, highlighting the encounters between the envoys and many European civil and religious rulers. From the detailed report by Fróis, it can be deduced that the visit was carefully prepared by the Society of Jesus. The Japanese were constantly supervised by the Jesuits, and all meetings or activities took place under the supervision of the Ignatians. Father Diogo de Mesquita, who served as interpreter, hardly ever left the young Japanese, whose days always ended in palaces, elegant houses or religious buildings, although they tended to return to Jesuit establishments to sleep.<sup>7</sup>

From the point of view of the production and circulation of texts, the Japanese embassy to Europe had other important consequences. During the European journey, the Japanese delegation had the opportunity to discover at first hand the extraordinary printing industry in Catholic Europe. They even acquired a significant collection of printed works, above all in the form of gifts offered by some of the figures they met. That basic library, which was intended to inform the Japanese about European culture, seems to have included titles such as the *De rebus Emmanuelis Lusitaniae regis* by Bishop Jerónimo Osório, printed in Lisbon in 1571; the work of Francisco Albertini *De mirabilibus noue et ueteris urbis Rome*, printed various times in Rome during the last decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, a magnificent compilation of maps organised by Abraham Ortelius, perhaps some of the editions printed in the Netherlands starting from the early 1570s; some volumes of *Praecipuarum ciuitatum orbis terrarum theatrum*, published in Cologne from 1572 by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg; and many other works dedicated to such varied themes as music, clothing, architecture or hunting.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, the most important cultural repercussion of the Japanese embassy to Europe would have been of an indirect nature. On the orders of Alessandro Valignano, on returning to India in 1587, the Jesuits brought with them a European printing press with movable metal type, destined for the mission in Japan. Some of the companions of the Japanese delegation had learned the rudiments of the art of printing in

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Lisbon and put their knowledge to the test soon after their arrival in Goa. In the following year, at St. Paul's College, they printed *Oratio habita a Fara D. Martino*, a eulogistic speech given by one of the Japanese emissaries during the reception of the embassy organised in the capital of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*.<sup>9</sup> After a lengthy stay at their port-of-call on the Indian coast, the Japanese delegation and its accompanying Jesuits continued their voyage, this time accompanied by Alessandro Valignano. They took the printing press acquired in Europe, which was set up again and put to use in Macao, while they waited there for a favourable monsoon to set sail for Japan.

Two works were printed in the Macao establishment of the Society of Jesus, both destined for the Japanese mission. First was a manual of Christian education by the Spanish pedagogue and moralist Juan Bonifacio, *Christiani Pueri Institutio, adolescentiae que perfugium*, which was printed in 1588.<sup>10</sup> It was not an exact reproduction of the other European editions of the same work, printed from 1575 onwards. Rather, it was an adaptation, certainly prepared under the direction of Valignano, as can be proven by its references to the Japanese reality.<sup>11</sup> It brought together testimonies from classic, patristic and medieval authors considered fundamental for the training of Catholic youth. The fathers of the Society of Jesus inaugurated a practice, continued for years in later publications, of adapting referential works of European Catholic culture to certain Asian contexts, thereby putting into practice the suppositions of missionary adaptationism of which Valignano was the main proponent.<sup>12</sup>

The second work published in Macao on the Jesuit press, this time in 1590, was the famous dialogue *De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam*, which has sometimes been attributed to Duarte de Sande, at other times to Alessandro Valignano himself.<sup>13</sup> The extensive Latin dialogues, in which the Japanese youths are the various interlocutors, gives an account of the journey of the Japanese delegation to Europe, at the same time serving as a didactic introduction to European civilization and its Asian extension in Goa and Macao. Everything, including his own declarations on the subject, leads us to believe that the work was composed by Alessandro Valignano based on notes written by the various Japanese who participated in the diplomatic mission.

The Visitor usually used Jesuit secretaries in the preparation of his many writings, so the possibility of intervention by his religious colleagues in the preparation of the original version of the work should not be entirely ruled out. It may have been written in Portuguese, Castilian, or a mixture of both languages. In a second phase, the translation into Latin was undertaken by Father Duarte de Sande, one of the most learned Jesuits then stationed in Macao, carrying out the functions of Superior of the Chinese missions of the Society of Jesus.<sup>14</sup> It is quite probable that the name of Valignano was not associated with the authorship of *De Missione Legatorum* on purpose, so that he could carry out censorship functions, thereby speeding up the printing process. Indeed, the bishop, Leonardo de Sá, would entrust to the Italian Visitor "the examination of the book... on the embassy of the Japanese delegates to the Roman Curia."<sup>15</sup>

Numerous copies of the catechism by Valignano printed in Lisbon would have arrived in Japan, as well as the two titles published by the Jesuits in Macao. But the very act of the Society of Jesus publishing works in Latin for the Japanese missions raises an important question. To whom would these works have been destined, written in a language of which the Japanese, even the minority converted to Christianity, had no command? Details of the content of the three works lead to the supposition that the heads of the Society of Jesus, and above all Valignano, were overoptimistic regarding the diffusion of Latin in Japan. In the opening of *De Missione Legatorum*, the Visitor signs a letter directed "to the students of the Japanese seminaries".<sup>16</sup> In a dispatch that he sent to Rome at the same time, Valignano outlined an authentic pedagogic program for Japan based on the works already printed in Lisbon and Macao, and including the compulsory learning of the Latin language by the Japanese neophytes.<sup>17</sup> However, as would prove to be the case, such optimism was not justified, unless, of course, the works in Latin were destined to be used by the European missionaries themselves, which does not seem very probable.

After the brief interlude in Macao, the members of the Jesuit expedition to Europe continued their

*De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam curiam*,  
by Alessandro Valignano & Duarte de Sande, Macao:  
Society of Jesus College, 1590.



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DE MISSIONE  
LEGATORVM IAPONEN

sium ad Romanam curiam, rebusq; in  
Europa, ac toto itinere animaduersis  
DIALOGVS

EX EPHEMERIDE IPSORVM LEGATORVM COL-  
LEGTVS, & IN SERMONEM LATINVM VERSVS  
ab Eduardo de Sande Sacerdote Societatis  
IESV.

*de Collegi*



*de Collegi*

In Macaensi portu Sinici regni in domo  
Societatis I E S V cum facultate  
Ordinarij, & Superiorum.

