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**SACRED SPACE AND RITUAL IN
EARLY MODERN JAPAN:
THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY
OF NAGASAKI (1569-1643)**

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Abstract

This thesis argues that the production of sacred space and ritual is crucial to understanding the formation of Christian communities in early modern Japan. An analysis of the production of churches in Japan (chapter 1) lays the ground for a thorough exploration of the particular case of the Christian community of Nagasaki from 1569 to 1643 in the following chapters. I first address how Christians were involved in the foundation and design of the port and town, with a church as its symbolic centre (chapter 2), and the consequences for the Christian community when the administration rights over Nagasaki were donated to the Jesuits in 1580 (chapter 3). A decade of significant instability began in 1587, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the unifier of Japan, appropriated the town and issued a decree expelling the foreign missionaries, followed by an order in 1597 to close the Christian churches and to execute the recently-arrived Mendicant missionaries in Nagasaki (chapter 4). A golden decade began in 1601. After the bishop of Japan established his see in Nagasaki, the city became the centre of Japanese Christianity (chapter 5). Most significantly, the Catholic parish system was implemented, with the support of lay confraternities, between 1606 and 1612 (chapter 6) and, despite some internal rivalries (chapter 7), Nagasaki functioned as a ‘Christian town’ until 1614, when the Tokugawa government banned Christianity from Japan. The production of new spaces and rituals played a key role in both the de-Christianization of Nagasaki by the Japanese authorities and the formation of underground Christian communities, which produced and preserved secret Christian spaces and rituals until the prohibition of Christianity was abolished in 1873 (chapter 8).

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Introduction

The first encounter between Christianity and Japan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is a fascinating episode in the history of cultural interaction. In 1549 the first Jesuit missionaries arrived at Kagoshima, in southern Kyushu, and the propagation of Christianity in Japan started, moving to northern Kyushu and western Honshū. In 1614 Tokugawa Ieyasu issued an edict proscribing Christianity and expelling the missionaries from Japan. Most of the missionaries, and also some Japanese Christians, were exiled to Macao and Manila, and the ban on Christianity was not removed until 1873, under the Meiji government. In spite of the systematic proscription of Christianity by the Tokugawa government, certain communities of Christian Japanese preserved their Christian beliefs and practices for more than two centuries, and in 1865 a community of underground Christians revealed its faith to the French missionaries of the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris in Nagasaki.

During this process of propagation, proscription and re-emergence, it was Nagasaki that became the centre of Christianity in Japan. This thesis focuses on the first century of this history, exploring the dynamic process that turned a natural port into what scholars call a ‘Christian town’. Only later did Nagasaki become ‘a common Japanese *shinbutsu* town’, i.e., a town that revered the buddhas and the *kami*, where the public rhythm was marked by community rituals centred in Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines.¹ The main research question I address is: ‘How did Nagasaki become a Christian community?’ There are almost no written sources where the voices of lay Japanese Christians can be traced, making the access to their articulated thoughts and beliefs very difficult. Nevertheless, their actions do speak of their engagement with Christianity as well as their formation and functioning as

¹ (Kudamatsu 2004)

community.² This is why, in order to address my research question, I analyse the involvement of the Nagasaki citizens in the production, maintenance and transformations of sacred spaces.

In order to explore the creation and evolution of Christian spaces in Nagasaki, this thesis takes an historical approach, building on the previous work on Christianity in early modern Japan and on Nagasaki city. Rather than a new periodization of the so-called Christian Century,³ I propose an historical narrative organized in terms of spaces and the actions that produced them, distinguishing among three main actions: the entry of Christianity into the Japanese public sphere, its later expulsion from Japan, and finally its withdrawal into a private, secret sphere. These actions produced different kinds of places where the missionaries and the Christian and non-Christian Japanese interacted.

To introduce Christianity to Japanese society, missionaries constructed residences, churches, hospitals and schools in villages and towns, interacting with the Japanese. The prohibition of Christianity by the Japanese authorities involved not only the desacralization, dismantling, and appropriation of all Christian spaces, but also the production of Buddhist temples and civil authorities' buildings in their stead. Other new spaces were also produced, such as prisons, torture sites and execution grounds for Christians. The Japanese Christians reacted to and resisted the prohibition by turning the execution grounds into martyrdom sites through worship, and by producing new private Christian spaces both within their households and in secret communal spaces like caves and Christian cemeteries. Moreover, the 'hidden Christian communities' exerted a passive resistance to the prohibition by refusing to engage in the construction process of public spaces, such as Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples, which the Tokugawa government fostered as a way to counter Christianity.

To presuppose a strict chronological order on these three main actions and their corresponding spatial processes would be simplistic. Although the building of churches can be clearly delimited in time, since no Christian churches were built

² Ikuo Higashibaba acknowledges he the lack of written sources by sixteenth and seventeenth centuries lay Japanese Christians and argues that their participation in Christian ritual, which can be traced in missionary sources, allows us to understand their believes. (Higashibaba 2001)

³ (Boxer 1974)

after 1614, desecration and dismantling occurred at several stages, and vary greatly by region. For instance, more than 200 churches were closed after the 1587 edict of expulsion of foreign missionaries by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, but very soon after that, new churches and hospitals were built by Franciscan missionaries in Kyoto and Osaka, while the Jesuits in Kyushu retired from the public sphere. Thus, although the process of withdrawing into the private sphere was certainly accentuated by persecution, when it became the only possible sphere of action for Christians, the development of private Christian spaces and rituals was a process that started long before 1614. In sum, although it is possible to identify periods in which one or another of these actions is most representative, it is clear that they overlap in time.

To analyse these general actions at a local level it is necessary to study the actions involved in the production of specific spaces. This is why I focus on the Nagasaki Christian community as a case study. Nagasaki presents three distinctive characteristics that make it richly suited for such a spatial analysis. First, its foundation and rapid growth as a town was intimately linked to the close collaboration between Jesuit missionaries and Portuguese merchants. Second, most of its population was Christian since its foundation: the Christian community of Nagasaki included not only missionaries and Japanese Christians, but also the Portuguese and Spanish merchants who resided in Japan temporarily or permanently. Finally, when the Bishop of Japan established his See in Nagasaki, it became the centre of Japanese Christianity. Nagasaki was the only Japanese town in which the Bishop of Japan applied the Catholic Church's parish system, a parish being the body of Christian faithful within a territory with well-defined boundaries, to which the Bishop appoints a parish priest. When Bishop Luis Cerqueira established his See in Nagasaki, he divided the town into parishes, erected parish churches and appointed parish priests, so that most of the inhabitants of Nagasaki were affiliated with a specific church, usually the one closest to their street. These features make Nagasaki a rather atypical Christian community, unrepresentative of most early modern Japanese Christian communities. However, Nagasaki deserves a prominent place within the historiography of Christianity in pre-modern Japan, since many of the events, as well as the spatial and ritual transformations that took place there, were often directly connected to the fate of Christian communities elsewhere in Japan.

Previous Research

The first encounter between Christianity and Japan has been approached from various perspectives. In western scholarship Charles Boxer's socio-economic studies are still considered reference works. He was mainly interested in the relationship between Portugal and Japan, and emphasized the role of the Christian missionaries as mediators in trade and diplomacy between the Portuguese and Spanish civil authorities abroad (in India and the Philippines respectively) and the Japanese rulers.⁴ Japanese historians such as Takase Kōichirō, Gonoï Takashi, and Murai Sanae have mainly focused on the engagement of the Japanese elite with Christianity, or on the political and economic initiatives of the Christian missionary orders.⁵ More recently, Ōhashi Yukihiro and Murai Sanae have shifted the focus of attention to the lower classes by relating their reception and appropriation of Christianity to popular resistance and social change.⁶ The introduction of Christianity in Japan has also been widely studied from a missiological point of view. Jesuit scholars like Schurhammer and Schütte worked on biographical studies of the greatest leaders of the Jesuit mission in Japan, Francis Xavier, its founder, and its reformer, Alessandro Valignano.⁷ However, Higashibaba Ikuo, in reaction to such an approach, centred on the great personalities and the conversion of the Japanese elites, asserted the need to analyse popular Christianity in early modern Japan, and focused on ritual and belief among the Japanese Christian laity.⁸

Since the Jesuit archives were not open to the public until the 1960s, the main task for the first Japanese scholars on the history of Christianity, like Murakami Naojirō and Anezaki Masaharu, was basically to gather and translate missionary sources in western languages.⁹ Ebisawa Arimichi also had a relevant role in the compilation and publication of both Japanese and missionary sources related to Christianity, and studied the contacts between Japanese religions and Christianity.¹⁰ Most of these early studies stressed the success of evangelization and the positive

⁴ (Boxer 1929, 1974)

⁵ (Gonoï 1983, 1990; Takase 1993, 1994; Takase 1998; Murai 1998, 1999, 2000; Gonoï 2002)

⁶ (Ōhashi 2001; Murai 2002)

⁷ (Schütte 1951, 1980; Schurhammer 1982; Moran 1993)

⁸ (Higashibaba 1999)

⁹ (Murakami n.d.)

¹⁰ (Ebisawa 1944, 1960; 1970; 1971a; 1971b)

response of the Japanese Christians. Among those who studied the cultural exchange between Christianity and Japan, George Ellison was the first to stress the negative response of Japanese society at large during the Tokugawa period, from government ideologues to anonymous popular authors.¹¹ Ellison's ground-breaking book *Deus Destroyed* challenged the idealised vision of the Jesuits in previous Western scholarship by analysing the main anti-Christian works of the Tokugawa period authored by Buddhists, Confucians, and apostate Jesuits.¹² Recently, Kiri Paramore has analysed thoroughly the relationship between anti-Christian ideas and the construction of political thought in the early Tokugawa shogunate as well as in the modern Japanese state.¹³

Scholars of religion have approached theological and doctrinal aspects of the encounter between Japan and Christianity from a linguistic perspective, addressing the complex and problematic process of translation and definition of the concept of 'God' into Japanese; borrowing doctrinal terms from Buddhist, Confucian, and even Shinto traditions was indeed a key element in the introduction of Christianity in Japan.¹⁴ The role of ritual has also been stressed. While the Jesuit scholar Jesús Lopez Gay has studied thoroughly the Jesuit sources of Christian liturgy in Japan, Minako Debergh has explored Christian ritual on the basis of material culture, and Higashibaba has done so within the field of cultural anthropology, comparing the popular practices of Japanese Christians with popular Japanese religious practices.¹⁵

In sum, in the last few decades the Eurocentric and social biases of earlier scholarship have been challenged in both historical and religious studies. Nevertheless, none of these scholars has discussed the importance of ritual in the production of sacred space. In fact, the spatial dimension has not received the attention it deserves to explain the introduction of Christianity in Japan, which has usually been presented as a chronological narrative. Although my focus on sacred space provides a new perspective, my exploration builds upon previous scholarship, since ritual and socio-political aspects are key elements to understanding the construction of a place for Christianity in Japanese society.

¹¹ (Elison 1991c)

¹² (Toynbee 1953)

¹³ (Paramore 2009)

¹⁴ (Schurhammer 1928; Oyama 1984; Moran 1992; App 1997-1998)

¹⁵ (Debergh 1980, 1984; Higashibaba 2001)

The importance of Nagasaki for the Christian missions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been emphasised by many scholars. Charles Boxer and Takase Koichirō were interested in Nagasaki as Japan's only international port, where the silk trade with the Portuguese merchants took place. Nagasaki has also been given a prominent place in studies of the life and work of the most important ecclesiastical personality in seventeenth-century Japan, Bishop Luis Cerqueira, who is the subject of the Ph.D. theses of Kataoka Rumiko and Joao Oliveira e Costa.¹⁶ Furthermore, Nagasaki has a prominent place in the hagiographical literature by confessional scholars about Christian martyrs in Japan.¹⁷ The Japanese scholar Kataoka Yukichi was the first to publish a monograph on martyrdom in Nagasaki and in the whole of Japan.¹⁸

There are a few works that address specific Christian spaces in Nagasaki, such as the article in Spanish by the Jesuit Diego Pacheco on the churches of Nagasaki, and another in German and Japanese by the Franciscan Bernard Willecke about the Franciscan convent in Nagasaki.¹⁹ In addition, recent archaeological findings in Nagasaki town have provided details about the Dominican church of St Dominic.²⁰ Finally, Kataoka Yukichi deals briefly with the early development of Nagasaki town and its churches, as an introduction to his thorough study of martyrs and underground Christians in Nagasaki prefecture.²¹ Nevertheless, in all these treatments, Nagasaki is presented mainly as a passive place, as the mere background for what the authors consider truly important, whether it be trade, missionary activity, or martyrdom.

In contrast to the former approaches, George Elison emphasized the active role that Nagasaki had in the historical development of the Christian mission in Japan, dedicating a whole chapter of his abovementioned book, *Deus Destroyed*, to the donation of Nagasaki to the Jesuits, and arguing that the resemblance of Nagasaki to a Japanese temple town (*jinai*) was an important factor that prompted Hideyoshi to issue the 1587 edict expelling the missionaries from Japan. Building on this

¹⁶ (Kataoka 1985; Oliveira e Costa 1998)

¹⁷ (Jimenez 1867; Pérez 1914; Puebla 1989; Tellechea Idígoras 1998; Ruiz de Medina 1999)

¹⁸ (Kataoka 1970, 1979)

¹⁹ (Pacheco 1977; Willeke 1994a)

²⁰ (Nagasakishi 2011)

²¹ (Kataoka 1970)

contribution, an exploration of the historical development of Nagasaki town and its sacred spaces sheds light on the formation, the structure, and the changes of its Christian community, since the spatial perspective that I employ stresses the active role that space itself played in the development of the community.

Recently, later periods of the history of Nagasaki have attracted interest in Japan and abroad, as suggested by the recent publication of a monograph on the foreign settlement in Nagasaki (1854-1945), and the preparation of a revised edition of the multi-volume *Nagasaki-shi* [History of the city of Nagasaki] by the Nagasaki city hall, to be published beginning in 2013.²² Nevertheless, both Japanese and western scholarship lack a comprehensive study on the Nagasaki Christian community. This thesis is the first in-depth study of how the production of space and ritual in Nagasaki town actively shaped the internal dynamics of the Christian community and its relations with the central administration. I will next discuss the theories of space that inform the methodological frame of my research.

