

# 博士論文(要約)

## 港市長崎におけるキリシタン施設に関する研究

ヴィエイラ アマロ ベビオ



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## 1. INTRODUCTION AND MAIN OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this thesis is to analyze the characteristics of Christian facilities in Nagasaki, during the so-called “Kirishitan” period (1549-1640). When we mention the term “Christian facilities”, it means not only churches, but other built and non-built structures, such as chapels, colleges, residences, hospitals, cemeteries, large crosses and altars on open spaces. This thesis focuses particularly on the time period between 1569 and 1620, when Christian structures existed in the port city of Nagasaki.

Even today, these buildings remain mysterious. For many reasons, there has been little research on them: until now, no floor plans or architectural drawings of these buildings have been found. The only images that exist are some folding screens (屏風) from the Namban period, but not all of these images are trustworthy. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the folding screens very carefully, and compare their contents with textual descriptions from historical documents.

Another problem is that the textual descriptions of these buildings are considerably scattered across hundreds of unpublished manuscripts, written in various languages. However, by collecting hundreds of fragments from these textual descriptions, and by carefully organizing them and analyzing them, it is possible to obtain a clearer idea of their architectural characteristics.

Within this main objective, we will discuss the following research questions:

- Which strategies were adopted by missionaries in Japan to replace the local structures belonging to already-established Japanese religions (Shintoism/Buddhism)?
- What were the main constructive or spatial characteristics of these Christian facilities?
- Did the Jesuit missionaries mix European and Japanese elements when creating their religious spaces? If so, can we identify these aspects?
- Can we establish some relationship between the growth of the city of Nagasaki and the creation of new Christian facilities?
- Finally, in what way were these structures destroyed by the Tokugawa authorities?

Besides these overall objectives, it is important to describe the main purpose and meaningfulness of this research. By using Nagasaki as a case study, I intend to understand how the missionaries of the Society of Jesus used architecture and space to change the moral values of the Japanese people. It is important to mention here that the primary objective of the Society of Jesus was the religious conversion of non-Christians across the world, and for this reason they were quite active in colonial regions (especially



in Portuguese colonial territories).

On one hand, the religious conversion of foreign cultures may be seen by some people as a form of ideological colonialism; but in fact, Japan stands as a unique case study, because of the Jesuit policy of cultural adaptation (文化適応対策). Needless to say, it is true that in every territory, the Jesuits had to make slight adaptations to the local cultures. However, in Japan the level of cultural adaptation was much higher than in the rest of the world (except perhaps for China, but the Chinese mission started many years after the establishment of the Japanese mission). Therefore we can say that in the case of Japan, not only did the Jesuits influence Japanese culture, but the Jesuits themselves were often influenced by Japanese culture. An excellent example is the architecture of the Jesuit College of São Paulo in Nagasaki after the 1600s, in which the spatial organization of the main building is a compromise between Japanese architecture and the requirements of European Jesuit colleges.

The meaningfulness of this research is related to Nagasaki as a potential cultural heritage site. In recent years, the City Council of Nagasaki has established a special committee to study the religious facilities of the city. As a result of this study, the committee has just submitted a proposal to UNESCO to classify the Christian facilities of Nagasaki as World Heritage Sites. Although the proposal is mainly focused on the churches built after the Meiji period, it also partly deals with the religious history of the pre-Meiji period. The research in this dissertation intends to provide a detailed historical background, and explain the changes in religious facilities between the Early Modern period and the Meiji period.

Another important purpose for this research is to serve as a preliminary test for the development of new techniques related to GIS and remote sensing. In my master dissertation, I used GIS software (ARCGIS) to produce a digital reconstitution of Nagasaki's topography during the late 16<sup>th</sup> century; for this doctoral dissertation, I intend to use this topographical model to help me determine the position of buildings in the Jesuit House/College, and recreate the main phases of the urban evolution of Nagasaki. This is done by analyzing the 16<sup>th</sup> century topography of the port city, and comparing it to historical records. It is especially important to mention the relationship between tide levels (i.e., high and low tide), and the topography. These aspects explain, for example, why the Nakashima river basin was vulnerable to floods, or why the Kurofune (i.e., the Namban ship that brought silk from Macau every year) had to anchor in the area west of Kabashima-machi.

The results shown in this dissertation prove that GIS software can be extremely useful in the field of Urban and Territorial History. It allows us to have a visual understanding

of the territory, and to better understand the relationship between topography and human occupation. Furthermore, GIS software can help urban historians to integrate data from various academic fields, and to understand the territory from a global perspective.

My first objective for future research is to further improve these GIS techniques for reconstructing the ancient topographies around human settlement sites. The second objective for future research is to simplify the procedures for processing satellite data in GIS software. Satellite data such as synthetic aperture radar data (SAR, 合成開口レーダ), multispectral data (マルチスペクトルデータ) and hyperspectral data (ハイパースペクトラル・リモートセンシング), can help us to better understand the geological, morphological and hydrological characteristics of a given region. For example, by processing this data, we can identify moist zones (wetlands, paleochannels 古河川, etc), distinguish between clay soils and sandy soils, locate geological fault lines, detect areas of soil subsidence, identify landslide zones, and analyze ground movements due to earthquakes. In many cases, we can match this data with the morphology of urban land plots and agricultural land plots, which can lead us to many interesting findings.

However, at this moment the use of satellite data is still too complicated for non-specialists. So it is very difficult for most researchers in the field of Urban History to access the data, process it correctly and interpret it adequately. By simplifying these GIS and satellite data procedures, it will be possible for more urban historians to use these new tools, and improve their knowledge about the site that they are studying.

The third objective for future research is to cooperate with researchers from various academic fields towards the development of a unified methodology in the discipline of Urban/Territorial History.

### **1.1. Methodology**

The collection of data for this doctoral thesis began in 2008, at the same time that the master dissertation was being planned. During seven years, a total of 1465 quotations from historical sources were typed into an Excel database. They are written in several languages, but most of them are in Portuguese, Spanish and Italian; a minority of them are in English and Latin. The contents of these quotations include several topics, such as information about the population and economy of Nagasaki, special characteristics of churches across Japan, names of important residents of Nagasaki, information on specific streets, internal Jesuit regulations, and many more aspects.

Each quotation was given a unique number code for identification; there is also a

column titled “Year”, which has the year in which the events in each quotation take place. Next to the quotation, the bibliographic reference is included; then, there is a column in which I introduced my own comments and notes regarding the quotation. Finally, there is a column titled “Tags”, which contains general tag words about the content of the quotation (ex: “Churches”, “Crosses”, “Baptisms, etc.). After all of this data was typed, the entire excel database was reorganized according to the column “Year”. As a result, all of the quotations were organized in chronological order, from 1561 to 1640. By reading the quotations of each year in chronological order and by comparing them with pre-existing research made by both Japanese and Western scholars, it became easier to interpret the data, and to discover some new aspects about these Christian facilities, which had been ignored until now.

From this database, I extracted the quotations that were directly related to each Christian facility of Nagasaki, and created a timeline for each of them, providing a general summary of its existence and main characteristics. These extracted quotations and timelines can be found in Appendix C. This database was also used as a foundation to create the other appendixes: first, a hypothesis for the evolution of the facilities in the Jesuit House and College, from 1571 to 1620 (Appendix A); then, to analyze the visual information on Namban “byobu” or folding screens (Appendix B); to hypothesize the approximate dates for the establishment of each urban block (“machi”) in Nagasaki; and finally, to create a graphic summarizing statistical data on the evolution of the population of Nagasaki (Appendix E).

But the most important point about the methodology of this thesis is that I chose to treat the data in a statistical way as much as possible. This aspect will be mentioned again later, when discussing the main differences between this thesis and previous research by other scholars.

## **1.2. Main Structure of the Thesis**

This dissertation is divided into two main sections: the first is the main text, which gives a general overview of the evolution of Christian structures, first in Japan, and then in Nagasaki, from 1549 to 1620; the second section consists of five appendixes, which contain mostly the analysis of raw data or quotations from contemporary sources about various topics related to this thesis.

In a certain way, these appendixes (which are not included in the abridged version, due to copyright and licensing issues) are the most important and fundamental part of the thesis: most of these 1465 historical quotations are only fragments, and need to be

analyzed and organized in a proper way, before we can grasp any general trends. Because the length of the analysis is too long and varied, it was not possible to incorporate it into the main text, without making the main text difficult to read. Therefore, my main concern was to make sure that the main text flows smoothly and is easy to read. The appendixes provide the basic foundation, and the main text discusses the main points, or the most important aspects from the appendixes.

The time period of 1549 to 1620 can be divided in two different ways. The first one, is by dividing this period into major events (ex: the construction and destruction of a Christian facility; the Anti-Christian edicts by Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, or the invasion of Korea); the second one is to divide this period by changes in the leadership of the Jesuit mission in Japan. In many cases, when the main leadership of the Jesuit organization changed, there was also a change of policy or strategy. Most of the chapters in the main text are divided by the first method (major changes), but they also contain discussions about the second method (changes of policy/strategy). The final chapter of the main text focuses only on the second method, and summarizes the main points provided by the previous chapters.

### **1.3. Primary Materials and Archives Consulted for this Research**

During the seven years in which the collection of quotations took place, I visited or contacted several institutions to take notes, or used research funds to purchase microfilms, photocopies or digital images of manuscripts or paintings. These institutions are as follows:

Western Institutions (images of manuscripts / paintings)

- ・ アジュダ図書館 (Biblioteca da Ajuda, Portugal)
- ・ スペイン王立歴史学士院の図書館 (Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Spain)
- ・ リスボン市国立図書館 (Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Portugal)
- ・ リリー図書館 (Lilly Library, Indiana University, USA)
- ・ 大英図書館 (British Library, UK)
- ・ イエズス会ローマ文書館 (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Italy)
- ・ イタリア内務省 (Fondo Edifici di Culto, Ministero dell' Interno d'Italia)

Japanese Institutions (copies of manuscripts, critical editions)

- ・ 東京大学史料編纂所
- ・ 東洋文庫

- ・上智大学図書館、キリシタン文庫
- ・国立国会図書館
- ・日本二十六聖人記念館

#### Japanese Institutions (Images of Byobu / Paintings)

- ・サントリー美術館
- ・九州国立博物館
- ・堺市博物館
- ・神戸市国立博物館
- ・神奈川県立歴史博物館
- ・長崎歴史文化博物館
- ・出光美術館
- ・阪急文化財団
- ・滋賀県立近代美術館
- ・国立歴史民俗博物館
- ・東京国立博物館
- ・米沢市上杉博物館

The most important historical materials are the many letters and documents written by the Jesuits in Japan during that period. It is common knowledge that the Jesuits were encouraged to write as many letters as possible back to Rome. Because of shipwrecks, it was normal for each Jesuit to write two or three versions of the same letter, and send each of them by different ships towards Europe. These different versions are called in Portuguese “vias” (in Japanese, they are described as 1 通、2 通、3 通 and so on). Sometimes, one of the versions/vias may hold important information which is not found in other versions. And when these letters were sent from Japan to Europe, they were usually copied at each Jesuit College along the way (Macau in China, Goa in India, Lisbon in Portugal, Madrid in Spain, and Rome in Italy).

Usually, when the letters written in Portuguese reached Spain, they were copied and translated from Portuguese or Italian into Spanish; and when they reached Rome, they were then copied and translated into Latin or Italian, to be read by the other members of the Society of Jesus. When the Society of Jesus was suppressed by the Pope in 1773, the letters in each of these countries were often confiscated and distributed among the various archives and libraries of each state. This explains why sometimes the original letter may be missing, but one of its versions, or translated copies can still be located in some archive. Even so, there are many original letters and copies which have gone

missing, destroyed by natural disasters or wars, or by insects and humidity.

Most of the original letters related to Japan are preserved in the archive of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), which is normally known as “Jap. Sin.”: these letters and reports comprise more than 60 volumes or codices. Since each codex has at least 300-400 folios, or about 800 pages, the amount of materials is quite large, and it will take several decades to publish critical editions of all the contents of the ARSI archive. There are also some letters which are in very poor condition, and therefore are unreadable. Until now, all of the letters from the period 1547-1562 have been published in critical editions with annotations: they can be found in the 2-volume series “Documentos del Japón”, edited by Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, and in the 3-volume series published by the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo, titled 日本関係海外史料 (イエズス会書翰集).

Other scholars have published some portions of the Jap. Sin. archive in critical editions. The most important releases are the ones done by Josef Franz Schütte, S.J., in his works “Monumenta Historica Japoniae I”, “Introductio ad Historiam Societatis Jesu in Japonia”, “Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan”, and “Il Ceremoniale per I Missionari del Giappone”, among others. We can also name other notable editions, such as the “Historia de Japam” (『日本史』) originally written by the Jesuit Luis Frois, and edited by Josef Wicky, S. J., and the work of the scholar José Luis Alvarez-Taladriz, who published more than 60 documents from “Jap. Sin.” and other archives. Nevertheless, there are still many letters and documents remaining to be analyzed by scholars, although most of the archive was copied into microfilms and placed at the Kirishitan Bunko of Sophia University in Tokyo.

Regarding the publication of other letters, there are two important books published in 1575 and 1598 at the cities of Alcalá (Spain) and Évora (Portugal). They are respectively called “Cartas que los padres y hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús, que andan en los reynos de Japón...” and “Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China...”, which are normally abbreviated with the names “Cartas 1575” and “Cartas 1598”. They contain the published versions of several letters written between 1549 and 1586. Throughout Europe, letters were regularly published in Latin, Italian, French or German, but were heavily censored: in comparison, the 1575 and 1598 editions have very little censorship, and are still considered by scholars as valuable research materials. For the period of the late 1590s to 1622, some annual reports were published in Portugal during the mid-seventeenth century, although they are edited/censored in several places. Most of these contemporary publications were consulted at the National Library of Lisbon, in Portugal. Other contemporary

publications are also available on the Internet, at the “Laures Rare Book Database”, provided by Sophia University.

The Biblioteca da Ajuda contains also a collection of several codices named “Jesuitas na Asia”, which are copies made during the 18<sup>th</sup> century of important documents found in the Jesuit College in Macau. Most of it was photocopied by the Toyo Bunko Library in Tokyo, and it can be consulted there.

The Biblioteca de la Real Academia de Madrid contains mostly copies of letters which were translated into Spanish. It is still an important archive, because some of the copies are easier to read than the originals, or the originals are lost.

The British Library contains two large codices with versions of original Jesuit letters, and a treatise on the history of the Jesuit mission in Japan, written by the Jesuit Alessandro Valignano. These codices include some annual reports which cannot be found at ARSI.

Finally, the Lilly Library contains a series of documents related to the trade between the Philippines and Japan, including the full manuscript of the chronicle written by the Spanish merchant Bernardino Avila de Giron, who lived in Nagasaki for several years. A copy of this manuscript can also be consulted at the Toyo Bunko, although the quality of the reproduction can be quite poor in some pages.

The documents belonging to mendicant orders (Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians) are quite scattered across several archives, and most have not been digitized. Nevertheless, some critical editions have been made, especially by Alvarez-Taladriz (“Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristandad de Japon”), Jesús Martínez-Pérez (“Historia de la Perdida y Descubrimiento del Galeón San Felipe”), Lorenzo Pérez (“Cartas y Relaciones del Japon I/II”) and José Delgado García (“Orientalia Dominicana” series). All of these works can be consulted at the National Diet Library of Tokyo.

Regarding Japanese historical materials on Nagasaki, almost all of them were written much later than the Kirishitan period, and its information is not always reliable. They generally consist of anti-Christian texts (such as “Ha-Deusu” by Fabian Fukun), family chronicles or general writings about the history and famous places of Nagasaki. The most important ones are: 長崎略記、長崎邑略記、長崎緑起略、長崎実録大成、長崎実録大成補遺、長崎緑起、大村家覚書、大村家秘録、長崎鑑、長崎拾芥、長崎始由来記、長崎年来記録、長崎名勝図会、長崎夜話草、長崎叢書、and 福田文書; almost all of them have been published and analyzed by Japanese scholars. Toyama Mikio has already provided a very comprehensive analysis of all these documents in his work 中世長崎の基礎的研究, and the data in these documents has also been incorporated into the work 長崎県の地名, edited by Heibonsha Publishing.

There are another two interesting documents made in the Kirishitan period: 長崎口ザリオ組中連判書付 and 平戸町人別生所札. They have been published or analyzed by both Japanese and Western scholars, such as Reinier Hesselink (“An Anti-Christian Register from Nagasaki”), but nevertheless I consulted the originals just to confirm some of its data, and input it in the GIS model of Nagasaki.

There is also the analysis of the Namban folding screens or byobu, which is fully explained in Appendix B. A full list of primary materials can be found at the Bibliography section.

#### 1.4. Previous Research by Western and Japanese Scholars

In this sub-section, we will present a summary of previous studies regarding this topic, and explain the original aspects of this thesis, when compared to those studies. The list of scholars and researchers who have produced studies about Christian religious spaces, or Jesuit architecture in Japan or Nagasaki, is as follows:

- Diego Pacheco – “Iglesias de Nagasaki Durante el ‘Siglo Cristiano’, 1568-1620” (Translated title: The churches of Nagasaki during the Christian Century: 1568-1620; 1977, Journal Article)<sup>1</sup>
- Sofia Diniz – “A Arquitectura da Companhia de Jesus no Japão: A Criação de um Espaço Religioso Cristão no Japão dos Séculos XVI e XVII” (The Architecture of the Company of Jesus in Japan: The creation of a Christian religious space in Japan during the 16 and 17th centuries; 2007, Master Thesis)<sup>2</sup>
- Rie Arimura – “The Catholic Architecture of Early Modern Japan: Between Adaptation and Christian Identity” (2012, Journal Article)<sup>3</sup>
- Carla Tronu – “Sacred Space and Ritual in Early Modern Japan: The Christian Community of Nagasaki (1569-1643)” (2012, PhD Thesis)<sup>4</sup>

Diego Pacheco, S.J. (1922-2008, also known as 結城了悟) was the Director of the Museum of the 26 Martyrs of Japan in Nagasaki and was also the first to focus his attention on the topic of Jesuit architecture. For many years, this article was the only one that discussed Jesuit churches in Nagasaki. It presented a general list of the churches that existed in Nagasaki, mentions the year in which each church was built

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<sup>1</sup> Can be read online at <https://repositorio.uam.es/handle/10486/6483>

<sup>2</sup> Can be read online at <http://run.unl.pt/handle/10362/11434>

<sup>3</sup> Can be read online at <http://shinku.nichibun.ac.jp/jpub/pdf/jr/JN2703.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> Can be read online at <http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/13820/>



and destroyed (whenever it is mentioned in historical records), and discusses some basic information about each building.

For some churches such as Our Lady of Assumption (built in 1601) and Santo Domingo (built in 1609), Pacheco tried to reconstitute their basic floor plan. In many aspects, his reconstitution of Our Lady of Assumption is still pretty credible, whereas the recent archeological findings at the area of Santo Domingo may require us to reevaluate his schema in future studies. Pacheco also attempted to do a basic reconstitution of the Jesuit College around 1601, but the information that he had at the time was quite limited. For this thesis, I was able to collect much more data, and therefore my reconstitution of the College is completely different from his. Another fault of the paper is that Pacheco rarely provides bibliographic references within the article, so it is quite difficult to verify its information. I have been able to locate by myself most of the correct references, but there is still some data for which no exact reference has been found. Nevertheless, Pacheco's article stands as an important introduction to the topic, and deserves our attention.

Regarding the master thesis of Sofia Diniz, it provides a general overview of the foundation of the Society, and how it became famous for its role in promoting the education of its members, as well as educating lay people. The thesis also has two chapters that give a general introduction to the main aspects of Buddhist and Shinto architecture.

After this, it presents the main themes related to the architectural activities of the Jesuits in Japan. These main themes are: the importance of training Jesuit missionaries to be good preachers and public speakers; the importance of attaching a Jesuit residence to the church; the policy of cultural adaptation promoted by Francis Xavier and Alessandro Valignano; the use of images, paintings and theatrical performances to explain Christian concepts to foreigners; the usage of Buddhist temples as churches (often without architectural modification); the role of the church in creating a Christian community; and the use of artistic objects inside the church to reinforce the sense of Christian identity in the community. It quotes specific cases or episodes mentioned in the Jesuit letters related to these themes.

One of her main points is that the Society of Jesus did not have a standardized architectural style. On one hand, it was recommended for Jesuit churches to follow the example of the main church of the Society in Rome (the "Chiesa del Santissimo Nome di Gesù all'Argentina"), which had a main body with a single-nave. The project for the church was made in 1550. But the construction of this church only started in 1568, and took more than ten years to be completed. And even after being completed, the

recommendation for using it as a model was not always followed, especially in remote regions such as Asia. The only thing that may exist of the “Jesuit style” is the simplification of the internal space of the church: Jesuits often removed the *chorum*/choir that separated the priests from the lay people; they also removed the *nartex*, which was the intermediate space between the street and the main body of the church. Basically, the “Jesuit style” was intended to be functional, practical, simple, and respectful of the principle of “religious poverty”, but it did not impose any restrictions or rules beyond that.

Her thesis also enumerates a few common characteristics of a typical Jesuit church throughout Europe and some colonial regions: a floor plan in the shape of a Latin cross; a single nave which is reasonably wide, not too narrow; lateral chapels directly facing the main body of the church, often with lateral openings that allow people to move directly from one chapel to another; a main chapel which does not have a complex shape, and is not deep; and the lack of an ambulatory around the main chapel.

Although the thesis does show images from *Namban byōbu* to explain some points, it does not try to do a critical analysis of their historical reliability, or to analyze their constructive aspects. Another minor flaw is that it only analyzes materials written in Western languages. There is also a tendency to focus on Jesuit letters that were already published, although the “*Jesuitas na Asia*” archive was consulted, and there are references to a few unpublished manuscripts in the ARSI archive. Overall, the thesis does not claim to be an exhaustive analysis of Jesuit architecture in Japan, and clearly follows a thematic approach. The main themes are correctly identified, and it provides a quite good overview of the topic.

Rie Arimura has produced a number of studies about Jesuit architecture in Japan that analyze it mainly from the point of view of Art History. On early articles, her main focus was to discover how the artistic objects used inside Japanese churches helped to create a sense of Christian identity among the attendants. She looked at the diverse provenance of materials used in the manufacturing of religious objects (mostly India and China, but also other regions of Southeast and East Asia, such as the Philippines), and argued that Christian religious spaces were essentially “ephemeral”, composed of ornamental objects brought from many regions. She also argues that this religious space or “setting” was initially quite simple, but eventually became very different from Buddhist and Shinto spaces, because of the use of ornamental objects with foreign-looking shapes, or motifs or patterns.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Arimura, Rie, “El ajuar de las iglesias kirishitan: interculturalidad y construcción de una identidad cristiana”, *イスパニカ* 56, 2012, pp.205-229

Arimura admits that Catholic architecture in Japan has been a “relatively unexplored topic”, and became increasingly interested in the apparent contradiction between Jesuit adaptation to a Buddhist/Shinto context in Japan, and statements made by Jesuits that the internal space of the churches had been made “in our way” or “in our fashion”, meaning that they looked like European spaces. She concluded that those spaces were “hybrids”: they were neither “European” nor “Buddhist/Shinto”, but were actually a mix of several artistic objects from diverse parts of the world. As a result, it was a unique kind of space, not found anywhere else in the world. In the article named “The Catholic Architecture of Early Modern Japan: Between Adaptation and Christian Identity”, Arimura further explores the question of whether Jesuit churches in Japan had a “Western” style or native/Japanese style. To show her case, she focuses on a few examples of Jesuit churches built during the Kirishitan period, and compares them with the Franciscan church of Kyoto, built in 1592.

She also argued, based on previous research by other scholars, that Namban byōbu can be treated as historical sources, as long as one could differentiate the original paintings from copies or derivative works. Since the byōbu attributed to Kano Naizen (in possession of the Kobe City Museum) is considered to be by these scholars as one of his original works, she used it, together with the image known as 都の南蛮寺, to present a visual image of the internal decoration of a church.

Overall, because the space available for writing an article is quite limited, this study also follows a thematic approach. The first theme is the way in which Jesuits would occupy a given Buddhist temple: they could use the temple by merely destroying its Buddhist images, they could destroy/burn the temple, or they could rebuild it into a church. The other themes are the following: that Jesuits also used houses or non-religious spaces as churches; the use of wood and Japanese construction methods (and the use of tatami as a measurement unit) to build churches; that before the arrival of Alessandro Valignano, there were no clear instructions on how to build churches in Japan, and even Valignano’s instructions were probably not always respected; the participation of local communities and daimyo lords in the construction of churches; the use of tall churches to gain prestige; the fact that the Franciscans also had to adapt to Japanese construction methods; and finally the possibility that churches with a longitudinal floor plan may have already existed before Valignano arrived in Japan for the first time in 1579.

To summarize, the study argues that the architecture of Jesuit churches was also a unique hybrid, mixing characteristics from the West and East.

Finally, regarding the doctoral dissertation of Carla Tronu, it aims to understand the

notion of Christian identity through the study of sacred spaces and sacred rituals. In other words, that members of Christian communities collaborated with each other to produce sacred spaces in order to perform Christian rituals, and that these sacred spaces helped to unite them, and strengthen their identity as Christians. Therefore, it argues that the understanding of these sacred spaces and rituals is essential for the understanding of Christian communities in Japan.

Its main focus is the Christian community of the port of Nagasaki from 1569 to 1643. It presents the main events that took place in the port, dividing this time period into three main phases: the introduction of Christianity in the port, the period between 1587 and 1614, when the anti-Christian edicts were promulgated, and the period after 1614, when many Christians went into hiding. During these periods, and depending on the socio-political circumstances at the time, the Christian community produced different kinds of spaces in order to continue practicing their rituals.

The thesis first presents a model of an “ideal” Jesuit church, based on the instructions given by Valignano and other historical quotations: buildings had to be made in the Japanese style, with the consultation of local carpenters; building plans had to be approved by the Provincial Father; churches should have a longitudinal plan, with the altar facing towards the long nave; there should be lateral *zashiki* with sliding doors; they should also have balconies around the church with a basin for people to clean their feet, and a courtyard in front of the church with toilet rooms in an appropriate place, and a *zashiki* near the church where female guests can be received.

While confirming that churches were built in different ways, the thesis looks at the images produced by the Kano (狩野) family of painters to provide a basic image of a Japanese church, claiming that the buildings are similar to Zen temples, due to the “dark wooden columns, white walls and ‘bell-shaped’ windows”, but also mentions that some churches had two or three floors, which was not common in Buddhist temples. But to be clear, the aim of the thesis is not to analyze Jesuit architecture, it is to analyze the places and spaces in which the Christians did their rituals, which do not necessarily have to take place inside a church.

Regarding the problem of adapting Western religious terms to the Japanese language, Tronu mentions a contrast between the use of terms such as “恵化連舎” in Christian books, and the use of terms such as “寺” in many other Japanese documents. She also points out at least one document written by a Japanese Christian and another written by the Spanish merchant Avila de Giron which did not use the term “ecclesia” (Latin for “Church”), “igreja” (Portuguese for “church”) or “eglesia” (Spanish for “church”), but used the term “tera” instead.

The other two main points of the space of churches were the ritual of consecrating a new church by performing a specific mass; the importance of purity and cleanliness (a pure and clean space); and that the participation of the population in building a church increased their level of devotion.

The first stage in the creation of a Christian community was therefore the construction of a common space. The second stage was the community's participation in the destruction of religious images from Buddhism or Shinto, called as "idols" by the missionaries. A third stage would be the participation of the community in the rites of confession and self-flagellation (also known as scourging), which were quite new to Japanese society at the time and appealed to their desire for "self-purification"; The fourth stage was the participation of the community in the celebration of important feasts such as Easter, with singing, theatrical performances, etc.; a fifth stage was the introduction of a liturgical calendar, indicating the days in which certain rituals should occur.

All of these stages helped to reinforce the sense of a common Christian identity, which was made stronger when the port of Nagasaki was established, and exiles from different parts of Japan came to settle there. From then on, the port of Nagasaki functioned as a "nodal point", i.e., a stronghold or central base, which made it easier for Jesuits to convert the populations of boroughs or peripheral areas around Omura and Arima, and to install smaller, satellite churches in those places.

Regarding the period of 1580 to 1587, in which the port of Nagasaki was fortified, Tronu adopts a similar opinion as that of George Elison in his work "Deus Destroyed": namely, that Hideyoshi and other non-Christian Japanese saw Nagasaki as a "Jinnai-machi" (陣内町) or temple-town/temple complex. It then analyzes the existence of the Brotherhood or Confraternity of Misericordia (ミセリ コルディア組) and its role in building a church, and strengthening civil participation in religious rituals, and their contribution towards the welfare of the community.

Finally, the thesis looks at how the Christians used execution places such as Nishizaka Hill (西坂) to worship martyrs from 1597 onwards, and also used rooms in their own houses to create a network of private praying spaces. After 1614, these activities would take a stronger significance, as the number of private sacred spaces became widespread, and the community organized itself in sheltering the missionaries and conducting Christian rituals secretly. There is also a special section on the implementation of the Christian parish system (教区制度) in Nagasaki in the early seventeenth century.

As can be seen from this summary, although Carla Tronu's dissertation deals with the same time period and place as this thesis, the focus is quite different. Tronu's analysis is

primarily done from the point of view of Religious Studies, and does not place its main focus on the constructive aspects of the buildings, or on the problems related with Urban History. In other words, she uses “space” or “place” as a way to better understand the Christian community of Nagasaki.

Looking at all of the above studies as a whole, we can affirm that although Diniz, Arimura and Tronu probably did not have the chance to see each other’s studies, there is a strong consistency in their main points: namely, that Jesuit architecture certainly contained a mix of Western and Japanese elements; that Jesuit architecture was often “ephemeral” or had a “temporary” or “transitory” character; that decoration was an important aspect of the Christian religious space in Japan; that in some aspects Jesuits had to adapt to a Buddhist context, but they also had to affirm a unique Christian identity; and that Jesuit churches were built in several ways.

So, in what way does this thesis differ from these previous studies? The first aspect is that most of the above studies apply a thematical approach. In other words, they pick certain themes or general topics related to the architectural activities of Jesuits in Japan. But for example, it is not quite clear how often a temple was rebuilt as a church, or used without architectural modifications; we do not know how frequently something occurs. As much as possible, the raw data in this dissertation is treated in a statistical way. It is impossible to get an exhaustive list of every church built by the Jesuits, because there were hundreds of them, and for most of them there is no data, other than the fact that they existed at some point.

However, it is possible to obtain what is called a “representative sample”: in other words, to go through the most important Jesuit texts from 1549 to 1614, and categorize any information related to the construction of a church. For example, we can establish categories related to the size of the church, the quality of its materials, whether the church uses wood from another building such as a temple, etc. It is important to mention that depending on the church, the type of information provided can vary a lot, but the main objective is not to focus too much on specific details, but to analyze the overall tendencies or trends regarding the construction of churches.

A total of 73 occurrences were collected: although they are not an exhaustive list, they can give us an idea of how often these situations occurred, which are collected in Appendix C.

Regarding the other original aspects of this thesis, they are:

- The attempt to recreate the general position of buildings in the Jesuit House/College;
- The in-depth analysis of several Namban byobu, by comparing their contents with textual data from historical sources;

- The compilation of statistical data on the population of Nagasaki;
- The estimation of the establishment dates of each “machi”;
- A detailed timeline of every known Christian facility in the port of Nagasaki.

There is one final theme, which is only mentioned superficially in the above studies, which is “respectability”. We could also use the term “prestige”, but the main point is that the whole idea behind the notion of “cultural adaptation” was that the Jesuits wanted Christian religion to be seen as “respectable”, “dignified” or “prestigious” in the eyes of the Japanese. In the opinion of Valignano and other Jesuits, the Japanese population was often convinced that the ideas behind Christian religion were “more logical” than the ones of Buddhism and Shinto; however, they refused to convert, because foreigners were seen as lowly people with uncivilized or uneducated behaviors, (aka, 南蛮人). If they adopted Christianity, they would lose their face and honor before their relatives and superiors, and be seen too as lowly people. So, especially from the time of Valignano onwards, Jesuits would try to hide or conceal any aspects that might be repulsive to non-Christians. Architecture became one of the means to achieve this “respectability”.

By building impressive churches, and by treating the Japanese with refined manners, any Christian would be proud of calling himself a Christian before others. Therefore, it was essential for the Jesuits to be seen as prestigious people, and to cultivate an image of importance, therefore placing Christian religion on the same level of respectability as Buddhism and Shinto, and removing any barriers towards the religious conversion of the Japanese. Throughout the study, we will see several instances in which this idea of “respectability” shows up: by choosing prestigious locations to build churches, by building tall churches and large crosses, etc.

To summarize, this dissertation tries to analyze the Christian facilities of Nagasaki in more detail than previous studies. As we will see later, the contents of this dissertation agree with most of the main points or “themes” presented in the above studies, but there are small differences in terms of interpretation of historical data and final results. These differences of opinion will be presented during the course of the main text.

### **1.5. Explanation of Terminology (Jesuit Names and ranks)**

Before entering into the “Historical Context” section, it is useful to provide a very basic explanation of the names of high-ranking Jesuits, and the main liturgical rites administered in Japan.

First, regarding the Jesuit Mission in Japan, the leader of the Jesuit missionaries was known as “Superior” (布教長). This term was used because Japan belonged to the administrative area of India (The Province of India). In later years, Japan was promoted by the Society of Jesus to the status of a Vice-Province, and after that to an independent Province. These changes in the status of Japan as an administrative region also led to changes in the name of the highest-ranking Jesuit in Japan. To summarize, the names of the leading Jesuits in the Japanese mission were:

Superior (布教長)

- Francisco Xavier フランシスコ・ザビエル (1548-1551)
- Cosme de Torres コスメ・デ・トーレス (1551-1570)
- Francisco Cabral フランシスコ・カブラル (1570-1581)
- Gaspar Coelho ガスパル・コエリオ (1581-1582)

In 1582, Japan became a Vice-Province, divided into three main regions: Miyako, (都) Bungo (豊後) and Shimo (下・九州) and so the title of Superior was changed to “Vice-Provincial”. But the term “Superior” continued to be used for the Jesuit who was in charge of each region. So, there was a Superior for Bungo, another for Miyako, and another for Shimo. The Vice-Province are as follows:

Vice-Provincial (準管区長)

- Gaspar Coelho (1582-1589)
- Pedro Gomez ペドロ・ゴメス (1589-1599)
- Francisco Pasio フランシスコ・パシオ (1599-1610)

In 1610 Japan was promoted to a full Province, and so the name “Vice-Provincial” was changed to “Provincial”. Only one man served in that function:

Provincial (管区長)

- Valentim de Carvalho ヴァレンティン・デ・カルヴァリオ (1610-1617)

Despite these terms, there was one Jesuit who was above all of them in terms of ranking: the Visiting Father, or “Padre Visitador” in Portuguese. The Visiting Father lived in the headquarters of the Province, which was for many years Goa, India. His mission was to visit all of the regions in the province, including Japan, and give orders



to solve all of the problems in each region. The only “Visitador” who managed to come to Japan was Alessandro Valignano:

Visiting Father/Visitador (イエズス会インド管区の巡察師):

- Alessandro Valignano アレサンドロ・ヴァリニャーノ (1574-1606)

Valignano visited Japan three times during his life: in every one of those visits, he had an extremely powerful influence in the policies adopted by the Society of Jesus in Japan.

Although he spent most of his life in Goa and Macau, his main focus was always the region of Japan, as he considered the religious conversion of Japan essential for supporting the conversion of neighboring regions. He was also the Jesuit most interested in architecture and the only one who tried to define a consistent policy in terms of the architecture and design of Jesuit churches in Japan.

Besides these ranks, there was also the rank of Dean of the Jesuit College (コレジオ・学校長), who was in charge of managing the everyday activities of the College. In the case of Nagasaki, the one who lasted for the longest period was Diogo de Mesquita ディオゴ・デ・メスキタ (1598?-1612). He travelled to Rome with the famous 4 Japanese ambassadors, and after returning to Japan became the Dean of the College of Amakusa, and then of the College of São Paulo in Nagasaki.

Other extremely important Jesuits were Luis Frois (ルイス・フロイス) and João Rodrigues Tsuzzu (ジョアン・ロドリゲス・通事). Both of them were Portuguese Jesuits who became extremely knowledgeable about Japanese language, culture and customs, often serving as translators between Valignano and important rulers such as Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. The Italian Jesuit Organtino Gneccchi-Soldo (オルガンティノ・グネッキ＝ソルド) was also reasonably proficient in Japanese language and customs, although not as much as the other two, and lived in Miyako for many years with Frois. Together with Frois, he expressed some interest in Japanese architecture and made a strong effort to build impressive churches in Miyako.

## **1.6. Explanation of Terminology (Liturgical Rites and Biblical Stories)**

In Jesuit records, we often see references to liturgical feasts and Christian ceremonies. It was also common for the Christian community to stage theatrical performances which included not only Japanese tales, but also many tales from the Bible. The most common ones are:

- The story of Adam and Eve: they lived in Paradise without knowledge of good and evil; God told them to enjoy all the fruits of Paradise, but they were forbidden from eating any fruit from the Tree of Knowledge; a serpent convinced Eve to eat an apple from the Tree of Knowledge with Adam; this originated the Fall of Mankind (墮罪), and established the Original Sin (原罪)
- The Birth of Jesus in Christmas: Three kings (wise men) learn that the Messiah, or Savior of the Jews, would be born in Jerusalem. They follow a moving star until they find the place where Jesus Christ was born, and offer gifts to his parents.
- Lent (四旬節): a period of 40 days before Easter. This period is the one in which most of the Japanese Christians came to the churches to confess their sins (告白).
- Easter (復活祭): The most important period in the year for Japanese Christians. The first story from this period is the Last Supper (最後の晩餐), in which Jesus tells that someone (i.e., Judas) will betray him. It is also here that Jesus designates bread and wine as his own flesh and blood. The bread was turned into a thin cracker known as the Blessed Sacrament (聖体). It was at this time that most of the Japanese Christians, after having confessed, came to receive communion, or the Eucharist (聖餐). Essentially, the Eucharist is the ceremony in which each Christian eats a Blessed Sacrament to reinforce his or her union with Jesus Christ. This was the most popular and most important ceremony of the Japanese Church, in the same way as in Europe, because the Council of Trent decided to give more relevance and focus to this ceremony.
- Another important ceremony is the Passion of Christ (キリストの受難). Jesus Christ is betrayed, and tortured with several different tools in different ways. Each of these torture methods represents a stage (フェーズ・段階) of the Passion. Jesus is then sent to trial, where the Roman ruler Poncius Pilate thinks that he is not much of a threat. But the Jewish community insists that Christ should be crucified. He is forced to carry his own cross through a road (Via Crucis, or the “Path of the Cross”) towards the execution place, which is the Golgotha Hill. He is then crucified, dies, and his dead body is placed in cave (i.e., sepulcher). At the third day of his death, he is resurrected.
- The Passion, Death and Resurrection of Christ represent the three “mysteries” or divine truths of Christian faith. The symbolism of these three stages is extremely important in the Japanese mission: the religious processions simulate Christ’s journey to the cross; the Passion is simulated by acts of self-flagellation (自分自身に鞭打ちをすゐる). The death and resurrection are represented by symbolic ceremonies inside and outside the church’s building.
- All Souls’ Day (死者の日): On this day (2nd November), all Christians would go together in procession to the graves of their ancestors to pray for the souls of their

deceased. The whole month of November was used to teach the Japanese about the importance of living a good life, and to remember that everyone will die someday, regardless of how rich and powerful they are. Since the Japanese were extremely devoted to the worship of their ancestors, this period was almost as important as Easter.

There were other important ceremonies of course, such as baptism (洗礼), which was administered to the catechumens (教理授講者) symbolizing their rebirth as Christians. A catechumen is a person who is not yet Christian, but is learning the fundamental aspects of Christian faith (through a book known as catechism), in preparation for being baptized. Funerals (葬儀) were also important moments in the life of a Christian community, in which the donations of the community were used to purchase a casket for poor people. The fact that the Jesuits did not charge money to perform solemn funeral rites was a strong reason for many Japanese to convert. In essence, these were the most important rites and ceremonies implemented in Japan, which will be mentioned during the rest of this thesis, and which may not be fully understood by a Japanese audience who is not fully familiar with Christian religion.

## 2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This section merely intends to provide a basic introduction to the origin of the Society of Jesus, how they arrived in Japan, and their main problems in establishing the mission. There are already a large number of books and studies that explain the origin of the Society of Jesus<sup>1</sup> and its missionary efforts, so only the most important aspects will be mentioned here.

The Society of Jesus was officially founded in 1540 by Ignacio de Loyola, a former Spanish knight who abandoned military life and devoted himself towards spiritual self-improvement. He was particularly impressed with the missionary efforts of the Mendicant orders such as the Franciscans, and hoped to convert gentiles (non-Christians) in the Holy Land of Jerusalem into Christianity. Ignacio composed a book known as “Spiritual Exercises”, which contained several mental exercises, meditations, and prayers, which were intended to help the practitioner to examine his own conscience, establish a link with Jesus Christ, and become encouraged to follow his footsteps. These exercises were the central focus of the Jesuit educational program, and were followed by members of the Jesuit society, but anyone in general could choose to do them.

Together with another six companions, he took vows of poverty, chastity and obedience to the Pope, and everyone was determined to act as missionaries throughout Europe and other parts of the world. One of these companions was Francisco Xavier, aka Francis Xavier (フランシスコ・ザビエル).

Because all of the Society’s members had been recruited in the University of Paris, they had a higher degree of knowledge and education than most of the clergy (聖職人たち) at the time, which was under attack by the Protestants and Reformists. Although Ignacio’s original objective did not consider the aspect of education, the Society came to believe that the Church had become weak as a result of this lack of education, and the members of the Society were encouraged by noblemen to establish schools and colleges across Europe. This involved the teaching of science, theology, and classical studies, not only to new members of the Society of Jesus, but also to lay persons (i.e., members of the general public, non-religious persons). The structure of the Society of Jesus had a strong hierarchy, but this did not mean that a higher-ranking Jesuit could enjoy great privileges or treat lower-ranking members with disrespect. In principle, every Jesuit should live in

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<sup>1</sup> The thesis of Sofia Diniz (presented in the “Introduction” section) already has an excellent overview of the origin of the Society of Jesus. For more detail, it is recommended to consult Alden, Dauril, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

the same way, and with the same kind of living conditions as all the other members. The main aspect in which hierarchy mattered, was in terms of obedience. There was an extremely strong focus on absolute obedience to the Pope and to higher-ranking Jesuits, regardless of where they go.

The formation and expansion of the Society took place at about the same time as the Council of Trent (1545 to 1563); before the Council, every region in Europe had its own way of performing liturgical rites (典礼・儀式), and there was a considerable variety of rites and confusion among the clergy. The council of Trent was the first major attempt by the Catholic Church to standardize liturgical rites all across Europe. As a result, many aspects of Roman Catholic liturgy were made simpler and less confusing.

The Society gained a considerable amount of popularity among lay people, and thrived in this period, because they took a similar approach towards simplification: over the years they adopted a standardized educational curriculum for all of their colleges, making changes quickly, whenever it was necessary. They focused on improving their relationship with lay persons, by removing architectural obstacles in churches, and choosing to live inside urban centers. The members learned the art of rhetoric, and had to practice debates constantly. In order to win these debates, it was often necessary to gain a good understanding of the other person's point of view, so that it could be refuted. A good portion of their time was spent preaching to the population, and many of these preachers became extremely popular. This public function was reinforced by the staging of theatrical plays and lectures.

Furthermore, to avoid scandals such as the ones caused by indulgences (免罪符), the Jesuits did not charge money for celebrating religious rites, or for teaching. Another practice which was popular at the time, and which was avoided by the Jesuits whenever possible, was to bury lay people inside the churches (and dedicate chapels in their name) in exchange for a donation of money. As a result, they were mostly dependent on donations by people who did not demand anything in exchange, and there were many moments in which the Society of Jesus experienced financial difficulties.

This was the basis for the Jesuits' practical attitude, and their interest in learning about other cultures, which was the starting point of the notion of "cultural adaptation". In fact, in the early years of the Society in Europe, they had already adapted to the different contexts of each country, while still maintaining their fundamental principles (following Ignacio's "Spiritual Exercises"; hierarchical obedience; conversion of non-Christians; high level of education; living a virtuous and pious life, including many ascetical exercises such as penance or self-flagellation). As Sofia Diniz correctly mentions in her thesis, these principles only dictated that a "Jesuit College" should have certain

types of spaces in which the educational curriculum could be administered: refectory (食堂), kitchen (台所), cubicles/rooms (小部屋), a courtyard (コルテイーレ・パティオ), pantry (食料置き場), and perhaps a wardrobe room (衣服置き場), some kind of access route between residential, school and church areas, plus some teaching rooms. But it was never specified how those spaces should look like. That was left to the criteria of the higher-ranking Jesuits in each country. So the effort towards simplification does not mean that everything has to look the same: only that the basic principles must be respected and followed, namely the existence of a church, school and housing.

Likewise, the idea of a “Jesuit style” in terms of church architecture took several decades to develop. The idea that Jesuit churches should imitate the look of the mother church of the Society of Jesus, the “Chiesa del Gesù” in Rome, only became commonplace in the early 1600s, just a decade before the anti-Christian edict of 1614. Another common assumption is that the “Chiesa del Gesù” became a model for churches in the Counter-Reformation period, in terms of austerity/restraint in decoration. This notion has been successfully challenged in recent years by scholars such as John Alexander, first by proving that the original program of the Chiesa involved a strong focus on sumptuous decoration, and architecture of high quality; secondly, by showing that Italian churches in the sixteenth century employed a wide diversity of architectural solutions.<sup>2</sup>

It is useful at this stage to provide a basic explanation of the most common types of buildings developed by the Society of Jesus, as follows:

**Church** – Often called as “ecclesia”, “igreja”, “iglesia” (教会堂), or “casa” / “duomo” (カサ・家). The term “casa” was also frequently used to describe the entire Jesuit complex (residence, college, church, etc), which often makes it difficult to interpret historical documents correctly. As summarized by the architectural historian Merlijn Hurx,<sup>3</sup> Jesuit churches in the sixteenth century tended to be of a single nave, and generally followed the main principles set by the Council of Trent: church attendants should have a clear, unobstructed view of the altar; church attendants should also have a clear view of the priest, and therefore the choir screens (クワヤ・内陣のカンケリ・格子の柵) separating the areas of the clergy and lay people should be removed; more space should

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<sup>2</sup> See Alexander, John, “Shaping Sacred Space in the Sixteenth Century: Design Criteria for the Collegio Borromeo’s Chapel”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (June 2004), California, University of California Press, pp. 164-179.

<sup>3</sup> Hurx, Merlijn, “Bartolomeo Ammannati and the College of San Giovannino in Florence: Adapting Architecture to Jesuit Needs”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (September 2009), California, University of California Press, pp. 338-357.

be provided for church attendants; the tabernacle (タベルナクルム・幕屋) which contained the Blessed Sacrament (聖体) should be placed on the main altar, so that church attendants could focus their devotion on the liturgical rite of the Eucharist (聖餐); and several confessionals (告白室) should be placed inside the church, because the Jesuits did not charge money for confessing, and therefore many people came to confess. The overall result is that there was much more proximity between the Jesuit clergy and laity, which helped to popularize Jesuit sermons.

**College (コレジオ・カサ)** – In most cases, it is a large residence for priests with an internal chapel, where Jesuit members can live as a community, and also take classes in theology and language. Although the Jesuits did not adopt a recluse lifestyle, the College tends to have some sort of barrier to provide some degree of privacy and quietness, allowing them to engage in the “Spiritual Exercises” created by Ignacio de Loyola. Although there is some form of access between the college and church, this connection should not be a direct one (unless there is a clear shortage of space). There is always a courtyard or a cloister that was normally used to separate public (church) from private (residence) areas. It can also be used to stage theatre plays.

The teaching spaces and the residential spaces are usually attached to each other, but are separated by walls, and there is only one passageway between them. There is an entrance area, in which the doorkeeper blocks access to outsiders, and only allows entrance to Jesuit members. The college also contained common areas such as the refectory, kitchen and storerooms. The private rooms of the Jesuits were called “cubicles”, and were generally of medium or small size: all new members had to forfeit all of their personal possessions and wealth to the Society, and no one owned any of the cubicles, or any space in particular.

**Residence (レジデンシア・カサ)** – This kind of building was a house designed for one or two priests to live in, usually in a distant village and under supervision of the nearest Jesuit College. When a church is built, it is not necessary to attach a house or residence to it, but if a residence is built, there should always be a church or a chapel close to the residence, or attached to the residence.

**Novitiate (ノヴィシアド・修練院)** – When someone wished to become a member of the Society of Jesus, they must spend approximately two years at the Novitiate, which is considered a trial period. This period of training is used to see if these prospective candidates are truly qualified to become members of the Society. When a member passes

the Novitiate phase successfully, he becomes a young Jesuit member, and is allowed to enter into the College. Novitiate members have to engage in several exercises, meditations and prayers, and it is important for them to have peace and quiet. Therefore, contact with the exterior/outside world is kept to a minimum; there is no church, but there is usually a chapel inside the building.

**Seminary (セミナリオ・神学校)** – It is a building with a residence and teaching rooms, which provided the educational curriculum established by the Society, focusing on the essential aspects of theology, as well as any other topic which was considered necessary. It was intended for young people, sometimes children, who had decided to live a religious life. The seminary was exclusively devoted to teaching and preparing the students for active missionary work. It was also possible to have seminaries for lay children (children who had not decided to become religious men). In the case of Japan, seminaries were designed for young children who had decided to live a religious life. Therefore, it was extremely important to protect them from the outside world, and teach them to focus on prayer and other meditations. Outsiders were forbidden from entering the facilities, except when parents decide to visit the building to see if they should place their own children there. Usually there is a patio or internal courtyard surrounded by walls where the children can spend some time.

**House of Probation (修練の家)** – It is a specific kind of building, which is always placed in a peaceful and quiet place. It is used by Jesuit members to escape the problems of everyday life for a certain period, and to focus exclusively on improving themselves, with hard spiritual exercises. They can test their resolve and determination to continue their life as religious men. There is no specific spatial typology associated with this building.

As the Society of Jesus expanded its network of colleges and educational institutions across Europe, Francisco Xavier moved to Portugal, where he lived for a short time. Since the King of Portugal requested missionaries for his colonial territories in India, Xavier departed in 1541 to Goa in India, where he arrived in 1542. He helped to establish the Jesuit College of São Paulo (サン・パウロ), and from there, he gradually visited several parts of Southeast Asia, expanding the network of churches across the region. Around 1546, a Japanese samurai named in Jesuit sources as “Angero” or “Anjiro” murdered a man in Kagoshima and sought refuge in a temple. He happened to meet a Portuguese merchant named Alvaro Vaz whom he had already met previously. During their conversations, Angero expressed interest in learning more about Christian religion, and



so Alvaro Vaz convinced him to travel to India to be baptized by Francis Xavier or another priest. Angero, together with two Japanese companions, eventually met Xavier in India in December 1547, and after several talks in rudimentary Portuguese (Angero had learned some Portuguese during the trip), the three Japanese men requested to be baptized, and the two companions of Angero eventually travelled to Portugal to serve the Society of Jesus.

Angero also gave hopes to Xavier that many Japanese would convert to Christianity, if Xavier accompanied him back to Japan. However, Xavier was the main Superior (director) of the Jesuit College in Goa, and it was not an easy decision to leave India to travel to Japan. This decision process took about a year, during which Angero was interviewed several times at the College by the priests, although there were considerable difficulties because of the language barrier. The objective of the Jesuits was to collect as much information as possible about the culture, customs and religions of Japan, which was written in letters back to the Society's headquarters in Rome. All of these events are depicted in detail in the critical edition of the letters of the Society of Jesus, "Documentos del Japon".<sup>4</sup>

But the most surprising episode is told in a letter by the Jesuit Nicolao Lancillotto at the College of India to his superiors in Rome. Lancillotto had interviewed Angero a number of times by using the Jesuit Cosme de Torres as a translator (Lancillotto could not speak Portuguese, but Cosme de Torres could). Lancillotto was especially interested in discovering if the Japanese had any previous knowledge of Jesus Christ, the Apostles, the symbol of the cross, or Christian religion in general. When Lancillotto writes in the letter the summary of what Angero had said about Japanese religions, Lancillotto misinterpreted things in such a distorted way, that he believed that Japanese religions and Christianity were extremely alike.

Lancillotto's letter is too long to reproduce here, and its main contents have already been analyzed by Ruiz-de-Medina.<sup>5</sup> But just to give an idea, we will quote a few fragments which were also singled out by Medina (the English translations are made by myself):

"Questo Sciacca predicò che non era senon un solo Idio creator de tutte le cose"

(This [man named] Shaka [釈迦] preached that there was only one God, who created all things.)

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<sup>4</sup> Ruiz-de-Medina, Juan. *Documentos del Japon, 1547-1557*. Vol. 137. Roma: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1990.

<sup>5</sup> See Ruiz-de-Medina, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-75.

“Cosci e Denici significa una mesma cosa, asi como intra noi Dio e Trinitá”

(Koushi [孔子] and Dainichi [大日] means the same thing, in the same manner as we say God [デウス・神] and Trinity [聖三位一体、父なる神、子なる神、聖霊なる神])

“Quasi tutte le sue regole sonno conforme alle nostre”

(Almost all of their rules [i.e., monastic rules/regulations] are similar to ours)

“predicano in pergulo como noi (...) nella midesima manera che noi usiamo”

(They preach on a pulpit [プルピトゥム・説教壇] like we do [...] in the same manner as we usually do)

“sonano campane como noi”

(They ring bells just like us)

“sonano l'avemaria nella mesma ora e in la mesma manera che noi acostumamo”

(They pray the Holy Mary prayer in the same time of the day, and in the same manner as we usually do)

“tengono libri per orare, ma non tutti, asi como intra noi”

(They have prayer books, but not all of them, just like among us)

“Adomandato se usano alcuna manera de sacrificio, disse che acostumano certis diebus quelli sacerdoti, spitalmente el prelado loro, verstirse certe veste e venire nella ghiesia. Astante populo bruscita certi odori sopra una petra in modo del nostro altare, e cantano certe oratione. Li odori che brusciano sonno incenso...”

(when [Anjiro was] asked if they [i.e., the Japanese] use any form of sacrifice, he said that in certain days, it is customary for those priests, especially their prelate [i.e., bishop, high-ranking member of the clergy], to dress certain robes [i.e., religious clothes] and come to the church. In front of the people, he burns certain odors over a stone, similar to our altar, and they sing certain prayers. The odors which they burn are incense...)

“tengono prelati como noi”

(They have prelates like we do)

“E questo Voo tene dominio temporale e spirituale como intra noi el papa”

(And this Wo [王] has authority in earthly and spiritual matters, just like the Pope has among us)

These are just a few examples, but the main point is that from the start the Jesuits had a partially distorted idea of Japanese religions. Cosme de Torres and Francisco Xavier did not have such an extreme opinion as Lancillotto, but they were hopeful that these similarities would encourage the Japanese to convert to Christianity.

Angero translated the Jesuit catechism [カトリック要理・教理教授: the introduction to the main principles of Christian faith] into Japanese in India, and shortly after Francis Xavier departed to Japan with Angero and two other Jesuits, Cosme de Torres and Juan Hernandez. They arrived in Kagoshima in 1549, and were very well received by the lord of Satsuma, Shimazu Takahisa and his family. During this early period, Angero served as a translator for the Jesuits.

The Jesuits showed them an altarpiece with an image of Mary holding the baby Jesus, which caused a strong impression in Takahisa. He kneeled down in reverence to the image and ordered all of his vassals to do the same. The mother of Takahisa was also impressed, and asked for a copy of the image and a book with the teachings of Christianity, which was done by Angero after a few days of work. Xavier noticed that the coat of arms [家紋] of the Shimazu family was a cross inside a circle (丸に十字紋). The Jesuits showed Takahisa some beautifully illuminated manuscript Bible, which also impressed him. As a result, Takahisa allowed his vassals to become Christians, and some were baptized. Xavier was also very well received by the leading monk of the Fukushouji temple (福昌寺), which belonged to the Soto branch of Zen, and had very friendly talks with him.

The scholar Urs App provides an extremely convincing explanation for such a positive reception, from which I will quote the most important parts:

*“Now let us, for edifying purposes, convert this story. The daimyo of Satsuma, the fifteenth regent of the Shimazu family, whose crest had the shape of a round bitpiece of a horse with its cross-like shape in the middle, had heard of some strange-looking Buddhist bonzes 坊主 who had come directly from Tenjiku 天竺 the homeland of Shaka 釈迦 and thus of the source of all traditions (shû 宗) in Buddhist teaching (buppo 仏法). They had apparently brought along all sorts of interesting things that nobody had ever seen—maybe even some of those firearms that were creating such a stir among rival daimyos (...) Anjiro obliged by showing him an image of the Virgin with child that had so struck him when he first saw it. (...) the ruler was stunned: though this was a picture*

*painted on wood, it looked so very real! The daimyo's mother immediately wanted to own this image of Kannon [観音], the bodhisattva of mercy, and she was determined to find out more about this new transmission (shu 宗) of the buppo from Tenjiku. The abstract of this teaching, written by Anjiro, explained that the monks were bringing the new buppo of Dainichi 大日 the maker of all things who is also called butsu or hotoke 佛 and that they were transmitting the law of the eternal tamashii 魂 which will either go to jodo 浄土, the Pure Land, or to jigoku 地獄 where it is going to be tortured most horribly by the tengu 天狗.”<sup>6</sup>*

As this explanation by App shows, both the Jesuits and the Japanese had distorted ideas of each other's religions, which were mediated by Angero. Xavier and his companions moved through several towns on their way to Miyako, where he hoped to meet with the Dairi, but his attempts to establish a meeting failed (Angero remained in Kagoshima). Dissatisfied, Xavier returned to Yamaguchi in 1551. Realizing that his poor-looking clothes and lack of knowledge of Japanese customs had prevented him from being accepted by Japanese noblemen, he decided to dress in the best clothes that he had, and gave his best presents to the lord of Yamaguchi, Ouchi Yoshitaka. As a result, Yoshitaka granted the lands of a Japanese monastery to the Jesuits. It is not entirely clear if this temple is the same as the Daidouji (大道寺) which is mentioned in a 1552 document.<sup>7</sup>

The Jesuit João Fernandez, who was the only one who could speak rudimentary Japanese at the time, used one of the houses of the monastery for preaching Angero's catechism with poor accent and pronunciation, as he had always done since the Jesuits arrived in Kagoshima. In Jesuit letters, this Japanese monastery is merely called “casa”.<sup>8</sup> They never celebrated mass (ミサ), because the whole time is occupied by preaching to the locals and answering questions from them.

After a discussion with Buddhist monks, Xavier comes to realize that the term Dainichi (大日) which the Jesuits had used until now to signify “God” (Deus, デウス), was used by the Shingon (真言) sect to depict their deity. Xavier became quite upset when he realized this and immediately ordered one of the Jesuit brothers to preach in the streets, telling people not to worship Dainichi, and worship “Deus” instead. Even so,

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<sup>6</sup> App, Urs. “St. Francis Xavier's Discovery of Japanese Buddhism: A Chapter in the European Discovery of Buddhism (Part 1: Before the Arrival in Japan, 1547-1549)”, *The Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. 30, No.1, 1997, pp. 53-78.

<sup>7</sup> All of these events are explained in more detail in Ruiz-de-Medina, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> 東京大学史料編纂所『日本関係海外史料 イエズス会日本書翰集 原文編の一』東京、東京大学史料編纂所、一九八九年、p. 218.

there were many people in Kagoshima and other areas of Kyushu who did not know about this change in terminology.<sup>9</sup>

Xavier also hears from Portuguese merchants that he had to return to the Jesuit College in Goa, India, because there had been several problems in his absence. Xavier designates Cosme de Torres as the new Superior (日本布教長) of the Japanese mission, and leaves Japan towards India. Xavier would die from disease in 1552.

Also in 1552, the remaining Jesuits in Yamaguchi received permission from Ouchi Yoshinaga to build a church in the grounds of the Daidouji temple, with the help of 300 “cruzados” in money, donated by the Portuguese merchant Fernão Mendes Pinto. One of the parts of the land lot was used as a cemetery for Christians. A Japanese transcription of the document used by Yoshinaga to donate the land to the Jesuits still exists. It is written as follows:<sup>10</sup>

周防國吉敷郡  
山口縣大道寺事、  
從西域來朝之  
僧為佛法紹  
隆可創建彼寺  
家之由、任請望  
之旨所令裁許  
之狀如件、

天文廿一年八月廿八日  
周防介（御判）  
當寺住持

According to this text, the Jesuits are monks (僧) that came from the West (從西域) to preach the Buddhist law (佛法), and therefore they are given the grounds of the Daidouji (大道寺) to build a temple (寺). In Appendix C we can regularly see evidence indicating that the terms “Igreja/Ecclesia” and 寺 were interchangeable. This does not necessarily mean that every Jesuit church looked exactly like a Japanese temple, as we will see in the following chapter. The use of 僧 also does not mean that the Jesuits looked exactly

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<sup>9</sup> Sangkeun Kim, *Strange Names of God: The Missionary Translation of the Divine Name and the Chinese Responses to Matteo Ricci's "Shangti" in Late Ming China, 1583-1644*, New York, Peter Lang, 2004, pp. 81-82.