Anno 1590.



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voyage with Valignano and the printing press, heading for Japan, where they arrived in July 1590.<sup>18</sup> In spite of the political changes that had meanwhile occurred in the archipelago, forcing the closure of the Jesuit college in Funai and the seminaries in Arima and Adzuki, and notwithstanding the storms that had gathered on the horizon, the Society of Jesus continued its work under Father Gaspar Coelho's general direction.<sup>19</sup> Ignatian teaching establishments and catechists continued to function, namely in Katsusa, Amakusa and Nagasaki. The contemporary missionary accounts even reveal a substantial growth in conversions to Christianity among the Japanese, and the missionary contingent comprised 140 Jesuits, including Europeans and Japanese.

In March 1591 Alessandro Valignano was received in Kyoto by Hideyoshi as the envoy of the Portuguese viceroy for the *Estado da Índia*. As a result of this formal audience, the Jesuits' activities were more or less tolerated by the central power, despite the rather undiplomatic reply that the *kanpaku* gave to the letter of Duarte de Meneses. Reading between the lines of Hideyoshi's reply, it appears that only material interests, related to the regular arrival of Portuguese shipping in Nagasaki, explained the tolerance that the Japanese central power extended to the Jesuits' activities.<sup>20</sup> A decisive role in all the conversations with the Japanese despot seems to have been played by João Rodrigues, a Jesuit priest who had been in Japan since 1577 and whose command of the complex Japanese language was so good that he was known as *tsuzu*, meaning "interpreter".<sup>21</sup>

Surprisingly, and somewhat paradoxically, at the precise moment when the irreversible decline of the Society of Jesus was pronounced, it would adopt increasingly determined "adaptationist" cultural practices under the direction of Valignano.<sup>20</sup> The missionaries conducted a thorough and systematic study of Japanese language and culture; they engaged in a more direct dialogue with their congregations, progressively dispensing with linguistic middlemen; and they adopted many of the social and cultural practices of Japan, gradually abandoning any intentions they may have had to introduce European ways to the Japanese. The Society of Jesus, in the interest of spreading Christianity, argued in favour of adapting to the Japanese. In the meantime, the printing press brought from Europe was immediately placed at the service of missionary activity, producing a notable and innovative

series of printed texts.<sup>23</sup> Speaking metaphorically, these texts were merely the tip of the iceberg; the bulk of it would consist of a truly astonishing collection of handwritten materials. In 1595, writing to his fellow missionaries in the land of the rising sun, Alessandro Valignano wrote: "Now our members have not only dealt with art and vocabulary, but also published many books in Japan, so that this tongue is as easy and familiar as our own."<sup>24</sup>

The first work published by the Jesuit printing press in Japan would have been *Sanctos no gosageveo no vchi nvqigaqi quan dai ichi*, which was printed in Katsusa, in the society's college in 1591.<sup>25</sup> The edition consists of two volumes bound together with a total of about 700 pages, but with two different frontispieces, the first of which has the date in Roman numerals, while the second has the date in Arabic ciphers. The translation of the title would be something like *Compendium of the Acts of the Saints*. It is a set of edifying tales of devotion and martyrdom, compiled and adapted from European religious works, especially the anthology *Flos sanctorum*, also known as *The Golden Legend*, by Jacobo de Vorágine. The Japanese compilation further includes a treatise on martyrdom, adapted from *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe* by Friar Luis de Granada, a title printed for the first time in Salamanca in 1582. Evidently, these essential works of Christian culture would have been available in the libraries of Jesuit establishments in Japan. However, to underline its eminently didactic nature, the work included a final glossary of 72 pages, with explanations of more than 2,000 terms in Japanese and Portuguese.<sup>26</sup>

*Sanctos no gosageveo no* was destined for Jesuit schools since the text is a Japanese translation in the Latin alphabet. Handling the volume would require some familiarity with European writing. The compilation could also be used for oral reading by European missionaries in gatherings with Japanese neophytes. In passing, it can be observed that the publication of these texts assumed an almost prophetic character, given the destiny later reserved for the Christian missionaries and their more obstinate proselytes. Could the choice of themes and texts be

*Sanctos no gosageveo no vchi nvqigaqi quan dai ichi* [1<sup>st</sup> Part],  
Katsusa: Society of Jesus College, 1591.

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# SANCTOS NOGOSAGVEONO

VCHINUQIGAQI  
quan darichi



FIENNO CVNITACACVNOGVN  
ESVS NO COMPANHIANOCOLLEGIO

Cazzusa ni voite Superiores no von yuruxi uo cò  
muai coge uo fan to nafu mono nari. Goxuxxe'izai

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linked to the prohibitive decree issued by Hideyoshi? It is possible that the Jesuits had seen dark clouds on the horizon of Japanese missionary work and concluded that it would be tactically advisable to spread exemplary literature in preparation for future adversities, or else it could have been an implicit homage to the main founder of the Society of Jesus, since the role that Vorágine's work had played in the conversion of Ignatius Loyola, some decades before, was very well known.

It is worth mentioning, however, that the Jesuits—in this case as in others that would follow—produced their own work, not a mere translation. The originals used were subject to multiple adaptations, both at a lexical level as well as in terms of the content, with systematic recourse to specifically Japanese terms and analogies. For example, the whole terminology relating to Roman paganism is associated with Buddhism and Shintoism. The Jesuit brothers Paulo Yofu and his son Vicente Hoin, who had entered the Society of Jesus together in 1580, were responsible for the translations, and both of them gained a wide and deserved reputation for the perfection of their knowledge of written Japanese language as revealed by their texts.