Theories of Space

In the last decades researchers in a number of fields have started to integrate theories of space into their methodology. Although most of them engage with spatial theory within a discussion of modernity, different authors understand and use the concept of ‘space’ differently.²³ My understanding of sacred space in early modern Nagasaki is informed by Henri Lefebvre’s definition of ‘social space’ as the space of experience, in which people live, as opposed to ‘representational space’ or geometrical space, as in abstract or ideal spatial representations.²⁴ To look at churches, temples and shrines in this light means to consider how they form and are formed by the actions of religionists (Jesuits and Mendicant missionaries, Buddhists and Shinto priests), the Nagasaki citizens and the local and central authorities, and to take into account the ideologies or policies that moved them. I believe that the construction of churches in Nagasaki cannot be understood without taking into account the Jesuit policy of accommodation or cultural adaptation, while the anti-

²² (Nagasaki City History Compilation Office 2010)

²³ (Hubbard *et al.* 2004)

²⁴ (Lefebvre 1991a, 33)

Christian policy of the Japanese central government is crucial in order to understand the production of temples and shrines in seventeenth-century Nagasaki. Indeed, according to Lefebvre, social space ‘has, after all, been “composed” by people, by well-defined groups’, so that to account for social space, mediators and mediations must be taken into consideration, including action groups as well as ideological factors.²⁵

The distinction between ‘map’ and ‘itinerary’ according to Michel de Certeau is also useful in identifying the mechanisms through which the ‘spatial story’ of this thesis emerged. This distinction originates in de Certeau’s distinction between ‘place’, understood as a static order with fixed positions, where it is not possible for two elements to be in the same location, and ‘space’, understood as a dynamic context, which exists when change, through movement and actions, is taken into consideration. While ‘place’ implies a location of stability in which elements have a ‘proper’ position, practices orient place, situate it, temporalize it, and make it into a ‘space’, ‘a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities’. At the same time, by spatializing place, the stable positions and boundaries of a place might be confirmed, challenged or modified, so that practices, transform places.²⁶

A Christian church in Japan is, as a building, a place, in the sense that the position of certain sacred objects is clearly stipulated, and fixed boundaries establish separate areas. Nevertheless, when ritual is performed in a church, the relationships created through movement, actions and interaction among the participants either confirm or challenge the boundaries. Thus, through ritual, a church becomes a dynamic space, as is argued in chapter 1. On a larger scale, Nagasaki town itself can be taken as a ‘place’, in which various elements (Christian churches, Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines) have specific positions (locations). But the town can likewise be seen as a ‘space’ when exploring the actions and negotiations among the different buildings and their communities that were necessary to make the decision to locate a sacred space in a particular geographical location. Such exploration is the subject of the remaining chapters, 2 through 8.

In accordance with this distinction between place and space, Michel de Certeau classifies verbal spatial descriptions, what he calls ‘spatial stories’, into two

²⁵ (Lefebvre 1991a, 74, 77)

²⁶ (de Certeau 1984, 117)

elementary forms: ‘itinerary’ and ‘map’. An ‘itinerary’ is a discursive series of operations, a description of the actions through which the depicted ‘space’ is organized, while a ‘map’ is a plane projection with totalizing observations that depicts a ‘place’ basically through attributive clauses: ‘there is...’. However, de Certeau considers that maps presuppose or are conditioned by itineraries, since itineraries are in fact the condition of possibility of maps. As an example, he mentions early maps, which conserved reminiscences or traces of the practices — navigation routes, ‘itineraries’, ships— through which they were created and which made them possible, although such reminiscences were gradually erased. Thus, maps are intimately linked to practices, but avoid making them explicit, trying to exhibit only the outcomes of practice or, in his words, the ‘products of knowledge’. Thus ‘maps’, like tables, present a ‘place’, while ‘space’ is better expressed through ‘itineraries’, namely, stories or narrative diagrams, exhibiting the practices and operations at work.²⁷

The concepts of ‘map’ and ‘itinerary’ can illuminate our understanding of how primary and secondary sources describe churches in Japan. On a smaller scale, the description of the interiors of churches and the instructions for ritual in churches point at the relationships established between missionaries and Japanese Christians. On a wider scale, taking primary sources on churches in Japan as ‘spatial stories’ in the de Certeau sense, the ‘Catalogues of the number of churches in Japan’ written at different periods can be considered ‘maps’, since they present Japan as a ‘place’ in which churches have stable positions. Accordingly, marginal notes on how or why churches had been destroyed or newly created can be seen as ‘map reminiscences’ that point to interactions and negotiations between the Christian community and the Japanese central authorities. Likewise, letters, annual reports and historiographical works by the missionaries, which explicitly detail the routes, actions, and negotiations of the missionaries constructing churches, can be seen as ‘itineraries’. Secondary sources have carefully compiled the various synchronic lists and ‘maps’ provided in the Jesuit Catalogues, and have turned the ‘itineraries’ in the missionary narratives into totalizing diachronic maps highlighting the places where churches were constructed. This kind of research has been used to emphasize either the

²⁷ (de Certeau 1984, 120-121)

propagation or the persecution of ‘Christianity’ and proof its success quantitatively, but it fails to show the complex interactions involved around and within churches. I intend to make explicit the ‘itineraries’ behind the ‘maps’ of sacred spaces in Nagasaki as a way to understand the formation and development of this particular Japanese Christian community.

Organization of the thesis

This thesis is structured in eight chapters. The first examines synchronically the role of space and ritual in the production of Christian sacred space in Japan, laying the groundwork for the remaining chapters, which focus on the particular case of the Christian community of Nagasaki port town from 1569 to 1643. The production of churches in Nagasaki and the formation and diachronic development of its Japanese Christian community are explored in chapters two through seven, which are organised chronologically, divided according to relevant turning points for the Christian community or Nagasaki itself. Finally, the eighth and last chapter deals with the production of new spaces in both the enterprise of de-Christianizing Nagasaki by the Japanese authorities and the formation of underground Christian communities, which produced and preserved Christian spaces and rituals secretly.

More specifically, chapter 2 deals with the early years of Nagasaki Christendom, from the first Jesuit mission in Nagasaki ‘castle-village’ (*jōkamura*) in 1567, to the port being opened and the town established with a Christian church as its symbolic centre. The tensions between Nagasaki castle-village and the new Nagasaki port-town (*minatamachi*) characterize the spatial dynamics of the initial period, since Nagasaki village was under the rule of Nagasaki Jinzaemon, a local lord, but the port town was administered by its own citizens. Furthermore, in 1580 Omura Sumitada, the lord of the province, gave the Jesuits jurisdiction over the port town. Chapter 3 explores the changes after 1587, when the most powerful military lord in Japan, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, put Nagasaki port town under his direct control and issued an edict of expulsion of the foreign missionaries, so that the Jesuits abandoned their principal church and residence in the port-town and retired to a peripheral church in the castle-village. Chapter 4 looks at the dynamic decade of the 1590s. The Jesuits

recovered the central church in the town, but their religious monopoly over the population was challenged both by Franciscan missionaries and by the arrival of the first Buddhist preachers. Nevertheless, Jesuit influence remained preeminent and Nagasaki became the centre of the Jesuit mission in Japan. Chapter 5 assesses how, after 1598, Nagasaki also became the centre of the Japanese Church Hierarchy as the See of the Bishop of Japan. A period of instability and political transition (including a war) followed Hideyoshi's death in 1598, but still the Christian community in Nagasaki flourished after 1601.

The complex religious and administrative dynamics made Nagasaki a 'Christian town' are described in chapter 6. New churches were built; the Bishop ordained native Japanese as diocesan priests and implemented the Catholic parish system, with the support of lay confraternities. He also published a Catholic calendar adapted to the Christian community of Nagasaki and a handbook for the administration of sacraments, with the formula translated into Japanese. By 1612 Nagasaki incorporated eleven parishes, and functioned as a Christian city. However, the establishment in Japan of missions belonging to the mendicant orders (Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians) challenged the Jesuit monopoly of the Christian mission and catalysed a confrontation between them, which crystallised in Nagasaki, where each of the orders was in charge of at least one parish church. Chapter 7 analyses the rivalry between the missionary orders, and how those rivalries affected the lay population. When Bishop Luis Cerqueira died in 1614, the internal tensions surfaced dividing the Nagasaki Christian community. In that same year, however, Tokugawa Ieyasu issued a ban on Christianity, which was immediately implemented and gradually systematised by subsequent shoguns.

Finally, chapter 8 deals with the first three decades after the prohibition. All missionaries and some prominent Japanese Christians who refused to apostatize were expelled. All Christian churches in Nagasaki were dismantled and magistrates' offices and Buddhist temples were built in their place. All Nagasaki's inhabitants were forced to apostatize, and new rituals, religious and secular, were imposed upon them to guarantee their affiliation to Buddhism. Thus the Christian community was practically dismembered through systematic searches, executions, expulsions and torture. By 1640 the Christian parish system had been replaced by the Buddhist

danka system, forty-four temples and fifteen shrines had been established, and the *kunchi* festival of the Suwa shrine had become the most important religious and social event of the city. Nagasaki was simply one more Japanese *shinbutsu* town. Nevertheless, some Christians, who had apostatized publicly, secretly organised themselves into underground Christian communities that openly appeared to adopt Buddhist ritual and spaces, but secretly kept their Christian beliefs, transforming Christian ritual and creating new secret Christian places that would be transmitted from generation to generation beyond 1643.

The production of Christian churches in Japan

To set the case of Nagasaki within a broader context this chapter explores the production of Christian churches in Japan. For Christianity to have a place in Japan, to be present in society, it had to be embodied in Christian communities and Christian sacred spaces, especially churches. Thus, by constructing particular places in Japan, Christianity penetrated into Japanese society. As Henri Lefebvre notes,

What would remain of a religious ideology [...] if it were not based on places and their names [...]? What would remain of the Church if there were no churches? [...] The answer is nothing, for the Church does and can not guarantee its endurance otherwise.²⁸

The role of churches is crucial in order to understand the formation of Christian communities because the church was the symbolic centre, where communal ritual took place.²⁹ As Lefebvre points out, social space ensures the continuity and cohesion of a society.³⁰ To better understand the production and reproduction of Christian sacred space, in this chapter I will first identify the characteristic elements of Christian churches in Japan and then analyse the factors involved in their location and sacralisation.

1.1 Construction

What we can know about churches in early modern Japan is limited by the available information, since reliable sources are scarce. Narrative sources provide only scattered and incomplete descriptions of the external and internal appearance of

²⁸ (Lefebvre 1991b, 44)

²⁹ On the concept of 'centre' and its role in the construction of communities I follow Shils (1961) and Cohen (1985).

³⁰ (Lefebvre 1991b, 33)

churches.³¹ Two different kinds of visual sources should be noted. One is the artistic works depicting Christian churches and residences in Japan, like the so-called *Nanban* folding screens, and the fan depicting the Jesuit church built in Kyoto in 1575. However, these do not seem to be reliable since the authorship and sources of these works are obscure.³² The other kind is a few early modern Japanese maps recording the location of Christian churches in Japanese towns, but these do not provide any details on the church buildings themselves. Most of the churches were accidentally burned or deliberately dismantled under the anti-Christian Tokugawa policy, so that archaeological data is very rare, and even when available, very fragmented.³³ Therefore, it has so far been impossible to entirely reconstruct any particular church (measures, layout, orientation, materials, distribution, inner structure, decoration, and so on), although further evidence and the potential offered by new technologies could make it possible to reconstruct Japanese early modern churches either virtually or materially in the near future.³⁴

The extant data on the churches of Nagasaki will be assessed in the following chapters. Here, in order to provide general context and identify the main elements of Christian sacred space in early modern Japan features I will reconstruct an ideal model for Japanese churches using the available sources. The instructions for missionaries in Japan written by the highest Jesuit authority in Japan, the Visitor Father Alessandro Valignano, make it possible to establish a template for churches built by Jesuits in Japan. Furthermore, the partial descriptions of specific churches scattered in missionary records allow us to recognise certain commonalities in the layout and the basic elements of churches. Finally, pictorial representations such as folding screens are useful because they provide a lot of details and when contrasted

³¹ Schütte (1968, 447-752) compiled the information on churches available in Jesuit documents.

³² (Ebisawa 1971c)

³³ The recent discovery of remains of the Santo Domingo church in Nagasaki is very exceptional. The church was dismantled in 1615 and in 1619 the residence of the newly appointed bailiff (*daikan yashiki*) was built on top of the remains. The objects belonging to the residence outnumber those of the Christian church, but part of the foundations, the stoned floor, the tiles of the roof and small objects like medals have allowed a partial reconstruction of the layout of the main building. (Nagasaki City Cultural Property 2011; Nagasakiken 2011)

³⁴ The discovery of an old map and archaeological findings of the lord's residence allowed a computer graphics reconstruction of the old town of Funai (Suzuki 2003, 2009). Unfortunately these websites are no longer active, but some images are available (Inoue 2004). In the last decade, the Nagasaki *bugyō yashiki* in Mount Tateyama has been restored and since 2006 hosts the Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture (Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture 2011). Some of the buildings of the VOC Factory in Deshima have also been restored and host several museums (Nagasaki City 2011).

against missionary narrative sources indicate which church elements were perceived as fundamental or distinctive from the Japanese point of view.³⁵

The first Christian mission in Japan was established by Francis Xavier in 1549. Initially, Jesuits had few resources and so they accepted the donation of abandoned Buddhist temples and transformed them into churches.³⁶ Very soon, though, to differentiate their doctrine from Buddhism, they searched for ways to build churches *de novo*, or accepted the donation of temples but dismantled them and reused their timber to build churches anew. The first fully-fledged policy on church building was drawn up three decades later by Alessandro Valignano, who first arrived in Japan in 1579 as the Jesuit Visitor Father. His position required him to supervise all Jesuit missions in Asia and gave him the highest authority there, as the representative of the General Father of the Society of Jesus, based in Rome. Valignano is known for his initial fascination (and later disappointment) with Japan and the Japanese, and for being a man with vision.³⁷ Indeed, he fully reorganised the Jesuit mission in Japan and it was there where he first introduced his innovative ideas and missionary principles, which later would be developed in China by Matteo Ricci.³⁸

He developed a missionary method that is known in missiology as the ‘accommodative method’, aimed at enhancing the missionary policy and solving the economic, organizational, and social problems of the Jesuit Japanese mission. The basic principle for the missionaries was to adapt to the native culture as much as possible.³⁹ After leaving Japan in 1583, Valignano synthesised the method’s main points in a document entitled *Advertimentos*, which was circulated among the missionaries in Japan. The four final paragraphs of the seventh chapter, entitled ‘on how to proceed on the construction of our houses and churches’, contain the only known guidelines on the construction of churches in Japan.⁴⁰ To reconstruct the general pattern of a Christian church in Japan, in this section I will synthesise the

³⁵ On the recent use of folding screens (*byōbu*) as sources in social sciences because of the amount of details provided in them see Hesselink (2004, 179)

³⁶ (Bailey 2001, 58)

³⁷ Valignano’s reports on Japan were edited by Alvarez Taladriz (1954b, 1954a) and his contribution to the Japanese mission has been studied thoroughly (Schütte 1980; Moran 1993; Ross 1994; Lisón Tolosana 2005)

³⁸ (Betray 1955; Bésineau 2003)

³⁹ (Schütte 1980; Elison 1991a)

⁴⁰ (Schütte 1946, 270-81)

theoretical principles by Valignano and contrast them against the information on particular churches available in missionary letters.

The introduction of accommodative principles in architecture was more important than it may seem at first and went beyond merely stylistic concerns, since it made it possible to adopt certain Japanese customs and etiquette requirements. Valignano's principles on the building of new houses and churches prescribed that the style of the buildings had to be Japanese, native carpenters and workers had to be consulted and contracted for the planning and building process, and a plan of the building had to be sent to the Provincial father for approval.⁴¹ Specific indications for churches were as follows:

In the churches the main choir and high altar were to extend along one of the shorter sides following the European custom and not along the longer side, as in Japanese temples, because it is not convenient to imitate them on the shape of the churches, since theirs are Satan's synagogues and ours are churches of God. However, there must be on both sides of the choir, after the Japanese pattern, special *zashiki*⁴² for ladies and gentlemen of high rank; these which could be connected with the church by opening the sliding doors.