<sup>10</sup> 東京大学史料編纂所、『日本関係海外史料 イエズス会日本書翰集 原文編之二』 東京、東京大学史料編纂所、一九九六年, p. 329.

like Buddhist monks. The first reference in Jesuit letters about the similarity between a Jesuit priest and a Buddhist monk only appears in 1559, when the Jesuit Gaspar Vilela prepares his first mission to Miyako, seeking permission to preach in that city and establish a church there. To do so, he decided to disguise himself as a monk, by shaving his head and beard, and wearing the same clothes as Buddhist monks. His main reason was to prevent unnecessary attacks along the way by non-Christians, and to make it easier to have meetings with the local rulers.<sup>11</sup>

In 1555, the Jesuit Baltazar Gago, one of the new missionaries who had come to help Torres and Fernandez, said that as they had now improved their knowledge of Japanese language, they realized that several Japanese terms that were used to explain Christian concepts were incorrect. As a result, Japanese Christians did not understand Japanese concepts correctly, and confused them with the concepts of Buddhist religions. So they began to introduce Latin and Portuguese words whenever necessary. By 1555 they had already introduced 50 foreign terms, and they introduced many more in the following decades. One of the terms which they replaced was 十文字 with 久留須・クルス. All of their religious books are written fully in Kanji, because the general population did not understand Kana well.<sup>12</sup>

Going back to the year 1552, Otomo Sorin, the lord of Bungo, established friendly relationships with the Jesuits and allowed them to build a church in Funai (府内). It was built with the help of the local Christian community: one Christian blacksmith made a set of iron nails, which were going to be used inside the Jesuit house; other Christians carried stones for the church (probably foundation stones, 礎石)<sup>13</sup> while others prepared tea for the workers. And in this fashion the Jesuits gradually expanded their network of churches to Hirado and Miyako, although these were destroyed very quickly.

In general, the Jesuits were constantly exposed to aggressions, and in their letters, we can find many instances in which Japanese people would spit on their faces while they were preaching, groups of children threw stones at them, people would shoot arrows or fire arquebus shots at their sleeping rooms at night, or try to burn their houses.<sup>14</sup> The missionaries were also regularly mocked with terms like “Tenjiku” (天竺), “Deus” (ダイウス) or “daiuso” (大嘘).

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<sup>11</sup> Ruiz de Medina, Juan G., Documentos del Japon 1558-1562 / editados y anotados por Juan Ruiz-de-Medina S.J., Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu vol. 148, Roma : Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús , 1995, p. 149.

<sup>12</sup> 東京大学史料編纂所、『日本関係海外史料 イエズス会日本書翰集 原文編之二』 東京、東京大学史料編纂所、一九九六年, p. 251.

<sup>13</sup> 東京大学史料編纂所、*op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>14</sup> 東京大学史料編纂所、*op. cit.*, p. 67, 150; Ruiz de Medina, *op. cit.*, p. 271, 274, 442.

They established in Bungo a hospital in which lepers and poor, sick people could be treated for free. They hoped that by viewing the Jesuits conduct these pious acts, more people would be willing to become Christians. But the reality is that, although many people used the services of the hospital, only a small number of poor people chose to become Christians. As Francisco Cabral wrote in 1576, the Hospital of Funay was actually a great obstacle towards the conversion of the Japanese, because they believed that only lowly people would do this kind of work: treat the poor, sick and undesirable.<sup>15</sup>

While Otomo Sorin remained friendly with the Jesuits, for many years he displayed no interest whatsoever in converting himself to Christianity. It did not help that most of the Portuguese merchants, the Nambanjin (南蛮人) were seen as lowly people, with no knowledge of Japanese etiquette, and were regularly involved in fights and troubles. In fact, the scandalous behavior of these merchants led some Japanese Christians to apostatize (背教).<sup>16</sup>

Considering all of the above, it is understandable that the Jesuits began to be concerned with how to make themselves, and Christian religion, look respectable to the eyes of the Japanese. But it is also clear that they had to establish a unique identity, separate from Buddhist sects.

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<sup>15</sup> Copia de una carta de Francisco Cabral, Japan, 1576, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Cortes, 09/02663, Mss., fols 144r-145v.

<sup>16</sup> Ruiz de Medina, op. cit., p. 203.

### **3. DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE IN JAPAN (1549-1569)**

The main points of the previous section are that in the first decade (1549-1559), the Jesuits faced several economic difficulties and discrimination by most of the Japanese society. Another problem was that many people were confusing their teachings with Buddhist teachings. Regarding the problem of discrimination, they assumed that once the Japanese got to know more about the virtuous behavior of the Jesuits and the positive aspects of Christian religion, they would choose to convert. So they continued to withstand the discrimination, by spreading from Yamaguchi into other regions such as villages or small islands, and trying to build Christian communities there. As for the problem of being confused with Buddhist religions, they made regular changes to their terminology and explanations so as to reduce the number of misunderstandings.

This chapter intends to present the main trends in terms of Jesuit churches outside of Nagasaki. Most of the analyses presented here are based on the data collected in Appendix C. The main points to be discussed are:

- Most of the churches (especially in the first two decades) were small, unimpressive or made of inexpensive materials;
- Regarding the construction of churches, we can identify four general situations, from most frequent (1) to less frequent (4): 1) usage of a Japanese temple with no architectural modification; 2) churches built with brand-new materials; 3) churches built with materials from Japanese temples or houses; 4) use of a house/room as a church/oratory;
- Did churches have longitudinal floor plans before 1580? The data suggests that newly-built churches probably had longitudinal layouts;
- The missionaries attempted to revive the period of the Primitive Church (初代教会) by mimicking some strategies from that period (focus on religious processions; separate areas for men and women inside the church; usage of internal space for acts of self-flagellation; focus on the destruction of “idols”);

#### **3.1. Methods of Construction and Quality of Jesuit Churches**

In general, the Jesuits avoided making any specific description of their churches, especially in the first decades. Besides the fact that the priority of the missionaries was to report facts about the Christian community in Japan, the other reason is that there was not much to report in terms of architecture.



We can only find occasional references to the materials used in churches.<sup>1</sup> The first clear reference to church materials is a statement written in 1562 by Baltazar Gago. He mentions that in that year, there were only 9 Jesuit churches in Japan, and among these, four or five of them are not new buildings, but former temples used with no architectural modification.<sup>2</sup> The original altars in these temples were decorated with the images of Jesus Christ and Our Lady (聖母). With this statement, Gago seems to ignore the existence of a couple of tiny churches, which were built with brand new materials in the islands of Hirado in the previous year, but otherwise his statement appears to be well-informed. Among these reused buildings, one case is mentioned in Ikitsukishima 生月島, in Hirado. It had capacity for about 600 people and a nice courtyard with a large cross marking the location of the Christian cemetery. Before entering the building, there was a water basin for washing feet (possibly a suibansha 水盤舎), so that the tatami inside the church would not get wet with mud.

Then, in 1564, João Fernandez built a church with brand-new materials in Hirado 平戸. It had two names: Our Lady of Conception (Santa Maria da Conceição, 聖マリアの無原罪の御宿り) and 天門寺. Fernandez says that this church is the most beautiful that the Jesuits have in Japan, because most of the churches in Japan were made of straw, but this church was built with very beautiful wood, and with earth (possibly covering the

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<sup>1</sup> One early reference comes from the time when the priest Gaspar Vilela and his two Japanese companions first came to Miyako in 1560. Since the local residents saw the Jesuits as lowly people, no one wanted to shelter them. At first, Vilela convinced an old widow named “Yamandanogoke” (山田の御家) to rent them a miserable house inside her property in “Cavanotana” (革棚町・下京区四条新町西入郭巨山町), which was at the time a district inhabited by people of low social status. The house was made of straw and bamboo canes, and was in a terrible state of decay (the earth that was used to cover the walls was falling apart). After three months, Vilela and his companions made a deal with a man named “Cundanojucho” to rent one of his buildings in “Tamaguranocho”, in the street “Roccacumachi” (玉蔵町、六角町). However, they discovered that this house was in even worse condition than the previous one. The walls were made of only a few canes, without being covered by earth, so the whole house was exposed to cold winds and rain. Even so, Vilela decided to ornament the house as best as he could, in order to attract the Japanese. He hanged an old mattress in one of the walls (to serve as an ornament), placed a cross made of paper on top of it, and put a small table and a bench for praying. About a year later, Vilela was able to purchase some slightly better houses in “Ubayanangui” (姥柳町). These events are narrated in Fróis., Luis, Wicky, Josef. S. J. ed., *Historia de Japam Vol. I*, Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1976-1984, pp. 152-157, 195-196.

<sup>2</sup> “Em Japão temos 9 igrejas. (...) Algumas 4 ou 5 igrejas destas são as próprias casas que servião dantes dos pagodes; e agora os altares estão ornados com as imagens de Jesu Christo e da Virgen nosa Senhora.” Ruiz de Medina, Juan G., *Documentos del Japon 1558-1562*, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu vol. 148, Roma: Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, 1995, p. 595.

walls), in order to protect it from fires.<sup>3</sup>

Alessandro Valignano, when writing the first chapter of the History of the Catholic Church in Japan in 1601, claims that up to the death of Cosme de Torres in 1570, the churches in Japan were small and poor.<sup>4</sup> In later chapters, we will see that he made a similar statement in 1579, shortly after arriving in Japan for the first time.

Finally, in 1597, after the execution of 26 people in Nagasaki, the governor of Nagasaki, Terazawa Hirotaka, ordered the destruction or dismantlement of 137 churches, mainly in Omura. But according to the letter of the Jesuit Pedro de la Cruz, most of those buildings were merely tiny houses that had been borrowed to the Society for celebrating mass after the anti-Christian edict of 1587, built with very little cost, and if some Christians had not pointed out to the authorities that some of those buildings were churches, the authorities would probably not have noticed them, nor destroyed them. Pedro de la Cruz also mentions that the wood of the biggest and most important churches was dismantled by the Christians themselves and stored in a safe place for future use.<sup>5</sup>

To summarize, the churches in larger towns were certainly expensive, but most of the Jesuit churches were made in small, remote areas, with little means.

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<sup>3</sup> “La qual luego se començo a fazer polos xpãos q tanto la deseauão com na Iuda de los portugezes q para esto dieron fue nrõ [nuestro] Sõr [Señor] seruido q se acabaçe este nouienbre pasado siendo la mayor e mais hermosa yglesia q asta agora tenemos em Japam por q las mas dellas son de paja, y esta es de madera muy hermosa y de terra por causa de los fuegos q en esta tẽra [tierra] son muy frequentes (...) pozimos le nombre santa maria de la cõsepcion para noticia de los portugueses & de los Xpãos & para notiça de los gentiles la pusimos tenmongi q quiere dizir puerta del cielo.” João Fernandez, Letter from Hirado, 1565-09-23, ARSI Jap. Sin. 5, fol. 289r.

<sup>4</sup> “...todas las casas de los nrõs [nuestros] erã pequenas, y pobres, y la christiandad nueva, y no mucha, porq no passarrã toda ella de doze mil almas...” Alessandro Valignano, “Del principio, y progresso de la Religion Christiana en Jappon, y de la especial prouidencia de que Nuestro Señor usa cõ aquella nueva Iglesia”, Nagasaki, 1601, B. L. Mss. Add. 9857, fol. 140r.

<sup>5</sup> “...viniendo los criados de Terazaua en los estados de Omura, los mismos cristianos de miedo, y bajo ànimo, quemaron de antemano muchas iglesias antes que llegasen aquellos ministros, y ellos mismos describrieron otras a los ministros que se pudieran encubrir (...) Y así las del estado de Omura como las de Arima casi todas las principales las tenemos guardadas, y como son de madera en ella se puede decir que las tenemos, aunque deshechas, no obstante que mucha madera vieja y de poco momento se perdería. De las que se quemaron por los mismos cristianos en el estado de Omura muchas eran unas casillas hechas de emprestado para decir en este tiempo misa, que apenas costarían dos o tres ducados. Por aquí se entenderá vuestra paternidad cómo se entenderá que se deshicieron y quemaron ciento y treinta y siete iglesias.” Padre Pedro de la Cruz, al Padre Claudio Aquaviva, Nagasaki, 27 February 1599, ARSI Jap. Sin. 13-II, ff. 286-291, 296-303, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L, Opinión de un Teólogo de la Compañía de Jesús sobre la vida y muerte en Japón de Religiosos de San Francisco (1599), in *Miscelánea Japónica III*, Osaka, 1980, pp. 41-42.

We will now return to the problem of newly-built churches versus the use of Japanese temples as churches. How often did this practice occur? I attempted to collect as many references as possible from Japanese materials regarding the construction of new churches, or the use of Japanese buildings as churches. As mentioned in the “Introduction” chapter, this group of 73 occurrences is not an exhaustive list, but it can be considered as a “representative sample” (代表試料) from 1549 to 1614. The full list of references is contained in Appendix C, but since this chapter deals with the early period the Jesuit mission, we will summarize the occurrences from the years 1549 to 1569:

- A) Total: 42 buildings (100%)
- B) Newly-built churches: 18 (42.8%)
- C) Private house used as a church (no architectural modifications): 11 (26.1%)
- D) Temple/Shrine used as a church (no architectural modifications): 7 (16.6%)
- E) Temple/Shrine rebuilt into a church: 3 (7.1%)
- F) Unclear whether the church is a new building, or a reused temple: 2 (4.7%)
- G) Private house rebuilt as a church: 1 (2.3%)

As we can see above, “Newly-built churches” come in first place (18 buildings). However, it is important to mention that most of these churches were made of straw or other poor materials, and did not last very long. They were often destroyed by fires or wars after just a few months. In reality, looking at the Jesuit accounts, the missionaries were forced to use private houses most of the time, especially if they are arriving at a town for the first time, or if the main church had been destroyed. The use of temples as churches started to increase from the 1560s onwards, especially after the religious conversion of Omura Sumitada. For reference, we will now summarize the full 73 occurrences from 1549 to 1614:

- H) Total: 73 buildings (100%)
- I) Newly-built churches: 30 (41%)
- J) Private house used as a church (no architectural modifications): 14 (19%)
- K) Unclear whether the church is a new building, or a reused temple: 14 (19%)
- L) Temple/Shrine used as a church (no architectural modifications): 9 (12%)
- M) Temple/Shrine rebuilt into a church: 5 (7%)
- N) Private house rebuilt as a church: 1 (1%)

These 73 occurrences do not include the churches of Nagasaki: Todos os Santos (1569)

was a reconstruction of an older temple, and all of the other 14 main churches of Nagasaki (excluding chapels) were brand-new buildings. If we include the 15 main churches of Nagasaki, the list would look as follows:

- O) Total: 88 buildings (100%)
- P) Newly-built churches: 44 (50%)
- Q) Private house used as a church (no architectural modifications): 14 (15.9%)
- R) Unclear whether the church is a new building, or a reused temple: 14 (15.9%)
- S) Temple/Shrine used as a church (no architectural modifications): 9 (10.2%)
- T) Temple/Shrine rebuilt into a church: 6 (6.8%)
- U) Private house rebuilt as a church: 1 (1.1%)

Of course, we cannot judge these lists without considering other factors. As mentioned previously, many of the newly-built churches were destroyed or abandoned after a short time. As a result, temples and private houses tended to be used for longer periods, since the missionaries could stay hidden in them during times of war or religious persecutions. Furthermore, we have already mentioned a few pages ago that 137 churches were destroyed in 1597: the large majority of them were tiny houses borrowed from Christians, or small churches built at low cost, which looked similar to houses. Considering the overall picture, it seems clear that most of the Jesuit churches outside of Nagasaki were either private houses or former temples.

When Jesuits occupied multiple temples at the same time, it is extremely rare for them to write the exact number of occupied buildings. We only found one clear reference, written by Francisco Cabral in 1575. Because Omura Sumitada put a considerable pressure on his vassals and monks to convert, in a whole year more than 20 000 people were baptized, and 60 temples were used as churches.<sup>6</sup> It is important to mention that, according to Frois, besides these 60 temples, there were a few other temples in Omura that were indeed disassembled and destroyed at the same time, and replaced by new churches.<sup>7</sup> He also explains that because the baptisms had to be done so quickly, there

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<sup>6</sup> "...hasta la partida dela Nao se avian bautizado veinte mill almas, y convertido mas de sesenta monesterios de Bonzos, quedando los mismos monesterios q antes servian al culto del demonio, sirviendo agora al culto divino..." Copia de una carta de Francisco Cabral, Japan, 1576, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Cortes, 09/02663, Mss., fol. 144r.

<sup>7</sup> "Depois, ainda que a conversão foi em tanto augmento, havia difficuldade em se destruirem e assolarem os templos, que naquellas terras havia grandes e sumptuosos, que por largo discurso de annos servião de nelles ser o demonio venerado, porque, posto que a gente já era baptizada, estavam todavia tão frescos e tenros que, para se lhe

was not enough time or manpower to replace the temples with new churches. To make the situation more complicated, there were still many people who were very attached to their old religions, even though they had been baptized as Christians.

In the following year of 1576 in Arima, Alonso Gonsalez wrote that the Jesuits were given a large temple complex with many houses and lands, and they used it as a church without having to build anything, because the buildings were large enough.<sup>8</sup> In 1579, when the lord of Arima was baptized, he ordered the destruction of more than 30 temples, but even so, he still preserved a few temples, to be used as churches (apparently without architectural modification).<sup>9</sup>

Another example comes from the year 1584. The lord of Takatsuki 高槻, Takayama Ukon, made a strong effort to increase the number of conversions in his lands, and more than 60 monks were converted. All of the temples in the region were used as churches.<sup>10</sup>

To be clear, the cases of Omura, Arima and Takatsuki are somewhat exceptional. It was not very common to baptize a whole region in a short amount of time. These Christian lords needed to convert as many people as possible to Christianity quickly, in order to reduce the possibility of revolts from non-Christians. The amount of converted monks was probably an important factor, because in the case of Omura, a portion of them fled to other provinces. If the number of converted Japanese monks was not enough to maintain a former temple as a church, then it was preferable to simply destroy it. It may also be the case that some monks were close relatives of the lords, and destroying the temples might have caused a rebellion. But in the end, it is not quite clear why some temples are destroyed, while others are preserved as churches.

Regardless of this unsolved issue, if we simply consider the 60 reused temples of

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introduzir que perdessem logo a saudade às varelas onde se criarão e que as destruíssem, não se poderia acabar facilmente com elles, nem menos era possível deixar-lhas assim ficar, porque o objecto presente move muito.” Fróis, Luis, Wicky, Josef. S. J. ed., *Historia de Japam* Vol. II, Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1976-1984, p. 429.

<sup>8</sup> Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Cortes, 09/02663, Mss., fol. 154v.

<sup>9</sup> “este señor de Rima [有馬] se baptizo con los mas señores de sus tierras y su muger y hermanos, y juntamente todos los bonzos [坊主], y se destruyeron todos los templos, que serian mas de treinta con todos los Pagodes y Idolos que tenian, quedando algunos de los templos, para Iglesias...” Copia de una carta de Lourenço Mexia, Nagasaki, 1580-09-01, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Cortes, 09/02663, Mss., fol. 269r.

<sup>10</sup> “Nas terras de Justo Ucondono [Takayama Ukon] são feitos muitos xpãos de novo e antre elles mais de secenta bonzos & os templos que alli avia dedicados ao demonio agora servem de Igrejas para honra e veneração do culto divino.” Letter by Luis Frois, Nagasaki, 1584-09-03, ARSI Jap. Sin. 9-II, fol. 287v.

Omura, then we can see that “newly-built churches” can no longer stay at the top position. By considering the cases of Arima and Takatsuki, and other isolated cases, then it becomes clear that by 1584, half or more than half of the Jesuit churches were originally Japanese temples. On the other hand, we should consider the possibility that these temples were later rebuilt as churches, or at least completely destroyed in 1587 by the troops of Hideyoshi.

This problem of “whether to destroy temples or not” was regularly discussed by the Jesuits in their general meetings. The Jesuits had an internal book with rules and regulations (known as “Obediences”), which was updated every few years. We still have one copy from the year 1612, which contains the following rule: when a group of Jesuits begin to convert the whole population of a region, even if they have the support of the local lords, they should avoid burning temples (to avoid rebellions). Instead, the Jesuits should first use these temples as churches, or simply convert the temples into houses for non-religious people.<sup>11</sup>

The high number of Japanese temples used as churches helps to explain two things: first, why the term “igreja” is interchangeable with “寺”; and that the internal space of the building had to reflect a unique Christian identity, in order to distinguish itself from the previous identity of the temple.

### 3.2. The Problem of Longitudinal Floor Plans

The first explicit reference to longitudinal floor plans in churches came from Valignano in 1580, when he was creating a set of new policies for the Jesuit Mission in Japan. In rule number 156, he mentioned that Jesuit churches should preserve the custom of Europe: namely, that the chapel should be facing towards the longer length of the building, and should not face sideways as the Japanese usually do in their temples. He also mentioned in another document that he provided a basic floor plan design in Nagasaki, and the churches should be built with one or three naves, depending on the importance of the place/town and the number of Christians. These statements will be analyzed more closely in the next chapter, but for now it is enough to say that Valignano’s

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<sup>11</sup> “1. Onde de novo começa a conversão, ainda q o S[enh]or da terra se faça Christão, não se faça estrondo em queimar os pagodes, mas façaõno pouco a pouco de modo q senão enxergue: não queimem Miyas [宮], Teras [寺], nem Templos [寺院], mas convertaõ todos em Igr[e]jas, ou em casas de Seculares.” Passio, Francisco, “Extrato das Obediencias dos Visitadores feito para os Padres das Residencias e mais partes de Japao pello Padre Francisco Passio Visitador da Provincia de Japao no anno de 1612”, *Jesuitas na Asia*, cod. 49-IV-56, v.II-3-E-105, volume (4-I-24) num.1-62, Toyo Bunko, fol. 30r

statement does not mean every Jesuit church had the chapel “facing sideways”.

After Valignano’s departure, there were some three-nave churches: in Arima (1584), Nagasaki and Arima (1601), and maybe Miyako (1606); they must have had longitudinal floor plans, as the existence of three naves would make no sense in the layout of a Japanese temple. But the main question is whether there were churches with longitudinal floor plans before Valignano’s arrival. Although there is no explicit reference in Jesuit materials, we can present a number of circumstantial evidences which suggest the existence of churches built in that fashion.

The first evidence is a few references to the dimensions of newly-built churches:

Yamaguchi, 1555: 8.5 x 6 braças<sup>12</sup> (approximately 18.7 x 13.2m)

Yokoseura, 1562: 9(or 7?) x 5.5 braças<sup>13</sup> (approximately 19.8 (15.4?) x 12.1m)

Sawa, 1563: 9 x 3.5 braças<sup>14</sup> (approx. 19.8 x 7.7m)

The missionaries always write the longest measurement first, and their purpose is to provide an idea of the general size of the church to their colleagues in Europe. Since there is no rule forcing them to provide church measurements, we can assume that the missionaries wrote these measurements because they had something to prove. Otherwise, it would be safer to not mention anything.

Then, we have an image produced by the Kano family, titled 都の南蛮寺. It depicts the church of Kyoto built by Organtino Gnechi-Soldo and Dario Takayama in 1577, two years before the arrival of Valignano (Figure 1).

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<sup>12</sup> “Até 27 da lua de junho andaram a fazer huma casa de oito braças e meia de comprido e seis de largo.” Duarte da Silva, Letter from Yamaguchi, July-August 1555, transcribed in Ruiz de Medina, *Documentos del Japon 1549-1557*, p. 512. The term “braça” (Portuguese fathom) is a Portuguese measurement unit, approximately 220 cm (+/- 1cm). But since there are many references to the use of tatami in churches (see Appendix C), it is extremely likely that the churches were built according to Japanese measurement systems, and that the missionaries are simply providing the approximate size in “braças” so that the European audience could have an idea of the size of the church.

<sup>13</sup> “E defronte delle está a igreja, que hé passante de 7 braças de comprido e 5 e meya de largo...” Letter from Luis de Almeida, Yokoseura, 25 October 1562, transcribed in Ruiz de Medina, Juan G., *Documentos del Japon 1558-1562*, p. 572.

<sup>14</sup> “Hospedarão-nos junto da igreja que nesta fortaleza está, a qual hé de 9 braças de comprido e tres e meia de largo.” Fróis, Luis, Wicky, Josef. S. J. ed., *Historia de Japam* Vol. 2, Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1976-1984, p. 56.



Figure 1: close-up of the Jesuit church in Kyoto. Title of image: Miyako no Nanban-ji, Property of the Kobe City Museum (都の南蛮寺、神戸市立博物館蔵)

In the case of this church, known as Our Lady of Assumption, it was located in the first floor of a 3-floor building. The reason for building three floors is because the land lot was quite narrow. This work was pre-approved by the Superior Francisco Cabral, who donated 600 taels to help pay part of the construction works.<sup>15</sup> It was also praised by Valignano, calling it a “very noble” church, which was tall, and dominated all of the neighboring houses.<sup>16</sup> The building is clearly drawn with one of the sides longer than the other. Strangely, no doors or windows were drawn in the first floor. But next to the church building, there is another building from which women are exiting, and which appears to be the guest rooms. Since the space between the church and these guest rooms is narrow, it does not make sense to have the main entrance of the church facing towards the guest rooms, in such a reduced space.

If we consider that the Jesuits were practical people, and fond of adopting practical solutions, then the church entrance should be located in one of the narrow sides of the building, where there is more space to have a churchyard, allowing more people to gather before entering. This solution would also make it easier to do religious processions inside the land plot around the church. In this sense, my interpretation differs from the one made by the scholar Arimura Rie, who looked at the same image, and interpreted it as representing a church oriented in the same way as Japanese temples.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Fróis, Luis, Wicky, Josef. S. J. ed., *Historia de Japam* Vol. 2, pp. 432-437.

<sup>16</sup> “...hicieron en Miyako, apesar de todos los gentiles, que procuraron quanto pudieron estorbarlo, una casa con una iglesia muy noble, y domina todas las casas que le están alderredor...” Alessandro Valignano, Reply to Claudio Aquaviva, 1586-12-20, *Códice Sardá*, Mss. Of *Historia de Japam*, Terceira parte, fols. 349v-360r, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, José Luis. Ed. *Sumario de las cosas de Japón (1583) ; Adiciones del Sumario de Japón (1592)*. Tokyo : Sophia University, 1954, pp. 279-280.

<sup>17</sup> Arimura, Rie. "The Catholic Architecture of Early Modern Japan: Between Adaptation and Christian Identity." *Japan Review* no. 27 (2014), p. 67.



There are a few other byobu which seem to depict Jesuit churches during the 1580s and 1590s (Appendix B). These ones are respectively the byobu attributed to Kano Naizen held by the Kobe City Museum, and the Namban byobu held by the Kyushu National Museum (Figures 2 and 3). Regarding the Kano Naizen byobu, it was also presented in the thesis of Carla Tronu. As we can see in the image, although the roof has a longitudinal shape, the internal space is only half of the depth of the roof. Carla Tronu, looking at the roof shape, cautiously assumed that the church building had a longitudinal shape. I share the same opinion, except that I feel no hesitations or reservations. If it is true that this byobu was painted by Kano Naizen himself, then we must assume that he was a skillful painter, and that if he wanted to, he could easily paint a building with the correct proportions, both inside and outside. Therefore, the choice to draw the internal space of the church with half of the depth of the roof is a stylistic/artistic choice, and not the result of artistic inability. It is clear to me that Naizen wanted to show the actions that were taking place inside the church, and therefore deformed the internal space, so that he could show the altar, image, and religious rites.

There is one possible counter-argument: that behind the church space, there were other rooms, such as a sacristy, or rooms for a priest to live. But we do not see any sliding doors near the altar, and there is already a large 2-floor building next to the church, which is the Jesuit Residence (please see Appendix B). Things such as the sacristy (which is usually very small) or other rooms could easily be included in the main building, instead of the church. And the scale of the internal space of the church is simply too small to be realistic. Therefore, I believe that if this painting represents a real church, then its internal space would have been deeper in reality.

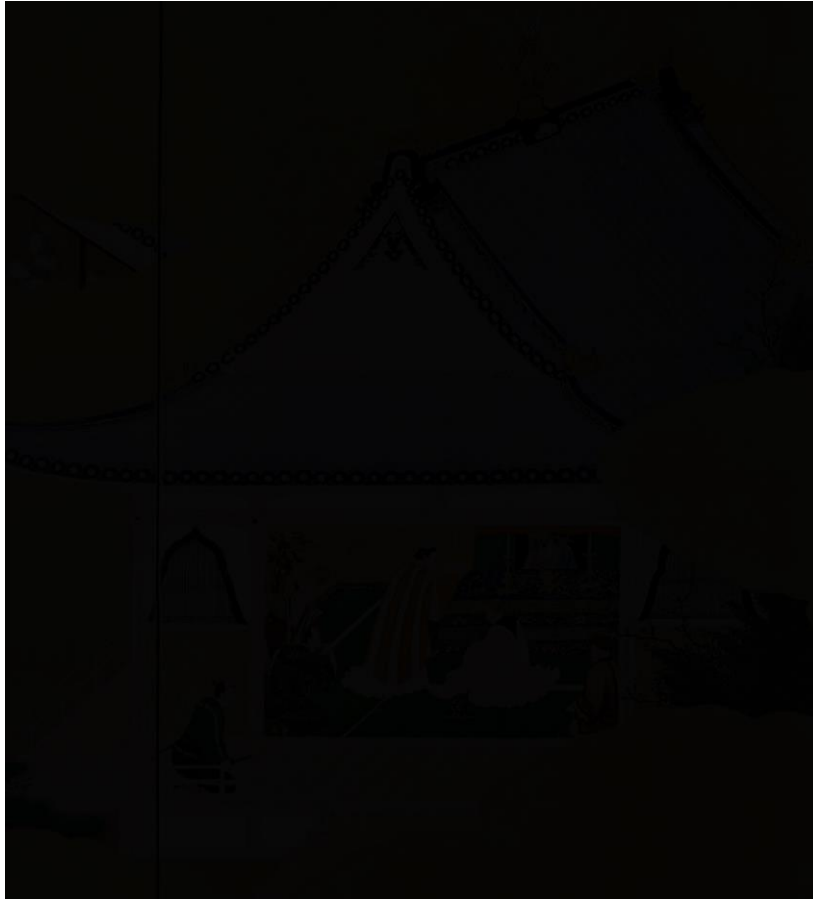


Figure 2: close-up of a Namban byōbu held by the Kobe City Museum, attributed to Kano Naizen (南蛮屏風、神戸市立博物館蔵)



Figure 3: close-up of a Namban byōbu held by the Kyushu National Museum (唐船・南蛮船図屏風、九州国立博物館蔵)

The final argument that supports the existence of churches with longitudinal floor plans is based on the notion of visibility of the religious image. To be more specific, the Christians who attend mass should be able to see the religious image properly. This also

agrees with the main decisions by the Council of Trent, which encouraged the reduction of architectural barriers, allowing people to see the priest and the Blessed Sacrament clearly. There is a document written by Luis Frois in 1586, where he explains a number of differences between the Japanese and the Europeans. In one sentence, he explains that most of the religious images used in Christian churches are retables with paintings, but in the temples of Japanese monks all of the images are actually statues. And that while statues in European churches are often made with the same proportions as a human, in Japan some statues are so large that they look like giants.<sup>18</sup>

Therefore, inside the space of a church or temple, there is an important difference between a two-dimensional image and a three-dimensional statue. During the early centuries of the European church (3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> centuries), there were many Roman basilicas with the shape of a circle or a square that were used as churches. In the study made by Alexandra Chavarría Arnau, about the architecture of Christian churches from the early origins until the year 1000, she provides a few examples of basilicas with square or circular shape: the episcopal complex of Treviri (4<sup>th</sup> century), San Lorenzo in Milan, the Basilica of San Gereon in Cologne (Köln, Germany), Santo Stefano Rotondo in Rome, Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (Turkey), San Vitale in Ravenna (Italy), or Santa Sofia in Benevento, among other cases. Arnau calls this typology of churches as “central floor plan”.<sup>19</sup> Not all of these churches were expanded to receive more people, but when one of them was extended, it was always done in the direction facing the altar, creating a longitudinal space. So it was possible to perform liturgical rites in a church with a central floor plan, as long as there were not too many people attending. If the number of attendants grew, then the church would expand longitudinally.

Now, we will consider the reuse of Japanese temples as churches. In many of these cases, the villages were small and the Christian communities were small as well. The Jesuits did not have enough money or manpower to rebuild every temple, and there may be cases in which the topography did not make it possible to change the orientation of the temple. If we have a temple of medium or small dimensions, then it is possible for

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<sup>18</sup> “As nossas imagens pola maior parte são de retábulos pintados; nas varelas dos bonzos todas as imagens são de vulto. Nós usamos nas imagens de diversas pinturas; eles douram as suas todas d'alt'a baxo. As nossas são proporcionadas todas à estatura dos homens; algumas das suas tão grandes que parecem gigantes.” Luis Frois, *Tratado em que se contam muito susinta e abreviadamente algumas contradições e diferenças antre a gente de Europa e esta Província de Japão*, 1585, transcribed in Garcia, José Manuel, *Europa/Japão: um diálogo civilizacional no século XVI*, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1993, p. 98.

<sup>19</sup> Arnau, Alexandra Chavarría. *Archeologia Delle Chiese: Dalle Origini all'Anno Mille*. Roma: Carocci Editore, 2009, pp 54-60.

the attendants to be close to the altar and the religious image. But if the building is expanded sideways, and it is crowded with Christians, then the visibility of the religious image from each side becomes increasingly worse (Figure 4).

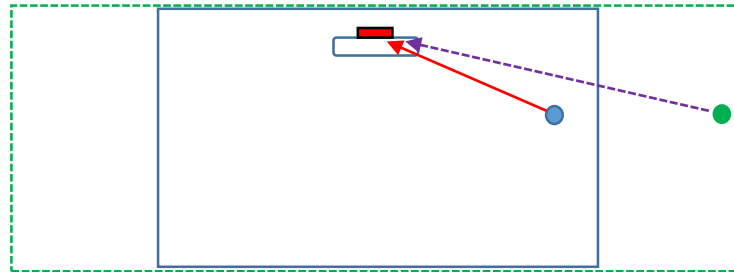


Figure 4: Visibility of a two-dimensional religious image in a non-longitudinal floor plan (横軸方向プラン). The red rectangle represents the religious image next to the altar. The blue and green circles represent a person.

Based on this schematic diagram, it is much easier to see a statue from the sides of a temple than a two-dimensional religious image. But when the Christian community grew bigger, it makes sense to request that community to contribute to the construction of a new, better church. In this case, we can mention the example of the first church of Nagasaki, Todos os Santos. It was originally the family temple of Nagasaki Jinzaemon Sumikage, who was already a Christian when the Jesuit Gaspar Vilela arrived at the castle town to preach to the population. Jinzaemon immediately gave him the family temple for him to establish a church, but Vilela delayed the process, because he saw that “there were no Christians to occupy it”. So Vilela used the temple as his personal house, spent a year preaching to the population, until he had finally baptized almost all of them. Then, he finally mobilized the inhabitants to dismantle the temple and use the materials to build a church. Once the church was built, the community went to burn other temples in the vicinities.<sup>20</sup> As Carla Tronu noted, engaging the locals to rebuild their own church was a useful tactic to reinforce their sense of unity as a Christian community.

So it seems that at least some Jesuits such as Vilela felt that the layout of Japanese

<sup>20</sup> “He este lugar grãde e fresco de que he senhor hum fidalgo Christão vassallo do Iffante dō Bertolameu, chegando la me aposentei num pagode, o qual este fidalgo deu pera delle se fazer igreja; mas dissimulei com isso ate aver Christãos que o povoassem (...) Neste anno de senta e nove, desmanchei o pagode que o fidalgo me tinha dado, & delle fiz hua igreja muito fresca, ainda que pobre a honra de todos os Santos...” Gaspar Vilela, Letter from 4 February 1571, Goa, transcribed in Lira, Manuel de. *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India & Europa des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580...* Evora: 1598, fol. 303v.

temples posed a problem, otherwise he would simply use the space without modifications.

Therefore, based on all of the assumptions mentioned above, we can hypothesize that there were indeed some Jesuit churches with longitudinal floor plans before the arrival of Valignano.

### 3.3. Important Elements of the Religious “Christian Space”

The first reference to the existence of an altar can be found in the church of Yamaguchi in 1553. Once a month, the Jesuits scheduled one day in which the Christians would prepare food to feed poor people. This common meal took place inside the church, and was meant to reinforce the sense of union among Christians. On Easter Day, after the mass, a common meal was again prepared by the Christians. At the same time, a blue cloth was placed in front of the altar, with two candles. This cloth symbolized a tomb or a grave, and everyone was asked to pray for the souls of their ancestors.<sup>21</sup> There was also a tomb placed in the middle of the church of Funai in November 1555, with four candles, one candle in each corner of the tomb, to remind everyone that they will die one day. It is also used to teach them about the Christian concepts of death and hell.<sup>22</sup> Back in Yamaguchi during November 1556, there was also a tomb in the middle of the church with a black cloth covering it, which was used also to remind the Christians about their future death, and to pray for the souls of those who died as Christians (in other words, it served as a “memento mori”).

In 1557, we find the first references to the construction of a temporary structure called sepulcher (幕屋) during Easter. This took place in the church of Funai. This temporary structure was placed in a location which was called “cruzeiro” (交差部). In European churches, the “cruzeiro” or crossing is the part that separates the chorum (内陣) from the area used by lay people. The sepulcher was used to contain the Blessed Sacrament (聖体) and symbolizes the death of Jesus. The main chapel was quite small, so it was easily covered with black cloths or curtains, and decorated with burning candles. During this 3-day period, there was a small secondary altar set up outside of the main chapel and its

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<sup>21</sup> “Dia de Pascoa, depois de dita a missa, deram os christãos de comer a quantos pobres acharão na terra, e comerão aqui em nossa casa, e assi lhes dão de comer cada mes huma vez, como já tenho dito, e naquelle dia que lhes dão de comer se põem hum pano azul, a maneira de sepultura, e duas candeas diante do altar, e o Padre diz hum responso, e os christãos rezão outro polos seus defuntos.” Pedro de Alcáçova, letter from Goa, 東京大学史料編纂所、『日本関係海外史料 イエズス会日本書翰集 原文編之二』, p. 158.

<sup>22</sup> 東京大学史料編纂所、『日本関係海外史料 イエズス会日本書翰集 原文編之二』, pp. 240-241.

black curtains, where the choir would sing religious songs. And when it was time to represent the resurrection of Christ, the black curtains were suddenly pulled down, revealing a beautifully decorated main chapel. Since the Christians had been encouraged to feel sorrow for several days, and to meditate on the tortures of Jesus Christ, this immediate unveiling of the decorated chapel at the most critical moment of the ceremony had a strong emotional effect on the audience.<sup>23</sup> There are other reports stating that this kind of Easter ceremony was repeated in other churches: Funai in 1561,<sup>24</sup> Yokoseura in 1563,<sup>25</sup> and Shiki in 1570.<sup>26</sup>

As can be seen from these examples, since the beginning of the Japanese mission there was a strong focus on the aspect of death and the afterlife, symbolized by simple objects such as cloths, curtains, tombs, candles and temporary structures such as the Easter Sepulcher.

An indispensable element for celebrating mass was the portable altar. The first explicit reference that we find about it comes from Gaspar Coelho in 1577, as it is written that he carried a portable altar to celebrate mass in remote villages. The religious scholar Josef Wicky commented this passage by mentioning that the Jesuits were allowed, by special privilege, to celebrate mass with a portable altar, which was against the rules set by the Council of Trent. This was already the case in India, and so portable altars were being used at the beginning of the Japanese mission.<sup>27</sup>

The missionaries also brought from the start a small amount of religious objects or ornaments. Already in 1554, a large amount of religious clothes and ornaments is shipped from India to Japan. The main objects mentioned in the list were several antependium (祭壇の前飾り), silver and gold chalices (聖杯), small altar stones (メンサ・小板石), silk curtains, a silver cross, large crucifixes for processions (磔刑像), retables with images of saints (聖龕), a pillow with gilded embroidery, two iron shelves which are used as altars, carpets, rugs, a church bell, wax candles, cloths in which the mysteries of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ were painted (イエズスの復活の秘跡が描いている布),

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<sup>23</sup> All of these details are narrated in 東京大学史料編纂所、『日本関係海外史料 イエズス会日本書翰集 原文編之三』, pp. 44-47.

<sup>24</sup> Juan Fernandez, Letter from Funai, 1561-10-08, transcribed in Ruiz de Medina, *Documentos del Japon, 1558-1562*, p. 426.

<sup>25</sup> Lira, Manuel de. Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India & Europa des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580... Evora: 1598, fol. 121r.

<sup>26</sup> Copia de una carta de Miguel Vaz, Shiki, 1570, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Cortes, 09/02663, Mss., fol. 13r.

<sup>27</sup> Fróis, Luis, Wicky, Josef. S. J. ed., Historia de Japam Vol. 2, p. 500.

glass bowls, glass lamps (ランプ), candlesticks (燭台) and holy water stoups (聖水盤).<sup>28</sup>

As the studies of Arimura Rie have made clear,<sup>29</sup> the internal space of churches was rich in decoration, with objects originally manufactured in several parts of Europe, Middle East, and Asia. Of course, not all churches were able to have beautiful decoration. In smaller churches such as Todos-os-Santos in 1569, the amount of decorative objects was probably very limited, since Vilela calls it a “poor-looking” church.<sup>30</sup> But whenever possible, it was important to decorate the altar and the church in a dignified manner. In the Easter of 1563 in Yokoseura, the Jesuit Luis de Almeida came to help prepare the temporary structure of the sepulcher and decorate the church. He admitted that although the final result was quite solemn, devout and “fresh-looking” (i.e., looking brand-new, full of vitality), it was merely the best that they could do, because they did not have many religious ornaments at their disposal.<sup>31</sup>

As Arimura Rie mentioned in her study, the decoration gave a unique look to the internal space. But another aspect of the decoration, which I believe to be just as important or even more, is the aspect of moral education by images or narrative. In Funai, Bungo, during the Easter of 1561, the Jesuit Duarte da Silva prepared several paintings, in which each of them depicted one of the mysteries of the Passion of Christ. The church was decorated with black Roman arches (which symbolized the space in which Jesus was tortured and sentenced to death). The paintings with Passion mysteries were placed on top of each arch. Next to each mystery, there was a label which explained the meaning of the mystery in Portuguese and Japanese language. Inside the church, one boy, who carried a cross, explained to everyone the mystery associated with the cross symbol, which caused a great deal of emotion and many tears among the Christians. These paintings were later carried by several boys in a religious procession from the church towards a large cross. Around the temporary structure of the sepulcher, there were many fresh-looking trees (probably symbolizing the Garden of Gethsemane, where Jesus prayed a few days before being crucified). During the whole process of the ceremonies inside the church and in the processions outside the church, certain Christians would play character roles, by telling the story of Jesus’ crucifixion: some people would speak lines from the Bible, while others replied in the appropriate manner. There were also

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<sup>28</sup> 東京大学史料編纂所、『日本関係海外史料 イエズス会日本書翰集 原文編之二』, pp. 167-177.

<sup>29</sup> See the “Introduction” section.

<sup>30</sup> See note 19.

<sup>31</sup> Lira, Manuel de. *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India & Europa des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580...* Evora: 1598, fol. 120v.

moments in the procession when everyone would flagellate themselves (自己刑罰).

As we can see from the example above, the space of the church was used as a sort of theatrical stage, which mixed paintings with religious messages, temporary structures and holy objects such as the cross, singing and speaking in a premeditated manner. The main objectives were: to make the audience relive the drama and suffering of Jesus in his final days; provoke a strong emotional reaction among the Christians; and persuade them to reconsider their notions of morality, since Japanese morality was extremely different from European morality. We have another reference to the use of Roman arches to decorate the church of Takushima 度島 in the Easter of 1565.<sup>32</sup> And especially from the 1580's onwards, the financial contribution of rich lords such as Otomo Sorin helped to make the Easter celebrations even more impressive and lavish, with large temporary sepulchres and other impressive decorative elements, as will be mentioned in the next chapter.

### 3.4. Japan as a “Primitive Church”

The period known as “Primitive Church” or “Early Christianity” (初代教会) was the period before 325 A.D., in which the early Apostles or Christian Bishops spread from Jerusalem to several regions, spreading the word of the Gospel and facing persecution from the authorities. As mentioned by Alexandra Arnau, in these early times there were no churches, in the sense of buildings with a specific typology and architectural characteristics. What mattered to the Christians, was not the characteristics of the meeting place, but the simple fact of meeting with each other, or gathering in a single place. This is the original meaning of the term “ecclesia”, which is “assembly of faithful” or “gathering of believers”. Only after the third century this term is used to designate the building where Christians meet, and in this first stage, there was no particular type of building preferred by Christians.<sup>33</sup> Later, they came to prefer the typology of the basilica (which often functioned as a court) because of its ability to gather a large amount of people, and for being located in the central areas of the city.

If we look at the religious books printed by the Jesuits in Japan from 1590 onwards, the term “ecclesia” is used most of the time with the primary meaning of “group of Christians”, or with the meaning of “Roman Catholic Church” (the central authority of Rome). The meaning of “ecclesia” as a religious building is secondary, and does not

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<sup>32</sup> Fróis, Luis, Wicky, Josef. S. J. ed., *Historia de Japam* Vol. II, Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1976-1984, p. 82.

<sup>33</sup> Arnau, Alexandra Chavarría, *op.cit.*, pp 47-48.



appear as often as the other two meanings.

Another important aspect of the early church (and the following centuries) was the cult of the relics of martyrs, and the development of what is known as “seasonal liturgy” or “season days” especially from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards. “Station Days” were specific days in which people fastened, and did processions across the city, visiting different churches or important locations. The term “station” (十字架の道行の留) essentially means the “path of the Cross”. According to Arnau, the first evidences of a seasonal liturgy or a system of “stations” appears in Jerusalem during the early 4<sup>th</sup> century. Judging from historical records, it seems that the community walked in procession through the places of the city related to the life and death of Jesus Christ in order to celebrate his memory. The main places in this itinerary were the Holy Sepulcher, the church of Sion, Bethlehem, the churches of Eleona and Imbomon, and the area of Gethsemane near the Mount of Olives. These processions took place mainly during the Easter season, as a preparation for the Eucharist. This system was then transported into other cities, becoming especially popular in Constantinople, the capital of the Bizantine Empire.<sup>34</sup>

Going back to Japan, the Jesuits often made references to Japan as being similar to a primitive church, judging by the devotion of the Christians, their lack of knowledge about Christ, the persecutions and the cult of relics of martyrs. But it was especially Valignano who reinforced this aspect. In his book about the early years of the Society of Jesus in Japan, he wrote a long chapter defending that in many ways the missionary method of the Jesuits in Japan was similar to that of the Primitive Church during the Roman period.

His first argument was that one of the most common evangelization methods was to teach the children the full doctrine (教理), and to encourage them to walk to the public crosses while praying. He adds that it was common, before Hideyoshi's persecution, to raise crosses in high places where Christians lived, so that they could be seen from afar, and in fact we can find many examples of this in the raw data of Appendix C. In fact, some of the crosses were large enough to be used as reference points by Portuguese sailors in their navigation guides towards Japanese ports.<sup>35</sup>

Valignano further claims that in the same way as the Apostle Saint Paul (サン・パウロ) did in the times of the Primitive Church, the Jesuits focused their indoctrination efforts on teaching the Japanese about the mysteries of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ,

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<sup>34</sup> Arnau, Alexandra Chavarria, *op.cit.*, pp. 36-38.

<sup>35</sup> See アマロ・ベビオ「港市横瀬浦の都市史—キリシタン集落と教会を中心に」『都市史研究』都市史学会（編）、山川出版社、2014, pp. 22-41.

his suffering, death and resurrection. This was done by encouraging the Japanese to perform acts of penance and self-flagellation both inside the church and during processions, in which the procession path would be covered with blood.<sup>36</sup> In other words, this procession path was an imitation of the processions in the “liturgical seasons”.

Regarding the topic of self-flagellation, Valignano stresses the fact that unlike other parts of the world, Japanese women would do the same types of self-flagellation as men inside the church, because Japanese clothes were designed in a way that allowed each person to easily pull their arms inside, and pull the clothes so that only the back part is left exposed. All of this was done by the Christian without moving from his/her sitting place, or releasing any belts, and so they can whip their backs easily without exposing the rest of their body. After whipping their backs (probably being careful enough not to shed blood on the floor), each person can just as easily put their clothes back into their original position.<sup>37</sup> He is quick to point out though that women did these acts of self-flagellation because they were separated from men by a wooden wall that passed through the middle of the church, going through all of its length (i.e., from the chapel to the main door, passing all the way through the middle of the nave). Women stayed in one half and the men in another, without any of them seeing each other, and the access doors were different for men and women. He then quotes a number of classical authors in Latin, to explain how in early churches, there was the same kind of dividing wall through the middle of the church to separate men and women, with separate access doors.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> “Para q los niños y los christianos se afficionassen a la Cruz, passion y muerte de nuestro Sôr, allede de los P.<sup>es</sup> los acostumar a ir visitando, y rezando por las Cruces (q usarõ siempre antes que viniesse esta persecución universal de levantar en lugares altos en todas las partes adõ avia christianos para q de lexos se viessê)...” Alessandro Valignano, Nagasaki, 1601, “Del principio, y progresso de la Religion Christiana en Jappon, y de la especial providencia de que Nuestro Señor usa cõ aquella nueva Iglesia”, British Library Manuscript Collection, B.L. Mss. Add. 9857, fol. 73v-75v.

<sup>37</sup> “Y lo que es mas para notar q no solo hazen en la Iglesia estas disciplinas los hombres, mas tambiê las mugeres haziendose en Japon cõ mucha facelidad y decençia, ansi porq su manera de vestir es tal q sin moverse de su lugar, ni soltar cinto, ni otra ninguna cosa, ê un momento echã los brazos fuera de sus vestidos quedando cõ las cuestras en q se açotan descubiertas: y cõ la misma presteza tornã a meter los braços dentro y quedan como primero vestidos...” Alessandro Valignano, *op. cit.*, fol. 75r.

<sup>38</sup> “...como tambiê porq los hombres en la Iglesia estan del todo apartados de las mugeres cõ un repartimiento de madera q vá corriendo por el largo de la Iglesia, quedando de una parte los hombres, y de otra las mugeres sin se ver unos a otros; y entran en la Iglesia por diferentes puertas, en lo qual los P.<sup>es</sup> guardan en Japon la misma orden que se guardava en la primitiva Iglesia, de lo qual hablando Baronio dize estas palabras. Sed quod ad antiquum Ecclesia partium usum spectat, nec illud dicere praetermittimus, sicut olim in templo Hierosolimitano (quod attigimus superius) loco distincti erant sacerdotes a populo; viri a mulieribus; ita eodem fere ordine et dispensatione christianorû Ecclesys cum agerentur sacri conventus erat fideles ab

We can certainly confirm that separating men and women inside the church (to avoid lustful thoughts) was definitely a concern for Jesuits, even before arriving in Japan. There was a dividing wall in the Jesuit church of Goa, India, in 1554.<sup>39</sup> However, men and women in Japan were not always separate from each other, and when they were, it was not always done by placing a dividing wall in the middle. We can confirm the following cases of separate areas for men and women in the first decades of the Japanese mission:

- Funai in 1557: men did self-flagellation inside the main body of the church, but women did self-flagellation in a room specifically assigned for them, with the doors closed. This room was probably attached to the church.<sup>40</sup>
- Hirado in 1559: when children go to learn the doctrine at the church, the boys sit in one part of the church, and girls sit in the other (opposite) part.<sup>41</sup>
- Ikitsukijima in 1561: this church appears to be a former Japanese temple, although the text is not clear. Since most of the internal space of the church was filled with women, one of the patios outside the church was filled with tatami so that the rest of the men could sit there and listen to the preacher.<sup>42</sup>

The existence of separate spaces for men and women, with separate entrance doors, will once again be mentioned in the churches of Nagasaki, in the late 1590s. In the above examples, there are no references to the existence of separate doors.

Finally, Valignano states that just like in the times of the Primitive church, the

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invicem locorū differentiys separaty. Y alega cō S. Clemente diziendo ansi. Ait enim, Ecclesiā construi solita longo situ instar navis in eius medio (quod gremi-<sup>o</sup> dicimus) Episcopus una cum clero ad utrēque latus posito sedeat ex altera Ecclesiae parte viri, ex altera vero manerent mulieres, & sicut loco ab invicem distincti erant, eodem quoque modo portae ut qua viri ingrederentur diserata esset ab ea, quae, feminis tantū pateret: et sicut virorū portae ostiarius praererat; ita Diaconissae demandata erat cura portae mulierū.” Alessandro Valignano, *op. cit.*, fol, 75r.

<sup>39</sup> 東京大学史料編纂所、『日本関係海外史料 イエズス会日本書翰集 原文編之二』, p. 127.

<sup>40</sup> “...se disciplinão os homens no corpo da igreya e as molheres em hum repartimento por ssi com suas portas fechadas...” 東京大学史料編纂所、『日本関係海外史料 イエズス会日本書翰集 原文編之三』, p. 42, 182.

<sup>41</sup> “...e chamados todos se ajuntão em a igreja, donde estão os moços a huma parte, e as moças a outra, e o Padre e o Irmão estão de fronte delles...” 東京大学史料編纂所、『日本関係海外史料 イエズス会日本書翰集 原文編之三』, p. 170.

<sup>42</sup> “E assim se fez com muito discurso de jente, tanto que se enchia a maior parte da igreja sóo com has molheres. E pera se acabarem de aguazalhar hos homens ordenarão esteirar hum pateo donde ouvião muito bem a pregação.” Luis de Almeida, 1561-10-01, transcribed in Ruiz de Medina, *Documentos del Japon 1558-1562*, p. 386.

Japanese feel the highest devotion to the sacraments of confession and Eucharist, coming in large numbers to the church to experience these rites, and occupying all of the priests' free time with this.<sup>43</sup>

One final aspect is the destruction of Japanese religious symbols and objects. Having searched for explicit references to the usage of Japanese temples without destroying/removing devotional objects (ex: Buddha statues, books of the sutra, images, etc), none were found. On the contrary, there are countless references not only to the destruction of Japanese temples, but especially to the destruction of Japanese religious symbols. A representative example comes from Gaspar Vilela in Ikitsukijima in 1558: the lord of that island, Koteda Yasutsune, came in person with Vilela to burn all of the religious objects and structures ("pagodes") in the island, although he converted the temples or monasteries into churches. This is probably because all of the Buddhist monks, who took care of those temples, also converted to Christian religion, and so they were left to take care of the churches in the same way as when they were temples. Vilela put crosses and Christian religious images inside the churches, in which he celebrated mass. Besides the conversion of these temples, Koteda also built a brand new church for Vilela.<sup>44</sup>

Translating directly from the original text, it says:

*"He [Koteda] was the one who walked together with the priest through the villages, preaching and telling them [the villagers] to convert, and in the houses which used to belong to the "pagodas" [i.e., Japanese gods], he would take out the idols [偶像], and they [the temples] would become churches with a cross; they made cemeteries in some places for those who died, with their large crosses. And in order for this work to be Christian in all possible ways, they burned both small and large idols, because their ministers [i.e., monks] also became Christians."*<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Alessandro Valignano, *op. cit.*, fol, 76r.

<sup>44</sup> "...toda a gente que nellas avia se fez christã, por elle [Koteda] folgar com isto, indo elle mesmo em pessoa ajudando a queimar os pagodes, e as varelas mudou em igrejas. Tambem os ministros se fizeram christãos, os quais tem cuidado dellas, como dantes quando tinham seus pagodes. E puserão em as igrejas cruces, e imagens, em as quais disse o Padre Gaspar Vilela ja missa, e assi tam bem disse missa em huma casa nova, que fizera Dom Antonio..." Letter from Baltazar Gago, 1559-11-01, 東京大学史料編纂所、『日本関係海外史料 イエズス会日本書翰集 原文編之三』, p. 171.

<sup>45</sup> "E no ano de 58 fez este christão a induzimento do Padre os seus lavradores e alguns criados que ainda o não erão e toda sua casa que tera 1,500 almas christãos sogeitas a este Dom Antonio pouco mais ou menos. Elle era o que andava com o Padre polas aldeas, pregandolhe e indozindo-os que se converteçem, e as casas que erão de pagodes, tirava os ydolos, e ficavam igrejas com [a] cruz, e fizeram terrantorios em alguns

The focus on destroying devotional objects from other religions comes from the first commandment (戒律) of the Hebrew Bible: “thou shalt have no other gods before me”, or in other words, “you shall have no other gods besides me”. Idolatry is the act of honoring or worshipping any created object/thing. But this refers to physical objects which are representations of a god or deity, including statues, or sacred books, or sacred paintings. Therefore, if the shape of a katoumado (花頭窓) is not a representation of a deity, and is not an object of direct worship, then it is not considered idolatry. It was also acceptable for Christians to discuss fictional stories featuring animals or other mythical creatures, as long as these mythical creatures were not deities. For example, the Jesuits themselves published in Japan a religious book with the Japanese translation of Aesop’s Fables (イソップ寓話). Fables and other sorts of folk Japanese/Asian tales could be excellent ways to teach certain aspects of morality to the Japanese, and therefore these elements were not discouraged in Christian faith, but actually encouraged. In the next chapter, we will see the example of a fountain designed by a Chinese man for the Easter celebrations in the church of Bungo during the 1580s, which includes elements of a Chinese folk tale.

### 3.5. Summary

In this chapter, we reviewed some of the main aspects of Jesuit architecture in Japan before the establishment of Nagasaki. First, most of the Jesuit churches were poor or unimpressive. There are three cases of churches built in 1564 and 1565 which are considered to be of good quality, but these were the exceptions, and not the rule.<sup>46</sup> Of all of these, the most interesting one is the church in Usuki, built by Otomo Sorin. It was considered the finest church of Japan at the time, although it was small. It had a separate zashiki room attached to the church, which was especially reserved for Sorin. Because the church was located next to Sorin’s fortress and next to the sea, it was necessary to put landfill so that there was enough land for the church.<sup>47</sup> We will later

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lugares, para os que morressem com suas cruces grandes arvoradas. E para que esta obra fosse de todos 4 costados christãa, queimarão os ydolos pequenos e grandes porque tão bem os seus ministros se fizeram christãos.” Letter from Baltazar Gago, 1559-11-01, 東京大学史料編纂所、『日本関係海外史料 イエズス会日本書翰集 原文編之三』, p. 200.

<sup>46</sup> 天門寺 in Hirado, and two brand-new churches in Usuki and Okayama: see the Timeline for Religious Spaces in Japan, Appendix C.

<sup>47</sup> “por ser lugar que havia mester ser bem fundado, elle e hum fidalgo principal, regedor da terra, nosso amigo, se offerecerão a fazer o entulho, como de feito fizeram, que era junto do mar, mandando muita gente a trabalhar na obra. E depois por ordem do P.e Cosme de Torres fizemos alli a melhor igreja que então havia em Japão, posto que pequena, com seo zaxiqui, id est, camara, muito limpa e bem consertada para

see Sorin's influence in Valignano's policies around 1580: Valignano explicitly recommended the existence of lateral zashiki in Jesuit churches.

Another main point is the widespread use of private houses or temples as churches. In the early years, it was very common to use private houses, because the missionaries did not have much support from Japanese lords (Ouchi Yoshinaga and Otomo Sorin were the only exceptions). But as soon as Omura Sumitada and other lords convert to Christianity, the number of reused temples begins to rapidly increase; this is because the missionaries had to baptize the local people in a short time frame, and there was not enough time, money or manpower to build new churches. In the first 15 years, more than half of Jesuit churches were actually former temples, reused with little or no architectural modifications. But in all of these cases, any religious symbol in those temples was removed or destroyed.

The second most common type of church was the one made with brand-new materials, which could only be done when there were financial means and enough manpower, or when the Christian community had become stabilized and consolidated. As a result, the term 寺 was just as valid as the terms "ecclesia/igreja/iglesia".

Despite this predominance of temples, I argued that newly-built churches probably had longitudinal floor plans. As I argued in a previous study, the Jesuits discussed many times possible obstacles to the conversion of the Japanese, and the records of those meetings never show that longitudinal spaces were an obstacle to that conversion. In fact, the main obstacles were the lack of cleanliness in Jesuit houses, or certain ritual gestures which the Japanese found offensive.<sup>48</sup>

Another aspect is the importance of decoration, not only to affirm a unique Christian identity, but also to teach European moral values (or to be more correct, Judeo-Christian ethical values) to the Japanese. Among these values, there was a strong focus on praying for the deceased, and to experience the suffering, death and resurrection of Christ.

In terms of the internal space of the church, there was some concern with separating men and women, although it seems that this was not enforced in a consistent manner until the early seventeenth century.

The final aspect is that of idolatry. In this case, the Jesuits focused on destroying objects which were direct representations of deities, or which were considered "holy", while encouraging the use of elements from European, Chinese and Japanese folk tales or fables.

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agazalhar el-rey quando alli se quizesse vir recrear." Fróis, Luis, Wicky, Josef. S. J. ed., *Historia de Japam* Vol. 2, p. 62.

<sup>48</sup> アマロ・ベビオ, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

All of these events took place in a context of wars, rebellions, persecutions and natural disasters, which made it very difficult for the Jesuits to progress in their efforts to Christianize Japan, or to build impressive churches. This also explains why Jesuit architecture tended to be “ephemeral” or temporary, because it was produced under very unstable conditions.

## 4. EARLY CHRISTIAN FACILITIES IN NAGASAKI PORT (1569-1587)

### 4.1. Historical Context

In the previous chapters, we provided a basic introduction to the Society of Jesus and its initial years in Japan. This section will merely provide a basic introduction to the establishment of the port of Nagasaki in 1571.<sup>1</sup> Until 1559, the Jesuits had focused most of their efforts in evangelizing the islands of Hirado, and the region of Bungo. But Cosme de Torres, the Superior of the Japanese Mission, had become disappointed with Otomo Sorin, because although he remained friends with the Jesuits, Sorin made no efforts to encourage his vassals to convert. As a result, the number of religious conversions in Bungo was very low. Furthermore, the lord of Hirado, Matsuura Takanobu, was making large profits from the arrival of Portuguese ships for trade, while causing problems for the Jesuits.

Torres wanted to divert the Portuguese ships from Hirado to other harbors where the lords were friendly to the Jesuits. So he requested Luis de Almeida to travel with a Christian from Miyako named Gonoe Bartolome, and find a good harbor along the coast of West Kyushu. Once they found that Yokoseura was a good possibility, both Almeida and Gonoe secretly traveled with the pilot of the Kurofune to measure the depth of the sea level and confirm if it was appropriate for the Kurofune to put its anchor. The pilot was satisfied with the natural conditions of the harbor, and so Gonoe Bartolome began negotiating with Omura Sumitada. Gonoe's approach was to convince Sumitada that, if he made friends with the Jesuits and encouraged his vassals to become Christians, he could gain considerable profits from the arrival of the Kurofune to his port every year.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For more detailed information about these events, see the following works: Pacheco, Diego. "The Founding of the Port of Nagasaki and its Cession to the Society of Jesus." *Monumenta Nipponica* 25, no. 3/4 (1970): pp. 303-323; アマロ・ベビオ「港市横瀬浦の都市史—キリシタン集落と教会を中心に」都市史研究, no. 1, 2014, pp. 22-41; アマロ・ベビオ・ヴィエイラ『都市長崎の成立に対する日本と西欧の貢献』修士論文、東京大学大学院工学系研究科建築学専攻、2012, pp. 50-72.

<sup>2</sup> “Y entendiendo que en un lugar llamado Yocoxiura, que está en las tierras de Omuradono, que aun entonces era un señor gentil, hermano del rey de Arima, estaba un puerto, pocas leguas lejos de Firando, determinó el Hermano Luis de Almeida de experimentar si era capaz para naos y se pudiese por esta vía abrir la puerta al santo Evangelio en aquellas tierras de Omura, y para eso aconsejó al piloto de la nave, que estaba entonces en Hirado, que fuese secretamente a ver y sondear el dicho puerto, y por él envió a Gonoye Bartolomé, que era un cristiano honrado de Miyako, del cual arriba hablamos, que se halló en este tiempo en las partes del Shimo, con el dicho Hermano y por ser hombre de negocio le encomendó que, hallandose aquel puerto capaz para naves, dejase volver al piloto para Hirado y él se fuese a Omura y tratase con



Sumitada agreed with the negotiation terms, and the port of Yokoseura was established in 1562. He also became very interested in Christian religion, and requested to be baptized in 1563 at Yokoseura. But shortly after his baptism there were a series of rebellions which led to the destruction of the port in late 1563. Since Sumitada had become the first Japanese Christian lord, he continued to support the Jesuits, and Torres continued his efforts to divert Portuguese ships from Hirado. A new, temporary port was established by Sumitada and Torres in Fukuda, which was very close to Nagasaki. In 1565, Matura sent a number of ships to attack Fukuda, hoping to steal the merchandise from the Kurofune, but the Portuguese won the battle with great difficulty.

As a result, Torres began to search for another harbor with better conditions for self-defense. At the same time, the Jesuits and Sumitada made efforts to gradually baptize his vassals who controlled the neighboring areas around Fukuda, in order to avoid the same rebellions that destroyed Yokoseura. In late 1567, Torres sent Luis de Almeida to visit Nagasaki-mura (長崎村), a castle-town (城下町) controlled by Nagasaki Jinzaemon Sumikage, who was already a Christian.

As a first step, Almeida baptized some of the higher-ranking noblemen and samurai, approximately 200 people. Then in 1568, Gaspar Vilela was sent to preach to the population of the castle-town. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Sumikage gave Vilela a “pagoda” (temple) for him to convert into a church. But since the population was not Christian yet, Vilela used the temple only as his personal house, while inviting the population to hear his preaching.<sup>3</sup> During the first preaching, the population was in considerably bad humor and with little or no interest in hearing him. But during the second preaching, they began to change their attitude, and quickly became devote Christians. Vilela was then invited by a lord of a nearby village to baptize his vassals.

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Omuradono y con algunos de sus regidores principales, dándoles a entender cuán fácilmente podrían hacer venir la nave de los portugueses a aquel puerto si hiciesen amistad con los Padres y si quisiesen ellos hacerse cristianos, y de cuánta comodidad y riqueza sería para sus tierras si la nave de los portugueses fuese cada año a su puerto.” Alessandro Valignano, “Del principio, y progreso de la Religion Christiana en Jappon, y de la especial providencia de que Nuestro Señor usa cō aquella nueua Iglesia”, excerpt transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L., *El Padre Viceprovincial Gaspar Coelho “Capitan de armas o pastor de almas”?*, in *Miscelánea Japónica III*, Osaka, 1980, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> “Em nayguayxequy he huã terra de hũ snõr sogeito a dom bertolameu, na qual terra se fez este Inverno pasado muyto fruto, por huũ Irmão que la mandou o p<sup>e</sup> cosme de torres, por que toda a gente principal se fez xpã, com obra - de - 200 - y despostos [?] estarão a se fazerê mais - 300 - mas o mesmo foy p q himdo lla o p<sup>e</sup> gp<sup>ar</sup> vilela, os fez xpãos na entrada do verão, tem sua Igreja y são firmes na fee, principalmente, os onrados, alem deste luguar, ha outros mais pequenos duas leguoas - huã legua, e ot<sup>a</sup> [?] legua - omde ha muytos xpãos, mas não tem Igreja.” Luis de Almeida, 1568-10-20, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 6, fol. 229r.

The name of the place is unknown, but according to Almeida, there were smaller villages within one or two Portuguese leagues of distance of Nagasaki with many Christians, but no church.<sup>4</sup>

In a similar manner, the Jesuit Melchior de Figueiredo, who was living in Fukuda, continued to baptize the neighboring lords to prevent rebellions. Nevertheless, during most of 1569 and 1570 Sumitada had to defend himself from several rebellions within other parts of his territory. This strategy of baptizing the lords of lands around the port had not taken place in the case of Yokoseura.

During 1569, Vilela had baptized about 400 to 600 people in Nagasaki-mura, although the entire population was approximately 1500.<sup>5</sup> But this number of converts was enough to rebuild the temple into a church.

*“...in this year of sixty-nine, I tore down the pagoda [Japanese temple] that the nobleman [Sumikage] had given me, and from it, I made a very fresh church [i.e., looking brand-new, full of vitality], although poor [i.e., poor-looking, lack of decorations or ornaments], in honor of All the Saints [i.e., Todos os Santos, 諸聖人], and as a result the [amount of] devotion in everyone was much higher (...) and in recognition of it [i.e., to honor the new church] they destroyed all the houses of pagodas [i.e., temples devoted to other deities] that existed around here (...) I washed the feet to twelve poor [people] in the middle of the church, while a Brother was preaching the Gospel of Saint John in their language [Japanese]...”<sup>6</sup>*

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<sup>4</sup> One Portuguese league is approximately 5555m. Almeida's quotation is included in Note 3.

<sup>5</sup> “No lugar de Nangaçáqui estive o anno de sesenta e nove & de setenta, por isso falarei delle mais em particular como testemunha de vista.” “He este lugar grãde e fresco de que he senhor hum fidalgo Christão vassallo do Iffante dõ Bertolameu, chegando la me aposentei num pagode, o qual este fidalgo deu pera delle se fazer igreja; mas dissimulei com isso ate aver Christãos que o povoassem, ajuntei todos os gentios da terra, que de bem ma vontade ouviraõ pregação a primeira vez, mas confiado na misericordia divina os ajuntei a segunda (...) que depois de muitas praticas, & perguntas que fizeraõ, entraraõ no conhecimento da verdade (...) bautizeios todos por vezes, ora dozentos, ora quatrocentos, de maneira que no primeiro anno chegaraõ a mil e quinhentos, por cujo exemplo se moveo outro fidalgo senhor de hum lugar vizinho a este, o qual mandandomo chamar se bautizou com grande copia de gente...” Gaspar Vilela, Letter from Goa, 1571-02-04, transcribed in Lira, Manuel de. Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India & Europa des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580... Evora: 1598, fol. 303v.

<sup>6</sup> “Neste anno de senta e nove, desmanchei o pagode que o fidalgo me tinha dado, & delle fiz hua igreja muito fresca, ainda que pobre a honra de todos os Santos, com a qual se acrescentou a devação de todos (...) & em reconhecimento della, destruirão todas as casas de pagodes que por aqui avia (...) lavei os pés a doze pobres no meo da

This new church was called Todos os Santos (トドス・オス・サントス), and was the first church of Nagasaki. This was confirmed by a 1612 letter from the Jesuit João Rodrigues Giram (who should not be confused with Rodrigues Tsuzzu).<sup>7</sup>

#### 4.2. Previous Religious Facilities in Nagasaki.

Unfortunately, Vilela never provided more information about these “houses of pagodas”, or to be more exact, the network of temple-shrines near the castle-town of Nagasaki-mura. Japanese documental sources are very scarce and most of the information is based on oral tradition, which was transcribed and compiled into texts from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. So among these compilations of Japanese sources, which are 長崎名勝図絵,<sup>8</sup> 長崎市史,<sup>9</sup> and 長崎志<sup>10</sup> there are some contradictions. These sources have been fully analyzed by groups of scholars attempting to produce comprehensive histories of the prefecture of Nagasaki.<sup>11</sup> The full list of possible pre-existing religious structures in Nagasaki Bay is as follows:

- Suwa Daimyojin 諏訪大明神
- Sumiyoshi Daimyojin 住吉大明神
- Morisaki Daigongen 森崎大権現<sup>12</sup> or perhaps Ebisu 恵比寿<sup>13</sup>
- Amaterasu Sume-ookami 天照皇大神<sup>14</sup>

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igreja, no qual tempo lhe lia um irmão em sua lingoa o Evangello de São Ioão...” Gaspar Vilela, Letter from Goa, 1571-02-04 (see the previous note).

<sup>7</sup> “A igreja e casa de Todos os Santos da Companhia está (...) em huma povoação que também se chama Nangasaqi, antes, hé o próprio Nangasaqi, que, por estar a dita cidade dentro de seu distrito, lhe deu o nome de Nangasaqi. Hé esta igreja antiga, e a primeira que se alevantou nesta terra, e também das primeiras que se alevantaram nas demais terras de Vomura-dono que desta foi senhor...” Joam Rodriguez Giram, Letter from Nagasaki, 1612-03-10, Jap. Sin 57, fol. 178, transcribed in Schutte, Josef. *Introductio Ad Historiam Societatis Jesu In Japonia (1549-1650)*, Institutum Historicum Soc. Jesu, 1967, Rome, p. 717.

<sup>8</sup> 長崎史談会 (編)『長崎名勝図絵』長崎史談会, 1931, p. 381.

<sup>9</sup> 長崎市役所 (編)『長崎市史 地誌編 神社教會部 (上)』長崎市, 1929, p. 20.

<sup>10</sup> 田辺茂啓 (編)『長崎志 (正編)』長崎文庫刊行会, 1928, pp. 117-119.

<sup>11</sup> 長崎市総務部調査統計課『長崎市制六十五年史』長崎, 長崎市総務部調査統計課, 1956; 平凡社地方資料センター『長崎県の地名』日本歴史地名大系 / 平凡社 [編]. 東京, 平凡社, 2001.

<sup>12</sup> 越中哲也「長崎諏訪神社内に祀られている森崎社についての一考察」長崎談叢第八八号, 1999, pp. 13-44.

<sup>13</sup> 大神照彦『諏訪・森崎・住吉三社の御神紋の考察』鎮西大社諏訪神社, unknown year, p. 29.

<sup>14</sup> 『長崎市史 地誌編 神社教會部 (上)』, p. 644.

- Hakken-sha or Yatsurugi-sha 八剣社<sup>15</sup>
- A jingu-ji 神宮寺 in Tateyama 立山<sup>16</sup>

The only structures that we can confirm are:

- The bodaiji (菩提寺) of Nagasaki's family (which became Todos os Santos).
- The existence of a few gorintou 五輪塔 in the cape of Nagasaki, which were discovered by archeological excavations<sup>17</sup> in Hirado Machi<sup>18</sup>, Omura Machi<sup>19</sup> and Kouzen Machi.<sup>20</sup> As a result, some of the archeologists working in Nagasaki have hypothesized that this region was a sacred area (神域) or a burial site (墳墓).<sup>21</sup>

These archeological findings (Figure 1) will be looked at more closely in another study,<sup>22</sup> and here we will only summarize the main findings of that study. It is quite difficult to comment on the list of pre-existing religious facilities, since we are not sure if these Japanese records are reliable, but we can only comment that Sumiyoshi, Suwa and Yatsurugi are located somewhat close to each other, at the entrance of the Nakashima-kawa river (中島川). These deities are mainly associated with Shinto religion, and their worship is related to the control of natural elements.

- 1) Yatsurugi: the deity enshired here is Yamato Takeru (日本武尊). Takeru was a simultaneously half-human and half-deity. During his life, he was constantly sent by his father on military campaigns to subjugate several rulers and deities. To be more specific, most of the deities that he subjugated and pacified were deities of the mountains, rivers, and wicked deities. Takeru also subjugated many rulers who were refusing to obey Takeru's father.
- 2) Sumiyoshi: this group of deities are mainly seen not only as protectors of ships and sailing, but also the protectors of war ships.

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<sup>15</sup> 『長崎県の地名』, p. 192.

<sup>16</sup> 安野眞幸『港市論』日本エディタースクール出版部, 1992, pp. 176-177.

<sup>17</sup> 宮下雅史, 扇浦正義『興善町遺跡：東邦生命保険第2長崎ビル建設に伴う埋蔵文化財発掘調査報告書』長崎市教育委員会, 1999, pp. 75-77.

<sup>18</sup> 長崎市埋蔵文化財調査協議会 (編)『万才町遺跡：朝日生命ビル建設に伴う埋蔵文化財発掘調査報告書』長崎市埋蔵文化財調査協議会, 1998.

<sup>19</sup> 長崎市教育委員会 (編)『長崎家庭裁判所敷地埋蔵文化財発掘調査報告書』長崎市教育委員会, 1992.

<sup>20</sup> 扇浦正義『興善町遺跡：日本団体生命保険株式会社長崎ビル建設に伴う埋蔵文化財発掘調査報告書』長崎市教育委員会, 1998.

<sup>21</sup> See Note 17.

<sup>22</sup> アマロ・ベビオ「港市長崎の設立に関する研究」, currently under evaluation by the Society of Architectural Historians of Japan.

- 3) Suwa and its enshrined deities are commonly seen as patrons of war, and are associated with protecting soldiers in battle.

The alluvial fan around the Nakashima River has historically been prone to strong floods. The most critical area is the shallow beach between the areas of Kawaguchi (川口), and Morisaki. Several rivers converge here before draining into Nagasaki Bay. Also, the long hill which stands above the present region of Tera-machi (寺町) forces rainwater to flow down quickly before reaching the small Shishitoki River, and draining into the Kawaguchi region. Since the sea floor is very shallow, the variation of sea tides is strongly felt in this area. All of these factors make the Kawaguchi region dangerous for small boats during storms and heavy rain periods.

Another important characteristic of the Nakashima river is its slope. The alluvial fan itself is relatively flat, but as we reach towards the castle town of Nagasaki-mura, the river's slope suddenly increases drastically. At this stage, the only way that a boat can proceed towards the castle town is by riding the upstream currents caused by rising high tides.

Considering the above characteristics of Nakashima River's topography, the position of the religious facilities of Yatsurugi, Sumiyoshi and Suwa at the entrance of the alluvial fan of Nagasaki may be seen as an attempt to protect the local villages from rough seas, floods and sea storms, or to protect Nagasaki from attacks from its neighbors such as Fukahori 深堀. Luis Frois specifically depicts the lord of Fukahori (Fukahori Sumitaka Fukahoridono) in the early 1570s as a great pirate who regularly attacked both Japanese boats as well as the Chinese boats which passed in the area.<sup>23</sup> He was also the brother of the lord of Isahaya 諫早 (Saigo Tokitaka Isahayadono), which regularly fought against Omura Sumitada. In 1573, troops from Isahaya, Fukahori and Arima attacked Sumitada, including the port of

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<sup>23</sup> "Do porto de Nangazaqui obra de 2 legoas, na entrada da barra, tem alli huma fortaleza e renda hum tono por nome Fucaforidono, que hé irmão do Ysafai e da mulher de Dom Bartholomeo, cujas qualidades são estas, que assim como hé de filozomia e despozição corporal mui feia e rediculoza, assim suas obras lhe correspondem. Hé este gentio intimo inimigo da ley de Deos, estranhamente cobiçozo, e tem-se feito publico pirata e grande cossario, tomando por mar as embarcações não somente de seos naturaes, mas ainda dos pobres chinas mercadores que vem a Japão em suas somas fazer seo contrato. E sendo estes estrangeiros em todas as partes privilegiados para livremente nos portos de Japão fazerem suas fazendas, este com engano e cobiça os espera no mar e alli os mata e rouba e lhes toma as embarcações." Fróis, Luís, Wicky, Josef, S. J. ed., *História de Japam*. Vol. 2, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976-1984, p. 391.

Nagasaki.

The most important aspect about the attacks conducted by the troops of Fukahori is that in many cases, the troops came in boats and took advantage of rising tides in order to come as close as possible to the port of Nagasaki and the castle town, and fire their arquebuses or shoot arrows towards the palisades. The final attack and most violent attack conducted by these troops was done during a rising spring tide. There are other examples of boat troops which used their knowledge about tides to conduct military attacks, such as the Murakami Water Troops (村上水軍), who resided in the Seto Inland Sea, in the island of Noushima (能島). The position of Suwa at the very entrance of the Nakashima River can be interpreted as an attempt to protect the maritime route to the castle town by enemy troops.



Figure 1: location of objects collected from archeological excavations across Nagasaki.

Going back to 1569, when the Christians of Nagasaki finished rebuilding the church and burned or destroyed all of the temples and statues of local deities, they began to participate in processions. During Easter, just like in other churches, the Christians began to flagellate themselves inside the church, including young boys, girls and women. All of the Christians came out from the church in a procession towards a cross which was somewhat far away from the church, while flagellating themselves violently, and after returning to the church and celebrating mass, everyone celebrated a feast with many dances.<sup>24</sup>

As for the procession path, it was filled with blood because of the acts of self-flagellation. As mentioned in the previous chapter, these kind of processions were a form of “liturgical seasons”. Usually, during the processions of these liturgical seasons, the Christians would pass by more than one church, but in this case there was nothing in Nagasaki besides a church and a cross. However, it is clear from Vilela’s description that the main objective of these processions is to relive the memory of Jesus Christ, and experience his suffering on the way to the Cross.

Vilela claims that this procession took place on Holy Thursday (during the Holy Week of Easter), and on Holy Saturday, so many Christians came to the church, that the internal space of the church, Vilela’s house and the churchyard were filled with people.<sup>25</sup> Vilela’s statement suggests that the walls of the church had sliding doors

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<sup>24</sup> “A disciplina que depois fizerão foi tam riguroza que, aonde se detinhão, espargião aqueles logares de sangue. À noite houve huma procissão muito devota e concorrerão muito numero de gentios para a ver (...) Sexta-feira d'Endoenças vierão 15 meninos diante do altar (...) todos os meninos por sua ordem alli diante da gente deixavão cahir as vestes dos ombros até a cinta e, dizendo hum Misere mei Deus, se disciplinavão e sahião disciplinando-se até huma cruz que está mui longe, e tornavão à igreja com a mesma ordem e devoção (...) No dia da Pascoa, antes da meia noite vierão todos vestidos de festa (...) acabada a procissão e missa fizerão grande festa de muitos bailos e dansas...” Fróis, Luís, Wicky, Josef, S. J. ed., *História de Japam*. Vol. 2, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976-1984, pp. 324-325.

<sup>25</sup> “Depois de jantar se começaraõ a disciplinar com rozetas com tanto fervor que as entranhas se rompião assi de compaixão que delles tinhamos (...) os caminhos eraõ regados cõ sangue, não ficando minino, homem, nem mulher por fidalga & nobre que fosse que na crueza de se disciplinar sofresse que outro lhe levasse a vantagem (...) á noite acabadas as horas com não menores mostras de sentimento saimos em procissão, a qual estavam de fora vendo grande numero de gentios, não menos espâtados que confusos (...) o qual continuando saimos em procissão até hua Cruz que esta dahi algum tanto longe & tornamos a igreja (...) Ao sabbado se encheo a igreja, casa, e terreiro & lhe benzi a agoa & fiz o demais officio...” Gaspar Vilela, Letter from Goa, 1571-02-04, transcribed in Lira, Manuel de. *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India & Europa des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580...* Evora: 1598, fol. 303r.

such as amado (雨戸) or perhaps foldable doors such as shitomido (蔀戸), so that people standing on the outside could see what was happening inside the church. Since there were people inside Vilela's house watching mass, it seems that this house was attached to the church.

#### 4.3. Establishment of the Port of Nagasaki and Early Religious Facilities

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there has already been several studies about the establishment of the port of Nagasaki.<sup>26</sup> Since this thesis is focused on Christian facilities, it is sufficient to mention only the following events: Francisco Cabral, the new Superior of Japan, arrived in 1570 in Shiki, to replace Cosme de Torres, who had become quite old and ill. Most of the Jesuits gathered in Shiki to have a general consultation about deciding a common strategy for the Japanese mission. Cabral then visited several Christian towns, until he reached Nagasaki, where he met with Sumitada, and both of them travelled to Omura. During his stay in Omura (Summer of 1570), Cabral baptized the rest of Sumitada's family, and both agreed to establish a new settlement for 900 Christians, almost half of which were already baptized. The construction of the port of Nagasaki took place in the first half of 1571, and the Kurofune arrived there in the summer period to begin trade activities. It is generally believed that six streets were built in that year, namely Shimabara-machi 島原町, Omura-machi 大村町, Hirado-machi 平戸町, Yokoseura-machi 横瀬浦町, Hokaure-machi 外浦町 and Bunchi-machi 文知町.<sup>27</sup>

The only known Christian facilities at this time were a church at the tip of the cape of Nagasaki. The cape was known as Morisaki 森崎 and the church was titled as Our Lady, or Santa Maria (サンタ・マリア).

Based on my reconstruction of the Jesuit House (Appendix A), the area of Morisaki had a small cliff on its west side, which came out into the sea. We can still see the approximate shape in a painting known as "Martirio del Beato Leonardo Kimura con altri quattro cristiani a Nagasaki il 18 novembre 1619", which is currently stored in the non-public areas of the Chiesa del Gesù in Rome (Figures 2 and 3).

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<sup>26</sup> See Note 1.

<sup>27</sup> For some more information, please consult Appendixes A and D.





Figure 2: close-up of the area of Morisaki in the painting held by the Society of Jesus in the Chiesa del Gesù, kindly provided by Dino Giommi (Archivio Fotografico, Ministero dell' Interno, Fondo Edific di Culto). A larger version of this painting can be seen in Appendix A.



Figure 3: coast line of the Morisaki cape (red line), based on Figure 2.

Regarding the Jesuit House, my hypothesis for the approximate position of its buildings (church and residence) can be seen in Figure 4.



Figure 4: hypothesis for the position of buildings in the Jesuit House (Appendix A)

There are not many details available about the architecture of Santa Maria. We can summarize them as follows:

- Inside the church, there was a tabernacle (幕屋) which contained a retable (聖龕) with an image of Our Lady (聖母). This tabernacle was placed on top of the altar.<sup>28</sup>
- The floor was made of tatami, and the internal space contained other religious ornaments.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> “De maneira que, pela povoação de Nangazaqui ainda estar mui fraca e sem munições e aparelhos para se poder deffender, tomarão então os christãos por mais acomodado refugio fugirem da povoação onde moravão, desamparando tudo, tomando somente aquillo que para qualquer breve sustentação se podia piedozamente levar, e se forão embrenhar pelos montes e matos de que por alli a terra está bem acompanhada. E levarão tambem hum sacrario, dentro do qual estava encaxado hum retabulo de Nossa Senhora, em cima do altar, o qual tomarão os christãos às costas e, como se o forão enterrar, hia o Padre com elles em procissão, e o levarão tambem a embrenhar entre os montes e o meterão nos matos mais densos, e que menos podião ser seguidos da gente, prosseguindo aquelle caminho com grande angustia e lagrimas por se verem tão desamparados.” Fróis, Luís, Wicky, Josef, S. J. ed., *História de Japam*. Vol. 2, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976-1984, p. 389.

<sup>29</sup> “...viendo la iglesia sin retablo ni ornamentos sola y desamparada, fue tanto su sentimy.to q se fueron al P.e que alli avia quedado, y se offrecieron a toda la satisfacion q quisiesen dellos (...) Despues desto alimpiaron y renovaron toda la iglesia haziendole

The only other fragments of information about these facilities are revealed when Valignano arrives for his first visit of Japan in 1579. From Valignano's own opinion, the design of the Jesuit House in Nagasaki (which was 1 room with three chambers attached to it, and a living room)<sup>30</sup> had flaws.<sup>31</sup> Later in 1581, Gaspar Coelho mentions that the church of Santa Maria was badly designed, and not large enough for the number of Christians who came to attend mass.<sup>32</sup> But what were these flaws, and why were they only mentioned almost 10 years after these buildings were made?

Before Valignano arrived to Japan, he had an optimistic outlook for Japan's conversion, based on the information that he had received from Jesuit letters. But after arriving at Kuchinotsu and moving from there to Nagasaki, he was extremely disappointed with the cold attitude of Christian lords such as Omura Sumitada, and the policies of Francisco Cabral. After talking with the Christian lords, Valignano adopted a very negative view of Cabral, and wrote the following harsh criticisms about his behavior:

- Treating the Japanese members of the Society with harsh words and physical punishments.
- Discriminating between Japanese and Portuguese Brothers, regarding their dress code, the type of meals that they could eat, and the types of beds in which they could sleep, disturbing the uniformity and harmony among Jesuit members.
- In his view, it was the Japanese who had to accommodate to Portuguese customs, and not the other way around.
- Criticizing the customs and etiquette of Japan in front of Japanese lords.
- Preventing the Japanese members of the Society from learning Portuguese or Latin, so that they would not know any important secrets among the priests. He did not think it was necessary to teach anything to the Japanese, so Seminaries for young Japanese

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nuevo el techo y esterandola de nuevo como suelen hacer en Japon.” Copia de una carta de Gaspar Coelho, Nagasaki, 1582-02-15, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Cortes, 09/02663, Mss., fol. 259v.

<sup>30</sup> “...tenemos tambien un sitio muy cómodo, aunq nuestra Casa es pequeña, porq no tiene mas q un quarto con tres camaras, y una sala...” Alexandre Valignano, 1583, *Jesuitas na Asia*, cod. 49-IV-56, v.II-3-E-105, volume (4-I-24) num.1-62, Toyo Bunko, fol. 68r.

<sup>31</sup> “Y tenemos aqui por nuestra habitación un quarto con cinco cubículos, aunque no se acertó en la traza...” Alessandro Valignano, “Sumario de las Cosas de Japon”, transcribed in Valignano, Alessandro; Alvarez-Taladriz, José Luis. Ed. *Sumario de las cosas de Japón (1583); Adiciones del Sumario de Japón (1592)*. Tokyo : Sophia University, 1954, p. 79.

<sup>32</sup> “...porq la iglesia q aqui tenemos es pequeña para tanta gente y mal traçada...” Copia de una carta de Gaspar Coelho, Nagasaki, 1582-02-15, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Cortes, 09/02663, Mss., fol. 258v.

members were never built.

- He did not make any effort to help the Portuguese Jesuits learn the Japanese language, and he did not believe that it was possible to learn Japanese well in less than 15 years.

- Inside the Jesuit houses, all cooking was done in the Portuguese style, using cow and pig meat, with a lot of filth and dirtiness caused by fat and oil stains. Inside the Jesuit houses, everyone ate in tall tables with dirty cloths, making the whole canteen seem like a canteen for the poor. Cabral refused to spend money on things such as cleaning the house carefully, and so the canteen, kitchen and the house looked quite filthy to Japanese visitors.<sup>33</sup>

- The foreign priests made no efforts to learn the correct manners of Japanese etiquette, and as a result all of the Christian lords (Omura Sumitada, Otomo Sorin, Arima Harunobu) and their vassals felt constantly insulted, and avoided visiting Cabral as much as possible.<sup>34</sup>

Otomo Sorin was especially critical of Cabral, and told Valignano that if the Jesuits wanted to convert Japan, they had to learn the language well and live according to Japanese etiquette.<sup>35</sup> Besides this, Valignano complained that it was not possible for the Christians to feel more devotion towards Christian religion, because there were no

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<sup>33</sup> “El tercero principio era que los japones se tenían de acomodar a las nuestras costumbres y no los portugueses a las suyas, porque finalmente eran negros y tenían costumbres muy bárbaras. Y así él lo hacía, que nunca se acomodó a las costumbres de Japón, y las que fuerzadamente hacía eran hechas de tal manera que no eran ni portugueses ni japones, y así quería que en nuestras casas se comiesen en mesas altas con tonjas y paniuelos tan sucios como costumbran ser en los refitorios de pobres, y con los comeres de uagua y otros potajes hechos a nuestro modo, y como juntamente con esto es de su natural muy escaso y apretado en el gasto, en todo lo más servicio de las casas, refitorios y cusinas, en que los japones se esmeran en la limpieza, había tan poco de ella o por mejor dizir tanta suziedad que causaba muy grande asco y aborrecimiento en los japones.” Alessandro Valignano, to Claudio Aquaviva, Goa, 23 November 1595, ARSI Jap. Sin. 12 II, ff. 315-319v, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L., *De la controversia Cabral-Valignano*, in *Miscelánea Japónica II*, Osaka, 1979, p. 113.

<sup>34</sup> “Don Protasio Arimandono y don Bartolomé también me hablaron largamente sobre esto, diciéndome que el modo de proceder que se tanía en nuestras casas era tan diferente y tan contrario a lo que convenía a Japón que nunca entraban en nuestras casas que no se fuesen de ellas descontentos (...) les parecía cosa contra toda razón que los Padres que vivían en sus tierras tuviesen tan poca conta de aprender las buenas custumbres y cortés modo de proceder de los japones, que cada día hiciesen contra los caballeros y contra ellos mismos muchas descortesías y malas crianzas, de manera que los que venían a nuestras casas para hallar alguna consolación comúnmente se fuesen de ellas injuriados y descontentos...” See note 33, p. 116.

<sup>35</sup> See note 33, pp. 116-117.

impressive churches.<sup>36</sup>

Following this initial stay in Kyushu, Valignano began to prepare a set of regulations that were intended to change the overall policies and strategies of the Society of Jesus in Japan. While still in Nagasaki, he provided basic plan designs for the Seminary of Arima and for Jesuit churches, but none of those designs has survived to this day.

During the year of 1580, he went to the Gokinai region to visit Organtino Gnecchi-Soldo and Luis Frois in Miyako, and was extremely happy with the situation that he saw there. The Christians were much friendlier towards them, and much more devoted to the Christian religion.<sup>37</sup> Valignano praised the church of Miyako (Our Lady of Assumption, built in 1577), calling it as “very noble”. The image of this church was already shown previously, and more details of it can be found in Appendixes B and C. When he visited Azuchi-yama, he was also very pleased with the building of the Seminary, although in some aspects, he wanted the building to be modified so that it was more similar to the Seminary of Arima. Both the Miyako church and the Azuchi-yama Seminary (with a small church included) had three floors, were designed by Organtino and Dario Takayama (one of the lords in Takatsuki, father of Takayama Ukon), and had balconies surrounding the house on each floor. The church was decorated with very rich ornaments brought by Valignano.<sup>38</sup>

Valignano realized that Organtino and Frois had made considerable efforts to adapt to Japanese culture during the years that they stayed in Miyako, because they were far away from Cabral in Kyushu and had more freedom to ignore his orders.

It seems that the Christian lords in Kyushu and Gokinai were quite pleased with Valignano, because from 1580 onwards they provided full support for building impressive

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<sup>36</sup> “A la segunda razón se responde que aunque los cristianos son flacos no es maravilla, pues no son cultivados ni tienen ningunos objectos que los ayuden a ser fervientes, pues ni hay iglesias que tengan algún aparato...” Padre Valignano, al Padre General, Kuchinotsu, 10 December 1579, ARSI Jap. Sin. 8 I fols. 244r-247r, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L., *En el IV Centenario de Valignano en Japón: plantación extensiva o cultivo intensivo del Cristianismo?*, in *Miscelánea Japónica III*, Osaka, 1980, p. 95.

<sup>37</sup> “Cuando el Padre Visitador vino a Japón la primera vez, viendo la manera de proceder de los nuestros con esta cristiandad de Nagasaki, Bungo y otras partes de este Ximo, quedó muy mal satisfecho y disgustado, y escribió a V. P. poco bien de la cristiandad de Japón, (...) y viniendo al Gokinai encontró otro modo de proceder entre todos (...) viéndolo quedó muy satisfecho y enamorado de los japoneses.” Padre Organtino, al Padre Claudio Aquaviva, Nagasaki, 10 March 1589, ARSI Jap. Sin. 11-II, ff. 66-72, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L., *El Padre Viceprovincial Gaspar Coelho “Capitan de armas o pastor de almas”?*, in *Miscelánea Japónica III*, Osaka, 1980, p. 56.

<sup>38</sup> Copia de una carta de Gaspar Coelho, Nagasaki, 1582-02-15, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Cortes, 09/02663, Mss., fol. 271r, 273r-273v.

churches. Besides Miyako and Azuchiyaama, we know the cases of high-quality churches in Usuki and Arima in 1581, and Sakai in 1584/85. If we look at the timeline of Appendix C, the most praised church buildings from 1549 to 1580 were: Hirado (1564), Usuki and Okayama (1565), Takatsuki (1575), Miyako (1577) and Azuchiyaama (1580). In the case of Usuki, it was Otomo Sorin who took the initiative to build it; as for Takatsuki, Miyako and Azuchiyaama, Dario Takayama was involved in the planning of all of them. We will see later that these lords had some influence in Valignano's final regulations for Jesuit architecture in 1581.

We will now summarize the main points of Valignano's recommendations, rules and regulations (generally known as the "Ceremoniale") regarding the hierarchical structure of the Jesuits, their buildings and architecture, elaborated from 1579 to 1581.

#### 4.4. Valignano's "Ceremoniale" as a new Policy for Cultural Accomodation

The text of the Ceremoniale uses as standards the ranks and honorary degrees of the Zen sect. The hierarchical structure of the Society of Jesus in Japan should be similar to the Zen monks in the following way: the Superior of the Province of India has the same status in Japan as the chief monk of Nanzenji (南禅寺の院長). The Superior of Japan has the same status as a Choro of the Gosan (五山の長老). The priests in general have the status of a regular Choro (長老), while Brothers in general have the status of a Todo (東堂), and the dojuku remain with the same status as before (同宿).<sup>39</sup>

Despite this, Valignano's intention is not to force the Jesuits to behave exactly like Zen

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<sup>39</sup> Dojuku, according to the Jesuits, are men who, regardless of their age, shave their heads and beard, renounce the material world, and serve the Christian church as their full-time profession. Some of them study to become clerics, others simply do several tasks in the Jesuit houses, which can only be done by them, because of the hierarchical character of Japanese etiquette. These tasks are normally conducted by sextons (会堂管理人) in Europe. The Dojuku were in charge of doorkeeping (門衛者); preparing tea; receiving, delivering and writing messages; assisting the priest during masses, funerals, baptisms and other ceremonies of the church; accompanying the priests in their travels; and some of them (if have the necessary skills) help to teach Christian doctrine, and preach to the Christians. Although these Dojuku are recognized as belonging to the Christian Church, and they wear long tunics (different to the ones used by the Priests and Brothers), everyone knows that they are not real priests, although some of them may be studying to become one. Some of them live in the Seminaries, and others in the Jesuit Houses and Residences. See the explanation given by the missionaries in "Rol dos dojicos que estão nas casas de Japão com outra gente de serviço, November 1592", transcribed in Schütte, Josef Franz. *Monumenta Historica Japoniae* 1. *Textus catalogorum Japoniae aliaque de personis domibusque S.J. in Japonia informationes et relationes, 1549-1654*. Romae: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1975, p. 295.

monks. He decided to adopt this rank system so that non-Christian noblemen can know how to address the Jesuit priests in an appropriate and respectful way.<sup>40</sup>

The most important aim of Valignano's text was to ensure that the Jesuits could acquire/maintain the proper amount of "religious authority" among the Japanese, without being seen as Namban-jin. Valignano also wanted to distinguish between exterior acts of politeness and dignity (Japanese etiquette), and the internal religious/spiritual experience which is the very essence of Christian religion. Therefore, Valignano tried to minimize the visibility of Christian rites which might disgust the Japanese, such as self-flagellation. These rites were only shown to those Japanese who had decided to be baptized.

It is also mentioned in the text of the *Ceremoniale* that some missionaries did gestures and manners which were typical of secular men (non-religious men). As a result, they were ridiculed by Japanese society, who saw these gestures and thought that they were not religious men at all. It was thus necessary to change these manners and gestures.<sup>41</sup>

#### **Valignano's rules regarding Jesuit Houses:**

- Whenever possible, the Jesuits must have a place for receiving guests according to Japanese style, customs and etiquette. This space must include two zashiki rooms, one next to the other, so that the priests and guests may have their own proper place in the zashiki, and serve the sakazuki (盃) appropriately. Depending on the status of the guests, some will be in the inner zashiki together with the priests; others will be in the outer zashiki, while the priests remain in the inner zashiki; and other guests will stay in the balcony, while the priests are inside the zashiki. Under no circumstance must the priests sit in the balcony to receive someone, unless they are extremely familiar with each other. Otherwise, the Japanese will not treat the priests with any respect.<sup>42</sup>
- Jesuit houses should have a gatehouse next to the entrance gate, a place to install the chanoyu (茶の湯), and a zashiki room designed according to Japanese customs. Many discourtesies were made in the past to the Japanese as well as the priests, because the zashiki rooms were not built according to the Japanese style.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, ed. *Il Cerimoniale per i Missionari del Giappone: Nuova edizione anastatica con saggio introduttivo di Michela Catto*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2011, p. 124.

<sup>41</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

<sup>42</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-136.

<sup>43</sup> "17. Assi mesmo, se há de procurar que as casas tenham sua portaria, chanoyu [茶之湯], (\*pos de erva que botan en la aguo a que beben) e zaxiquis [座敷] todos accomodados à chara japão, da maneira que se dirá tratando do modo que se há de ter em faser as casas, porque, por não starem os zaxiquis accomodados à chara japão, se fazem muitas

- If many priests are in the house and a guest arrives, they should avoid going all together to receive the guest, because the zashiki would not be large enough for everyone to hold their proper and honorable place. Therefore, only one or two priests need to go, unless the zashiki is large enough to properly accommodate everyone.<sup>44</sup>
- Each priest, including Deans and Superiors, should use a table 3 or 4 digits tall for his meal (i.e., a low table). But if another priest comes as a guest, then he shall eat in a taller table, while everyone else eats in low tables. This is done to show reverence to the guest. Furthermore, the Deans and Superiors should also eat in low tables if another Dean or high-ranked priest comes as a guest. And if the Superior of Japan comes to visit, everyone must eat in low tables while he eats in the high table. During banquets, everyone will uphold the normal Japanese custom.<sup>45</sup>
- If a gentile (non-Christian person) comes to hear some preaching, or if it is necessary to teach the catechism (教理) to a small group, it should be done whenever possible in a more private zashiki, and not inside the church. The main reasons for this are because the Japanese monks usually do these things in a more private place, and because doing it in the church causes distractions for the listeners, and there are always people coming and going to the church.<sup>46</sup>
- All Jesuit houses should have a place for chanoyu. It should be clean and well assembled. The place should always have a Dojuku or another person who knows how to perform the tea ceremony. There should be at least two or three types of tea: one that is of fine quality, and two that are of average quality, which will be used according to the status of the guests. As soon as the guest arrives, the person in charge of the chanoyu shall immediately cease to do everything else that he might be doing at time, and do exclusively the chanoyu work or bring messages, without keeping the guests waiting.<sup>47</sup>
- Women should normally be received in the zashiki which are located next to the church, and men should be allowed to come with them inside. Depending on their social status, the guests might stay on the outer zashiki, while the priests remain in the inner zashiki; or both guests and priests in the same zashiki; or the guests stay in the veranda/balcony (縁側) while the priests remain inside the zashiki.<sup>48</sup>

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indignidades e descortesias, assi aos hospedes que se recebem como aos mesmos Padres.” Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>44</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>45</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>46</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>47</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

<sup>48</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 164.



• When Japanese visitors come from far away, it is best not to let them sleep in the Jesuit house, unless they are honorable people, or come expressly to see the Priest, and have no residence of their own. It is also recommended to avoid giving shelter to people of low status, because they often try to take advantage of it. And if outsiders do come to sleep, they should be sheltered appropriately according to their status. No one, not even people of low status, should be allowed to sleep in the church, because it shows a lack of respect for the church, and also for the guests, if they are noble people or of high status.<sup>49</sup>

• There should always be a zashiki at the Jesuit house, in which men of high status can spend the night, and have some spare Kimono for them to sleep. For people of lower status, it would be good to use the house of a machijin (町人), or the house of one of the servants who is married.<sup>50</sup>

• All of the Jesuit houses which are to be built henceforth should be designed in such a way that all guests, both men and women, can be accommodated in a way that is appropriate to their social status. Also, the design of the buildings should allow the priests themselves to show their own authority and status when they are receiving guests.<sup>51</sup>

• The house should be divided in such a manner that there are not only zashiki for welcoming outsiders, but there are also other zashiki in the inner parts of the house which are meant for the normal residents of the house, such as priests and brothers. These inner zashiki should be organized so that no outsider can pass through them. Otherwise, the residents will not be able to have the necessary peace and quietness for their studies and spiritual exercises.<sup>52</sup>

• The priests should always keep their houses very clean, and accommodate to Japanese custom in regards to the choice of food, because if the Japanese guests see that there is carelessness on these matters, they will lose reverence and respect for the priest.<sup>53</sup>

• In the buildings where religious men need to live with peace and quietness, such as the Houses of Probation or the Colleges, there should be a zashiki sufficiently far away from the main building, so that visiting Christians can be welcomed without disturbing the Brothers and Priests. Even so, if a Christian who is visiting needs to talk to one of the priests, he should be welcomed and treated with the adequate

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<sup>49</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>50</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

<sup>51</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

<sup>52</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

<sup>53</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

Japanese etiquette. The Japanese strongly dislike to be treated with silence and reservation, as is usual in Jesuit Colleges in Europe.<sup>54</sup>

- Everyone should accommodate to Japanese culture in regards to the architecture of the churches and houses, because without doing so, it is not possible to carry out the courtesies and hospitality that the Japanese are used to, and it causes many inconveniences, both in terms of hospitality as well as the privacy of the priests and brothers.<sup>55</sup>

- The design of the houses must be prepared together with good Japanese masters, after which they will prepare the final design. Because their construction methods and etiquette are so different from Europe, it is not possible for the Jesuits to design them well by themselves. Valignano says that the houses that have been made until now prove that the Jesuits are not knowledgeable enough to design them well.<sup>56</sup>

- Valignano recognizes that it is not possible to design every single building in the same way, because each type of house will have its own characteristics and facilities, such as seminaries, or colleges. Nevertheless, these basic principles should be followed in all houses.<sup>57</sup>

- All of the zashiki, or at least the ones intended for welcoming guests, should be made with sliding doors in the Japanese style, so that when necessary, by removing the doors of each zashiki, it is possible to have a larger space. If a kura (倉) is built with a second floor, the balconies or verandas should be located inside the outer wall of the building; its zashiki rooms should be made with sliding doors, either in wood or paper, so that both the zashiki and the balcony can remain inside the outer boundary of the kura, well protected from fire.<sup>58</sup>

- The Jesuits must carefully control building costs. They should not spend too much on building houses. Therefore, on most of the Jesuit residences, it is recommended not to build houses with two floors. Instead, the money should be spend on building more zashiki at the ground level. The reason is because the layout of a two-floor building makes it more inconvenient for guests, especially if the zashiki rooms for guests are

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<sup>54</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

<sup>55</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

<sup>56</sup> “...daqui adiante, em qualquer casa que se ouver de fazer, primeiramente se há de tratar com bons mestres japões, fazendo que fação sua traça, porquanto, como tãoobem sua fabrica hé tão dyfferente da que nós outros usamos em Europa e hé tão diferente o trato e agazalhado que se há em nossas casas de fazer aos forasteiros, não podemos nós outros por nós mesmos traça-las bem, asi como por experiensia o vemos nas que atégora se fizerão.” Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

<sup>57</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

<sup>58</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

located at the second floor. Also, in the case of a two-floor building it is more difficult to protect the privacy of the residents, because the guests need to pass through the building. However, in the larger houses and colleges, it is permitted to have two-floored buildings.<sup>59</sup>

- In every Jesuit house, there should be a couple of zashiki rooms for guests, including a balcony (縁側) around them. One of these should be the chanoyu room. Attached to these two zashiki, there should be another two zashiki, in which the Priest and Brother which are assigned to welcome guests can live in. With this kind of arrangement, they could immediately open the doors of their personal zashiki and show themselves to the guests, or walk without any problems to the outer zashiki to receive the guests. In front of the balcony of these zashiki there should be a niwa (庭), making sure that it is well-built and arranged. The balcony itself should be made according to the Japanese custom, so that the Priests and servants can enter the zashiki from one part, and the guests can enter from another part. This should be done so that the Japanese customs of greeting and bidding farewell can be carried out, and also so that the guests immediately know which side of the zashiki room they should sit on, and which side the hosts will sit.<sup>60</sup>

- In the larger Jesuit houses or Colleges, besides these special zashiki for guests, the zashiki rooms used for receiving visitors such as Jesuit priests and Brothers should be built even deeper within the house or premises, in the manner that is considered to be most suitable by the priests. They are not required to follow Japanese customs in this case.<sup>61</sup>

- At the entrance of the house there should be a place that can be used as a gateroom (門衛室), which is located somewhat apart from the zashiki intended for guests, in which it is possible to welcome any sort of people who come to give a message, as well as the servants who come with their lords to visit the Jesuits.<sup>62</sup>

- In principle, the zashiki at the gateroom (門衛室) should exist on every house, even if they are small residences. In the large cities where the Yakata (屋形) resides, and when great lords come to visit the Jesuits, not only are these gateroom zashiki necessary, but furthermore, there should be another couple of very clean, well-made zashiki, specifically designed for welcoming great lords. These special zashiki should be located further inside the house, and used only for these special guests, because to welcome them in the normal zashiki is considered to be a great discourtesy. In these

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<sup>59</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

<sup>60</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

<sup>61</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

<sup>62</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

rooms there should be some clean toilets only for the use of these lords, and another chanoyu room. This private chanoyu room must have a small room with a cupboard in which one can find all the necessary tools (道具) to prepare and serve the sakazuki (盃), and also a fireplace with a shelf (棚) containing tables for serving the guests. At the small room, it should be possible to prepare a suimono (吸物) or Japanese style soup, or tenjin (點心), or other kinds of things which should not be prepared in the main kitchen.<sup>63</sup>

- The areas which are used by the servants to provide various services for the house, such as the kitchen, storage room, etc., shall be organized according to the Japanese style. In other words, they should be placed in an area which can serve not only the zashiki intended to welcome outsiders, but also the rest of the house where the residents live. Also, in the bigger houses and Colleges, the spaces used by the servants should be separate from the spaces commonly used by the brothers, or the boys at the seminaries, so that the servants cannot pass through their rooms. In the same way, the patios of these buildings should be divided with fences or walls, so that the entrance of the servants is located in a different place than the normal entrance of the house.<sup>64</sup>

#### **Rules Regarding Churches:**

- The churches should be built so that the chapel is facing towards the longer length of the main body of the church (長軸方向), as is the custom of Europe. The chapels should not be made facing the shorter side of the building, as the Japanese usually do in their temples. It is not appropriate to imitate them in this aspect, because churches are temples of God, and their temples are the “synagogues of Satan”. But regarding the rest, both sides of the chapel should have a zashiki in the Japanese style, so that if necessary, by removing the doors, it becomes a single space. The noble lords and their wives should have their own zashiki, in which they can stay apart from the normal crowd.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

<sup>64</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-274.

<sup>65</sup> “A 8ª que as igrejas se fação de tal maneira que se guarde o costume de nossa Europa, tendo a capella polo comprido, e nam pera o traves, como os Japões acostumam de fazer suas varelas, porque na forma das igrejas não convem imita-los, pois as suas são sinagogas de satanas e as nossas igrejas de Deos, mas, no demais, han de ter por ambas as partes da capella seus zashikis [座敷] á chara japão, de maneira que, tirando as portas, possa ficar tudo em hum corpo, quando for necessario, e tenham assi os senhores como suas mulheres seus zaxiquis apartados e recolhidos nellas.” Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

- In front of every church, there should be a courtyard/patio with balconies (縁側) made in the Japanese style, and in front of the same balcony there should be a covered area constantly supplied with water, in which people can wash their feet in case the ground is muddy (水盤舎). There should also be some clean toilets for the Christians who come to the church, placed in a convenient place somewhat apart from it.<sup>66</sup>

- Women should not be allowed to enter Jesuit houses or to see the private accommodations of the Priests and Brothers who reside there, because they have made a vow of chastity, and the regular visit of women would cause great inconvenience for them. So, there should be a pair of zashiki next to the church, in which the women who come to visit the priests can be welcomed, according to their honor and status, without disturbing the people inside the Jesuit house or residence.<sup>67</sup>

- Before building anything, the basic design must be discussed with a Japanese expert master first, and then plan the entire complex altogether. Even if it is not possible to build everything at once, it should be possible to plan the whole complex from the very start, so that whatever is built first can be used appropriately, even as the construction proceeds and more buildings are added. And no one can build anything without sending the designs first to the Superior of Japan. The Superior of Japan can delegate some of that responsibility into the Regional Superiors of Shimo, Bungo and Miyako, if the situation is urgent.<sup>68</sup>

#### Other general rules set by Valignano:

- From 1580 onwards, all eating in Jesuit houses should be done in the Japanese style, including cooking style, tools and furniture for eating.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> “A 9ª que em todas as nossas igrejas se fação adiante seus patios com varandas à chara japão, e diante da mesma varanda estê hum lugar accommodado e cuberto em que se tenha sempre agoa, pera que os que vierem à igreja possão lavar os pés, quando for necessario em tempo de lama, e assi mesmo humas latrinas limpas e accommodadas pera os que vem à igreja, em lugar conveniente e algum tanto dela afastada.” Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

<sup>67</sup> “A 10ª he que juncto da mesma igreja, em lugar mais conveniente, se tenha hum par de zaxiquis [座敷] aonde se posão receber as molheres que vem a visitar os Padres, de maneira que, conforme a suas qualidades, so possão agasalhar honrrada e convenientemente, sem entrarem nem devasarem por dentro da[s] casas.” Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

<sup>68</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

<sup>69</sup> “Y en la pregunta 17ª de la Primera Consulta universal del año 80, se concluyó comúnmente por todos que se comiese en nuestras casas al modo de japon, no sólo quanto al servicio y mesas, mas también quanto a las cosas y modo de guisar que se usa en Japón, y que las cosas nuestras que entre ellos se extrañan no se usasen.” Alejandro Valignano, to Claudio Aquaviva, Goa, 23 November 1595, ARSI Jap. Sin. 12 II, ff. 315-319v, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L, De la controversia Cabral-Valignano, in

- The Jesuits should never eat in tall tables in the same way that they eat in Europe, but they should always eat in the tatami, in low tables, in the same way as the Japanese do, because when the Japanese have to eat in tall tables, they cannot avoid having stains and dirtying napkins, which greatly irritates them.<sup>70</sup> Valignano also explains that many Japanese Christians and gentiles were shocked, when they saw that inside the Jesuit houses, the missionaries were raising pigs and goats, and killing cows inside the grounds of the Jesuit house, and selling their skins. All of these things gave the Jesuits a very poor reputation, similar to that of lowly Chinese men.<sup>71</sup>

- In all Jesuit houses, it is forbidden to raise pigs and goats or kill cows, and dry or sell their skins, or any similar acts. However, it is permitted to raise chickens and ducks, as long as they are enclosed in a specific place separated from the house, so that they do not walk freely around the house. Also, in the lands in which the Portuguese usually go, such as Nagasaki, Kuchinotsu and Bungo, in which the act of eating meat is not seen as such a strange thing anymore, it will be occasionally allowed for the Jesuits to eat those things, as long as they are prepared according to Japanese preferences, and that no bones are brought to the table, or large chunks of meat. Also, if soup with cow meat is prepared, it should be served in plates and not in the shirugoki (汁御器) or shiru bowls, because it would leave too much fat in those utensils, leaving a bad smell.<sup>72</sup>

- The dojuku (同宿 helpers or servants) should always eat in a separate place, apart from the Brothers and Priests, so that they would grow to have respect for them, and appreciate the great favor that they receive by being promoted from dojuku to Brother. However, in a small residence at remote villages it would be acceptable for a priest and dojuku to eat together.<sup>73</sup>

- Valignano gave instructions to discourage the usage of crosses in public paths and roads, due to several problems that came from having those crosses (he does not explain which problems they caused).<sup>74</sup>

- Seminaries or other kinds of schools should be implemented, so that foreign missionaries could learn about Japanese language and customs, and the Japanese could learn about Christian religion and its values. Valignano is certain that teaching

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Miscelánea Japónica II, Osaka, 1979, pp. 117-118.

<sup>70</sup> Valignano, Alessandro; Alvarez-Taladriz, José Luis. Ed. Sumario de las cosas de Japón (1583); Adiciones del Sumario de Japón (1592). Tokyo : Sophia University, 1954, p. 242.

<sup>71</sup> Taladriz, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

<sup>72</sup> Taladriz, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

<sup>73</sup> Taladriz, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-195.

<sup>74</sup> Taladriz, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

sciences to the children is essential for their spiritual development. These seminars should be clean, well-built and designed for proper reclusiveness.<sup>75</sup>

- The churches are to be made extremely clean and well ornamented. They must be built with one or three naves, depending on the number of Christians and the status of the place. Valignano also stresses the importance of executing the religious rites with great care and precision, uniformity and consistency, because the Japanese are very obsessed with the perfection of external gestures and manners.<sup>76</sup>

- Another aspect which Valignano discussed with the Jesuits was the issue of silver religious objects (ex: thuribles 振り香炉, candlesticks 燭台, oil lamps 油ランプ, etc.) inside churches. There were concerns that the use of such rich objects violated the Jesuit vows of poverty. Despite the risks involved in showing these valuable ornaments to the general public, all of the Jesuits agreed that the cleanliness and nobility of the ornaments used in the divine cult was extremely important for the Japanese, because the Christian religion does not have anything splendorous to show, except for what the Christians see inside the church spaces, and the rituals carried out by the priests. It was also decided not to use any silver cutlery or vases to welcome important lords during their banquets, because none of the Japanese monks did such a thing.<sup>77</sup>

- The houses of the Jesuits should be very clean and well organized, so that the Jesuits can live in them privately without being seen by strangers, and outsiders, or guests, can have their own separate accommodations, where they can be received in a clean and appropriate manner, according to the customs of the land. The houses which are to be made from 1580 onwards should follow the design supplied by Valignano.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Alessandro Valignano, Regimiento para el Superior de Japón, Nagasaki, 24 June 1580, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 8 I, ff. 264-267, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L., Apéndice Documental para el Estudio del Sumario de las Cosas de Japon, Journal of Osaka University of Foreign Studies, 1980, 46 pp. 57-58.

<sup>76</sup> “Porque los japoses así como se mueven mucho com las cosas exteriores y com el culto y cerimonias bien ordenadas, así por el contrario se desedifican y escandalizan de ver que hay falta en esto, y asi encomiendo a los Superiores que procuren, especialmente en lugares principales que se hagan iglesias a nuestra manera, bien hechas, conforme a la traza que se dio en Nangasaqi, o de una o de tres naves, conforme a la cantidad y cualidad de la gente de los lugares, las cuales han de estar muy limpias y bien ornamentadas, y los Padres que vinieren a Japón aprendan bien las cerimonias que se han de hacer en las Misas cantadas, procesiones, enterramientos, bautismos, y otras solemnidades que necesariamente han todos de hacer en las residencias, procediendo todos de una misma manera, porque como en Japón no hay otros clérigos y nosotros hemos de hacer todas estas cosas no se sufre hacerlas mal o no las saber hacer.” Taladriz, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>77</sup> Taladriz, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

<sup>78</sup> “Asimismo las casas de los nuestros han de estar muy limpias y concertadas, procurando de acomodarlas de tal manera que los nuestros puedan vivir en ellas

- The ports of Nagasaki and Mogi 茂木 should be turned into fortresses, and should have weapons, ammunitions and artillery for self-defense against the many attacks which regularly took place.<sup>79</sup>

#### **Rules regarding Seminaries:**

- Each seminary should be big enough to house 40 or 50 boys, and it should be located next to the house of the Priests; the only entrance into the seminary should be located in the Jesuit House, so that no outsider can enter in the premises. The seminary shall have its own courtyard or patio. The design of the building should follow the principles laid out in the seminary of Arima, and also a drawing that Valignano would prepare later. The seminary house should be very well clean and well arranged, and the tatami should be replaced once a year. Each boy will have a small bench for studying, and the boys from the noblest families shall occupy the first benches in the classrooms.<sup>80</sup>

- The seminary boys should have a lamp providing light during the night, and they must sleep separately from each other, at the very least by a distance of 4 or 5 palms. In that empty space, each boy will place their small bench for writing, so that they cannot get together or stay together. The objective was to prevent the boys from distracting each other.<sup>81</sup>

- There should be a lavatory that is comfortable and easy to access, in which the boys can wash every 8 days, especially during the summer. Sometimes they may be allowed to wash at the river. No outsiders may enter the seminary, not even the servant boys who live with the Priests, unless an outsider comes to check the seminary. There cannot be any communication between the servant boys and the seminary boys. The boys should not be allowed to exit the seminary unless it is absolutely necessary (ex: if their parents become ill). Even in these cases, the boy will be accompanied by a trustworthy person and return to the seminary in the same day. The boys can never be allowed to sleep outside of the seminary.<sup>82</sup>

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recogidos sin que sean divisados de los forasteros y los forasteros tengan sus recibimientos apartados en que puedan ser limpiamente recibidos, conforme a la costumbre de la tierra. Y por eso las casas que de aquí adelante se hicieren se harán conforme a la traza que se dará para eso, porque importa mucho, así para bien de los nuestros como para la edificación de los forasteros, que sean bien ordenadas y bien trazadas y limpias.” Taladriz, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>79</sup> Taladriz, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>80</sup> Alessandro Valignano, Regimento q se ha de guardar en los seminarios hecho por el P<sup>e</sup> Visitador en el mes de junio del año de 1580, Nagasaki, 1580-06, Jap. Sin. 22, fol. 41r.

<sup>81</sup> Alessandro Valignano, *op. cit.*, fol. 41v.

<sup>82</sup> Alessandro Valignano, *op. cit.*, fol. 42r.



#### 4.5. Possible Connections between the “Ceremoniale” and Zen

Although this was a very long list, we can realize by reading the text that Valignano’s rules or recommendations are essentially describing the main characteristics of a Japanese guestroom (客室), including a kuri (庫裡). Regarding the Ceremoniale text, the Jesuit scholar Josef Schutte pointed out that the main parts of the text were composed by Valignano right after meeting with Otomo Sorin, who was a devote follower of Zen before being baptized, and had close relationships with reputed Zen monks from Miyako.<sup>83</sup> Taladriz also analyzed this issue, claiming that since Sorin’s former Zen master had come from the Nanzenji temple in Miyako, this may have influenced Valignano’s decision to compare Jesuit ranks with the ranking system of Zen monks in the Gosan of Miyako.<sup>84</sup>

Taladriz also points out that Valignano wrote in another text called “Sumario” (1583) that the Jesuits should follow in several aspects (but not all) the rules laid out in the Zen Monastic Code (南禪寺清規).<sup>85</sup> Could there also be a relationship between Valignano’s architectural recommendations and Zen architecture? The evidences are not conclusive. We know that the Zen monks had different types of buildings for receiving guests, such as kuri 庫裡, family temples or Bodaiji 菩提寺, the Kyakuden 客殿 or the Hojo 方丈. Perhaps Valignano prefers the model of a kuri for smaller Jesuit houses, and the kyakuden for larger houses, but his recommendations are so general that we cannot be fully sure.

We can also see that most of Valignano’s recommendations are focused on the Jesuit house, while he speaks very little about churches. Although in the Namban byobu we can find images of churches which have strong Buddhist characteristics, those characteristics are not exclusive to Zen architecture, and so we must be cautious about claiming that Zen architecture was an inspiration or model for Jesuit architecture (see Appendix B). It seems that Valignano was only interested in the problem of hierarchical space. In other words, he wanted to create spaces in which the Japanese notion of hierarchy and status could be manifested. There were separate spaces for Jesuit priests and brothers, dojuku or servants, and guests.

Josef Schutte pointed out that Valignano’s proposal of using the Zen rank system as a

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<sup>83</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>84</sup> Valignano, Alessandro; Alvarez-Taladriz, José Luis. Ed. *Sumario de las cosas de Japón* (1583); *Adiciones del Sumario de Japón* (1592). Tokyo : Sophia University, 1954, p. 125.

<sup>85</sup> Alvarez-Taladriz, *op. cit.*, p. 66, note 44.

model for Japanese etiquette was misinterpreted by the Jesuit authorities in Rome, because Valignano's text gave the impression that Jesuit members would no longer treat each other as equals, and compete for obtaining more privileges than their companions.<sup>86</sup> Valignano partly dismissed these concerns, but they would become real problems after his death in 1606, as we will see in chapter 7.

Another important concern of Valignano was cleanliness, and making sure that the Jesuits were not seen as uncivilized people. In this case he specifically mentioned that Jesuits should imitate Buddhist monks, because they were extremely careful about keeping everything perfectly clean.

Based on these concerns (hierarchical space and cleanliness), I propose the possibility that the main flaw in the design of the church of Santa Maria was the lack of specific *zashiki* rooms for noble people. As for the Jesuit house, it certainly lacked the proper *zashiki* for welcoming guests, and the food was mostly based on cow and other types of meat, which were very difficult to clean.

To be clear, Valignano did not defend that all aspects and manners of Buddhist monks should be followed, but only the ones which were indispensable for giving a favorable image of the Jesuits as polite people.<sup>87</sup> It should also be clear after reading Valignano's statements that there were considerable disagreements between him and Cabral. To be fair, Cabral did have some supporters, not only inside the Jesuit organization (for example, Luis de Almeida expressed his support for him in 1572), but also among some Japanese Christians, because Cabral was a strong defender of the vow of poverty, and was a regular practitioner of self-flagellation during processions. But the strong dissatisfaction that Japanese noblemen had gathered towards him made the situation unsustainable for the whole Jesuit mission in Japan. Cabral's attitude also marked a contrast with Cosme de Torres, since it was widely reported in Jesuit letters that Torres refused to eat any kind of meat, and strictly ate simple and plain Japanese food.

In the end, Valignano asked Organtino's opinion about who should replace Francisco Cabral as the next Superior, and Organtino recommended Gaspar Coelho, as he seemed to be a calm person, and friendly to the Japanese. Valignano followed Organtino's advice, and ordered that the region of Shimo (下) should imitate all of the methods and strategies used in the Gokinai region.<sup>88</sup> This therefore included the aspects of church architecture that had been developed by Organtino and Dario Takayama. This does not mean that buildings had to have three floors, because that was a result of small land plots, but it

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<sup>86</sup> Josef Franz Schutte, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41.

<sup>87</sup> Alvarez-Taladriz, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

<sup>88</sup> Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L., El Padre Viceprovincial Gaspar Coelho "Capitan de armas o pastor de almas"?, in *Miscelánea Japónica III*, Osaka, 1980, p. 57.

means that the church had to look beautiful and impressive to the Japanese.

#### 4.6. Post-Valignano Period: 1582-1587

After Valignano departed from Japan back to India (together with 4 Japanese boys on an embassy to Rome) a number of important churches were built in Arima, Bungo and the Gokinai regions. Despite the fact that Valignano had given instructions to avoid spending too much on buildings, during 1584 and 1585 some Jesuits write to the authorities in Rome to complain about Gaspar Coelho, because he was living almost like a bishop (監督), with his own house separate from the normal Jesuit House.<sup>89</sup> Inside Coelho's house, there were 50 residents, including servants such as 8 tonobara (殿原), 10 or 12 "moços" (an ambiguous term which can mean either "young boy" or "slave"), some dojuku, and 3 or 4 Brothers who always accompany Coelho wherever he goes. Another criticism was that Coelho spent too much money on silver ornaments for the churches,<sup>90</sup> and spent much more money on his own personal house than any other Jesuit House, including the house of Bungo, which was the best one at that time.<sup>91</sup>

During this period, liturgical celebrations also became more lavish. A good example was the Usuki church in 1584, during Easter celebrations. With the financial support and advice of Otomo Sorin, there was a considerable investment in the decoration and

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<sup>89</sup> "Vuelto el P. Visitador de Japón a la China y de la China a la India, comenzó el nuevo Superior a proceder aquí con gran magnificencia en su tratamiento, casi como un obispo, con muchos servidores, con casa separada de los otros y con muchos gastos..." Padre Organtino, al Padre Claudio Aquaviva, Nagasaki, 10 March 1589, ARSI Jap. Sin. 11 II ff. 66-72, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L, El Padre Viceprovincial Gaspar Coelho "Capitan de armas o pastor de almas"?, in *Miscelánea Japónica III*, Osaka, 1980, p. 57.

<sup>90</sup> "...estando ja as cazas todas providas em prata e provim.<sup>to</sup> vinte mil taeis, e se não fora a çeda q nos deixou Fr.<sup>co</sup> paez estiveramos postos na espinha, p q são ca os gastos m.<sup>tos</sup> e os ganhos m.<sup>to</sup> poucos e não pode V. R. [Vossa Reverência] trazer tanto q mais não seia necessário, ao menos não safunda [se afunda] V. R. em gastar em ornamentos ricos [ricos] de borcado nê velludo, de pesas da china abastão p.<sup>a</sup> tudo q não ha ca milhores pesas, isto he o com q ficamos ao presente, o P.<sup>e</sup> V. P. [Padre Vice-Provincial], D.<sup>s</sup> [Deus] o guarde, gasta bem..." João de Crasto, Letter to Alessandro Valignano, 1587-03-19, ARSI Jap. Sin., fol. 249r.

<sup>91</sup> "...me diz o Ir.<sup>o</sup> [Irmão] Fr.<sup>co</sup> [Francisco] pirez que esta aqui, que esteve cô o P.<sup>e</sup> [Padre] por despenseiro que tem 50 p.<sup>as</sup> [pessoas] em casa de ordinario, elle tem ja 8 tonos baras [殿原] (...) y algûs dez ou doze moços y dojucus [同宿] y 3 ou 4 Ir.<sup>os</sup> [Irmãos] que sempre traz côsigo y m.<sup>to</sup> [muito] mayor fausto que hû bispo de que não murmurão pouco y prouve a D.<sup>s</sup> [Deus] que nos faça proveito tanta autoridade que o que ordenou o P.<sup>e</sup> visitador (...) he verdade que me disse o P.<sup>e</sup> Ju.<sup>o</sup> [João] de crasto que m.<sup>to</sup> mas gasto tem o P.<sup>e</sup> cô a sua casa, sem os presentes y outras cousas, que da que Bûgo [豊後] né nhua casa." Alonso Gonzalez, Letter from Amakusa, 1585-10-28, Jap. Sin. 10-I, fol. 56v.

construction of temporary structures inside the church.

Sorin was particularly eager to make these Easter celebrations the most impressive that had ever happened in Japan, and therefore he built a new, larger church just for this purpose. The Dean of the House of Probation in Usuki collaborated with the Jesuit brothers to create a large sepulcher (幕屋).

During the Holy Week of Easter, it is common to celebrate the rite known as “Tenebrae” (テネブレ、暗闇の朝課) on Thursday morning, or Friday or Saturday. It means the “rite of darkness”: the candles around the altar are gradually blown, so that the whole space becomes dark. Then, the body of Christ (represented by the Blessed Sacrament, or 聖体) is stored inside the sepulcher for two days.

In the case of Usuki’s church in 1584, the sepulcher was so large that it occupied the space of the entire chapel. The sepulcher was tall, with good proportions, and had a square-shaped structure. Its roof was filled with a checkered diamond pattern (菱型パターン) made of a paper called suibara or sugibaragami (水原・杉原紙). This checkered pattern had two alternating colors: the first color was white paper; the second color was suibara paper imitating the color of jasper stones (碧玉). The entire pattern was sprinkled with gold from China. This roof was supported by six gilded columns. The fences (格子柵) that existed in both sides of the sepulcher were covered with rolled jasper stones (丸碧玉). Above the altar there was a vault (アーチ形天井) decorated in the same way.

The altar and the niche (壁龕, probably inside the altar) were very well decorated. The chapel was decorated with very rich byobu (屏風). Otomo Sorin was extremely happy with the result and never got out of the sacristy room, always talking with priests and brothers.<sup>92</sup> This suggests that the sacristy room was a lateral zashiki reserved for priests and important people, as recommended by Valignano.

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<sup>92</sup> “...chegada a quinta fr.<sup>a</sup> [feira] dendoêças [de endoenças] apareçeo o sepulchro ao êçerrar do Sôr, o ql se podia afirmar q foy o mais luxtroso & p.<sup>a</sup> [para] ver q ategora em Japão se fez de q os Japões ficarão admirados sem saberê delle tirar os olhos. O ql [qual] era tão grande que ocupaua toda a capela, e a maquina do sepulchro era quadrada & estava alto & é boa pporsão, era f.<sup>to</sup> [feito] de diamâys [diamantes] m.<sup>to</sup> [muito] brâcos de papel q se chama suybara [水原] & de pedras jaspeadas do mesmo, ordenado tudo a modo de xadres & semeado de ouro da china, fundado tudo isto sobre seys colûnas douradas, m.<sup>to</sup> lustrozas - todo o êbate da V.ta [Volta? Porta?] era f.<sup>to</sup> de pedras raras brancas jaspeadas & semeadas douro, as grades dambas as bandas de Jaspes roliços. Sobre o altar estaua f.<sup>ta</sup> huã abobada da mesma obra, e o altar & charola aonde o Sôr se enserrou estaua muy bê ornado p se meter nelle tudo o Resto de casa - a isto se ajûtara estar a capela ao redor ornada de muy ricos beôbus [屏風]. El Rey [Sorin] andaua tão alegre q não cabia de prazer & assi nûca sahia da sacrestia falâdo e cõuersando com os p.<sup>es</sup> [Padres] & Irmãos muy familiarm.<sup>te</sup> [familiarmente].” Luis Frois, Nagasaki, 1584-08-31, ARSI Jap. Sin. 9-II, fol. 280v.

Another important decorative piece was unveiled on the Saturday of Easter. It was a fountain made by one of Sorin's servants, who was a Chinese Christian. Around its basin there was a fence made of canes (probably referring to 籐), covered with stripes of gilded pieces. Around it there was a reed bed (ヨシ原), in which the stalks were made of white silk and the leaves were made of green silk. In an area of the reed bed where the stalks existed in greater number, there was a large beautiful fish. Over this fish there was a Chinese bureaucrat scholar (i.e, a mandarin, 官僚) wearing his hat with rolled ears. It is said by Frois that this was an old tale, famous among the Chinese.<sup>93</sup> The mandarin had his hands closed together, with his eyes looking towards the sky in amazement.

Although Frois does not give any more information about this fountain, it is possible that it depicts the tale of Lü Shang, (aka 呂尚, 姜子牙, 姜尚), who sat at the river bed for many years, holding a fishing line with no hook, claiming that “the fish would come to him when they were ready”. This Chinese story might reference the process of becoming a Christian, during which a person is not baptized until they have received the essential teachings (doctrine, catechism, 教理), and are apt for receiving baptism.

In any case, this episode also shows that there was no problem in including artistic motifs from Chinese tales in Christian ceremonies, as long as they teach a moral lesson, and do not involve foreign deities or religions.

#### 4.7. The Brotherhood of Misericordia (1583)

Back in Nagasaki, the Brotherhood of the Misericordia (ミセリコルディア組) was officially established in Hakata-machi in 1583. The Holy House of Mercy (“Santa Casa da Misericordia”) was an institution established in 1498 in Portugal, devoted to pious tasks such as helping the sick and old, helping to organize funerals, feeding the poor and taking care of abandoned children. As people in Portuguese colonies became aware of the rules and mission of the institution, they would organize into a group, and officially adopt the rules and symbols of the Misericordia (known in Japan at the time as jihi 慈悲の組).

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<sup>93</sup> “Apareção ao sabado sancto ha fonte pfeita [perfeita] graciosa & amena tinha ao redor da pia huã sebe de canas todas cobertas de tiras de pessas [peças] douradas de duas cores cõ outra dourada q cobria toda a sebe; avia mays hũ canavial como os q nascê nas alagoas q são quasi como ervas as quays erão todas e as folhas de seda verde e as yspigas de seda brãca m.<sup>to</sup> ao natural e aonde as canas estauão mais espesas avia hum fermoso pexe muy grãde e ê extremo bem f.<sup>to</sup> sobre o qual vinha hũ mãdarim da china com seu barrete de orelhas revoltas m.<sup>to</sup> polido e bem feyto q fez hũ china xpão criado del Rey. E dizê que era ysto huã istoria antiga antre os chinas afamada, o mãdarim estava cõ as mãos fechadas e os olhos quasi no çeo como espãtado e não menos estauão todos cõ os olhos nelle cousa que elevava aos Japões em grãde manr.<sup>a</sup> [maneira].” Luis Frois, Nagasaki, 1584-08-31, ARSI Jap. Sin. 9-II, fol. 281r.

The Misericordia of Nagasaki was not the first one in Japan: there had been others in Yamaguchi, Funai and Hirado previously.<sup>94</sup>

In Nagasaki, the Brotherhood of the Misericordia was constituted by many people, but one couple in particular contributed more than the others. It was a Japanese man named Justino Kazariya 鋳屋 and his wife Justa. They had been baptized in Sakai many years before, and came to live in Nagasaki. According to Luis Frois, Justino was a goldsmith, which agrees with his family name. Justino also did most of the actual construction work of the Misericordia church by himself. After finishing the church, he went to Azuchiyama to visit the Seminary, and since the priests there already knew him, they asked him to supervise the construction of the church in Sakai, which he agreed to do. Justino spent almost one year there supervising the construction works.<sup>95</sup>

According to Organtino, who took the initiative to build the church in Sakai, it had a large beautiful gilded cross in its roof. We can see a possible example of this roof cross in the Kano Naizen byobu held by the Kobe Museum. Although there is no evidence to prove this, Justino may have designed the cross himself.

The first main task of the Misericordia in Nagasaki was to build a hospital for lepers (ハンセン病者) outside of the city, which in this case was Sao Lazaro (サン・ラザロ), located near Nishizaka Hill (西坂).<sup>96</sup> The name Lazaro comes from the Biblical story of

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<sup>94</sup> There are many studies about the Misericordia institutions in Japan, but an excellent overview of this topic can be found in Ruiz-de-Medina, *Documentos del Japon 1558-1562*, pp. 657-678.

<sup>95</sup> “Entre estes homens hahi hum que veo de Sacây, onde se fez Christão elle, & toda a sua casa avera vinte annos: chamase Iustino, & sua molher Iusta (...) Este Iustino, & sua molher foraõ os que particularmente tomaraõ o assumpto de fazer a casa da misericordia, & os que mais deraõ pera ella, ainda que os outros tambem ajudaraõ, mas Iustino deu mais, & pos mais trabalho, & persuadio aos outros que entrassem nesta irmandade (...) O anno passado depois que Iustino acabou de fazer a igreja da Misericordia se foi ao Miaco pera ver o seminario (...) & como os padres della o conheciaõ, & tinhaõ experiencia do seu zelo, & virtude: pediraõlhe muito que pois era natural do Sacay, & com sua industria se podia dar principio a nova igreja que alli pretendiamos fazer (...) & la estâ ha perto de hum anno tendo a superintendencia das obras, & o que mais he afora seu trabalho, deu perto de cento e cincoenta cruzados de esmola pera a mesma obra, sendo ourivez, & que sustenta sua casa com o trabalho de suas mãos.” Luis Fróis, Letter from Nagasaki, 1585-10-01, transcribed in Lira, Manuel de. *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India & Europa des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580 : primeiro [-segundo] tomo...* Evora: 1598, fol. 130r.

<sup>96</sup> “E ainda que são pobres (...) ordenarão fora da povoação caza para os lazaros, da qual têm dous irmãos da Misericordia cuidado. E sendo couza muito repugnante à natureza dos japões (...) anda a caza tão limpa e os doentes tão bem providos das esmolos, que os irmãos cada semana lhe andão buscando, que os mesmo enfermos se espantão disto.” Fróis, Luís, Wicky, Josef. *História de Japam*. Vol. 4, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976-1984, p. 6.

a man named Lazarus, who died of illness and was resurrected by Jesus.

As mentioned in a previous chapter, the Jesuit hospital of Funai in Bungo had prevented the Jesuits from converting more people. The reason is because helping lepers was widely seen by the Japanese as a work for people of low status, and therefore few dared to convert. But the establishment of the Brotherhood of the Misericordia allowed the Jesuits to succeed in both ways: because the people who worked at the hospitals and helped the poor were lay people, and the Misericordia institution was an independent institution, the Jesuits were able to maintain their religious status, while pious works were being done.

The charitable work of the Misericordia was seen by many Japanese merchants who came to do business with Portuguese merchants, and many of them converted after watching the members of the Misericordia doing their tasks. In the case of the hospital of Sao Lazaro, it was located outside of the city among the woods. The construction of leper houses in a place separate from the city can be seen both in Japan as well as Europe (ex: the “lazaretto”). The fact that the Misericordia did these works to help lepers did not mean that they could live inside the city.

#### **4.8. Summary**

In this chapter, we introduced the first Christian structures of Nagasaki: the church of Todos os Santos, the church of Santa Maria, the Jesuit house, and the headquarters of the Brotherhood of Misericordia, including the hospital of Sao Lazaro. The cemetery and public crosses will be discussed in the following chapter.

We also discussed the differences between the policies of Francisco Cabral and Alessandro Valignano, and why it is written that the church of Santa Maria and the Jesuit House were badly designed. Valignano prepared a series of rules intended to improve the reputation of the Society of Jesus in the eyes of the Japanese public. We can also see from his rules regarding the Jesuit House that he tried to establish a compromise between the requirements of Japanese etiquette (hierarchical space), and the requirements of Jesuit Colleges (peace, quiet and privacy for the priests). It was also important for Valignano to minimize contacts with women inside the grounds of the Jesuit Houses.

In terms of etiquette, there is undoubtedly an influence from the Monastic Codes of the Zen sect, but it is not clear if Zen architecture had any influence on Valignano's recommendations in terms of architecture. In any case, it is likely that the buildings made by Organtino and Dario Takayama, together with the advices of Otomo Sorin, had

an influence on Valignano, since he ordered the Jesuits in Kyushu to follow the same methods as the Jesuits in the Gokinai region.

Valignano's departure allowed Gaspar Coelho to assume control of the Jesuit Mission in an unsupervised manner, which led to criticisms of excessive spending on buildings and ornaments. It is also at this time that a number of impressive churches with lavish decoration were built in Arima, Usuki, and Miyako.

Another interesting aspect is the use of elements of Chinese tales in the decoration of the fountain in the church of Usuki. Paralel to this, the Jesuit House in Nagasaki was expanded with more houses, and a new, large church, possibly the largest in Japan at the time. It was called Our Lady of Assumption, and lasted until 1592. Based on the data of Appendix A, the possible organization of the main buildings in the Jesuit House during the 1580s is depicted in Figure 5.



Figure 5: possible arrangement of the main buildings of the Jesuit House between 1585 and 1592. For more information, please consult Appendix A.

The Brotherhood of Misericordia, officially established in 1583 in Nagasaki, had an extremely important role in the mobilization of the community towards the protection of the poor and sick, which led to the construction of hospitals for patients of leper.



Nevertheless, this does not mean that disadvantaged people were fully accepted within the area of the city. Territorial discrimination (or, as mentioned previously, hierarchical space, at the urban level) continued to exist. Privileged people lived in the center, while disadvantaged people remained in the periphery.

## 5. CEMETERIES AND CROSSES

### 5.1. Public Crosses

It has been mentioned many times that religious processions always started at the church, went to a cross placed outside the church, and came back to the church. Ideally, the cross should be somewhat far away from the church, to give time for Christians to sing litanies and flagellate themselves along the way. This was the case with Todos os Santos, when Vilela was there in 1569: the procession had to walk to a cross that was “somewhat far away” from the church and back.

According to Luis Frois, there are three reasons for installing a cross on an open space:

- First, because the Japanese are particularly devoted to the sign of the cross, which represents the virtues of martyrdom and penance, and it also represents the destination point of their processions;
- Second, they put a cross in a certain place because there are many places where it is not possible to have a church (due to the lack of missionaries). Therefore, the crosses are used as a replacement for churches, marking the location of a cemetery, and they bury their dead around the cross.
- Third, so that the people who pass in those areas know that it is a land of Christians. Regarding this point, Frois claims in 1584 that around the Christian areas of Arima and Omura, in every place which used to have a Japanese temple or shrine, there is now a cross instead.<sup>1</sup>

We have only a few references to the materials used in large public crosses. They claim that the crosses were well-manufactured in wood, and lacquered. Sometimes these crosses also had gilded parts.<sup>2</sup> In Hakata around 1585, a devote Christian named Lucas

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<sup>1</sup> “...são tantas as cruces por estas terras q os xpãos alevantão q se não vai por parte onde logo se não ofereça aos olhos huã bandeira de X.<sup>o</sup> [Christo] arvorada em lugar dos templos & edificios jentilicos [gentilicos] em q o demonio destes mesmos sendo gentios era cõ estranha veneração adorado, & entre out.<sup>as</sup> [outras] cauzas por 3 particularm.<sup>te</sup> se alevâtão estas cruces, a p.<sup>ra</sup> [primeira] pla [pela] devação uniuersal q os xpãos todos tem há cruz aonde fazem suas romarias, a 2.<sup>a</sup> por q como con todas as aldeas povoações e lugares não pode ainda agora aver igrejas fiqãolhe as cruces em lugar de adros ao redor das quais emterão seus defuntos - a 3.<sup>a</sup> p.<sup>a</sup> saber quem por ali passa serem ja aqlles lugares de xpãos.” Luis Frois and Gaspar Coelho, Kazusa, 1584-11-29, ARSI Jap. Sin. 9-II, fol. 313v.

<sup>2</sup> “...primeiramente derã em hũa devação, q e arvorar cruces mto grãdes, polos caminhos, e passou se tão isto, q qualquer pessoa honrrada, toma por ponto de hõrra a

built a very beautiful cross with four layers of black lacquer, and the “INRI” (Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudeorum, or “Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews”) inscription at the “titulus” of the cross (十字架の上の小板の上端) is gilded.<sup>3</sup> A ceremony was made to celebrate the raising of the cross. Despite these descriptions, it is very likely that only the most beautiful crosses are mentioned in Jesuit letters. We can guess that most crosses were much less impressive than the ones described here.

Among the various possible shapes of the cross, the type of cross built by Lucas (千十十字架) seems to have been somewhat popular. When two people cut a tree in Omura in 1612, they found the mark of a cross inside the trunk of the tree. They showed it to a relative, Jimpachi Miguel, who was a carpenter. He claimed that the Jesuits had taught him how to build crosses, and that he knew a lot about proportions. He was absolutely sure that this tree mark was a true cross, with correct proportions.<sup>4</sup> It was brought to the Jesuits, who wrote a report to Rome about it and assumed that this cross mark represented a message from God that something important would happen in the near future. They made a painting of the cross, part of which can be found on the last folio of Jap. Sin. 23, fol. 379a (Figure 1).

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levantar hũa cruz uermizada, sen partes doradas, quado a alevanta fazê mtas festas levando la p.<sup>e</sup> ou Irmão q a benza, afirmaram que em este reino de Bûgo estã alevantadas perto de oitenta cruces, as quaes tomã os christaõs por sua devação de visitar...” Pero Gomes, Funai, 1585-10-31, ARSI Jap. Sin. 10-I, fol. 64r.

<sup>3</sup> “Hũ xpão do facata p nome Lucas q he hum dos principais levantou hũa cruz m.<sup>to</sup> formosa e acharoadada com tres ou quatro capas de charão preto com as letras do titulo douradas, la foi o p.<sup>e</sup> p.<sup>o</sup> gomez cõ outros p.<sup>es</sup> e irmãos a fazerlhe a festa do alevantar da cruz.” Luis Frois & Gaspar Coelho, “Annua do Japão de 1585”, Nagasaki, 2<sup>a</sup> via, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1585-10-01, fol. 11r.

<sup>4</sup> “...a boca da noite quãdo chegãdo a casa de Fabião, e Paulo huũ seu parête por nome Jimpachi Miguel por off.o carpinteiro, e mostrando lhe a dita a che disse, isto he cruz milagrosa, Eu sey de proporções e como se fazê as cruces por me terê os padres ensinado, e affirmo ser isto verdadr.a cruz e m.to bem proporcionada, nê nisto pode aver algũa duvida.” Bispo Luis Cerqueira, Nagasaki, 1612-03-01, Jap. Sin. 21-I, fol. 239r.

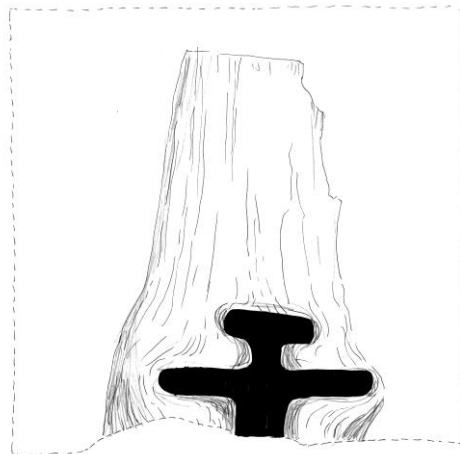


Figure 1: tracing made by the author of folio 379a in the codex Jap. Sin. 23, which depicts the cross found by the two Japanese men in Omura in 1612. The lower half of the page is missing.

Although it was likely that many other cross shapes and materials such as stone were used as well, it is not clear why this particular shape of cross was used by the Jesuits.

## 5.2. Cemeteries

The first reference in Jesuit sources to the existence of a cemetery in Nagasaki is from the year 1583, when Frois describes the ceremonies of All Souls' Day (死者日, 2 November 1583): after dinner, the whole population came out of the church, and went in procession towards the cross, which was located a little bit outside of the settlement of Nagasaki. Once they arrived, Gaspar Coelho made some prayers for the souls of the deceased.<sup>5</sup>

Another reference regarding the location of the cross was made by Francisco Pirez in his memoirs, written in 1622. He reports the state of Nagasaki when he first arrived there in 1583. According to him, in 1583 Nagasaki was already full of houses from the Misericordia building (in Hakata-machi) towards the “inside” (i.e., the cape of Morisaki). Outside of the settlement of Nagasaki, there were a few houses on the way towards the

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<sup>5</sup> “Pelo dia dos defuntos, forão todos àquela Igreja de Nangazaqui (...) E pelo grande cazo que fazem dos sahimentos, sahio da igreja toda a povoação depoes de jantar, e os Padres e Irmãos, com huma solemne e bem ordenada procissão até a cruz, que está hum pedaço fora da povoação, aonde o P. Vice-Provincial os acompanhou e o P. Superior de Nangazaqui andou com sua capa d'asperges dizendo seus responsorios e orações pelas sepulturas dos defuntos...” Fróis, Luís, Wicky, Josef. *História de Japam*. Vol. 4, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976-1984, p. 6.

cross.<sup>6</sup> Frois adds in 1585 that the cross was “very big” and it was the place where the dead of Nagasaki are buried.<sup>7</sup>

This cemetery and large cross still existed in 1592, when Terazawa’s soldiers came to remove the cross, and also to dismantle the Jesuit House and churches, which were sent to Nagoya. There were also another two crosses: one in an internal courtyard of Misericordia, which had a small cemetery, and another at the hospital of Sao Lazaro.<sup>8</sup>

Since this cemetery had become too small, the graves were all transferred to a new cemetery outside the city in 1601.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> “Chegámos a Japão dia de S. Tiago ao porto de Nangasaqi, que já estava povoado da Mizericórdia pera dentro, e fora tinha algumas casas quando vão pera a Cruz, e pera baixo pera Oeste junto da cava, e junto da praya huma pequena carreira de cazas que chamavão Cabaxima [malchi. O mais, tudo estava semeado de trigo o cevada. Mas logo aquelle anno começou a hir em grande crescimento (...) Este anno se acrescentou muito Nangasaqi em ruas e cazas no campo de fora da primeira ponte...” Francisco Pirez, Pontos de que me alembrar, annexed textes in Ajuda Library, 49-V-3, 1622, transcribed in Schütte, Josef Franz. *Monumenta Historica Japoniae 1. Textus catalogorum Japoniae aliaeque de personis domibusque S.J. in Japonia informationes et relationes, 1549-1654*. Roma: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1975, p. 429.

<sup>7</sup> “...fazem hũa solenne, & devota procissão até hũa cruz mui grande fora do povo onde elles se enterraõ, & nesta procissão hião como trezentos disciplinantes, com hum crucifixo grãde, & devoto, que se fez na China.” Luis Fróis, Letter from Nagasaki, 1585-10-01, transcribed in Lira, Manuel de. *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India & Europa des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580 : primeiro [-segundo] tomo...* Evora: 1598, fol. 130r.

<sup>8</sup> “Alem disso mandou que se tirasse huma grande cruz, que ainda estava no adro aonde se enterrão os defuntos de Nangazaqui, e outras que estavam em S. Lazaro e na Mizericordia, nas quaes se não tinha bolido até agora pelo respeito que tiverão a serem dos ditos lugares: porque a grande se deixava como couza que pertencia àquelle lugar dos defuntos, a que tem naturalmente grande respeito os japões, e da mesma maneira o tiverão à casa da Mizericordia e ao hospital de S. Lazaro, pelas grandes e boas obras que nelle se fazem (...) Mas como este gentio tinha já destruida a igreja e cazas de Nangazaqui, e desejava de levar tudo ao cabo, não somente fez tirar estas cruces (posto que ainda a da Mizericordia ficou por estar escondida dentro em hum pateo), mas tambem comessarão seos officiaes a tratar de desfazer a igreja de S. Lazaro e a igreja e caza de Todos os Santos, onde estavam recolhidos os Padres.” Fróis, Luís, Wicky, Josef. *História de Japam*. Vol. 5, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976-1984, p. 442.

<sup>9</sup> “Antes que para Arima se partisse o Seminario, fezse nesta terra huã solemne tresladaçam dos ossos dos deffuntos de hum adro velho onde estavam mal accomodados, para hum novo q pouco antes, nam longe da Cidade se tinha acabado (como se escreveo no anno passado) foram pois todos os Padres, Irmaõs, e Dogicos do Seminario a caza da Mizericordia onde os Irmaõs della, e todo o povo os esperava, e dali levanda [sic] em huã tumba alguns dos ossos (por que os mais ja la estavam em seus lugares accomodados) se começou huã muy comprida procissam. Chegando ao novo sementerio, o Bispo que lá estava os sahio a receber.” “Anno de 1602 escrita pelo Padre Gabriel de Mattos ao primeiro de Janeyro de 1603 em Nangazaqui ao M.R. em Christo Padre.” *Jesuitas na Asia*, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-I-31) num.1-62 Toyo

The first explicit reference to the existence of a prison for Christians and priests in “Cruz-machi” (クルス町) can be found in 1623.<sup>10</sup> Later Japanese texts indicate that the previous name of Sakura-machi (桜町) was Cruz-machi, and that a prison had been built in the place where the church of Sao Francisco (サン・フランシスコ) once existed.<sup>11</sup>

There is very little that is known about Christian cemeteries, since only portions of these cemeteries have been found in archeological excavations. Luis Frois tells the episode of a Japanese nobleman named Dom Geronimo who participated on the Invasion of Korea, felt sick and returned to Japan to die. He left specific orders for his vassals to bury him in the Christian way, which was lying upright, and with the face turned towards the sky; and not in a “sitting” pose, as the Japanese usually did.<sup>12</sup> But the reality seems to have been much more complex than that.

We will show two examples in Takatsuki (analyzed by Takahashi Kouichi)<sup>13</sup> and Funai (analyzed by Yusuke Tanaka from the Oita Prefectural center for archeology).<sup>14</sup>

The Takatsuki cemetery is the one in which the bodies of the deceased are better organized (Figure 2). Even so, there are bodies in the same row facing either north or south, in a random manner. According to Takahashi Kouichi, their positions are mostly upright (伏臥伸展・仰臥伸展).

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Bunko, fol. 81.

<sup>10</sup> “Estuvo preso Fray Pedro acá en la cárcel de Cruz machi dos meses con excesivo rigor...” Fray Domingo Castellet, Letter from Nagasaki, 1623-11-02, transcribed in José Delgado Garcia, ed. Fr. Juan de la Badía, O.P., misionero del Japon y Bento Domingo Castellet O.P., misionero mártir del Japón, Orientalia Dominicana 4, Madrid, Instituto Pontificio de Teología/Misionología, 1986, p. 34.

<sup>11</sup> 『長崎志』, paraphrased in 『長崎県の地名』, p. 136.

<sup>12</sup> Fróis, Luís, Wicky, Josef. História de Japam. Vol. 5, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976-1984, p. 519.

<sup>13</sup> The original image can be found in 高橋公一「高槻城キリシタン墓地」、別府大学文化財研究所, 九州考古学会, 大分県考古学会 (編)『キリシタン大名の考古学』Vol. 2, 思文閣出版, 2009, p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> The original image can be found in 田中裕介「九州南部のキリシタン考古学」『月刊考古学ジャーナル』創刊 600 号記念特集、2010 年 6 月号、ニューサイエンス社, pp. 9-12.

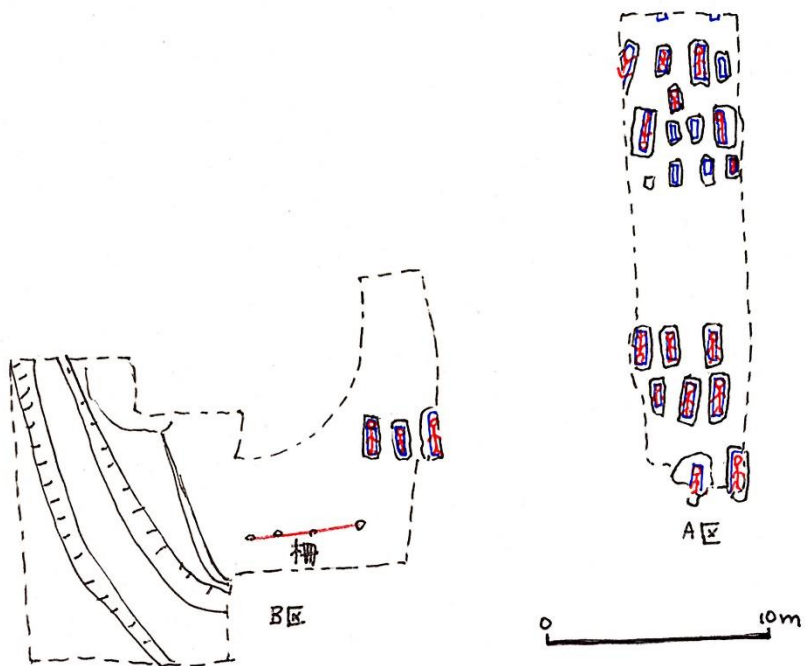


Figure 2: excavation of a Christian cemetery in Takatsuki (this image was traced and simplified by the author). The red lines represent the shapes of bodies.

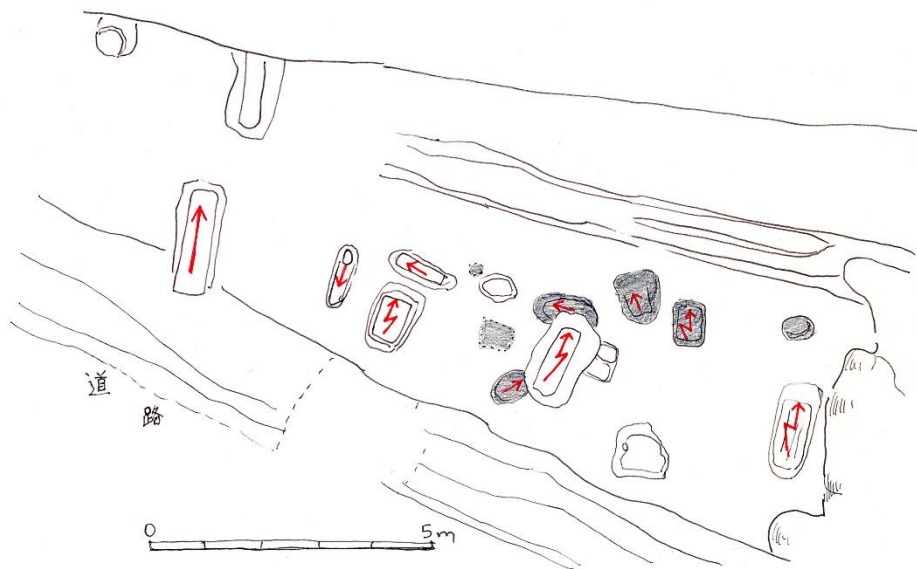


Figure 3: remains of a Christian cemetery in Funai, Bungo. This image was traced by the author. Straight arrows are upright bodies (伸展) or unidentifiable poses because of lack of bones; bent arrows represent curved bodies (屈葬・座葬).

The dead bodies in the Funai cemetery are quite disorganized (Figure 3). The gray areas represent graves from an earlier period, the other ones are from a later period. Although Frois claims that the Misericordia of Nagasaki used well-decorated caskets to bury the dead, in the case of Funai only a few graves contain upright bodies (伸展葬) inside long caskets (長方形木棺). Yusuke Tanaka notes that all of the other graves are either crouched burials (屈葬) or squatted burials (座葬) within wooden coffins (木棺), which are common aspects of Japanese burials during the Middle Ages.

Regarding Nagasaki, there have only been a couple of small excavations in the area of Sakura-machi. Although the archeologists found many holes, they are quite scattered and disorganized, and the results are not conclusive enough to say if there was a cemetery or not. The reason is because the cemetery only lasted at most 30 years, while the area was used for residential purposes for four centuries, so the earth layers are quite mixed. They did find pieces of Christian medallions (メダイ) and fragments of roof tiles with the cross motif (Figures 4, 5, 6, 7).<sup>15</sup> They also found the body of a woman buried during the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

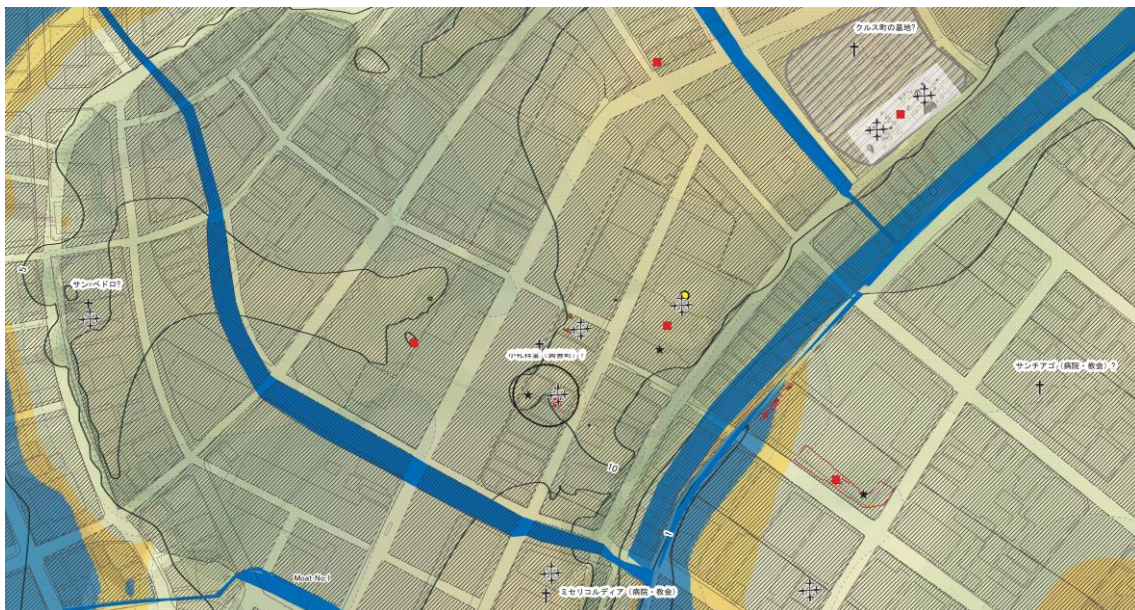


Figure 4: view of the central section of Uchi-machi. The area of Misericordia is in the bottom, and the possible location of the cemetery of Sakura-machi is at the top right

<sup>15</sup> These two images were traced and simplified by the author: the original images can be found in: 高田美由紀『桜町遺跡: 医院併用住宅建設に伴う埋蔵文化財発掘調査報告書』長崎市教育委員会, 1999, p.10; 扇浦正義『桜町遺跡: サンガ-デン桜町マンション建設に伴う埋蔵文化財発掘調査報告書』長崎市埋蔵文化財調査協議会, 2000, p.10.



corner. The flower cross marks (花十字架) mark the locations where roof tiles with this pattern were found. The white area in the cemetery site represents the extent of the archeological excavations.

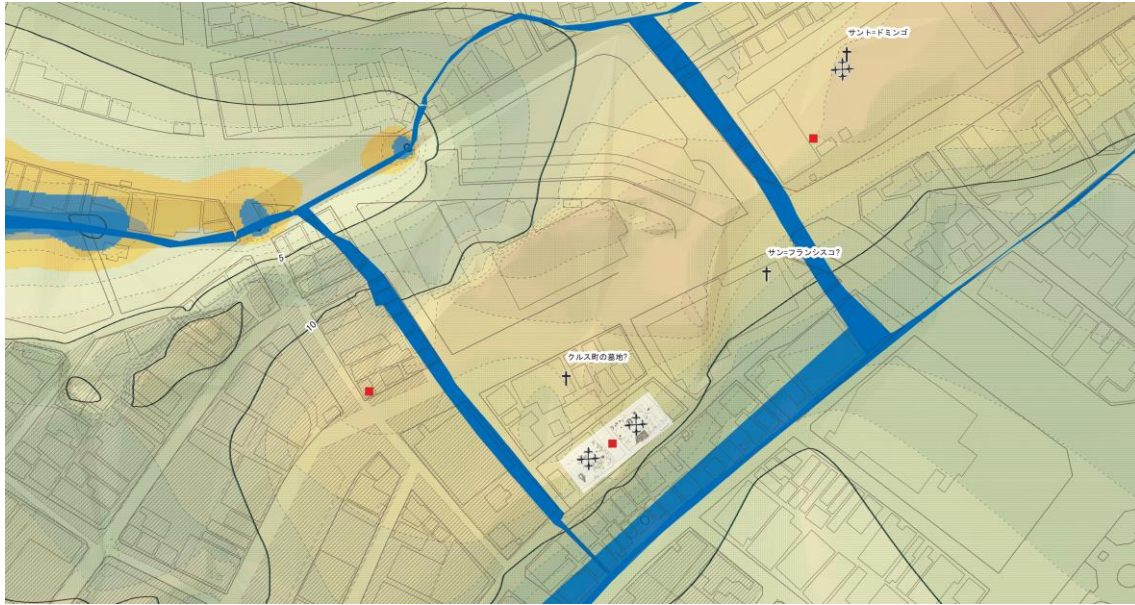


Figure 5: close-up of the area of Cruz-machi/Sakura-machi.

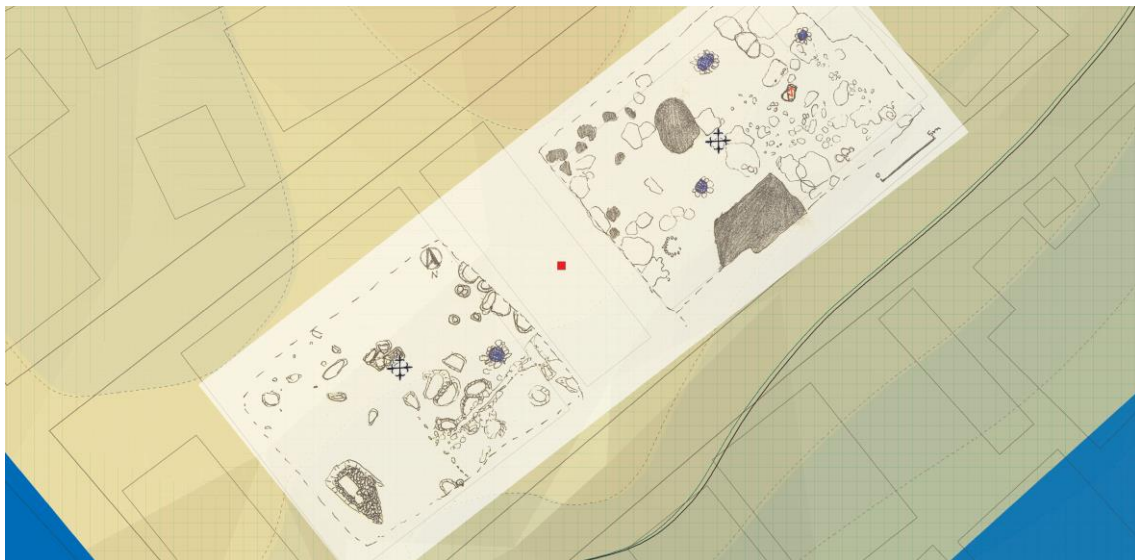


Figure 6: overview of the archeological excavation site in Sakura-machi. The original image was traced and simplified by the author, and inserted into a GIS system. The blue circles represent wells (井戸), and the little red arrow (bent shape) represents the body of a woman buried around the 14<sup>th</sup> century, in the squatted position (座葬). The gray areas represent revolved, disturbed earth (攪乱).



Figure 7: overview of the archeological excavation site in Sakura-machi. The original image was traced and simplified by the author, and inserted into a GIS system. The blue circles represent wells (井戸), and the little red arrow (bent shape) represents the body of a woman buried around the 14<sup>th</sup> century, in the squatted position (座葬). The gray areas represent revolved, disturbed earth (攪乱)

### 5.3. Gravestones/Grave Markers

Regarding gravestones or grave markers, there seems to have been a large variety of shapes and materials, but there is very little information about them in Jesuit sources. The placement of a gravestone or grave marker made of wood depended on the finances of each family. The most expensive ones tended to be lacquered or gilded. In the Takaku region (Arima) in 1598, Francisco Pasio mentions the existence of two graves in a place near the church: they were the bodies of a sister and daughter of the lord of Takaku. The grave markers were made of beautifully crafted wood, raised vertically from the ground, and painted with lacquer (漆).<sup>16</sup> In Takatsuki, Dario Takayama gave orders to put a

<sup>16</sup> "...pollo Tacaqu terras de Arimad.<sup>ono</sup> chegarão a hû lugar perto da Igreja, aonde encôtrarão cõ algúas sepult.<sup>as</sup> honrrosas alevantadas do chão bem lavradas, e

wooden cross over the graves of every Christian.<sup>17</sup>

Very few Christian gravestones exist today, and most of them have no marks to identify the year in which they were made, or even the name of the person. Kataoka Yakichi made a detailed survey of Christian gravestones across the whole prefecture of Nagasaki.<sup>18</sup> According to the study, the large majority of these gravestones are located in the Arima area (87 stones), while only 5 stones could be found around the city of Nagasaki. Almost all of these gravestones have no marks whatsoever, which helps to conceal their Christian identity.

Yakichi organized the gravestones into typologies based on the shape of the stone and the shape of the cross drawn on it (when it exists). These typologies are summarized in Figures 8 and 9.



Figure 8: typologies of gravestones, as defined by Kataoka Yakichi. This drawing was traced by the author. From left to right: 箱型, 庵型, 庵型下部細る, 丸庵型, 平庵型, 平型, 薄型, 蒲鉾型, 自然石立, 石祠型.



Figure 9: typologies of crosses drawn in gravestones, as defined by Kataoka Yakichi. This drawing was traced by the author. From left to right: 花十字㊶型, 花十字㊷型, 花十字㊸型, 干十字㊹型, 干十字㊺(a)型, 干十字㊻(b)型, ラテン十字㊼型, 楔十字㊽型.

The archeologist Kazushisa Oishii, an expert on Christian gravestones,<sup>19</sup> has found more than 100 across Japan, but it is very difficult to provide a proper analysis of them, since there are few which have inscriptions. He has divided gravestones into two major

charoadas [漆], cada qual cõ sua Cruz na Cabeceyra, em que estava enterradas hũa irmã do tono, e hũa filha..." Francisco Pasio, "Annua de Japão do Anno de 1598", Nagasaki, 2ª via, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1599-02-20, fol. 36v.

<sup>17</sup> Fróis, Luís, Wicky, Josef, S. J. ed., *História de Japam*. Vol. 2, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976-1984, p. 418.

<sup>18</sup> 片岡彌吉「長崎県下キリシタン墓碑總覽」『キリシタン研究』1号, キリシタン文化研究所, 東京堂刊行, 1942, pp. 109-246.

<sup>19</sup> Kazuhisa, Ôishi. "Les Pierres Tombales Des Premiers Chrétiens Et La Tradition Japonaise Des Monuments Funéraires." *Histoire Et Missions Chrétiennes* no. 11 (2009): pp. 67-108. 大石一久「キリシタン墓碑」『月刊考古学ジャーナル』創刊 600号記念特集、2010年6月号、ニューサイエンス社, pp. 20-23.

types: gravestones which are raised vertically from the ground, and gravestones which are placed horizontally on the ground (伏碑). Among the horizontal stones, there is a specific typology, called semi-cylindrical stones (半円柱型), which are usually of high-quality.

Based on the available cases, he has elaborated a hypothesis claiming that horizontal gravestones, and especially semi-cylindrical stones, appeared only from the year 1600 onwards, while vertical gravestones, which are more similar in shape to traditional Japanese gravestones, can be mostly dated before the year 1600. This hypothesis correlates with the data in Appendix C, which shows that from 1600 onwards, the Jesuits seem to have introduced more European spatial elements in their churches, such as extra chapels, large-scale retables, and possibly Latin cross floor plans.



## 6. CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE IN NAGASAKI DURING HIDEYOSHI'S RULE (1588-1599)

### 6.1. Introduction

This chapter will present the situation of Nagasaki's Christian facilities during the period in which Toyotomi Hideyoshi ruled the port. The main points to be discussed are as follows:

- The destruction of churches and crosses led to the use of small facilities in the periphery of the city, such as chapels or crosses for praying. It also led to the creation of an alternative network of private oratories inside the city;
- The Jesuits were not able to show their full prestige, since they were forbidden from making large buildings;
- Franciscans criticized the Jesuits for being too attached to Japanese etiquette and focusing too much on cultural adaptation; the friars also introduced some new European architectural elements in their church in Miyako (1594);
- The execution of 26 religious men and Christians in 1597 led to an increased focus on worshipping the relics of martyrs; it also created a new place of worship at Nishizaka Hill;
- The port of Nagasaki expanded considerably towards the east part of the Nakashima river; however, the network of Christian facilities did not expand into this area, because of Hideyoshi's anti-Christian edict;

### 6.2. Historical Context

In 1580, Omura Sumitada officially donated the port of Nagasaki to the Society of Jesus, and Gaspar Coelho put all of his efforts into fortifying the port,<sup>1</sup> requesting funds and manpower to build a reasonably strong wall made of rammed earth around the area of the "6 machi", together with some bulwarks.<sup>2</sup> From late 1583 onwards, the city began

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<sup>1</sup> "E o P. Gaspar Coelho, superior do Ximo, foi às terras de Vomura persuadindo e ajudando os christãos para que fizessem forte o porto de Nangazaqui..." Fróis, Luís, Wicky, Josef. ed., *História de Japam*. Vol. 3, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976-1984, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> "E la habitacion y aposento q en esta tierra tenemos quedo muy hermosa y segura, con la cerca q este ano se hizo al derredor de una tapia [taipa] muy fuerte de que toda la fortaleza de Nangaizaque esta cercada, con sus valuartes [baluartes]..." Copia de una carta de Gaspar Coelho, Nagasaki, 1582-02-15, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la

to grow very quickly on the agricultural fields of wheat and barley that existed around the port,<sup>3</sup> despite the strong 1584 fire that burned almost everything inside the defensive wall.<sup>4</sup>

During this period, the whole region of Hizen had been involved in wars. Omura Sumitada was forced to give his sons as hostages to the lord of Hizen, Ryuzoji Takanobu, and was forced to fight against Arima Harunobu, who was the only main lord in that area who was still opposing Ryuzoji.<sup>5</sup> But even after Arima successfully defeated Ryuzoji in late 1584, Omura and Arima remained enemies because Arima had taken possession of some of Omura's lands such as Hokame and Uchime. They battled each other once again in 1585, where Sumitada gained an important victory. But to ensure that he could expel all of Arima's soldiers from his lands, Sumitada took control of Nagasaki again by force of arms, keeping the enemy's soldiers locked there for a while, before negotiating their departure to Arima.<sup>6</sup>

Then, Sumitada re-donated the port to the Society of Jesus, under the following agreement: Sumitada would be able to keep for himself all of the rights/taxes associated with the arrival of the Kurofune every year and the sale of its merchandises. According to Afonso de Lucena, these rights or taxes constituted a reasonable amount of money, and was certainly much more than the value of the city. The reason for this is that there was no profit to be made from the city's residents, except for a certain amount of obligatory services (公役) that the residents had to perform on behalf of the lord of the

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Historia, Colección Cortes, 09/02663, Mss., fol. 258v.

<sup>3</sup> “Nangasaqi já estava povoado cerca da Misericórdia e da igreja, e fora tinha algumas casinhas da banda de Mungui e junto ao fori, pera a banda do este também se fazia huma rua. O mais campo estava semeado de trigo e cevada, mas aquelle anno e o seguinte se fizeram muitas casas; tinha diante da Nao já huma rua peq[u]ena que chamavão Cabaxima-machi, cousa pobre.” Francisco Pirez, Pontos de que me alemlrar, 1622, transcribed in Schütte, Josef Franz. Monumenta Historica Japoniae 1. Textus catalogorum Japoniae aliaeque de personis domibusque S.J. in Japonia informationes et relationes, 1549-1654. Romae: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1975, p. 395.

<sup>4</sup> “...se queimou tudo huma noite na entrada de Fevereiro [1584], estando já a Nao pera se partir com muita prata, porque houve bons ganhos. Não ficou dentro da cerca por queimar mais que huma só casa de Manoel Lopes Terrea [?] e a nossa igreja, obra antiga e velha.” Schütte, Josef Franz, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

<sup>5</sup> Alvarez-Taladriz, José Luis. Ed. Sumario de las cosas de Japón (1583) ; Adiciones del Sumario de Japón (1592). Tokyo : Sophia University, 1954, p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> “Depois de tomadas por força de armas e ganhadas estas duas fortalezas de que acima falei, não ficava à gente de Xaxuma e de Arima aonde se recolher e reparar senão a Nangasaqui, aonde todos recolhidos como em hum curral, o Tono mandou tomar posse de Focame e Uchime.” Lucena, Afonso de; Schütte, Josef Franz. Ed. Erinnerungen aus der Christenheit von Ômura : de algumas cousas que ainda se alemlra o Pe Afonso de Lucena que pertencem à christandade de Ômura. (1578-1614). Roma : Institutum historicum S.I., 1972, p. 122.

land, which until then, had been the Society of Jesus.<sup>7</sup> This suggests that the residents of Uchi Machi did not pay any land taxes.

On the other hand, the Bishop Luis de Cerqueira claimed in 1606 that the lord of Omura encouraged the construction of streets in Soto-machi because he gained great profits from it. These profits came from a “tribute” or annual pension paid by each house for the right to live there.<sup>8</sup> But even before the first “three or four” streets of Soto-machi were built, people were already paying to the “lord of Omura” for the right to use them as agricultural fields.<sup>9</sup>

If we take these statements as true, then the inhabitants of Uchi-machi did not pay for the right to use the land, while those in Soto-machi did. When we consider the fact that Hideyoshi took control of Uchi-machi in 1587, and designated every street as exempt from land rights (地子銀の免除), this might be simply the confirmation of a situation that already existed during the early 1580s.

Going back to the wars that were taking place in the Hizen region from 1583 to 1587, even Gaspar Coelho had gotten himself involved in them, by doing things such as building a fast boat called “fusta” with strong artillery and soldiers;<sup>10</sup> he also supplied

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<sup>7</sup> “Depois disto passado, e estando ja de posse pacifica das terras de focame e uchime e de Nāgasaqui, quis o p.<sup>e</sup> Sup.<sup>or</sup> nosso fazer huã xpādade que fosse exemplo e norma de todas as xpādades que ouvesse em Japão, determinou de pedir ao tono q lhe desse a Cidade de Nangasaqui ficando elle cō o mais rendimento que avia na cidade pola Nao da viagê que vinha todos os annos de Macao, o qual era muito e montavã m.<sup>to</sup> mais do que rendia a cidade que não era mais que algum serviço que costumava fazer naqle tpõ a quê era sôr della...” Afonso de Lucena, de algumas cousas que ainda se alembra o Pe Afonso de Lucena que pertencem à christandade de Ômura, Japan, 1622, Jap. Sin. 22, fol. 116v.

<sup>8</sup> “...forão pouco, e pouco edificando nas terras de Omurandono com seu beneplácito, antes procurando o elle assy pollo grande proueito que daqui lhe uinha pello tributo, e foro, que de cada Casa se lhe pagaua de modo que se ueo a fazer em breue tempo outra pouoação junta, e continuada com a de Nangasaqui sem auer nenhua distancia entre hua e outra, antes ficandose fazendo d ambas como hua só pouoação ou Cidade.” Certidão de D. Luís Cerqueira acerca da apostasia de Omura Yoshiaki. Nagasaki, 6 de Março de 1606 in ARSI, Jap-Sin 21 I, fl. 95-96v; transcribed by Madalena Ribeiro in Costa, João Paulo Oliveira Azevedo ed. Jesuítas Portugueses no Extremo Oriente nos séculos XVI-XVII, Lisbon: CHAM e Brotéria, 2004.

<sup>9</sup> “...Vomuradono tinha sertas terras juntas a esta cidade de namgasaquy [Nagasaki] as quaes terras servião de ortas e os moradores deste namgasaqi [Nagasaki] alugavão a Vomuradono e lhe pagavão sua renda e que estando estas terras desta manr.<sup>a</sup> [maneira] a Vomuradono lhe viera cubissa de fazer povoação, e assy fez tres ou quatro ruas em q sse agasalhou m.<sup>ta</sup> gente...” Instrumento acerca do caso de Omuradono em lingua Portuguesa, 3<sup>a</sup> via, 1607-02-18, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Cortes, 09/02665, Mss., fol. 422r.

<sup>10</sup> Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L, Apuntes sobre la fusta del P. Gaspar Coelho, Viceprovincial del Japón”, Sapientia, 22, St. Thomas University, 1988, pp. 133-149.



two pieces of artillery to Arima Harunobu for his battle against Ryuzoji;<sup>11</sup> and most importantly, Coelho made a considerable effort to contact Konishi Yukinaga, and convince him to negotiate with Toyotomi Hideyoshi, so that he would come with his troops to Kyushu, and defeat the forces of Satsuma. Thus, without realizing it, Coelho had contributed to the unification of Japan.<sup>12</sup>

But when Coelho went on board of the “fusta” to meet Hideyoshi in Hakata in 1587, Hideyoshi was quite surprised to see a religious man as the captain of a strong and well-armed ship.<sup>13</sup> Then, Hideyoshi set a trap for Coelho. He informed Coelho that he was planning to invade China, and would make the whole of Japan Christian, if Coelho could negotiate with the Vice-Roy of India to supply soldiers and warships. Coelho did not notice the trap and immediately volunteered to provide those ships, although in reality he did not have any authority to do so.<sup>14</sup>

On the following day, Hideyoshi produced the anti-Christian edict, ordering the expulsion of all missionaries, and the destruction of all churches. However, the Jesuits were able to remain in Japan, by explaining that the Kurofune had already left Japan, and that they could not leave until the next year. Also, the residents of Nagasaki bribed Hideyoshi’s officials with considerable amounts of money so that they would not destroy

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<sup>11</sup> Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L, El Padre Viceprovincial Gaspar Coelho "Capitan de armas o pastor de almas"?, in *Miscelánea Japónica III*, Osaka, 1980, p. 58.

<sup>12</sup> Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L, op. cit., pp. 66-67.

<sup>13</sup> “...estando Quambacudono en el reino de Cicugen, en la ciudad de Facata, en este Shimo, para determinar algunas cosas que quedaban por concluir, fue el Padre Viceprovincial en su fusta a Hakata, muy bien adornada, y visitándose el uno y el otro, Quambacudono vino a ver la fusta, que no había visto nunca...” Padre Organtino, al Padre Claudio Aquaviva, Nagasaki, 10 March 1589, ARSI Jap. Sin. 11 II ff. 66-72, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L, El Padre Viceprovincial Gaspar Coelho "Capitan de armas o pastor de almas"?, in *Miscelánea Japónica III*, Osaka, 1980, p. 68.

<sup>14</sup> “Il negotio fu ch'il Padre Gaspar Coeglio, pigliando occasione delle continue guerre che passorno questi anni àddietro nelle quali li signori d'Arima e d'Omura e il Re Francesco di Bungo si viddero in molti pericoli, con il zelo ch'il Padre teneva che si conservassero in queste guerre se fu mettendo tanto in quelle, sotto spetie d'aiudarli, che fece imprudentie e indiscretioni molto grandi, e fra l'altre fu persuadire Quambacudono che venisse in questo Ximo à suggerire Riozogi e il Re di Sazzuma promettendogli che gli faria così con il Re Francesco di Bungo come con il Re d'Arima e altri signori christiani che tutti insieme s'unissero e facessero di sua parte, e parendogli che quanto più mostrasse à Quambacudono che li Patri lo potriano aiutare in diverse sue trazze, venne a termine che dicendogli Quambacudono que dipoi de conquistato giappone haveva di passare alla Cina (...) gli disse che quando volesse passare alla Cina gli faria havere due navi portughese e faria con il Vicere dell'India che gli mandasse gente per aiutarlo, ecome Quambacudono è sagacissimo mostrava di contentarsi molto con questo che gli diceva...” Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L, Toda, Mitsuaki, *La Persecucion de 1587 y el Viceprovincial Gaspar Coelho, segun el Visitador Alejandro Valignano*, Sapientia, 9, St. Thomas University, 1975, pp. 95-114 (102).

the churches in Nagasaki. As a result, only the defensive wall of Nagasaki was torn down, but throughout the rest of Japan all churches were destroyed, and the Jesuits had to hide on the areas of Omura and Arima. Several letters claim that the new church of Our Lady of Assumption in Nagasaki remained unfinished, but was considerably large and impressive. Unfortunately, none of the missionaries gave any more details about the church. Only Frois mentioned that its name was “Our Lady of Assumption”,<sup>15</sup> and that it was quite “noble”, “large” and “beautiful”, and that the church together with the rest of the buildings in the Jesuit House had cost more than 10000 Portuguese cruzados, which was a large sum of money for the time.<sup>16</sup>

During the process, thousands of Christians across Japan apostatized under pressure from the authorities. The churches in Nagasaki were all closed down, and to prevent the authorities from confiscating the buildings in the Jesuit House, the whole land and buildings were legally transferred to the captain of the Kurofune and his associates, which they used as a normal residence.<sup>17</sup> As for the priests, they had no choice but to move to other buildings and residences in Todos os Santos and Misericordia, and disguised themselves with normal Japanese clothes, while celebrating mass secretly in their rooms.

Furthermore, since the Jesuits had been blocked from acting as intermediaries in the negotiations between Japanese and Portuguese merchants, there were regular fights among them,<sup>18</sup> and in 1591, direct negotiations between Hideyoshi's governors and the

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<sup>15</sup> “...e alguns dizem que já entendião que havia de acabar em breve o reinado deste homem, pois destruiu aquella igreja tão nobre intitulada Nossa Senhora da Assumpção (...) os senhores que ficarão em Nangoya, desabafados delle com sua partida, e com o desejo que tinham de ver a nao e do esporecer hum pouco, forão muitos delles a Nangazaqui no tempo que actualmente estavam os sobreditos desfazendo e destruindo a igreja...” Fróis, Luís. *História de Japam*. Vol. 5, p. 429.

<sup>16</sup> “E finalmente destruirão a igreja e as cazas todas, em que se tinham gastados perto de dez mil cruzados (...) e por ser couza de portugueses e do lugar onde vinha a nao, parecia que estaria sempre mais segura que em qualquer outra parte, por onde vendosse agora aquella igreja tão nobre, tão ampla e fermoza com todas as cazas, fabricas e officinas destruídas e assoladas...” Fróis, Luís. *História de Japam*. Vol. 5, p. 420.

<sup>17</sup> Gaspar Coelho, Kazusa, 1589-02-14, transcribed in Zannetti, Luigi ed. *Lettere del Giappone et della China de gl'anni M.D.XXXIX. & M.D.XC. Scritte al R.P. Generale della Compagnia di Gesù*. In Roma, appresso Luigi Zannetti. Con licentia de' Superiori. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1591, p. 46.

<sup>18</sup> “Depoes que o tirano tomou à Companhia a povoação de Nangazaqui (...) foi necessario aos nossos andarem escondidos e deixarem as novas cazas e igreja, que alli de novo se tem feita e ainda nam acabada, que hé das melhores e mais capazes que havia em todo o Japão, e recolherem-se para outras aldeias de fora. No tempo que alli estava a nao de Geronimo Pereira, como os costumes dos portugueses e seo modo de proceder hé totalmente oppozito ao dos japões, socedendo quazi sempre brigas e desavensas entre elles (...) forão as deste anno tão extraordinarias que excederão quazi

Portuguese merchants came to a standstill. This made it clear to Hideyoshi that the Jesuits were still necessary to ensure a profitable trade, and so there was less pressure to expel the missionaries.<sup>19</sup>

Knowing about the anti-Christian edict, Valignano prepared an embassy from the Vice-Roy of India to Hideyoshi with expensive presents, in hopes of abolishing the edict. To further improve his chances, he travelled with the 4 Japanese ambassador boys who were returning from Rome to Japan. All of them arrived in Japan in summer 1589, and Valignano discovered that Gaspar Coelho had died a few weeks earlier due to illness. He publicly stated that Coelho had greatly exceeded his authority, and that this kind of situation could not happen again. These statements pleased the Christian lords who had become dissatisfied with Coelho's increased focus on military activities. Pedro Gomez was elected as the new Vice-Provincial Father of the Japan mission.

Valignano managed to visit Hideyoshi with his embassy in late 1590, but only obtained a small victory: 10 priests were allowed to stay in Nagasaki to celebrate mass for the Portuguese merchants, and the Jesuit João Rodrigues Tsuzzu, due to his excellent skills as translator, was appointed as a consultant of Hideyoshi, and was authorized to stay in Miyako together with Organtino Gneccchi-Soldo. But Valignano's presence also triggered a new wave of interest in Christian religion. In fact, there were many more people wanting to get baptized than before the edict of 1587.<sup>20</sup> To cope with the additional

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a todos os passados, e chegarão a tanto que sem falta estiverão para se perder huns e outros." Fróis, Luís. *História de Japam*. Vol. 5, p. 142.

<sup>19</sup> "aunque entraron aquí muy alterados contra nosotros, se vieron en seguida tan empachados con los portugueses que al punto comenzaron a entender que no podía haber concierto entre ellos sino por medio de nosotros, y así poco a poco comenzaron a ablandarse y a mandar diversos recados de cumplimientos y buenas formas, tomándonos por terceros en sus negocios, y aunque ellos querían de los portugueses lo que de ninguna manera les habían de dar si no fuesen forzados, porque solamente en la compra de mil panes de oro les quisieron tomar treinta mil taeles, idest cruzados, sin embargo, Nuestro Señor les ayudó de modo que si bien no se concluyó nada y ellos después de estar aquí cerca de un mes se fueron sin conseguir lo que deseaban y los portugueses quedaron con lo suyo, con todo ellos quedaron también muy satisfechos de nosotros, y entendieron, conforme a lo que dijeron muchas veces, que este puerto y el comercio de la nao no se podían sustentar sin estar aquí Padres, y nos prometieron que así lo habían de decir a Quambaco..." Alejandro Valignano, to Claudio Aquaviva, Nagasaki, 6, 9, 22 October 1591, ARSI Jap. Sin. 11 II, ff. 244-252v, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L, *Relación del P. Alejandro Valignano, S.J. sobre su Embajada a Hideyoshi (1591)*, in *Miscelánea Japónica II*, Osaka, 1979, p. 52.

<sup>20</sup> "Lo stato del Giapone è questo, che in questi tre anni, che siamo stati banditi non è stato mai huomo veruno, che ci habbia fatta ingiuria; di più è stata in questo tempo maggiore cōversione, che quando il Tiranno ci fauoriua..." Gil da Mata, 1590-08-25, in Zannetti, Luigi ed. *Lettere del Giapone et della China de gl'anni M.D.XXXIX. & M.D.XC. Scritte al R.P. Generale della Compagnia di Giesù*. In Roma, appresso Luigi Zannetti. Con licentia de' Superiori. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1591, p. 182.

demand, the Jesuits gradually began to borrow normal houses to use secretly as churches.

Valignano also gave orders to dismantle and relocate the buildings of the College and Seminary of Kazusa, and the Noviciate of Omura (all of which were very large and located near the fortresses of the lords), moving them into areas which were more remote, so that they would not be seen by Hideyoshi's governors. He also gave orders to remove all of the crosses in public places throughout Arima and Omura, and to make modifications to the churches, so that they looked like residential houses. But according to Valignano himself, these modifications were essentially removing all of the furniture, objects and decoration of the buildings.<sup>21</sup> We can conclude from this that in terms of architecture, the church buildings were not considerably different from non-religious buildings. The unique aspects of the churches were its furnishings and decoration.

Essentially, Valignano's strategy was for the Jesuits to do their activities as secretly as possible. In reality, many people knew that most Jesuits had not left Japan, and possibly Hideyoshi knew it as well. But as long as they did not conduct their activities publicly, their presence was tolerated. Valignano himself wrote that what the Jesuits were doing was merely camouflaging or hiding the public face of the Society, which in the end was just an external aspect of the Society, and superfluous. In his opinion, it was possible to administer the Christians and to maintain their devotion without being involved in public demonstrations or ceremonies. But ideally, he also wanted the situation to return to the way it was before 1587.

This decision to move the large Jesuit buildings to remote places shows that having a house near the fortress of a lord was a sign of prestige and respectability. The closer they live to the fortress, the higher their status is. Once again, the basic notion of hierarchical space was understood by Valignano and other Jesuits. A similar situation took place in Azuchi-yama in 1579, when the Jesuits were given a plot of land by Oda Nobunaga, very close to his fortress. This land plot had been desired by many other lords, but the fact that Nobunaga granted that land to the Jesuits made them highly respected in the whole Gokinai area. When a lord grants a land close to his residence to another person, it is interpreted by the whole citizens as a rare and special privilege; in other words, it is a

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<sup>21</sup> "...& q todavia se tirassê cõ toda a reverência as cruces dos lugares publicos, e se conçertassê de tal manr.a algûas igrejas principaes, especialmente as casas q estavão ê Omura, e ê Arima, q por de fora pareçesse q não avia ali igrejas, e os p.es ficassê nellas escondidos como se neste tpõ não estivessê nellas, porque estas cousas como erão exteriores, tiravão o perigo e não a devação do povo, o qual se podia m.to bem cultivar sem estas mostras exteriores (...) deose logo ordem q se tirassê as cruces, e se fechassê e despejassê algûas casas e igrejas, fazendosse saber a causa disto aos xpãos. E foyse pouco a pouco pondo ê execução isto..." Alexandre Valignano, Nagasaki, 1591-10-05, Jap. Sin. 11-II, fols. 247r-247v.

public demonstration of support.<sup>22</sup>

Returning to Nagasaki, the Misericordia was the only institution that did not suffer any harm at all during this persecution. Not only did the members of Misericordia continue their activities as usual, but they received so many alms from the residents and visitors in Nagasaki, that they were able to maintain three hospitals: Sao Lazaro (for lepers), one hospital for elderly men, and another for elderly women.<sup>23</sup> They also helped to celebrate solemn funerals for the deceased, in which they wore beautiful silk robes and carried large colorful flags and other impressive ornaments on the processions from the church to the cemetery.

Although the Jesuits themselves were forbidden from building new churches, it was possible to build a small chapel in the hospital of Sao Lazaro in 1591, because it was all done by the Portuguese captain of the Kurofune, and he was not legally affected by the anti-Christian edict. Furthermore, since the chapel was right next to the hospital, it was legally under the possession of the Misericordia, who was also free from persecution.

After Hideyoshi became the kanpaku (関白), he sent an envoy to the Philippines demanding their obedience; otherwise he would invade the country. In an attempt to stall Hideyoshi and buy some time, the governors sent an embassy to Hideyoshi to make sure that the envoy had truly been sent by him. The chosen ambassadors were a group of Franciscans, who arrived in Japan in 1592, accompanied by a Spanish merchant named Juan de Solis. Solis had complaints about the Portuguese merchants due to a business dispute in Macao. He made harsh criticisms to Hideyoshi that both the Portuguese merchants as well as the Jesuits were trying to maintain a monopoly in Japan, and were blocking Spanish ships from doing trade, all of which was against the financial interests of Japanese merchants. Hideyoshi needed to maintain a strong level of mercantile trade

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<sup>22</sup> “...poucos dias antes deo na imaginação de Nobunanga huma vontade, de entulhar hum pedaço de huma alagoa que está entre o monte da fortaleza e a cidade. E sem elle mesmo entender o fim para que o fazia, mandou vir infinidade de gente para fazer o entulho, e em quinze ou vinte dias se acabou a obra, fazendo alli nascer hum chão mui grande defronte de suas proprias cazas; e tendo-lho pedido alguns senhores com muita instancia, por nenhum cazo o queria dar a nenhum delles. E occorrendo a Nobunanga que este seria commodo e conveniente logar para os Padres, logo lho mandou dar (...) E pela vizinhança que se tinha com seos paços, e elle ter sempre de riba nossas cazas diante dos olhos, começaram nossos Padres e Irmãos a ter com elle mais frequente entrada, de maneira que cada quinze ou vinte dias o vizitavão levando-lhe algumas fruttas, doces e couzas semelhantes, dizendo elle mesmo que assim o fizessem, pois isto rezultava em mais credito dos Padres e reputação de sua ley” Fróis, Luís. História de Japam. Vol. 3, pp. 193-194.

<sup>23</sup> Luis Fróis, 1590-12-10, Lopes, Simão. Cartas do Iapam nas quaes se trata da chegada a quellas partes dos fidalgos Iapões que ca vierão... & de outras cousas tocantes às partes da India & ao grão Mogor... Lisboa: 1593, f. 33v.

to support his plans of invading Korea, so he decided to punish the Society. Since his appointed governors suggested that the large buildings in the Jesuit House and church could be useful to him, he gave orders to dismantle all of the buildings in Morisaki, including the two churches (Santa Maria and Our Lady of Assumption),<sup>24</sup> and use the wood for a military warehouse in Nagoya.<sup>25</sup>

The Jesuits remained hidden in the church of Misericordia, which was quite small, and in the church and houses of Todos os Santos, which were not particularly large either. At that time, Todos os Santos was only used as a House for Recreation. In other words, it was a quiet place, sufficiently far from the troubles of the port, where Jesuits could rest and relax.<sup>26</sup>

### 6.3. Development of the East Side of Soto Machi (1590-1599)

By 1590, large numbers of foreigners come to settle down in the areas of Omura and Nagasaki, many of whom are relatively poor. According to Luis Frois, 2500 people were baptized that year, most of whom came to Nagasaki to find a better life;<sup>27</sup> he also

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<sup>24</sup> “Finalmente destruirão a casa de Nagasaqui q era muy principal com duas Igrejas -- 2--” Jesuit Catalogue, “Rol das casas e Igrejas q se destruíram em Japão desde año de 87 em q começou a perseguição” Japan, November 1592, Jap. Sin. 25, fol. 26v.

<sup>25</sup> All of these events are narrated in a letter by Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, 1593-01-01, ARSI Jap. Sin. 12 I, fols. 3-4, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L, *II Relacion de la embajada de Valignano a Hideyoshi*, in *Miscelánea Japónica I*, Osaka, 1978, p.15.

<sup>26</sup> “...con la destruttione della nostra Chiesa, & Case c'haueuamo in quel Porto, furno (...) i Patri ch'in esse dimorauano compartiti in due Case, come d'imprestito. Vna è della Misericordia, c'haueua vna Chiesola molto picciola, doue si ritirò il Rettore di Nangasachi con alcuni Padri, & Fratelli; l'altra è della Parrochia di Ogni Santi, quale è distante quasi vn quarto di lega da Nangasachi; & oltre di esser parrochia di alcune ville, seruiua anchora come casa di recreatione delle Case di Nangasachi.” Gomez, Pedro. Lettera annua del Giappone del Marzo del M.D.XCIII. sino al Marzo del XCIV. Al molto R. In Christo P. N. Il P. Claudio Acquaviva Preposito Generale della Compagnia di Giesù. Tradotta dal P. Gio. Battista Peruschi Romano, della medesima Compagnia. Con licenza de' superiori. In Roma, appresso Luigi Zannetti. M. D. XCVII. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1597, p. 16.

<sup>27</sup> “Essendo tutti i naturali delle terre di Omura, & di Nangasachi Christiani, non vi è chi si battezzì, eccetto qualche forestiere; perche concurr endoui grã gête straniera & trouandosi quiui poi miglior viuere, restano molti per habitarui. Et di questi sono i due mila, & cinquecéto, che di sopra dicemmo essersi còvertiti in qste terre.” Luis Frois, Nagasaki, 1590-10-12, published in Coelho, Gaspar. *Copia di due lettere scritte dal Giappone del 1589. & 1590. L'una dal P. Viceprovinuale al P. Alessandro Valignano, l'altra dal P. Luigi Frois al P. Generale della Compagnia di Giesù. et dalla Spagnuola nella Italiana lingua tradotte dal P. Gasparo Spitilli della Compagnia medesima. Con licentia de' superiori.* In Roma, appresso Luigi Zannetti 1593. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1593, p. 79.

mentions the existence of 5000 permanent residents in the port, without including the large numbers of temporary visitors who stay between July and February to do trade with the Kurofune merchants.<sup>28</sup> In 1591, about 1000 people were baptized in Nagasaki.<sup>29</sup>

Hideyoshi began the military campaign against Korea in 1592, sending most of his vassals outside of Japan. To prevent rebellions, he gave orders to confiscate the weapons held by civilians across Kyushu. Only in Nagasaki, his officials found 4000 katana swords, 500 spears, more than 500 bows, 300 arquebuses, and more than 100 weapon frames.<sup>30</sup> The war effort caused tremendous poverty among the people,<sup>31</sup> who began to sell themselves (or their children) as slaves, or move to Nagasaki to receive some alms and support from the Misericordia institution.<sup>32</sup>

From 1593 onwards, large numbers of Koreans were brought to Japan as slaves and sold in Nagasaki.<sup>33</sup> In 1594, more than 2000 Koreans were baptized in Nagasaki and its neighboring areas.<sup>34</sup> Frois claims that the number of buildings had grown considerably

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<sup>28</sup> Luis Frois, Nagasaki, 1590-10-12, published in Coelho, Gaspar, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>29</sup> Frois, Luis. Lettera del Giapone degli anni 1591. et 1592. Scritta al R. P. Generale della Compagnia di Giesù. Et dalla Spagnuola nella Italiana lingua tradotta dal P. Ubaldino Bartolini della Compagnia medesima. In Roma, appresso Luigi Zannetti. M.D.XCV. Con licentia de' superiori. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1595, p. 153.

<sup>30</sup> Gomez, Pedro, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>31</sup> “E porque com a passagem de todos os senhores japões para Corai (ou Coreia) com sua gente, era tão grande a pobreza e necessidade que tinham grande numero de christãos, assim dos que passavão, como de suas mulheres e filhos que ficarão desamparados, que forão infinitas as petições de esmolas que se fizeram aos Padres...” Fróis, Luís. História de Japam. Vol. 5, p. 417.

<sup>32</sup> “E com não uir a Nao no anno de 94 q he o remedio desta pouoção e de todo Japão, derão a esta casa de Miã [Misericordia] mais de mil e trezentos cruzados cõ que se remedearão grandes necessidades de pobres considerada a calidade e pobreza dos Japões em tpo [tempo] de tantas tiranias e de falta da nao [Kurofune] foi esta muy grossa esmola, e na quinta fr.<sup>a</sup> de endoenças se aiuntarão nesta pouoção grandissima cantidade de pobres de diversas terras p que acustumão os xprãos de fazer especialmente naquelles dias m.<sup>tas</sup> esmollas com q ficão tam edificados os gentios que muitos delles dizem q a lei q manda fazer tantas esmolas não pode ser senão sancta obra...” Luis Frois, "Carta Ânua de 95" Nagasaki, Jap. Sin. 52, 1595-10-20, fol. 91v

<sup>33</sup> Fróis, Luís. História de Japam. Vol. 5, p. 457.

<sup>34</sup> “Había en estas partes [Nagasaki] gran número de coreas, los cuales fueron cautivados por los japones en esta guerra que com ellos tienen, y porque son naturalmente de bon ingenio y capacidad para las cosas de nuestra santa fe, ordenó el Padre Viceprovincial [Pedro Gómez] que se buscasen algunos corais [sic] hábiles y que supiesen leer y escribir su propria letra, que es la misma que los chinas usan, y también corre en Japón; los cuales después de aprender la lengua japónica, fueron instruidos muy bien en el Catecismo, haciendo un buen Sumario de él en su lengua, y van tresladando tembién las oraciones en la lengua de Coray para de esta manera poder más facilmente catequizar a sus naturales. Lo cual hicieron con tanto fruto que este año se han baptizado más de 2000 corais.” Carta del P. Francisco Pasio al P.

in 1595 and 1596.<sup>35</sup> Hideyoshi worsened the problem by changing the measurement of the ken 間, which was used to measure lands and calculate taxes. This increased the poverty of farmers and other land owners,<sup>36</sup> forcing some to abandon their lands and sell themselves or their relatives as slaves, eventually reaching Nagasaki. Finally, Hideyoshi had changed the lords in several kingdoms during these years, and since the original lords and their vassals were left without a place to stay, a portion of them moved to Nagasaki.<sup>37</sup>

Poverty or discrimination seems to have been an important factor in the establishment of the urban area on the east part of the Nakashima river (中島川). It had streets where Korean slaves lived (高麗町・新高麗町) and streets with brothels (今石灰町、八幡町、新高麗町). According to the research of Shirosuke Masuda, there was a community of “buraku” (被差別部落) in the east side of the city, around the areas of Kegawayama-machi (毛皮屋町), and in the area currently occupied by the temples of Koudaiji (皓台寺) and Daionji (大音寺) in Tera-machi (寺町).<sup>38</sup> We will mention the “Kawayama” (皮屋) community again in a later chapter.

In 1586, there were already many non-Christian women providing sexual services to

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General, Nagasaki, 20 October 1594, Jap. Sin. 31, fol. 157v, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L. ed., *Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristandad de Japón (1593-1597)*: San Martin de la Ascención y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Relaciones e Informaciones*, Osaka, 1973, p. 104.

<sup>35</sup> “...ogni di notabilmente questo popolo, si vede crescere si nel numero della géte, che vien di fuori, come nella copia di nuoui edificij di case, e secondo questo alla giornata va aumentandosi maggiormente il trauaglio de i Padri in ammaestrarli...” Frois, Luis. *Lettera annua del Giappone dell'anno M.D.XCVI. scritta dal P. Luigi Frois, al R. P. Claudio Acquaviva Generale della Compagnia di Giesù. Tradotta in Italiano dal P. Francesco Mercati Romano della stessa Compagnia*. In Roma, appressso Luigi Zannetti 1599. Con licenza de' superiori. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1599, p. 124.

<sup>36</sup> “Fueron también en tiempo que, por les haber este año medido las tierras y puesto grandes tributos, padecen tanto que ha sido necesario buscarles yo buenas limosnas, las cuales les distribuí esta fiesta del Nacimiento pasada, que los fui a visitar.” Organtino, Miyako, 11 Feb 1595, Jap. Sin. 12 II, fol. 247v, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L. ed., *Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristandad de Japón (1593-1597)*: San Martin de la Ascención y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Relaciones e Informaciones*, Osaka, 1973, p. 181.

<sup>37</sup> “...foi tanto crescendo esta povoação de Nangasaqui q se fez nella húa muy grande cidade onde haverá mais de sete o oito mil almas de confissão, & pera isto ajudou q em Japão com revoltas e mudanças de reinos ha sempre muitos desterrados, & no têpo deste Taicosama ouue mais q nũa dos quaes andam m.<sup>tos</sup> a fazer sua morada neste porto & assi cada Vuay (?) cada dia fazendo maior...” Luis Frois, “Carta Ânua de 95” Nagasaki, Jap. Sin. 52, 1595-10-20, fol. 88v.

<sup>38</sup> 増田史郎亮「長崎における被差別部落強制移住の諸情況 ―部落教育史基礎論のために― その一」『長崎大学教育学部教育科学研究報告』28, 1981, pp.33.



the Portuguese sailors in Nagasaki, according to Gaspar Coelho.<sup>39</sup> This situation is fully confirmed by the Italian merchant Francesco Carletti in 1597.<sup>40</sup> He claims that there were brothels located immediately outside of the town, where the Portuguese merchants could check the girls/women and decide if they wanted to rent them.<sup>41</sup>

We do not know exactly why these communities concentrated in the East part of Soto-machi (Figure 1). Obviously they were not able to exist inside Uchi-machi. But if I am allowed to propose a hypothesis, then I think that the main factor was the cost of the land around the Nakashima River. The scholar Reinier Hesselink analyzed the diary of a samurai named Owada Shigekyo (大和田重清日記), which describes a quick visit to Uchi-machi in Nagasaki during the year 1593 (late August).

Hesselink analyzed the expenses made by Shigekyo during the three days that he visited Nagasaki. One of the main points raised by Hesselink is that in those three days, Shigekyo spent 750 momme, 9 bu and 5 rin,<sup>42</sup> which is roughly equivalent to 1500000

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<sup>39</sup> “...ordinariamente arribando esta gente con su mercancías, al punto se proveen de casa en tierra y por la facilidad que encuentran en las mujeres, la mayor parte de ellos o casi todos están con su concubina y como tales privados de los sacramentos y de la influencia de la gracia, y no sólo usan mujeres solteras que no tienen marido, cristianas, sino casadas, con no pequeño peligro de su vida, y lo que es peor mujeres gentiles, que de propósito van a ofrecerse por el tiempo que estuviesen en Japón.” Padre Gaspar Coelho, al Padre Claudio Aquaviva, Hirado, 2 October 1587, ARSI Jap. Sin. 10 II ff. 272-272v, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L, El Padre Viceprovincial Gaspar Coelho "Capitan de armas o pastor de almas"?, in *Miscelánea Japónica III*, Osaka, 1980, p. 50.

<sup>40</sup> “Los portugueses son buenos testigos de ello, y especialmente los que vienen de China (...) con otras diversas mercancías, a vender en este país, por las cuales obtienen plata, haciendo su contrato en la ciudad y puerto de Nagasaki, en donde permanecen ocho o nueve meses, que emplean para dar fin a dichas mercancías. A los cuales portugueses, recién llegados, van los corredores de mujeres a buscarlos en las casas en que se alojan durante aquel tiempo, preguntándoles si quieren comprar alguna muchacha virgen, o tenerla de otro modo que más les plazca durante el tiempo que han de estar allí, o alquilársela por alguna noche o por días o por meses o por horas, haciendo el pacto con ellos; o bien conviniendo con los parientes dándoles a ellos el precio, y si quieren se las llevan a casa a fin de que las vean antes, o bien las van a ver a las suyas (...) y muy a menudo les dan una jovencita de catorce o quince años, virgen y bella, por tres o cuatro escudos o más o menos, según el tiempo que la quieren tener a su disposición, sin pensar en más que en volver a mandarla a su casa...” Carletti, Francesco. *Razonamientos de mi viaje alrededor del mundo 1594-1606* / Francesco Carletti ; estudio preliminar, traducción y notas de Francisca Perujo. Ed. Trans. Annot. Francisca Perujo. Mexico: Univ. Nac. Autonoma del Mexico- Inst. de Investigaciones Bibliograficas, 1976, p. 129.

<sup>41</sup> “...o si vero la vanno a vedere alla sua, e le piú stanno fuori della Città in certi Casali, o Villaggi.” Carletti, Francesco; Ed. Jacopo Carlieri. *Ragionamenti di Francesco Carletti Fiorentino sopra le cose da lui vedute ne' suoi viaggi si dell'Indie Occidentali, e Orientali come d'altri paesi...* Stamperia di G. Manni, per il Carlieri, 1701, p. 347.

<sup>42</sup> Hesselink, Reinier H. "I Go Shopping in Christian Nagasaki: Entries from the Diary

yen (百五十万円) in today's currency. Hesselink also mentioned that the area around the Nakashima River tended to experience floods during bad weather, and that residents in this area were probably poor. However, he did not establish any link between the flood zone and the existence of brothels or the buraku communities. Even today, the area around the Nakashima River is designated as a risk zone for floods, especially after the large flood of 1982, where most of the bridges in the river were destroyed.<sup>43</sup>

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of a Mito Samurai, Owada Shigekiyo (1593)", Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies, no. 22 (2011), published online at

[https://www.academia.edu/8829410/I\\_Go\\_Shopping\\_in\\_Christian\\_Nagasaki](https://www.academia.edu/8829410/I_Go_Shopping_in_Christian_Nagasaki)

<sup>43</sup> See 長崎県土木部河川課. "57 長河激第 1-2 号 中島川河川激特工事 (地質調査 2) 報告書." 長崎県土木部河川課, 長崎県土木部河川課データベース.



Figure 1: situation of Nagasaki Port around 1598.

Let us look into the largest group of brothels, composed of three streets at the west side of the Nakashima River (near to Santa Maria). These three streets are (from North to South): Ooide-machi, Ima-Hakata-machi, and Furu-machi (大井手町・今博多町・古町). It is specifically mentioned in 長崎県の地名 that Ooide-machi street was regularly exposed to floods, because it was located at the turning point of the Nakashima river.<sup>44</sup>

Francesco Carletti also mentions that the women in Nagasaki could be rented for an extremely low price.<sup>45</sup> He also mentions that so many Korean slaves were brought to Japan, that their price was also incredibly low.<sup>46</sup> As mentioned previously, the invasion of Korea had caused considerable poverty among the Japanese. People were desperate to survive, and so they came to Nagasaki, offering their services for an extremely low price. Therefore we can hypothesize that the alluvial plain around the Nishikawa river was the land of worst quality in Soto-machi, and therefore the most affordable.

#### 6.4. Establishment of the Jesuit College of Sao Paulo (1593)

In 1593, the Jesuits were able to become friends with Terazawa, and so he made a petition to Hideyoshi to return the confiscated land of Morisaki to the Jesuits, and allow them to build a church and houses again. This was granted by Hideyoshi, but Terazawa warned the Jesuits not to build any buildings that looked too large or sumptuous in terms of external appearance. Otherwise, it would give the impression that the Jesuits were publicly defying the edict of Hideyoshi.<sup>47</sup> Also, Terazawa only returned 2/3 of the original

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<sup>44</sup> 「水害が絶えなかったが、町名も洪水を防ぐための堰堤を築いていたことに由来するといふ。」『長崎県の地名』, p. 149.

<sup>45</sup> See Note 40.

<sup>46</sup> “El país de Corea está dividido en nueve provincias, es decir: Cioscien, cabeza de aquel reino y nombre de la ciudad real, Honhay, Ciuala, Hien Sion, Tion Cion, Hanquien, y la última se llama Pianchin; de las quales privincias, es decir, de las más marítimas, llevaban un número infinito de hombres y mujeres, muchachos y muchachas de todas las edades, y todos eran vendidos como esclavos a bajísimo precio, y yo compré cinco de ellos por poco más de doce escudos” Carletti, Francesco. Razonamientos de mi viaje alrededor del mundo 1594-1606 / Francesco Carletti ; estudio preliminar, traducción y notas de Francisca Perujo. Ed. Trans. Annot. Francisca Perujo. Mexico: Univ. Nac. Autonoma del Mexico- Inst. de Investigaciones Bibliograficas, 1976, p. 119.

<sup>47</sup> “E foi logo Terazaua a Nangazaqui e tornou a dar aos Padres o chão onde primeiro tínhamos nossas cazas (...) com isto ordenou o P. Vice Provinvial que logo sem perder nenhum tempo, entretanto que estava ahi a nao e os portugueses, se tornasse a levantar a igreja e a fazer novas cazas. e Terazaua persuadio o mesmo (...) posto que encomendou muito que não fizessem cazas na aparência de fora muito grandes, para que os gentios que concorrem àquelle porto não dissessem (...) que fizerão mais

lands in Morisaki to the Jesuits,<sup>48</sup> and kept the last 1/3 for public use.

So, once again, the Jesuits had to make a church and buildings which gave a good image of the Jesuits, without angering Hideyoshi's governors. The new church, called Sao Paulo, was built in only 31 days. Frois claimed that although it was built in such a short space, and its only objective was to solve the immediate needs of the Society, it turned out quite good.<sup>49</sup> Pedro Gomez said that the church was very beautiful, and full of rich ornaments provided by the Portuguese merchants. He also adds that the construction of the Jesuit College took place at the same time, and was finished in 1594. The new buildings of the Jesuit College were described as "humble" (i.e., not as sumptuous as the previous buildings), much more spacious, and better organized than the previous Jesuit House.<sup>50</sup>

According to the research done in Appendix A, I raised the hypothesis that the byobu held by the Kyushu National Museum is showing the Jesuit College and the church of

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sumptuoas cazas das que primeiro tinhão, e que com isso tornassem a azedar Quambaco. Tambem encomendou que não fizessem vir publicamente os jappões christãos à igreja, posto que ocultamente bem sabe que vem." Fróis, Luís. História de Japam. Vol. 5, p. 453.

<sup>48</sup> "Despues nos dio el lugar para la casa que es el mismo en que nos antes morauamos y de proposito no nos lo dio todo entero, puesto que dio quasi los dos tercios diziendo secretamente que el lugar todo era de los p.es mas q para q Quambaco no pensasse que el estaua ya unido con los p.es y que los auia puesto en la libertad antigua no nos daua todo el lugar que teniamos..." Pedro Gomez, Nagasaki, 1594-02-08, Jap. Sin. 12-I, fol. 170v.

<sup>49</sup> "Finalmente em breuissimo tempo logo se tornou a levantar huma nova igreja, a qual, porto que não hé nem tão sumptuoza nem tão grande como a outra, por igreja de remedio, se fez muito boa. E junto della se fez hum lanço de dez cubiculos sobradado e algumas officinas por baixo, para o qual ajudou muito huma quantidade de madeira que tinhamos em Canzusa; da igreja e cazas que primeiro alli tinhamos, que o P. Provincial mandou levar a Nangazaqui;" Fróis, Luís. História de Japam. Vol. 5, p. 454.

<sup>50</sup> "Luego que los portugueses y los japones supieron el sitio que nos había dado para loas casas (puesto que todo se hacía en nombre del capitán mayor [Gaspar Pinto da Rocha] para que él hiciese aquí esta casa, donde los portugueses tuviesen misa y sermón y se aconsejasen con los Padres) determinaron de pedir una limosna para levantar esta iglesia y casas, no pidiendo más que a los portugueses, porque a su título se hace esta iglesia y casas, pues Quambaco no da licencia para los japones ser cristianos, y luego dieron los portugueses 300 taeis de plata, que me parece que reducidos a ducados son más de 350 ducados, y dentro de 31 días se levantó una iglesia muy hermosa, y pareció día de Navidad riquísimamente armada, todo por los portugueses, y allí se dijeron las primeras misas y sermones día de Navidad, y se han ido continuando hasta agora, y el agasallado alojamiento para los Padres está ya en buen punto, liumpio, humilde y muy más acomodado del que teníamos antes." Padre Pedro Gomez, Nagasaki, 8 Feb 1594, ARSI Jap. Sin. 12-I, fol. 170v, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L. ed., Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristandad de Japón (1593-1597): San Martin de la Ascención y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, Relaciones e Informaciones, Osaka, 1973, p. 201.

Sao Paulo between the years 1594 to 1598 (Figure 2).

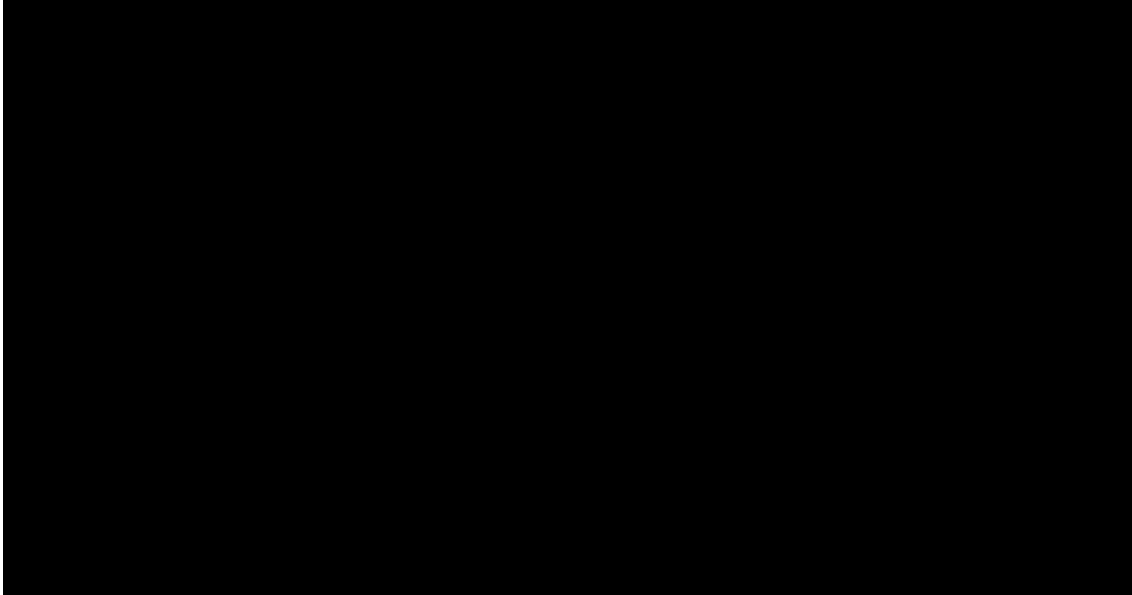


Figure 2: close-up of the byobu held by the Kyushu National Museum (唐船・南蛮船  
図屏風、九州国立博物館).

Appendix B contains a more detailed analysis of this byobu, but for now we will simply mention that the church building at the back appears to have a long central nave, lateral zashiki (green roof) and a main chapel (blue roof). The church also has a low height (only one floor). The topic of church height will be mentioned again, when we analyze the Franciscan church in Miyako.

Regarding the Jesuit College of Sao Paulo, based on the reconstitution hypothesis presented in Appendix A, we can summarize the general position of buildings as follows (Figure 3). The building complex started with the church in 1593, two main buildings shortly after, and in 1598 the Seminary building was built near the beach. There were other smaller buildings, although we do not have any information about their location.

We will now review the development of alternative religious facilities inside and outside Nagasaki.



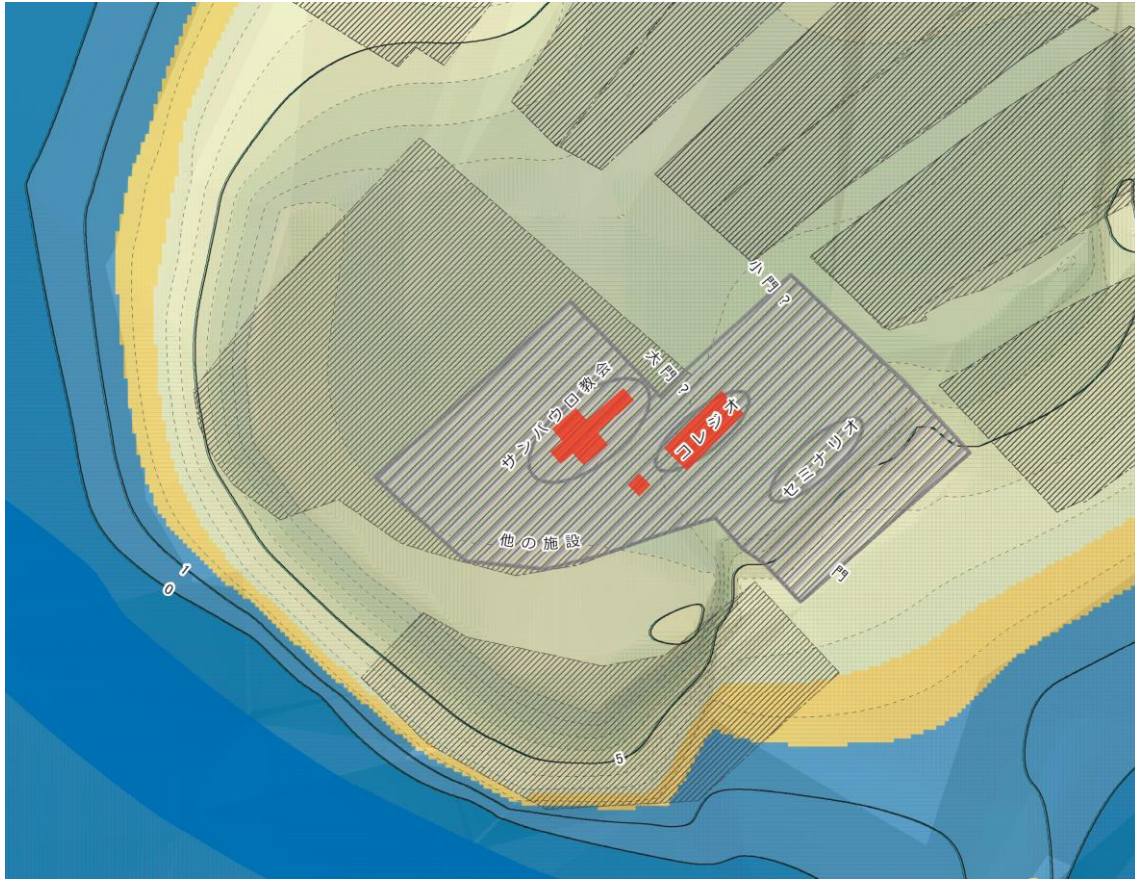


Figure 3: hypothesis for the organization of main buildings in the Jesuit College during 1598, based on the data analyzed in Appendix A.

### 6.5. Development of an Alternative Network of Religious Facilities

The church of Sao Paulo could only be used by Portuguese merchants in 1593: ordinary Japanese were strictly forbidden from visiting the church.

Some Japanese Christians came to the church secretly, but it was not possible to administer a whole city in this way. Therefore, the missionaries still had to solve the problem of celebrating services for the rest of the community.

The method chosen by them was to conduct their ceremonies inside the Christians' houses in the following manner:

- During the period of Lent (starting in the 3rd of March of 1593), 2 priests were assigned to a particular street of Nagasaki, and in that street they would select a house to conduct the ceremonies.
- Very early in the morning, the priests would inform everyone in that street that they

had to do their confessions in the chosen house. Because the house was always filled with people, the priests remained there at the house, doing confessions until late at night. In general, they would confess 200 people in two days.

- The Christians also had a dinner inside the selected house, with the food being provided as an act of charity. This also was done to avoid people coming and going from their houses, which would attract too many suspicions. The priests went through all of the streets using this method. They confessed 4000 people during the Lent period, and gave the Eucharist (聖体) to more than 2000 people.<sup>51</sup>

This policy was repeated in the following years, and so a network of private oratories and religious spaces was gradually formed inside the machi of Nagasaki. Women also had their own designated houses where they could attend mass.<sup>52</sup>

Parallel to this, a secondary network of religious structures was developed. Since Japanese Christians could not attend the main church of Nagasaki, they would go to the chapels and crosses in other locations to do prayers. These locations were: the Misericordia and the Cemetery with the large Cross in Cruz-machi; and outside the city in the chapel of Sao Lazaro (including a large cross near it), and the chapel of Santa Maria in Tateyama.<sup>53</sup> These small chapels were placed outside of the city, surrounded by trees, and hidden from public view, therefore they did not pose much of a problem for the authorities. To summarize, this alternative network was composed of private

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<sup>51</sup> "...para se poder toda aquella povoação confessar com boa ordem, tiverão os Padres este modo: repartindo as ruas de Nangazaqui, que são muitas, escolhião em cada rua huma caza aonde hião dous Padres pela menha muito cedo, tendo primeiro feito a saber aos da rua que se fossem todos àquella caza confessar, e ahi estavam desde pela menha cedo até ser alta noite confessando todos os da rua. E por muito cedo que os Padres madrugassem, sempre achavão a caza cheia de gente, e confessavão ordinariamente em dous dias duzentas pessoas; e lhe dizião suas missas na mesma caza, commungando os que erão capazes para isso e fazendo-lhe huma pratica espiritual antes da communhão (...) Jantavão nas mesmas cazas, dando-lhes os christãos de comer com muita caridade, assim para forrar o tempo que se podia perder em hir e vir comer a caza, como tambem por não serem vistos entrar naquellas cazas. E assim com esta ordem forão correndo todas as ruas (...) de maneira que chegou o numero das confissões que se ouvirão, somente na Quaresma na povoação de Nangazaqui, a quatro mil e passarão de duas mil communhões." Fróis, Luís. *História de Japam*. Vol. 5, p. 447.

<sup>52</sup> Fróis, Luís. *História de Japam*. Vol. 5, p. 457.

<sup>53</sup> "...llegando el recaudo de Terazaua se tornó a dar otro pregón que no solamente nadie fuese a San Lazaro mas ni aun a Santa Maria, Misericordia, y cimiterio a do estaba la cruz." Francisco Pasio por ordem do Vice-Provincial Pedro Gomez, "Relación de lo que há pasado en Jappón com los frailes descalzos de la Orden de San Francisco, desde Marzo de 1594 en que partió la nave para la China y los navios para los Luçones hasta el mes de Hebrero del anno de 1595", ARSI, Jap. Sin. 31, ff. 108-114, transcribed in p. 34.



oratories, the chapels outside the city, and seven religious spaces hidden within the city itself (although we do not know their locations).<sup>54</sup>

But even this was not sufficient. In Christmas of 1594, large numbers of Christian women came at night to the Sao Paulo church, broke down the doors, and occupied the whole space to pray. As a result, the governors of Nagasaki gave permission to the Japanese Christians to attend the Sao Paulo church for 8 days during Christmas. Women came early in the morning to fill the church, and even though there were 7 masses in the morning period, there was never any room left for the men, and so the men were forced to stay outside the church to listen. Then the Jesuits gave an order that each day, two streets would be chosen, and those residents could come to the church on that day. Nevertheless, there were many women who discovered the names of the streets on the previous day, and went to the houses of friends or relatives on those streets to spend the night there and go with them to the church.<sup>55</sup>

Another thing which was done by the Japanese Christians was to gather around the church of Sao Paulo with beads (ロサリオ), where they prayed while standing up, until the mass was over, and the Portuguese had left. On Sundays and holy days, the *otona* (乙名) of Nagasaki had to guard the gates of the streets next to the church, to block people from accessing the churchyard. They also placed a heavy penalty to anyone who tried to do so. But despite this, many Christians found ways to escape the guards and access the churchyard.<sup>56</sup> This situation continued until the death of Hideyoshi in 1598.

The final phase in the development of this secondary network came when the Franciscans established themselves in Nagasaki, and after 26 Christians were executed in Nishizaka Hill.

## 6.6. The Arrival of Franciscan Monks and their Effect on the Jesuit Mission

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<sup>54</sup> “Per la qual cosa non mancarono molti, che ò per l'una, ò per l'altra via nō conseguissero l'intento loro; né fu possibile impedire, non dico, che non facessero priuataméte le loro diuotioni ne'Oratorij, che hanno in casa; ma che non si disciplinassero pubblicamente i Venerdi di Quaresima, andando visitando le Chiese, che stanno intorno à Nangasachi (...) Nè meno segnalata fù la pietà, che mostrarono questi medesimi Christiani nella sacratissima notte di Natale. Perche non contenti delle messe, che in sette, ò più luoghi della Città si dissero, per sichisfare il grā concorso, che alla Chiesa ne farebbe seguito” Luis Frois, Nagasaki, 1595-10-20, Frois, Luis. Copia d'una lettera annua scritta dal Giappone nel M. D. XCV. al R. P. Claudio Acquaviva Generale della Compagnia di Giesù. et dalla Portoghesea nella lingua Italiana tradotta dal P. Gasparo Spitilli di Campli della Compagnia medesima. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1598, p. 15.

<sup>55</sup> Luis Frois, "Carta Ânua de 95" Nagasaki, Jap. Sin. 52, 1595-10-20, fol. 90v.

<sup>56</sup> Luis Frois, "Carta Ânua de 95" Nagasaki, Jap. Sin. 52, 1595-10-20, fol. 90r.

Both in 1592 and 1593, a number of Franciscan monks came to Japan in the role of official ambassadors of the Philippines. Although their primary role was to delay or prevent Hideyoshi from invading the Philippines, they also sought to establish themselves in Japan. The clash with the Jesuits was immediate. Although in general there were rivalries, disagreements and differences of opinion among the various Christian religious orders across Europe and the rest of the world, they were particularly severe in Japan.

One of the main reasons is that Valignano, in his first visit of Japan in 1582, reached the conclusion that in order to convert the Japanese, consistency and uniformity were absolutely essential. In other words, the ceremonies and liturgical rites had to be carried out in the most uniform way as possible, without differences of method or opinion. Since there were strong divisions of opinion among the monks of the Japanese religions, and the Jesuits presented a uniform worldview, it seemed much more attractive to the Japanese public. Valignano believed that if other religious orders came to Japan, it would not only destroy the credibility and prestige of the Society, but also divide the Christian community, because there were always arguments between religious orders in other parts of the world, and those disagreements were unavoidable.<sup>57</sup>

So Valignano invested a considerable amount of personal effort in convincing the Pope Gregory XIII to produce a papal bull (大勅書) in 1585 (called "Ex Pastoralis Officio") forbidding all other religious orders from coming to Japan. Needless to say, it infuriated the members of other religious orders, and was the cause of many complaints against the Society. The Franciscans in Manila immediately made efforts to block or nullify the papal bull, and came to Japan as ambassadors, despite the Pope's orders. Hideyoshi treated them with the appropriate reverence that ambassadors deserve, giving them an excellent plot of land at the Myomanji (妙満時) temple in Miyako, while negotiations were underway. Hideyoshi was also eager to increase trade with the Philippines, and specifically mentioned that he did not care if people of low status become Christians, but that it was unacceptable for people of high status and noblemen to do so.

Although Hideyoshi had not allowed them to preach in public, the Franciscans

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<sup>57</sup> "...causaría muy grande escándalo y impedimento entre una gente de tanto ingenio, tan altiva y tan nueva, si todos los Padres no se conformasen en sus iglesias, y como esto no puede ser habiendo diversas Religiones, y lo que parece bien a los unos no parece a los otros, ni los unos quieren seguir la regla y parecer de los otros, luego se causarían cismas y divisiones, y lo que se concediese en una iglesia se prohibiría en la otra, y lo que a unos pareciese bien de no publicar, publicarían los otros, de onde se causaría extrema ruína en Japón." Text of the General Jesuit Assembly in Nagasaki, 1581, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L, *En el IV Centenario del Breve "EX PASTORALI OFFICIO"*, Sapientia, 20, St. Thomas University, 1986, pp. 99.

interpreted his statements in the following manner: as long as they only converted poor people, Hideyoshi would dissimulate and pretend that nothing was taking place. Based on this interpretation, the Franciscans organized efforts to build a church, convent and a hospital for lepers inside the Myomanji site.

On one hand, the Jesuits openly accused the Franciscans of violating the papal bull. On the other hand, the Franciscans defended their position with several letters and writings. Their main objective was to convince the religious authorities in Rome that the presence of other religious orders in Japan was necessary, because Jesuit missionaries were not doing their jobs properly, and they needed to be supervised. Therefore these letters and reports accumulated a large number of complaints against the methods adopted by the Jesuits.

Their main criticism regarding the Jesuits was that they had become too familiar with Japanese customs and etiquette, and the Jesuits explained their strategy by claiming that this is what the Apostle São Paulo (Saint Paul, サン・パウロ) had done in the times of the Primitive Church, using the expression “Factus sum omnia omnibus”. This expression comes from a passage in the Bible,<sup>58</sup> and it basically means that it is acceptable to imitate the cultural characteristics of other people, if it helps to attract those people towards the Christian religion. But while the Jesuits saw it as a necessity, the Franciscans considered that the Jesuits had sacrificed their own identity, or basic principles, because they tried too much to be like the Japanese.

In the words of the Franciscan San Pedro Bautista, the Jesuits spent a considerable amount of time inviting people, drinking tea and entertaining them according to the Japanese custom, and offering many presents. As a result, the Japanese Christians were very fond of communicating with them, but they were not encouraged to lose their attachment to their personal possessions; so they did not make an effort to improve themselves, or to seek an internal religious experience. The Franciscans believed that adopting Japanese customs was not really necessary for converting the Japanese. Even though many people made fun of the friars, saying that they were poor, smelled badly, and had no “catangues” (気質, polite manners), many people still came to hear them preach and asked to be baptized.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> 1 Corinthians 9:22: “factus sum infirmis infirmus ut infirmos lucrifacerem omnibus omnia factus sum ut omnes facerem salvos”, which is translated in the New Revised Standard Bible as: “To the weak I became weak, so that I might win the weak. I have become all things to all people, [so] that I might by all means save some”. Scripture quoted from the *Holy Bible, New International Version*. Copyright 1973, 1978, 1984 by International Bible Society.

<sup>59</sup> “tomaron tan de veras el conformarse en las costumbres y cumplimientos del reyno con los mismos japones, diciendo que esto es conforme a San Pablo que dice: Factus

Still regarding the topic of Japanese etiquette, the friar Marcelo de Ribadeneira claimed that in the houses of the Jesuits, everything was done in the same way as in the houses of the most important gentiles (non-Christians), in terms of eating, drinking, etiquette, and giving rich presents. Therefore most non-Christians developed the idea that if they became Christians, they could be rich, and because of that many people moved to Nagasaki in hopes of becoming rich.<sup>60</sup>

Then, the friar San Martin de la Ascencion compared the Jesuit College to the Customs House of Sevilla, in Spain, because all of the merchandises of the Kurofune were registered there, and the College was constantly busy with the movement of merchants coming and going. As a result, he argued that the Jesuits acted more like merchants and less as religious men, which also went against the teachings of Saint Paul.<sup>61</sup>

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sum omnia omnibus, que los más curiosos seglares gustan de comunicar con ellos. De lo cual resulta ser los christianos poco enseñados en renunciar cumplimientos del mundo, como impedimiento para crecer en la virtud; antes, quando son visitados, usan el convidar, comun costumbre desta tierra, y beber el chá, que llaman, que es una hyerva que se beve con agua caliente, en una conversacion, muchas vezes; y aunque el fin de usar semejantes costumbres seglares sea nascido de la mucha prudencia con que los Padres de la Compañia suelen siempre hacer sus cosas para afficionar los gentiles a que oygan, no es necesario, presupuesto que no se haziendo entre religiosos Descalzos, no por esso dexan de venir muchos a oyr y bautizarse; antes, los que con los dichos cumplimientos y ceremonias de mundo son enseñados en la fee, como no conoscan la pobreza evangélica ni entienden lo que es la cruz de Jesuchristo nuestro Señor, hazen burla de los religiosos, aunque sean christianos, diciendo que son unos pobretones, y que huelen mal y que no tienen catangui (catagi), que es costumbre de la tierra en beber, y comer y dar, quando van a visitas, presentes.” Carta de San Pedro Bautista, en la que manda por santa obediencia a los religiosos del convento de Kyoto informen lo que supieren sobre ciertas acusaciones que les hacían los Padres de la Compañia. 1 Dec. 1595, Ms. CFM, fols. 173v-213v, transcribed in Perez, Lorenzo. *Cartas y Relaciones del Japón II: Relaciones e Informes sobre el proceder de los Franciscanos antes de la persecución de 1596*, Madrid, Imprenta de G. López del Horno, 1920, p. 32(B).

<sup>60</sup> “Y los Padres están muy diestros en los modos de policía y cumplimientos, y en los beberes y comerres que se usan en sus visitas y entretenimientos. En su casa se hace como en las de los principales gentiles, a muchos de los cuales dan presentes, en especial a los que gobiernan y a los que andan junto al rey; dando a unos porque les hacen bien y a otros porque no les hagan mal, cobrando con esto opinión de ricos y poderosos, y con favorecerles en las mercadurías de la nao de los portugueses de China. Y ansí entre los gentiles hay opinion que en siendo uno cristiano es rico, y muchos ha habido que por serlo lo fueron, y agora al olor de la nao se vienen muchos a vivir al puerto donde viene.” Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Respuestas que dio Fray Marcelo Ribadeneira a las quexas, que él dice que tenían los Padres de la Compañia de Japón contra sus frailes descalços que allé fueron*, ARSI, Jap.Sin 53 I, fols. 253-275v; II fols. 276-296v, written from 1596-97, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L. ed., *Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristandad de Japón (1593-1597): San Martin de la Ascención y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, Relaciones e Informaciones*, Osaka, 1973, p. 244.

<sup>61</sup> San Martin de la Ascención, *Relación de las cosas de Japón para nuestro Padre Fray*

They used the principle of cultural accommodation as a basis from which to criticize Jesuit policies. Although the majority of their criticisms were related to the way of performing the rites, there are some implicit references to architecture.

The first aspect was the issue of standing up on the tatami to praise the Lord. In European churches, there are certain moments where the Christians must stand up as a sign of reverence to God. However, in Japan, doing this was considered to be an insult. The respectful thing to do was to remain sitting on the tatami, and this was the policy adopted by the Jesuits. In the Franciscan church of Miyako, the friars encouraged people to do things in the same way as in Europe.<sup>62</sup> However, after repeated criticisms from the Jesuits, eventually the Franciscans changed their opinion and allowed the Japanese to remain sitting down during the ceremonies.<sup>63</sup>

The following criticism came when a Franciscan named San Pedro Bautista visited some churches in the countryside area of Miyako, and saw a chanoyu in the middle of the church, which was used by the Christians to drink tea;<sup>64</sup> and some brought cooked rice. They ate and talked in the middle of the church after mass. They had received permission from a Japanese Jesuit to do these things, but the friar complained that eating inside the church was against the doctrine of Saint Paul (サン・パウロ).<sup>65</sup> It is

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Francisco Arzubiaga Comisario General de Todas las Indias en Corte, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L. ed., *Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristandad de Japón (1593-1597): San Martín de la Ascensión y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, Relaciones e Informaciones*, Osaka, 1973.

<sup>62</sup> "...los Padres de la Compañía en Japón no enseñan a los cristianos a orar de rodillas ni a levantarse en el Evangelio en la misa, ni a ponerse de rodillas al alzar a Dios, diciendo que a los japoneses les basta que reciban la fe sin quitarles en seguida sus ceremonias con que ellos reverencian a sus idolos que entre ellos son de mayor reverencia y no con levantarse en pie por ser de mala crianza entre el amo y el criado." Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Respuestas que dio Fray Marcelo Ribadeneira a las quejas, que él dice que tenían los Padres de la Compañía de Japón contra sus frailes descalços que allá fueron*, ARSI, Jap.Sin 53-I, fols. 253-275v; 53-II fols. 276-296v, written from 1596-97, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L. ed., *Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristandad de Japón (1593-1597): San Martín de la Ascensión y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, Relaciones e Informaciones*, Osaka, 1973, p. 209.

<sup>63</sup> Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L. op.cit., p. 222.

<sup>64</sup> Carta de San Pedro Bautista, en la que manda por santa obediencia a los religiosos del convento de Kyoto informen lo que supieren sobre ciertas acusaciones que les hacían los Padres de la Compañía. 1 Dec. 1595, Ms. CFM, fols. 173v-213v, transcribed in Perez, Lorenzo. *Cartas y Relaciones del Japón II: Relaciones e Informes sobre el proceder de los Franciscanos antes de la persecución de 1596*, Madrid, Imprenta de G. López del Horno, 1920, p. 31(B).

<sup>65</sup> "Y esta queja se dijo por dos cosas. La primera, porque yendo dos Religiosos descalços a una aldea donde había una iglesia y de los pocos vecinos la mitad eran cristianos y la otra mitad renegados y peores que gentiles, y uno de los Religiosos era sacerdote y habiéndoles dicho misa algunos días que estuviera allí, vio que en medio de

important to note here that the Jesuits had borrowed several houses after 1587, and used them as churches; this may be one of those situations. The friar Ribadeneira commented on this situation, saying that in the Jesuit church of Nagasaki there was no chanoyu in the middle of the church; it was instead located in a room next to the church. He also argued that the Japanese monks did not put chanoyu in the middle of their temples, and so this situation of a chanoyu in the middle of a countryside church was not acceptable.<sup>66</sup>

Another debated aspect was the quality and height of the churches: regarding the Franciscan church in Miyako, the friars claim that it was quite poor and humble, although located in a prestigious area of the city.<sup>67</sup> But the Jesuits Francisco Pasio and Pero Gomez accused them of making a large church with three chapels and chorum (内陣), and surrounding the whole land plot with a “sumptuous wall”, which went against their vows of poverty.<sup>68</sup> At least one of the minor chapels, with an image of Saint Francis of Assis, was located on the left side of the main altar (i.e., “on the side of the Epistle”),<sup>69</sup> which suggests that the church probably did not have a Latin cross floor plan: if so, these three chapels would be on the same wall as the main altar.

Regarding the height of the church, the Jesuits complained that the height of the

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la iglesia tenían una caldera de agua caliente que bebían, todos los que vanían a la iglesia, con unas hierbas molidas que son muy estimadas en Japón y llaman cha. Y también vio que los domingos se reunían los cristianos en la iglesia y cociendo cada uno su medida de arroz hacían una comida y en ella estaban hablando después de comer horas y horas.” Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Respuestas que dio Fray Marcelo Ribadeneira a las quejas, que él dice que tenían los Padres de la Compañía de Japón contra sus frailes descalços que allé fueron*, ARSI, Jap.Sin 53 I, fols. 253-275v; II fols. 276-296v, written from 1596-97, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L. ed., *Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristandad de Japón (1593-1597): San Martin de la Ascensión y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, Relaciones e Informaciones*, Osaka, 1973, p. 182.

<sup>66</sup> Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L., op.cit., p.182.

<sup>67</sup> “Ya tenemos un convento pobre, de madera, y cañas y barro, con su iglesia, aquí en Meaco, en un lindo sitio que el Rey nos dió; aunque el convento no está acavado, falta poco.” Fray Pedro Bautista, Carta a D. Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, Letter from Miyako, 13 October 1594, transcribed in Pérez, Lorenzo. *Cartas y Relaciones del Japón. I. Cartas de San Pedro Bautista*. Madrid: Archivo Ibero-Americano (Nums. XII y XVI-XVII), Imprenta de G. López del Horno, 1916, p. 58.

<sup>68</sup> “...hanno fatto una Chiesa grande con tre capelle e coro, case de solari, cercato il campo cō muri sumptuosi, il che he contra la loro pobreza...” Francisco Pasio, 1594-10-17, Jap. Sin. 12-II, fol. 198v; “E neste comenos alevantan los frailes il Miaco una Iglesia grande cō Choro y tres altares...” Pero Gomez, Nagasaki, Jap. Sin. 12-II, 1595-02-03, fol. 242r.

<sup>69</sup> “Y diciendo esto, se fue a una devota imagen del glorioso San Francisco, la cual estaba en el colateral de hacía la epístola...” Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, 1603, transcribed in Jesús Martínez Pérez, ed. “Historia de la Perdida y Descubrimiento del Galeón San Felipe”, Institución Gran Duque de Alba, Ávila, 1997, p. 275.

church at the Myomanji temple was too high, and could be publicly seen by everyone who passed in that area, which could irritate Hideyoshi. Ribadeneira, when responding to this criticism, simply mentioned that the friars had built a tall church and a house in the same manner as they had in Spain, implying that the Jesuit church was of low height.<sup>70</sup>

Based on this, we can hypothesize that having a tall building in Miyako was also a sign of prestige and of public acceptance by the authorities.

When the Franciscan church was being built, some non-Christian Japanese came inside and tried to stop the workers from placing the grille in the chorum (内陣のカンケリ), saying that it was a nonsensical thing to do. They also criticized the fact that the main altar was on a higher level than the rest of the church, which required climbing five or six stair steps. These Japanese complained that it was against the customs of Japan to make one room higher than the others, and that only Hideyoshi could have rooms with a higher level.<sup>71</sup> Eventually, the friars managed to drive them away.

Also according to the Franciscan Marcelo de Ribadeneira, there was a cross at the top of the grille that surrounded the main chapel. This grille separated the chorum (内陣) from the main body of the church. On top of the main altar, there was an ostensorium (聖体顕示台) with an interesting shape, and a tabernacle (幕屋).<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> “Esta queja es una de las primeras que tuvieron los Padres, y el fundamento fue que como los Frailes hiciesen iglesia y casa con la licencia del rey de Japón, en un sitio que el rey les dio o mandó dar en su corte de Miyako, y los Frailes hiciesen la iglesia alta y la casa como acostumbran a tener en España, los Padres les hicieron contradicción, diciendo que la hiciesen baja, porque así estaba muy publicamente. Pero vista la libertad que tenían los Frailes, con licencia del rey para vivir a su modo y como acostumbraban en España, no era inconveniente levantar la bandera de la cruz...” Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, Respuestas que dio Fray Marcelo Ribadeneira a las quejas, que él dice que tenían los Padres de la Compañía de Japón contra sus frailes descalços que allá fueron, ARSI, Jap.Sin 53 I, fols. 253-275v; II fols. 276-296v, written from 1596-97, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L. ed., Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristandad de Japón (1593-1597): San Martin de la Ascensión y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, Relaciones e Informaciones, Osaka, 1973, p. 176.

<sup>71</sup> “Sucedió después de hecha la iglesia: queriendo poner la reja que divide la capilla, se hallaron allí unos gentiles y dijeron que para qué se ponía aquella reja, la cual era contra la orden de todo el Japón, y dijeron que no la pusiesen. Y viendo que junto al altar mayor estaban unos oficiales haciendo las gradas para subir a él, las cuales eran cuatro y con la peana cinco, dijeron los gentiles que ellos eran criados de Taico Sama, y que se lo dirían si no quitaban todas aquellas gradas, por ser muy contrarias de la usanza del Japón, donde no hay grada ninguna mas todos los aposentos iguales, y que si alguna grada había de haber, había de ser para el Emperador Taico Sama.” (Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, 1603, transcribed in Jesús Martínez Pérez, ed. “Historia de la Perdida y Descubrimiento del Galeón San Felipe”, Institución Gran Duque de Alba, Ávila, 1997, p. 273.

<sup>72</sup> Ribadeneira, *Historia*, lib.4, c. 25, pp. 386-388, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L.

Although we know of only one Jesuit church that had a staircase under the main altar,<sup>73</sup> the rest of the architectural elements (grille around main chapel, multiple chapels) had not been introduced in Jesuit architecture until then, and therefore we can say that the Franciscans introduced at least some European spatial elements in their church of Miyako. Judging by the Franciscan descriptions, the grille was quite tall. We have only one reference to the existence of a grille in the Church of Sao Paulo in 1596, located in the crossing (交差部) which separated the chapel (the area for the priests) from the main nave (area for Christians). This reference takes place during the ceremony of the ashes. The priests place a little bit of ashes (灰) on the forehead of each Christian; the purpose is to encourage them to think about death, since every body is turned into ashes after death. At this ceremony, so many Christians competed to be the first ones to receive the ashes on their foreheads, that they broke down the grille at the crossing.<sup>74</sup> This suggests that the grille was not so tall or strong, since it would not be possible to put ashes on the forehead of a person if they are standing up.

The final point of controversy between Jesuits and Franciscans was the issue of placing the Blessed Sacrament inside the ostensorium (聖体顕示台) constantly on the main altar. In order to have the Blessed Sacrament (inside the ostensorium) always on display at the altar of a church, it is necessary to have candles, or lamps which are constantly burning, and someone to guard it at all times. The reason is because the Blessed Sacrament is the most important object in the entire church, and after the Council of Trent, it became the central focus of Roman Christian ceremonies and rites.

This was probably the reason why the Franciscans installed a grille around the main altar: to protect the Blessed Sacrament from attacks. The Jesuits had warned repeatedly that non-Christians would try to damage or deface the Blessed Sacrament, and that would hurt the reputation of both Franciscans and Jesuits.

The final reason given by Jesuits for not putting the Blessed Sacrament on display at all times, is because the Jesuits considered it to be an award or a prize for good Christians. After a Japanese Christian confesses his sins, if he makes a strong effort to

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ed., *Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristandad de Japón (1593-1597)*: San Martin de la Ascención y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Relaciones e Informaciones*, Osaka, 1973, p. 76.

<sup>73</sup> This was the church of Arima in 1584. Please consult Appendix C.

<sup>74</sup> “I Mercoli della cenere, concorse tanta gente a pigliarla, si della terra, come delle ville, che due volte ruppero le grate della crociera della Chiesa, col desiderio, che haueuano de esser li primi a pigliarla.” Frois, Luis. *Lettera annua del Giappone dell'anno M.D.XCVI. scritta dal P. Luigi Frois, al R. P. Claudio Acquaviva Generale della Compagnia di Giesù. Tradotta in Italiano dal P. Francesco Mercati Romano della stessa Compagnia. In Roma, appresso Luigi Zannetti 1599. Con licenza de' superiori.* Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1599, p. 126.



live a virtuous life according to Christian laws, then the Jesuits allow him/her to participate in the Eucharist. The Eucharist was one of the rare occasions in which the Blessed Sacrament was publicly revealed, and therefore many Japanese people saw it as a reward for their efforts. In the view of the Jesuits, if the Japanese saw the Blessed Sacrament constantly, they would gradually lose their interest and respect for it, and make less efforts to live a good life. Under this logic, to deprive a Christian from participating in the Eucharist was a form of punishment.

In this sense, the Jesuits treated the Blessed Sacrament almost as a *shintai* (神体). Of course, the Japanese *shintai* are never publicly shown to the believers, but the essential idea is that by only showing this holy object at special occasions, people would treat it with more devotion. There are a couple of references in Jesuit texts of the Blessed Sacrament being carried in *koshi* (興) during important processions, in the same way as the Japanese *shintai*.<sup>75</sup>

The Franciscans had the opposite opinion: by having the Blessed Sacrament constantly on display, the devotion of the Christians actually increased, and made them stronger against religious persecutions.<sup>76</sup>

According to the Jesuit Francisco Pasio, some Christians believed that that they had to learn both the ceremonies of the Jesuits, as well as the ceremonies of the friars, because they seemed to be different things.<sup>77</sup> But despite their claims, the Franciscans did compromise on one aspect. After hearing several recommendations from Christians,

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<sup>75</sup> One example took place in Goto (五島) in 1569: see Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Cortes, 09/02663, Mss., fols 2r-3v.

<sup>76</sup> "La segunda, lo pusieron para animar a los cristianos, que aunque no comulgasen tantas veces como su devoción les movía a pedirlo, teniendo al Santísimo Sacramento en la iglesia fuesen allí a rezar, como lo hacían, creciendo notablemente en virtud y en mortificación y humildad, sirviendo unos a los leprosos de día y de noche, a imitación de los Frailes..." Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Respuestas que dio Fray Marcelo Ribadeneira a las quejas, que él dice que tenían los Padres de la Compañía de Japón contra sus frailes descalços que allá fueron*, ARSI, Jap.Sin 53 I, fols. 253-275v; II fols. 276-296v, written from 1596-97, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L. ed., *Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristandad de Japón (1593-1597): San Martín de la Ascensión y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, Relaciones e Informaciones*, Osaka, 1973, p. 216.

<sup>77</sup> "Los frailes sin atentar a los inconvenientes que hacen que los cristianos que van a oír su misa se levanten al Evangelio, y por esto piensan haber diferencia de nuestra misa a la suya y que es necesario saber las ceremonias que han de hacer en nuestra misa y en la de los frailes." Francisco Pasio por orden do Vice-Provincial Pedro Gomez, "Relación de lo que há pasado en Jappón com los frailes descalzos de la Orden de San Francisco, desde Marzo de 1594 en que partió la nave para la China y los navios para los Luçones hasta el mes de Hebrero del anno de 1595", ARSI, Jap. Sin. 31, ff. 108-114, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L., *Relacion Sobre los Franciscanos en Japon hecha en Nagasaki el ano 1595 por el Padre Francisco Pasio de la Compania de Jesus*, *Journal of Osaka University of Foreign Studies*, 1968, 20, p. 38.

Marcelo de Ribadeneira finally agreed to install one zashiki for receiving guests, although he made sure that it was not too lavish; he did not want to violate their vow of poverty.<sup>78</sup> And they tried several ways to make the guests feel that they were welcome, without following Japanese etiquette.<sup>79</sup>

### 6.7. The Cult of Martyrs at Nishizaka Hill (1597)

In late 1594, a pair of Franciscans came to Nagasaki in an attempt to establish a church there. Since there was considerable opposition from the Jesuits within Uchi-machi, they ended up occupying the chapel of Sao Lazaro, which had been closed and unoccupied since 1592;<sup>80</sup> the tatami, doors, altar and images had been removed and stored safely.<sup>81</sup> The friars reinstalled everything again and began to participate in the

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<sup>78</sup> Perez, Lorenzo. *Cartas y Relaciones del Japón II: Relaciones e Informes sobre el proceder de los Franciscanos antes de la persecución de 1596*, Madrid, Imprenta de G. López del Horno, 1920, pp. 70-71.

<sup>79</sup> Perez, Lorenzo, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>80</sup> “Vinieron a Nagasaqi, y después de haber estado quince o veinte días en nuestra casa, se fueron a meter en una iglesia pequeña que está fuera de la ciudad, junto de dos lugares de leprosos, uno de hombres y otro de mujeres, sin traer provisión de Taico nem de Terazaua, que gobierna la ciudad, ni dar palabra a la Misericordia, cuya era la iglesia y a quien pertenece el cuidado y sustentación de aquellas dos casas de enfermos, ni tener licencia del criado de Omuradono, que es señor de aquel campo a do está la iglesia, mas bastó para irse meter en la iglesia que tres o cuatro portugueses que estaban en la ciudad les dijeron que bien se podían ir meter en la iglesia, porque cuando se hizo algunos portugueses ayudaron con su limosna. Y entrando quebraron dos cepos o caixas que la Misericordia ahí tenia, en que recogian la limosna de los pobres, diciendo pue la iglesia de San Francisco no tiene cepos, porque bien sabían que aquella limosna era para los frailes.” Francisco Pasio por ordem do Vice-Provincial Pedro Gomez, “Relación de lo que há pasado en Jappón com los frailes descalzos de la Orden de San Francisco, desde Marzo de 1594 en que partió la nave para la China y los navios para los Luçones hasta el mes de Hebrero del anno de 1595”, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 31, ff. 108-114, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L., *Relacion Sobre los Franciscanos en Japon hecha en Nagasaki el ano 1595 por el Padre Francisco Pasio de la Compania de Jesus*, *Journal of Osaka University of Foreign Studies*, 1968, 20, p. 34.

<sup>81</sup> “De la misma manera, para que Terazaua se no enfadase contra nosotros, le dimos parte de lo que pasaba, porque habrá tres años, quando fue destruida nuestra iglesia de Nagassaqi, nos dijo que tuviésemos aquella iglesia de San Lázaro como inhabitada y desamparada, sin puertas, sin altar, sin imágenes, y sin las esteras con que los jappones cubren el suelo de las casas a do moran.” Francisco Pasio por ordem do Vice-Provincial Pedro Gomez, “Relación de lo que há pasado en Jappón com los frailes descalzos de la Orden de San Francisco, desde Marzo de 1594 en que partió la nave para la China y los navios para los Luçones hasta el mes de Hebrero del anno de 1595”, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 31, ff. 108-114, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L., *Relacion Sobre los Franciscanos en Japon hecha en Nagasaki el ano 1595 por el Padre Francisco Pasio de la Compania de Jesus*, *Journal of Osaka University of Foreign Studies*, 1968, 20, p. 34.

daily life of the leper hospital, composed of two buildings, one for men and another for women. They also celebrated mass at the chapel, which was attended by many people, especially women. Since Terazawa was informed of this by the Jesuits, he did not want to take any risks, and forced the Franciscans to stay in a small house inside Uchi-machi. Although they tried to purchase the house through legal means, both the Jesuits and some Portuguese merchants attempted to block the purchase, and prevented Christians from attending mass inside their small house. There was also increased pressure on the Franciscans to return to the Philippines.

But the most important incident came when a Spanish ship named “San Phelippe” went through a storm and got stuck in the harbor of Urado in Japan. Hideyoshi and his governors decided to confiscate the cargo of the ship. The Spanish merchants asked the Franciscans to try to convince Hideyoshi to return the merchandises. The Jesuits also became involved in the dispute, and after some time, Hideyoshi decided to punish the Franciscans by sentencing several of them to death, as well as some Christians who were with them, and the Jesuit Paulo Miki.

The Christians and priests were taken to Nagasaki, where they were going to be crucified. Nagasaki already had a place where criminals were normally executed. It was located slightly north of Nishizaka Hill. It was a small place covered by trees, and usually not visited by anyone. Therefore, the Portuguese merchants specifically asked the judge to change the execution place to Nishizaka. The reason was that Nishizaka was a very open and prominent place, where many people could gather. Nishizaka Hill was also facing the sea, and people could enter boats to see the execution as well. The judge agreed to their requests, and the execution took place at the area where we currently find the Museum of the 26 Martyrs (Nishizaka).<sup>82</sup>

The crucifixion was viewed by several thousands of people, and everyone who was hanging on the crosses (i.e., religious men and Christians, including some small children), spent the whole time singing in joy, and preaching to the people about the importance of following the footsteps of Christ. It was an extremely emotional moment for the population of Nagasaki, and those 26 people were considered to be martyrs. People did everything they could to cut pieces of their bodies and clothes, to keep them as relics of

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<sup>82</sup> “Pareciéndoles a los portugueses que aquel sitio era indecente y pequeño para tantos y estaba algo escondido, porque estuviesen los mártires a vista del pueblo y de la casa de los Padres y del navío, para su devoción y consuelo, fueron dos portugueses, los más piadosos, a pedir al juez les concediesen sitio un poco más abajo, el cual luego concedió. Era el sitio largo, aunque angosto. Caía sobre la mar. Estaba en aquella sazón sembrado de cebada.” Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, 1603, transcribed in Jesús Martínez Pérez, ed. “Historia de la Perdida y Descubrimiento del Galeón San Felipe”, Institución Gran Duque de Alba, Ávila, 1997, p. 359.

saints. This aspect of worshiping body parts of saints was extremely common during the period of Early Christianity, until the late Middle Ages.

But more importantly, from an urban point of view, Nishizaka Hill became the same thing as Golgotha Hill, where Jesus Christ had been crucified. The population built altars and planted trees in their honor. We know from the Franciscan Jacinto Orfanell that the trees were cherry blossom trees (桜), and that the altars were made of stone.<sup>83</sup> Another late account, written in 1656 in the Jesuit College of Macau, says that there were 27 trees and altars placed in Nishizaka Hill in honor of the martyrs, and the Christians also put lanterns there.<sup>84</sup> Since the account was written many years later, it is understandable that the writer mistook the number 26 with 27.

In any case, the suburban sites of Nishizaka Hill, Sao Lazaro, Santa Maria and Todos os Santos became an important part of the procession routes of Christians in Nagasaki.

In 1600, it is mentioned that many Christians could not do acts of self-flagellation inside the church, because it was too crowded. So they did those acts at home, or by visiting the chapels outside of the city.<sup>85</sup>

## 6.8. Summary

The decade of the 1590s was essentially a decade of persecutions. Almost all of the Jesuit churches were destroyed in Japan, and it is very unlikely that they were allowed to occupy Japanese temples during this period. Therefore, most of their churches were

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<sup>83</sup> “o Tiranno (...) mandou derribar alguãs Igrejas muy pequenas q por ser lho, e nam haver reparado em ellas quando derribaram as demais se haviam ficado. E logo atras disto queimaram todos os hospitaes de pobres, e leprosos que havia dentro e fora da cidade, e alguas choças, e cazinhas de Ermitaões, q havia alli perto, e arrancaram huas arvores de Cerezos muy lindos q estavam plantados em o lugar donde foram crucificados os primeiros padres Franciscos com os demais Japoens, tirando as pedras, e tudo o demais q tinham posto alli os Christaões p sua devoção e tudo o lançaram no mar...” Jacinto Orfanell, *Relacion sobre los sucesos de la persecucion de Japon*, 1620-03-20, transcribed in José Delgado Garcia, ed. *Cartas y Relaciones*, Jacinto Orfanell, *Orientalia Dominicana* 8, Madrid, Institutos de Filosofía y Teología Santo Tomás, 1989, p. 202.

<sup>84</sup> “Quando queimarão, e quebrarão os sinos, tambem se forão a hum outeiro chamado S. João dos Martyres, donde estavam 27 arvores, onde antigam.te martirizarão 27 Martyres, e todas as arrancarão; e os Jappôis atee este tempo sempre fazião reverencia áquellas arvores, e lhe punhão as lampadas.” Unknown Author, Macau, ARSI Jap. Sin. 22, 1656, fol. 362r.

<sup>85</sup> “...mas as disciplinas, q os homens, e mulheres de Nangazaqui não podiam tomar na Igreja pela estreiteza da gente, as tiomavam depois a sua vontade em suas cazas, e pelas ruas hindo visitando alguãs Hermidas, que estam fora da povoaçam.” Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-I-31) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 6v.

borrowed houses, especially in Omura and Arima. In Nagasaki, together with the private oratories inside Nagasaki, Japanese Christians used small chapels in suburban areas to express their faith, often by doing prayers or acts of self-flagellation.

We also saw how the arrival of the Franciscans challenged the normal practices of the Jesuits, and provoked an intense debate about the policy of cultural accommodation. While the Jesuits continued to focus on imitating Japanese customs, the Franciscans found it more difficult to compromise, although they did install a *zashiki* for guests and allowed the Christians to remain seated during mass.

These debates also confirmed the idea that tall, large buildings which can be seen from outside the walls, or far away, are symbols of importance and prestige. Even an altar with staircases could be interpreted as a sign of prestige, or arrogance. Similar to this notion, the location of a building is also important. The closer it is to the residence or fortress of a lord, the more respected that building is. Therefore the Franciscans also realized that obtaining a privileged plot of land was important for the reputation of their church. We will revisit this situation in the following chapter.

We also established that *Uchi-machi* was the most prestigious part of Nagasaki, with rich inhabitants, while most of the east part of *Soto-machi* was composed of extremely poor/disadvantaged/discriminated people. It was not possible for the Jesuits to build any more churches in the city of Nagasaki during this period, because Hideyoshi's anti-Christian edict. But curiously, during the 1600s, when there was no such problem, the network of new churches focused mostly on *Uchi-machi*, instead of expanding to the east side. This is a very curious phenomenon, and it may be because the religious orders would lose their reputation if they established large churches in a discriminated part of the city. This point will be revisited in a later chapter.

## **7. DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN FACILITIES (1600-1613)**

### **7.1. Introduction**

This time period was particularly rich in results for the Jesuits. They were finally able to focus their energies on building impressive churches in Nagasaki, Omura, Arima Hakata and Miyako. They expanded their network of religious structures across several parts of Japan, although they gave no concrete information about their architecture; instead, they prefer to focus on writing about the more impressive churches. The main points to be discussed in this chapter are:

- The descriptions of large churches built across Japan suggest that some European elements were introduced, although it is difficult to describe them accurately;
- There was some competition among Christian lords in terms of building more impressive churches than other lords;
- In Nagasaki, the Franciscans and Dominicans competed over the purchase of the best land plots in the port. On the other hand, the church of the Augustinians was the only one placed on the east part of Soto-machi, where the poor and disadvantaged people lived;
- The hierarchical aspects of Japanese etiquette had an influence on the architecture of the Jesuit College in Nagasaki (rooms of good quality built by high-ranking Jesuits inside the College)
- In 1614, the anti-Christian edict encouraged Christians to participate in large-scale processions across the various churches of Nagasaki (“liturgical seasons”);

### **7.2. Historical Context**

During the execution of the 26 martyrs in 1597, Terazawa Shimanokami ordered the destruction or dismantlement of several Jesuit churches (approximately 137) in the Takaku and Omura regions.<sup>1</sup> The church of Todos os Santos was one of the churches destroyed at the time, although the rest of the houses remained intact. In the sequence of the execution, all of the Franciscans were forced to leave Japan, due to pressure from the Jesuits and the governors of Nagasaki. They would only return in 1602, in the area

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<sup>1</sup> Padre Antonio Francisco Critana, Nagasaki, 26 Feb. 1599, ARSI Jap. Sin. 13 II, fols. 278-280; 282-284, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L, *Opinión de un canonista de la Compañía de Jesús sobre los Franciscanos en Japón*, in *Miscelánea Japónica I*, Osaka, 1978, p. 17.

of Satsuma.

This unstable situation continued until 1598, when Valignano arrived in Japan for the third and final time. Hideyoshi died just a few weeks later, although the news of his death were concealed for some time. The population as well as the various lords of Japan had become exhausted by the Korean Wars, and there were strong demands for a change of policy.

Taking advantage of Hideyoshi's death, Valignano made contacts with the Christian lords, and made several efforts to re-establish some of the churches that had been burned by Terazawa. Valignano forbid the Jesuits from building large churches and houses until the political situation in Japan became clearer. Until then, the Jesuits should only build houses or churches of medium quality, in order to save costs. The chance to build new churches was highly appreciated by the priests, who until then had to use the houses of Christians to perform mass, to preach, to confess, and do other sacraments. It was extremely uncomfortable and inconvenient to do these things in the Christian's houses.<sup>2</sup>

The process of restoring the destroyed Jesuit buildings in Japan took place mostly during the year of 1599. In some cases the missionaries chose new locations which were more suitable or more spacious for their churches. More than 50 churches were rebuilt during this period, and most of them were of better quality than the previous ones. Although the Christian lords and their vassals were focused on repairing their own fortresses, they still made a large effort to donate to the rebuilding process.<sup>3</sup>

Once Tokugawa Yeyasu became the ruler of Japan, he focused on developing commercial relations with the Spanish and the Dutch. He also lifted restrictions on the Jesuits, allowing them to live freely in Nagasaki, Osaka and Miyako, just as Hideyoshi had authorized.<sup>4</sup> The city of Nagasaki continued to expand very quickly during this

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<sup>2</sup> "...ficarão gr.<sup>de</sup> m.<sup>te</sup> consolados, e animados, e assi o P.<sup>e</sup> Visit.<sup>dor</sup> ajudandosse de toda a boa ocasião p.<sup>ra</sup> pder agazalhar os p.<sup>es</sup> q estão com as Igrejas, e apousentos queimados, e fazer acudir a xp.<sup>de</sup> pouco, a pouco os fez tornar p.<sup>ra</sup> suas casas, e residências, dandolhes licença p.<sup>a</sup> fabricarem, ainda que não fosse logo Igrejas, e casas m.<sup>to</sup> grandes, por que farião muyto custo, e estrondo, pello menos fizessê huãs casas mediocris em que se lles agazalhassem, e pudessem ajuntar os xpãos p.<sup>ra</sup> ouvirem Missa, e pregação, e p.<sup>a</sup> se confessarem, e sacramentarem; porque pollas casas dos xpãos por onde os p.<sup>es</sup> andavão cõ m.<sup>ta</sup> encomodidade muito mal se podião fazer estes minist.<sup>os</sup>..." Francisco Pasio, "Annuæ de Japão do Anno de 1598", Nagasaki, 2<sup>a</sup> via, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1599-02-20, fol. 24r.

<sup>3</sup> "Copia da Carta escrita em Nangazaqui porto de Japam ao M.R. Em Christo Padre em 25 de Outubro de 1600" Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-I-31) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 4v.

<sup>4</sup> "E logo por obra mostrou, o que dezia de palavra, & quam satisfeyto estava dos Padres: porque mandou despachar duas patentes, em que os confirmava nas casas que tem em Meaco, Ozaca, & Nãgazaqui, por seres estas tres as principaes, & de maior

years, including many poor people.<sup>5</sup> Another reason for the large population growth of the city is because of the large number of children. During the 1580s, abortions were strictly forbidden by the Jesuits. Even though Hideyoshi confiscated the port in 1587, the practice of not doing abortions continued among the Christians, because it was seen as a sin.<sup>6</sup>

Since the city was getting so crowded, the bones in the cemetery of Uchi-machi were transferred to a new cemetery outside of the city, next to the chapel of Santa Maria in Tateyama. It became another famous site for the Christians to do prayers and processions.<sup>7</sup>

The second large fire of Nagasaki took place in 27 October 1601. It started by accident in the house of a poor man, who lived near the middle of Uchi-machi, and spread very

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estima diãte dos senhores de Iapam.” Guerreiro, Fernão. *Relaçam annual das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus na India, & Japão nos annos de 600. & 601. & do processo da conversão, & christandade daquellas partes: tirada das cartas gêraes que de lâ vierão pello Padre Fernão Guerreiro... Vai dividida em dous livros..* Evora: 1603. p. 242.

<sup>5</sup> “He de muyta edificaçam a grande charidade com que os padres lhe acodem continuamente às necessidades corporaes suas, & de grãde numero de pobres que aqui por este respeito acodem à fama da charidade dos padres, & Christãos, & principalmente em hũa grande fome, em que toda esta comarca se vio. Na qual tambem se assinalaram grandemente os Portugueses, que aqui se achãram tirando entre si hũa grossa esmola, que deram a casa da Misericordia, que ja aqui hã, com que muytos foram remedeados.” Guerreiro, Fernão. *Relaçam annual das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus na India, & Japão nos annos de 600. & 601. & do processo da conversão, & christandade daquellas partes: tirada das cartas gêraes que de lâ vierão pello Padre Fernão Guerreiro... Vai dividida em dous livros..* Evora: 1603, p. 126.

<sup>6</sup> “...baptizaramse este anno setecentas, e sessenta e seis crianças, todos filhos dos moradores della: porque como sam Christãos, e tem entendido o grande peccado q he matar os filhos como o fazem muitos gentios, p nenhum cazo os matam escolhendo antes enjeitalos quando os nam podem criar (...) para o q se tem dado ordem de modo q vivam, e se criem; ao q ajuda muito a Misericordia q corre com esta Santa Obra (...) pelos muitos pobres que nesta cidade se ajuntam de diversas partes.” “Copia da Carta escrita em vinte e tres de Novembro de 1604 ao M.R. em Christo Pe. Nosso.” *Jesuitas na Asia*, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-III-33) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 249.

<sup>7</sup> “S'è fatto vn nuouo Cimitero, per sepellirui i defonti, fuori de Nangasachi, vicino ad vna Cappelletta di gran deuotione, della beatissima Vergine madre di Dio, nel mezo s'è fatta vn'altra Cappella: & è riuscito in modo che è vna delle cose, che recano ornamento è questa città: e gran deuotione e pietà eccita nel popolo (...) Tra pochi giorni vi si transferiranno con solenne processione l'ossa di quei, che nel Cimitero erano sepolti. Il che farà di gran consolatione è questa gente.” Pasio, Francesco. *Lettera annua di Giappone scritta nel 1601. e mandata dal P. Francesco Pasio V. Provinciale al M. R. P. Claudio Acquaviva Generale della Compagnia di Giesù. In Roma, appresso Luigi Zannetti. MDCIII. Con licenza de superiori. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1603, p. 24.*



quickly. Nine or ten of the most important streets of Uchi-machi were burned.<sup>8</sup> According to the report of Gabriel de Matos, the fire burned the area between the north moat of the Misericordia (一ノ堀・堀町) and the Jesuit College.<sup>9</sup> The new church and most of the Jesuit College survived only because the wind changed direction at the last minute.<sup>10</sup> The Church donated 700 Portuguese cruzados in money to help the people who had lost their houses and were not so rich. As for the rich people, they had several negotiations between them, and they rebuilt the houses so that the streets were “better, and more beautiful than before”.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> “Pegousse por desastre o fogo na casa de hû homem pobre que viuia bem afastado da nossa, & quasi no meio da cidade, & como os edificios de Iapão sam pela maior parte todos de madeira foi crescendo, & pegandosse tambem nas casas dos vizinhos. De modo que sendo à boca da noite, e o vento esperto, & que trazia o fogo para o nosso sitio, sem nenhum remedio abrasou, & destruiu em poucas horas noue, ou dez ruas das principais desta cidade. Fazem os Iapões por rezam deste periguo do fogo, que he tam comum, hûas como despensas ou adegas fortes muy bem barradas por dentro, & por fora de maneira que o fogo não possa entrar, nellas a que chamão curas. E assi ouuindosse na cidade esta voz fogo, metem logo quanto tem nestas casas como agora tambem fizerão, mas a furia deste foi tam grande que nem a estas perdoaua. Por onde posto que algûas escaparão, forão mais de duzêtas as que abrasou, & consumio com tudo o que dentro estaua.” Guerreiro, Fernão. *Relaçam annual das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus na India, & Japão nos annos de 600. & 601. & do processo da conversão, & christandade daquellas partes: tirada das cartas gêraes que de lâ vierão pello Padre Fernão Guerreiro...* Vai dividida em dous livros.. Evora: 1603, f. 10v.

<sup>9</sup> “Neste anno, em o fim d'Outubro, véspera de S. Simão e S.Judas, soccedeo a queima grande do machi de Nangasaqui, na qual se queimou quanto avia do fori da Misericordia no alto até nossa igreja, a qual era nova e estava já accabada e nella se dissera a 1ª missa dia das Onze mil Virgens; de modo que a muito poucos dias depois da primeira missa esteve arriscada. Chegou o fogo a algumas casas nossas velhas, e queimou hum gudão do Senhor Bispo Dom Luís, e nelle muito do melhor de seu fato.” Report by Gabriel de Matos, transcribed in Schütte, Josef Franz. *Monumenta Historica Japoniae* 1. *Textus catalogorum Japoniae aliaeque de personis domibusque S.J. in Japonia informationes et relationes, 1549-1654.* Roma: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1975, p. 366.

<sup>10</sup> “...de tal maneira de improviso mudou o vento em fauor de nossa igreja, & casa, & para aquella parte da cidade, que ja ficaua abrasada (...) estando os padres quasi desconfiados de poder escapar algûa de tam impetuoso fogo, que até às portas lhe chegaua ja.” Guerreiro, Fernão. *Relaçam annal das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da Índia Oriental, & no Brasil, Angola, Cabo Verde, Guinè, nos annos de seiscentos & dous & seiscentos & tres, & do processo da conversam, & christandade daquellas partes, tirada das cartas dos mesmos padres que de lâ vieram.* Lisbon: Jorge Rodrigues, 1605, fol. 11r.

<sup>11</sup> “...repartindo passante de sete centos cruzados pelos mais necessitados; o q lhe servio de ajuda para tornarem a reedificar suas cazas; porq os Ricos de tal maneira se negociaram, e fizeram as suas que ficam agora as ruas muito melhores, e mais fermozas que dantes.” “Anno de 1602 escrita pelo Padre Gabriel de Mattos ao primeiro de Janeyro de 1603 em Nangazaqui ao M.R. em Christo Padre.” *Jesuitas na Asia*, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-I-31) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 81.

The fast growth of the city also caused strong conflicts between the people of Soto-machi and Uchi-machi. According to the Bishop Luis Cerqueira, it was not possible to administer any justice properly because there were different laws in Soto and Uchi-machi, and so a criminal only needed to cross the moat to be free from trouble.

Furthermore, the inhabitants of Uchimachi suffered great inconvenients because they could not have access to basic commodities, such as rice fields and vegetable gardens, pasture grounds, drinkable water, a river for washing clothes, firewood, or a place to collect stones and earth to use for their buildings. All of these things were only available in Soto-machi (the lands owned by Omura Yoshiaki, son of Sumitada), which led to a large increase in prices. For several times, the governors of Uchi-machi attempted to offer deals to unify the government of both districts, but Yoshiaki always refused their offers.<sup>12</sup>

As a result, many complaints were addressed to Hideyoshi, who used the opportunity to confiscate Soto-machi from Omura Yoshiaki. Since Yoshiaki suspected that the Jesuits were involved in this confiscation, he apostatized and partially cut off relations with the Society of Jesus. A Christian named Antonio Murayama Toan was designated as the new governor of Nagasaki. Initially he was supportive of the Jesuits, but when the Dominicans came to Nagasaki in 1608, he became their biggest supporter.

### **7.3. General Trends in Jesuit Churches**

#### **7.3.1. Nagasaki:**

The Jesuits had to solve urgently the problem of overcrowded churches. Sao Paulo was the one that caused the most concern. So many people gathered at the church, that they filled not only the church, but also the entire churchyard, and the streets next to the

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<sup>12</sup> “...padecia muito a dita pouoação de Nangasaqui por nam ter dentro de sy nem ao redor como outrosy he notorio nem varzeas pera arroz, nem campo algu pera pasto, nem terra pera ortalixa, nem agua de fontes pera beber, nem rio pera lauar a roupa, nem mato pera lenha. nem lugar algu pera tomarem pedra, e terra de que usão em seus ediffiçios senão <dentro> nas terras de Omurandono, cujos Ministros uendo por hua parte a neçessidade grande que os moradores de Nangasaqui tinham destas cousas, e por outra, mouidos do interesse proprio lhes fazião nestes particulares alguns agrauos, e auexações, de que auia queixumes e occasiões de discordias, e desauenças, sem nunca se poderem acabar de conçertar pretendendo <o> muito os que gouernauão a pouoação de Nangasaqui; e offerecendo a Omurandono muito bons conçertos que elle não quiz aceitar por rezões que pera isso teria.” Certidão de D. Luís Cerqueira acerca da apostasia de Omura Yoshiaki. Nagasaki, 6 de Março de 1606 in ARSI, Jap-Sin 21 I, fl. 95-96v; transcribed by Madalena Ribeiro, in Costa, João Paulo Oliveira Azevedo ed. *Jesuítas Portugueses no Extremo Oriente nos séculos XVI-XVII*, Lisbon: CHAM e Brotéria, 2004.

churchyard. When mass was over, people had many difficulties in entering and leaving the building, and some men and women were at risk of dying because of suffocation or being trampled. The Jesuits were forced to redirect most of the people through a private door in the church that gives direct access to the College.<sup>13</sup>

In order to avoid problems related with the mixture between men and women inside the church, the Jesuits gave orders to install a separating wall in every church. This wall should be built with a series of wooden boards, placed through the middle of the church on its longer length. As a result, the main body of the church was divided into two rectangular areas, with separate doors for women or men. This policy was very appreciated by the Japanese Christians.<sup>14</sup>

Because the Sao Paulo church was always overcrowded during Sundays and holy days, masses were also celebrated in the church of Misericordia, and in the chappels of Sao Lazaro, and Santa Maria, in Tateyama But these chapels were also too small. Therefore, the priests also had to celebrate mass in several houses inside the city, which were adapted or modified to become religious spaces.<sup>15</sup> These religious spaces would become very important after the destruction of the churches in 1614.

Terazawa returned the remaining part of the Jesuit land in Morisaki (1/3).<sup>16</sup> This

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<sup>13</sup> "...he tam grande o concurso q a todos os domingos e dias santos, que nam somente se enche a Igreja por ser pequena para tanta gente, mas toda a praça, e ruas que estam ao redor della, de maneira, que nem os que estam fora podem entrar, nem os que estam dentro sahir pelas portas da Igreja, nem temos outro remedio senam vazar de muita parte da gente por outra porta que vem para o Collegio, e alguãs vezes aconteceu ficarem algũas molheres, e homens quazi afogados pelo grande aperto da gente..." "Copia da Carta escrita em Nangazaqui porto de Japam ao M.R. Em Christo Padre em 25 de Outubro de 1600" Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-I-31) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 6v.

<sup>14</sup> "Mas porque nam haja confusam, e mistura entre homens, e molheres, q vem a nossas Igrejas se foi ordenado pelos Superiores que em todas ellas haja hũ Repartimento, e fio de taboas pelo meyo da Igreja ao comprido della para que as molheres estejam a huã parte, e os homens a outra, entrando p suas portas apartados; o que pareceo couza muito acertada, e que foi muy bem recebido de todos os Japoos..." "Copia da Carta escrita em Nangazaqui porto de Japam ao M.R. Em Christo Padre em 25 de Outubro de 1600" Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-I-31) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 6v.

<sup>15</sup> "...e para que quanto pudesse ser não ficasse a gente sem missa p falta de lugar, se dizia taõbem Missa neste tempo os Domingos, e Santos na Igreja da Mizericordia, que esta dentro da mesma povoaçam, e na dos Lazaros, e na de N.Senhora, q estam fora della: mas p que sam Igrejas pequenas, e nem isso nam bastava se diziam tambem em diversas Cazas acomodadas para isso neste povo." "Copia da Carta escrita em Nangazaqui porto de Japam ao M.R. Em Christo Padre em 25 de Outubro de 1600" Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-I-31) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 6v.

<sup>16</sup> "...todavia para se fazer huã Igreja tam grande como elles desejavam tinhamos

allowed them to plan the construction of a new, larger church. Construction works started in 1600, and were completed in 1601. The new church, called Our Lady of Assumption (聖母の被昇天) was the largest in Japan until then. According to the original project, the dimensions of the building were supposed to be as follows:

- From the chapel to the main body (nave): 31 Portuguese “braças” (approx. 68,20m);
- Width of the church: 13 Portuguese “braças” (approx. 28,60m).<sup>17</sup>

However, when the workers began to clear the land of bushes and measured it, they found that there was not enough space. The Jesuit annual report also explains that the dimensions of the church were decided by the number of tatami. The final dimensions of the church were decided as 24 x 12 tatami.<sup>18</sup> According to the analysis done in Appendix A, the most likely tatami size was the rokunima (六二間、3 尺 1 寸 x 6 尺 2 寸), normally used in some parts of Kyushu. If we convert the tatami size to meters, the church would be 45.12 x 22.56m. But despite its large size, it was still completely crowded with

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necessidade de hum chaõ que antigamente era nosso, o qual depois q se derribou a outra Igreja elle tinha reservado como para uzo comũ da Cidade, e se temia muito se o largaria, ou não (...) finalmente concedeo com muita facilidade que fizessesmos a Igreja quam grande quizessemos em Nagasaqui naquelle sitio, q elle tinha reservado junto a nossas cazas tornandolo a entregar da maneira q dantes o tinhamos.” “Copia da Carta escrita em Nangazaqui porto de Japam ao M.R. Em Christo Padre em 25 de Outubro de 1600” Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-I-31) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 7.

<sup>17</sup> “...e com tam bom principio de dous mil taeis de prata, se começou a lavar logo a madeira, que em grande parte estava ja comprada para se fazer a fabrica, a qual conforme a traça q lhe tinha feito havia de ser de trinta e huã braça de comprido entre a Capella, e o corpo, e de treze de largo; fazendoa de tres naves com suas varandas ao redor da maneira que uzamos em Japam por ficarem assim mais comodas, e apraziveis aos olhos dos Japoens.” “Copia da Carta escrita em Nangazaqui porto de Japam ao M.R. Em Christo Padre em 25 de Outubro de 1600” Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-I-31) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 7v.

<sup>18</sup> “...e cada tatame he huã medida q tem oito palmos em ° (sic), de maneira que havia de ser a Igreja de duzentos e secenta e tres palmos nossos de comprido, e cento, e dez de largo; mas p que depois se achou, que o Chaõ onde se havia de fazer, por estar, por estar em huã ribanceira alta sobre o mar, não era capaz para tamanha obra, nem, se podia acrecentar com entulho foi necessario encurtala, e estreitala hũ pedaço, accomodandoa ao cham q havia,e fazendoa quã grande podia ser naquelle lugar; e assim se vay fazendo de vinte e quatro tatamis de comprido, que sam duzentos e tres dos nossos palmos, e larga doze tatamis, que são cento e dous palmos, e será a mais grande, e fermoza Igreja, q nunca houve athe agora em Japam...” “Copia da Carta escrita em Nangazaqui porto de Japam ao M.R. Em Christo Padre em 25 de Outubro de 1600” Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-I-31) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fols. 7v-8r.

Christians during mass, including the large balconies (縁側) around it.<sup>19</sup> The church had 3 naves, with large engawa around three sides of the building, made in the Japanese style (縁側), because the Japanese think it is more beautiful and pleasing.<sup>20</sup>

In 1603, next to the church a bell tower was built. It had three bells and a large clock which was very impressive: not only did it show the time in European and Japanese characters, but it also showed the phases of the moon and sun (lunar/solar calendar).<sup>21</sup>

In 1604, more buildings were added to the College. Among these, there were a few zashiki to receive noble and honored guests, which often come to the College during the period in which the Kurofune is in Nagasaki (Figure 1).<sup>22</sup>

As the years went by, the space inside the Jesuit College became even more hierarchical. For example, in 1608 a rule was established to further distinguish the Dojuku from the Jesuit priests and brothers. It says that in the bigger Jesuit Houses where many Dojuku are living, the Dojuku and the Komono (小者) should always sleep together, but in a separate building from the large house, and they can never sleep in the rooms of the priests, brothers, not even in the residences and the countryside (田舎) areas. If the dojuku have someone inside the same room as they are, they must keep the sliding

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<sup>19</sup> Guerreiro, Fernão. *Relaçam annal das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da Índia Oriental, & no Brasil, Angola, Cabo Verde, Guinè, nos annos de seiscentos & dous & seiscentos & tres, & do processo da conversam, & christandade daquellas partes, tirada das cartas dos mesmos padres que de là vieram.* Lisbon: Jorge Rodrigues, 1605, fol. 10r.

<sup>20</sup> Guerreiro, Fernão ed. *Relaçam annual das cousas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus na Índia, & Japão nos annos de 600. & 601. & do processo da conversão, & Christandade daquellas partes: tirada das cartas gêraes que de lá vierão pello Padre Fernão Guerreiro da Companhia de Jesus.* Évora: Manoel de Lyra, 1603, p. 126.

<sup>21</sup> "Levantouse tambem huã torre de sinos [sic] de esmollas, que fica emnobrecendo, e servindo de muito ornato a esta Igreja (...) Na torre alem de tres sinos se poz hum Relogio grande, e bem lavrado, q a fora de mostrar as horas q estam assinaladas com letras Latinas, e Japoas, mostra tambem o curso quotidiano Sol, enchentes, e minguentes da Lua, que para os Japoens como he couza nova, folga muito de ver aquelle artificio, e se espantam da delicadeza dos engenhos da gente da Europa." "Copia da Carta pera Nosso Padre Geral em que se conta o succedido em Japão desde Janeiro de 1603, athe Setembro do mesmo anno, e da conversão de mais de quatro mil Christaões de novo." *Jesuitas na Asia*, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-II-32) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 124v.

<sup>22</sup> "Do Janeiro para cà se melhorou este Collégio no material cõ dous lanços de corredor que se fizeram e alguas sallas a modo de Japão para recebimento de hospedes Nobres, e honrados, que nunca faltaõ pelo concurso, que aqui há de muitas partes particularmente em tempo da Nao..." "Copia da Carta pera Nosso Padre Geral em que se conta o succedido em Japão desde Janeiro de 1603, athe Setembro do mesmo anno, e da conversão de mais de quatro mil Christaões de novo." *Jesuitas na Asia*, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-II-32) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 124v.

door (障子) open at all times, otherwise that room will be taken away from them. The reason is to prevent the dojuku from doing anything inappropriate while the doors are closed.<sup>23</sup>

Another aspect was the bathing rooms. A rule was established, saying that in the Jesuit houses there should not be any ofuro (お風呂). Instead there should be yudono (湯殿), placed in separate areas for priests and dojuku, and oriyu (居湯) should not be allowed, except for some old priests, or people who are extremely sensitive to cold temperatures. The washing of clothes (xentacu = 洗濯) should be done in the house, or outside of it, both for priests and dojuku.<sup>24</sup>

These rules suggest that inside the Yudono room, the Jesuits would take water into a bucket and wash themselves with that water. But they were forbidden from entering into the main bathtub (風呂), unless they were sick. Ofuro or bathtubs are also forbidden because they consume too much wood and water.<sup>25</sup> Regarding the requirement to have separate Yudono rooms for dojuku and Brothers/Priests, this rule is similar to that which forces the Dojuku to live in a separate house than the rest of the Jesuits. Dojuku are not members of the Jesuit Society, although many of them aspire to do so.

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<sup>23</sup> “Procúrese que en las casas grandes donde hay muchos dogicos, haya un lugar capaz donde duerman todos juntos, salvo si por alguna razón particular de ser muy niños o de más respecto pareciere al Superior eximir a algunos de ellos. Y no duerman en los cubículos de los Padres ni de los Hermanos ni en las dichas casas grandes ni en las residencias ni en las inaka, guardando en esto la orden dada el año 1608, así los dogicos como los komonos. 10. Los dogicos que estuvieren solos en un cubículo guardarán la orden de la Compañía de tener abierta la puerta o shoji [障子 puerta de corredera] si alguien estuviera dentro con ellos y sino se les quitará el cubículo.” Obediencias 1580-1612, 1612, transcribed in Valignano, Alessandro; Alvarez-Taladriz, José Luis. Ed. Sumario de las cosas de Japón (1583); Adiciones del Sumario de Japón (1592). Tokyo: Sophia University, 1954, p. 196.

<sup>24</sup> “Nas nossas Casas não haja furós, mas haja yudonos, e os nossos sejaõ apartados dos dogicos, e não se consinta voriyu, senaõ for p[ar]a algûs mto velhos, e friorentos no tempo do Inverno, e haja que [se] faça o xentacu da roupa ou em Casa, ou fora, assim p[ar]a os nossos, como para os dogicos.” “Extrato das Obediencias dos Visitadores feito para os Padres das Residencias e mais partes de Japao pello Padre Francisco Passio Visitador da Provincia de Japao no anno de 1612”, Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-56, v.II-3-E-105, volume (4-I-24) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 31v.

<sup>25</sup> “Posto q em nossas Casas não ha de haver furos, todavia ha de haver lavatorios limpos, e acomodados para se lavarem os Padres, e Irmaõs, e outros apartados para os dogicos, os quaes hao de ser bem providos de agoa quente e[spoja?] a seus tempos, e do mais q for necessario, e no Veraõ he bem se lavem cada oito dias, e no inverno cada quinze porem porquanto o Voriyu he de muito mimo, e gasta muita lenha, nao se consinta em nossas casas, senaõ para alguns velhos, ou muito friorentos q tenhaõ particular necessidade disto.” “Obediencias do Padre Alexandre Valignano Vizitador da Provincia de Japao e China, revistas e concertadas pello Padre Francisco Passio Visitador da mesma provincia, para instrucção dos Reytos. Anno de 1612.” Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-56, v.II-3-E-105, volume (4-II-25) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 160r.

Therefore, the objective of these rules is to reinforce the hierarchical status of the Jesuits. By forcing the dojuku to live separately, they are encouraged to treat the Brothers and Priests with greater respect, which makes them look forward to becoming members of the Society. In essence, it is a promotion system with perks and benefits, encouraging the dojuku to behave with respect and deference in the hopes of being accepted by the priests.

A little bit later, some Jesuits begin to complain about the behavior of the high-ranking Jesuits inside the College. Francisco Pirez was the first one to mention that the three most important Jesuits (Vice-Provincial Francisco Pasio, the Dean of the College Diogo de Mesquita and the Jesuit Attorney Joao Rodrigues Tsuzzu) behaved more like abbots (修道院長) or lords than ordinary Jesuits.<sup>26</sup> They all had servants exclusively for them, private rooms or even private houses, all equipped with the necessary commodities.

Joao Rodrigues Tsuzzu, for example, once he stopped being the Jesuit Attorney, he occupied two rooms with engawa (縁側), located next to the “patio” (庭) of the guest houses. He blocked the engawa with a door, and built a private door from one of the rooms which had access to the patio.<sup>27</sup> He also installed a chanoyu in one of the rooms.<sup>28</sup>

Francisco Pasio had his own rooms with shelves and storerooms, and he usually ate there by himself instead of eating with all the other Jesuits inside the canteen.<sup>29</sup>

As for Diogo de Mesquita, he had his own game room with two game boards for guests

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<sup>26</sup> “...havia em Japão huã trempe ou duas que duraram muitos anos (...) Todos tinhaõ hũ modo de proceder, mais de abades Bentos, sorês q de religiosos da Companhia, todas suas despensas cõ suas comodidades, e comer de ordinario nos seus cubiculos, todos tinhaõ casas por q o P.<sup>e</sup> Pal como superior universal, tinha seu fato e gente, o P.<sup>e</sup> Mesquita afora o q pertencia ao colegio, tinha dez moços, q soo entendião cõ as cousas do P.<sup>e</sup>, dous dojucus, e hũ Ir...” Francisco Pirez, Nagasaki, Jap. Sin. 15-II, 1612-10-03, fol. 214r.

<sup>27</sup> “...como ficou sem os aposentos, e trafego da procuradoria, não se contentou cõ seu cubiculo particular, mas tomou hũ lanço de dous cubiculos, cõ a uaranda de diante. e outra dumailharga, cõ hũs almarios ao redor, e cortou cõ huã porta essa uaranda, e abrio entre hũ dos seus cubiculos (q eraõ capazes, hũ delles como sala) huã porta cõ huã scada pera o Pateo, e casas dos hospedes, que ainda me pareceo hũ uisitador teria dificuldade de tomar agasalhado de tanto aparato...” Francisco Pirez, Nagasaki, Jap. Sin. 15-II, 1612-10-03, fol. 214r.

<sup>28</sup> “como ficou de repente sen o trafaguego [sic] da procuradoria não se cõtentou de estar como P.<sup>e</sup> Particular, sem aparato, mas tomou pera si hũ lanço, no fim de hũ corredor, de dous grãdes cubiculos, e fechou cõ huã porta o coredor, e ficou soo neste remate que pera si tomou e abrio pera a banda de fora da parte donde vem os seculares porta por si cõ escada, pos chanoyu por si, q he huã panela de ferro que esta todo o dia fervendo cõ agoa, e fogo de carvão, custume de Japão em casa dos sorês, e me achei em Nagasagi, quando elle tomou estes cubiculos, e os acõmodou a seu modo...” Francisco Pirez, Nagasaki, Jap. Sin. 15-II, 1612-10-03, fol. 216r.

<sup>29</sup> Francisco Pirez, Nagasaki, Jap. Sin. 15-II, 1612-10-03, fol. 216r.

to play. There were always two dojuku there to entertain any guests that arrived to meet him.<sup>30</sup>

Even when the new Provincial Father was elected (Valentim de Carvalho), the same situation was repeated. Once again, it is Francisco Pirez who said that in January 1613, at the Refectory of Nagasaki, the Provincial Father (Valentim de Carvalho) and the Rector were given their food in special high tables painted with gold dust, which were usually reserved only for banquets in which Japanese lords were visiting. The dishes were also of high quality. This was surprising for the other Jesuits, for they usually eat together in low tables as a result of their adaptation to Japanese customs.<sup>31</sup> By doing this, it became obvious to everyone which people the Provincial Father likes more, and which ones he disliked.

To better understand the difference between the larger, spacious rooms of the high-ranking priests, and the ordinary room of a Brother, Afonso de Lucena claimed that at one occasion, he had to share a room with a Brother, and it was so narrow that there was only space for two beds.<sup>32</sup> Due to all the spending, the Society had accumulated many debts, and even one Jesuit, Jeronimo Roiz, said that there was almost no money left to eat, or to buy clothes.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> “O P.e Mesquita també lhe não ficava inferior em proporção, por q tinha hû lanço cõ serventia de mais fausto q o P.e Pal, tinha sempre dous dojucus, e dous tabuleiros de jogo a entrada pera seu cubiculo, ou sala pera jogarem os dojucus, ou os q viesê, tinha segúdo ouvi dez moços, nûca vai fora senão em Andas, q pera Nagasaqi aõde de ordinariamente ha Portugueses, e cousa de pouca edificação, tinha tambem m<sup>to</sup> trafego no tempo da Nao, por q como respõdia cõ tanto fato, não podia ser menos...” Francisco Pirez, Nagasaki, Jap. Sin. 15-II, 1612-10-03, fol. 216r.

<sup>31</sup> “Ouue este Janeiro pasado na festa da renouação dos votos, no noso Refeitorio de Nagasaqi hûa cousa noua, e notada, que ao P.e Pat, e ao P.e Reitor se deu o comer em mesas altas particulares q servem pera agasalhar senhores, nos banquetes que lhes damos, por q são pintadas cõ ouro moido, q chamaõnas xinfir [shikki/漆器?] custosas por se lhes fazer fauor en lhes dar de comer, em mesas, e louça particular.” Francisco Pirez, Nagasaki, Jap. Sin. 15-II, 1613-08-03, fol. 234v.

<sup>32</sup> “E foi que indo eu a me cõfessar e a despidirme de hû p.e q vai a Macao me aposentaraõ em hû cubiculo de hû p.e que na mesma hora ê q eu chegaua sahia de casa pera habitar ê outra casa nosa de Nangasaq e este cubiculo parece que tinha o p.e Pl. prometido a hû padre Japão e o R.<sup>tor</sup> e o Ministro que me poserão no cubiculo não sabião desta promessa, soube o p.e Pl. que estaua no cubiculo, chama ao ministro e dalhe hûa repreensão porque me posera ahi e que logo me dessê outro e posesê ahi o p.e Japão (...) E assi logo na mesma hora me passei pera o cubiculo de hû Irmão cõ a minha cama, e posto q o ministro deu ordê que este Irmão se mudasse pera outra parte por o cubiculo ser tã pequeno que não auia lugar mais que pera duas camas, dixe ao Irmão que se não mudasse que ahi dormiriamos ambos de dous aquella noite. Bem sei que temos regras que cada hum se deve contentar cõ o pior de casa...” Afonso de Lucena, Japan, Jap. Sin. 15-II, 1613-03-10, fol. 241v.

<sup>33</sup> “Quão o anno passado o seminario veyo lançado de arima, pollo o P.e Pricial no



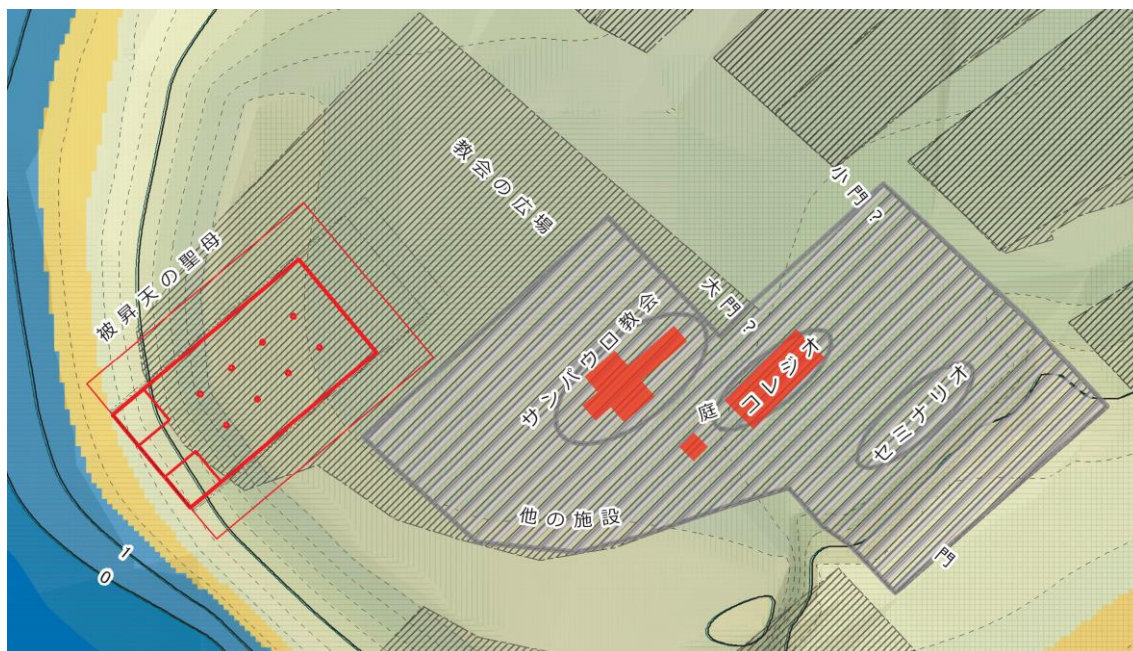


Figure 1: situation of buildings in the Jesuit College (see Appendix A)

### 7.3.2. Other Areas of Japan:

Almost at the same time, another considerably large church was built in Arima by Arima Harunobu. Harunobu requested the floor plan design from Valignano, and the design followed the same principles and layout as the new large church of Nagasaki. This church also had three naves and balconies around it.<sup>34</sup> Curiously, the Arima church was

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lugar de todos os santos, contra parecer de todos os consultores, e todos ê geral, faz aqui obra, cõ que ha de gastar perto de mil taeis, senão for mais, p.a mudar o mesmo seminario p.a qui (...) e stamos pobrissimos sê ter que comer, nê que vestir, e individados, e stamos humilhados e perseguidos...” Jeronimo Roiz, Nagasaki, Jap. Sin. 15-II, 1613-10-04, fol. 305r.

<sup>34</sup> “...visto como os padres não tinhaõ ali igreja se resolveo a fazela logo, è ella a mais nobre, è sumptuosa, q ouve ê todo o Iapaõ, & cõforme â traça q à sua petição lhe deu o padre Visitador, q foi cõforme a de Nagasaqui, de tres naves cõ suas varãdas ao redor em hum lugar muy acomodado defronte de sua fortaleza, & paços, com hû terreiro muy grãde para a parte do mar. (...) & depurou mais de setenta, ou oytenta carpinteyros pera a fabrica da igreja, com mais outros duzentos trabalhadores, que carretavam madeyra, & pedra, & ajudavam nas demais cousas necessarias. Pos tambem dous fidalgos muy diligentes, que sempre assistissem na obra, & tivessem superintendencia nella, & assi creceo com tanta diligencia, que em menos de tres meses a engalgou, & conforme á pressa, que lhe da esperamos, que em breve a porà no cabo pera logo tambem começar o seminario, como tem prometido.” Guerreiro, Fernão ed. *Relaçam annual das cousas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus na Índia, & Japão nos annos de 600. & 601. & do processo da conversão, & Christandade daquellas partes: tirada das cartas gêraes que de lâ vierão pello Padre Fernão Guerreiro da*

described by Gabriel de Matos as being a kind of church that had never existed in Japan before,<sup>35</sup> and that the lord of Arima specifically wanted the opening celebrations of the new church to be even more impressive than in Nagasaki.

The church of Omura, built in the same period, was described as being very beautiful, and approximately the same size as the Arima church.<sup>36</sup> But the most interesting descriptions are the ones of the churches of Hakata and Miyako, both built in 1606.

Regarding the church of Hakata, it was visited by the lord of Chikugan after it was finished. The lord praised the church very much, saying that it was quite “strong” (i.e., sturdy) and well-built. He also praised the floor layout, saying that it was a very novel thing in Japan, quite different from the floor plans of Japanese temples and monasteries. The lord finally thanked the Jesuits for building a few houses near the church, so that he could stay in them as a guest when he came to Hakata.<sup>37</sup> Although the lord of Chikugan calls it a “novel thing”, the Jesuit João Ruiz simply describes the church as “one of the good ones that we have in Japan”.<sup>38</sup> He does not call it unique, but only that it was one of the high-quality churches built by the Jesuits.

As for the church in Miyako, the retablo of the main chapel depicted the Ascension of Jesus Christ (キリストの昇天) with the Apostles placed underneath him. It was an extremely well-executed work, with columns around it, and everything else done in “the European style”. The retablo is tall enough to fill the entire height of the chapel, and during Easter celebrations it was decorated with pieces of fine silk, which would add glitter and brilliance to the chapel. There were so many people trying to see the church

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Companhia de Jesus. Évora: Manoel de Lyra, 1603, p. 136. The foundation stones of this church have not yet been discovered by archeological excavations, but if they are discovered, it would help us understand more about the Nagasaki church as well.

<sup>35</sup> “...tinhão vindo pera ver celebrar a primeira missa em hũa Igr<sup>a</sup> tal qual nũa ouve em Japão...” *Annua de Jappão desde Setembro de 601 até Janeiro de 603*, Nagasaki, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1603-01-01, fol. 198v.

<sup>36</sup> “*Annua de Jappão desde Setembro de 601 até Janeiro de 603*”, Nagasaki, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1603-01-01, fol. 197v.

<sup>37</sup> “Chicugennocami, olim cainocami sôr deaquelle reino cõtinha nos favores, e benevolencias pera com nossas cousas mostrando folgar ternos em suas terras, e da mesma maneira os seus principaes, este anno esteve mais o do tempo absente: e tornado foi logo a nossa casa: folgou muito de ver a Igreja gabandoa de forte, e bem feita, e tambem da traça tão nova em Yapão, e muy diferente das dos seus templos, e varellas: mostrou alê diso o muito ao p<sup>e</sup> agardescendolhes o trabalho, que levava em edificar huã tão fermosa Igreja, e ainda mais alguãs casas, pera elle quando quizesse ser nosso cõvidando” João Roiz, “*Annua de Jappão de outubro do anno de 605 ate o de 606...*”, Nagasaki, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1607-02-15, fol. 244v.

<sup>38</sup> “...posto q ao prezente se acrecentou mais outro P<sup>e</sup> por assi o pedir aquella Christandade e igreja q ali se tem feito q he hũa das boas q temos em Japão...” João Roiz, “*Annua de Jappão de outubro do anno de 605 ate o de 606...*”, Nagasaki, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1607-02-15, fol. 244v.

that it was necessary to force the people who were already inside to leave so that others could enter.<sup>39</sup>

It also had other impressive characteristics: the ceiling of the main chapel was fully painted and gilded in the European style, and the altars were furnished with excellent retables containing oil paintings. The oil paintings was the aspect that most astonished the Japanese, because they had never seen oil paintings with elaborate shading techniques. Almost everyone who saw the paintings believed that they were three-dimensional statues, due to the quality of the painting. The church was so large that the main body of the building (not including the portion of the crossing 交差部) could hold 2000 people.<sup>40</sup>

On the other hand, Francisco Pasio says that in terms of grandness and size, this church cannot compete with the most important temples of Miyako and its suburbs. However, because the church was built in "our manner" (i.e., European manner), and because of the excellent retables with oil paintings, the Japanese are very astonished to see it.<sup>41</sup>

Since the 1580s, we can sense in Jesuit letters that there was some competition or even rivalry between Nagasaki, Arima, Omura and Bungo. Each of the lords wanted to have the most impressive church, or the most impressive celebrations. Christian lords

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<sup>39</sup> "A pascoa da rresureição se selebrou tãbê cõ grande solenidade e extraordinario comcurso pera o q ajudou m.to o novo retavolo de anções de xpõ nosso S<sup>r</sup> cõ os apostolos em baixo, obra mui prima e bem acabada cõ sua guarnição de culunnas, e tudo a mais a modo de europa, o ql retavolo emche toda a altura da capella q en tal dia se armou de boas peças de çeda lustrosam.te plo que assi pera verê pera a nova e fermosa Imagê como tãbê a armação da Igreja, comcorreo tanta gente q era nesses.ro fazer tornar por fora aos que ja tenham visto p<sup>a</sup> dar lugar a outros que de novo vinhão..." João Roiz, "Annua de Jappão de ouctubro do anno de 605 ate o de 606...", Nagasaki, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1607-02-15, fol. 256v.

<sup>40</sup> "...e aonde a ydolatria tem lâçados mais fundos e raizes p.la trã ajudou m.to a nova Igreja que no miaco se alevâtou cõ ajuda dos xpãos de q ja escrevemos o ano passado a ql este anno se acabou de peifeçoar [sic] de todo pintãdosse e dourado seo forro da capela mor ao modo de europa e fezse tudo or[n]ãdosse os altares com muito bons retabolos de oleos, pintura pera os Japoiñs muito nova e nuca vista e de que grãdem.te pasmão, tãto que muitos ou quasi todos julgavão a ymagem dos retavolos por estatuas de vulto pola perfeição dellas por não aver ê japão tal modo de pintar com so[m]bras; como a ygreya sayo tãto capaz que som.te no corpo tirãdo o cruzeiro caberão duas mil pecoas..." João Roiz, "Annua de Jappão de ouctubro do anno de 605 ate o de 606...", Nagasaki, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1607-02-15, fols. 256r-256v.

<sup>41</sup> "...puesto q en la grandeza y sumptuosidad no tenga comparacion cõ algunos templos principales de los Idolos q ay en el dicho Miaco, y a la redonda del, todavia por ser hecha a nrõ modo, y por los buenos retablos de oleos q tiene, de q los Japones quedan admirados, y les agrada mucho..." Copia de una carta de Francisco Pasio, Nagasaki, 1606-10-18, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Cortes, 09/02665, Mss., fol. 47v.

had more resources than the Jesuits, and therefore the churches and celebrations in those areas were usually more impressive than in Nagasaki. However, Nagasaki always had more Christians, and therefore it continued to be the most important place: the headquarters of the Jesuit mission in Japan.

Meanwhile, in the same year of 1606, in the church of Yanagawa (Chikugo), decoration was still playing an important role. Many gentiles came to see the Christian ceremonies during Easter, but they were particularly interested in watching the decoration of the church. It is described as having “rich” ornaments (i.e., religious objects made of silver and gold) and a beautiful “armação” (i.e., any decorative element that can be hanged in the structure or walls, and removed easily: cloths, rugs, curtains, etc.). The “armação” was only placed specific celebrations, and the types of decorative elements changed depending on the situation.

The wife of the lord of the land, Tanaka Chikugodono, came to hear the musical performances in the church, and was very impressed by the decorations and ornaments placed around the altar. After talking to the preacher, and knowing more about Christian doctrine, she asked to be baptized.<sup>42</sup> This is another confirmation that decoration played the most important role in the establishment of a Christian identity.

By this time, many ornamental objects, religious tools and furniture were manufactured in Japan, which helped to reduce the Jesuit’s dependency on bringing objects from abroad. Inside the Jesuit workshops, the Dojuku made among other things lecterns (聖書台), religious paintings, clocks, and organs with bamboo canes.<sup>43</sup> The Seminary was also extremely important, because all of the musicians and singers that participated in the religious celebrations were boys from the Seminary.

But in the midst of all this, priests were still celebrating mass in normal houses. At

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<sup>42</sup> “...comcorrerão a festa os xpãos de diversas partes não faltando tambem solennes cantadas digo tambem gentios em grande numero q pella fama vinha ver os officios e serimonias dos xpãos e em particular a armação da Igreja e ricos ornamentos cõ que tudo se aficavão (...) alguns se bautizarão, foi isto tanto que athe a mesma Camisama molher de Tanaca Chikugodono snõr de aquelle reino (...) veo êcubertamente a nossa igreja com todas suas damas e hũa nora sua sobrinha do xogum vio e ouviu os instrumentos musicos louvando tudo muito e alegrandose em cabo de ver a armação e ornamento do Altar...” João Roiz, “Annua de Jappão de ouctubro do anno de 605 ate o de 606...”, Nagasaki, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1607-02-15, fol. 247r.

<sup>43</sup> “Aqui em Xiqui residiram este anno os Dojocus pintores, que por todo elle se occuparam em pintar retabolos pera varias Igrejas, tambem se fizeram algûs orguaõs com canos de bambuns (...) & com estes se proueê as Igrejas principaes.” Guerreiro, Fernão ed. *Relaçam annual das cousas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus na Índia, & Japão nos annos de 600. & 601. & do processo da conversão, & Christandade daquellas partes: tirada das cartas gêraes que de lâ vierão pello Padre Fernão Guerreiro da Companhia de Jesus*. Évora: Manoel de Lyra, 1603, p. 140.

the same time in Yamaguchi, one priest was visiting the very small Christian community that existed there. Since there was no church, the priest gathered everyone in the house of a Christian and heard their confessions. The attendants asked the priest to conduct a mass in the Christian man's house. The priest prepared the altar and also placed some decorations around the little house, so that it had the minimum amount of decency.<sup>44</sup> In other words:

- He set up the portable altar;
- He removed any object from the room that was inappropriate;
- Made sure that the room is in a decent, clean state;
- Hanged some decorations around the room, and arranged the furniture in an appropriate way.

Basically, these were the minimum requirements for celebrating mass in any space, whether it was a house, temple, or large church. The fact that this situation happened at the same time as the construction of sumptuous churches reminds us that most of the Jesuit churches in small Christian communities were merely houses.

#### **7.4. Expansion of the Network of Christian Facilities**

In 1596, the Bishop Dom Pedro Martins established the church of Sao Paulo as the first parish church (教区の教会) of Nagasaki, and judging by the records of an assembly held by him and the Jesuits, the limits of this parish may have been the entire area of Uchi-machi (or, perhaps, the area of the “6 machi”). It is written in the records that the “machi” of Nagasaki, which means only the area inside the defensive wall, should participate in all the religious feasts specified in the Roman Calendar.<sup>45</sup> In another

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<sup>44</sup> “...e assi entrei na cidade sê ninguê a pararê m athe chegar a caza de Canofagemon que me estava esperâdo logo começarão a acudir os xpãos e eu a os cõfeçar e como muitos herão de comunhão e alguns ja de m.ta idade me pedirão q lhes dissesse missa, a qual eu temia q não podesse dizer por me doer m.to o braço direito que levava a mehada mas elles me puzerão hũa meixinha cõ que se foi a dor de modo que pude concertar o altar e armar a cazinha cõ desênçia e depois cõtynuey as cõfissões...” João Roiz, “Annua de Jappão de ouctubro do anno de 605 ate o de 606...”, Nagasaki, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1607-02-15, fol. 255r.

<sup>45</sup> “...Declarou mais S. S<sup>a</sup> [Sua Senhoria] que o Machi de Nangazaqui, entendendo pelo Machi somente dos muros para dentro, por quanto ja esta Christandade he antiga, e acostumada a guardar as festas conforme ao costume de Europa, e a Maior parte do anno está nella a Nao, se guardem todas as festas que estão no Kalendario Romano...” “Alugumas [sic] couzas que a cerca da Christandade de Japaõ assentou o Senhor Bispo D. Pedro Martins em huma consulta que se fez em Nangazaqui em Março de 1597.”

assembly, the “machi” of Nagasaki is once again defined as the part of the city located “from the last moat (堀) towards the inside”, which also seems to refer to Uchi-machi.<sup>46</sup>

The Christian facilities inside and outside of the city were renewed and expanded (for more detailed data, please consult Appendix F):

1601: new cemetery is built next to the Santa Maria chapel

1603: Santa Maria chapel is replaced with a larger church (becomes a parish church in 1605)

1604: Santiago church is built (becomes a parish church in 1606)<sup>47</sup>

1604: bell towers were placed next to all churches in Nagasaki.

1603-1606: Sao Lazaro chapel is replaced with a larger church (Sao Joao Bautista, becomes a parish church in 1606)

1606: Santo Antonio is built

1606: Misericordia church is replaced with larger church named Santa Isabel (becomes a parish church at the same time)

1606-1607: the Church of Sao Pedro is built

1610: San Lourenço is built by the Korean community

1611: Cemetery of Sao Miguel is built (near the Church of Santa Maria)

1612: San Agustin is built

1603-1614: the bodies of important Christians and martyrs are kept in Todos os Santos.<sup>48</sup>

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Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-VI-8, v.II-3-E-105, volume (2-I-261) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fl. 6.

<sup>46</sup> “...quando de fora do Machi, scilicet, da derradeira cava para fora vem chamar algum Padre para que vão bautizar algũa criança...” “Algumas cousas, que o Bispo de Japão Dom Luis Cerqueira assentou acerca desta Christandade com parecer de huma consulta que sobre isto fez em Nangazaqui em Novembro de 1598.” Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-56, v.II-3-E-105, volume (4-I-24) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 49v.

<sup>47</sup> See Pacheco, Diego, “Iglesias De Nagasaki Durante El “Siglo Cristiano”, 1568-1620.” Boletín De La Asociación Española De Orientalistas XIII, no. 1 (1977), p. 65.

<sup>48</sup> “Questo corpo al presente stà in Nangasachi, come in deposito nella Chiesa di tutti i Santi, della Casa di probatione della Compagnia di Giesù.” Bispo Luis Cerqueira, Nagasaki, 25 January & 15 November 1604, Cerqueira, Luis. *Relatione della gloriosa morte fatta da sei Christiani Giaponesi, per la fede di Christo, alli XXV. di Genaro M. DC. IIII.* Parma: Erasmo Viotti, 1607, p. 63; “E sempre gran concorso di Christiani di questa Città alla Chiesa di tutti li santi, sì per l'amenità del luogo, che è fuori della Città, sì ancora e molto più, perche da dieci, ò dodici anni in quà e diuenuta cimiterio de martiri; hauendo in esso i Superiori seppellito tutti quelli, che sono stati quà da diuerse bande portati.” Morejón, Pedro. *Lettera annua del Giappone del M. DC. XIV.* Al molto Reverendo Padre Mutio Vitelleschi, Generale della Compagnia di Giesù. Scritta dal Padre Pietro Morecion della medesima Compagnia di Giesù. In Roma, per Bartolomeo Zannetti. MDCXVII. Con licenza de' superiori. Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti,

Based on these informations and on the data from Appendix F, I have elaborated a map with the hypothetical locations of these Christian Facilities (Figure 2). The black dots represent churches for which we have a very good idea of their location. The gray dots represent Christian facilities in which we only know the street name, or approximate location. The symbol of the flower cross (花十字) represents the places where fragments of roof tiles were found containing this symbol. This data was taken from archeological excavation reports.





Figure 2: map with the location of Christian structures in Nagasaki. Black dots represent confirmed locations; gray dots represent uncertain locations; the cross motif (花十字架) represents the locations where roof tiles were found.



## 7.5. Arrival of Other Religious Orders in Nagasaki (1607-1612)

During the years of 1607 to 1612, the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians established their churches in Nagasaki. Once again, there were frequent conflicts between the Jesuits, the Bishop (who was a supporter of the Society of Jesus), and the other orders.

The Franciscans came first, by requesting the help of a Spanish merchant, who began to buy houses secretly, so that he could later offer them to the Franciscans. The Bishop blocked the sale,<sup>49</sup> and accused the Franciscans of violating the papal bull of Gregory XIII. As a last resort, the Franciscans made an official request to Yeyasu, who granted them permission to stay in Nagasaki.

As for the Dominicans, they were expelled from Satsuma, and so they transferred their church to Nagasaki, with the support of the governor of Nagasaki, Antonio Murayama Toan, who helped them to obtain a land plot in Katsuyama-machi. Murayama also convinced the Dominicans to place the Blessed Sacrament in the altar permanently: all of the costs (幕屋, 聖体顕示台, etc.) were paid by Murayama.<sup>50</sup> This was meant to be a challenge to the Jesuit church of Our Lady of Assumption, which was the only place in Nagasaki where the Blessed Sacrament was visible at all times (it is unclear when the Jesuits began to put it permanently on the altar). Murayama explained that having the Blessed Sacrament on display was important to persuade more Christians to come to their church. The religious Jose Delgado Garcia reviewed several Dominican documents and summarized the basic characteristics of the convent. According to him, the church

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<sup>49</sup> Carta de D. Luís Cerqueira ao Assistente. Nagasaki, 10 de Novembro de 1607 in ARSI, Jap-Sin 21 I, fl. 155-158; transcribed by Madalena Ribeiro in Costa, João Paulo Oliveira Azevedo ed. *Jesuítas Portugueses no Extremo Oriente nos séculos XVI-XVII* Lisbon: CHAM e Brotéria, 2004.

<sup>50</sup> “Y para que se eche de ver algo la afición que tenía a los de Santo Domingo, diré lo que hizo un día, y fue que, estando nosotros bien descuidados, me envió un recado diciendo que si ya teníamos acabada nuestra iglesia y casa, mas que le parecía faltaba lo mejor que era tener Sacramento en la iglesia, lo cual entendia que había de ser para consuelo nuestro y para que fuese frecuentada más la iglesia, y que por lo mucho que deseaba servirnos, suplicaba le pusiésemos. Lo cual como yo oyese me holgué mucho, y le di muchas gracias por la afición que nos mostraba, cuidando de cosas que nos estaban tan bien. Pero dije al que traía el recado, que era una criado suyo muy honrado, que como eramos pobres no podíamos hacer los gastos del sagrario y custodia, y lámpara para que estuviese siempre ardiendo y un hombre que estuviese sempre guardando la iglesia.” Fr. Francisco Morales & Fr. Alonso de Mena, "Relacion de Toan gobernador de Nangazaqui" transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L., *Fuentes Europeas Sobre Murayama Toan (1562-1619) III - La familia Murayama según escritos de Religiosos de la Orden de Santo Domingo.*, Koube Gaidai Ronsou, 1967, 18.2, p. 88.

was built with the materials brought from Kyodomari in Satsuma, and to the side of it a convent-house was built, which was small, but with enough space for the needs of the Dominicans. It had workshops, dormitories and a cloister (回廊) in which processions took place, as was common in the convents of the Dominicans. In the middle of the cloister garden, they placed the body of the samurai Leon Shichiyemon (one of their first followers in Japan), and a large cross was placed on top of his remains.<sup>51</sup>

Regarding the purchase of lands, the Bishop Luis de Cerqueira claims that the Dominicans and Franciscans put so much energy in obtaining the land plots that they had arguments between the two of them. He also criticized them for being located so close to each other; according to him, the secondary doors of their convents are almost facing each other, on opposite sides of the same road. Also, their churches were built too close to other Jesuit churches. Since these Jesuit churches (probably Santiago and Santa Maria) were already parish churches, they invaded the administrative territory that he assigned to the Jesuits.<sup>52</sup> Judging by this case, we can hypothesize that they chose the center of Nagasaki for reasons of prestige, since there was plenty of available space in the suburbs of the city.

On the other hand, the Augustinians arrived in 1612, with little means and no connections. The Spanish merchant Avila de Giron explicitly mentions that the church of San Agustin was located in Furukawa-machi, right in the middle of the disadvantaged area. According to the religious historian Leon Pages, the administrative territory that was attributed to the church of San Agustin was the entire area east of the Nakashima River, including 10000 people in 4000 houses. Surprisingly, this was the first official church (although very small) to be established in that area. Either the Augustinians did not have financial means to find a better location, or they did not have any problem in

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<sup>51</sup> José Delgado Garcia, ed. El beato Francisco Morales, O.P., mártir del Japon (1567-1622): su personalidad histórica y misionera, Orientalia Dominicana 3, Madrid, Instituto Pontificio de Teología/Misionología, 1985, pp. 24-25.

<sup>52</sup> “E de tal maneira se ouuerão estes religiosos de são Domingos e são francisco no buscar, e tomar posse destes sitios em Nangassaqi, que se aduirtirão entre elles desauenças, e desgostos procurando cada quães delles o que lhes parecia lhes uinha mais a proposito, sem attentar a preiuiço que a outros podia resultar, situando se ambas as religiões intra canas, e tão perto hua da outra que não se mete mais entre as portas principaes E seruentias d[e] ambas que seis, ou sete passos que he a largura de hua rua que fica entre ellas (...) Da mesma maneira se situarão ambas as religiões intra canas [?] e muito perto de duas outras igrejas que seruem de freguezias” Carta de D. Luís Cerqueira ao Padre Geral. Nagasaki, 12 de Outubro de 1609 in ARSI, Jap-Sin 21 I, fl. 202-203v; transcribed in Costa, João Paulo Oliveira Azevedo ed. Jesuítas Portugueses no Extremo Oriente nos séculos XVI-XVII Lisbon: CHAM e Brotéria, 2004.

staying in that part of the city.<sup>53</sup>

## 7.6. Religious Processions in Nagasaki (1603-1614)

There were essentially three types of processions:

- Processions done by small groups of Christians, or even individual pilgrimages;
- Processions made during important feasts, as a form of celebration;
- Processions done in times of disasters, or bad events; the objective is to please God or minimize his anger, by punishing themselves.

Regarding the first example, there is one letter in 1603 saying that every Friday, many Christians walked by themselves, and did violent acts of self-flagellation in front of these churches, shedding their own blood.<sup>54</sup>

As for the second case, they involved several types of dances and joyful moments.

In one account written in 1606, all of the streets in the city were decorated with branches and other ornamental objects. During the procession, the Blessed Sacrament was carried in a well-decorated palanquin (輿). The part of the procession that pleased the Japanese the most, was two dances by a group of Japanese boys. Some “stages” (舞殿?) were built at specific points in the city, where the koshi containing the Blessed Sacrament would stop. The boys went to the stage and performed their dances very skillfully in front of the Blessed Sacrament, which pleased all of the audience very much.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> “Le P. F. Hernando de S. Joseph, augustin, voyant la difficulté de se maintenir dans l'intérieur de l'empire, fonda un couvent et une église de son ordre à Nangasaki, sous l'invocation de S. Augustin (...) La partie de la cité qui fut attribuée comme juridiction s'étendait à partir du couvent, dans la direction de l'orient jusqu'à la rivière, et comprenait plus de dix mille chrétiens en quatre mille maisons.” Pages, Léon. *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon depuis 1598 jusqu'à 1651, comprenant les faits relatifs aux deux cent cinq martyrs, béatifiés le 7 juillet 1867*. Paris: C. Douniol, 1869-1870, p. 231.

<sup>54</sup> “...são muitos os q cada sexta feira tomaõ as disciplinas de sangue, vizitando os Sanctuarios, q ha nesta povoaçam, e seus arrabaldes...” “Copia da Carta pera Nosso Padre Geral em que se conta o succedido em Japão desde Janeiro de 1603, athe Setembro do mesmo anno, e da conversão de mais de quatro mil Christãos de novo.” *Jesuitas na Asia*, cod. 49-IV-59, v.II-3-E-105, volume (7-II-32) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 126.

<sup>55</sup> “Enramarão & armarão os Christãos as ruas por onde auia de passar a procissam cõ o melhor q tinhaõ: leuantaram altares em diuersos postos, afora outros que algûs Christãos tinhaõ as suas portas & cõ o melhor ornato q cada hum podia. Leuaua o Bispo a custodia do Santissimo Sacramêto debaixo de hû rico palleo (...) Hiam na

In another example from 1611, a solemn procession passed through the main streets of the city, and at specific point, it encountered many altars with ornaments. These altars were built by the Japanese Christians specifically for the ceremony. At night, a great quantity of lanterns (提灯) were placed around the College in the highest locations, so that they could be easily seen by the people from far away. The same was done by the Bishop in his house, and in the other churches and main streets of the city.<sup>56</sup>

Regarding the third type of processions, the most important example took place when the anti-Christian edict of 1614 was released by the Tokugawa authorities. There have been many hypothesis about the reasons behind the edict, but the most convincing explanation comes from a study by Timon Screech. In this study, he argues that the English had a meeting with Ieyasu's vassals on the day before the edict was written. During this meeting, they probably told the Japanese authorities about the "Gunpowder Plot" of 1605 (火薬陰謀事件).<sup>57</sup>

Once the order for expelling all the Jesuits was known in Nagasaki, the entire population spent a month doing large-scale processions, in hopes of appeasing God, and giving them mental strength to withstand the religious persecution. In other words, they

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procisam duas charolas ornadas muito bé, muitos instrumêtos musicos, & otras varias inuensões. Mas o q entre tudo alegrou mais a gête foraõ duas dâças de meninos Iapões (...) os quais em hús teatros q pera isso estauão feitos em certos postos onde o Snõr se detinha bailauão diâte do santissimo Sacramêto cõ muita graça & ar." Guerreiro, Fernão ed. *Relaçam annal das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da Índia Oriental, & em algumas outras da conquista deste reyno no anno de 606. & 607. & do processo da conversão, & Christandade daquellas partes*. Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1609, fol. 4v

<sup>56</sup> "Dopò il vespero si fece vna solenne Processione per le strade principali della Città, le quali erano atate apparate dalli Neofiti, con hauer eretti, & ornati molti Altari per doue la processione doueua passare (...) La sera di notte si accelero gran quantità di lumi intorno al nostro Collegio ne'i luoghi più alti, acciò fossero commodamente veduti: il medesimo fece il nostro Vescouo nella sua casa, li quali lumi essendo circondati con carte di varij colori, rendeuano vaga, & marauigliosa vista: & anco il medesimo fù fatto nell'altre Chiese della Città, & nelle strade principali; & ancora dall'altra parte del fiume si vedeuano simili dimostrationi di allegrezza, & festa grandissima. Nell'istesso tempo di notte il concorso delli Neofiti era sì grande per le Chiese, & per le strade della Città, vedendo i lumi, & facêdo nel passare oratione inginocchione auanti li Altari, che in diuersi luoghi, erano eretti, & diuotamente ornati, & anco visitando case priuate ornate per tale effetto, che per la gran calca pena si poteua passare..." Giram, João Rodrigues. *Lettera annua del Giappone del M.DC.XI. Al molto Reverendo Padre Claudio Acquaviva, Generale della Compagnia di Giesù*. Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1615, p. 19.

<sup>57</sup> It was an attempt by a group of English Catholics to kill the King of England (James I) in 1605; this attempt failed, but one Jesuit (Henry Garnet) was accused as being involved in the plot. See Screech, Timon, "The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period", *Japan Review*, 24, 2012, p. 29.

were trying to plead, or request the mercy of God, to help them in such difficult times. According to the researcher Alexandra Arnau, this kind of procession was especially common from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>58</sup>

Some of these processions were partly described by the Spanish merchant Avila de Giron. Although the information that he gives is not sufficient to recreate the exact routes of these processions, he did mention the locations of some churches, and the general route points of each procession. They involved several thousands of people, in which a portion of them were doing acts of self-flagellation as they go from one place to another.

We can summarize the routes described by Giron as follows:

1: May 9, Friday at night. It went through all the churches in the city; there were more than 300 people doing self-flagellation (men and women).<sup>59</sup>

2: the following day (Saturday). Many people doing self-flagellation.

3: May 12, Monday. The procession had 3000 people (men and women).<sup>60</sup>

4: May 14, Wednesday. There were seven processions in one day. One of them had more than 1000 people doing self-flagellation.

Route: San Juan → Santa Maria → Santa Cruz (cemetery) → Santo Domingo → pass by the the door of San Francisco → pass by the door of Misericordia → Society of Jesus (Sao Paulo) → San Agustin → San Antonio → San Pedro → San Juan.<sup>61</sup>

5: May 15, Thursday. Three processions during the day.

6: May 16, Friday. Three processions during the day, three during the night. More than

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<sup>58</sup> Arnau, Alexandra Chavarria. *Archeologia Delle Chiese: Dalle Origini all'Anno Mille*. Roma: Carocci Editore, 2009, p. 37.

<sup>59</sup> Giron, Bernardino Avila de. *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon* (Manuscript). Vol.4. Toyo Bunko. (Library Code: XVII-7-D-a-5), fol. 224r.

<sup>60</sup> Giron, Bernardino Avila de. *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon* (Manuscript). Vol.4. Toyo Bunko. (Library Code: XVII-7-D-a-5), fol. 224v.

<sup>61</sup> Giron, Bernardino Avila de. *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon* (Manuscript). Vol.4. Toyo Bunko. (Library Code: XVII-7-D-a-5), fols. 225v-226r.

500 people doing self-flagellation.<sup>62</sup>

7: Second day of Easter, Monday. 3000 people doing self-flagellation; more than 10000 women, many of them with noble blood; Murayama Toan and his sons participated.

Route: Santo Domingo → San Francisco → pass by the door of Misericordia → Society of Jesus (Sao Paulo) → Sao Pedro → San Juan → Santa Maria → Santa Cruz.<sup>63</sup>

8: 20 May, Tuesday. 484 people (men/women); 1000 people doing self-flagellation (shedding blood); 500 people doing self-punishments (without shedding blood). Procession started at 22:30, and ended at 6:00. 50000 people were watching the procession from windows, roads and on top of roofs of houses. All of the streets were decorated with retables, oratories and religious images, except for 文知・外浦・島原・大村町.

Route: San Agustin (main door in 古川町) → cross the [中島川] river through a bridge → 本紺屋町 → pass behind the Misericordia → enter the street of Misericordia, pass by its door (博多町) → 島原町 → 文知町 → goes to the platform of the door of Sao Paulo → (四脚門?) → fucafuri machi (外浦町) → 大村町 → 本博多町 → 興善町 → 豊後町 → 小川町 → 上町 → Santa Maria → enter one through one of the doors (門?) → leave through a different door (門?) → Santo Domingo → pass through the door of San Francisco → 新紺屋町 → 大工町 → San Antonio → pass through cemetery of San Antonio → 魚町 → enter 本紺屋町 through an alleyway (small road perpendicular to the main street) → San Agustin.<sup>64</sup>

9: 29 May, Thursday. Procession organized by the Jesuits. The Christian governors (町年寄?) in the streets of 文知・外浦・島原・大村 requested the Jesuits to make the procession short. They were afraid that the Tokugawa authorities would interpret this procession as a rebellion. The Jesuits agreed. The procession only went around the large balconies of Our Lady of Ascension. There were so many people, that the churchyard and the three streets next to the churchyard were full, and no one could move. The Blessed

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<sup>62</sup> Giron, Bernardino Avila de. *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon* (Manuscript). Vol.4. Toyo Bunko. (Library Code: XVII-7-D-a-5), fol. 226r.

<sup>63</sup> Giron, Bernardino Avila de. *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon* (Manuscript). Vol.4. Toyo Bunko. (Library Code: XVII-7-D-a-5), fol. 226v.

<sup>64</sup> The rest of the route is not explained. Giron, Bernardino Avila de. *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon* (Manuscript). Vol.4. Toyo Bunko. (Library Code: XVII-7-D-a-5), fols. 227r-228v.

Sacrament was exposed for three nights in Sao Paulo.<sup>65</sup>

From this description, it is clear that the procession routes passed only through the main churches of the city, and the local cemetery (Santa Cruz). It did not visit chapels, or Nishizaka Hill (although San Juan Bautista is right next to it); except for San Agustin, it avoided the east side of the city. This might be because those spaces are too small to receive such large numbers of people. In all of these processions, the participants are trying to repent for their sins (in other words, they feel guilty about their sins), and feel that the anti-Christian edict is a sign from God encouraging them to live their lives with more virtue, purity and devotion. Self-flagellations and prayers are used to purify their minds and spirits. They visit all of the saints in each church, to pray and ask these saints to help them in such a difficult time. Finally, it was also a form of uniting the community against a common enemy, in this case the Tokugawa government.

In the case of celebration (2<sup>nd</sup> type), the streets are decorated with stages for dancing, flowers, branches and lanterns; the Blessed Sacrament is carried in a *koshi*. In the case of “liturgical seasons” (3<sup>rd</sup> type), the streets are covered with images of saints, retables and oratories. The moods and emotions are completely different, and the decoration of the streets reflects this aspect.

## 7.7. Summary

In this chapter, we reviewed the different types of religious processions, and the arrival of other religious orders in Nagasaki. All of them introduced some European elements in to the churches, although in many ways the buildings were still Japanese. In the cases of Miyako and Hakata, we do not know for sure what kind of floor plan they had, only that it was innovative or unique. We can raise the hypothesis that they implemented a Latin cross plan, but the evidence is not conclusive. If we believe that the Kyushu byobu is a reasonably realistic depiction of Sao Paulo, then it probably already had a floor plan similar to a Latin cross. Since Valignano left Japan in 1602, after the construction of the churches of Nagasaki (Our Lady), Arima and Omura, for which he supplied the drawings of the layout, we can consider these buildings as the clearest expression of Valignano's intentions for Jesuit churches. Hopefully, in the next years, the archeological excavations will succeed in finding archeological evidence of these three churches.

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<sup>65</sup> Giron, Bernardino Avila de. *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon* (Manuscript). Vol.4. Toyo Bunko. (Library Code: XVII-7-D-a-5), fols. 229-230r.

If we look back into the chapter about cemeteries and crosses, it was defended by Oishi Kazuhisa that a new type of gravestone was introduced after 1600 (半丸柱碑). Considering that the 1590s was a period of restraint because of Hideyoshi's edict, then we can conclude that the 1600s was the period in which the Jesuits were finally able to create the ideal types of churches in large cities. Namely, churches which give an image of respect and prestige, and which provoke the curiosity of non-Christians; the decoration in these churches encouraged non-Christians to come and hear the Christian doctrine from the preachers. But even so, there were still many churches across Japan of medium or poor quality.

Regarding the expansion of religious structures across Nagasaki, there is still much that we do not know, because the historical sources are contradictory and ambiguous. But it seems clear that important churches avoided the east side of the city, and concentrated on the more prestigious streets of Uchi-machi (ex: Franciscans and Dominicans). The east basically had only the church of San Agustin and several small temples, although we do not know exactly what they were. We will try to provide some more information about these alternative facilities in the next chapter.

Finally, the Jesuits continued to follow the policy of cultural adaptation set by Valignano, which led to a strong sense of hierarchy. Depending on one's rank, some areas of the College were inaccessible. Some Jesuits used their status to improve their living conditions, setting them apart from other members, and causing some internal disputes, breaking the sense of union among them. Their financial situation was extremely bad, which took them into a situation of decline, just before the writing of the anti-Christian edict.





## 8. ERADICATION OF CHRISTIAN FACILITIES BY THE TOKUGAWA GOVERNMENT (1614-1620)

### 8.1. Historical Context

The missionaries in Nagasaki received notification from the governor of Nagasaki, Hasegawa Sahioye Fujihiro, that they must depart on the foreign ships in October 1614.

As a preparation, all of the priests collected the retables, images and other objects, placing them in a safe location. Then they were gradually forced to gather in Fukuda for the departure. Shortly before the departure, The Spanish merchant Bernardino Avila de Giron visited the main gate of Sao Paulo early in the morning, and the main door was occupied by soldiers from the lord of Hirado. They said that a priest was still inside, but not for long. They had already placed horses inside the college during the previous night.<sup>1</sup>

A number of merchant ships with all of the priests departed from Fukuda, but in reality they had been planning their escape for a long time. Although some of the missionaries did depart to Macau or Manila, several of them jumped from the ship, where boats with Japanese Christians were waiting for them to carry them safely back to Nagasaki and other areas. After the supposed expulsion of foreign missionaries, the lords of Omura and Hirado came to tear down the main churches of Nagasaki. Starting from November 3<sup>rd</sup>, the soldiers of Hirado began to remove the roof tiles from the church of Our Lady of Assumption. The whole structure was torn down on day 8, and much of it was burned by fire.<sup>2</sup> Between 5 and 8 of November, soldiers from Omura tore down the church of Santa Maria, which was on the same street where Avila de Giron lived.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “Este dia fuy yo a la compañía muy de mañana y halle la porteria ocupada con soldados y bastoneros y me dixerón estar el dicho padre todavia ay pero que aquella noche passada auian ya entrado los gentiles dentro y aun metido cauallos.” Giron, Bernardino Avila de. *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon* (Manuscript). Vol.5. Toyo Bunko. (Library Code: XVII-7-D-a-5), fol. 247v.

<sup>2</sup> “...y en tres de nobienbre començaron a destejar la hermosa Iglesia de nuestra señora de la Asûpçion que era de la conpañia bengando en ella el rencor que el Tono de firando abuelo del que agora es tenia contra los padres y con mucha deligencia a los ocho del dicho mes dieron con toda aquella hermosa en otro tiempo y acauada maquina en tierra de aqual mucha parte fue consumida en el fuego.” Giron, Bernardino Avila de. *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon* (Manuscript). Vol.5. Toyo Bunko. (Library Code: XVII-7-D-a-5), fol. 250r.

<sup>3</sup> “El tono de omura tomo a su cargo derribar la yglesia de sancta maria en cuyo barrio yo moraua y estoi en la misma calle doscientos passos della poco mas. Començo esta perberssa execuçion en cinco del dicho nobiembre y a los ocho en dos dias naturales nos quitaron de delante los ojos aquella tan hermosa quanlimpia aseada y frequentada yglesia que contanto gusto hauia acabado el sancto Obispo Don Luis cerqueyra y dicho en ela de Pontifical la primera missa...” Giron, Bernardino Avila de. *Relacion del Reyno*

On November 9, soldiers from Omura started to remove the roof tiles from San Juan Bautista. Shortly after, San Agustin was torn down; on day 11, San Antonio; from day 12 to 14, Sao Pedro and Santo Domingo. On day 15, they tore down Santiago and started to disassemble the church of San Francisco. It was a new church, which was much larger and impressive than the previous one, but had not been finished. On day 17, the whole structure of San Francisco collapsed, killing many soldiers, especially in the area under the main chapel. In all the other churches, many people died while trying to disassemble them.<sup>4</sup>

Avila only mentions eight churches, but then says that a total of nine churches (including their bell towers with clocks) were torn down in 14 days: it seems that he forgot to mention the church of Sao Paulo inside the College. The only church that remained was Misericordia (Santa Isabel). It was used to store all the tatami, doors and furniture from the other churches.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the destruction, the Christians were still free to pray by themselves, or to maintain their private oratories or chapels. As a result, the missionaries did the same thing they did in the 1590, which was to celebrate mass and other sacraments in the houses of Christians. Many of these Christians competed among themselves to see who could have the privilege to welcome a priest in their homes, and attend mass. According to the Jesuit João Roiz Giram, some people chose the most inner room (i.e., the room most distant from the street) of their houses, and made it into a permanent chapel. These

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del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon (Manuscript). Vol.5. Toyo Bunko. (Library Code: XVII-7-D-a-5), fol. 247v.

<sup>4</sup> “El mesmo dia nueve de nobienbre començaron los de omura con gran furia a destexar la yglesia del señor san joan baptista y otras. La de san agustin y a onçe la de san antonio de padua y a doce la del apostol san pedro y la de sancto domingo las quales amassaron con gran lastima mia hasta catorçe del dicho y luego quince començaron por la del seraphico padre san francisco y la del apostol sanctiago cuyo fundador el padre diego de Mesquita ffalleçio en estos dias antes de partir los nauios (...) la qual iglesia el mesmo dia por ser pequeña amassaron esse mesmo dia lunes diez y siete del dicho mes dieron con la yglesia de san francisco por tierra con tanto daño de los gentiles de fixen que la derribaron que queso debajo della y de la capilla mayor una parba y esquadra de ellos y fue cossa notable que en todas las iglesias murieron muchos con trabajar con gran recato...” Giron, Bernardino Avila de. *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon* (Manuscript). Vol.5. Toyo Bunko. (Library Code: XVII-7-D-a-5), fol. 251r.

<sup>5</sup> “Dientro de catorçe dias (...) derribaron destruyeron quemaron y consumieron todas estas nueve yglesias torres de campanas y reloxes quen toda la ciudad no quedo en pie sino fue la de la misericordia que esta çerrada y dientro de ella los tatamis puertas correçias y otras cosas manuales que delas otras iglesias alli juntaron por mandado de los bunguios de lo qual no dispusieron por que el tiempo no les dio lugar” Giron, Bernardino Avila de. *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon* (Manuscript). Vol.5. Toyo Bunko. (Library Code: XVII-7-D-a-5), fol. 252r.

permanent chapels included an altar that was always well prepared, and in its correct position, and with everything that is necessary to perform mass. He said that those rooms are very well arranged, with great decency, and no priest could ask for anything better than these rooms. In fact, because so many chapels were built, there were more churches in Nagasaki in 1615 than in 1614.<sup>6</sup>

In these first years after 1614, the greatest difficulty of the Jesuits was to prevent large numbers of people from gathering in the oratories and attracting too much attention. In the middle of the night, regardless of cold, rain or snow, there were people waiting at the door of the house in which a mass is scheduled to occur, or waiting at the house next door. There were also many people who walked through the streets in the middle of the night hoping to find any signs that a mass would take place there, and once they discovered it, they entered the private house without seeking permission from the owner. In some occasions, there were so many people doing this that there was no room left for the house owners themselves to hear the mass.<sup>7</sup>

There are also many people who visited the places of Nagasaki where the churches used to exist, doing acts of self-flagellation, praying and crying there. They showed their utmost reverence at the exact spots where the Blessed Sacrament used to be.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> “Não se contentão já cõ chamarem os Padres a sua casa pera nella lhes dizerem missa, mas tem muitos delles o milhor, e o mais limpo, e recolhido aposento della deputado, como capella com seu altar sempre armado aparelhado de tudo cõ tão grande concerto, e decencia q não ha mais q pedir, de sorte q podemos dizer q mais Igrejas ha agora em Nangasaqui do q dantes q a indignação de Dayfu contra a christandade assolasse, e queimasse as q aviã; senão q mor trabalho nos dã agora impedir nestas o concurso da gente, do q naquellas o desejavamos...” João Roiz Giram, "Annua de Jappão do anno de 1615", Nagasaki, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1616-03-15, fol. 278v.

<sup>7</sup> “...p q sem embargo do tpõ estar de si requerendo o devido resguardo, pera não assanhar mais ao tyrão, em sabendo onde ha missa ja muitas horas antes de romper a alva p frios, p neves, e p chuvas estão esperando a porta da casa onde a ha, ou noutra a ella vizinha pera entrarem na 1ª conjunção. Muitos andão pollas ruas de madrugada espreitando onde pode ver algum sinal de q aly ha missa, e açertando de o descobrir levados do desejo de a ouvir entrão nas casas p onde, e como pôdê sem mais comprimento cõ o dono dellas, e tê ja acontecido ser tanta a gente q desta maneira se ajunta, q não fica depois lugar aos proprios da casa pera poderem ouvir missa.” João Roiz Giram, "Annua de Jappão do anno de 1615", Nagasaki, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1616-03-15, fol. 278v.

<sup>8</sup> “São també m.to frequentes as cõfissões e cõmunhões, e muitos delles tirão os santos cada mes, tem a oração das 40 horas cõ muita devação, visitando, e regando com lagrimas os lugares onde a s Igr.as estiveram e ahy tomão suas disciplinas, e principalmente cõ particular devação visitão aquelles lugares onde esteve o Santo Sacramento, conforme aquillo, adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius.” João Roiz Giram, "Annua de Jappão do anno de 1615", Nagasaki, B.L. Mss. Add. 9859, 1616-03-15, fol. 278v.

As mentioned previously, the Churches were destroyed, but all of the other houses and buildings were still standing up intact. Many of them were being used by soldiers. In Sao Paulo, the horses were washed every day in the churchyard.<sup>9</sup>

One Japanese monk requested the authorities to give him the site that belonged to Santo Domingo, and build a temple there, but Gonroku firmly refused, and scolded the monk. At this point, the authorities had little interest in promoting the construction of Japanese temples. Giram mentions that besides the church of Misericordia, which is still standing inside the city, there were some small churches in the suburbs that had not been destroyed either. The authorities had already noticed their existence, but decided not to do anything for the time being.<sup>10</sup>

The Jesuit Jeronimo Rodrigues confirms that until 1617, many Christians still had a lot of freedom. The activities of the Brotherhood of the Misericordia were not affected in any way. There were official warnings forbidding people to receive a priest in their house; however, even the people who were putting these warnings in public had priests in their homes.<sup>11</sup> However, during these three years the population of Nagasaki had decreased

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<sup>9</sup> "...pero nosotros estuvimos allí escondidos oyendo cada día el ruydo de las iglesias que derribavan, que era un juizio, y más con el que hazían tantos gentiles que havían llamado para esso, porque los christianos no quisieron derribarlas. En los conventos no tocaron más de en las iglesias y assí servían para aposentar los huéspedes. En S. Juan posava el tono de Vomura; en la Companía, el de Firando; donde viera V.R. todos los días lavar los cavallos en el patio de la iglesia. En nuestra casa no aposentaron a nadie. Muchas vezes passando de noche por delante, veo luz en la porteria, que deve de ser de los guardas que allí hay." Jacinto Orfanell, *Breve relación de los martyres de Japon, Nagasaki, 1615-03-28*, transcribed in José Delgado Garcia, ed. *Cartas y Relaciones, Jacinto Orfanell, Orientalia Dominicana 8*, Madrid, Institutos de Filosofía y Teología Santo Tomás, 1989, pp. 142-143.

<sup>10</sup> "Le case che già furono nostre, si come quelle d'altri Religiosi restano in piedi sigillate con guardie. Domandó un Bonzo il sito, che già fù de Padri Domenicani, per rizzarvi un tempio ad un Idolo, ma Gonrocú nipote, e Luogotenente questo anno di Safyoge gli dette incontinente sù la voce, e gli impose silentio. Stà ancora in piedi la Chiesa della Misericordia in messo alla Città, & alcune Chiesuole ne borghi già nostre, che pure sono bollate, e con guardia..." Constanzo, Camilo de. *Lettere annue del Giappone, China, Goa, et Ethiopia. Scritte Al M. R. P. Generale della Companhia di Giesú. Da Padri dell'istessa Compagnia ne gli anni 1615. 1616. 1617. 1618. 1619.* Naples: 1621, p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> "...Começando pois por Nangasaqui, nelle, e nos lugares sojeitos ao seu governo, attégora não ouve bullir com os Christãos polo serem. E assi todos procedêrão e procedem nesta parte com liberdade, muita mais do que os tempos requeriam, como todo mundo sabe. O que se fez por vezes foi dar pregão pellas ruas que ninguém tivesse Padre em suas casas, e fazer outras diligências pera que não ouvesse publicidades que dessem no coraçam aos gentios, e os asanhassem. E o haver estas publicidades foi causa do sobredito pregão acerca dos Padres. Mas isto bem se via que era por mero comprimento: pois os mesmos que fazião dar o pregão tinham actualmente Padres em suas casas..." Jerónimo Rodrigues, *Do Número dos Obreiros*,

considerably. João Roiz Giram explained that before 164, Christians would come from all over Japan to Nagasaki just to attend mass or confess to the priests. This had a tremendous economic benefit, because these temporary travelers spent money during the time they were in the city. When the anti-Christian edict was made, most of those Christians stopped coming to Nagasaki, because they thought there were no priests anymore. Since there were much less visitors to Nagasaki, the Christian community lost a lot of money, and about 20000 people left Nagasaki to move to other parts of Japan.<sup>12</sup>

Using the houses of Christians also brought a large inconvenient for the Jesuits, which is the presence of women. Mateus de Couros wrote how it was very common for rich men or noblemen to have “six, seven, or more servant women”, so it was very difficult to confess women in an appropriate manner. They established a rule saying that when priests are confessing women, a trustworthy man should be present at all times; also, the Jesuits should stay in the most quiet and remote room of the house, and no woman should get close to that room.<sup>13</sup>

Another concern was the possibility of non-Christians obtaining the land plots of the churches and building houses. For this reason, two of the most important otona (乙名) of

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1614-1617, Doc. 54, 1617, transcribed in Schütte, Josef Franz. *Monumenta Historica Japoniae* 1. *Textus catalogorum Japoniae aliaeque de personis domibusque S.J. in Japonia informationes et relationes, 1549-1654*. Roma: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1975, p. 722.

<sup>12</sup> “...confiamos em N. Sôr q assy estas como as outras derribadas tornaremos a possuir como dantes; e até muitos dos proprios Gentios levados de seus interesses assy o julgão ser necessr.o ter a conservação deste porto, e o desejo, p q como nos desterrarão muitos christãos q ganhavão sua vida cõ a grande frequencia dos muitos christãos q aqui concorrião de todo Japão, faltandolhe este remedio se forão viver a outras partes, de modo q qñ por mandado de Dayfu se deu busca as casas pera saber se Acaxicamon aqui se escondera depois da rota de Ozaca p esta terra ser de christãos, pondo a rol toda a gente, acharão menos vinte mil, do q erão antes da perseguição; donde nasce terse diminuido muito do trafego, e mercancia q avia neste porto, e hão elles q se nos restituirem as nossas Igrejas tornara tudo a florecer como p.<sup>ro</sup>.”

<sup>13</sup> “As occasioens neste tempo são gravíssimas, porque as cazas de Japão são muito estroncadas, e o mal pouco estranhado e as vontades fácilimas de render, e não há homen honrado que se não sirva de seis, sete, e mais moças, polla grande abundância desta gente que há em Japão (...) não cesso, porém, de encomendar a todos a cautella e tento, assi nas confissoens das molheres, como no demais; e posto que confessamos sempre per cazas de leigos, onde nem há confessionários nem modo de os aver, procuramos todo o possível que se guarde a regra 18 dos sacerdotes, e que sempre esté a vista do Padre algum homem de confiança, e que, quando nos agazalhamos por estas cazas, sempre seja no mais recolhido lugar dellas, e que não entrem molheres onde nos estamos...” Mateus de Couros, Carta ao P.e Provincial, Nagasaki, 25 February 1618, Doc. 55, Schütte, Josef Franz. *Monumenta Historica Japoniae* 1. *Textus catalogorum Japoniae aliaeque de personis domibusque S.J. in Japonia informationes et relationes, 1549-1654*. Romae: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1975, p. 774.

Nagasaki, Takagi and Machida, distributed the lands that used to have the churches of Santo Domingo, San Francisco and San Agustin, together with the lands of the parish churches (Sao Pedro, San Antonio, etc) to a few Christians. However, if the foreign missionaries were allowed to return to Japan, these Christians had to restore the lands to the original owners. The Dominicans in particular were angry at this, because they thought it was an attempt to exclude them from the city of Nagasaki. Their reason was that all land plots of churches were distributed to Christians, except the ones that belonged to the Society of Jesus.<sup>14</sup>

To make things worse, the Christian who received the land of Santo Domingo, Suetsugu Heizo, apostatized and built his house (using wood taken from Santo Domingo and the priest's house in Santa Maria) right on top of the place where the Blessed Sacrament used to be.<sup>15</sup>

The situation began to worsen in late 1618, as the authorities made more efforts to locate and arrest the priests. The first phase was to request signatures from all the Japanese residents, forcing them to claim that they would not receive a priest in their house. This was done through the *goningumi* (五人組) or *juningumi* (十人組). If one person was found guilty, everyone in that group would be burned alive or have their heads cut off.

Shortly after, the authorities captured some priests in the house of a Portuguese merchant named Domingos Jorge, who lived in Bunchi-machi (文知町). As a result, the authorities began to request signatures from all foreign merchants as well.<sup>16</sup> The second stage was to arrest and kill the house owners where the missionaries were found. To protect the house owners, the missionaries moved to the surrounding hills, hiding in

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<sup>14</sup> Mattheus de Couros, Nagasaki, 23 February 1619, Archivo de la Provincia de Toledo, Legajo 996, transcribed in Alvarez-Taladriz, J.L., *Fuentes Europeas Sobre Murayama Toan (1562-1619) I. - El pleito de Suetsugu Heizo Juan contra Murayama Toan Antonio (1617-1619)*, según el Padre Mattheus de Couros, Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús en Japon., Tenri Daigaku Gakuhou, 1966, 51, p. 98.

<sup>15</sup> "Y en el nuestro sitio hace su casa el bendito Heizó, gobernador cristiano, con la madera de la iglesia de la nuestra y de la Casa del sacerdote de la iglesia de Santa María, poniéndose donde teníamos el Santísimo Sacramento, como más honrado, siendo el que hizo lo que arriba está dicho con los desolladores de animales, y mandó persuadir renegasen los Santos Mártires y nos anda buscando a los Padres." José de S. Jacinto Salvanés, *Relación breve desde marzo de 1619*, 1619-03, transcribed in José Delgado Garcia, ed. *El beato Francisco Morales, O.P., mártir del Japon (1567-1622): su personalidad histórica y misionera*, Orientalia Dominicana 3, Madrid, Instituto Pontificio de Teología/Misionología, 1985, p. 90.

<sup>16</sup> " Cap. 47. Executase o mandado do Emperador que sejam buscados, e prezos todos os Religiosos; prendem a quatro, e levam-os ao carcere de Vomura." *Jesuitas na Asia*, cod. 49-IV-60, v.II-3-E-105, volume (8-I-35) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 79v.

small straw houses (some of them built by themselves, or by farmers in the villages). There was no access route to these houses and they were hidden in the middle of thick vegetation. But since more and more priests were getting captured, and the population continued to support the missionaries, the authorities started taking drastic measures from 1620 onwards.

## 8.2. Destruction of Christian Structures and Construction of Japanese Temples

According to a 1619 letter from the Dominican Jacinto Orfanell, it was only from that year that Japanese temples began to be built.<sup>17</sup> He specifically mentions that a temple from the Ikkoshu (一向宗) sect was starting to be built. Another anonymous Jesuit source confirms that the construction of Japanese temples started in 1619, and that in 1620 a temple was being built in the site of San Juan Bautista.<sup>18</sup> However, based on Japanese sources gathered in Nagasaki-ken no chimei 長崎県の地名, there were already 7 temples in Nagasaki, although most of them were located in the suburbs. These are:<sup>19</sup>

正覚寺 (1604) 真宗 (本鍛冶屋町道智屋敷地)

洪泰寺・皓台寺 (1608) 曹洞宗 (岩原郷)

大光寺 (1614) 浄土真宗 (今籠町)

光永寺 (1614) 浄土真宗 (桶屋町)

三宝寺 (1615) 浄土宗 (寺町)

深崇寺 (1615) 浄土真宗 (寺町)

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<sup>17</sup> "Hasta aora, en la ciudad de Nangasaqui, aunque avían derribado todas las iglesias, no avían venido a fundar ni levantar iglesia bonzos gentiles, pero ya an comenzado y están haziendo al presente una sinagoga del demonio de una secta llamada iccoxu, que es la más estendida en Japón, y el governador gentil Gonrocu tiene mandado con pregones que ninguno impida la fábrica, con lo qual a de ir poco a poco cindiendo esta peste, que para los flacos no ay peor cosa que libertad de consciencia, y no faltan hartos." Jacinto Orfanell, *Relacion de cosas sucedidas en esta persecucion de Japon, 1619-10-25*, transcribed in José Delgado Garcia, ed. *Cartas y Relaciones*, Jacinto Orfanell, *Orientalia Dominicana* 8, Madrid, Institutos de Filosofía y Teología Santo Tomás, 1989, p. 199.

<sup>18</sup> "Ja desde o anno passado haviam vindo Bonzos a Nangazaqui, e p este tempo cercou hum delles o sitio dos Santos Martyres primeiro de Sam Francisco para que nam lhe vivessem [sic] os Christaões em veneraçam, e alevantado alli templo a seus falsos deozes, e o mesmo fazem outros em outras partes da cidade, e alguns se ham posto em q antes eram de Igrejas." "Cap. 56. De hum santo martyr que houve nestes dias em Nangazaqui; e que levantam templos os bonzos; e da morte dos filhos que ficavam de Toan, e outras couzas." *Jesuitas na Asia*, cod. 49-IV-60, v.II-3-E-105, volume (8-I-35) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 95v.

<sup>19</sup> Please see Appendix F for references.



延命寺 (1616) 真言宗 (寺町)

興福寺 (1620) 黄檗宗 (寺町)

本蓮寺 (1620) 日蓮宗 (西坂)

In 1621, the Jesuit Baptista Porro claims that "...in Nagasaki there are already teras [寺] from the Jodoxus [浄土宗] and Iccoxus [一向宗]..."<sup>20</sup> There is another important episode during 1620 which reveals the practical attitude of the Jesuits regarding Japanese temples. Right after the destruction of Misericordia, workers were told to build a temple there. One of the workers was Christian, who said that he was not allowed by Christian law to build (or help to build) temples of other religions. As a punishment, the authorities tied him to a stick in the ground for eight days. The Jesuits finally authorized him to participate in the construction works, as long as he did not build any part of the butsudā (仏壇), which is the area "where the idol is placed".<sup>21</sup> This shows that the only unacceptable aspect of Japanese architecture was the "idol" (偶像) and the structure that is used to support it and hold it in place.

A crucial phase took place in February of 1620, when many Christian facilities were destroyed in a short period:<sup>22</sup>

- 26 Altars and trees dedicated to the martyrs in Nishizaka Hill were cut down and the ground was dug and flattened;<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> "Em Nagasagi já estão teras alevantadas de Jodoxus e Iccoxus..." João Baptista Porro, Carta ao P.e Pedro Morejón, Harima, 6 October 1621, Doc. 75, transcribed in Schütte, Josef Franz. Monumenta Historica Japoniae 1. Textus catalogorum Japoniae aliaeque de personis domibusque S.J. in Japonia informationes et relationes, 1549-1654. Romae: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1975, p. 907.

<sup>21</sup> "Sucedeo este mesmo anno fazer o templo dos Idolos em a Mizericordia e ter estado a hum pao em pé ao serrador oito dias p q nam quiz trabalhar nelle. Ja diz se deram licença os da Companhia para fazerlhe o dito templo, como nam fizessem o busdam, q he o altar ou lugar donde esta asentado o idolo." "Cap. 60. Do martyrio de Santo Domingo Matruvo por haver hospedado a dous religiosos; e da prisam de hum de Sam Domingos, e outro da Companhia. e dos Santos Martyres." Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-60, v.II-3-E-105, volume (8-I-35) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 106v.

<sup>22</sup> "Todas estas couzas q digo a riba de derribar as Igrejas q haviam ficado, queimar os hospitaes, e o demais, socedeo a meado de Fevreyro deste anno de 1620; e poucos dias antes haviam feito dezenterrar, e tirar os corpos dos mortos de tres sementérios q haviaõ em a Cidade, carregando cada hum com seu morto, e levando lhe a hum outro sementério fora da Cidade q certo foi huã representaçam de Juizo." Cap: 55. Do ditoso tranzito do bendito Irmam Ambrozio; e conta-se muitas maldades, que se executam em Nangasaqui, e outras couzas." Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-60, v.II-3-E-105, volume (8-I-35) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, fol. 94v.

<sup>23</sup> "Quando queimarão, e quebrarão os sinos, tambem se forão a hum outeiro chamado S. João dos Martyres, donde estavam 27 arvores, onde antigam.te martirizarão 27

- The buildings and church of Misericordia were destroyed. The tatami and objects from other churches which were deposited there were burned. The bells of all the churches of Nagasaki were broken (except for the bell of Santiago, which can be found in the Nakagawa Shrine in the city of Takeda);<sup>24</sup>
- All of the tiny churches that remained inside and outside Nagasaki were torn down.
- All the hospitals were burned, including Sao Lazaro;
- The main cemeteries were destroyed, together with its graves. The bones were removed and given to the relatives to bury somewhere else;
- The bones in small cemeteries next to churches were all gathered and put in the church of Sao Lourenço (サン・ロレンソ), where they were burned;<sup>25</sup>
- Streets were built in the locations where churches and churchyards used to be;<sup>26</sup>
- Some churches were replaced with Japanese temples or shrines.

Regarding the construction of streets as a replacement for churches and churchyards, we can see an evidence of this in the map known as Kan'ei Nagasaki-kou-zu (寛永長崎港図). I selected the area of Morisaki from this map and adjusted it to the GIS map. The results can be seen in Figure 1. It is clear from the image that there are two streets. The main one is coming out straight from Hokaura-machi (外浦町), and passing through the area of Our Lady of Assumption. The other street comes out directly from Bunchi-machi, passes through Sao Paulo, and goes to the place where the bridge of Dejima was built in 1634.

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Martyres, e todas as arrancarão; e os Jappõis atee este tempo sempre fazião reverencia áquellas arvores, e lhe punhão as lampadas.” Unknown Author, Macau, Jap. Sin. 22, 1656, fol. 362r.

<sup>24</sup> 大分県竹田市中川神社.

<sup>25</sup> “Depois de lançados fora os PP da Comp.a, e mais Religiosos, e sacerdotes, mandou o Rey de Jappão em odio da fee tirar quantos ossos avia nos adros das Igrejas, e os mandou levar a huma Igreja de S. Lourenço por dizer os tinha alli juntos atee q os queimou. (...) E por esta rezão mandou o Rey quebrar, e queimar todos os despojos de todas as Igrejas, q estavam na Igreja da Misericordia; e aqui se queimou tudo, e quebrarão os sinos de todas as Igrejas de Nangasachi...” Unknown Author, Macau, Jap. Sin. 22, 1656, fol. 361v.

<sup>26</sup> “...many tyme & often we have wished that your Wor's' housing at Firando stood at Nangasaq', w'ch heretofore was not thought fitt because then a papist Portingalle bushopp lived in the towne & ther was 10 or 12 papist churches besids monestaries, all w'ch are now pulld downe to the grownd, this yeare an end being made thereof; and the places where all such churches & monasteries weare, w'th the churchyords, are all turned into streetes, and all the dead men's boanes taken out of the grouwnd and cast forth for their frendes & parentes to bury them where they please.” Richard Cocks, Hirado, 10 March 1619, Farrington, Anthony. *The English factory in Japan, 1613-1623*, Vol.I. London : British Library, 1991, p. 794.



Figure 1: A portion of the Morisaki area, taken from the 寛永長崎港図 (長崎歴史博物館蔵), and georeferenced into the GIS map. The red lines represent the churches of Our Lady, Sao Paulo, and Jesuit College.

At least two people mentioned that the authorities were determined to erase the memory of Christianity from Japan. One of them was the English merchant Richard Cocks (who was a Protestant, and therefore unfriendly to the Roman Catholic priests).<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> "...for there was certene places a littell w'thout this cittie of Nangasaque where divers fathers & other Christians were martered in the tyme of Ogosho Samma, where their parentes & frendes hadd planted green trees & sett upp altares neare each tree, unto w'ch place many hundreds went every day to pray. But now, per comand from the Emperour, all the said trees & altars are quite cut downe & the ground made eaven, such is his desire to root out the remembrance of all such matters." Richard Cocks, Hirado, 1620, transcribed in Farrington, Anthony. *The English factory in Japan, 1613-1623*, Vol.I. London: British Library, 1991, p. 780.

*“And as I advised you in my last [letter] of the pulling downe of all the churches in Japon, yet their [there] was som remnetes [some remnants] standing in Nangasaque till this yeare, and the monastery of Miserecordia not tuched [touched], nethor [neither] any churchyord nor buriall place. But now per order from th' Emperour all is quite pulled downe, and all graves & sepulturs opened & dead men's boanes [bones] taken out & carid [carried] into feeld [the fields] per [by] their parentes and kindred, to be buried elseweare, and streets made in all their places where both churches or churchyordes were, except in som places where the Emperour hath comanded pagods [Japanese temples/shrines] to be erected, & sent heathen pristres [priests] to live in them, thinking utterly to roote [root] out the memory of Christianetie out of Japon...”<sup>28</sup>*

The other person was Jacinto Orfanell. He said that all of the hospitals were burned, including the one of Sao Lazaro, and all the altar stones dedicated to the martyrs had been thrown into the sea; this was done to erase the existence of these things from the memory of the Christians, and to scare them.<sup>29</sup>

The Dominicans still had a wide network of support across the city. In each street, there were at least two or three Christians who belonged to the Brotherhood of the Rosario (ロサリオの組). Their tasks were to support the priests and help each other to confess and pray. All of these members signed a document in 1622, named 長崎ロザリオ組中連判書付<sup>30</sup> containing their names and street names, expressing their support to the missionaries. If we mark the streets in orange color on the GIS map, we can see that, although there are Rosario members in most of the streets, they tend to concentrate around the church of Santo Domingo and Santa Maria (Figure 3).

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<sup>28</sup> Richard Cocks, Hirado, 1620, transcribed in Farrington, Anthony. *The English factory in Japan, 1613-1623*, Vol.I. London: British Library, 1991, p. 780.

<sup>29</sup> “Los otros días acabaron de derribar en Nangasaqui algunas iglesias, que, por pequeñas, se avían librado quando derribaron las demás, y otra grande, que, por sus respectos avían dexado, que era de la Misericordia. Quemaron todos los hospitales de pobres leprosos, y otros que sustentavan los christianos en los lugares donde avían sido crucificados los primeros sanctos Padres Franciscos y demás japones y con las piedras que allí avía alrededor en memoria, todo lo echaron en el mar. Todo para borrarla del corazón de los christianos y amedrentarles con eso...” Jacinto Orfanell, *Relacion sobre los sucesos de la persecucion de Japon*, 1620-03-20, in José Delgado Garcia, ed. *Cartas y Relaciones*, Jacinto Orfanell, Orientalia Dominicana 8, Madrid, Institutos de Filosofía y Teología Santo Tomás, 1989, p. 202.

<sup>30</sup> 東京大学史料編纂所『大日本史料』第十二編之五十六, 1968.

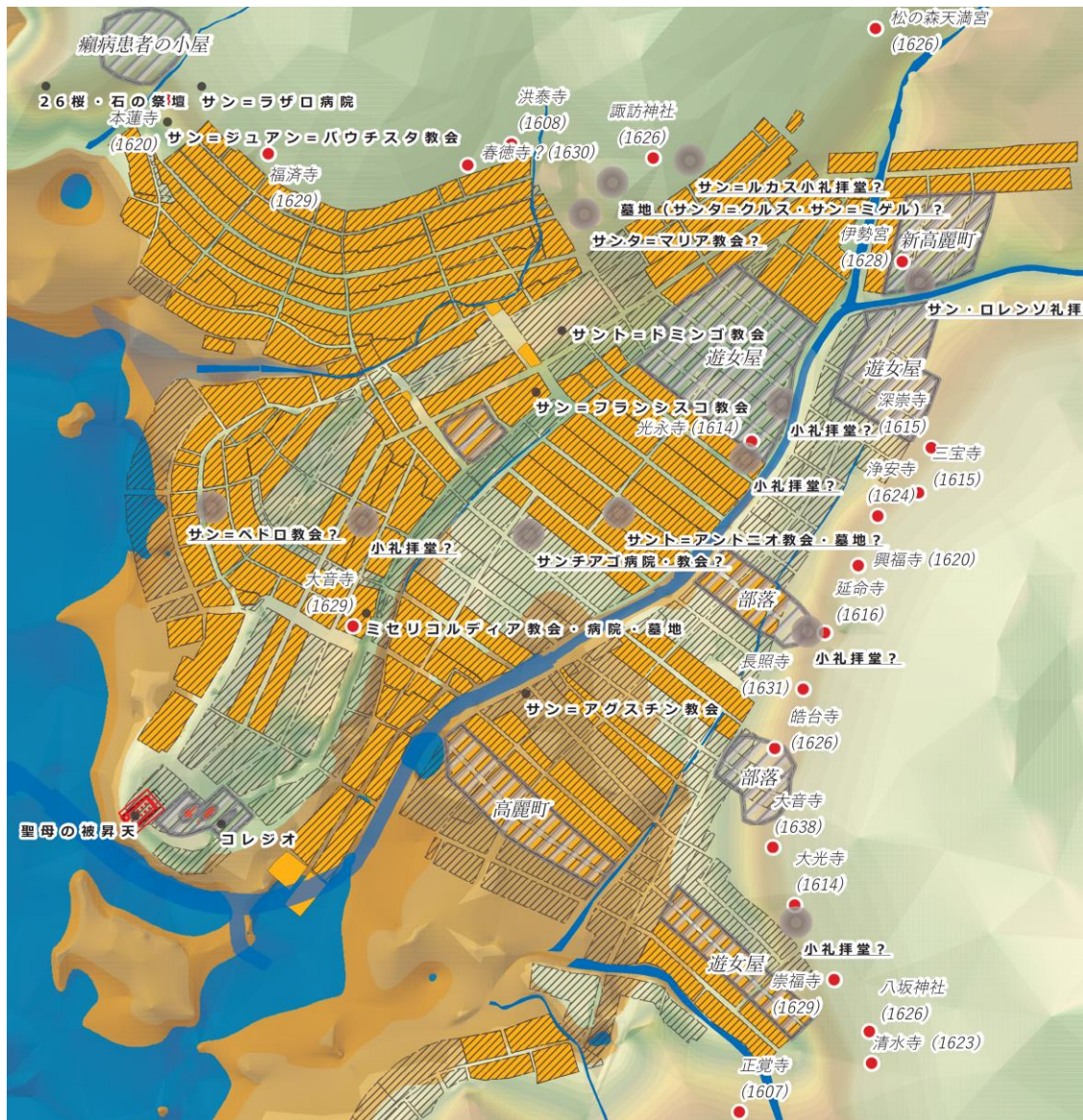


Figure 3: streets which contain members of the Brotherhood of Rosario (orange color)

Even though the authorities put so much effort in destroying the structures and throwing earth and stone into the sea, the Christians continued to worship the sites every day. According to the Portuguese merchant Garcia Garces, despite the best effort of the authorities, there were always a few stones, or fragments left in the ground (such as the stone foundations used to support large crosses). Every day, large numbers of people would go to the destroyed cemeteries of Santa Cruz (next to Santa Maria) and Sao Miguel (another large cemetery outside of the city), and kneel down to pray in front of the ruins of crosses, chapels, churches or graves.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> “Y no solo en esto se procede con este rigor, sino que se manda que no acudan a

In 1623, the Franciscan Domingo Castellet explains that little by little, the Japanese monks were raising “fundas” (本堂, temples) in the areas of the martyrs, and in the places where the churches used to be. Their objective was to prevent people from going to those places to pray.<sup>32</sup>

The failure of these methods led to even more drastic measures. Until then, hundreds of Christians were regularly burned alive in public places. However, most Christians saw it as an honor, instead of being afraid. In 1625, the new governor of Nagasaki, Mizuno Kawachi, adopted a wide-ranging strategy. Instead of producing martyrs, it was necessary to produce apostates.

- Spies were hired to spy on the Christians, and inform the authorities;
- More than 400 Christians were forced to stay in the hills outside of Nagasaki, with no access to houses, clothes or food;
- Christians were forbidden from walking beyond Urakami (浦上). They cannot leave the city to do business or buy merchandises;<sup>33</sup>
- Guards locked Christians inside their own houses, making it impossible to leave;
- Christians were taken to Mount Unzen (雲仙) in Arima, and thrown into the boiling waters for short periods. Then the Christians were treated by doctors, and thrown again into the boiling water, until they apostatized;

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hazer oracion a los antiguos cimiterios, adonde estauan Cruces muy altas leuantadas: y aunque derribaron las Cruces, la piedad y deuocion de los Cristianos no se acabò por esso, que de la misma manera acudian y se arrodillauan en los lugares donde auian estado, que siempre queuan los pies, o algunas pedras, y alli rezauan (...) cada dia era tanto el concurso a Sãta Maria, que era vna Iglesia muy hermosa en los arrabaldes de Nangasaqui a Santa Cruz, que era el principal cimiterio de aquella ciudad, junto a esta Ermita de Santa Maria; y a san Miguel, que era otro cimiterio muy grande; que parecia el que suele hauer los Españoles en la Semana Santa en el visitar los Monumentos...” Garces, Garcia. Relacion de la persecucion que hubo en la iglesia de Japon. Y de los insignes martires que gloriosamente dieron sus vidas en defensa de nuestra Santa Fè, el año de 1622. Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1625, fol. 20r.

<sup>32</sup> “Mando el Rey matar a todo Nangasaqui sino [solo] que los Bonzos le fueron a la mano diziendo los harían renegar a todos. Poco a poco an levantado fundas [templos budistas] en las iglesias derribadas, y lugares de los mártires, para que nadie vaya a rezar: y no sólo esto, sino que ay puestas guardas de día y de noche.” Fr. Domingo Castellet, Nagasaki, 1623-11-02, transcribed in José Delgado Garcia, ed. Fr. Juan de la Badía, O.P., misionero del Japon y Bento Domingo Castellet O.P., misionero mártir del Japón, Orientalia Dominicana 4, Madrid, Instituto Pontificio de Teología/Misionología, 1986, p. 41.

<sup>33</sup> Perez, Lorenzo. Relaciones de Fr. Diego de San Francisco sobre las persecuciones del Cristianismo en el Japon (1625-1632) 1914. Archivo Ibero Americano (Numeros II-V), Toyo Bunko, p. 9.



- The wives and daughters of martyrs were sold as slaves for a low price,<sup>34</sup> or forced to walk naked through the city, and then put into brothels;<sup>35</sup>
- Most of the foreign priests were disguised as merchants, so it was necessary to control them in a strict way. Foreign merchants were forbidden from staying in houses of Christians. They could only stay in the houses of non-Christians, which made the Christians very poor.<sup>36</sup>

As a result, by 1628 most of the population of Nagasaki had apostatized.<sup>37</sup> The arrival of a new governor, Takenaka Uneme, led to even more brutal tortures among the population of Nagasaki. By 1630, the Franciscan Diego de San Francisco claimed that the entire population of Nagasaki, 30000 people, had apostatized, except for one or two men.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Perez, Lorenzo. *Relaciones de Fr. Diego de San Francisco sobre las persecuciones del Cristianismo en el Japon (1625-1632)* 1914. Archivo Ibero Americano (Numeros II-V), Toyo Bunko, p. 80.

<sup>35</sup> “que no le yçiese nada sino que primero la desnudassen y desnuda en biuas carnes las manos atadas atras lalleuasen por todas las calles de nangaçaqui para que fuese uista de todos particularmente de las hinestas mugeres y quando boluais de hacer esto dijo el maluado le hareis esto y esto y entregareis a estos padres de las publicas mugeres de los quales auia alli cantidad aperçeuídos para la lleuar para que la lleben y se aprouechen della...” Giron, Bernardino Avila de. *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon* (Manuscript). Vol.5. Toyo Bunko. (Library Code: XVII-7-D-a-5), fol. 270r.

<sup>36</sup> Schütte, Josef Franz. *Monumenta Historica Japoniae* 1. *Textus catalogorum Japoniae aliaeque de personis domibusque S.J. in Japonia informationes et relationes, 1549-1654*. Roma: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1975, p. 985.

<sup>37</sup> “...tenía yo por cosa casi cierta que estos 400 habían de renegar, porque, habiéndoles dado un año de término, disimulando con ellos para que se fuesen, no se quisieron huir; habiéndolos echado de las casas alquiladas en que vivían (...) no se quisieron huir; mas se estuvieron en los montecillos alrededor de Nagasaki (...) Después de hacerles renegar, los embarcó en cuatro o cinco embarcaciones y los envió a Nagasaki y los soltaron libres. Y se publicó que a todos los que en Nagasaki no quisiesen retroceder, los habían de ir embarcando y llevarlos a Arima, a Bungo-dono, para que los hiciese renegar, como había hecho con aquellos 400. Oyendo y viendo esto los cristianos de Nagasaki, los que estaban determinados de morir por la fe de Jesucristo, viendo que no los querían matar, mas antes les daban lugar para que se huyesen, por no irritar a los tiranos se huyeron, cosa de mil, a otros reinos. Todos los demás que tenían casa própria renegaron miserablemente, sin apremiarlos ni afligirlos más de las aflicciones comunes arriba repetidas, de tener por cárcel la ciudad, y no dejarles usar sus oficios, ni mercadear, ni ganar de comer, y cargarlos de mil tributos y obligaciones personales, etc., que era un largo martirio.” Fr. Diego de San Francisco, quoting a letter from another priest, 25 September 1630, transcribed in Perez, Lorenzo. *Relaciones de Fr. Diego de San Francisco sobre las persecuciones del Cristianismo en el Japon (1625-1632)* 1914. Archivo Ibero Americano (Numeros II-V), Toyo Bunko, p. 48.

<sup>38</sup> “...el nuevo governador de Nagasaki, Unemi-dono, se ha dado tan buena mano con

Even though people had apostatized through torture, some of the apostates were still supporting the missionaries secretly. For example, when Diego de San Francisco was being chased by a spy in the middle of the street, no one made any effort to help the spy, and Diego was able to escape.<sup>39</sup> During all of these years, the number of temples in Nagasaki kept increasing. When a Christian apostatized, he or she had to choose a temple, which would become their affiliation. This system was called the Temple-parishioner system (檀家制度).<sup>40</sup> The main function of these temples was to function as spies, and detect any secret Christian activities within the community.

The document 『長崎平戸町人別帳』<sup>41</sup> contains a census of residents of the street Hirado-machi, done during the year 1642. It indicates if a person used to be a Christian, and which temple in Nagasaki they chose to join after apostatizing (i.e., 背教).

The results are given in the pie chart in Figure 4 (following page):<sup>42</sup>

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mil invenciones, que ha hecho renegar a todos los cristianos de Nagasaki, hombres y mujeres, hijos y criados, hasta los pobres leprosos; de manera que no ha quedado en Nagasaki de más de treinta mil que habia, un solo cristiano; todos han retrocedido, hasta los niños que no tenían uso de razón. Sólo hubo dos santos mártires que dieron testimonio de la fe de Jesus Cristo (...) Estos dos solos perseveraron en la fe y otros, muy pocos, que huyeron con tiempo, también perseveraron.” Fr. Diego de San Francisco, quoting a letter from another priest, 25 September 1630, transcribed in Perez, Lorenzo. *Relaciones de Fr. Diego de San Francisco sobre las persecuciones del Cristianismo en el Japon (1625-1632)* 1914. Archivo Ibero Americano (Numeros II-V), Toyo Bunko, p. 60.

<sup>39</sup> Perez, Lorenzo. *Relaciones de Fr. Diego de San Francisco sobre las persecuciones del Cristianismo en el Japon (1625-1632)* 1914. Archivo Ibero Americano (Numeros II-V), Toyo Bunko, p. 15.

<sup>40</sup> See Tamamuro Fumio. “The Development of the Temple-Parishioner System”. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 36/1: 11-26, Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, 2009.

<sup>41</sup> 九州史料刊行会 (編) 『長崎平戸町人別帳』 謄写版, 福岡, 九州史料刊行会, 1965.

<sup>42</sup> For more information, see Appendix F.



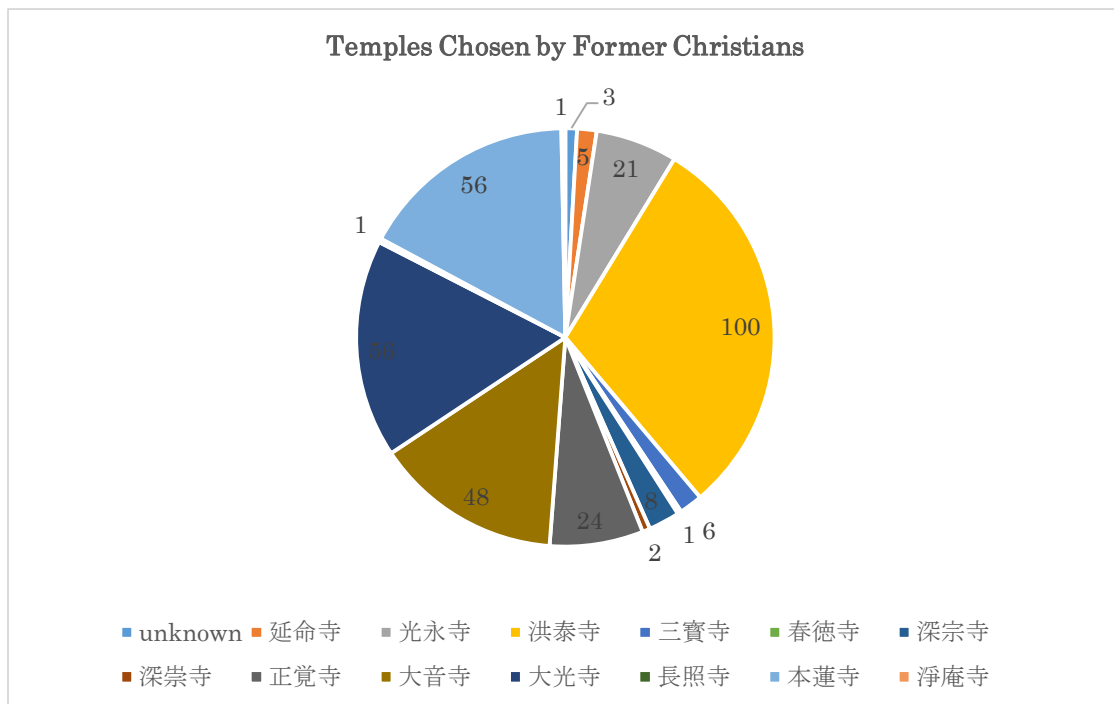


Figure 4: Affiliations between apostates in Hirado-machi and Japanese temples in 1642.

The six most popular Japanese temples/shrines among apostate Christians are:<sup>43</sup>

- 洪泰寺 (100): located near the Santa Cruz cemetery, before being moved to 寺町;
- 本蓮寺 (56): it is the former site of San Juan Bautista;
- 大光寺 (56): it was the site of a former Christian temple;
- 大音寺 (48): located right next to 大光寺;
- 正覺寺 (24): oldest temple in Nagasaki; not located near any specific Christian place;
- 光永寺 (21): it was the site of a former Christian temple;

Shoukaku-ji (正覺寺) is the only temple that appears to have no relationship or proximity with any Christian facility. All of the other ones are replacements of Christian facilities or located very close to Christian facilities.

We will now look at Figure 5 (following page), which summarizes what we know about Christian facilities, Japanese temple/shrines, and the location of roof tile fragments with the flower cross symbol.

<sup>43</sup> For a list of references, see Appendix F.



At this stage, I would like to recall two important points:

- The most popular temple is 洪泰寺, originally located in Iwahara-gou (岩原郷) very close to the cemetery of Santa Cruz, and the church of Santa Maria;
- Garcia Garces said that every day, large numbers of people would go to the destroyed cemeteries of Santa Cruz (next to Santa Maria) and Sao Miguel (another large cemetery outside of the city), and kneel down to pray in front of the ruins of crosses, chapels, churches or graves.

It was not possible for Christians to get any closer to the cemetery, because the whole area of the church and cemetery had been occupied by the east governor's building (東屋敷・東奉行所). In 1629, this temple was moved to Tera-machi (寺町). We do not know the reason, but it may be the case that the strong association of former Christians in that site was seen as undesirable by the authorities.

We can also see in Figure 5 that most of the temples built until 1640 are concentrated in the east area of Soto-machi, which later became known as Tera-machi (寺町). Earlier, we mentioned that in 1615, one Japanese monk requested the site of Santo Domingo to the governor of Nagasaki; not only did the governor refuse the request, but he scolded the monk, telling him to never mention this topic again. It is also clear from the data in Appendix F that the establishment of temples in Nagasaki was slow at first, but started to speed up in the 1620s.

Some missionaries like the Franciscans enjoyed strong support among the Kawayas (皮屋), but the most likely explanation for this phenomenon is that the Tokugawa authorities did not want to treat Japanese monks in a privileged way. The church land plots were located in privileged places, with good views and wide spaces. Once they were confiscated by the authorities, the land plots in the center of the city were simply too good or useful to give to religious men. After all of the wars between noblemen, samurai and religious sects during the Muromachi period, the reputation and status of the Japanese religions was not particularly high. The authorities were afraid of rebellions by the Christians, and the monks were basically seen as tools for controlling the population.

In the same way, the apostate population did not feel any sympathy for the Japanese monks, because they had been forced to pray at their temples.

However, as the years passed and the apostates passed away, the importance and status of Japanese religions grew considerably, and the buildings were gradually rebuilt with much more quality. We can see this transition by comparing two maps: the Kan'ei

Nagasakikou-zu map (寛永長崎港図, Figure 6) and the Kanbun Nagasaki-zu Byobu (漢文長崎図屏風, Figure 7), which show the situation of Nagasaki around 1634 (Construction of Dejima) and the 1670s, when the network of Japanese temples had expanded and stabilized. As we can see in the Kanbun byobu, the temples form a long belt around the entire city. But in the Kan'ei map, that network is still relatively small.

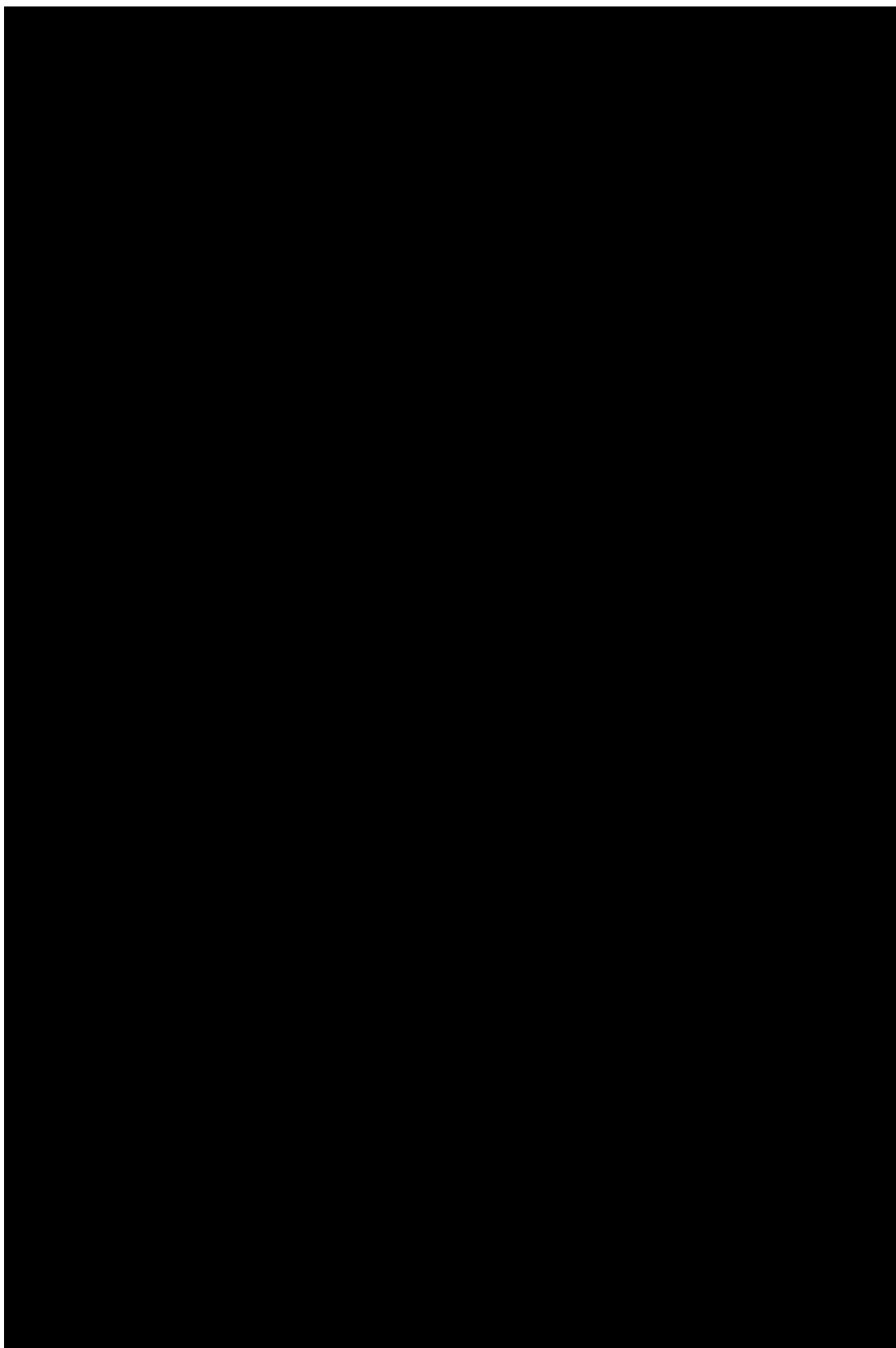


Figure 6: 寛永長崎港図（長崎歴史博物館蔵）

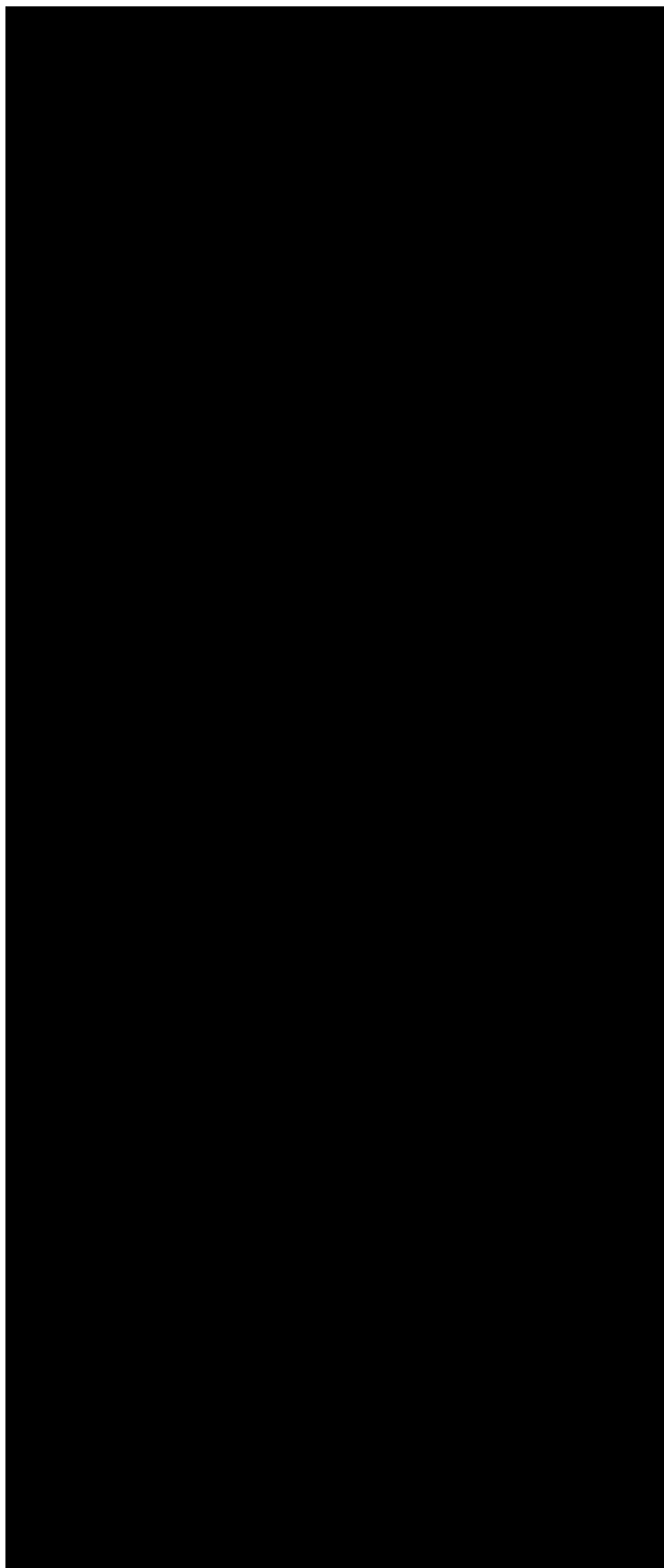


Figure 7: 漢文長崎図屏風 (長崎歴史博物館蔵)

### 8.3. Summary

In this chapter, we analyzed the eradication of the Christian facilities in Nagasaki.

We can divide this process in three basic phases. The first is the destruction of the largest physical symbols, which are the main churches. At first, nothing was done to the cemeteries of the city. Regarding the chapels across the city, the authorities at first did not recognize them as churches, since they were quite small. They expected that after this phase, the population would apostatize quickly, which did not happen.

In the second phase, there is a more radical position: stones, wood, and even the earth which had martyr blood was burned or thrown into the sea. The reason is that the Japanese were collecting anything they could get that had the blood of martyrs (ex: pieces of clothes, hair, bones, earth with blood stains, etc.). Some non-Christians even tried to make a profit by selling relics to Christians at high prices. The second reason was to erase the memory of these places as Christian places, or to remove their Christian identity.

The third phase was the introduction of temples and shrines, so as to reintroduce Japanese morals and values. But the most important thing was to encourage them to worship the Emperor and unite around his figure, as an earthly representative of the kami (神).

Secondly, we analyzed the choices of temples made by Japanese apostates. Based on the list of the most popular temples, we can hypothesize that the proximity of a temple to former Christian facilities was a factor that influenced their decisions. This does not mean that the Japanese only thought about this aspect. What it means is that for some people, this aspect was probably important to them, when they had to make a decision.

Finally, we saw how the Japanese temples became a strong aspect of the identity of Nagasaki, and created a religious belt around the entire city, with a large density of temples, especially when compared to other cities.

## **9. STRATEGIES AND POLICIES ADOPTED BY THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN REGARD TO ARCHITECTURE**

### **9.1. Introduction**

The chapters in this thesis were divided by important historical moments, namely:

- The period before the establishment of Nagasaki (1549-1568)
- The establishment of Nagasaki and the first anti-Christian edict (1569-1587)
- The period during which Hideyoshi controlled Nagasaki (1588-1598)
- From the period of Yeyasu to the second anti-Christian edict (1599-1614)
- The period of destruction of Christian facilities (1614-1620)

In this final chapter, we will divide the time period between 1549 and 1620 in a different way. To be more explicit, we will divide it according to major changes in the strategy of the Society of Jesus in Japan. As we mentioned in the first chapter, changes in the leadership of the Society also led to a change of policy. The time divisions are described as follows:

- Early period (1549-1554)
- Development of an identity distinct from Buddhism (1555-1579)
- Adoption of Japanese customs (1580-1600)
- Introduction of European elements (1601-1613)
- Eradication of Christian facilities (1614-1620)

By reviewing all of the data contained in this thesis, this chapter will summarize the main trends in terms of Jesuit attitudes towards architecture.

### **9.2. Early Period: 1549-1554**

There were considerable misunderstandings between Jesuits and Japanese monks during this period. Christian concepts were explained through Japanese terms, most of them Buddhist. As a result, the Jesuits were often considered to be just another Buddhist sect. Francisco Xavier and Cosme de Torres attempted to adapt to Japanese culture as much as possible without sacrificing their vows of poverty. For example, Cosme de Torres stopped eating meat, and only ate Japanese food. It was a time of great hardships, in



which many mistakes were made. The Jesuits were also initially unable to understand the characteristics of Japanese religions, and they used terms such as “pagode” or “varela” to represent buildings from other religions, without distinguishing if these buildings were Buddhist temples or Shinto shrines. As a result, it is not always easy to interpret Jesuit letters when they use these terms, because they can mean various things such as “temple”, “shrine”, “Japanese god/deity” “house of the Japanese gods”, “house of the idol”, “idol”, “monastery” or small structures such as gorintou gravestones (五輪塔).

Regarding the issue of terminology, several references were found that strongly suggest that the term “tera” (寺) and its variant words (ex: 本寺) were used most of the time to mean “church”. It is very likely that the terms “tera” and “igreja/ecclesia” (church in Portuguese and Latin) meant the same thing among the Jesuits and the Christian community. On one thing we can be fairly sure: after reviewing all of these documents and religious texts produced by Jesuits, Franciscans and even Japanese Christians, not a single reference was found to the terms yashiro “社” and miya “宮”. Basically, we have not found any evidence that the Jesuits, or Japanese Christians, or even non-Christians used these terms to mean “church”.

Due to the lack of money and supporters, they had to be practical and improvise solutions constantly. Basically, all they could do was focus on the aspect of idolatry. They occupied a Japanese temple/shrine, removed the “idols”, and replaced them with images of Catholic saints, a portable altar, or a few cloths, since they were not able to carry anything else with them.

In terms of buildings, there were only two churches in this early period: Yamaguchi and Bungo, of which we know very little. They probably had very little decoration, and were very simple spaces. The Jesuits compensated this deficiency by organizing theatre performances; celebrating the rites as solemnly as possible; using paintings to convey the suffering (i.e., Passion) of Jesus; organizing common meals in which the Christians cook food for the poor, and everyone eats together, increasing the sense of charity and union. This was very similar to what a Franciscan found in the countryside of Miyako during 1594, when he saw a church with chanoyu in the middle, and saw the Christians eating rice and drinking tea inside the church after mass.

### **9.3. Development of an Identity Distinct from Buddhism (1555-1579)**

As the Jesuits obtained a better knowledge of Japanese language, they realized that many of the Japanese terms they were using were completely inappropriate for teaching Christian concepts. For example, Japanese Christians heard the term “tamashii” and

thought that the characteristics of the Christian “soul” or “Holy Ghost” were the same as the Buddhist notions of “tamashii”. Another example would be the term “cross”, which was expressed as Ju-jimon (十字紋). This led Christians to think that the cross was merely a character, or the number 10, without realizing that the symbol of the cross contained a large amount of meanings, metaphors, and moral lessons. From that point of view, it was difficult to convey the unique aspects of Christianity. So Baltazar Gago and other Jesuits knowledgeable in Japanese began by introducing 50 Portuguese and Latin words in 1555; many more foreign words were introduced in the following decades.

Regarding architectural words, the only cases we could find in historical sources are “ecclesia” (教会・エケレシア・恵化連舎) and “cruz” (クルス・久留須) from the period between 1579 and 1582, and “altar” (祭壇・アルタル) shortly after.

Regarding church buildings, we can say with some certainty that in these early years, about half (or slightly more than half) of the Jesuit churches were temples used without architectural modifications. However, this does not mean that they did not try to make new buildings. It is important to remember that they had very little money and had to use the things that were available.

We have clear evidences that they tried to imitate the strategies of the first Apostles during the period of Early Christianity. There was a strong focus on “liturgical seasons”, or in other words, processions from the Church to the cross, often passing by other parts of the city. It was important for the Japanese to experience directly the suffering of Jesus when he was crucified.

There were also attempts to establish separate areas for men and women inside the church, at least in some churches. It was also important for the Jesuits to act in a uniform manner. In other words, they should carry out the ceremonies in the same way (if possible), no matter where they were. Because the number of Jesuits was low in the first two decades, it was relatively easy for them to meet together, and remain consistent. Throughout the letters, we see that the way of doing the ceremonies was very similar from place to place (especially the most important ones such as Easter).

From 1556 onward, decoration became even more important. This is because the priest Belchior Nunes Barretto arrived in Japan with large quantities of books, ornaments and religious objects, which were used to decorate churches. As mentioned by Arimura Rie, these objects were manufactured in different countries and had different artistic styles.

All of these things (terminology, processions, consistency of rituals, decoration) helped to create a unique Christian identity and distinguish the Jesuits from other Japanese monks.

These differences were further accentuated when Francisco Cabral arrived in 1570 to

replace Cosme de Torres. Although he was a man very devoted to the rules of the Society of Jesus (obedience, poverty, chastity), his negative attitude towards Japanese culture and customs caused considerable anger among the Japanese, especially noblemen or powerful people. But at the same time as Cabral arrived, two priests, Organtino Gneccchi-Soldo and Luis Frois, were located in Miyako, far away from Cabral's influence and free to take a different approach.

In other words, when Cosme de Torres was the Superior, there was more consistency in the actions of the Society. But when Cabral arrived, there was a division: we can say that there was a method followed in Kyushu, and a method followed in Miyako/Gokinai.

The main differences were that the Kyushu method did not create spaces in which the hierarchical codes of Japanese etiquette could be expressed. To make things worse, the Japanese cooking tools and dishes were too delicate for Portuguese cuisine, based on cow meat, fat and oil, which were difficult to clean. On the opposite, in Kyushu, Organtino and Frois made a strong attempt to adapt to local customs, achieving good results in terms of gaining supporters.

#### **9.4. Adoption of Japanese Customs (1580-1600)**

The arrival of Alessandro Valignano in Japan was an important turning point. He was extremely dissatisfied with the situation in Kyushu, in which the Christians treated the Jesuits with coldness and disinterest. But he was quite pleased with the Christians of Miyako, and the policies followed by Organtino.

His main contribution was to focus even more on consistency, uniformity and prestige.

While both Torres and Cabral were certainly interested in improving the reputation of the Society, it was not their main concern, since they were in a difficult situation. By the time Valignano arrived, his adaptation policies allowed him to gain the strong of many lords, and it became possible to build churches of better quality.

Valignano was also the Jesuit who had the most interest in the issues of architecture, and attempted to create a set of basic standards for Jesuit buildings, in order to achieve some degree of consistency and uniformity. It is likely that what Valignano saw when he first arrived in Japan was a considerable diversity in the characteristics and shapes of Jesuit churches (former houses, former temples, brand new buildings). It was important to give a strong identity to the Society and Christian religion, because many Japanese felt ashamed to see themselves as Christians. The reason is because the Jesuits were involved in many activities which gave them a bad image (ex: eating meat, treating lepers and poor people).

In his proposals for Jesuit architecture, Valignano tried to reconcile the needs of a Jesuit College (peace and privacy, separation from women) with the needs of Japanese etiquette (hierarchical spaces, a strong focus on services, constant invitations and presents). He also had to establish a bridge with Buddhism, in order to maintain positive relations with non-Christian lords. The Jesuits had to be seen as religious men, but they could not copy everything that Japanese monks did. This compromise was achieved by imitating the most important aspects of the Monastic Code of the Rinzai Zen sect in Nanzenji. However, have not found conclusive evidence that Jesuit architecture was uniquely influenced by Zen architecture. In other words, Valignano did not want to follow other religions too closely. He still wanted to establish a unique identity for Jesuit churches. So he took the elements that were strictly necessary to avoid causing strange or uncomfortable feelings among the Japanese.

As a result of his policies, the number of impressive churches and the reputation of the Jesuits increased. However, the new Superior, Gaspar Coelho became too involved in military disputes and court intrigues, which caused many problems for the Society. He also spent much more than what Valignano had recommended, causing some financial problems for the Society.

Nagasaki was the perfect example of a city in “crisis”: constant attacks by neighboring lords, earthquakes and typhoons, one large fire in 1584, quick growth of the population, urban sprawl which reduced the number of available agricultural fields, and its quick conversion into a fortress. The only thing that allowed the port to survive was its power as a trading port, where people could get rich very easily by trading with the Namban-jin.

When Hideyoshi took over Nagasaki, it was simultaneously a blessing and a curse: on one hand, the number of baptisms increased considerably; on the other hand, almost all of their churches were destroyed, and they were forbidden from building impressive churches for many years. They were also exposed to harsh criticisms from the Franciscans, who believed that the Jesuits had sacrificed their own identity in order to convert the Japanese. While the Franciscans openly built a tall in the middle of Miyako, defying Hideyoshi’s orders, the Jesuits were living in a state of camouflage: they were borrowing houses to use as churches, and modifying churches so that they look like houses. In Nagasaki, they collaborated with the Christian community to establish a network of private religious spaces, free from the control of the government.

To summarize, the differences between the Franciscan and Jesuit approaches are the same as distinguishing from a “public sphere” and a “private sphere”. For example, if a church is tall, and can be seen by everyone in the street, even if it has a wall around it,

can be considered as an act of defiance. But if the church is kept low, and of similar height as other neighboring buildings, without trying to distinguish itself too much, then it is interpreted as an act of accommodation/obedience. If the authorities feel that they are being defied, their attitude towards Christian religion would be less tolerant. Therefore, it was important for the Jesuits to give the impression to the authorities that they were being obedient and cooperative, to a certain degree.

### **9.5. Introduction of European Elements (1600-1613)**

We can say with some confidence that during this period, the aspect of “prestige” or “respectability” was taken to its limit. In other words, we can sense that both Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans were concerned about transmitting a string image to the outside world. All of these religious orders attempted to find the best spots in Nagasaki to build churches, and spent a good amount of money in things like larger churches or having the Blessed Sacrament always on display at the altar.

But out of all of them, it was the Jesuits who spent the most in Nagasaki. The churches were considerably impressive, and large, full of rich decorations. At the same time, the notion of “hierarchical space” (i.e., to design a space so that it represents clearly the social status of a person) was taken to its limit as well. The differences between *dojuku*, Brothers, priests and high-ranking priests were reinforced. This was done by having separate spaces for *dojuku* and Jesuits, specific spaces for welcoming important guests (*niwa*, *chanoyu*, etc.), and private houses for high-ranking priests. All of these things put the Society into a very difficult economical situation.

The network of Christian facilities spread across most of Nagasaki, although the most important churches tended to concentrate near *Uchi-machi*. On the other hand, the east part of *Soto-machi* only had small facilities such as chapels. But the most important facilities were certainly the cemeteries, where many people gathered to pray for their ancestors. The long processions towards the cross, with acts of self-flagellation, remained just as important as when Francisco Xavier was in Japan.

Finally, Jesuit letters indicate that some unique, innovative spatial elements were introduced in the churches of *Miyako* and *Hakata*. Although the texts are not very clear about these aspects, we can say that the structure and scale of the retables was probably very similar to those in churches across Latin America and Europe. Nevertheless, the buildings were still very different from European ones.

## **9.6. Eradication of Christian Facilities (1614-1620)**

In many ways, the strategy of the Jesuits during this period was similar to the one taken during the 1590s: to remain hidden, and engage the community in creating private spaces to conduct mass. But in this case, the authorities saw Christian religion as subversive and disruptive (in the same way as many other cults and religions at the time). Therefore, they were determined to transform the cultural identity of the city.

First, they destroyed the large symbols (large churches), then small symbols, such as chapels and crosses; and finally, the charitable institutions of Misericordia, and the cemeteries, which were always seen as respectful things, were eliminated as well.

But the Tokugawa authorities had to take things much further. They had to erase the memory of Christian facilities, because every material object touched by a martyr became an object of devotion for the Japanese. It became necessary to employ several strategies simultaneously in order to achieve the final result, which was apostasy.

These strategies involved a combination of torture tactics, occupying Christian sites and making them inaccessible, and employing a network of spies (including Japanese monks).

But the efforts of the Japanese authorities paid off in the end. By the late 1600s, there was already a dense belt of religious facilities surrounding the entire port.



## 10. CONCLUSION

### 10.1. Findings regarding the research questions of this thesis

In the “Introduction” chapter of this thesis, we introduced five main questions. Considering all of the contents in the main text and the Appendixes, we will now address each of the questions, and summarize the main findings of this thesis.

• **Which strategies were adopted by missionaries in Japan to replace the local structures belonging to already-established Japanese religions (Shintoism/Buddhism)?**

In practice, the missionaries could not use Portuguese or Spanish military power to force the Japanese to become Christians. So they had to persuade the Japanese to convert to Christianity. How is this persuasion done? By argumentation, adaptation and substitution.

In other words, “argumentation” means that the missionaries tried to convince the Japanese that worshipping Shinto/Buddhist deities would not bring them “salvation” (i.e., access to Heaven/Paradise after their death); only the worship of Christ/Deus could give them access to Heaven in the afterlife. This was achieved by preaching in the middle of the streets, and having public disputes with Japanese monks.

As for “adaptation”, it means that the Jesuits simplified or omitted some aspects of Christian religion so that it did not contrast too much with the practices of Japanese religions. But this similarity was only superficial. As soon as a Japanese person converted to Christianity, the missionaries tried to persuade them to adopt Judeo-Christian moral values (which were quite different from Japanese moral values). This was done by the following methods: religious processions, self-flagellation, theatre plays, musical performances, religious images, preaching, and works of charity.

Regarding “substitution” (代用), this term was first presented by the Jesuit historian Jesús Lopez-Gay.<sup>1</sup> From his analysis of Jesuit sources, he convincingly argued that the Jesuits adopted the principle of “substitution” in the field of liturgy (religious rites and feasts). The missionaries substituted major Japanese feasts (such as O-Bon お盆 or the Shougatsu feast 正月) with similar Christian feasts, such as “On-mamori no Santa Maria” (御守りのサンタ・マリア). Also, some aspects of the Jesuit funeral rites resembled the funeral rites of Buddhist monks. But as the number of Christians increased, European

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<sup>1</sup> Lopez-Gay, Jesús. *La liturgia en la misión del Japón del siglo XVI*. Studia Missionalia, Documenta et Opera, Vol. 4, Roma: Libreria dell'università Gregoriana, 1970, p. 34, 36, 38, 40, 209, 300.



religious rites and feasts were gradually introduced and reinforced.

Although Lopez-Gay did not do any particular analysis of Jesuit architecture, judging by the contents of this thesis, we can state that this principle was also applied in the field of architecture. First, the Jesuits occupied the local structures (temples, shrines) in a way which was not too different from Buddhist or Shinto religions. In other words, they used the buildings in a way which would not cause too much controversy among the Japanese population. Later, when most of the population had become Christian, the Jesuits transformed the religious buildings, so that they became more suitable for carrying out Christian religious rites. Gradually, as time passed, some European architectural elements were introduced into these religious buildings. We can see this phenomenon especially from the 1600s onwards.

As we have seen during the main text of this thesis, the only aspect of Japanese religions which was completely unacceptable to the Jesuits was idolatry. In other words, the physical objects of Shinto and Buddhism which were considered “holy” by the Japanese (statues, paintings, religious books, etc) were unacceptable. Regarding Japanese architecture, the physical structure of the temple itself was somewhat acceptable, but the *butsudan* 仏壇 (used to support the “idol” or religious figure) and the object that represents the deity (i.e., the “idol”) had to be destroyed or removed. This explains why it was acceptable for Jesuits to reuse temples without any architectural modification. All that they had to do was remove the “idol” from the building, and replace it with a Christian symbol (a painting or image of a saint, or a cross).

Despite this, there are many cases showing that the Jesuits did modify the temples, if they had the chance. The longitudinal space of European churches was more suitable for executing European liturgical rites. Also, the visibility of the main retablo was an important aspect within the internal space of the church. If the Christians cannot see the image of the saint clearly, their religious devotion cannot reach its full potential.

To summarize, even though the Jesuits did a great effort to adapt to Japanese architecture, their ultimate long-term objective was indeed to introduce more European architectural elements, whenever possible.

In the case of Nagasaki, the first church of Todos-os-Santos (トドス・オス・サントス、1569 年) is a clear example of “substitution”. The family temple of the Nagasaki family (菩提寺) was used by Gaspar Vilela as a house for a while, until he converted most of the population. After that, the temple was rebuilt into a simple church. Furthermore, the whole area around Nagasaki was Christianized before the construction of the port. This was done to reduce the chance of rebellions. Once the population was converted, the religious temples/shrines around the area of Nagasaki were apparently destroyed. There

is an archaeological evidence of this: several pieces of Gorintou 五輪塔 gravestones were found around the cape of Nagasaki.

Since it was impossible to build more than one church in Nagasaki in 1569 (the number of missionaries in Japan was very low), Vilela focused on conducting religious processions. The departure point was the church, passing by a large cross (which may have been the location of a cemetery), and returning back to the church. During the procession, the Christians punished themselves with harsh objects (flagellation). It was the best method to gather all of the Christians in the area as a single community, even though there was only one church and one cross.

This procession path later became a defining element of the urban landscape, when the port was built in 1571. And from 1571 to 1620, the church of Todos-os-Santos and the church at Morisaki defined a religious territory, which was gradually occupied with a dense network of churches or other religious facilities.

**• What were the main constructive or spatial characteristics of these Christian facilities? Did the Jesuit missionaries mix European and Japanese elements when creating their religious spaces? If so, can we identify these aspects?**

As mentioned above, when the Jesuits succeeded in converting a Japanese person, they had to change his/her moral values. In other words, the missionaries had to “re-educate” the Japanese. This was done through religious processions, theatre plays, religious imagery, and preaching.

For these reasons, the internal space of the church had to be simple and flexible. It functioned as a “stage” for theatrical plays and as an exhibition space for religious images and symbols. The space had to be used to convey a Christian narrative. For this reason, the internal space of the church was often just a simple room in which decorative elements were placed. The function of these decorative elements was to explain this Christian narrative to the Japanese. These stories were moral tales taken from the Bible, and Japanese/Chinese stories which expressed Judeo-Christian moral values. The best way to convince the Japanese to reconsider their system of moral values is through a strong emotional experience. It was easier to teach Judeo-Christian values to the Japanese, if they could directly experience the suffering of Christ, or the drama of the characters in the Bible.

It was important that the preacher could be clearly seen and heard by the population. So the number of visual obstacles had to be low. In the first years, the Jesuits did not have the means to build impressive churches. So they had to accept their limitations and

use whatever means they had available. Therefore, the use of decoration was much more important than the shape of the architectural space. It was decoration that created the sense of drama inside the churches, not the architectural space itself.

The first nine years of Nagasaki (1571-1579) coincided with the tenure of Francisco Cabral as the Superior of the Jesuit Mission. As we have already discussed, Cabral mostly rejected the idea of religious accommodation. He also strongly embraced the notions of religious poverty. As a result, the Christian lords in Kyushu were very critical of Cabral because there were no spaces suitable for Japanese etiquette, and everything looked poor and dirty. Based on these aspects, we can assume that the first church in Morisaki (聖母の教会、1571 年) was a very simple church, made with poor materials, and without any rooms (座敷) specially designated for noble people. In other words, there were no hierarchical spaces.

In the 1580s, Valignano's arrival changed everything. When Gaspar Coelho became the new Superior, he focused his efforts on building impressive churches, which could increase the religious devotion of the Japanese. It was from this period that the notions of "respectable architecture" and "prestigious architecture" were introduced as a tool for converting the Japanese.

Large churches were built with hierarchical spaces (i.e., zashiki rooms for important people), even though they had longitudinal layouts, just like European churches. But except for this, the churches imitated all of the main principles of Japanese architecture. For example, we can be sure that tatami, zashiki, and wooden pillars supported by foundation stones were used. Tile roofs became more common during this period, and rich ornaments (religious objects containing silver and gold, as well as fine silk) were heavily employed inside the internal space of the church. In this sense, decoration continued to play an important role inside the church. All of these characteristics were gathered in the church of Our Lady of Assumption, built in the Morisaki area during the 1580s. The historical materials also suggest that onigawara (鬼瓦) may have been used in some Jesuit churches, with the same function as European gargoyles (i.e., pushing water away from the building).

The 1590s represented a period of difficulty, in which the church of Our Lady of Assumption was destroyed and replaced with a church of medium size (サン・パウロ). Despite these limitations, the evidence strongly shows that the Jesuits tried to make the church as prestigious as possible, with good ornaments and architectural materials of high quality. But in terms of architecture, there were almost no innovations, except for the creation of separate areas for men and women inside the church. In fact, it was the Franciscans who claimed to have introduced European-style churches in Miyako.

However, this had no effect or influence on the churches of Nagasaki during this period.

In the 1600s, after the death of Hideyoshi, the Jesuits were once again free to build in any way that they wanted. Because the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians were now competing with the Jesuits, there are strong indications that European-style elements were introduced or reinforced in the bigger churches. Examples of this are: bell towers with large clocks, three-nave churches (三つの身廊), multiple chapels/altars, large-size retables with oil paintings, ceilings with European-style oil paintings, and fences to separate the choir (クワヤ・内陣) from the main nave. The historical materials also suggest that the Latin cross floor plan may have been introduced in some churches. Nevertheless, although the shape of the architectural space may have changed, Japanese constructive techniques and materials continued to be used. Also, it is extremely likely that hierarchical spaces continued to exist inside the churches. The materials suggest that in the church of Our Lady of Assumption in Nagasaki (1601 年～1614 年), the rooms on the sides of the main chapel were used simultaneously as a sacristy and as a space for important guests.

To summarize, we can confirm that European architectural elements were gradually added to Japanese architecture. However, none of these new elements conflicted with the liturgical rites and ceremonies that had been established in the past by the Jesuits. For example, they allowed Japanese Christians to sit down on the tatami during the whole mass, instead of standing up at certain moments, just like in Europe. Also, there is one Latin text written in 1589 by Valignano, which narrates a dialogue between the young Japanese ambassadors who went to Rome. In one passage from this text, it is mentioned that from the point of view of Japanese people, sitting in an European-style chair is unnatural, and unreasonable.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it did not make any sense to introduce stone pavements and chairs in Japanese churches. In other words, the introduction of

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<sup>2</sup> In this text, there is a discussion about European and Japanese ways of sitting which continues for several paragraphs, but here we will only transcribe the comment made by a Japanese character, named Leo. “LEO: Sint illi quidam etiam urbani suo modo, sed mihi multò magis probatur nostra sedendi ratio: cum illi tibias, velut è sede suspensas habere cogantur, néq; tá accómodatè corpus in sella còquiescat.” Valignano, Alessandro, Sande, Duarte. *De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam rebusq; in Europa, ac toto itinere animaduersis dialogvs*, Macao, domo Societatis IESV, 1590, p.91. There is an English translation of this text made by Joseph Moran: “Leo: Well, they [i.e., the Europeans] may be polite in their fashion, but it still seems to me that our way of sitting is much the better: they have to have their legs hanging down from their seat, and they can’t really be entirely at ease and comfortable in a chair.” Moran, Joseph, Massarella, Derek, ed., *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe: A Dialogue Concerning the Mission of the Japanese Ambassadors to the Roman Curia* (1590), London: Hakluyt Society, Third Series, Volume 25, 2012, p.138.

Western architectural elements was only carried out as long as it did not cause negative feelings among the Japanese.

Therefore, the consistency/uniformity of liturgical rites was more important than introducing European architectural elements. Also, the introduction of new elements should not jeopardize the hierarchical status of the Jesuits. It was essential for them to maintain an aura of respectability and prestige. An example of this is the policy of Francisco Cabral, which greatly damaged the reputation of the Jesuits among the noblemen (lack of special rooms for noblemen inside the churches, lack of chanoyu or niwa, dirty rooms, etc).

**· Can we establish some relationship between the growth of the city of Nagasaki and the creation of new Christian facilities?**

The expansion of the city of Nagasaki only accelerated during the 1580s, especially from 1583 onwards. So during this first phase, there was no need to expand the network of religious structures, except for two reasons: cemeteries and lepers (ハンセン病者). Cemeteries and hospitals for lepers had to be located far away from the city. On one hand, Japanese ideals of purity were the main factor behind this. But on the other hand, we can see the same situation in Medieval European cities, especially if we look at the facilities known as “Lazaretto”, which was a place specifically for lepers located outside of European fortresses. The institution of Misericordia provided a way for the execution of charity works without the direct involvement of the Jesuits. Otherwise, the prestige of the Jesuits as religious men would be negatively affected.

When Hideyoshi took control of the port in 1587, it was not possible to build new churches inside the city. So the only option for the Jesuits was to promote the creation of religious facilities outside the city. This was the case with the chapel of Santa Maria in Tateyama, the small church of Sao Lazaro in Nishizaka (next to the hospital of the lepers), and of course Todos-os-Santos. These facilities allowed for the creation of new procession routes around the city, which were used by many Japanese Christians. The main reason for this is because Japanese people were not allowed to enter the churches in Morisaki or Misericordia. Especially during the 1590s, the population of Nagasaki grew very quickly, especially in the East part of Soto-machi. To accommodate the growing population, the Jesuits secretly used the houses of Christians in each street to conduct mass, confession, and other religious rites.

In the 1600s, the number of churches inside the city increased dramatically. But curiously, Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans competed to build their churches inside

Uchi-machi, or at least very close to Uchi-machi, in the central part of the city. As a result, the east part of Soto-machi was neglected, except by the Augustinians. It seems clear from this example that the most prestigious land plots were located at the center of the city. In other words, building a church in the poorest part of the city would give a bad image to the missionaries. As we can see in 1614, the network of religious processions had become much more dense and complex, but it mostly avoided the east side of the city.

At the same time, some of the houses of prestigious Christians were being used as chapels, which survived for some years after 1614. Judging from Japanese historical materials, these small chapels/houses were mostly located near the limits of the city in the North and East, or in districts with brothels.

To summarize, there is a relationship between the growth of the city and the growth of religious structures, but even at the urban level the notion of “hierarchized space” was present. Areas with more prestige would receive the main churches, while smaller facilities (cemeteries, chapels) were transferred to the outskirts of the city, or established in poor areas.

• **In what way were these structures destroyed by the Tokugawa authorities?**

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the stages of destruction proceeded in the following manner: destruction of large facilities (main churches); destruction of small facilities (cemeteries, small chapels); and destruction of charitable facilities (Misericordia, hospitals). Depending on their location, Christian sites were occupied by governmental facilities, or Japanese temples/shrines. Because any fragment of these Christian facilities (stones, sticks) could be worshipped by the Japanese as a relic, it was necessary to make these physical evidences disappear (by burning them, or dumping them into the sea). In other words, the memory of these physical elements had to be erased. In the same way, the Kunchi festival (くんち祭り) was used as a way to replace Christian feasts and processions, and to promote the unity of the Japanese people under the power of the Emperor.

Nevertheless, the data suggests that many Japanese apostates remained attached to the sites of former Christian facilities. This was done by becoming a member of Japanese temples which were located in the same place as these facilities, or near them.

## **10.2. Keywords: the notions of “respect” and “prestige” in Jesuit Architecture**

To conclude, it is true that the topics debated in this thesis are quite complex to follow.

Between 1549 and 1614, hundreds of religious buildings were either destroyed, rebuilt or transferred, so it is difficult to have a general image of the architectural activities of the Jesuits in Japan.

However, I believe that the keywords “prestige”, “respectability” or “reputation” are the most representative of what the Jesuits wanted to achieve in Japan. To be sure, they had many failures and accidents, and they were not always able to express those concepts clearly. For example, the Jesuits were sometimes forbidden to build large churches, tall churches, or build churches in prestigious sites. All of these elements could improve the reputation of foreign missionaries in Japan.

But we can say with confidence that the Jesuits used the policy of cultural accommodation as a means to be seen on an equal footing as Buddhist and Shinto religions). Since many Japanese felt they were morally, culturally and intellectually superior to foreigners, it was difficult to convince them to consider foreign ideas or moral values. In other words, this idea of Japanese cultural superiority created a mental barrier, which prevented them from adhering to the principles of the Christian doctrine. The policy of cultural accommodation allowed the Jesuits to break that mental barrier, and progress in their mission to convert non-Christians to their religion.

To conclude, there were two main principles behind the architectural activities of the Jesuits in Japan: first, Christian architecture should allow the Jesuits to maintain their prestige and status as religious men; second, this architecture must not cause excessive discomfort or disgust to the Japanese: on the contrary, the architecture should make the Japanese feel proud of being Christians. By following these two principles, the Jesuits mixed European and Japanese architectural elements to produce a unique type of Christian church, which could not be found anywhere else in the world.

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