As experts they contributed in a truly decisive way to the linguistic works of the Christian mission, as the Jesuits' own sources recognize. Luís Fróis wrote of Paulo Yofu, "Many of the lives of the saints have been translated by him, and other things by our authors, for the elegance, excellence and delicacy of his language is highly acceptable to the Japanese."<sup>27</sup> An Ignatian catalogue of 1593 referred to "Brother Hoin Vincent, Japan," affirming that he "has composed and translated in the Japanese language the greater part of the spiritual and learned books that are now edited in that tongue."<sup>28</sup> However, in translating for an exotic cultural reality, the Japanese Jesuits necessarily had recourse to analogies from the Japanese world with which they were familiar. In the Japanese context, the enemies of Christendom were the Buddhists and the Shintoists. It is quite probable that prior to the printed edition some of the texts included in *Sanctos no gosagveono* had already circulated in manuscript form. It has not been possible to ascertain if there had been a manuscript or printed version of this work, or part of it, in Japanese characters.<sup>29</sup>

Due to political upheavals, the European printing press was transferred to the Amakusa College, where, in 1592, the production of a new work was

concluded in romanised Japanese. Its full title was *Nippon no Iesus no Companhia no Superior yori Christan ni soto no cotouari no tagaino mondo no gotoqu xidai no vacachi tamo Doctrina*, a book of Christian doctrine especially prepared by Alessandro Valignano and translated by Japanese colleagues.<sup>30</sup> Let us remember that Francis Xavier, at the time of his stay in Japan from 1549-1551, had taken the trouble to prepare a catechism in romanised Japanese as a minimum requirement for access to a Japanese audience ignorant of European languages. Valignano himself, a few years before, had a catechism in Latin published in Lisbon destined for the missions of Japan. This work, of an eminently practical and pedagogic nature, contained the basic teachings of the Christian religion in a hundred or so pages, with prayers, commandments, sins, sacraments, virtues, works of charity, etc. It would very probably have been one of the most circulated titles in the context of the Catholic mission, which would explain the publication of new slightly expanded editions at the Jesuit College of Nagasaki in 1600, with titles like *Dochirina Kirishitan* and *Orasho in Honyaku*.<sup>31</sup>

The specialized bibliography makes reference to a *Dochirina Kirishitan* in Chinese and Japanese characters prepared in 1591 or 1592 at the Amakusa College, the only known copy of which is in an Italian library.<sup>32</sup> The absence of a frontispiece does not allow us to determine the exact printing date, but it is presumed to have been printed at the end of 1591 or in the first weeks of the following year since the work is mentioned in documents emanating from a Jesuit meeting held in Nagasaki in the first fortnight of February 1592. However, the fact of being printed on paper in Chinese and Japanese characters suggests the use of wood-block printing processes in this work because the moveable typeface press brought by Alessandro Valignano, as far as can be ascertained, only had characters of the Latin alphabet. The structure of this basic catechism is similar to other works of the same type produced in the missionary context. Certainly it would have been an indispensable complement to the romanised Japanese catechism referred to above. While the edition in Chinese and Japanese characters was used by the Japanese Christians, the edition in Latin characters would have been suitable, above all, for the Jesuit missionaries and their lay assistants. Both versions of the Japanese

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# FIDES NO DÕXI to xite P. F. Luis de Grana- da amaretaru xo no riacu.

Core uo Companhia no Superiores no go Gicatu  
vomotte Nippon no cotoba ni valu.



JESVS NO COMPANHIA NO  
Collegio Amakusa ni voite Superiores no go men  
qto toxite core uo fan ni qizamu mono nari.  
Go xaxxe yari M. D. L. XXXXII.

*Fides no doxi*, by Luis de Granada,  
Amakusa: Society of Jesus College, 1592.

catechism, in Latin characters and in Sino-Japanese characters, would have been published together. In defence of this hypothesis it can be added that, years later in 1600, when a new catechism in romanised Japanese was printed in Nagasaki, the Jesuits simultaneously had a new edition of the *Christian Doctrine* printed in Sino-Japanese characters. This time, however, the printing was the work of a Christian Japanese typographer, Goto Tomé Soin, who had a wood-block print workshop in the aforementioned Portuguese-Japanese port of Nagasaki.

Indeed, at the beginning of that same year of 1600, the Jesuit Gabriel de Matos wrote that the “printing in the letters of Japan was placed outside of this House, entrusting it to one of the main Christians of Nangazaqui.” According to the same source, this Japanese printer had already printed “in Japanese characters a treatise on everything necessary to instruct a Christian”, certainly the catechism.<sup>33</sup> From then onwards, the businessman of Nagasaki would have had the responsibility of printing Christian works in Chinese and Japanese characters, using wood block printing methods. As he also had the right to sell them, it would undoubtedly have been good business, given the size of the Christian community.

1592 saw another Jesuit publication appear from Amakusa in Japan, *Fides no doxi to xite P. F. Luis de Granada amaretaru xo no riacu*, an abbreviated Japanese version of the fifth part of *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe* by Friar Luis de Granada.<sup>34</sup> It is a voluminous work of more than 600 pages that, according to the foreword, had been translated and adapted for romanised Japanese by Father Pedro Román. However, as was customary in all the enterprises of this style, the Spanish Jesuit would have benefited from the collaboration of Paulo Yoyo and/or Vicente Hoin. Friar Luis de Granada was one of the most respected 16<sup>th</sup>-century Iberian theologians, who had spent many years living in Portugal and whose works had been repeatedly published in the European press. The translation of his texts made one of the most current European discussions on Aristotelian thought available to the Japanese public and, above all, to the students of the Jesuit colleges.

In 1593 the Japanese press of the Society of Jesus published various new productions in romanised Japanese. First was a study on Japan, *Feige no Monogatori* or *Heike Monogatori*, from its complete title *Nifon no cotoba to Historia uo narai xiran to fossuru fito no tameni xeva ni yavaragvetaru Feige no Monogatori*, printed at Amakusa College. Although the frontispiece is dated 1592, the work would only have been concluded in the following year, as the date of the foreword testifies. It is a volume of about 400 pages, romanised by Fabian Fucan, one of the most controversial Japanese to have converted to Christianity since years later he would be the author of violent anti-Christian writings.<sup>35</sup> This work was explicitly intended to give Jesuits a better and deeper knowledge of Japanese civilization since it

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presented a classic Japanese epic poem in an abbreviated form. Relating the struggle between two powerful clans of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, numerous episodes of this warring saga were aired in popular ballads.<sup>36</sup>

Specimens of the Japanese original, in Chinese and Japanese characters, would certainly have existed at the library of the Jesuit college in Amakusa or else in one of the other establishments of the Society of Jesus. Would these have been block printed works or manuscript copies? It is not completely certain whether printed or block-printed editions of the celebrated Japanese war romance existed before the Jesuit edition. For didactic reasons, the person responsible for the Amakusa edition presented the text in dialogue form, certainly bearing in mind future use in Jesuit colleges. It should not be forgotten that the standards of a d a p t a t i o n recommended a deep familiarization with Japanese language and culture, a process that would inevitably have to include the classics of Japanese literature.