All churches should have a courtyard in front with verandas after the Japanese manner, and in front of the veranda, in a suitable place under a protective roof, a basin with water, where people could clean their feet if necessary; further off, there should be proper and clean toilette rooms.

Near the church building itself some *zashiki* should be provided where ladies can be received according to their rank without their having to pass the missionaries' house.⁴³ [my translation]

It is difficult to translate some of the expressions referred to the location of the altar, so that a very simple schematic representation might be more effective in conveying the layout proposed by Valignano (figure 1.1).

⁴¹ (Schütte 1946, 270,280)

⁴² Japanese-style rooms, with *tatami* floors

⁴³ (Schütte 1946, 270-81)

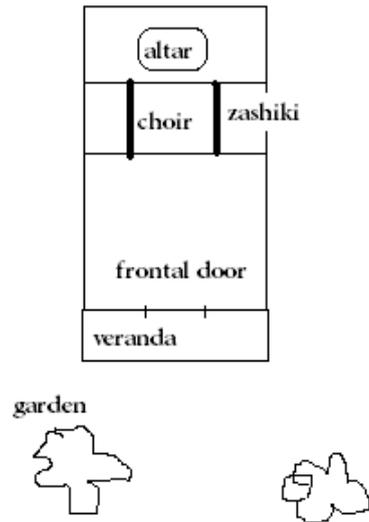


Figure 1.1 Outline by the author of Valignano’s principles on churches’ layout

By saying that ‘the style of the building’ had to be Japanese Valignano probably meant that architectural style and techniques should be Japanese rather than European. In Japan, most buildings were made of timber, with tiled roofs and with elevated floors, *tatami* floors, sliding doors and a surrounding veranda. Gardens were highly appreciated in Japan and most of the temples, especially Zen temples, often had several gardens, or at least one in front of the meditation hall (figure 1.2). This contrasts with churches in Europe, which were customarily made of stone. The Jesuits in particular had developed a characteristic baroque style of their own, epitomised by their main church in Rome, Il Gesù (figure 1.3), built between 1568 and 1574, which set the model for Jesuit architecture thereafter in Europe and abroad, for instance in Goa, India and Macao, China (figures 1.4).⁴⁴

⁴⁴ (Rodríguez G. de Ceballos 1967; Hernán Gomez Prieto 1978; Lucas 1997)



Figure 1.2 Photograph by Eveyln Hockstein of the Tenryūji temple in Kyoto

Source: Travel Guides, *The New York Times Online*, <http://travel.nytimes.com/travel/guides/asia/japan/kyoto/78859/tenryu-ji-shigetsu/restaurant-detail.html> accessed 3 January 2011

In Japan, however, churches were built by native carpenters and builders according to the Japanese building techniques and style. This ‘Japanese style’ differentiated Jesuit from Mendicant churches in Japan. In Nagasaki, for instance, as noted below, the Spanish Mendicant orders built their churches and residences of stone in ‘Spanish style’, whereas the Jesuits built all their churches of timber following Japanese techniques. More than architectural style was at stake in this choice. Jesuits in Japan lacked the material and human resources available at the Portuguese colonies in Goa and Macao, and the fact that both the sponsors and builders of churches were Japanese must have had an influence. In addition, the effort to ‘Japanize’ space and especially sacred space was crucial to implement the Jesuit missionary method based on cultural adaptation, which required the missionaries to fulfil Japanese etiquette requirements and to integrate certain Japanese customs in the performance of ritual. For instance, the introduction of sliding doors in the church choir allowed the segregation of the elite from the populace within the church, while separate ‘reception’ rooms allowed the Jesuits to entertain visitors in the Japanese manner, which might involve *sakatsuki*, the ritual consumption of drink and food, but preserved the sacred space from such ‘mundane’ social practices.



Figure 1.3 Photograph of 'Il Gesù', the Church of Jesus in Rome built 1568-74

Source: *Home Page of the Church of the Gesù in Rome* http://www.chiesadelgesu.org/html/img_0060_it.html accessed 30 November 2010



Figure 1.4 Photograph of the Church of the Good Jesus in Goa built in 1594

Source: *Church News*, 1 April 2010 <http://www.churchnewssite.com/portal/?p=14027> accessed 30 November 2010



Figure 1.5 Graphic Reconstruction by Suzuki Shin'ichi of the town of Funai
 Source: *Neo Ōita*, 4 (44) <http://www.pref.oita.jp/10400/neoaita/vol144/special.html>
 accessed 22 February 2011

Scattered references to Jesuit churches built before Valignano created his principles can be found in early missionary letters.⁴⁵ It seems that some of Valignano's instructions were already common practice in the early Jesuit mission, like the building of churches using Japanese materials and techniques with the help of Japanese carpenters. This was the case of a church in Funai built in 1556. Ōtomo Sōrin, one of the most powerful lords of Bungo Province in northern Kyūshū, donated a plot of land and a few houses near his residence to the Jesuits, and with the timber of those houses they built a church (figure 1.5).

Missionaries reported that local Christians helped with the dismantling and rebuilding works.⁴⁶ There are no references however to separate spaces for the elites within early churches or to reception rooms, which were later incorporated, for instance in Nagasaki.⁴⁷ The introduction of screens between nobles and commoners within the church and of adjacent rooms to entertain visits in the Japanese fashion probably respond to Valignano's awareness of the importance of social hierarchy and

⁴⁵ (Ruiz de Medina 1990, 1995)

⁴⁶ Gaspar Vilela, Letter dated 29 October 1557 and Cosme de Torres, Letter dated 7 November 1557 (Ruiz de Medina 1990, 681, 735)

⁴⁷ Francisco Rodriguez, Annual report 1601 (Pacheco 1977, 55)

etiquette in Japanese society, and were meant to quarry the favour of the elites, as part of the Jesuit strategy to convert Japan ‘from above’, which can be seen already in Francis Xavier, the founder of the Japanese mission.⁴⁸

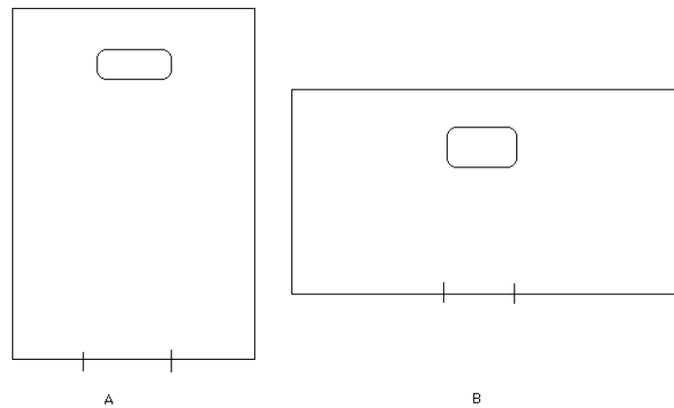


Figure 1.6 Schematic floor plan by the author of churches (A) and Buddhist temples (B) as described by Valignano

Valignano emphasised the fact that, although churches had to be built in Japanese style, the floor plan had to be similar to that of European churches, as a way to differentiate churches from Buddhist temples. Rectangular Christian churches should have the frontal entrance on one of the shorter sides with the altar placed at the far opposite end as opposed to oblong Buddhist temples with the entrance in one of the longer sides of the rectangle (figure 1.6).

Early Jesuit letters mention the use of Buddhist temples and, although no changes of the floor plan layout are explicitly reported, missionaries usually rebuilt at the earliest opportunity. In March 1551 the Jesuits in Yamaguchi were given permission to occupy the Daidōji, an abandoned Buddhist temple. Letters say that in 1552 the building was destroyed by a fire, after which the missionaries recovered the property and built a new residence, a church, and a cemetery. However, sources do not specify the layout of the new church or the former temple building.⁴⁹ The first Jesuits to preach in Nagasaki village also were given an old temple building, and within a year they dismantled and rebuilt it into a church.⁵⁰ It is most likely that,

⁴⁸ Francis Xavier, Letter dated 22 June 1549 (Zubillaga 1996, 336)

⁴⁹ Cosme de Torres, Letter dated 29 September 1551, Juan Fernandez, Letter dated 20 October 1551, and Duarte da Silva, Letter dated 10 September 1555 (Ruiz de Medina 1990, 373-375)

⁵⁰ Gaspar Vilela, Letter dated 4 February 1571 (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 284)

when given the opportunity to build a church from scratch, Jesuits designed oblong church floor plans with the front door in the shorter side, but from the extant sources it is difficult to ascertain whether Valignano's remark was corroboration and theoretical sanction of previous common practice, or whether, on the contrary, his insistence was due to the fact that the layout of early Jesuit churches resembled that of Buddhist temples. What seems clear is that Valignano's principles reveal his understanding of the architecture of sacred spaces as a powerful means to adapt Christianity to Japanese cultures and at the same time to differentiate it from Buddhism.

The initial use of Buddhist terminology to disseminate Christian doctrine in Japanese had led Buddhist monks to take the Society of Jesus as a 'new' Buddhist school.⁵¹ As soon as Jesuits missionaries became aware of this, far before the arrival of the Father Visitor, they resolved to use Latin terms for the main Christian concepts.⁵² Valignano proposed that Jesuits in Japan adopt ranks and clothing inspired in those of Japanese Zen Buddhist monks, who were most respected in Japanese society, but this was only a formal compromise strategically aimed at raising the status and respectability of the missionaries. In things seen as essential, such as doctrinal terminology and the layout of sacred space, it was crucial to make Christianity distinct from Buddhism. Keeping the characteristic layout of churches differentiated Christianity from Buddhism at first sight in a way that was intelligible even to the illiterate. It is a clear and almost literal example of Valignano's principle of changing the form while maintaining the essence.

The ideal model of a church in early modern Japan could be further refined if there were extant plans of actual churches, but it is unlikely that early modern Japanese construction plans for churches will ever be found. Japanese carpenters considered building techniques to be extremely important and only transmitted them orally, at least until the seventeenth century, and never made them explicit in the plans, which were in fact very rough schemes indicating proportions and little else, and were not usually preserved.⁵³ Especially, temples and shrines construction techniques were learned through apprenticeship so that no written sources are

⁵¹ (App 1997-1998)

⁵² (Kaiser 1996)

⁵³ (Tadgell 2000, 25)

extant.⁵⁴ Moreover, although Valignano obliged missionaries to send the plans of the church to the Provincial Father for approval before construction, there are no references to such plans in missionary sources.⁵⁵ Either the missionaries did not comply with Valignano in this particular procedure or, if they did, the plans were neither sent abroad nor even mentioned, either because they were not seen as important, or because Jesuits in Japan were unsure about the reaction of Rome to their innovative methods of cultural adaptation.

Without extant contemporary plans, cross sections or elevations of early modern Japanese churches, or pictures or drawings by missionaries, the only visual sources to compare against the narrative missionary sources, are Japanese art works depicting Christian churches in Japan. Although the authorship of most of the *nanban* folding screens is unknown, two are signed by painters of the Kanō lineage.⁵⁶ The Kanō school was based in Kyoto at the time and must have painted the Nagasaki landscape based on hearsay or memory, but they provide at least some material with which to grasp the Japanese perception of Christian churches in Japan. Some folding screens depicting scenes of the coming of the Portuguese depict Christian churches with missionaries inside or in front of them (figure 1.7).⁵⁷ Japanese churches are indeed represented as Japanese-style wooden buildings resembling Zen temples, with unpainted dark wooden columns, white walls and ‘bell-shaped’ windows, often with two or three floors (figures 1.7 and 1.8), which was not a common characteristic of Zen temples.

⁵⁴ (Hays 2011)

⁵⁵ Archivists of the Jesuit Historical Archive in Rome confirmed that no church have been found among the more than thirty volumes of documents related to the Japanese mission.

⁵⁶ (Bailey 2001, 79)

⁵⁷ (Sakamoto 2008, 325)



Figure 1.7 Folding screen attributed to Kanō Sanraku depicting a Jesuit church
Source: Suntory Museum http://www.suntory.com/culture-sports/sma/collections/1_1-2.html
accessed 20 February 2012



Figure 1.8 Folding fan screen attributed to Kanō Sōshū depicting a Jesuit church
Source: Kobe City Museum, <http://www.city.kobe.lg.jp/culture/culture/institution/museum/meihin/045.html> accessed 16 March 2011

In a set of folding screens kept in the Kobe city Art Museum (figure 1.9) three separate buildings connected by corridors can be seen, defined through different activities: a residence in which the missionaries live, teach and/or study, a church in which to perform ritual, and a reception room in which to entertain visitors. This seems to indicate that Valignano's recommendation of adjacent rooms in which to receive guests according to Japanese etiquette was indeed implemented.

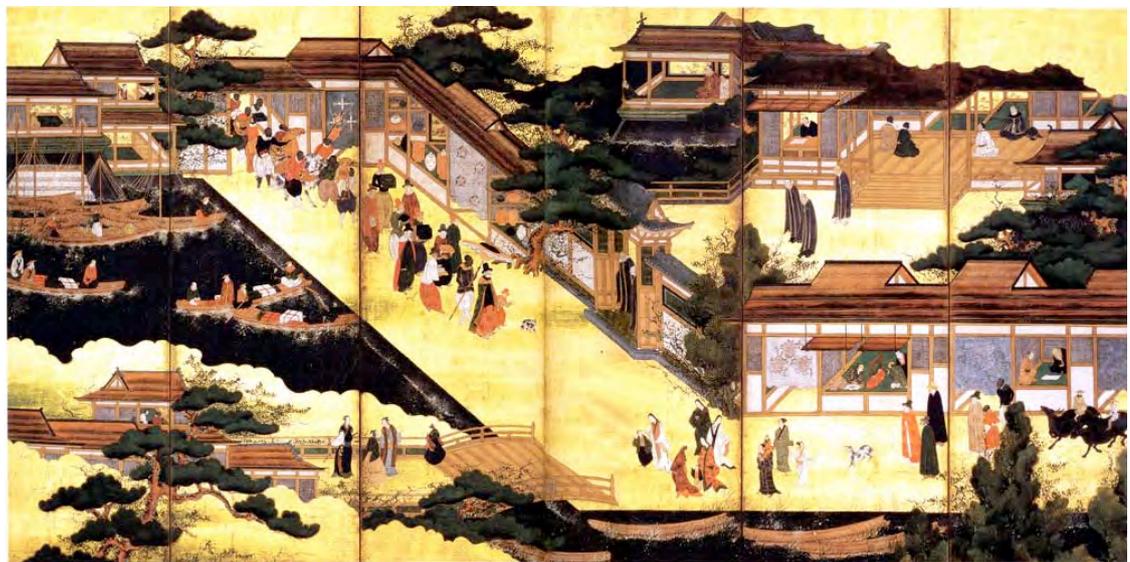


Figure 1.9 Folding screens depicting a Jesuit church

Source: National Museum of Japanese History <http://www.rekihaku.ac.jp/english/publication/rekihaku/122witness.html> accessed 16 January 2011



Figure 1.10 Folding screens attributed to Kanō Naizen depicting a Jesuit church

Source: Kobe City Museum, Selection of Masterpieces, Nanban Art, <http://www.city.kobe.lg.jp/>

The prescribed garden appears repeatedly in the *nanban* folding screens depicting churches in Japan, often represented by a single pine tree at the front of the church (figures 1.9 and 1.10) or by palm trees (figures 1.7 and 1.8). Also present in most screens is a cross at the top of the roof (figures 1.7, 1.9 and 1.10). Valignano did not mention the cross in his *Advertimentos*, but missionary letters occasionally report the erection of crosses in church compounds. Sometimes they were placed in the garden, like the one Takayama Ukon erected in Takatsuki on top of three steps surrounded by flowers and trees.⁵⁸ In Nagasaki, the Dominican missionaries erected crosses in the inner garden of the church of Santo Domingo and in their vegetable garden.⁵⁹ However, the location was not always specified.⁶⁰ Therefore, written sources do not confirm the cross on top of the roof as commonplace, but the fact that crosses are repeatedly used to depict churches suggests that even non-Christian Japanese identified the cross as a Christian symbol and associated it with Christian sacred space.

