



On the Threshold of Japan

Gaspar do Amaral, the 'Jesuit Network' and the Contribution of the Japanese Mission and the Japanese Diaspora to the Deployment and in the Settlement of the Jesuit Mission in Tun Kim

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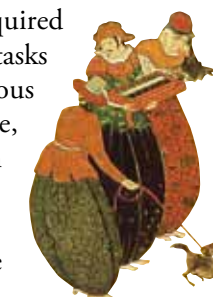
Although identified and inventoried, the documentation named *Jesuitas na Ásia* from the National Library of the Ajuda Palace (*Biblioteca Nacional do Palácio da Ajuda*) in Lisbon, as well as the ARSI Jap. Sin. series from the *Archivum Romano Societatis Iesu* in Rome, continue to reveal a wealth of new documents, that, if studied in detail, contribute to a broadening, and at times, as a prompt for more questions with regard to the 'multinational' network by the Society of Jesus, from the economical as well as the spiritual and intellectual point of view.

One of the most meaningful aspects of the Society is the way it was organised, when analysed from an economic point of view. Particularly during the 16th and 17th centuries, the financing of each of its multiple missions in Asia, as a part of the *Padroado*, was

interrelated in a complex web of financial operations, thus creating a true global network for the Jesuits.

The first example that clearly comes to mind is without a doubt the case of India, and in particular the city of Bassein, the 'Northern Capital', in the Gujarat/Maharashtra region, with fertile and rich lands in which the system of donations, privileges and fiscal rents from the villages undertaken by the Portuguese Crown together with contributions from the Pope—as well as donations from private individuals to the Jesuits (from 1548 onwards)—allowed them to reach a level of wealth that was well above the other religious orders. In particular, the Jesuits had many more resources than the Franciscan orders. This strong economic foundation allowed the Jesuits to play a very important role in India, as well as in Macao, particularly in the 17th century, by defending the territories under Portuguese administration—Bassein, for instance—through the recruitment of soldiers or the repair of fortresses.¹ It also allowed them to finance their Asian expansion.²

Indeed, it is interesting to realise that the Jesuit mission in Japan, which required considerable funds due to the different tasks of religious conversion, and the various kinds of diplomatic contacts at stake, among other reasons, was financed in the 16th century by Bassein, although in the 16th century different sovereigns (D. João III, D. Sebastião, and Filipe



'Christian Martyrs of Nagasaki', detail. School of Giovanni Niccolò, Japan, 1612, Ciesa del Gesù, Rome.

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II of Spain/Ist of Portugal) supported the Japanese mission through generous donations, providing various sums of money diverted not only from Bassein but from the rents on the Indian Mumbai Archipelago, in particular from the Salcete Island.³

During the 1570s, as we can assess by the *Sumário de todos os Colégios e Casas, Residências e Pessoas, Rendas e Gastos que tem a Província da Companhia na Índia* (1587) the Jesuits themselves started to collect the rents of the *caçabés* from Caranja in 1571 (500 *pardaus*, a part of its rent) from Ponvém/Poinser (1575, 700 *pardaus*), from Condotim (1578, 500 *pardaus*),⁴ from Mulgão (1585, 1000 *pardaus*), joined by the rents from Sargi/u (200 *pardaus*), from Mori (200 *pardaus*), and from Curlem (400 *pardaus*),⁵ all for the financing of the Japanese mission.

In the beginning of the 17th century, the Society of Jesus saw the addition of the rents from the very wealthy *caçabé* from Maim, on Salcete Island. This *caçabé*, that possessed a Customs Office, was a donation from the *foreiro* Jorge Borges as long as the Goa College was in debt, under the condition that it would remain in the seminar of the three provinces of Goa, Malabar and Japan.⁶

This strong financial effort to support the Japanese mission did not prevent the appearance of a creeping financial crisis at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century.⁷ If we go back to the end of the 16th century, authors such as Helena Rodrigues, who calculated the budget of the mission in 1586, point out that the sum of all income (including the values of the royal and private donations, the rents from the villages of Bassein and property taxes of some houses in Macao as well as the benefits of investments in the silk trade and customs duties from the port of Nagasaki) was a total of 5,325 *cruzados*, while the sum of the expenses, including the loading of ships, freights, books and liturgical vestments, food supplies for the missions, trips and various travel expenses for the missionaries (including the Vice-Provincial and the Superiors General), the decoration of the churches, diplomatic gifts, and the expenses of the houses of the mission located at Miyako (Kyoto) in Honshû, Bungo and Omura in Kyûshû and Ximo (Shikoku),⁸ altogether

added up to a total of 6,354 *cruzados*. Therefore in those years there was a deficit of 1,029 *cruzados* that, although it was not very high, apparently tended to increase in the subsequent years, with the frequent suspension of the *Kurofune* trade between Macao and Japan, from 1573 to 1618, although the communications continued after 1618.⁹

However, we need to highlight the fact that these budgets from the Jesuits must be viewed with caution: it is possible that other sources of income were not logged and that this portrayal of the financial difficulties afflicting the mission was also part of a rhetorical posture by the Jesuits in order to show how commendable was the effort of the 'Ignatius Order' towards the religious conversion in a complex international situation.¹⁰ It is relevant to consider that, for instance, it is well known that there were additional donations undertaken by private people who were part of the Japanese mission. The case of Luís de Almeida (1556) is still a good example.¹¹

In any case, it became necessary to find other sources of funding. One of them was the contributions of the Portuguese merchants that, starting in 1544, began to explore, from their Goa and Malacca outposts, the profitable trade in Chinese silk, which they exchanged for Japanese silver, therefore becoming intermediaries in the traditional commercial exchanges between China and Japan (that had been growing since the *Tenbun* period, 1532-1555),¹² thanks to, among other reasons, the development of mining activities in Japan, and to the growing need of China for silver.¹³ This development of Portuguese trade led to an inevitable strengthening of ties between merchants and missionaries that exchanged reciprocal services. In some cases the services were limited to financial exchanges, although we cannot rule out the possibility that other kinds of exchanges also took place. For example, some evidence shows that the wealthy captains of the ships supported the missionaries on several occasions in the early period, apparently without any material compensation: a letter of Father Baltasar Gago, written in Hirado in 1555, lets us know that for six years Captain Duarte da Gama, who was sailing along the Japanese coast, helped the Jesuit priests with supplies and almsgiving.¹⁴

Western traders and missionaries in Japan, mid-17th century Japanese namban screen, detail (Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tokyo).

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Moreover, in terms of their participation in trade, the Jesuits (in spite of the interdiction by the Catholic Church)¹⁵ managed to solve the problem and soon they were negotiating favourable conditions for their

commercial transactions in Japan, which they started to develop around 1549. Of these, we will only consider here two important aspects: the priority related to the sale of the *picos* of the Society of Jesus, and the option



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to be able to sell another 50 *picos* when the *Kurofune* was not in Japan.¹⁶

But, as it is well known, if the Jesuits were able to take advantage of the commercial opportunities, it was mostly because their habilities as intermediaries, that had already been recognised by the Portuguese authorities in Goa, in Malacca and later in Macao, were also recognised by the Christianised *daimyôs* (such as Ômura Sumitada or Arima Haronobu).¹⁷ The Japanese saw in them the agents that were appropriate to deal with the Portuguese merchants who would end up associating with them.¹⁸ Arima Haranobu, the *daimyô* of Shimabara,¹⁹ is one example of those who obtained a *shuin-jô* (red seal), the official Japanese authorisation for maritime trade, a well-known system to be mentioned again in the following pages. He was also involved with the Portuguese merchants.²⁰

In certain circumstances these *daimyô* were direct partners with the Jesuits: in 1567, for instance, Ôtomo Sôrin/D. Francisco, the *daimyô* of Bungo, asked the Fathers to provide him with 200 *kin* of salpetre annually.²¹ Other converted Japanese (there were 300 in 1585 in Nagasaki, according to Luís Fróis)²² who also had interests and participations in maritime trade, negotiated with Macao and also associated with the Jesuits.

On the other hand, in spite of the constant complaints about the economic situation of the Society of Jesus in Asia, the mission in Japan also received a lot of support from the converted Japanese.²³ As asserted by the letters written by the missionaries, they not only provided shelter and alms to the priests on many occasions, but also helped them through the donation of land or goods that were collected by local communities, which provided support to the construction of churches and other associated buildings, and the maintenance of the hospital settled in Funai (Ôita) in 1559, thanks to the donation of 300 *cruzados*.²⁴ They also supported the *Misericórdias*.²⁵

More importantly, however, there were initiatives that were very similar to what took place in Bassein: let us remember only as an example, the concession of rents of a great commerce port such as the one in Nagasaki by Ômura Sumitada to the Society of Jesus in 1571,²⁶ or that of two temples by Ôtomo Sôrin (Yoshige)/D. Francisco in 1587, which provided at the time the funds necessary for the livelihood of about twenty people.²⁷ This process, that was clearly underway in the second

half of the 16th century, consolidated itself by the end of the century and remained in place at the beginning of the 17th century. In a certain way, the Japanese Christians—including a few *daimyôs*—completed, in a support role to the Japanese mission, the actions of the Portuguese merchants and private individuals in the second half of the 16th century,²⁸ that prospered through the Southeast Asian trade of several goods and commodities: raw silk, gold, copper, tea, Chinese ginseng (*raiz-de-china*), rhubarb and porcelain. As far as the Jesuits were concerned, we know, in spite of the ‘creeping crisis’, how important their investment was and how they reaped strong benefits from the silk trade and other products in the beginning of the 17th century.²⁹

It is not our goal to examine in detail all the aspects of the eradication of Christianity, that began with the decree by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1587 (subsequent to the disappearance of Sumitada, and through which Nagasaki was placed under his direct control, as well as Mogi and Urakami), nominating Nabeshima Hida no Kami (Naoshige) as the *daikan* for these areas.³⁰ It is only necessary to highlight the fact that the various obstacles of legislative, religious and economic nature that were raised to the activity of the Jesuits in Japan, and that culminated with the expulsion of the missionaries in 1614, (proclaimed by Tokugawa Ieyasu), and the subsequent extinction of the mission, obviously had, at least, some impact on the maritime trade in which Jesuits, Portuguese, members of the converted communities, and non-Christian Japanese merchants participated, in spite of the fact that the decree from 1587 contained a clause which guaranteed that the Portuguese merchants were allowed to continue their trade activities³¹ and therefore guaranteed the maintenance of the commercial networks that linked these groups.³²

It is fairly clear that all were also victims of other economical and political factors;³³ we will underline only the attacks against Portuguese ships undertaken by the Dutch or the strong competition of the VOC that established itself in the trading post in Hirado in 1609.³⁴ As a response to this situation, in 1618 the Portuguese replaced the *Kurofune* by light galleons (*galeotas*),³⁵ also called by the Chinese *wugongchuan* (*navios-centopeia*). But the continuation of free trade between Macao and Nagasaki was ensured³⁶ at least until the enforcement of the *sakoku-seisaku* policy and completion of the



Anonymous, 'Breve idea del modo, ed ordine, onde con cerimonia sacro-pagana si celebrano in Cochincina i funerali e si portano i cadaveri a seppellir nel cimitero da crisitina' (detail). Archivo Storico de Propaganda Fide, Vatican. Courtesy Susume Akune, Kyoto.

expulsion process in 1639. The trade was temporarily halted only during the year of 1622, with no Portuguese ships being able to reach Macao, due to a large Dutch expedition that attacked the island.³⁷

Actually, if we consider that during the previous period from 1604 to 1617 when the trade was more sporadic,³⁸ the volume of the trade increased regularly after 1618; between 1600 and 1615, the *Kurofune* had brought from Japan approximately 15 tons of silver. After 1618 that value doubled and reached 37,5 tons in the first years of the decade of 1630, reaching 88 tons in 1636.³⁹ According to several records, in 1637 the merchants in Macao had their best year.⁴⁰

But maybe the most evident sign of the vitality of that commerce is that in spite of the blockade of the straits of Malacca by the Dutch in 1630 (preventing the Portuguese from Macao from purchasing silver from

India), the Portuguese started to get loans in Japan to pay for the purchase of Chinese silk. The system of *respondência* (which has some common points with the *nagegane*)⁴¹ blossomed and bore fruit, even if the Macanese merchants became more indebted to Japanese investors.⁴² In 1626, when, under a climate of Jesuit pessimism and a steady increase of measures to remove Christianity (to which the rise to shogunate of Iemitsu in 1623 contributed),⁴³ the *bûgyo* of Nagasaki, Mizuno Moribonnu, forced the Japanese investors to provide detailed information about their involvement with Portuguese commercial networks: the total reached 26,000 *cruzados*. Although the funds of the Japanese Christians were confiscated, they could be returned if they ended their allegiance to Christianity.⁴⁴ In any case, it is important to note that the rapid expansion in the volume of Portuguese imports after 1635 was

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probably financed in part by loans from the former Japanese *shuin-sen* merchants.⁴⁵

The continuation of the trade between Portugal and Japan is even more remarkable because the Portuguese were far from being the only partners of Japanese commerce. For instance, there was smuggling and florescent *Wokou/Wakô* piracy in China as a response to the prohibition of private trade ordered by the Ming and the ending of the Japanese missions of tribute in the first half of the 16th century.⁴⁶ These pirates rivaled the Portuguese until 1567; however from then on they had to also face the new rivalry of all the junks that possessed *Wen-Yin* authorisations. On the other hand, besides the Japanese piracy (which Hideyoshi tried to eradicate in certain coastal areas around 1586), several Japanese ships regularly traded with Manila, Luzon, and Mindoro.⁴⁷ In order to regulate this commerce, Hideyoshi had implemented in 1592 a policy of gradual increase of maritime trade, through the concession of patents that we already refer as *shuin-jô*,⁴⁸ completed by the concession of *hōsho*, from 1631 onwards, to a certain number of families of merchants (such as the Suminokura/Giàc Tang).⁴⁹ The first ones were authorised to trade with Siam, Quam-Nam (in Central Vietnam), North Vietnam, Ligor, Patani, Cambodia, Taiwan, Luzon, and Macao. The desire to trade with the Chinese and the welcoming of the kingdoms of Southeast Asia to the Japanese merchants, explains the growth of trade during this short period. The existence of expatriate Japanese communities (in Manila or Luzon for instance)⁵⁰ served also as a stimulus for this kind of trade: and like all migrations, the existence of colonies served also as a support enabling new waves of emigration, including that of Catholic Japanese.⁵¹ The case of the Chinese emigration to Manila, studied by Juan Gil, illustrates this kind of process.⁵²

Be that as it may, in spite of the efforts by the authorities to have immigrants returned to Japan, the global community of Manila was able to grow from 20 in 1570 to 3,130 in 1632.⁵³ Therefore, between 1604 and 1635, the date when the *shuin-sen* commerce between Japan and Southeast Asia was ended, (although the maritime smuggling continued) a total of 356 ships sailed with the ‘red seal’ towards Southeast Asia, the largest number sailing to Central Vietnam (87) and North Vietnam (37).⁵⁴

If we consider that during the Tokugawa period some of the sixteen *shuin-sen* ships sent by

the Suminokura to Southeast Asia went to the Trinh domains in North Vietnam (Tonkin), and that the same Suminokura served as diplomatic agents of Ieyasu for the contacts with the Trinh, we can gauge a little better the strength and the consistency of the diplomatic/commercial connections with North Vietnam.⁵⁵

In fact, and this is a key point, some of the merchants of the ‘Vietnamese connection’ were engaged in smuggling (probably from the years of 1624-1626 when the *Bakufu* promulgated coercive measures destined to eradicate the practice of Catholic religion, reinforced with the anti-Christian edits of 1633-1635, and in any event before the Shimabara rebellion of 1637-1638) with the goal of supporting the missionaries in Japan. And as a result of having been involved with the Jesuits, some members of the Japanese diaspora were found in the situation of supporting the establishment of a Jesuit mission in Vietnam a few years later.

The correspondence from Father Gaspar do Amaral in 1634 highlights these connections in a broader context.⁵⁶ In other words, the Jesuit mentioned (1594-1646), a ‘forgotten’ member of the Society of Jesus (even though he had been one of the founders of the Tonkin mission in 1629, Vice-Rector and Rector at the Colégio de Macau respectively in 1630 and 1640, Provincial and Visitor of the Province of Japan as well as of the Vice-Province of China in 1644),⁵⁷ can better assess the role of the Southeast Asia Japanese diaspora in the settlement, the perseverance and even in some development of the Jesuit activities in Tonkin.⁵⁸

However, before we focus on the Do Amaral document, a few more comments about these Japanese networks in terms of the multiple connections and their scope will be useful. For this purpose we will differentiate in a relatively artificial (but methodological) way: the North, where Tonkin (realm of the Trinh) is located, and the South, Cochinchina (kingdom of the Nguyễn).⁵⁹ We will focus on the Trinh domain, coveted by the Jesuits (it was reached for the first time in March of 1626 by Father Juliano Baldinotti accompanied by the Japanese brother Julio Peani (or Peany), before the mission of Gaspar do Amaral in 1629).⁶⁰

Thus, these expatriate Japanese communities were not formed only of Christians: for example, as we know, they had benefitted also from the military emigration of the *rônin*, after the battle of Sekigahara (1600) and the siege of Ôsaka (1615). But on the other hand, these

networks were, as we have seen, also closely linked with Macao; one of the consequences of the various measures of the *Bakufu* against Christianity, together with new regulations for external maritime trade, has been, paradoxically, precisely that of increasing the importance of Macao, which became a rear base for the Christian immigration, including the wives and children of the Portuguese who had been expelled,⁶¹ and of the Jesuit missionaries, many of whom were originally Japanese.⁶²

This rather wealthy and strong community was at the basis of the establishment of the Jesuit seminar of Santo Inácio de Macau, funded through the donation of 12,000 *taels* by a Japanese (Father Paulo dos Santos) and probably also by other members of the community, that also supported the Colégio de S. Paulo.⁶³ Naturally, the members of this nucleus were motivated to also help economically the Jesuit expansion on their missions in Southeast Asia, that the Society of Jesus (just like the merchants from Macao) were starting to develop in response to the increasing difficulties in the relationship with Japan, although they always hoped they would be able to return.

Herein lies, to a certain extent, the explanation for the creation of the Tonkin mission (from the Society’s point of view): On one hand, it was a rear base for a possible future spiritual reconquest of Japan; on the other hand, it diversified the Jesuit expansion,⁶⁴ also enabling the possibility of profiting from the economic ties already woven thanks to the maritime commerce of the *shuin-sen*, without losing sight of the interests of the merchants in Macao. And finally, an assiduous presence in the Japanese community in Tonkin, where the Christian merchants played an important role, allowed them to maintain indirect ties with Japan and through them with the ‘interior Christians’, the Christians that remained in Japan. This accounted for the strong Japanese influence over the mission in Tonkin, which received initially missionaries who were able to speak Japanese, such as Pedro Marquez (together with Alexandre Rhodes) in 1627.⁶⁵ However, the most obvious example is certainly that of Gaspar do Amaral. Having arrived in Macao between May and July of 1625 (after a stopover in India) his planned destination was the mission in Japan. In order to prepare adequately, he was first sent to Cochinchina in order to study the Japanese language over there by living with a Japanese family.⁶⁶ The letters of Father André Palmeiro, while he

was visiting China and Japan (addressed to Superior General Mutio Vitelleschi (1628) give various details concerning the organisation of the planned mission of Gaspar do Amaral in Japan, to which he was supposed to travel, together with the Japanese brother Paulo Saitô.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the situation in the archipelago (and also in China due to the attacks of the Manchus between 1626 and 1629)⁶⁸ was so difficult that the trip was cancelled, with the two missionaries now heading to Tonkin in order to assist Pero Marquez and Alexandre Rhodes, who had been expelled from the *Chua* Trinh Trang, because of suspicions of espionage in favour of the Nguyễn, and also because the region was undergoing a period of severe military upheaval.⁶⁹ Although they were received at the royal court, Amaral and Saitô, just like Marquez and Rhodes, were forced to return to Macao on 27 April 1630.⁷⁰

... if the Jesuits were able to take advantage of the commercial opportunities, it was mostly because their habilities as intermediaries, that had already been recognised by the Portuguese authorities in Goa, in Malacca and later in Macao, were also recognised by the Christianised daimyôs...

In 1631, it was the turn of António Francisco Cardim (who was also fluent in Japanese), to be sent to Tonkin together with two Japanese brothers, Miguel Matsuda and Pedro Kasui.⁷¹ This return was obviously explained by the need of the Trinh to maintain trade with Macao, in spite of the fact that they tried to banish the Jesuits, the same way as Prince Nguyễn did in 1631, by destroying the church of Faifô (Hoi An).⁷² Nevertheless, the missionary who was truly chosen for this task was Gaspar do Amaral, who, in 1630, started to learn Annamese, as we can confirm through the

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examination of the records of Alexandre de Rhodes and André Palmeiro.⁷³ Departing by ship in February of 1631, together with Fathers António Cardim and António de Fontes, he arrived in Tonkin on 15 March 1631.⁷⁴

The beginnings of the mission that Gaspar do Amaral was going to develop until he would return to Macao in 1638, and the various contacts with the Trinh, are described, albeit in the apologetic style of the Jesuits, by Cardim and by Fontes. The missionaries started by being housed by a brother-in-law of the *Chua*. A plot of land was given to them, and they built a bamboo house designed in the local architectural style as well as a small church. A wooden house followed, but was destroyed by fire, and only later, after 1636, was it possible to build a more solid building in Hang Bè where a new plot of land was provided in order to build a warehouse so that they would be able to store the merchandise arriving from Macao.⁷⁵

In the meantime, the social climate deteriorated and the revolt that exploded in November of 1632 against the Christians, accused of having damaged a temple from a village that belonged to the second wife of the *Chua* Trinh,⁷⁶ allows us to know that there was a church in Changen, together with a house and a chapel used for catechism, a small press that was used to print catechism texts from Matteo Ricci and a hospital, all of which were destroyed on that occasion.⁷⁷ The persecution against the Christians continued, and culminated with the interdiction of Christianity in 1635. In spite of these difficulties, reinforced by the latent state of war with Cochinchina (in 1633 the province of Bô Chin would be attacked by the Nguyễn and war would be declared in 1634), the small group of Jesuits (Amaral, Cardim and Fontes were joined by Bernardino Régio and Jerónimo Mayorca) benefited from the support of three Buddhist priests, converted between 1627 and 1629 (Francisco Dite, André Tri and Ignacio Bui), who served the mission according to the model of the Japanese novitiate monastics, the *dōjuku*)⁷⁸ and of a small network of native catechists (14 in 1633, 18 in 1634, 36 in 1638)⁷⁹ of whom we know the names, thanks to the extensive report by Gaspar do Amaral sent in 1638 to the Visitor Manuel Dias.⁸⁰

This difficult context did not prevent the mission, that was regarded as being poor (compared to the mission in Japan), through the efforts of Gaspar do Amaral, from developing an intense diplomatic

exchange with the Trinh,⁸¹ trying to establish a mission in Laos, as we can see on the *Carta Annua* of 1634,⁸² and a letter of Visitor Manoel Dias to Superior General Mutio Vitelleschi, which includes a translation of the reply of the ‘king’ of Laos (Tom Kham or Upanyuvarat II, his son) to the letter from Gaspar do Amaral (sent in 1634).⁸³ These earlier attempts were aborted during his period of residence in Tonkin, and a mission was established only at a later time, through Father João Maria Leria.⁸⁴ However, it is doubtful that this evangelisation project in Laos could become a reality without the support of the Japanese community in Tonkin (with whom Gaspar do Amaral was requested to maintain close contact).⁸⁵ Besides, this community had been reinforced with the arrival of new immigrants in 1633, during one of the peaks of anti-Christian repression in Japan,⁸⁶ on board two junks; some were destined for Macao and others settled in the province of Thinh-hoa and in the royal city.⁸⁷

The mission’s economic situation was precarious in 1633, and without the support from the Japanese diaspora, it would probably not have survived. As we can tell from the letter from the Visitor André Palmeiro addressed to Superior General Mutio Vittelleschi, the Jesuit commerce of Macao that provided crucial support for the Jesuit missions in Southeast Asia was facing difficulties that year, not only for the reasons already pointed out in this paper, but also due to the strong commercial rivalry in Macao: according to André Palmeiro, ‘the silk trade and of various other goods, the loading of ships that sail from here, is something that everybody else does in this land (Macao)’ (*o negociar a seda, e qualquer outra veniaga, o embarcar nos navios que daqui fazem viagem, todos nesta terra (Macao) o fazem*).⁸⁸

In concrete terms, the Japanese support to the mission materialised through alms given by the Christian community. Writing from Kê Chò on 21 April 1634 to the Visitor, Gaspar do Amaral (while providing details concerning the persecutions of 1634) indicates that ‘last year the Christian Japanese gave many alms, having reached the amount of fifty thousand *caixas* to give to the poor, and because of this it was not necessary to give alms of the reserve’ (*o anno passado me deram os Japoens cristãos muitas esmolas, chegarião a sincoenta mil caixas pera repartir aos pobres e por esta cauza não foi necessario dar esmolas da ordinaria*).⁸⁹

As a good commercial manager, Do Amaral planned to not to sell immediately the *caixas* (to which he added a little bit of silver that had been given by the captains of ships that traded with Macao), but to speculate with the *caixas*, in order to obtain a larger amount of funds to be able to buy silk which he hoped he would be able to sell to the Japanese afterwards.⁹⁰ This ‘war treasure’ was supposed to be set aside so that it could be used in emergency situations, such as the interruptions of maritime trade or fires in the buildings of the mission: 1633 was, as we have seen, a year of war between the Trinh and the Nguyễn (due to the occupation of Bô Chinh by the Nguyễn) and of anti-Christianity persecutions (confirmed by the imprisonment of Father Mayorca in the Nghê An province). But these Japanese funds could also have been allocated to the creation of a new mission (the one in Laos?). Be that as it may, the Japanese alms given to the mission, even some years later were kept in secret: ‘(he) keeps the alms that he collected: for example, those sent or given by the Portuguese and by the Japanese; because of the mentioned inconvenients, they are not acknowledged nor by the catechists, nor by the Christians, in case their reserves come to the end...’ (*guarda as esmollas de parte que le ve a mão: como são as que lhe mandão ou dão os Portuguezes e Japões, das quaes pollos mesmos incomuenientes não sabem nem os*

catequistas, nem os xpãos, pera que em cazo que o depozito delles se acabe ...)⁹¹

Not being able to provide here a more detailed description of this Japanese community in Tonkin, we will conclude this brief essay by examining one of its members, a man who perfectly characterised this group: someone named Paulo Rodrigues, a rather wealthy Japanese (*Japão muito rico*) who in 1646 was an overseer of the Dutch trading post. Although he possessed the official Japanese authorisation to conduct trade, (*shuin-jō*), he was prevented from ever returning to Japan due to an accusation of having transported missionaries as stowaways. Thus he decided to settle in Tonkin, where he converted to Christianity through the influence of a Jesuit Japanese missionary. Although he worked for the Dutch, he also did some trade on his own, having a ship that he sent regularly to Japan, under the command of a Chinese captain. This captain brought him news from the Christians in Japan every year. In contact with Father António Francisco Cardim in 1646-1647, he passed along the news that five Jesuits had been executed after entering Japan in 1643 through the Philippines (Pero Marcos, Afonso Arroyo, Francisco Cascola, José Claro and the Japanese brother André Vieira) and news was still being relayed in 1653⁹² concerning the execution of two women in Nagasaki. **RC**

NOTES

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Consider the case of Bassein, Charles J. Borges, ‘Jesuit Economic Interests in the Portuguese Province of the North till the Mid-18th Century’, *Mare Liberum*, 9 (1995), pp. 49-55; Charles J. Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits 1542-1759: An Explanation of Their Rise and Fall*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994.
- 2

André Pinto de Sousa Dias Teixeira, *Baçaím e o seu Território: Política e Economia (1534-1665)*, Ph.D dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2011, p. 325.
- 3

The first contribution took place in 1554, in the amount of 500 *cruzados*: Helena Rodrigues, ‘Local Sources of Funding for the Japanese Mission’, *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, 7 (2003), p. 117.
- 4

André Teixeira, *Baçaím*, p. 326: ‘Letter of father Gomes Vaz to the General of the Society of Jesus’ [Goa, 20/10/1578] (*Documenta Indica* (from now on DI), edited by Josef Wicki and John Gomes, 18 vols, Rome, 1948-1988, XI, p. 33); by mistake, the ‘letter of Father Rui Vicente to the General of the Society of Jesus’ [Goa, 08/11/1581] (DI, XII, p. 68) lists it as a Japanese village.
- 5

André Teixeira, *Baçaím*, p. 331 (Quadro 2 – Rendas Jesuítas no Território de Baçaím em 1621 em Pardaús de Baçaím). The acquisitions of Poinser, Caranja and Mulgão are from 1590-1621. Helena Rodrigues mentions only Caranja, Ponvém/Ponser, Condotim and Mulgão.
- 6

André Teixeira, *Baçaím*, p. 327.
- 7

See João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, ‘A crise financeira da Missão Jesuítica do Japão no início do século XVII’. In *A Companhia de Jesus e a Missionação no Oriente. Actas do Colóquio Internacional* (April 1997). Lisbon: Fundação Oriente / Brotéria, 2000, pp. 235-246. The situation became particularly difficult in 1600-1610: see pp. 242-243.
- 8

See João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *Portugal e o Japão. O Século Namban*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1993, p. 49.
- 9

Concerning the years of suspension, Charles R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon. Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1963, pp. 56-72. According to Boxer, the *Kurofune*’s trip didn’t take place in 1573, 1582, 1587, 1589, 1592, 1594, 1597, 1599, 1601, 1603, 1607, 1608, 1610 and 1613. Concerning the interruptions in the traffic but also the continuity of the communications (thanks to the seagoing vessels between Macao and Nagasaki after 1600), see also João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, ‘A Route under Pressure: Communications between Nagasaki and Macao (1597-1617)’, *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, 1, (2000), pp. 79-83, and João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, ‘A crise’, pp. 239-240, fn. 20.
- 10

For example, the lifestyle of the Vice-Provincial Francisco Pasio (1600-1611) and of Valentim Carvalho has been criticised inside the Society
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of Jesus: João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, 'A crise', pp. 243-244. On the lack of structural measures dealing with the internal organisation of the mission, *ibid.*, pp. 241-243.

11 Helena Rodrigues, 'Local Sources', p. 123. On Luís de Almeida see Léon Bourdon, 'Uma carta inédita de Luís de Almeida ao Padre Belchior Nunes Barreto (Hirado, 16 de Setembro de 1555)', *Broteréria*, 21 (1950), pp. 186-197; Léon Bourdon, 'Luís de Almeida, chirurgien et marchand avant son entrée dans la Compagnie de Jésus au Japon (1525 (?)-1556'. In *Mélanges d'études portugaises offerts à M. Georges Le Gentil*, edited by Orlando Ribeiro. Lisbon: Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 1949, pp. 69-85, especially pp. 81-84; Diego Pacheco S.J., 'Luís de Almeida 1525-1583, médico, caminharante, apóstolo', *Studia*, 26 (1969), p. 63.

12 On the medieval commerce between China and Japan up to the end of the 15th century, Charlotte Von Verschuer, *Le commerce extérieur du Japon. Des origines au XVI^e siècle*. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1988, especially pp. 101-152 (15th century); see also, besides the well-known studies of Iwao Seiichi, Kobata Atsushi, Katô Eiichi, Ogura Sadao and Quan Hansheng, Roderich Ptak, 'Sino-Japanese Maritime Trade, c.1500: Merchants, Ports and Networks', in *O Século Cristão no Japão. Actas do Colóquio Internacional Comemorativo dos 450 Anos de Amizade Portugal-Japão (1543-1993)*, edited by Roberto A. Carneiro and A.Teodoro de Matos. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de Povos e Cuturas de Expressão Portuguesa, 1994, pp. 281-311.

13 See, among many others, George Bryan de Souza, *The Survival of Empire. Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea 1630-1754*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 16-17 (1st edition 1986); William S. Atwell, 'International Bullion Flows and the Late Ming Economy', *Past and Present*, 95 (1982), pp. 68-90; John Williers, 'Silk and Silver: Macao, Manila and Trade in the China Seas in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of the Hong-Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 20 (1988), pp. 60-80.

14 *Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Reynos de Iapão e China aos da mesma Companhia da India e Europa, desde o Ano de 1549 até o de 1580*, edited by José Manuel Garcia, I. Lisbon: Castoliva, 1997, f. 42. From 1555 onwards, the Portuguese Crown tried to control the 'Viagem do Japão' with the official nomination of a captain who hold the monopoly of trade in the East part of the Indian Ocean, including Macao and the Japanese Archipelago: see Rui Manuel Loureiro, 'Navios, mercadorias e embalagens na rota Macau-Nagasaki', *Revista de Cultura*, 24 (2007), p. 34; some of them exploited also the maritime road between Malacca and Japan, dealing with the commerce of tin and lead between China and Japan: Vítor Luís Gaspar Rodrigues, 'Os capitães-mores da Carreira do Japão: Esboço de caracterização sócio-económica, *Arquipélago*, 1 (1995), pp. 145-146; Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves, *Um Porto entre Dois Impérios. Estudos sobre Macau e as Relações Luso-Chinesas*. Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente, 1999, pp. 109-110; on the commercial roads, see Manuel Leão Marques Lobato, *Política e Comércio dos Portugueses no Mundo Malaio-Indonésio (1575-1605)*, M.A. in History of the Portuguese Discoveries, Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1993, pp. 256-261.

15 On the internal debate in the Society of Jesus, and the Church's attitude, see João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, 'A crise', pp. 237-238.

16 Helena Rodrigues, 'Local Sources', p. 123; Ana Maria Leitão, *Do Tratado Português no Japão. Presenças que se Cruzam (1543-1639)*, M.A. in History of the Portuguese Discoveries. Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1995, p. 134. The *pico* was the equivalent of 60 kg.

17 The family genealogies are carefully studied in Madalena Ribeiro, *Samurais Cristãos. Os Jesuítas e a Nobreza Cristã do Sul do Japão no Século XVI*. Lisbon: Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2006, pp. 65-86 and 94-97.

18 Rui Manuel Loureiro, 'Navios', p. 35.

19 Robert. L. Innes, *The Door Ajar, Japan's Foreign Trade in the Seventeenth Century*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1980, I, pp. 61 and 134; Alexandre Valignano complained also that some non-Christian *daimyô* made pressure on the Jesuits in order to be able to participate in the Macao's trade (Ana Fernandes Pinto, 'Japanese Elites as seen by Jesuit Missionaries. Perceptions of Social and Political Inequality among the Elites', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, 1 (2001), p. 34 (quoting Valignano's *Sumario de las Cosas de Japon* (1583), Chapt. XI, p. 163).

20 Robert L. Innes, *The Door Ajar*, I, p. 124.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 83. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *O Japão e o Cristianismo no Século XVI. Ensaio de História Luso-Nipônica*. Lisbon: Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1999, pp. 80-81, quotes only two letters addressed by Ôtomo Sorin to Bishop D. Melchior Carneiro (October 1567) asking him to throw the exception that hit the salpetre trade from Macao to Japan.

22 Charles R. Boxer, *The Great Ship*, p. 47. The disparity of the sources puzzles the evaluation of numbers of converts during this period. According to the studies of João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, the Japanese Christian community had 75 missionaries and 150,000 Christians in 1582 (*O Japão*, p. 293); 87 missionaries (32 priests and 55 brothers) in 1585 (*O Japão*, p. 44, table 1); 200,000 flocks in 1587 (*O Japão*, p. 176); and 300,000 at the end of the century (*O Japão*, p. 293). George Elison and Joseph Schütte give higher numbers for the beginning of the 17th century: 300,000 (Elison), and 800,000 (Schütte): see Martin Nogueira Ramos, *Le Christianisme, religion illicite dans le Japon des premiers Tokugawa: Commentaire de la correspondance épistolaire de trois Jésuites de la Mission du Japon*, M.A. in History, Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, 2009, p. 12, note 37.

23 João Paulo Costa, 'Japanese Christians (16th-17th Centuries): An Original Community', in *Empires éloignés. L'Europe et le Japon (XVI-XIX^e siècles)*, edited by Dejanirah Couto and François Lachaud. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2010, pp. 109-114.

24 Luís de Almeida [Bungo, 20/11/1559], *Cartas*, I, f. 62-62v. Sofia Dinis quoted different types of donations (converts and non-converts *daimyô*) (like Ôtomo Sôrin Yoshishige before he was baptised), the more important being the *varelas*, or monasteries to be transformed into churches (Sofia Dinis, 'Jesuit Buildings in China and Japan: A Comparative Study', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, 3 (2001), p. 111, and notes 8 to 13.

25 Baltasar Gago [Bungo, 01/11/1559], *Cartas*, I, f. 64v; João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, 'The Misericórdias among the Japanese Christian Communities in the 16th and 17th Centuries', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, 5 (2003), pp. 67-78 and 76-78 (Nagasaki). The *Misericórdia* of Nagasaki supported 120 Brothers by the end of the 16th century: João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *O Japão*, p. 180.

26 Rui Manuel Loureiro, 'Navios', pp. 35-36. See also Robert L. Innes, *The Door Ajar*, I, pp. 46-51.

27 Lourenço Mexia [Bungo, 20.X.1580], *Cartas*, I, f. 467 (Nagasaki); Luís Fróis, *História de Japam*, edited by Joseph Wicki S.J. Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, III, 1976, p. 39.

28 Some examples of the Portuguese merchants support in João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *O Japão*, pp. 166-168.

29 Rui Manuel Loureiro, 'Navios', p. 37 (Table), gives the amount of 500 *picos* of raw silk (30,000 kg), 600 *picos* of tin (36,000 kg) and 600 *picos* of *raiz-da-China* (36,000 kg), as well 2000 *picos* (120,000 kg) of lead. See also Charles R. Boxer, *The Great Ship*, pp. 179-181; Mihoko Oka, 'A Memorandum by Tçuzu Rodrigues: the Office of Procurador and Trade by the Jesuits in Japan', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, 13 (2006), p. 82 (quoting numbers given by Kôichirô Takase 高瀬弘一郎, 'Kirishitan Kyôkai no Keizai Kiban wo Meguru Naibu no Rongi' キリシタン教会の経済基盤をめぐる内部の論議, *Kirishitan Jidai no Kenkyû* キリシタン時代の研究. Tokyo:

Iwanami Shoten, 1977, pp. 333-452), i.e., 12,000 to 16,000 *cruzados* per year from the 1590s to 1614.

30 Rui Manuel Loureiro, 'Navios', p. 40; Geoffrey Gunn, *Nagasaki and the Asian Bullion Trade Network*. Nagasaki: Nagasaki University Southwest Asia Research Center, 1999, pp. 37- 42; João Paulo Costa, *O Japão*, pp. 295-296. For the period 1614-1630 see the well documented dissertation of Martin Nogueira Ramos, *Le Christianisme*, pp. 12-108, with updated Japanese bibliography and transcription of letters of Mateus de Couros (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 37, f. 203-204v) and Baltasar de Torres (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 38, f. 276-277v); concerning the control of Nagasaki, *ibid.*, p. 65.

31 George Elison, *Deus Destroyed. The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*. Harvard, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973 (reedition 1988), p. 116.

32 In 1603 (a difficult year for the Jesuits and the Portuguese trade), Tokugawa Ieyasu still lent 5,000 *taels* (around 7,500 *cruzados*) to the Mission: João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, 'A crise', p. 243.

33 The brief commercial relations between Spain and Japan and the question of the commercial links between Japan and the Philippines are not the subjects of the present article. Besides the studies of Juan Gil, see the contributions of *Japan and the Pacific, 1540-1920. Threat and Opportunity*, edited by Mark Caprio and Koichiro Matsuda. Farnham: Ashgate, 2006.

34 Ernst van Veen, 'VOC Strategies in the Far East (1605-1640)', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, 3 (2001), pp. 98-103.

35 João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, 'A Route', p. 94

36 George Bryan de Souza, *The Survival*, pp. 55-56; Robert L. Innes, *The Door Ajar*, II, table A, p. 635. For a detailed discussion about the Macao trade with Nagasaki see Mihoko Oka, *Nagasaki and Macao in the Beginning of Early Modern Japan: A Study from Historical Documents in Southern European Archives*, Ph.D. dissertation, Kyoto University, 2006.

37 Charles R. Boxer, *Estudos para a História de Macau. Séculos XVI a XVII*, I. Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1991, pp. 22-36; Robert L. Innes, *The Door Ajar*, II, table A, p. 48: in 1603 the *nau Santa Catarina*, with 30 tons of silver on board, was arrested by the Dutch near Singapore; the *Kurofune* was also arrested in 1603 in Macao's port.

38 1610 was also a bad year for the Portuguese merchants: the full loaded *nau Nossa Senhora da Graça* (commanded by André Pessoa) was attacked by the forces of Arima Harunobu and 30,000 *cruzados* were lost outside the Nagasaki Bay (João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, 'A crise', p. 243; Mihoko Oka, 'A Memorandum', p. 89. In spite of that, 1617 was a good year for the Portuguese trade: two ships reached Macao with 4,000 *kanme* of silver, Robert L. Innes, *The Door Ajar*, p. 382.

39 Robert L. Innes, *The Door Ajar*, II, pp. 379-380 (tables) and 381-385 about the variations of the Portuguese commerce.

40 As Ernst van Veen points out, there is 'a great divide amongst the experts over the volumes of silver exported from Japan' (Ernst van Veen, 'VOC Strategies', p. 99). The data brought together by Anthony Reid (quoting numbers from Seiichi, 'Japanese Foreign Trade in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Acta Asiatica*, 30 (1976), pp. 1-18) gives amounts of 130/150 tons per year to 80 tons during the 1630s. Von Glahn's numbers (1604-1639 period) are lower: Japanese *shuin-sen* ships 24.1 tons, Portuguese 18.6 tons, Chinese 9.8 tons and Dutch 6.5 tons (Richard Von Glahn 'Myth and Reality of China's Seventeenth Century Monetary Crisis', *Journal of Economic History*, 56 (1996), p. 437, quoting Robert L. Innes); according to Van Veen ('VOC Strategies', p. 100), 'the value of the Portuguese cargoes should be one third of the total Japan-China trade'.

41 Robert L. Innes, *The Door Ajar*, I, pp. 131-132. See also George Bryan de Souza, 'Commerce and Capital: Portuguese Maritime Losses in the South China Sea, 1600-1754', in *As Relações entre a Índia Portuguesa, a Ásia do Sueste e o Extremo-Oriente*, edited by Artur

Teodoro de Matos and Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz. Macao/Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1993, pp. 321-348.

42 See Oka Mihoko, 'A Great Merchant in Nagasaki in the 17th Century. Suetsugu Heizô II and the System of Respondência', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, 2 (2001), pp. 37-56, especially, pp. 50-51.

43 Martin Nogueira Ramos, *Le Christianisme*, p. 73 (the persecutions became more effective in Arima) and pp. 78-79.

44 Some of the rich merchants abandoned the catholic faith as Father Mateus de Couros points out in 1626: Martin Nogueira Ramos, *Le Christianisme*, p. 28 and note 107; see also Robert L. Innes, *The Door Ajar*, I, p. 132.

45 Robert L. Innes, *The Door Ajar*, I, p. 162 (see also Part IV, 'Quantitative data on foreign trade and trade's place in the national economy', I, pp. 376 sq.).

46 Roderich Ptak, 'Sino-Japanese', pp. 283-311; Roderich Ptak, 'Piracy Along the Coasts of Southern India and Ming China: Comparative Notes on Two Sixteenth Century Cases', *As Relações*, pp. 255-273; Dian Murray, 'Silver, Ships and Smuggling: China's International Trade of the Ming and Qin Dynasties', *Ming Qing Yanjiu* 明清研究, 3 (1994), pp. 91-143; Nie Dening, 'Chinese Merchants and their Maritime Activities and the Ban on Maritime Trade in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1567)', *Ming Qing Yanjiu*, 6 (1997), pp. 69-92. Paola Calanca, Aspects spécifiques de la piraterie à Hainan sous les Ming et au début des Qing', in *Hainan. De la Chine à l'Asie du Sud-Est*, edited by Claudine Salmon and Roderich Ptak. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001, pp. 111-136.

47 Some of them were pirates like Tay Fusa (Taifuzu or Zaizufu in the Spanish sources, 1582) who attacked the Northern coasts of the island of Luzon (Ilocos and Cagayán): Maria Fernanda G. de los Arcos, 'The Philippine Colonial Elite and the Evangelisation of Japan', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, 4 (2002), p. 71.

48 The system was controlled by the powerful Ishin Sûden (1569-1633), who became Abbot General of Nanzenji temple in 1605 and has been diplomatic advisor to the first three Shoguns of the Tokugawa regime (Ieyasu, Hidetada and Iemitsu); he was also (at least in part) author of the Persecution Edict of 1614 (José Manuel Pinto dos Santos, 'A 17th Century Buddhist Treatise refuting Christianity', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, 4 (2002), pp. 96-97, and note 23). For further information on this system, see the Japanese bibliography (Iwao Seiichi 岩生成一, *Shuinsen Bôek-shi no Kenkyû* 朱印船貿易史の研. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1985; Ogura Sadao 小倉貞男, *Shuinsen Jidai no Nihonjin: Kieta Tônan Ajia Nihon-machi no nazô* 朱印船時代の日本人：消えた東南アジア日本町の謎. Tokyo: Chuô Kôronsha, 1989).

49 Isabel Augusta Tavares Mourão, *Portugueses em Terras do Dai-Viêt (Cochinchina e Tun Kim) 1615-1660*. Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente, 2005, p. 153.

50 A Japanese quarter had been created in Manila around 1581 (?), called 'Parían de los Japones'. According Don Antonio Morga, 500 Japanese lived in this quarter at the end of the 16th century. The community of Luzon was probably the most important at the time (Maria Fernanda G. de los Arcos, 'The Philippines', pp. 68-69).

51 The first center to offer refuge to women in the Philippines was founded by a Japanese nun, Sister Julia Nyato. This center, which existed between 1614 and 1656, was known as the 'Beaterio de Miyako' (Maria Fernanda G. de los Arcos, 'The Philippines', p. 69). Ishizawa Yoshiaki, 'Les quartiers japonais dans l'Asie du Sud-Est au XVII^e siècle'. In *Guerre et paix en Asie du Sud-Est*, edited by Nguyen The Anh and Alain Forest. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998, p. 87, gives the global number of 71,200 emigrants in Southeast Asia in the first half of the 17th century (departures in Japanese ships), and 100,000 (including departures in foreign ships): a percentage of these emigrants were Christians: Madalena Ribeiro, 'The Japanese

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Diaspora in the Seventeenth Century, According to Jesuit Sources’, *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, 3 (2001), p. 67.

52 Juan Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila, siglos XVI y XVII*. Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2011. On the Japanese emigration in Mexico, see also Juan Gil, ‘Échos du Japon dans l’Espagne du XVIIe siècle’. In *Empires éloignés*, pp. 121-126 (documents from the Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

53 Robert L. Innes, *The Door Ajar*, I, p. 61 (Table 5), adapted from Iwao Seiichi, *Nanyō Nihomachi no Kenkyū* 南洋日本町の研究. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten (revised ed.), 1966, p. 257; see also Iwao Seiichi, ‘Japanese Foreign Trade in the 16th and 17th Centuries’, *Acta Asiatica*, 30 (1976), pp. 8-11; Anthony Reid, ‘An “Age of Commerce” in Southeast Asian History’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 24 (1990), pp. 9-10; Ernst van Veen, ‘VOC Strategies’, p. 99.

54 Robert L. Innes, *The Door Ajar*, I, p. 58 (Table 4) adapted from Iwao Seiichi, *Nanyō Nihomachi no Kenkyū*, pp. 10-11. On the following period (Dutch presence in Vietnam) see Hoang Anh Tuan, *Silk for Silver: Dutch-Vietnamese Relations, 1637-1700*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leiden, 2006.

55 However, the Nguyễn Hoang from the Cochinchina were more enterprising than the Trinh from Tonkin: the former wrote to Tokugawa Ieyasu seeking from him the opening of maritime trade: Robert L. Innes, *The Door Ajar*, I, pp. 63-64. Some Japanese families became also their diplomatic agents, like the Funamoto/ Thuyên Bán: Isabel Augusta Tavares Mourão, *Portugueses*, p. 153 quoting Nguyễn Dinh Nhá, ‘La population, les mœurs et les coutumes de Phô Hiên’, *Études vietnamiennes*, 4/110 (1993), p. 24.

56 The commercial and social ties linking the Japanese network in Siam, Cambodia, and Batavia (in connection with Macao, Tonkin and Cochinchina) during this period must be obviously underlined: Madalena Ribeiro, ‘The Japanese Diaspora’, pp. 73-80. On the Portuguese interference in this network, see Conceição Flores, ‘Comércio Português entre o Japão e o Sião nos Séculos XVI e XVII’, *Revista de Cultura*, 17 (1993), pp. 17-22.

57 Biblioteca do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda (from now on BA), *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-IV-66, ‘Do Princípio deste Collegio, ou caza e dos Superiores que nella ouue...’, f. 47; *ibid.*, ‘Cap. 2’ do princípio da missão & Xpdandade de Jappão e dos Superiores mayores q principiário e promoverão’, f. 49v.

58 The biography of Gaspar do Amaral has been recently studied on a Ph.D. dissertation by Isabel Augusta Tavares Mourão, *Gaspar do Amaral S.J. (1594-1646). La vie et l’œuvre d’un jésuite portugais fondateur de la mission jésuite du Tun Kim à la cour des Trinh*. Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, 3 vols., 2011.

59 Although under the nominal rule of the Lê dynasty, the Vietnam (Dai Viêt) was shared between two rival states, the Trinh and the Nguyễn. The shores of the river Gianh (at the parallel 18th) were the borders. The secession was consumed in 1614: Roland Jacques, ‘Le Portugal et la Romanisation de la langue vietnamienne. Faut-il réécrire l’histoire?’, *Revue française d’histoire d’Outre-mer*, 1 (1998), p. 32.

60 BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-6, ff. 336-346 about the trip of Baldinotti: Isabel Mourão, *Gaspar*, II, p. 234. Father Pero Marquez (and not Pero Marques, the later being of Japanese origin) and Alexandre Rhodes were first sent in 1627 but the mission was unsuccessful. Consequently, the Mission was not founded in 2626 as Madalena Ribeiro ‘The Japanese Diaspora’, p. 67, declares. Some data about the Missions founded between 1615 and 1642 in Cochinchina, Cambodia, and Siam, in Madalena Ribeiro, ‘The Japanese Diaspora’, pp. 66-67. See also Antonio Francisco Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus na sua Gloriosa Província do Japão*, edited by Luciano Cordeiro. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1894, pp. 15 and 72-73 (about Baldinotti and Peani).

61 Several examples given by Madalena Ribeiro, ‘The Japanese Diaspora’, pp. 60-63 and note 41, related to the Japanese Christians; see also

Charles R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650*. Manchester: Carcanet, 1993, p. 369.

62 For instance Romão Nishi, expelled in 1614, Martinho Hara, Miguel Maki, Miguel Matsuda and others (Isabel Mourão, *Gaspar*, II, pp. 219-220). In 1616, from the 96 missionaries of the Colégio de Macau, 33 missionaries and 26 brothers were refugees from Japan. Three missionaries and 21 brothers were of Japanese origin (Madalena Ribeiro, ‘The Japanese Diaspora’, pp. 60-61).

63 ‘Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do ano de 1651’, BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-IV-61, f. 641; some of these benefactors have been buried in the church of the Colégio de Macau, Madalena Ribeiro, ‘The Japanese Diaspora’, p. 63, n. 41.

64 In spite of the papal brief *Ex pastoralis officio* (1585), giving to the Society of Jesus the exclusivity of the Japan’s evangelisation, this document must be included in the Iberian rivalry (started with the Spanish embassy sent by the governor of Manila in 1592, and followed by the arrival of the Franciscans in Japan (1592). One must keep in mind also the increasing rivalry between the *Padroado* and the *Patronato* as well as the internal situation of Portugal and the *Estado da Índia* in the first half of the 17th century (João Paulo Costa, *Portugal*, pp. 62-67).

65 This missionary was born in Mourão (Évora, Portugal); he lived in Japan between 1609 and 1614. He has been confused by Jean-Pierre Duteil, *Le mandat du Ciel. Le rôle des Jésuites en Chine*. Paris: Arguments, 1994, p. 165, with another missionary, Pero Marques, born in Nagasaki in 1613 (son of a niece of the *daimyō* of Bungo). Madalena Ribeiro, ‘The Japanese Diaspora’, p. 68, has been also misled. See Isabel Tavares Mourão, *Gaspar*, II, p. 232, note 553.

66 Isabel Tavares Mourão, *Gaspar*, II, p. 212: the *Visitador* Gabriel de Matos was already in the Nguyễn dominions. As he didn’t find a transport to Japan, he returned to Macao in 1626. On the other hand Gaspar do Amaral began to learn Japanese in the Green Island (*Ilha Verde*), in front of Macao, were the Jesuits built up some houses and a chapel: Jorge Santos Alves, ‘Os Jesuítas e a “Contenda da Ilha Verde”. A primeira discussão sobre a legitimidade da presençaportuguesa em Macau (1621)’. In *A Companhia de Jesus e o Oriente: Actas*. Coord. Nuno da Silva Gonçalves Lisbon: Brotéria/Fundação Oriente, 2000, pp. 423-449. It seems that he had been in contact in the *Ilha Verde* with the well-known João Rodrigues Tçuzzu, author of the *Historia da Igreja do Japão*, the interpreter of Alexandre Valignano in Japan durings his travels of 1579-1582, 1590-1592 and 1598-1603.

67 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 161 II, ff. 105-106 and f. 118. After the trip to Tonkin, Saitō returned to Japan, where he died in the persecution of 1633: ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 25, ‘Catalogo dos Irmãos do Anno de 1620’, f. 119 and ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 88, ‘Principios da Missão do Tun Kim e progressos della’, f. 1v.

68 In spite of the Portuguese offer to help the Chinese against the Manchus (by sending the Jesuit Gonçalo Teixeira to the Pekin court): Charles R. Boxer, *Estudos*, pp. 119-133; Tien-Tsê Chang, *O Comércio Sino-Português entre 1514-1644 (Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514-1644. A Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources)*. Lisbon: Instituto Português do Oriente, 1997, p. 164. See also the contribution of Rui Loureiro, ‘Iberian Impressions of the Manchu Conquest of China’, as well as the one of Jorge dos Santos Alves ‘Clash of Empires Portuguese and Iberian Projects for the Conquest of China’ in the forthcoming edition of the Proceedings of the International Conference *Empires en Marche: Rencontres entre la Chine et l’Occident au début des temps modernes (XVI^e-XIX^e siècles/ Empire on the Move: Encounters between China and the West in the Early Modern Era (16th to 19th Centuries)* (Paris, 7-8 November 2011), edited by Dejanirah Couto and François Lachaud. Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient/ Délégation en France de la Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 2014.

69 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 88, ‘Missang que se fes do Collegio de Macao ao Rno de Tunquim, cabeça de Cochijchina no anno de 1627’, f. 51-51v; see also ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 80, ‘Viagem de Tonquim’, f. 1-2v (copy BA,

Jesuitas na Ásia, 49-V-31, ff. 15v-18) which contains a very interesting ethnological description of the Trinh’s realms.

70 António Francisco Cardim, *Batalhas*, p. 76. The Spanish Franciscans tried unsuccessfully to settle in Conchinchina in 1583. In 1584 Bartolomé Ruiz managed so stay almost two years in Đà Nang (Tourane) but had to leave: Marcelo de Ribadeneyra, *Historia de las Islas del Archipiélago, y reinos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cuchinchina, Maláca, Sian, Camboxa y Jappon, y de lo sucedido en ellas a los religiosos Descalzos, de la Orden del Seraphico Padre San Francisco, de la Provincia de San Gregorio de las Philippinas*. Barcelona: Gabriel Graells y Geraldo Dotil, 1601, chap. 16. See also Juan Gil, *Hidalgos y samurais. España y Japón en los siglos XVI y XVII*. Madrid: Alianza Universidad, 1991, pp. 426-439.

71 Madalena Ribeiro, ‘The Japanese Diaspora’, p. 68 and notes 57 e 58 with some biographical data about these missionaries.

72 In 1631 returned from Japan an embassy sent by the Nguyễn, showing the closely of relations with the Japanese authorities: ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 72, ‘Annua da Cochinchina de 1631’, f. 221. The Japanese community in Cochinchina (about 300 souls) lived in two areas, one in Faifô (founded in 1617?), where a church has been built, and another in Tourane (Da Nang) (founded in 1623?): Ishizawa Yoshiaki, ‘Les quartiers’, pp. 86-88.

73 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 161 II, ‘Carta do Padre Visitador André Palmeiro a Mutio Vitelleschi’ [Macao, 28/04/1633], f. 146: ‘E o Pe Gaspar do Amaral Superior da Missão vai bem aprendendo a lingoa e nella começa a confessar.

74 Alexandre de Rhodes, *Histoire du Royavme de Tvnquin et des Grands Progrez que la Predication de l’Evangile y a Faits en la conversion des Infidelles. Depuis l’Année 1627, iusques à l’Année 1646. Composée en Latin par le R.P.Alexandre de Rhodes, de la Compagnie de Jesus et traduite en François par le R.P. Henri Alby de la mesme Compagnie*. Lyon: Jean Baptiste Devenet, 1651, pp. 262-263; António Cardim, *Batalhas*, p. 79; detailed biographies of these Jesuits in Isabel Tavares Mourão, *Gaspar*, II, pp. 246-247. Instructions to Do Amaral in BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-31, ‘Instrução que o Padre Andre Palmeiro Vizitador da Província de Japam e China deu ao Padre Gaspar do Amaral mandando o por Superior daquela missam’, f. 41-42v (Isabel Tavares Mourão, *Gaspar*, II, pp. 405-407, annex 2).

75 BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-31, ‘Do princípio da missão de Tun Kim’, f. 10v-11. The second house of the mission was built after the arrival of Father Felix Morelli in 1636: Isabel Tavares Mourão, *Gaspar*, II, pp. 263-264.

76 BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-31, ‘1634: 4a carta – Como se houverão os padres na perseguição de 634 e como se hão com os catequistas, ao Padre Visitador’ [Ké Chò, 21/04/1634, Gaspar do Amaral], f. 303: ‘tomando o Rey occazião de fazer de huma accuzaçam falça que s de certa aldeia a que chamam Sêt fizerão contra os Christãos por meyo de huma mulher segunda del Rey por nome Sang phu, a quem pertence a dita aldeia...’.

77 BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-31 ‘Annua do Reyno de Annam do anno de 1632’, f. 254v-256.

78 Isabel Tavares Mourão, *Gaspar*, II, p. 271, note 635, points out a Ms. helpful to a better knowledge of the *dojuku* system in Japan: Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (BNM), Col. Gayangos, Ms./17620, leg. 29, no. 7D, ‘Extracto das Obediências dos Visitadores fto Pa os Pes das Residencias e mais Pes do Japam, pello Pe Frco Pasio Visitor da Proua de Japam no anno d 1612...’, 12 folios.

79 BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-31, ‘Annua da missão do reyno de Anam a que os Portugueses chamão Ton Kim, 1633’, f. 265 (signed by Gaspar do Amaral); BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-31, ‘Annua de 1634 do reyno de Anam para o Padre André Palmeiro Vizitador das Províncias de Jappão e China’, f. 307 (beginning of the document until f. 321v: the last part [ff. 20-235] may be consulted in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 88, see infra).

80 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 88, ‘Relação dos Catequistas da Christandade de Tumquim e seu modo de proçeder pera o Pe Manoel Diaz Vizitador

de Jappão e China’, f. 348-354v [27/03/1638] list of the catechists and temporal coadjutors (5), ff. 353v, 354 and 354v (Isabel Tavares Mourão, *Gaspar*, III, pp. 474-483, annex 7); about the catechists role, *ibid.*, II, pp. 274-275; see also Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, *Archivo de Japón, Leg.* 21 bis, fas. 16, ff. 31-37; Gio(vanni) Filippo de Marini, *Delle missioni de’ Padri della Compagnia di Giesu nella Prouincia del Giappone, e particolarmente di quella di Tumkino*. Rome: Nicoló Angelo Tinassi, 1663, pp.183-188.

81 The diplomatic presents reached the amount of 50 to 60 *cruzados* per year ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 161 II, ‘Carta do Padre Visitador André Palmeiro a Mutio Vitelleschi’ [Macao, 28.IV.1633], f. 146v.

82 See ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 88, ‘Annua de 1634 do reyno de Anam para o Padre André Palmeiro Vizitador das Províncias de Jappão e China’, ff. 189v-190v (Isabel Tavares Mourão, *Gaspar*, III, pp. 436-437, annex 5); André Palmeiro was not favourable to the creation of new missions: ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 161 II, ‘Carta do Padre Vizitador André Palmeiro a Mutio Vitelleschi’, [Macao, 28/04/1633], f. 146: ‘nê sera conveniente, e assim o iulgão todos, abrir de novo Missões com tal encarguo como este, assim polla indecencia que isto em sy encerra, como pollo grande gasto, que de força nisto se faz’.

83 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 161 II, f. 188-188v (Isabel Tavares Mourão, *Gaspar*, III, pp. 494-495, annex. 12). See, about the different versions of this letter, *ibid.*, II, p. 259, note 602.

84 The unsuccessful attempt to establish a Jesuit mission in Laos has been studied by Isabel Tavares Mourão, *Gaspar*, II, pp. 258-261: before Leria, and after do Amaral, the fathers Bartolomeu Reboredo and João Baptista Bonelli had been appointed to this mission: Reboredo has been sent to Macassar and Bonelli died before reaching the Laos: see, besides BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-31, ‘Lembrança do Padre João Baptista Bonelli pa os Padres de Tun Kim e pa o que uier aos Laos, 1638’, f. 435-436v; Isabel Tavares Mourão, ‘Notícias do Laos’, *Oceanos*, 32 (1997), pp. 87-101 and especially pp. 95-97. The Ph.D thesis (in progress) of Susumu Akune (University of Kyoto) deals specifically with the Laos Jesuit mission. We express our gratitude to Mr. Akune for the discussions held in Kyoto about this subject.

85 See the letter of Father Felix Morelli to the Superior General Mutio Vitelleschi ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 80, f. 21-22v [Tonkin, 25/03/1637]; Do Amaral was well acquainted with the Japanese community as we can see through the interesting observations about the lifestyle of the Chinese and Japanese living in Tonkin: ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 161 II, Carta de Gaspar do Amaral a Mutio Vitelleschi [Macao, 12/12/1638], f. 210 (Isabel Tavares Mourão, *Gaspar*, III, p. 502, annex 13).

86 Martin Nogueira Ramos, *Le Christianisme*, pp. 84-85.

87 The Japanese community in Cochinchina was bigger than the one of Tonkin, as the numbers of Japanese ships trading with Vietnam (see above) shows. About the structure of this group, see Isabel Augusta Tavares Mourão, *Os Portugueses*, pp. 72-74.

88 ARSI *Jap. Sin.* 161 II [28.IV.1633], f. 146.

89 BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-3, ‘1634: 4a carta – Como se houverão os padres na perseguição de 1634 e como se hão com os catequistas, ao Padre Visitador’ [Ké Chò, 21/04/1634, Gaspar do Amaral], f. 304v.

90 *Ibid.*, f. 305. The Christian community was already quite large (f. 302v): ‘Esta esta Christandade neste Reyno muy espalhada, e quatro Padres pera a cultivar he muito pouca gente’.

91 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 88, ‘Relação dos Catequistas da Christandade de Tumquim e seu modo de proçeder pera o Pe Manoel Diaz Vizitador de Jappão e China’, f. 351v. This letter, as mentioned, is from 27 March 1638; which means that the support was still effective.

92 Madalena Ribeiro, ‘The Japanese Diaspora’, p. 69; António Francisco Cardim, *Batalhas*, pp. 62-63; BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-IV-61, ‘Carta Ânua da Província do Japão do ano de 1654, f. 395-396. See also the Annua of 1634, BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-31, ‘Annua de 1634 do reyno de Anam para o Padre André Palmeiro Vizitador das Províncias de Jappão e China’, ff. 172-189v.