A specimen of this work is conserved in a London library bound with two other texts of Jesuit origin, also printed in 1593. Firstly, *Esopo no Fabulas*, printed in Amakusa in 1593 consisting of about 100 pages, presented an adaptation in romanised Japanese of seventy fables by the well-known Greek author Aesop.<sup>37</sup> This text, somewhat unusual in the Jesuits' series of publications, would have had the objective of presenting lessons of a moral character from the western tradition to a Japanese audience, which to a certain degree would prepare them for later conversion to Christianity. One or more European editions would

have been available in the Jesuit libraries in Japan. Secondly, the presses of Amakusa published a brief anthology of oriental proverbs, especially Chinese, with the title of *Xixo xixxo nadono vchiyori nuqi idaxi quincuxuto naso mono nari* (*The Collection of Golden Proverbs*), consisting of about 50 pages. This title contained a collection of 282 proverbs in romanised Japanese transcriptions, drawn and adapted from Japanese and Chinese classical works, namely from two

compilations by the Zen-Buddhist monk, Eicho, of the *Four Books* of Confucius and the *Seven Books* on Japanese military art. It seems evident that the manuscripts of these Japanese texts would have existed in the libraries of some of the Jesuit establishments. The translation of Aesop's fables, as well as the adaptation of the Chinese and Japanese sayings, could have been the work of the Jesuit brother Cosme Takai. The reason for the production of these editions is obvious. They were intended to compare aspects of the traditional wisdom of Europe and Japan in a didactic form.

Besides the titles mentioned, specimens of various other works of the *Kirishitan bunko*

(Christian library) are known from references in specialized bibliographies. During the following years, until at least 1611, the Christian press, in both Amakusa and Nagasaki, kept on publishing texts of the most diverse nature at the initiative of the Jesuits. Without providing an exhaustive list of those titles, it is relevant to analyse some general lines of the operation of the Christian press in Japan, and also explore in greater detail one or more significant works.



*Gvia do Pecador* [vol. 1] by Luis de Granada, Nagasaki: Society of Jesus College, 1599.

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Concerning the technical characteristics, the metal Roman type that had been brought from Europe was used for works in Portuguese, Latin, a romanised version of the Japanese language (*romanji*), or a mixture of the various languages used in the mission. Other works were composed in the Japanese language with some of the existing variants of Sino-Japanese script (*katakana* and *hiragana*), using wooden characters in the first phase and movable metal typeface in later stages.<sup>38</sup> In 1600 Father Gabriel de Matos, writing of Nagasaki, said that there already existed “a large number of copies of dies for Japanese characters.”<sup>39</sup> However, the high number of existing ideograms never allowed the full development of printing with Chinese or Japanese movable type, since the forms of wood-block printing were substantially faster and more economical, thereby reducing the costs involved in the operation.

There is currently a count of twenty-nine different titles published by the Jesuit press in Japan, of which one or more specimens are known.<sup>40</sup> It is calculated that at least another twenty-five Christian works would have been printed, of which no specimens have been located to date.<sup>41</sup> Starting from the hypothesis that each edition would have about 1,000 copies, it can be supposed that more than 30,000 books printed by the Society of Jesus would have been distributed throughout Japan in the relatively short space of two and a half decades. To this number it would be necessary to add the thousands of manuscripts produced over the years that would have been distributed by Jesuit establishments and Christian communities. The existence of manuscript copies of printed works reveals that the supply of printed works was not enough to satisfy the demand.

Although the printing press used by the Jesuits came from Europe, the paper and ink consumed were, with rare exceptions, of local origin. Japan had a long tradition of paper production, with more than fifty different qualities manufactured from different “barks of trees.”<sup>42</sup> The Japanese paper, however, was finer than the European, only allowing printing on a single side. Therefore, although some print runs used Japanese paper or paper of Chinese origin, the most valuable editions were printed on European paper. Already in 1583 Alessandro Valignano had asked his European colleagues to request from the Iberian crown an annual supply of paper for the Jesuit mission in Japan.

Due to the superior quality of the raw materials employed, whether of European or Asian origin, some of the surviving printed texts produced on the Christian press in Japan are in an excellent state of preservation. The ink used by the Jesuits, both on their manuscripts as well as in printing, may have been of Chinese or Japanese origin. It would have been equivalent to what is designated today as india ink, manufactured from a variety of vegetable, mineral and animal substances. As a contemporary Jesuit author relates, this ink was presented in solid “cakes” that were later reduced to a powder and mixed with water to obtain the desired consistency, according to whether it was intended to be used for writing with a quill, drawing with a paintbrush, or printing with metal or wooden type.<sup>43</sup>

From a thematic point of view, the publications of the Jesuit press in Japan tried to follow the general adaptationist programme planned by Alessandro Valignano, which recommended, on one hand, the learning of the Japanese language and culture by the European monks and the familiarisation of the Japanese, on the other, with Catholic culture and the Latin language. Various examples of European texts for Japanese consumption have been mentioned, as well as of Japanese texts destined for the missionary Jesuits. Other examples can be pointed out, like the two editions of the *Contemptus mundi*, adaptations in romanised Japanese (Amakusa, 1596) and in Sino-Japanese characters (Kyoto, 1610) of the well-known work by Thomas à Kempis, which, as the title suggests, was destined to teach the form of despising the world and to imitate the conduct of Jesus Christ.<sup>44</sup> Another example would be the *Gvia do Pecador* (Nagasaki, 1599), in both romanised Japanese and Chinese characters, an abbreviated version of the celebrated work under the same title by Friar Luis de Granada, one of the Jesuits’ favourite authors.<sup>45</sup> In addition, one can mention *Flosculi* (Nagasaki, 1610), an anthology of biblical extracts in Latin, as well as texts of the Fathers of the Church and of western philosophers, compiled by Father Manuel Barreto.<sup>46</sup>

In certain passages of some of these works, the Jesuits tried whenever opportune to discredit the traditional Japanese faiths and philosophies. However, it would have been the Japanese brother, Fabian Fukun, who was responsible for the elaboration of one of the most systematic and informed works of