⁵⁸ (Laures 1954, 66)

⁵⁹ (de Ávila Girón 1615, 247v)

⁶⁰ (Kataoka 1938, 454-459; Ruiz de Medina 1990, 418-419)



Figure 1.11 Detail of figure 1.10

Most of the folding screens depict the churches with the main doors open, following the traditional pictorial convention for displaying interiors.⁶¹ Inside the churches, several objects and utensils for Christian ritual are depicted, like altars, paintings and candles (figure 1.11). The altar is located at the opposite end, in the innermost part of the church. Therefore, although in most *nanban byōbu* it is difficult to discern the length of the front and side walls, from the orientation of the tiled roof it does seem that the floor plan of the depicted churches followed Valignano's precepts.

1.2 Location

In Japan, the location and orientation of shrines or temples is determined from sacred scriptures, by revelation of the divine realm through dreams, or by communication with supernatural or cosmic forces through divination. The mechanisms involved in such processes have been studied by Allan Grapard, who

⁶¹ (Mason 1993, 127)

calls them ‘Geosophy’, since they involve the construction of an epistemology of space.⁶² The location of the earliest *kami* shrines, was originally bound to natural settings where *kami* dwelt, usually waterfalls, wells, forests, mountains, etc. When Buddhism was introduced to Japan in sixth century, temples were located where *kami* shrines had stood, or built with timber from trees within shrine complexes.⁶³ Many aspects of Chinese culture were introduced to Japan, such as orientation principles based on Ying Yang theories (*onmyōdō*), which were also used to identify favourable locations for political and religious institutions. The headquarters of the Tendai school, the Enryaku-ji temple was located in Mount Hiei, a mountain to the North West of Kyoto, a protective position according to *onmyōdō* principles, which also determined the location of the headquarters of the Shingon school at the top of Mount Koya.⁶⁴

In the early Christian tradition there are numerous cases in which churches were built at the sites of ‘pagan’ shrines.⁶⁵ In the medieval ages, miraculous stories claiming that the location of a given church had been revealed by Christ or a Saint flourished in Europe but these are not comparable to the sophisticated Japanese techniques mentioned above. Rather than an *a priori* condition for the location of sacred space, or an epistemology of place, Christians justified *a posteriori* the socio-political and economical criteria of the communities or individuals involved. As Jonathan Z. Smith argues, in the Christian tradition it is the reproduction of a systematic structure and ritual cycle that allows the construction of sacred space in any location. His study of the process of construction of the very first Christian church, the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, concludes that the symbolisation of the sepulchre of Christ in the altar and the systematisation of the ritual cycle in a liturgical calendar allowed for the detachment of Christian ritual from the geographical sites of the Christian historical narrative. Thereafter, churches could be constructed at any given place, arbitrarily, in contrast to the site-specificity of location in other religious traditions.⁶⁶

⁶² (Grapard 1994, 376-382)

⁶³ (Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003) PAGE

⁶⁴ (Tanabe 1999, 354-356)

⁶⁵ (Hanson 1978, 257)

⁶⁶ (Smith 1987, 47-118)

In Japan, evidence suggests that the location of churches depended on socio-political factors rather than transcendental or mythical ones. The location of particular churches was neither determined *a priori* nor justified *a posteriori* by appealing either to the divine will's manifestation or to the sacredness of a particular place itself, although, in general, missionary writings attributed the successes and failures of the Christians' endeavours in Japan either to the will of God or to the interference of the Devil.⁶⁷ In other words, in contrast to the traditional Japanese process of determining the location of sacred space—or at least the discourse about it—, Christians in Japan did not claim that the specific location of a church was determined by the sacred realm, nor was the location what determined the sacredness of churches. Following Smith's classification, the location of Christian churches in Japan was clearly 'arbitrary', while that of Japanese temples and shrines was 'specific', although ultimately this difference applies to religious discourse about sacred space and placement practices rather than to the nature of actual places.

In Japan churches were built in places where the missionaries were able to gain access and obtain the permission of local authorities and the support of the population. Initially, access, permission and support were intimately related for the Jesuits. The first Jesuit churches were established in the Japanese port towns in Kyūshū, where they disembarked from Chinese junks or Portuguese carracks. Since the Jesuit missionaries acted as mediators in the commercial exchanges with the Portuguese carracks, local Japanese lords were keen to foster the establishment of churches in their territories, as has often been claimed.⁶⁸

At first, it was not easy for the missionaries to obtain plots of land outside those territories controlled by local military lords who fostered Christianity or were interested in trade with the Portuguese, but as the missionaries' awareness and understanding of the Japanese political milieu increased, they negotiated the location of churches in towns or villages they perceived to be centres of power. Kyoto soon attracted the missionaries' attention, despite the weakness of the imperial institution at the time and the devastating effect of the civil wars; the city was still a symbolic

⁶⁷ Missionaries attributed the success or failure of their endeavours to either God or the Devil, not only in their internal letters and reports, as can be seen in Francis Xavier's letters (Zubillaga 1996, 330, 334) but also in historical works (Wicki 1976-84, vol.2 192-194, vol.3 46-47, 57 and vol.5 423-424).

⁶⁸ (Steichen 1903, 17-18; Takase 1993, 122)

centre for the Japanese, the imperial palace and Buddhist institutions like the five Rinzai temples (*gozan*) and the Enryaku-ji still powerful political and religious symbols. Francis Xavier, the founder of the Japanese mission, approached the imperial court and the Buddhist elite in Kyoto as early as 1550, although unsuccessfully. In fact, it was not until 25 years later that the Jesuits, after numerous attempts, were finally able to build a church in Kyoto.⁶⁹

The construction of the first church in Kyoto involved long negotiations between the missionaries and the powerful Japanese Christians on one side, and the authorities, the military powers, and the non-Christian population on the other. Oda Nobunaga, the most powerful lord at the time, having subdued Kyoto in 1568, granted an interview to the Portuguese Jesuit Luis Frois on the bridge of the Nijō Castle on Easter, 1569. They agreed to issue patents allowing the fathers to maintain a mission residence in Kyoto, but it was not until 1575 that the missionaries were able to acquire a plot of land in Upper Kyoto.⁷⁰ Once the church construction works started, problems arose because the local population opposed the building of the 'foreign temple' (*nanbandera*) because of its height. The locals complained that since the church was a three-storied building, the priests and foreign men who visited them would be able to observe the women in the neighbourhood, which was unacceptable according to local custom.⁷¹ This episode might be seen as one more case of hostility against Christian missionaries in Kyoto due to the influence of Buddhism in the imperial city, but in this case the building's characteristics played a central role in the conflict.

Most significant is the fact that Alessandro Valignano, the Jesuit Father Visitor, who restructured the Japanese mission, initially planned to establish the Jesuit children's school (*seminario*) for central Japan in Kyoto, but when visiting Oda Nobunaga's residence in 1581, Valignano realised that Nobunaga's castle and castle-town in Azuchi was Japan's centre of *de facto* power and decided to establish the *seminario* there, close to Oda Nobunaga's castle.⁷² Later, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi emerged as his successor, and erected a castle in Ōsaka in 1583, the

⁶⁹ (Wicki 1976-84)

⁷⁰ (Elison 1991c, 25-26; Lamers 2000, 171)

⁷¹ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.1 205)

⁷² (Murakami 1943, 372-373; Schütte 1980, vol.1 122-129)

Jesuits obtained a plot of land near the castle and permission to build a church.⁷³ The Jesuits even wished to establish a church and a mission base in Tokyo, called Edo at the time, where the Tokugawa shogun resided. The Jesuit Viceprovincial Father Francisco Pasio visited the shogun in 1607 and obtained his favour and protection for the Japanese Christians and the Jesuits, but they were not allowed to build churches in Edo.⁷⁴ The Mendicant orders, in contrast to the Jesuits, sought to convert Japan from below, but in fact they depended as well on the favour of the Japanese central and local authorities. Franciscans built their first churches near the castle-towns of Fushimi (1602-1614) and Edo (1603-1611).⁷⁵

On a local scale, most churches were located at the foot of the walls of a military lord's fortress or in the adjacent castle-towns. Christian missionaries in the Portuguese colonies in India and the Spanish colonies of Mexico and the Philippines benefitted from the sponsorship and protection of European forces, but in Japan they depended on the Japanese central and local authorities, which affected the placement of churches as well. Churches were either placed in territories donated by or belonging to local military lords who guaranteed protection, or on the seacoast, so that missionaries could flee at short notice in case of danger, as was the case in early Jesuit churches like Hakata, Yokoseura, Ikutsushima and Shimabara.⁷⁶

Christian lords who erected churches or chapels for the private use of their family and vassals, kept them within or next to their residences. In 1556 Ōtomo Sōrin, lord of Funai, gave timber for a church to be built near his residence, as said above (figures 1.5 and 1.12). Yūki Saemonnojō, in 1563 asked father Vilela to be baptized in Nara and erected a church at the foot of his fortress, the Iimori Castle.⁷⁷ Dario Ukon built a chapel in mount Takayama, where his mother wanted to be buried. His son Takayama Ukon, a good military strategist and prolific architect of castles, undertook the planning and the provision of materials and labour force for the construction of churches in all the places where he lived (Sawa, Akashi, Echizen, Kaga).⁷⁸ Some churches were built besides castles or fortresses, like the above-

⁷³ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 35-36)

⁷⁴ (Guerreiro 1609, 132-133)

⁷⁵ (Willeke 1994d, 37-38, 140)

⁷⁶ (Bailey 2001, 59)

⁷⁷ (Laures 1942, 89-90)

⁷⁸ (Kataoka 1938, 454-459)

mentioned Jesuit churches built in 1580 between the Azuchi castle and the Biwa Lake, and others even behind the ramparts, like the ones in Okayama and Sawa.⁷⁹ The Jesuit church built in September 1583 near Osaka castle was even fortified and protected by a moat, as was the main church of Nagasaki.⁸⁰ Mendicants also built churches in castle-towns, like the Franciscan church in Fushimi (1602) and the Dominican church in Saga (1606) (figure 1.13).⁸¹

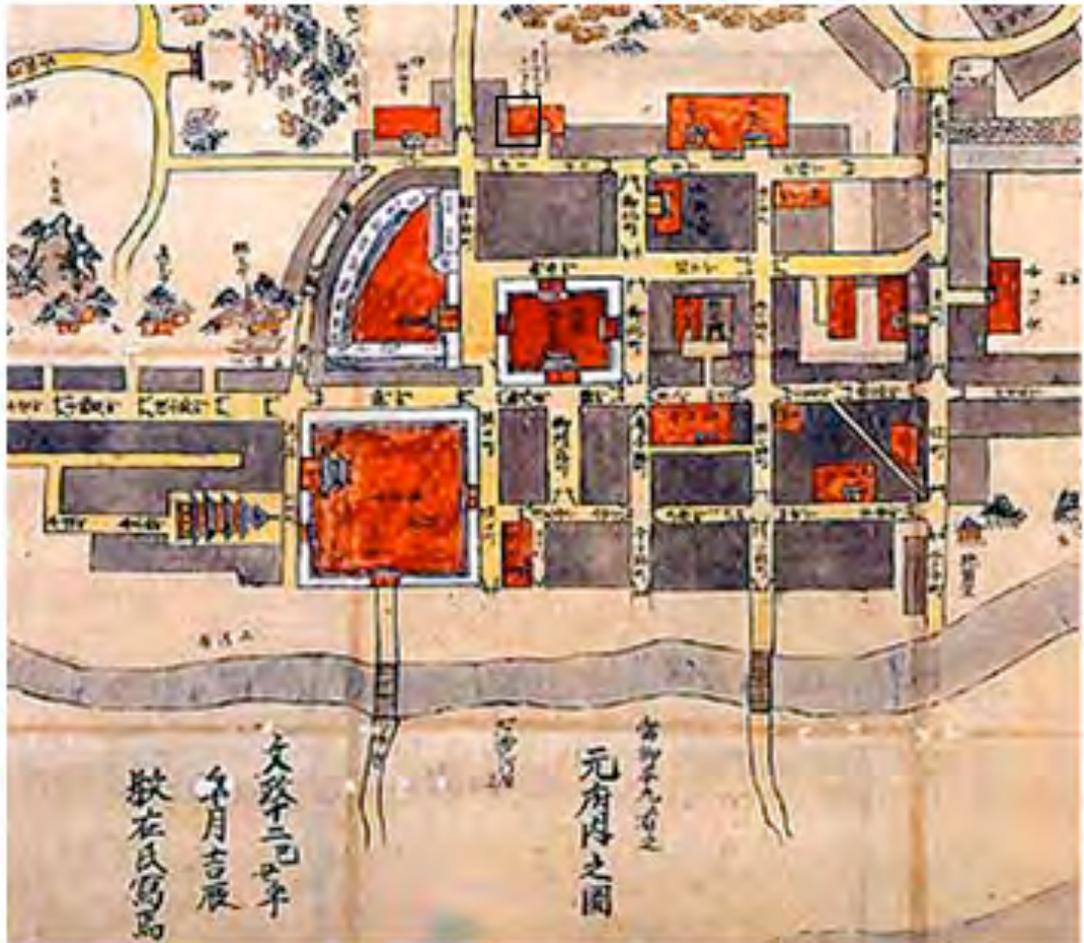


Figure 1.12 Old map of Funai, Ōita City Historical Museum

The site of the church is coloured in red in the original map and marked with a black frame (my emphasis). Source: *Bungo kōko tsūshin*, <http://www.oct-net.ne.jp/~tsubones> accessed 2 February 2011

⁷⁹ (Bailey 2001, 59)

⁸⁰ (Laures 1954, 168)

⁸¹ (Muñoz 1965, 68; Willeke 1994b, 39)



Figure 1.13 Detail of a map of Saga in the Keichō period, Nabeshima Chokokan Museum
 ‘Nanban-dera’ (‘temple of the southern barbarians’) is written in Chinese characters in the site of the Dominican church of San Pablo, marked with a red frame (my emphasis) Source: *Nagasaki kaidō*, <http://www2.saga-ed.jp/school/edq10103/nagasaki-kaidou/kaidou1.html> accessed 24 February 2011

In sum, it seems clear that the main factors determining the location of Christian churches in Japan were socio-political. Churches did not owe their sacredness to the natural features of the geographic site in which they were located, like Japanese temples and shrines. It was the performance of ritual that turned a church into a sacred space, to which we now turn.

1.3 Sacralisation

The completion of the building of a church is usually marked by the dedication ritual and the celebration of the first mass. This is a crucial moment in the production of Christian sacred space, since it distinguishes churches from non-sacred space and enables the regular performance of ritual in them. According to Catholic liturgy a church building becomes sacred through the dedication or consecration

ritual, after which a church is ready to host the celebration of Mass and other divine offices.⁸² The *Pontificale Romanum* says:

Both by consecration and by blessing a church is dedicated to Divine worship, which forbids its use for common or profane purposes. Consecration is a rite reserved to a bishop, who by the solemn anointing with holy chrism, and in the prescribed form, dedicates a building to the service of God, thereby raising it *in perpetuum* to a higher order, removing it from the malign influence of Satan, and rendering it a place in which favours are more graciously granted by God.⁸³

The exact details of the Consecration ritual vary according to time and place, but it usually involves the consecration of the main altar of the church—including fasting and abstinence during the vigil on the eve of the ceremony and the translation and laying of relics in the altar— together with the preaching of sermons and the recitation of prayers.⁸⁴ Nowadays the blessing of a church may be performed by a priest and is a less solemn rite, consisting in the sprinkling of holy water and the recital of prayers. This makes it a sacred place, although not permanently; consecration must still be performed by a bishop and makes a church sacred *in perpetuum*.⁸⁵ Given this distinction, the early Japanese churches must have been simply blessed rather than consecrated, since no bishop set foot in the Japanese mission until 1596.⁸⁶ In Nagasaki, however, there are a few cases in which it is appropriate to talk of consecration, since Bishop Luis Cerqueira celebrated the first mass in the new building of the Church of the Assumption of Nagasaki in 1601 and in the enlarged church of Saint Mary in Mount Tateyama in 1603 according to the *Pontifical* ritual, specifically for popes and bishops.⁸⁷

There are several Catholic rituals during the construction process, such as the blessing of the land before construction works begin, the ritual laying and blessing of the corner stone, the dedication of the church to a patron saint, and the celebration of

⁸² The Council of Trent (Session XXII) established that Mass should not be celebrated in any place except a consecrated or blessed church (Schulte 1908).

⁸³ *Pontificale Romanum* (Schulte 1908)

⁸⁴ (Schulte 1908)

⁸⁵ (Schulte 1908)

⁸⁶ (Schütte 1967)

⁸⁷ (de Ávila Girón 1615, 250v; Pacheco 1977, 55-56)

the first Mass. It is difficult to ascertain what was involved in the dedication of churches in Japan, because missionaries tend to obviate details about the rituals, but it undoubtedly involved the celebration of mass. In ancient times and until the Council of Trent churches were blessed simply through the celebration of mass.⁸⁸ There is an extant compilation of Gospel readings to be read during mass through the whole liturgical year translated into Japanese and written by Father Manoel Barreto in romanized Japanese in 1591.⁸⁹ The fact that the Gospel reading for the twenty-fifth Sunday after Pentecost (Luc, 19 1-10) was to be used on the occasion of the dedication of a church, confirms the idea that mass was celebrated, although no indications are given on how the ritual was to be performed (figure 1.14).⁹⁰

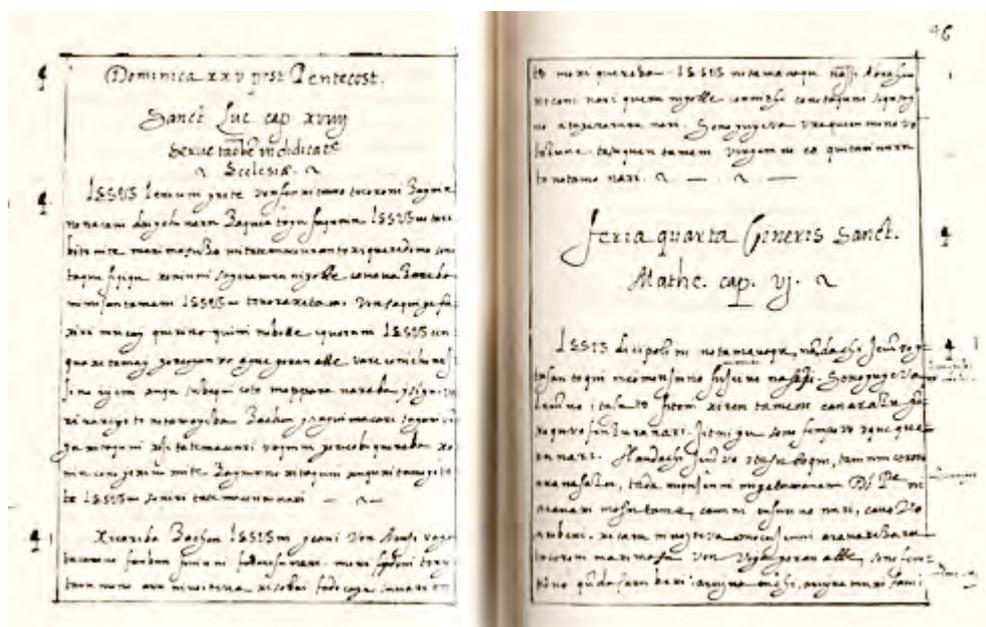


Figure 1.14 Facsimile of the so-called Barreto manuscript kept at the Vatican Library

The heading in the left page reads ‘25th Sunday after Pentecost (Luc, 19) To be used as well for the dedication of a church’ combining Latin and Portuguese, and the Japanese translation in Roman script of the corresponding excerpt of the Gospel follows. Source: (Schütte 1962, 94-95)

Ruiz de Medina considers that the erection of a cross in Funai on 22 July 1553 might have marked the completion of the new residence of the Jesuits.⁹¹ Although there are no direct references in the sources, the dedication of new churches may have included the erection of a cross on top of or outside a new church

⁸⁸ (Morrisroe 1908)

⁸⁹ (Kaiser 1996, 11)

⁹⁰ The Barreto Manuscript was discovered in the Vatican Archive by Schütte, who published a facsimile edition with a transliteration in Japanese script (Schütte 1962).

⁹¹ (Ruiz de Medina 1990, 418-419)

and, accordingly, the reading from the Gospel stipulated for 14 September —the date of the liturgy of the Holy Cross— might have also been included in the mass.⁹²

In the Christian tradition, the patron Saint to whom a church is dedicated provides the church with its name. In Japan, the missionaries chose the name of the saints to whom they were most devoted or of the founder of their religious order. They therefore referred to churches by the name of the dedicatee followed by that of the town, village or geographical area, for example ‘Church of Our Lady of the Assumption of Miyako’ or ‘Chapel of Our Lady of Tateyama’ in Nagasaki.⁹³ The dedication of newly built or rebuilt churches took place on the relevant Saint’s Day (Nagasaki, 1571),⁹⁴ or else on Holy Days like Christmas (Osaka, 1583),⁹⁵ Easter, All Souls Day (Funai, 1556),⁹⁶ or relevant days for the history of the Japanese mission, such as the arrival of Francis Xavier to Japan on 25 August (Kyoto in 1576).⁹⁷

An issue that deserves to be discussed is the choice of terms to designate Christian sacred spaces. Missionary letters and reports, as well as published books, consistently use the word for church in the language that they are writing, thus ‘*egreja*’, ‘*iglesia*’, ‘*chiesa*’ and ‘*ecclesia*’ (Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and Latin).⁹⁸ Similarly, the words corresponding to oratory or chapel are used to refer to small churches in which mass is not celebrated regularly, but is used for devotion practices.⁹⁹ In the *Kirishitan Ōurai* (1568), an early manuscript compilation of exemplary letters that the Jesuits used to teach children how to write in epistolary style, ‘church’ is left untranslated so that ‘*ekerenja*’ (恵化連舎) is written with four Chinese characters that render the phonetics of the Latin word ‘*ecclesia*’.¹⁰⁰ In books published in Japanese by the Jesuits, either in the Roman alphabet or Japanese script, also ‘*ekerenja*’ is used for ‘church’ to refer both to particular church buildings and to the Church as a whole, i.e. the Christian community. This was the case in two of the most important books of the Japanese Jesuit press: *Dochiirina Kirishitan* (1590,

⁹² (Schütte 1962, 94-95)

⁹³ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.1 205, 505)

⁹⁴ Gaspar Vilela, Letter dated 4 February 1571 (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 284-285)

⁹⁵ (Laures 1954, 168)

⁹⁶ Baltasar Gago, Letter dated 23 September 1555 (Ruiz de Medina 1990, 556)

⁹⁷ (Ebisawa 1971c, 212; Wicki 1976-84, vol.1 437)

⁹⁸ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.1 433)

⁹⁹ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.1 505)

¹⁰⁰ (Ebisawa 1991, 213)

1600), a synthesis of Christian doctrine to instruct the Japanese, and *Manuale ad Sacramenta Administranda* (1605), a ritual handbook for priests in Latin with Japanese translations of the main formula.¹⁰¹

In contrast to the consistent designation of churches that can be found in missionary sources, most Japanese sources produced outside missionary circles refer to churches with Buddhist terminology like *tera* (temple) preceded by the word ‘*nanban*’ (southern barbarians), which identified the European missionaries and traders as foreigners, thus *nanban-dera* (temple of the Southern Barbarians), and *dō* (worship hall) preceded by the name of the worshipped deity, thus *Deusu-dō* (Hall of Deus), as can be seen in the old Japanese maps shown above (figures 1.12 and 1.13). This seems to suggest that non-Christian Japanese did not necessarily differentiate churches from Buddhist temples, but it seems clear that Christian churches were indeed identified as sacred spaces.

If this were only the case in Japanese sources, one might think that church names were unknown outside Christian circles, but in fact there are also cases of Japanese Christians and even Spanish merchants referring to Christian spaces with Buddhist terms. Takayama Tomoteru, christened Dario, used *jian* to refer to a small chapel built for his mother, which is a Japanese term for a small Buddhist temple or a Buddhist hermitage. We know that Father Vilela dedicated the chapel to Saint Julian, *Sao Jiāo* in Portuguese, which has a phonetic similarity with *jian*.¹⁰² In addition, Bernardino de Ávila Girón, a Catholic Spanish merchant who lived in Nagasaki for more than ten years and supported the Christian missionaries, refers to the churches of Nagasaki as ‘*teras*’ [sic.].¹⁰³ This is probably how the Japanese Christians referred to churches and might be due to the fact that the missionaries themselves had initially referred to churches with Buddhist terms: in the Japanese version of *Salvator Mundi* (1598), one of the definitions of ‘*ecclesia*’ is as ‘the main place, also called *tera* etc.’¹⁰⁴

The principles of sacralisation for Christian churches—as suggested by the Catholic literature and Smith’s historical analysis—did apply to churches in early

¹⁰¹ (Laures 1941, 39)

¹⁰² (Laures 1942, 89-90)

¹⁰³ (Pagès 1869-70)

¹⁰⁴ (Obara 2005, 52)

modern Japan, but the missionaries also integrated elements that the Japanese associated with sacred spaces. An example of such an element is that of cleanliness or purity. Missionary letters report that Japanese Christians insisted that the timber for churches had to be pure, meaning new if possible and by all means clean.¹⁰⁵ Valignano was well aware of the importance of cleanliness for the Japanese, as can be seen in his writings, where he emphasised the importance of keeping the missionary residences and churches clean and well composed at all times.¹⁰⁶ It must be noted that cleanliness and purity had a central role in native etiquette, religious beliefs and rituals, epitomized by the cyclical rebuilding of the Ise shrines, which involves numerous ritual practices at different stages, including the purification of the timber to be used as central beam.¹⁰⁷

The incorporation in the design of Jesuit churches of elements that appealed to Japanese culture or religiosity, such as Zen architectural elements, distinctions of social rank, new timber and cleanliness, is a good example of the Jesuit policy of adaptation fostered by Valignano, which is very well documented.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, if we take into account the deep involvement of the Japanese in the process of building churches, it seems reasonable to think that the Japanese, from guarantors and patrons to carpenters and parishioners, also found ways to incorporate such elements in the buildings, even if there is almost no written proof, apart from a few indirect comments by the missionaries. There are almost no sources authored by lay Japanese Christians, so that their actions as reported in missionary and other sources are in fact the best gateway for us to reconstruct or at least get closer, if not to their beliefs, at least to their objectives and the resources they put into play. This is why exploring how they got involved with churches and Christian rituals is not only meaningful but also practically the only way to get to know the Japanese Christian communities.

The following chapters study in depth the production of sacred spaces in Nagasaki, with concrete examples of the above processes, providing a deeper understanding of its population and especially its Christian community. Nagasaki is a complex and interesting case-study because most of the population engaged with

¹⁰⁵ (Laures 1954, 66)

¹⁰⁶ (Álvarez Taladriz 1954a, 5-6, 230-232)

¹⁰⁷ (Yusa 2002, 27-30)

¹⁰⁸ (Schütte 1946, 1980; Moran 1993; Lisón Tolosana 2005)

Christianity from its founding. This is due to the fact that the Jesuits and Portuguese merchants were involved in planning the town and opening its port, the main purpose and source of wealth for the town. Nevertheless, the rivalries between the Jesuits and the Mendicant orders, and the challenge posed by Buddhists and Shintō priests, made Nagasaki a contested and dynamic religious arena. The fact that Christian spaces multiplied and flourished in Nagasaki even after the Japanese government had already banned Christianity in Japan is rather paradoxical. Yet, it is perhaps precisely because Christianity was not possible elsewhere, that some of the Christians in Nagasaki endeavoured to engage even more deeply with Christianity, as will be argued below. The following chapters focus on the development of Nagasaki and its sacred spaces from 1569 to 1643.

Chapter 2

The formation of the Nagasaki Christian community (1567-1579)

The location and construction of Christian sacred spaces assessed in the previous chapter is closely linked to the formation and development of Christian communities. It is difficult to generalise about whether the formation of a Christian community or the building of a church comes first. The construction of the first two churches in the Nagasaki area, discussed in this chapter, required a considerable amount of resources and cooperation between the Jesuit missionary and the locals. This was only possible after at least a small group of Christians existed, either because some locals were baptised or because Christians from other areas moved in, but they did not function as a Christian community before they had a church. As the site for communal ritual the church worked as the symbolic centre of the Christian community and was therefore essential in order for the Christian community to function as such. Since the church was also the site for preaching and so Christian indoctrination, it was also important for attracting new converts and consolidating the Christian community. The building of a church and the participation in communal ritual before, during and after its construction create a sense of community, so that churches and communities can therefore be considered as mutually constitutive. Precisely because sacred space is so important in the formation of a Christian community, churches must be central to the understanding the formation and development of the community in Nagasaki.

This chapter therefore explores the foundation of Nagasaki town and the formation of its Christian community, which are closely connected, since the Jesuits were involved in the establishment of the town and the first residents were Japanese Christian émigrés. The Jesuits had started to evangelise in 1567 in the village around

the inland Nagasaki castle. The town was established in 1570 under the auspices of Ōmura Sumitada, lord of the province, in the natural port near the castle, with a Christian church as its symbolic centre. The town developed quickly becoming the regular port for the annual Portuguese ships from Macao and within a decade it had become a fortified merchant port town.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first one provides an overview of the early Jesuit mission in Kyushu and explores the formation of a Christian community in Nagasaki village from 1567, in order to assess the role sacred space and ritual played in the formation of a new Christian community. The second section examines how the local authorities, the Jesuits and the early residents were involved in the foundation and construction of the new port town on the Morisaki cape and how tensions between Nagasaki village and Nagasaki town led to the fortification of the port town in 1575.

2.1 The formation of a Christian community in Nagasaki village (1567-1570)

The approach of the Jesuits to Nagasaki must be contextualised within the instability of the early Christian mission in Kyushu. During the first decade of the Jesuit mission in Japan, the Jesuit Superior of Japan resided first in Yamaguchi in Suwo (1551-1556) and then in Funai in Bungo (1556-1562).¹⁰⁹ The missionaries were the mediators between the Japanese and the Portuguese merchants, whose annual ship had anchored since 1550 in the port of Hirado, the main town on a small island near the northern coast of western Kyushu (figure 2.1). However, Matsuura Shigenobu, the lord of Hirado, showed open hostility towards the missionaries, the local Christians and in 1561 even the Portuguese merchants, so that the Portuguese and the Jesuits agreed that it was time to look for an alternative port. It had to suit the requirements of the large Portuguese carracks and protect them from the typhoons, which were very frequent in Kyushu at the end of summer, and within the territory of a lord favourable to Christianity.

¹⁰⁹ (Ruiz de Medina 1995, 17-18)



Figure 2.1 Map of Kyushu drawn by P. Moreau SJ
 Source: (Schütte 1975, Plate 11 at the end of the book)

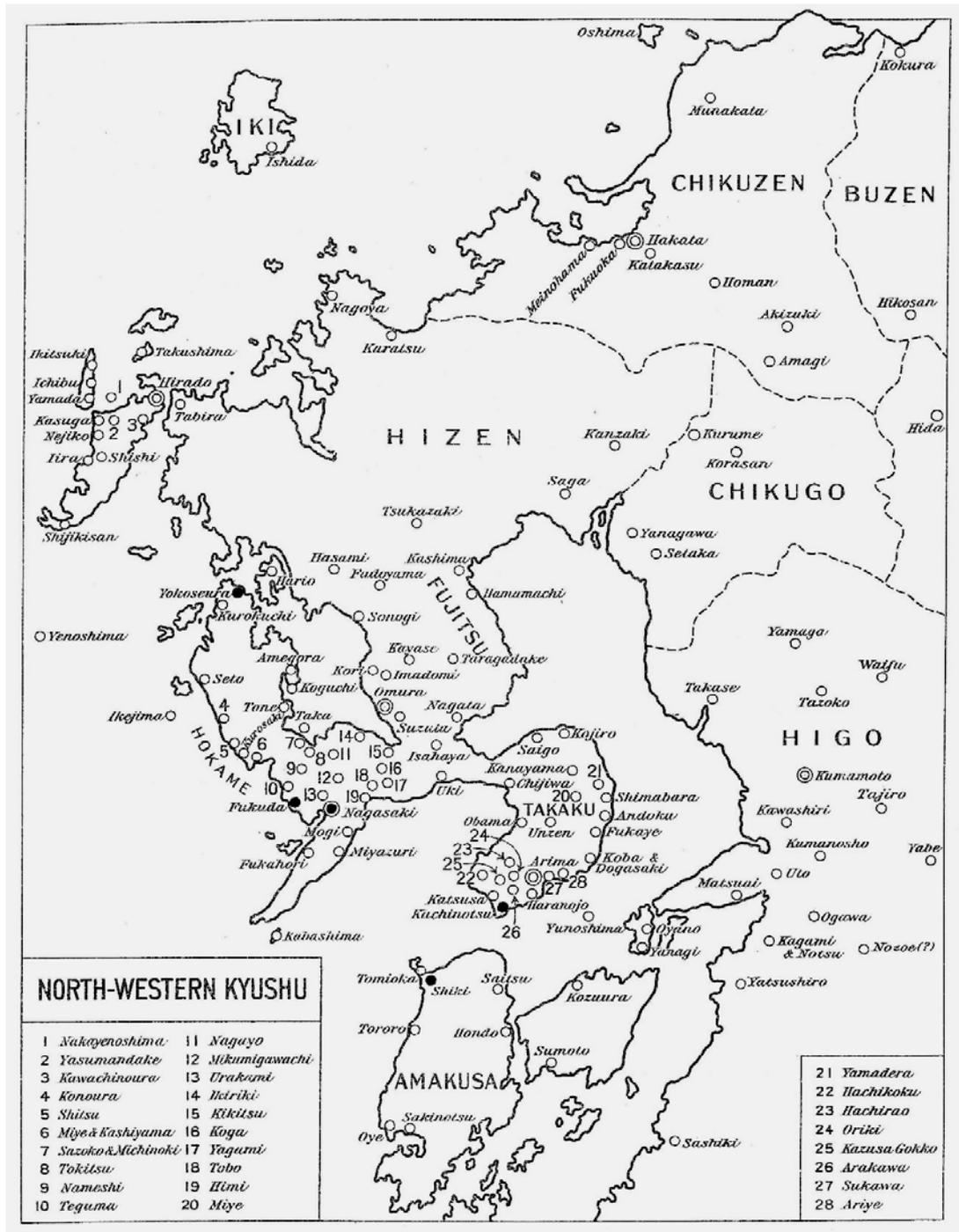


Figure 2.2 Map of North Western Kyushu
Source: (Anesaki 1930)



Figure 2.3 Map of the Ōmura region
 Source: (Schütte 1972, Plate15 at the end of the book)

Luis de Almeida, a Portuguese merchant with a medical background, arrived in Japan in 1552. In 1556 he entered the Society of Jesus in Funai, the residential

town of Ōtomo Sōrin, the lord of the north-western Kyushu province of Bungo (figure 2.1), where he founded a hospital.¹¹⁰ He was very active in the early Japanese Jesuit mission and visited most of its mission posts. In 1561, on his way back from a visit to the Hirado Christian community, Almeida proposed the port of Yokoseura, in the western coast of the Ōmura region in Hizen province (figure 2.2) as an alternative port for the Portuguese carracks. The lord of Ōmura, Ōmura Sumitada, had established a close relation with the Jesuits, and showed interest in both the Portuguese trade and Christianity. Sumitada and Cosme de Torres, the Father Superior of the Jesuit mission, reached an agreement by which Sumitada offered the Jesuits one half of the village of Yokoseura with its revenues and exempted the Portuguese merchants from paying taxes for the use of the port for the following 10 years. Torres moved to Yokoseura and in 1562 and 1563 the Portuguese *nao* anchored there, but in 1564 Gotō Takaaki, an enemy of Ōmura Sumitada, destroyed the port. Torres then moved to Kuchinotsu, in the Takaku region, within the lands of Arima Harunobu, where Father Gaspar Vilela had founded a church in 1563 (figure 2.2). Sumitada offered the port of Fukuda instead, to the south of Yokoseura, near Nagasaki bay, where the ship from Macao anchored in 1565 and 1566 (figure 2.3). In 1567, however, the Portuguese ship went to Kuchinotsu, prompting Sumitada to visit Torres there. The former must have been determined for the Portuguese trade to take place in his territory and they must have reached a new agreement because, soon after this visit, Torres sent Brother Luis de Almeida to preach in the Nagasaki castle-village, and in the following years the Portuguese ship traded in the port of Fukuda in Ōmura's lands.¹¹¹

The Nagasaki castle-village (*jōkamura*), was situated inland between two converging rivers (figure 2.4). By this time, the power of the Nagasaki lords had declined and they had turned into what are usually referred as rural samurai (*jizamurai*), more concerned with landholding than with military pursuits. The lord of the castle and the surrounding land was Nagasaki Jinzaemon, who was married to a daughter of Ōmura Sumitada called Tora. The Jesuit Miguel Vaz, in a letter dated 1568, says that some Christians were already resident in Nagasaki when Almeida

¹¹⁰ (Pacheco 1968, 57)

¹¹¹ (Pacheco 1970, 304-305)

arrived.¹¹² It is likely that Jinzaemon and his wife had been baptised, because when Sumitada was baptised in June 1563 he had encouraged many of his relatives and close retainers also to receive baptism.¹¹³ Almeida stayed in the village from the end of summer until Christmas 1567. In a letter dated October the following year he reported that he had baptised 200 locals and prepared another 300 for baptism by the time he left.¹¹⁴ He gives no details on where he stayed in the village, which suggests that he was not assigned a specific place as residence or for religious practice. Most probably he was lodged as a guest in the residence of Jinzaemon or one of his vassals, preaching and administering baptism on the streets or in the houses of interested villagers, which was usual in the early Japanese mission. There are records that the Jesuit brother Aires Sanchez also preached in Nagasaki village from the beginning of 1568, but it was his successor, Father Gaspar Vilela, who would be the founder of the Christian community.¹¹⁵

In September 1568 Torres went to Fukuda to meet the Portuguese before they sailed back to Macao. He then left Kuchinotsu and moved to Ōmura town, where Sumitada resided and where he would stay for two years until 1570.¹¹⁶ Shortly after settling in Ōmura, at the end of 1568, Torres sent Vilela to Nagasaki village, where Jinzaemon granted him an abandoned temple as a permanent residence and cultic centre.¹¹⁷ Jinzaemon's donation was not spontaneous, since Sumitada had ordered his retainers to allow the missionaries to preach in his territories and to provide them with a place to live and perform rituals.¹¹⁸ The fact that Vilela was sent to Nagasaki just after Torres arrived in Ōmura suggests that the establishment of a permanent mission post in and so the evangelisation of Nagasaki village came about as the result of an agreement between the lord of the province and the Superior of the mission. Being granted a sacred space in this way must have been decisive for the Jesuits and the building would play a crucial role in the formation of a Christian community in the village.

¹¹² (Companhia de Jesus 1598b, vol.1 251v-252v)

¹¹³ (Elison 1991c, 88)

¹¹⁴ (Companhia de Jesus 1598b, vol.1 252v-254v)

¹¹⁵ Miguel Vaz, dated 1568 (Companhia de Jesus 1598b, vol.1 251v-252v)

¹¹⁶ (Pacheco 1970, 310)

¹¹⁷ (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 312v; Pacheco 1970, 305)

¹¹⁸ (Elison 1991c, 88)

The church of Todos os Santos in Nagasaki village

There are reasons to think that Jinzaemon's grant of the temple to the Jesuits was probably an act of obedience to his lord and father-in-law rather than a sign of active engagement with the spread of Christianity. Although in the letter by Gaspar Vilela dated 4 February 1571 and the letter by Belchior de Figueredo dated 16 October 1571 he is referred to as 'Christian lord' or by his Christian name 'Bernardo', the Jesuits noted that when prompted to baptise he deferred his own baptism ordering his son and retainers to undergo that ritual first.¹¹⁹ In addition, Japanese sources suggest that Nagasaki Jinzaemon did not embrace the Christian faith after being baptised, but kept revering the Japanese deities (*kami*).¹²⁰ Although Japanese sources written during the period in which Christianity was prohibited tend to obscure connections to Christianity, his decision not to provide protection to the Christians a few years later when the lord of Isahaya attacked Nagasaki port town suggests that Jinzaemon's support of Christianity was limited.¹²¹ Therefore Vilela had to find his own way to form a Christian community in the village. In this, the production of sacred space and the performance of communal ritual played a crucial role.

Vilela did not write any letters from Nagasaki village, but soon after he left Japan he described his missionary activities there in two different letters written in Cochin on 4 February 1571.¹²² He summarized his stay in Nagasaki village to his Jesuit fellows in Portugal as follows:

In the years sixty-nine and seventy [1569-1570] I was in the place of Nagasaki and, as an eye witness, I will say more about it. This is a large and cool place, the lord of which is a Christian lord [Nagasaki Jinzaemon] subject to the king [sic.] Don Bartolome [Ōmura Sumitada]. When I arrived at this place, I stayed in a *Pagode* [sic.], which is a temple of the idols that this lord donated so that a church was made there. But because there were no Christians to whom I could leave it to, I dissimulated, gathering all the heathens of the land,

¹¹⁹ (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 284r; Companhia de Jesus 1598b, vol.1 317r-317v; Schütte 1968, 717)

¹²⁰ (Nagakashiyakusho 1967b, 24)

¹²¹ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.2 391)

¹²² Gaspar Vilela, Letters dated 4 February 1571 (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 284r-285r, 311r-315v)

who heard my sermon. The first time, they were not very satisfied, but the second time they grasped the true knowledge so that after some questions and answers, and many questions they posed, they came to understand and to receive the holy baptism, into which now 200, now 400 people entered. In this way in the first year all of them, who must be 1500 people, were baptised.¹²³ [my translation]

Vilela reported that after one year of preaching to the villagers most of the population had been baptised and it was possible to dismantle the temple and with its timber build a new church on the same site. In his words, ‘In this year of sixty-nine I determined, with God’s help, to dismantle the Pagode [sic.] and I made a very gracious church of All Saints in it, with which the devotion of all the Christians increased a lot’.¹²⁴ It seems therefore that missionaries were aware of the intimate connection between sacred space and community development. The church was dedicated on 1 November 1570 and accordingly named Todos os Santos, Portuguese for All Saints.¹²⁵ The Portuguese name of the church took root among the locals, since local Japanese sources refer to the area where Nagasaki village stood with Chinese characters read *Tōdo no sandai* (東土参台 lit., ‘platform going to the East land’) and *Tōdosan* (東渡山 lit., ‘mountain that crosses to the East’), which remain the way it is referred to today.¹²⁶ The characters do not translate ‘All Saints’, but reproduce the pronunciation of the Portuguese name of the church. This is rather exceptional since Japanese sources usually refer to Christian churches with generic Buddhist-like designations like ‘Hall of Deus’ (*Deusu-dō*) or ‘Temple of the southern barbarians’ (*nanban-dera*), as noted above. It may be that the name was able to survive despite the proscription of Christianity during the Edo period precisely because the Japanese characters had no Christian connotation. In any case, it seems evident that the Nagasaki village church was identified with its location and well known among the locals.

¹²³ (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 312v)

¹²⁴ (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 312v)

¹²⁵ (Pacheco 1977, 51)

¹²⁶ (Pacheco 1977, 51; Kataoka 2003, 49)

Although Vilela's letters synthesize two years of missionary activity in just a few paragraphs, the importance of sacred space in the establishment of Christian communities in the early Jesuit mission in Japan is evident. First, the capacity to build and maintain a local sacred space is seen as a criterion for the missionaries to determine the existence of a local Christian community. Although in 1567 Brother Luis de Almeida had baptised several Nagasaki villagers, Vilela seems to imply that there was no Christian community when he arrived in 1569, because there were no local Christians in Nagasaki village willing or ready to take care of the church on their own. In rural villages in Kyushu the local Christian laity assumed what in Léfèvre's terminology would be called reproduction activities, in order to keep the church sacred, ranging from material care (cleaning, maintenance, ornamentation, etc) to ritual performance (not only assisting the priests, but also organising prayers and religious practices when missionaries were absent).¹²⁷ Therefore, a Christian community was considered as such because of their involvement in the production and reproduction of their church.

Secondly, Vilela reports that after one year of preaching to Nagasaki villagers most of the population had been baptised and it was possible to mobilise the necessary human labour to dismantle the temple and build a new church on the same site.¹²⁸ Thus, the (re)building of the church was a clear turning point in the formation of a Christian community, providing an opportunity to show their existence through their affiliation to the church. Unfortunately we cannot ascertain why villagers got baptised in the first place, and what exactly it meant for them to do so, because they have left no sources. Vilela's account suggests that it was his own preaching and engaging in discussions about Christian and Buddhist doctrine that motivated them to do so, but the importance of sacred space for the villagers to convert is evident, since Vilela admits to having consciously exploited the appeal of the temple building in order to gather his audience. Even if preaching and doctrinal discussion was in the end the reason why villagers converted, it had been because of the appeal of the Buddhist sacred space that they had been exposed to Vilela's preaching in the first place.

¹²⁷ (Lopez Gay 1970, 41)

¹²⁸ (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 312v)

Finally, although Vilela implies that it was only after most villagers had been baptised that it possible to rebuild the temple into a church, it is useful to see the participation of the villagers in dismantling the temple and building the church as part of the process of forming the Christian community, rather than merely as the outcome of already having formed a Christian community. Construction was itself teamwork, requiring coordination of human and material resources, which must have created or strengthened the villagers' sense of community. Participating in the production of a new sacred space must have created a feeling of anticipation towards the rituals to come. Indeed, the community had to have the church as a symbolic centre in order for communal ritual to take place. During the first year Vilela's main activity had been preaching basic Christian doctrine, with baptism as the only Christian ritual. But after building of church, he reported, Christians attended mass daily and on Sundays they listened to his sermon on the gospel.¹²⁹ I will explore the subsequent evolution of ritual practice in the village, and the culmination of the formation of the Christian community, below. First, however, it is important to note that the construction of the Christian church not only required the dismantling of its predecessor temple, but was followed by the dismantling of other Buddhist temples in the surrounding area.

Destruction of Temples and Shrines

Vilela wrote that after the new church was built the faith of the local Christians increased and, as a sign of devotion to God, they dismantled some 'houses of their idols that stood where they lived'.¹³⁰ He does not provide any further details on the names or exact location of the temples and shrines destroyed, but some can be traced in Japanese sources, as is the case of the Jingu-ji and the Jinzu-ji. According to *Nagasaki zushi*, a decree of the Emperor Saga in the early ninth century ordered the building of a temple-shrine complex (*jingu-ji*) at the foot of Kompira Mountain, which was still active in 1350, when an imperial script ordered its repair.¹³¹ At that time the complex included a hall for Buddhist exercises (*dōjō*) dedicated to the North Star deity (Myōken Sonjōō), thirty sub-temples, and a large land property,

¹²⁹ (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 313r)

¹³⁰ (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 313r)

¹³¹ (Nagaskishiyakusho 1967b, 3)

encompassing today's Suwa Shrine, Suwa Park, Rohaku-machi, and Uma-machi (figure 2.4).¹³² Unfortunately there are no extant sixteenth-century documents on the Jingu-ji, but later records suggest that there was a large temple called Jingu-ji in Nagasaki when Christianity was introduced, which was burnt by Christians, although there is no agreement about the date, with one source giving 1581 and another some time soon after 1596.¹³³

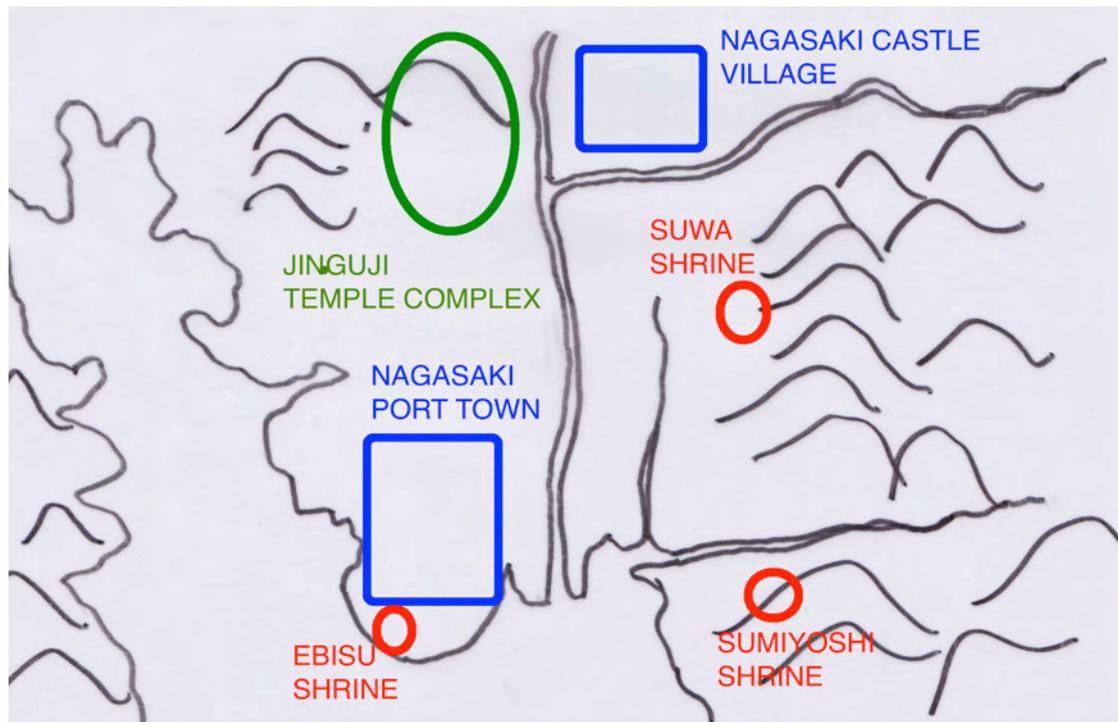


Figure 2.4 Schematic map by the author of Nagasaki port town around 1571

Another temple destroyed by Christian followers was Jinzū-ji on Mount Iwaya, to the northeast of Nagasaki city, beyond Urakami village (figure 2.5). Again, Japanese sources do not agree about the date, with one giving 1574 and one 1612.¹³⁴ Jesuit documents, however, report that at the end of 1574 Ōmura Sumitada ordered the dismantling of all Buddhist temples in his territory and the local Christians organised raids escorted by Sumitada's retainers, which would seem to confirm the earlier date.¹³⁵ In any case, the destruction of Jingu-ji and its many sub-temples after

¹³² (Nagaskishiyakusho 1967b, 3-4)

¹³³ (Nagaskishiyakusho 1967b, 3-4)

¹³⁴ (Nagaskishiyakusho 1967b, 3-4)

¹³⁵ (Schütte 1972, 96)

the building of Todos os Santos must have made it clear to the Nagasaki villagers that the new Christian sacred space had literally replaced the pre-existing native sacred spaces.

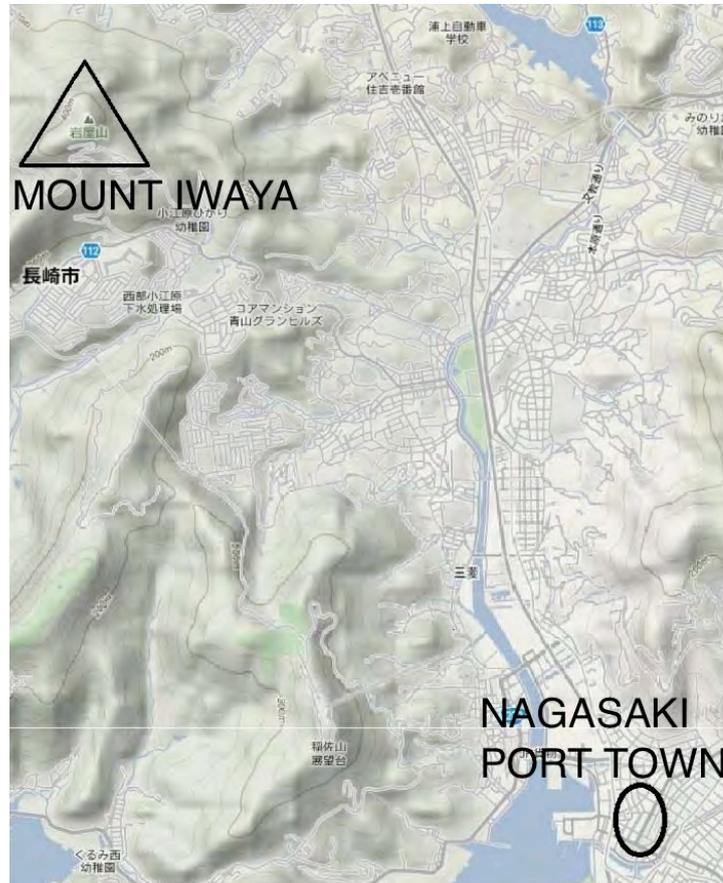


Figure 2.5 Map of Nagasaki city and surrounding area

In addition, according to Japanese sources three shrines of local guardian deities —the Suwa, Morisaki and Sumiyoshi shrines— were destroyed when the area was Christianized. The origin of the old Suwa shrine is uncertain because its records were lost when the Christians destroyed the shrine, but it seems that it was located at the foot of Mount Kasagashira.¹³⁶ There was another shrine at the end of Morisaki cape where both the fishermen’s patron Ebisu and the local guardian Morisaki Gongen were worshipped, near the place where the Jesuits would later built a church, as will be explained below. Finally, in Koshima village there was a shrine where the villagers worshipped the local guardian Koshima Daiō and where worship of the war

¹³⁶ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967b, 20)

deity Sumiyoshi Myōjin had started in the fourth century on the occasion of a naval attack on the kingdom of Silla.¹³⁷ When the area was Christianised in the sixteenth century, the three shrine buildings were pulled down. Moriyo, the head priest of the Morisaki shrine, hid the symbol (*shintai*) of Morisaki Gongen in the village of Magome-mura, but the Christians found it and burned it in Nishizaka.¹³⁸

Vilela sanctioned and surely inspired the attacks, since actions against Buddhist statues had already been reported during his stay in other areas of Kyushu.¹³⁹ However, the way in which he writes about these events seems to imply that the initiative came from the Christians themselves. John Nelson suggests that the burning of shrines and temples was inspired by missionaries, but had a dimension of revolt and subversion against the oppressive local powers:

In spite of the Jesuit goal for converting the ruling class first, many agricultural and fishing communities saw in the transcendent message of loyalty to an omnipotent god a way to liberate themselves from centuries of oppression and submission. Converts learned to view traditional institutions such as temples and shrines as having been in collusion with the feudal lords, who had so long kept them in abject poverty. Inspired by the zealous preaching of certain Jesuit priests (and, later, those from Franciscan and Augustinian orders, who came from the Spanish Manila), the new religion's fervour spilled over into violent action, as numerous temples and shrines throughout what is today Nagasaki and Kumamoto Prefectures were put to torch.¹⁴⁰

Although this sounds convincing, I think that in Nagasaki the destruction of religious places was linked instead to the construction of the Christian church and the formation of a Christian community. First, Nelson does not provide any specific proof of popular discontent towards the local lord or the Buddhist institutions in Nagasaki village; and second, since the Sumitada had encouraged attacks on local temples and shrines in other villages of his fief, they could rather be seen as signs of compliance with the daimyo. Nevertheless, whatever the cause of these actions, they

¹³⁷ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967b, 21-22)

¹³⁸ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967b, 23)

¹³⁹ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.1 115; Kawamura 2005)

¹⁴⁰ (Nelson 1996, 15)

had an effect of asserting the affiliation to the new church and to the Christian community.

The Jesuit missionary method in Japan incorporated the refutation of Buddhism, with Christian Law defined as the true Law as opposed to the Buddhist Law. Jesuits were initially taken for Buddhist monks from India (*tenjiku-jin*), which conferred on them respect and religious charisma.¹⁴¹ This confusion proved beneficial for the Christian missionaries in the short run, since the lay population projected onto them the religious authority that Buddhist priests enjoyed in Japan, but as soon as the missionaries realised that Christianity was considered a Buddhist sect, they put into play several strategies to make clear the difference between Christianity and Buddhism. For example, in the doctrinal sphere, the main Christian concepts that had been so far translated into Japanese using Buddhist terminology were left untranslated, and Latin or Portuguese words used instead.¹⁴² In Nagasaki village this effort to make clear the distinctiveness and hegemony of Christianity was reflected in the spatial dimension in two different ways. First, although initially Vilela had no option other than to appropriate a Buddhist temple, as soon as it was possible he dismantled it and built a church, making it clear that Christian sacred space was different from and replaced the Buddhist space. Second, as soon as the Christian church was erected, Vilela and the Japanese Christians destroyed the Buddhist temples around the area. The raids against local Buddhist temples were very physical actions. Combined with participation in the building of the Christian church, the dismantling of ‘other’ sacred spaces was a visible way to affirm their affiliation to the new sacred space and to externalise the sense of belonging to the Christian community. Further occasions to affirm and reinforce this affiliation would be provided by the celebration of communal Christian ritual in the church.

The Easter celebration of 1570

The Jesuits introduced the celebration of the main Christian feasts into Japan gradually.¹⁴³ In Nagasaki village the first major feast was the celebration of Easter in March 1570. Vilela’s report notes that the majority of the population participated,

¹⁴¹ (Elison 1991b, 308; App 1997-1998)

¹⁴² (Kaiser 1996, 10)

¹⁴³ (Lopez Gay 1970, 46-47)

suggesting that this moment can be seen as the culmination of the formation of the Christian community. His description provides a vivid picture of the celebrations. The celebration involved gatherings at the church stretching over several days, as well as processions departing from and returning to the church, after parading through the streets of the village. All these actions confirmed the sacredness of the church and involved the villagers physically and emotionally with it, by creating a shared atmosphere of sorrow and joy according to the narrative of the death and resurrection of Jesus. Moreover, the fact that it involved actions outside the church and throughout the village turned the religious ritual into a public display that must have appealed not only to the Christians who participated in it, but also to those who watched it. Vilela wrote that eight days after Easter he baptised all the remaining non-Christian men in the village.¹⁴⁴ In this way, the processions Christianised the Nagasaki streets, expanding the sacred space beyond the walls of the church.

The appeal of the festive aspects of Christian ritual to the local population seems obvious, but surprisingly the Christians also engaged actively in the more sombre practices of confession and scourging. Vilela introduced the sacrament of confession to the Christians in Nagasaki village in preparation for the Easter celebrations. He says that he started preaching about confession after mass, especially on Wednesdays during Lent, and all the Christians confessed ‘with tears and devotion’. In addition, on Fridays he preached about the Passion and the Christians scourged themselves with fervour.¹⁴⁵ These practices must have been rather new to the Japanese, in comparison to what they had done at the old temple-shrine complex. With respect to confession, although Zen Buddhist monks performed repentance practices, as I have explored elsewhere, this was an oral or written confession of faults with no physical involvement, and the practice of repentance was not expected from the laity on a regular basis.¹⁴⁶ The enthusiastic engagement of the Japanese in confession may have been prompted by its emphasis on the cleansing of faults, since the concept of ‘purification’ was central in native pre-Buddhist beliefs. It also allowed the lay person to converse with the mysterious foreign priests and receive a personalised blessing, which might have been appealing

¹⁴⁴ (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 313r)

¹⁴⁵ (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 313r)

¹⁴⁶ (Tronu Montané 2006a, 157)

in an early modern society in which religionists were highly respected and did not interact personally with lay villagers.

Scourging, too, must have been a quite new experience for the Japanese. Physically challenging ascetic practices were restricted mainly to mountain ascetics and believed to confer on them healing and magical powers. Scourging, that is, whipping one's own back with a leather strip, was a relatively simple practice, but because of the physical resistance required to endure the whipping could be seen to a certain degree as an ascetic practice, but one that was now available to the laity. As a physical manifestation of sorrow for the death of Jesus it must have been easy to grasp, mimic, and perform, since it did not require the memorization of Latin formulae. Missionaries report that Japanese practiced scourging seriously and often, and this is supported by the fact that scourging tools have been found among the material culture of hidden Christians.¹⁴⁷ As was confession, moreover, scourging was introduced in connection with specific passages of the narrative of Christ's death, helping to create a strong sense of anticipation towards the celebration of Christ's resurrection on Easter Sunday.

Vilela recounts the Easter celebrations in detail in his letters, which took place towards the end of March 1570.¹⁴⁸ On Palm Sunday, he organised a procession starting in the church that advanced through the village. 1,500 Christians attended and, on returning to the church, Vilela performed the *Attolite portas* and a Japanese preached on the meaning of the 'mystery' in Japanese. This refers to a ritual usually performed before mass, as the palms are blessed outside the church, at its main gate, recreating the entry of Christ into Jerusalem, which starts with the Latin words 'Attolite portas' [Lift up your gates]. The English translation of the passage in question begins 'Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lifted up, O eternal gates: and the King of Glory shall enter in. [...]'¹⁴⁹ In this ritual the church represents Jerusalem, the holy city, so that the most sacred place for the Christian Church is identified with the physical place of the local church, confirming the latter's sacrosanct character. This identification was reinforced with the ritual of closing the

¹⁴⁷ (Debergh 1984, 190-192; Turnbull 1998, 86-87)

¹⁴⁸ (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 313r)

¹⁴⁹ (Loughlin 2007)

Blessed Sacrament inside the church, representing the death and burial of Christ in Jerusalem.

Vilela reports that on Easter Wednesday, he administered communion. Vilela washed the feet of twelve men inside the church while a Japanese brother read aloud a Japanese translation of the passage of the Gospel in which Jesus retires to the Mount of Olives. This was a representation of the scene of the Last Supper in John's Gospel, in which Jesus, after having the communal meal and announcing his imminent death, washed the feet of his twelve disciples and then retired to the Mount of Olives to pray to the Lord. Vilela says that after mass he enclosed the holy Sacrament and the Japanese returned to their homes and scourged themselves. Later, after the nocturnal office, the Japanese again gathered and walked in procession through the streets and returned to the church.¹⁵⁰

On Good Friday, children dressed in black carrying flags of the Passion bowed in front of the altar and one by one showed their symbols to the attendants and explained their meaning in Japanese. After this, the children exposed their backs and scourged themselves while reciting the *Miserere Deus*. Then they walked in procession to a place where a cross stood and came back to the church, scourging their backs on the way.

On Holy Saturday Christians gathered in the church, overflowing into the small residence of the missionary and its surrounding grounds, and Vilela performed the office and blessed the water. He says that the Christians took the blessed water with them to their houses to use with the sick and women in childbirth and that the Lord performed miracles with this water because the Japanese had faith in it. Afterwards, Vilela offered Mass and at the end removed the mourning cloth from the altar, symbolising the Resurrection. The ritual seems to have impressed the Japanese, because he writes that the Christians 'were very happy' after the altar was revealed. He summoned them to return at night to celebrate the Resurrection, for which they gathered in the church with 'their festive dresses' and again went out in procession, this time singing 'Japanese songs'.¹⁵¹ It seems that the gesture of removing the mourning cloth marked a turning point in the communal mood and emotional state and that the shift in mood was also marked by physical changes in clothing and in

¹⁵⁰ (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 313r)

¹⁵¹ (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 313r)

location. Thus, the sorrow and gravity of the death of Christ was associated with the altar and the interior of the church, while the joy and celebration of his resurrection was expressed with colourful clothing and a move out from the church into the village.

It was indeed a dramatic change from the quietness and self-constraint required by Lent and the previous rituals of Holy Week, to the euphoria and exaltation elicited by the celebration of the resurrection of Jesus. It seems that the Christians produced an atmosphere not very different from that of a *matsuri*, a Japanese local festival, with popular songs, special clothing and parades. Despite the lack of detail about the clothing and the songs, Vilela's description of the 'festive' atmosphere suggests that most probably they were not religious, or in any case, not Christian. In Nagasaki there was a long tradition of spring and autumn communal festivals related to the agricultural cycle, and since Easter was celebrated in spring, it is even possible that the villagers incorporated non-Christian elements of the local tradition into their expressions of joy for Christ's resurrection. There are no contemporary records on the spring festival in Nagasaki village at the time, but nowadays, the spring festival in the Suwa shrine, which is located at the place of the ancient Morisaki shrine, is a fecundity festival in honour of the local deity, the Morisaki *kami*.¹⁵² Nelson, in his anthropological study of the Suwa shrine, says that:

earlier fishing communities observed spring and summer festivals in honour of the local Morisaki and Sumiyoshi deities, but from 1570 businessmen and entrepreneurs from Osaka and Hakata had moved to Nagasaki and brought with them some of their local traditions such as songs and dances, which were taught to the 'entertainers' and geisha of the Maruyama district. In the 1570s the song-and-dance events gained popularity and a bit of refinement and they were organised into a loosely run annual rite of merrymaking and entertainment.¹⁵³

It may be therefore that in 1570 the Nagasaki villagers might have associated the Easter celebrations with these local festivals. At the time, Morisaki shrine was located close to Nagasaki village, not far from the Christian church, so it is possible

¹⁵² (Nelson 1996, 91)

¹⁵³ (Nelson 1996, 91)

that the overlap between the celebration of Easter and the communal festival at the shrine was both temporal and spatial.

Christian ritual has a very dramaturgical aspect, since it involves the performance of specific episodes of the Christian narrative. Japanese ritual did not involve any such dramaturgical elements: Buddhist rituals do not include episodes from the life and death of the Buddha and shrine practices do not involve the recreation of Shinto stories about the *kami*. However, popular *kagura* dances performed by the villagers during summer festivals (*matsuri*) do recreate the episode in which Amaterasu is summoned out of the cave. This suggests another reason for the Nagasaki villagers to have seen the celebration of Easter as a *matsuri*.

Vilela's detailed account of the celebration of Easter in Nagasaki village makes it clear that the rituals appealed to the Japanese and emphasizes the highly representational and dramaturgical nature of the Christian liturgy. This issue calls for a more general discussion of different kinds of rituals and the role that performance and space play in religious ritual, which falls beyond the scope of this thesis. The case of the Christian community in Nagasaki village, however, shows at least that Jesuit missionaries knew how to exploit the appeal of sacred space and ritual performance in order to form Christian communities in Japan.

Nagasaki village as a subsidiary mission post

Despite the impact of the Easter celebration at Todos os Santos and the seeming success of Vilela's mission in forming a Christian community, subsequent events made it clear that Nagasaki village was a subsidiary mission post for the Jesuits. The Superior of the Japanese mission Cosme de Torres had resided in Ōmura since 1568, but due to frequent attacks by Sumitada's enemies and to Torres' own poor health, he moved to Nagasaki village after Easter, in early April 1570. He stayed there until the end of July, when he and Vilela retired to the island of Shiki in the territories of Arima Harunobu.¹⁵⁴ This episode is relevant because, on the one hand, Torres set the precedent for using the Jesuit residence in Nagasaki village as a refuge for the ill, which would be one of its main functions in times of crisis of the Jesuit mission, as will be seen below; and, on the other, because the pressure of the

¹⁵⁴ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.2 328)

neighbouring lords against Sumitada made clear to the Jesuits that they badly needed to secure a more stable and well-protected mission post.

In the summer of 1570 Father Francisco Cabral, who would soon replace Torres as the Jesuit Superior, arrived in Fukuda on the Portuguese ship. He ordered all the Jesuit missionaries in Kyushu to gather in Shiki in August for a consultation on the situation of the mission. Torres and Vilela left Nagasaki to attend the consultation, during which Torres handed over the post of Superior to Cabral, dying soon after on 2 October.¹⁵⁵ Once the consultation was over, Cabral sent Vilela to India to report on the Japanese mission to the Provincial Father. In February 1571, Vilela wrote to a Jesuit brother in Portugal from Cochin, saying that Nagasaki was a big village where almost all the population was Christian and that it had a good church.¹⁵⁶ This was a very succinct summary of his achievements, but it is clear that he believed that a Christian community had been formed. After Vilela and Torres left Nagasaki village, no Jesuit priest was sent to reside permanently in Nagasaki village. However, the new Jesuit Superior, accompanied by Luis d'Almeida, visited most of the mission posts and Christian communities in Kyushu after the Shiki consultation, and on their way to Ōmura to pay respects to Sumitada, called at Nagasaki village and baptised 150 villagers.¹⁵⁷ The reason for not replacing Vilela in Nagasaki village must have been the prospects of opening a new mission post in the area. The negotiations to establish a port for the Portuguese trade in Nagasaki bay included an agreement to found a new town on the shore, differentiated from Nagasaki village, with a permanent Jesuit residence and a church. After the foundation of the new town, Todos os Santos and Nagasaki village became a peripheral mission post, as the Jesuits had a stronger influence over the new port town and its Christian community was more solidly established.

¹⁵⁵ (Pacheco 1970, 311; Wicki 1976-84, vol.2 329)

¹⁵⁶ Gaspar Vilela, Letter dated 4 February 1571 (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 284r-285r)

¹⁵⁷ Luis de Almeida, Letter dated October 1570 (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 307r-310v)

2.2 The foundation of Nagasaki port town and the formation of its Christian community (1571-1579)

The opening of a new port for the Portuguese trade responded partly to the technical requirements of the large Portuguese ships, but also to the wish of the missionaries to make sure that only Japanese lords who would support their evangelisation enterprise benefited from the Portuguese trade. Pacheco argues convincingly that Torres must have already reached an agreement with Sumitada for the opening of a new port in Nagasaki by the time he left Ōmura in Easter 1570, and possibly even in 1568, since a year would have been necessary to organise and prepare such an enterprise.¹⁵⁸ Probably, when Cabral visited Sumitada as the new Jesuit Superior after the consultation at Shiki, they finalized the negotiations regarding the opening of the new port and the founding of the port town. Cabral sent Father Belchior de Figueredo to the port of Fukuda, to take spiritual care of the Portuguese merchants spending the summer in Japan and the Japanese who moved around the ports where the *nao* dropped anchor in order to get seasonal jobs related to the Portuguese trade. However, Figueredo also had a more practical mission: to accompany a few of the Portuguese crew to survey the coast and decide which would be the best port for the Portuguese ships. Although the exact date is unknown, this must have been after August, when the Shiki consultation took place, but before November 1570, when the Portuguese ship sailed back to Macao. The natural port in Nagasaki bay was considered most appropriate, because it was deep enough and provided shelter from typhoons.¹⁵⁹

The exact date of the founding of the port is unknown, but Pacheco has convincingly argued that it must have been in the spring of 1571, although Japanese records seem to suggest that there was activity in the port from an earlier date. The *Nagasaki ryaku engi hyō* says:

The prosperity of Nagasaki started on the twenty-fourth day of the eighth month of the tenth year of the Eiroku era [26 September 1567], when foreign merchant ships called *galeota* arrived and called in this

¹⁵⁸ (Pacheco 1970, 311)

¹⁵⁹ (Pacheco 1970, 307)

inlet for the first time. Then people from various lands gathered and traded. At the end of the third month of the second year of the Genna era [1571] people from Shimabara and Ōmura built six *machi* at Morisaki cape, and it became a flourishing place for trade with foreigners.¹⁶⁰

This text may date the opening of the port to 1567 because that was the year in which Almeida went to Nagasaki village. It is possible that he arrived by sea, since at the time many coastal locations were better connected by sea than by land, and the Jesuit missionaries in Kyushu preferred sea transport when possible. Probably the Portuguese ship that traded in Fukuda in 1570 entered Nagasaki bay to sound the port before heading to Macao in autumn 1570, but we are certain from contemporary missionary sources that trade took place in Nagasaki port for the first time in summer 1571.¹⁶¹ The anticipated arrival of the Portuguese ship fed into existing developments so as to prompt great transformations in the bay area in the spring of 1571. The construction works for the port must have taken place in spring 1571, together with the building of streets and houses of the first dwellers and a church.

Foundation of Nagasaki port town

A new port town was established, separated from Nagasaki village, on Morisaki cape, which had previously been covered with a dense pine forest, just in time to receive the Portuguese *nao* that was expected to anchor at the new port that summer. Local Japanese sources referred to this as the new town (*shin-machi*).¹⁶² We know from Japanese sources that in the spring of 1571, Tsushima Tomonaga, a senior retainer (*karō*) of Sumitada, laid out the streets and neighbourhoods (*machi*).¹⁶³ The town comprised the Christian church and six streets named Shimabara, Ōmura, Hokaura, Hirado, Yokoseura and Bunchi.¹⁶⁴ The first residents included a variety of people. The fact that most of the new neighbourhoods adopted the names of towns or villages in the north-western Kyushu suggests that the

¹⁶⁰ (Nagasakiyakusho 1967b, 6)

¹⁶¹ Belchior de Figueredo, Letter dated 1570 (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 280r-283v)

¹⁶² (Koga 1957, 33)

¹⁶³ (Pacheco 1970, 312)

¹⁶⁴ (Kataoka 1998, 114)

inhabitants were originally from these places.¹⁶⁵ However, the leaders of new town, who held the role of political administrators (*tōnin*), were former inhabitants of Nagasaki village belonging to the powerful families of the Gotō, the Machida, the Takashima and the Takagi.¹⁶⁶

Initially no revenues were granted to the Jesuits in Nagasaki port town, as had been the case in Yokoseura, and the fees paid by the ships went to Sumitada.¹⁶⁷ However, Sumitada allowed the Jesuits to accommodate the Japanese Christians who had fled or been expelled from towns in Kyushu like Shiki, Gotō, Hirado, Yamaguchi and Hakata, where Christianity was no longer tolerated. Others who had been dispossessed in war also settled in the new port town.¹⁶⁸ Already at its very foundation, Nagasaki town embodied a paradox, in that its very existence as a Christian space was possible precisely when and because Japan was becoming inhospitable to Christianity. For instance, Figueredo reports that just after the Portuguese *nao* arrived, revolts occurred in Shiki and Christians were forced to participate in ‘acts of idolatry’, prompting twenty of them to leave and move to Nagasaki. