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Nanban Tçuzu's Contribution to Japanese-Portuguese Commerce: On Rodrigues' Role as Ieyasu's Commercial Agent

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In *Keichō* 3 (1598), Tokugawa Ieyasu took over command of the country. The status of the missionaries in Japan was expected to be put on a more satisfactory basis. Meanwhile, the Jesuits continued to promote the visits of Portuguese merchant ships and to participate directly in the silk trade, so as to increase their financial revenue and to seek further opportunities. The Japanese daimyos and lords were pleased to receive the Portuguese merchant ships in order to obtain weapons, raw silk, silk fabrics and gold, and to impose harbour taxes. Although Hideyoshi's reign had resulted in neither political nor diplomatic achievements, his enthusiasm for foreign trade had been inherited by Ieyasu.¹ Ieyasu tolerated the missionaries' continued presence in Japan because of commercial convenience. For a period afterwards, the Jesuits' position seemed to become much easier and it was regularised.

RODRIGUES' INVOLVEMENT IN NAGASAKI'S COMMERCIAL AND MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

Rodrigues first met Ieyasu in the summer of 1593. At that time rumor had it that the Portuguese merchants had been so offended by the needless destruction of Jesuit property at Nagasaki the previous year that they refused to return to Japan. Terazawa now regretted dismantling the Jesuit buildings the previous year and expressed anxiety about his own future. He believed, possibly with a certain amount of reason, that if the Portuguese ship did not return, Hideyoshi might well hold him personally responsible for the loss of trade and invite him to commit suicide. The ruler, at that

Detail of a chart of Japan by Luis Teixeira, c. 1591,
in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1595.

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time, was also anxious about the future of trade with Portugal. Hideyoshi received Rodrigues on several occasions and repeatedly inquired as to whether the *nao* would ever return to Macao. Rodrigues, who fully understood the economic needs of Macao, assured him that it would. Great must have been the relief felt by Hideyoshi, Terazawa, and the Jesuits when Gaspar Pinto da Rocha's ship finally sailed into Nagasaki harbour during the summer of 1593. Michael Cooper has it that

When Pinto da Rocha travelled to the court at Nagoya for the customary presentation of rich gifts to Hideyoshi, he was accompanied by a retinue of Negro guards, dressed in red costumes and bearing golden spears. At the rulers' invitation, the men performed a wild dance to the music of fife and drum. As a mark of appreciation for their strenuous efforts, Hideyoshi ordered that each dancer should receive a white *katabira* robe.²

The summer of 1593 saw several other delegations arriving at Nagoya to pay their respects to Hideyoshi.

Little escaped the keen attention of Rodrigues. On 14 June he watched the arrival of the Ming envoys as they rode through the streets on horses accompanied by a retinue of one hundred and fifty men. The envoys were accorded an elaborate welcome and granted a cordial audience by Hideyoshi. It was also about this time that another embassy from the Philippines reached Japan and travelled to Nagoya. The party was led by a Spanish friar, Fray Pedro Baptista Blázquez. While staying in Nagoya they were visited by Rodrigues, who, unlike the robed friars, was discreetly wearing Japanese dress. Blázquez brought with him two official letters in which the governor of the Philippines conveyed his greetings to Hideyoshi. Maeda, who was handling the embassy from the Japanese side, could make nothing of the Spanish text and so sent the letter around to Rodrigues' lodgings with a request for a translation.

In addition to winning over Terazawa, Rodrigues was also entrusted with gaining the favour of various lords and officials living at Nagoya; in modern parlance he lobbied for the Christian cause and appears to have

Portuguese merchants (detail of a Japanese nanban screen, late 16th-century/early 17th-century).



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had considerable success. One of the most important men he visited at Nagoya was the mighty Tokugawa Ieyasu, second only in power to Hideyoshi. Ieyasu had apparently heard about the talented young Portuguese who spoke Japanese so fluently and invited him to visit him at his residence. The daimyo received Rodrigues with every mark of courtesy and spoke with him on a variety of subjects in the presence of two learned Zen monks, who acted as secretaries for his correspondence with China. He began by asking his guest about the divine providence ruling the world. Rodrigues was not loath to expound the Christian view and argued that the creator must be different from his creatures and that everything was governed by divine providence. This assertion, of course, ran directly counter to the beliefs of the monks, but they remained silent, possibly out of politeness or because they realised that there was no way of refuting an opponent who depended on premises which they themselves would not allow. After listening to Rodrigues for some time, Ieyasu remarked that the Jesuit's reasons seemed good to him and were very logical. He then turned from theology to cosmology and asked whether there was only world or many. Rodrigues answered that there could be only one world, and went on to argue his case by advancing various reasons and mentioning the findings of navigation. As usual, Rodrigues appears to have made a favourable impression, and it was not for nothing that his skill in dealing with people was later emphasised in a confidential Jesuit report about him.³ In any event, Ieyasu invited him back to his residence and presented both him and Brother Cosme with a silk robe each. He told them that he would allow two missionary priests to live secretly in his domain for the time being, and that more would be permitted once Hideyoshi relaxed the 1587 edict.

It was at about this time that the craze for European fashion reached its peak in Japan. Largely as a result of Valignano's embassy in 1591, every Japanese at court made an effort to obtain at least one article of European dress; some nobles even possessed complete wardrobes of cloaks, capes, ruff shirts, breeches, and hats. The craze was not confined to styles of clothing but also extended to diet; the practice of eating veal, which had earlier caused so much abhorrence among the Japanese, grew in popularity. Enthusiasm for European practices went so far that even non-Christians sometimes carried rosaries and learned the Pater

Noster and Ave Maria by heart merely to keep up with the Japanese Joneses.⁴ Of its very nature this artificial movement was merely a passing phenomenon, somewhat similar to the short-lived fad for foreign institutions during the Meiji period; such enthusiasm is invariably succeeded by an equally extreme reaction, and not many years would pass before things Western would be execrated and outlawed by the Japanese authorities.

Rodrigues' involvement in Nagasaki's municipal and commercial administration began in the first month of 1603. During Rodrigues' New Year's visit to Fushima to present his greetings to Ieyasu, the ruler informed him that he was going to replace Terazawa, the then governor of Nagasaki appointed by Hideyoshi, with Murayama. Now the city would be governed by Murayama, together with four elders of the city, all of whom were Christians. Ieyasu also invited Rodrigues to participate in the administration and asked the governors to discuss all matters of importance with Rodrigues and Pasio the vice-provincial. According to the arrangement, Nagasaki's presence as a Catholic had already been recognised publicly by the new ruler of the country.⁵

In 1604, Ieyasu appointed Ogasawara Ichian visiting governor to manage the business in Nagasaki. Together with the appointment, Tokugawa issued the *pancada* system (*ito-wappu* for the Japanese) to impose restrictions on the silk trade in May of the same year in order to settle the disputes between the Japanese and the Portuguese merchants.⁶ It has been proved by numerous historic studies that Ogasawara played an important role in the issuing and implementation of the system. Beyond any doubt, the visiting governor responded more quickly than the trade administration. It was also within its authority to inspect Kyushu and to collect information from Chinese merchant ships. Besides, the position was also responsible for municipal administration. Appreciating the obvious inconvenience of the city's administration, Ogasawara



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Tokugawa Ieyasu.

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suggested to Ieyasu in *Keichō* 5 (1605) that the part of the city overlapping with Ōmura should be incorporated into Nagasaki, and that the daimyo should be compensated by being awarded the nearby district of Urakami. The Shogun approved the plan and sent officials to implement the scheme. Ōmura Yoshiaki was very dissatisfied with the exchange and jumped to the conclusion that the Jesuit was responsible for the latest administrative change. In revenge, he ordered the expulsion of all the Jesuits from his territory. To make matters worse, a year later, he gave up his Christian faith and embraced the Nichiren sect of Buddhism. This setback no doubt exacerbated Bishop Cerqueira's and Organtino's anxieties concerning the Jesuits' involvement in business and municipal administration.

In the same year, Rodrigues made two visits to Ieyasu. In his first visit to court, the Jesuits and Portuguese in Nagasaki were placed in severe financial straits because there was no official voyage to Japan the previous year. Ieyasu was informed of the loss and spontaneously offered the Jesuits an outright gift of 350 taels, as well as a loan of a further five thousand to be repaid at the missionaries' convenience. The same amount was offered to Nagasaki. Ieyasu and his daimyos were all involved in the commerce in Nagasaki, and he was convinced that, 'The presence of the Jesuits is vital for the continuance of Portuguese trade.'⁷ There was no denying that as a result of Rodrigues' increased status, the Jesuit was given a more important position in the municipal administration and trading and thus the ruling class in Japan could less easily neglect the Jesuits' contribution to Portuguese-Japanese trade. On the other hand, it was wise and efficient for Ieyasu to administer Nagasaki through the hands of the Jesuit.

APPOINTED IEYASU'S COMMERCIAL AGENT

Lest perhaps the reader has become a little blasé from reading about the succession of audiences granted to Rodrigues by Ieyasu and other personages, it may be worth noting that it was considered a great honour even to be received in Ieyasu's presence, let alone speak to him informally. As a rule, only the most powerful officials were permitted into the august presence.⁸

To illustrate the honour and veneration paid to the almost legendary ruler, an eyewitness description of an audience granted to a daimyo in December 1609 will not be out of place at this point. Vivero y Velasco was present and left the following account:

There entered one of the greatest nobles of Japan, whose high rank was evident from the gifts which he had brought – bars of silver and gold, silk robes, and other things, all of which must have been worth more than twenty ducats. All of this was first of all placed on some tables, but I do not think the emperor (Ieyasu) even glanced at it. Then at over a hundred paces from where his Highness was seated, this *tono* prostrated himself, bowing his head so low that it looked as if he wanted to kiss the ground. Nobody said a word to him, nor did he raise his eyes to the emperor on entering or leaving. Finally he turned and withdrew with his large retinue, which, according to some of my servants, numbered more than three thousand men.⁹

The new ruler's appreciation and trust of Rodrigues is apparent from the extraordinary generosity he displayed towards the European interpreter. Furthermore, Ieyasu even appointed Rodrigues as his own personal commercial agent at Nagasaki and announced that thenceforth the Portuguese merchants should conduct their transactions through him.¹⁰ In the catalogue of the Jesuit mission, the entry against Rodrigues' name laconically states: 'Father João Rodrigues: conducted business at court.'¹¹

Rodrigues' diplomatic talents were well demonstrated in coordinating the Jesuits' relationship with the new ruler and his nobles and bringing about commercial negotiations. But his delicate appointment as a commercial agent frequently caused him trouble. Despite his efforts, he suffered constant setbacks which placed him in difficult situations and eventually led to disaster.

According to Jesuit accounts, Terazawa dispatched an official down to Nagasaki with orders to buy silk on behalf of Ieyasu from the ship of Horatio Nerete. Disobeying the instructions to seek the advice and help of Rodrigues in the transaction, the man completed the purchase entirely on the basis of his own negotiation. After inspecting the goods, Ieyasu

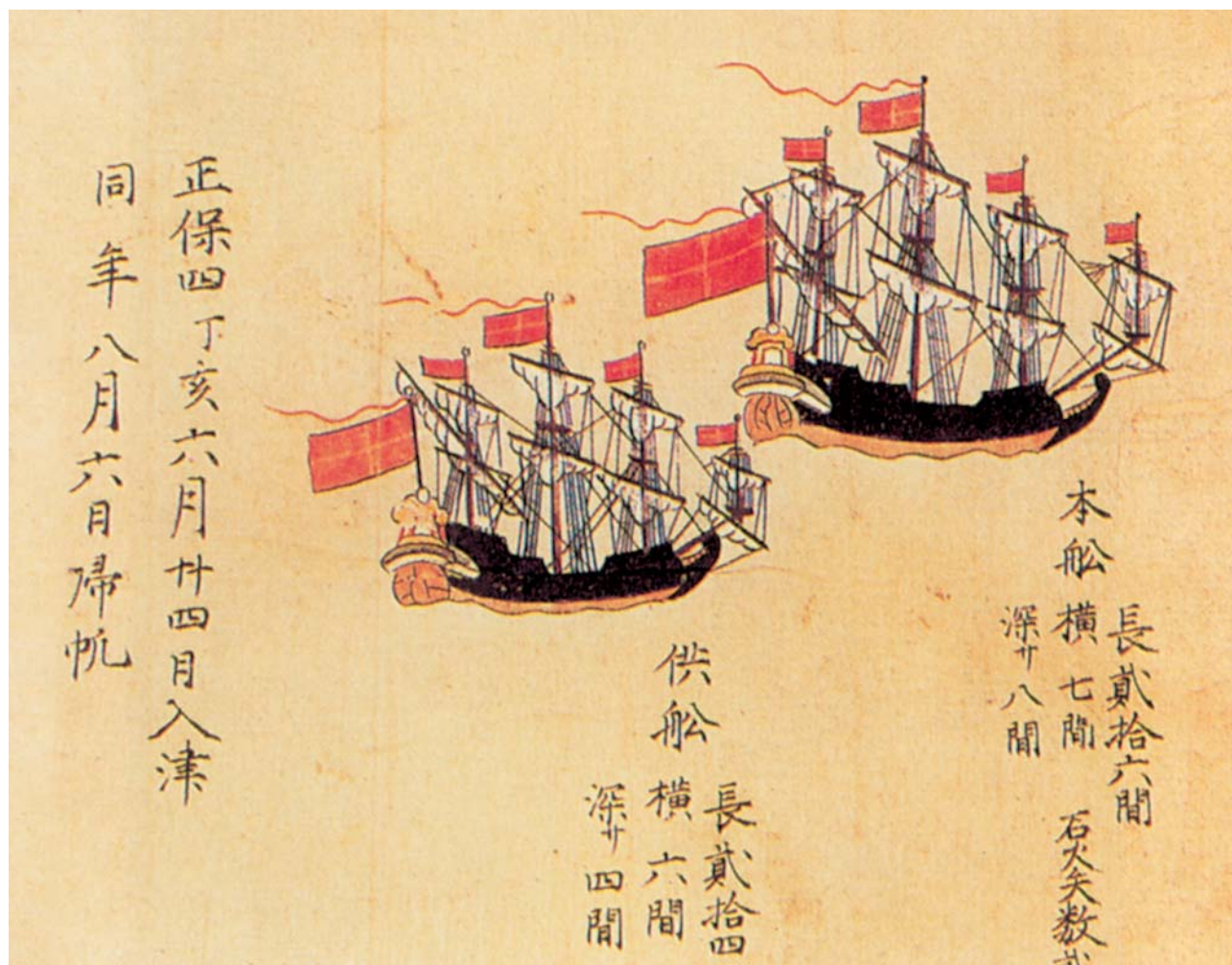
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expressed dissatisfaction with both the quality and price. To exculpate himself the official blamed Rodrigues in particular and the Nagasaki Jesuits in general. Ieyasu once more became angry with the missionaries. Fortunately some friendly non-Christian officials at court managed to convince the ruler that the Interpreter had not been involved in the unsatisfactory transaction.¹²

Several years later, in 1606, the mission suffered another severe setback in Kyushu when one of its staunchest allies turned from protector to persecutor. Once again, Rodrigues was involved. The complicated affair resulted from a proposal by Ogasawara. Thanks to the prosperity created by trade with the Portuguese and other foreign nations, Nagasaki had grown into a sizeable city. Appreciating recent developments and the obvious inconvenience of administering the city,

Ogasawara suggested to Ieyasu that the part of the city overlapping with Ōmura should be incorporated into Nagasaki. Such a proposal ran counter to Ōmura's plan to establish an adjacent settlement in his territories from which he received taxes. It so happened that Rodrigues was at court at when the proposal was approved by Ieyasu. Ōmura Yoshiaki jumped to the conclusion that Rodrigues was responsible for the latest administrative change. As a result, Ōmura wrote to his fief, forbidding his subjects to attend Christian churches or to have any contact with the missionaries. Despite clarification from Cerqueira and Ogasawara, Ōmura refused to change his mind and expelled all the Jesuits from his territory, adding unconvincingly that it was Ieyasu's wish and that he was bound to obey. In fact, Rodrigues had proposed that the reallocation be

Portuguese carracks. Detail of a map of Nagasaki, late 16th century.



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withdrawn and what he had done was to sketch a map of Nagasaki to give to Ieyasu on the orders of Father Francisco Pasio.¹³ Suspicions surrounding Rodrigues' involvement appear to have been eventually cleared up, for there is still extant a copy of a letter written by Ômura to Pasio on 15 February 1607¹⁴ in which the daimyo admits that he was mistaken in expelling the missionaries.¹⁵ But whether or not Ômura ever really came to believe that Rodrigues had no hand in the affair, he remained lost for good to the Christian cause, and the loss was to prove grievous.

In 1609, another trouble befell Rodrigues: he was involved in the incident with the Portuguese ship *Madre de Deus*.¹⁶ On 29 July 1609, Rodrigues proceeded to court as an interpreter for the delegation from the Portuguese carrack *Madre de Deus*, which was under the command of Captain-Major André Pessoa.¹⁷ Although this was Pessoa's first visit to Japan, he was by no means unacquainted with the Japanese. He had fought with them against the Dutch during the siege of Malacca three years previously and had also had dealings with them in the suppression of a riot provoked by Japanese crew in Macao the year before.¹⁸ In the unfortunate incident, some Japanese, most of whom were from a junk commissioned by Arima Harunobu were killed. The matter was finally settled, but only after the Japanese had signed a document, accepting the entire blame for the incident.

Pessoa's delegation was received in an audience with Ieyasu and succeeded in persuading him to issue a prohibition against Japanese going to Macao in order to avoid further conflict. Such a prohibition blocked Japanese merchants from buying silk from Macao and the Portuguese carrack's monopoly was recognised.¹⁹ The prohibition met with intense opposition from the Japanese merchants. Arima seized the chance to take revenge. He informed Ieyasu of the incident and claimed that the Portuguese intended to gain trading privileges through this appeal for prohibition. Ieyasu was annoyed and he ordered Pessoa to be killed; he blamed the Jesuits and the Portuguese in Nagasaki. The order placed the Jesuits in a most unenviable position. As an expedient measure, the vice-provincial Pasio suggested Rodrigues take the blame because, as the interpreter of the delegation, he was bound to be connected with the prohibition. Pasio consulted with Bishop Cerqueira and other senior Jesuits at Nagasaki. It was decided, reluctantly but unanimously, that for

the sake of the mission Rodrigues would have to leave. In this way, they felt, a few more years of peace in Japan could be obtained. Hasegawa naturally expressed himself highly gratified at their decision and promised to favour the Jesuit cause both in Nagasaki and at court to the best of his abilities. But Pasio knew only too well the scant reliance that could be placed on such promises, and subsequent events proved that the governor had little intention of cooperation.²⁰

Ieyasu was surely informed of Rodrigues' exile, but he took no action to protect his commercial agent, the Portuguese Jesuit who had been so dedicated to his profit in business. Nothing would happen to stop the expulsion, and Rodrigues departed for Macao in March 1610.²¹ Despite his contribution to international trade in Nagasaki, from which both the Jesuits and Ieyasu had reaped countless profits, as a foreigner and Jesuit his involvement in commerce attracted the jealousy of his peers and rivalry from local officials, for which he was blamed for the incident and had to leave. As Doi Tadao 土井忠生 said in his *Kirishitan ronko* 吉利支丹論考 (Investigation of Christian):

Murayama Toan the governor of Nagasaki who had long been unwilling to follow Rodrigues' instruction in commerce conspired with Hasegawa Sahyoye to expel Rodrigues.²²

It was very satisfying to the Jesuits in the short term that Rodrigues was appointed Ieyasu's commercial agent, but it turned out that the appointment of a foreigner and missionary to such a delicate post at Nagasaki would cause countless difficulties. Given the features of international trade in the Far East, commercial agents were granted more privileges and took greater responsibilities. In addition to negotiating transactions, Rodrigues, to a large extent, dominated the commerce in Nagasaki by using his special relationship with Ieyasu and the local authorities. In such a situation, Rodrigues' privileges made him influential amongst the Jesuits. But even more important for the missionaries was the connection between his position and the overall planning of the mission which had a decisive influence on its survival in Japan. Furthermore, such an appointment also indicated that Ieyasu attached great importance to the special connection between the Jesuits and the Portuguese merchants because it suited his commercial strategy.

In terms of the mission in Japan, Rodrigues' skilful handling of such a position was, beyond all



VOCABVLARIO DA LINGOA DE IAPAM

com adeclaração em Portugues, feito por
ALGVNS PADRES, E IR-
MAÕS DA COMPANHIA
DE IESV.



COM LICENÇA DO ORDINARIO,
& Superiores em Nangasqui no Collegio de Ia-
PAM DA COMPANHIA DE IESVS.
ANNO M. D. CIII.



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doubt, beneficial to the Jesuits and helpful to their development. As a commercial agent of the ruler of Japan, Rodrigues' presence in Japan was bound to be regularised and this regularisation could reasonably be extended to all Jesuits. As a result, conditions would become a good deal easier for the missionaries.²³ However, at a personal level, his position as a commercial agent of the emperor apparently contradicted his status as a Jesuit missionary, and this was bound to make him a victim in the conflict of interests. Eventually it caused his exile. Within a few years Diogo de Mesquita was writing to Rome, explaining that although everybody at the time had thought that the appointment would be extremely useful for the mission, subsequent experience had proved quite the opposite.²⁴ Nagasaki had become a thriving commercial post and the great *nao* from Macao often brought very large quantities of Chinese silk. To be appointed Ieyasu's commercial agent in such circumstances was a signal honour, but it also involved a great deal of responsibility. In the rough-and-tumble world of international trade the post could not but cause rivalries and enmity in the negotiation between Portuguese merchants and Japanese officials. Thus the appointment of a Jesuit to such a position was bound to do more harm than good to the mission in the long run. But Ieyasu was not a man accustomed to having his orders disregarded, and to have refused to accept the appointment might well have brought about the abrupt demise of the mission.

CONCLUSION

Rodrigues was appointed procurator of the Jesuits and Ieyasu's commercial agent at the peak of the Japanese-Portuguese silk trade. It may therefore be questioned why, in fact, Rodrigues was chosen when other able Jesuits in Japan were not granted the same honour. The answer seems to be fourfold.

Firstly, the two successive rulers of Japan made it a basic state policy to promote foreign trade and to profit from it. The benevolence of both Hideyoshi and Ieyasu was more superficial than real. They tolerated the presence of the Jesuits in Japan for no reason other than to ensure income from foreign trade; Rodrigues was appointed as commercial agent because of his usefulness to the trade.

Secondly, Rodrigues was so renowned for his skill in Japanese that he was better known as *Tçuzu* (interpreter).²⁵ His proficiency in Japanese and talent for negotiation allowed him to handle the foreign business with ease.

Thirdly, he may well have already begun work on his famous *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* and *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*. This alone might have been sufficient reason to justify the appointments, even if his early education did not reach the customary standards. According to those who had contact with him, he was learned, sagacious, honest, diplomatic, and was also the best person to act as a commercial agent.

There also appears to have been a fourth, and possibly more cogent, reason for his appointment. Although the Japanese mission was part of the Portuguese Padroado, many of the senior posts were in fact occupied by Spanish and Italian Jesuits. Nobody was more aware of this anomaly than Valignano, and he was at pains to placate the Portuguese, who wished their countryman to have a greater say in the administration of the mission. This lack of Portuguese influence was plainly evident in the number of professed members of the mission, for the professed were ipso facto admitted to the congregation which discussed mission policy. For this reason, Valignano intended to grant the Portuguese missionaries a greater chance to come to the fore and to allow more Portuguese to be professed. As it was, the imbalance amongst the nationalities of the professed in Japan was not much improved. As Michael Cooper noticed,

Of seven Jesuits who were solemnly professed in Japan about the year 1601, only two were Portuguese, one was Italian, and no less than four were Spaniards. Thus the lack of balance which apparently caused much heartburning among some missionaries, continued to exist.²⁶

If he had not been selected as Valignano's interpreter in the delegation which was received by Hideyoshi in 1601, Rodrigues may have spent his life as an anonymous missionary. But fortunately, his talents were not to be buried. With the knowledge and experience accumulated in his contacts with the ruling class of Japan, he became a successful interpreter, diplomat, politician, and merchant as well. His legend and glory will shine forever upon Kyoto, Nagoya, and particularly upon Nagasaki which was the sole port in early modern Japan opened for international commerce. **RC**

Frontispiece of the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*.

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NOTES

- 1 Ebizawa Arimichi 海老沢有道, *Nihon Kirisutan Shi* 日本キリストン史 (Christian History of Japan). Tokyo: HanawaShobo, 1990, pp. 115-116.
- 2 Michael Cooper, *Tzuji Rodorigesu* 通辞-ロドリゲス (*Rodrigues, the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China*). Transl. Tama Matsumoto 松本玉. Tokyo: Harashobo, 1991, p. 71.
- 3 Ibid., p. 76.
- 4 Ibid., p. 78.
- 5 Gono Takashi 五野井隆史. *Nihon Kirisuto Kyō Shi* 日本キリスト教史 (History of Japanese Christians). Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1990, p. 194.
- 6 The *pancada* system (*ito-wappu* for the Japanese) established in 1604 by Tokugawa Ieyasu regulated the importing of raw silk from China during the Edo Period. It was also called *ito-wappu* commercial law. Sasayama Haruo 笹山晴生 et al. 日本史史料集 *Nihonshi Shiryō Shu* (Collection of Historical Material in Japan). Tokyo: Yamakawa Publishing, 1994, p. 179.
- 7 Gono Takashi, *Nihon Kirisuto Kyō Shi*, p. 195.
- 8 Lesser mortals had to be content to conduct their business indirectly.
- 9 Michael Cooper, *Tzuji Rodorigesu*, p. 199.
- 10 The reason why Rodrigues was appointed the secular post appeared in many contemporary records. In 1601, an official dispatched by Terazawa, on behalf of Ieyasu, made his purchases entirely through his own negotiation and disobeyed instructions to seek the advice and help of Rodrigues. After inspecting the goods, Ieyasu expressed dissatisfaction with both the quality and price, and to exculpate himself the official blamed Rodrigues. Ieyasu once more became angry with the missionaries. Fortunately, Ieyasu was eventually convinced that Rodrigues had not been involved in the unsatisfactory transaction. He summoned Rodrigues to court and appointed Rodrigues his own personal commercial agent. 十六、七世紀イエズス会日本報告集, 第一期第四卷 16-17 *Seiki Iezusukai Nihon hōkokushū, dai 1-ki, dai 4 kan* (Reports from Japan by the Society of Jesus from the 16th and 17th centuries, no. 1, vol. 4. Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1991, pp. 13-15.
- 11 Michael Cooper, *Tzuji Rodorigesu*, p. 200.
- 12 Francisco Rodrigues, British Museum [BM], Add. MSS 9859, ff. 135v-156v.
- 13 25.II.1612, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [ARSI], Jap.-Sin. 2, f. 164v, reproduced in Diego Pacheco, 'El primer mapa de Nagasaki', in *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas*, 1966, p. 19. Afonso de Lucena (pp. 208-224, esp. p. 214) seems to have believed that Rodrigues drew the map.
- 14 Jap-Sin 14(I), ff. 152-53
- 15 Michael Cooper, *Tzuji Rodorigesu*, p. 190.
- 16 The carrack was named *Nossa Senhora da Graça*, but it was better known in history as the *Madre de Deus*. Michael Cooper, *Tzuji Rodoriges*, p. 247.
- 17 There had been no official voyage in the previous year, so the *nao* carried an exceptionally rich cargo of silk. It was Rodrigues' last visit to court. The delegation carried the usual rich gifts for Ieyasu and the court officials, but much to the Portuguese chagrin they were made to wait until the representatives of two Dutch ships anchored at Hirado had been received in audience, although the Portuguese had in fact arrived at court five days before their rivals. This was admittedly only a small setback, but it was a sign that their monopoly on the trade with Japan had at last been broken. It also meant that Ieyasu would be less dependent on the Portuguese in future and freer in his commercial dealings with other European countries. Rodrigues Girão, in BM, Add. MSS 9860, ff. 129-135.
- 18 A junk commissioned by Arima Harunobo was wintering at Macao, and the Japanese crew, together with the sailor of another Japanese ship in port, acted in a provocative way, roaming the streets in gangs of thirty or forty men, fully armed with guns and swords. The Chinese, who bore little love for the Japanese at the time and generally regarded them as their worst enemies, protested to the city authorities about this conduct. The Portuguese duly asked the Japanese to desist from such behaviour, but their request went largely unheeded. On 30 November a dispute over a trifling purchase blew up into a full-scale riot, and Pessoa, as Captain-Major, mobilised the guard in order to restore order. Some forty Japanese who had barricaded themselves in a house were killed in the skirmishing before the bishop had arranged a truce. The fifty Japanese who surrendered were briefly imprisoned. The matter was finally settled, but only after the Japanese had signed a document, accepting the entire blame for the incident and absolving the Portuguese from any responsibility. Rodrigues Girão, in BM, Add. MSS 9860.
- 19 Doi Tadao 土井忠生, *Kirishitan Ronko* 吉利支丹論考 (Investigation of Christian). Tokyo: Sanseido, 1982, p. 68.
- 20 Pasio, Nagasaki, 14.III.1610, in ARSI, Jap-Sin 14, ff. 338-38v. Much of the text of this important letter is reproduced in Arcádio Schwade, 'O desterro do Pe. João Rodrigues (Tçuzu)'. *Anais: II Colóquio de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros* (Tokyo, 1968). Tokyo: Sophia University, 1968
- 21 Rodrigues Girão, in BM, Add. MSS 9860, ff. 129-135.
- 22 Doi Tadao, *Kirishitan Ronko*, p. 69.
- 23 As proof of the easing of the situation, Terazawa fell from favour and was dismissed from his post as governor of Nagasaki. In his place Ogasawara Ichian was appointed as the visiting governor of the city. Since Ogasawara was visiting rather than resident, Nagasaki was, in fact, governed by Murayama, the resident administrator, together with four elders of the city, all of whom were Christians. Michael Cooper, *Tzuji Rodoriges*, p. 184.
- 24 Diogo de Mesquita, Nagasaki, 2.III.1605, in ARSI, Jap-Sin 36, f. 7v.
- 25 He was known as Rodrigues Tçuzu in Japan.
- 26 Michael Cooper, *Tzuji Rodorigesu*, p. 231.