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Christian polemic against the Japanese religions. *Myotei Mondo* was prepared around 1605, and today only fragments of the work are known. It was not a product of the Christian press of Japan, although it was clearly influenced by the Jesuits. Apparently, in consequence of his studies in the Japanese establishments of the Society of Jesus, the Japanese convert had taken the initiative of expounding, in the form of a dialogue between two Japanese, a fierce philosophical argument on Christian premises against Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintoism.<sup>47</sup> Surprisingly, not very much later, Fabian would come to renounce the Christian faith, becoming one of the most active anti-Jesuit polemicists. He would write *Ha Daiusu*, a detailed contention refuting Christian doctrine in around 1620, when there was already an atmosphere of general persecution of Christianity stirred up by the Japanese authorities.<sup>48</sup>

Some of the more sophisticated products of the linguistic policy advanced by the Society of Jesus in Japan were grammars and vocabularies destined for the learning of Latin and Japanese. The most widespread Latin grammar in Jesuit teaching establishments dispersed over the world had been prepared by Father Manuel Álvares, printed for the first time in Lisbon in 1572. Many other editions followed. A version adapted to the Japanese public was printed in Amakusa in 1594 with the title *De Institutione Grammatica libri tres*. Above all, the work was destined for Japanese neophytes, since the preference of European Jesuit students would have been to refer to one of the European versions. Revealing its vocation for cultural advancement, the manual contained numerous examples of phrases in Japanese, taken from the *Analects* attributed to Confucius and from the *Heike Monogatari*. In their didactic objectives, Jesuit publications frequently referred to Japanese manuscripts or printed texts from the libraries of the society's establishments.<sup>49</sup> Following the instructions of the Visitor, the Jesuits not only sought to be informed on Japanese matters but they were also concerned with revealing this knowledge in their printed texts. At the end of the day, this type of inter-textual practice would make complete sense in the Sino-Japanese context—a universe that cultivated

*Gvia do Pecador* [vol. 2], by Luis de Granada,  
Nagasaki: Society of Jesus College, 1599.



*Vocabulário da Língua de Iapam com a declaração em Portugues,*  
Nagasaki: Society of Jesus College, 1603-1604.

literary quotations and learned allusions in an almost obsessive fashion.

Having published the Latin grammar, the next logical step was to edit a lexicon, and in 1595 the Jesuit press of Amakusa produced the *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum*. This thick volume of more than 900 pages was an authentic linguistic monument, extremely innovative in its objective of systematically gathering the three languages used in the Jesuit missions in Japan. It presented a version, adapted to Japan, of the celebrated *Dictionarium interpretamenta* compiled in 1502 by the Italian Ambrogio Calepino, which in Latin Europe retained the status of a lexicographical paradigm for many decades.<sup>50</sup> Like other Jesuit productions of the same time, this was also published without the name of any author. It can be deduced that it would have resulted from the collaboration of a vast team of European and Japanese Jesuits and would have certainly included João Rodrigues Tsuzu. Both the Latin grammar and the “Calepino”, which became

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a synonym for “dictionary”, were part of Valignano’s plans to promote the study of Latin among the Japanese and of the Japanese among European religious communities.<sup>51</sup>

Despite all the care taken with the composition, it is very probable that the *Dictionarium* did not answer the most urgent needs or the more practical expectations of Jesuit missionary work. For this reason a new linguistic work appeared shortly after, printed in Nagasaki in 1603-1604. The subtitle of the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam com a declaração em Portugues* stated that it had been “made by some priests and brothers of the Society of Jesus.”<sup>52</sup> Once again, it is probable, but not certain, that João Rodrigues Tsuzu and another Jesuit called Francisco Rodrigues participated in the composition of this work, together with a team of Japanese contributors. It is an immense literary monument of about 800 pages (660 pages of vocabulary proper and the remainder as a supplement), that compiled more than 30,000 Japanese words, in phonetic transcription, almost always put in context through idiomatic phrases, popular proverbs or quotations from literary works, all with their respective meanings in Portuguese.

The foreword to the work stressed the fact that “the vocabulary being such a necessary & important means of learning any language”, those responsible for the Japan mission had decided to organise in a systematic form all the “vocabularies & writings” used by the Jesuits so that “the priests, & brothers that come out afresh to cultivate, & increase this Christianity, have some form of guide & assistance in learning this tongue”.<sup>53</sup> The *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*, however, was much more than a simple Japanese-Portuguese dictionary. It was truly an encyclopaedic repository of information on Japan at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The curious reader would find in its pages a virtually inexhaustible source of data on Japan, from the smallest details of daily life to the most sophisticated philosophical concepts, including social conventions, the natural environment, arts and crafts, and even the political and military structure.

This historic *Vocabulario* was a meticulous and lengthy compilation based on exhaustive knowledge of Japan obtained by the Jesuits’ direct experience, from reports rendered by Japanese, or through bibliographic research. Indeed, it appears that in composing this first Japanese-Portuguese dictionary an important library of

Japanese works was used, either in manuscript or printed form, most probably from the Jesuits’ house in Nagasaki.

In the following years, we know that the Jesuits’ cultural policy continued to place an emphasis on linguistic expression because the Christian press published various other works dedicated to the study of the Japanese language. Between 1604 and 1608 the *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* was composed in Nagasaki, the responsibility of João Rodrigues Tsuzu, who tried to apply the model of Latin grammars, especially that of Manuel Álvares, to the Japanese language.<sup>54</sup> This voluminous work was explicitly destined for European missionaries who intended to be initiated in the mysteries of the Japanese language, although it also had an application for the Japanese themselves, who still did not possess a written grammar of their own language. It seems that the Jesuit writer was not totally satisfied with the result obtained because some years later, in 1620, a renewed *Arte Breve da Lingoa Iapoa*, was published in Macao, “taken from the Great Art of the same language for those who are starting to learn the first principles of it”, as the subtitle explained.<sup>55</sup>

Both grammars by João Rodrigues, apart from their linguistic value, reveal a profound knowledge of Japanese culture, obtained through years of contact with Japanese literary texts.<sup>56</sup> Clearly, many of these handwritten or printed texts would have existed in the Jesuit libraries. In this context, it is worth highlighting a single passage from the *Arte Breve* that refers to the reading list recommended to the Jesuit students of the Japanese language, in which Rodrigues Tsuzu demonstrates his unquestionable mastery of Japanese literature:

“The books in the Japanese language proper that can be read, divided by category and beginning with the easiest, are the following. In the first & more inferior class are *May* & *Soxi* for being the easiest style & closest to common practice. Second are the lives of the hermits written by Saighiofôxi called *Xenjixo*, & the writings of Camono Chomei called *Foxxinjú*. In the third are those that have the name of *Monogatari*, i.e. history, as in *Feike monogatari* and *Fôghen Feigi monogatari*, which are the best, & most elegant style in this genre. The fourth is the history called *Taifeiki*, which is the most sober & lofty style

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that there is in Japan. These are the classes of books that can be read & others of this kind, and where all the elegance, & propriety of Japan resides.

Apart from the above-mentioned, there are some works of select poetry, such as *Vta*, *Xirengu*, *Ixe monogatari*, *Ghenji monogatari*, and some letters in the epistle style.<sup>57</sup>

In conclusion, it is an entire teaching program that is outlined, based on a select knowledge of Japanese classical literature, which he would have gained in contact with well-stocked libraries.

The Jesuit press, as has been shown, worked at a good pace, spreading hundreds, or even thousands of Christian printed books across Japanese Christian communities. However, even while the presses worked tirelessly, circumstances would soon change. The Society of Jesus was about to be brutally awakened from the impossible dream of the spiritual conquest of Japan. Tokugawa Ieyasu, the successor of Hideyoshi, obtained the title of *shogun*, the emperor's supreme representative, in 1603, bringing to a peak the centralisation process that had been in progress. Persecutions of Japanese Christians and European missionaries immediately followed.<sup>58</sup> The successive persecutions were of a degree of violence directly proportional to the quantitative and qualitative importance that the new religion had acquired in many sectors of Japanese society.

Japan's unification could not tolerate phenomena as significant as Christian dissidence. In 1614 Ieyasu issued an edict against Christians that determined the immediate expulsion of all European religious personnel from Japanese territory, the destruction of all places of worship associated with the western religion, and the rigorous prohibition of the practice of Christianity. For the Jesuits, it was the beginning of years of persecution and martyrdom. The systematic persecution of men and women would also eventually extend to Christian writings. Across the whole of Japan, wherever there were Christian communities, enormous bonfires were lit fed by the books and manuscripts introduced into or produced in Japan by the Jesuits. As one of the priests wrote, around the year 1626, "huge quantities of books were burned, almost all that we possessed".<sup>59</sup> The "Christian century" of Japan, to the great despair of the Ignatians, closed in an inglorious form in the midst of the greatest violence. By contributing to the growth of the Jesuit missions, the adaptationist strategy

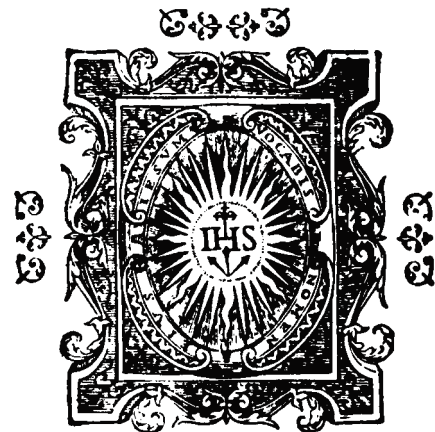
recommended by Valignano was producing a bitter harvest.

The Society of Jesus tried to compensate for these adversities through the written word. Already from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Jesuit manuscripts describing both the brief but intense history of the Japanese mission as well as the concrete adversities faced by the missionaries in the land began to multiply. For example, a little after 1597 Pedro Gomez wrote *Relação da nova perseguição que no anno de 97 alevantou em Japão Taicosama*;<sup>60</sup> in about 1600 Francisco Pires wrote the chronological report entitled *Pontos do que me alembrar*;<sup>61</sup> in 1614 Father Afonso de Lucena prepared the memoirs *De algumas coisas que ainda se alembra*;<sup>62</sup> in the following year Carlo Spinola composed the *Relação do martyrio de muitos christãos japões*;<sup>63</sup> and in 1617 it

*Arte da Lingoa de Iapam*, by João Rodrigues Tsuzu.  
Nagasaki: Society of Jesus College, 1604-1608.

ARTE DA LINGOA DE IAPAM  
COMPOSTA PELLO

Padre Io.º Rodrigues, Portuguez da Companhia de IESV diuidida em tres  
LIVROS.



COM LICENÇA DO ORDINARIO, E SUPERIORES EM

Nangasacki no Collegio de Iapão da  
Companhia de IESV

Anno. 1604.



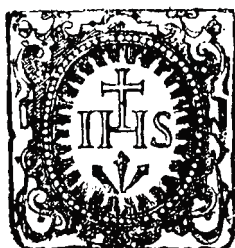
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RELAC,AM  
DA PERSEGV-  
C,AM QUE TEVE A  
CHRISTANDADE DE IAPAM

desde Mayo de 1612. até Nouem-  
bro de 1614.

*Tirada das cartas annuaes que se enuiarão ao Padre  
Geral da Companhia de IESV.*

Composta pollo P. Gabriel de Matos da Com<sup>a</sup>  
panhia de IESV, Procurador da China, &  
Iapaõ, natural da Videgueira.



Com todas as licenças necessarias.

EM LISBOA.

Na Officina de Pedro Crasbeeck, Anno 1616.

Albertas.

*Relaçam da perseguiçam qve teve a Christandade de Iapam desde Mayo de 1612 até Novembro de 1614, by Gabriel de Matos. Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1616.*

was the turn of Jerónimo Rodrigues to sign the *Breve relaçam do número dos obreiros e dos lugares por onde discurreram*.<sup>64</sup>

Many of these manuscripts would quickly find their way to far-off Europe, their privileged destination. Indeed, Jesuit-printed texts on the vicissitudes of the Japanese mission began to appear all over the continent.<sup>65</sup> Some of those reports were printed autonomously, as for example *Relaçam da perseguiçam qve teve a Christandade de Iapam desde Mayo de 1612 até Novembro de 1614* by Gabriel de Matos, published in Lisbon in 1616; or *Relaçam da ditosa morte de quarenta e sinco christãos, que em Japão morrerão*, by Jorge de Gouveia, also published in the Portuguese capital the following year.

Others are incorporated in works of a more general nature, above all in compilations of separate letters or in missionary chronicles, as *Relaçam annual das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Iesus* by Father Fernão Guerreiro, published in Évora and in Lisbon in successive volumes between 1602 and 1611; or like *Relación del suceso que tuvo nuestra santa Fe en los Reynos del Iapon* by Luís Pinheiro, which was printed in Madrid in 1617.

The expulsion of the Jesuits did not coincide with the definitive interruption of Portuguese-Japanese relations. During several decades, merchant vessels sailing from Macao still continued to put into the land of the rising sun. The conversions carried out were now of a more secular nature because the Portuguese were limited to exchanging their products for Japanese silver. However, in 1639 the merchants were also forbidden from disembarking on Japanese soil because the authorities were convinced that the ships of the *nanban-jin* secretly continued to bring Jesuits on board. Very simply, they decreed the total and definitive interruption of all contacts with the Portuguese, especially since the Dutch had been frequenting Japanese ports for several decades and supplying the same goods as the Portuguese without demanding a *quid pro quo* of a religious nature.<sup>66</sup>

The extensive list of all the writings that the Jesuits produced from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century constitutes an authentic battle of the books, intense but desperate, which would end in a crushing defeat for the Christian brethren. In 1614 the Jesuit press was transferred from Nagasaki to Macao, the Portuguese trading station on the coast of China, where, from that time onwards, European religious personnel from Japan began to converge, along with some of their closest Japanese collaborators. We know that numerous handwritten and printed volumes also arrived there because a Jesuit text of 1616 makes reference to the “libraries that from Japan were sent”, further mentioning several “large cases full of various books” that proceeded on the way to the Sino-Portuguese trading post on the coast of Guangdong Province.<sup>67</sup> For a long time, Macao had fulfilled the role of the strategic rearguard for the Jesuit mission in Japan, and it was there that the Ignatians would find refuge in their hour of persecution. **RC**

Translated by PHILOS – Comunicação Global, Lda.



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## NOTES

- 1 About this delegation, see Summary by Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, book 2, pp. 6088-706.
- 2 See Adriana Boscaro, *Sixteenth-century European Printed Works on the First Japanese Mission to Europe*, passim; and João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *O Japão e o Cristianismo no Século XVI*, pp. 189-290.
- 3 See João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *O Japão e o Cristianismo*, cit., p. 224.
- 4 See Josef F. Schütte, *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, tm. 2, pp. 67-89, which discusses the content of the catechism. Schütte's suggestion that the *Catechismus* could have been printed without Valignano's knowledge or consent does not seem very probable.
- 5 Luís Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 3, p. 173.
- 6 See Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity*, pp. 83-85.
- 7 See Luís Fróis, *La Première ambassade du Japon en Europe, 1582-1592*, passim, which includes an edition of the first part of the work, dealing with the voyage from Japan to Europe and their European journey; the second part remains unedited in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisboa. See also Luís Fróis, *Tratado dos embaixadores japões*, passim.
- 8 See Juan Gil, "Europa se presenta a si misma," pp. 426-432.
- 9 See Georg Schurhammer, *Orientalia*, pp. 743-753, which reprints the work of Martinho Hara, of which there are only two known copies, preserved in Rome.
- 10 Of this extremely rare work there are only two known specimens, one preserved by the library of the Palácio da Ajuda, in Lisboa; the other, in a Venetian library, was recently published in a facsimile edition by Manuel Cadafaz de Matos [See Juan Bonifacio, *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, passim]. Another copy may exist in a library in Copenhagen [See John Peterson, "A Copy of Bonifacii Christiani Pueri Institutio in Copenhagen," pp. 176-177].
- 11 Juan Bonifacio, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-55: "De puero Iaponico."
- 12 How far many of these adaptations went is a question still to be studied in a systematic way, but to which George Elison [= J. S. A. Elisonas] has already made a fundamental contribution. *Deus Destroyed*, passim.
- 13 See discussion of the question in J. F. Moran, "The real author of the *De Missione Legatorum*," pp. 7-21, which opts for the authorship of Valignano. This Latin work, of which about a dozen specimens are known, was translated into Portuguese a short while ago by Américo da Costa Ramalho: Duarte de Sande, *Diálogo sobre a Missão dos Embaixadores Japoneses à Cúria Romana*, passim.
- 14 About this work, see Francisco Roque de Oliveira, *A Construção do Conhecimento Europeu sobre a China*, pp. 989-1032. On Duarte de Sande, see Charles Burnett, "Humanism and the Jesuit Mission," pp. 425-471.
- 15 Duarte de Sande, *Diálogo sobre a Missão*, cit., p. 18.
- 16 *Ibidem*, p. 19.
- 17 J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, pp. 146-149.
- 18 On the later fate of the delegates, see Diego Yuuki, *Os Quatro Legados dos Daimios de Quiuxu após regressarem ao Japão*, passim.
- 19 See an analysis of this troubled period in George Elison, "Christianity and the Daimyo," pp. 347-365.
- 20 See *A Carta do Vice-Rei D. Duarte de Menezes a Toyotomi Hideyoshi, 1588*, pp. 1-31.
- 21 For his Japanese career, see Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues, o Intérprete*, pp. 53-275.
- 22 For an introduction to the Jesuits' cultural strategy in Japan, see Rui Manuel Loureiro, "Jesuit Textual Strategies in Japan," pp. 39-63.
- 23 See a basic summary in Kiichi Matsuda, *The Relations between Portugal and Japan*, pp. 79-81; Minako Debergh, "Les oeuvres imprimées des missions européennes au Japon à Goa, Macao, Manille: 1588-1630," pp. 187-205; and Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, "A tipografia quinhentista de expressão cultural portuguesa no Oriente," pp. 153-171. The classical works, however, are by Ernest Mason Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan*, passim; and also Johannes Laures, who dedicated three titles to the question: *Kirishitan Bunko*; *Supplement to Kirishitan Bunko*; and *Second Supplement to Kirishitan Bunko*, passim. The Japanese word *bunko* means library or book collection. The Kirishitan Bunko, Sophia University, Library in Chiyoda Ward, Tokyo, houses materials related to the history of Christianity in Japan and other Asian countries. The Kirishitan Bunko was established by the Jesuit priest and Sophia University professor Johannes Laures in 1932. The collection contains some 10,000 works, including histories of Japanese Christianity published in various European Countries; books, pamphlets and scholarly works published by the Jesuit Missionary Press in Japan in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries; anti-Christian polemics from the Azuchi-Momoyama (1568-1600) and Edo (1600-1868) periods; and works related to Roman Catholicism in China and Korea published by Jesuits in China during the late Ming and Qing dynasties.
- 24 *Documenta Indica*, vol. 17, pp. 264-265.
- 25 Currently the only copy of this printed text is in one of the libraries of Oxford University.
- 26 See Ernest Mason Satow, *The Jesuit Mission*, cit., pp. 2-7; and J. S. A. Elisonas, "Acts, Legends, and Southern Barbarous Japanese," pp. 19-50.
- 27 Luís Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 1, p. 172.
- 28 *Monumenta Historica Japoniae*, vol. 1, p. 321.
- 29 See Joahannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, cit., p. 14.
- 30 A specimen of the 1592 catechism is preserved in Tokyo. There used to be another copy of this catechism in the library of the Liceu Passos Manuel, in Lisboa, which disappeared from there around 1910 [See Jordão de Freitas, *A Imprensa de Tipos Móveis em Macau e no Japão*, pp. 7-9].
- 31 See Kiichi Matsuda, *The Relations between Portugal and Japan*, cit., p. 83, which indicates existing specimens in Japanese and Italian libraries.
- 32 See Ernest Mason Satow, *The Jesuit Mission*, cit., pp. 38-39; and Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, cit., pp. 17-18.
- 33 Jordão de Freitas, *A Imprensa de Tipos Móveis*, cit., p. 13.
- 34 The only known copy is in a library in Leyden, to which it was offered by the erudite and versatile writer Josef Scaliger [See Ernest Mason Satow, *The Jesuit Mission*, cit., pp. 20-25].
- 35 The bio-bibliography of Fabian Fukun was minutely analysed by George Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, passim.
- 36 See Ernest Mason Satow, *The Jesuit Mission*, cit., pp. 12-17.
- 37 *Ibidem*, pp. 13-15; and Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, cit., pp. 21-24.
- 38 See Shigetomo Koda, "Notes sur la presse jésuite au Japon," pp. 42-53; and Minako Debergh, "Les oeuvres imprimées," cit., pp. 187-205.
- 39 *Macau e o Oriente na Biblioteca da Ajuda*, p. 122.
- 40 Kiichi Matsuda, *The Relations between Portugal and Japan*, cit., pp. 81-84.
- 41 Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, cit., pp. 55-63.
- 42 Luís Fróis, *Tratado das contradições*, p. 120. See Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, pp. 40-43.
- 43 Luís Fróis, *Tratado das contradições*, cit., p. 120. See Samuel Couling, *The Encyclopaedia Sinica*, p. 250.
- 44 See Ernest Mason Satow, *The Jesuit Mission*, cit., pp. 28-34; and Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, cit., pp. 26-29 and 50.
- 45 See Ernest Mason Satow, *The Jesuit Mission*, cit., pp. 43-44; and Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, cit., pp. 34-29.



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- 46 See Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, cit., p. 49; and *Os Caminhos do Oriente*, p. 90.
- 47 See George Ellison, *Deus Destroyed*, cit., pp. 142-184; Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity*, cit., pp. 207-215; and also Ikuko Midzunoe, "The Battle of the Books," pp. 45-52.
- 48 See George Ellison, *Deus Destroyed*, cit., pp. 142-184, which publishes an English translation of the treatise by Fabian Fukun [pp. 257-291]; and Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity*, cit., pp. 215-222.
- 49 See Ernest Mason Satow, *The Jesuit Mission*, cit., p. 26; and Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, cit., p. 24. There are two known specimens of this work, one in a Portuguese Library, the other in a Japanese library.
- 50 See Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, p. 25; and *A Galáxia das Línguas na Época da Expansão*, pp. 122-123. There are at least six known examples in European and Asiatic libraries of this most valuable printed text, which has never been the subject of a systematic study. The Library of Ajuda, in Lisboa, preserves a manuscript copy of *Dictionarium* [See *Macau e o Oriente na Biblioteca da Ajuda*, p. 63].
- 51 See J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, cit., p. 149.
- 52 See Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, cit., pp. 40-42; and Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues, o Intérprete*, cit., pp. 225-243. There are specimens of the *Vocabulário da Língua de Iapam com a declaração em Portugues* in public libraries in Oxford, Paris, Manila, London, Évora and Lisboa.
- 53 *Vocabulário da Língua de Iapam com a declaração em Portugues*, unnumbered page. An exhaustive study of this monumental work is ongoing.
- 54 See Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, cit., pp. 42-43. Two specimens of this work are known of in British libraries.
- 55 See Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, cit., pp. 53-54. At least two examples of this abbreviated version are known, one in a London library and the other in a Lisbon library.
- 56 On both grammars, see Charles R. Boxer, "Padre João Rodrigues Tçuzu S. J.," cit., pp. 338-363.
- 57 João Rodrigues, *Arte Breve da Língua Iapoa*, fl. 5.
- 58 On the complicated and violent incidents of the last years of Portuguese-Japanese relations see Valdemar Coutinho, *O Fim da Presença Portuguesa no Japão*, passim.
- 59 Jesús López-Gay, *La Liturgia en la Misión del Japón del Siglo XVI*, p. 245.
- 60 See *Monumenta Historica Japoniae*, vol. 1, p. 410.
- 61 *Ibidem*, vol. 1, pp. 382-427.
- 62 Afonso de Lucena, *Erinnerungen aus der Christenheit von Omura*, pp. 61-285.
- 63 *Monumenta Historica Japoniae*, vol. 1, p. 618.
- 64 *Ibidem*, vol. 1, pp. 702-747.
- 65 See listings of the Jesuits' European editions in *O Japão Visto pelos Portugueses*, pp. 73-117; Donald F. Lach & Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, pp. 1983-1999; and João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *O Japão e o Cristianismo*, cit., pp. 189-290.
- 66 Valdemar Coutinho, *O Fim da Presença Portuguesa no Japão*, cit., pp. 97-156.
- 67 J. M. Braga, "Os Tesouros do Colégio de São Paulo," p. 360.

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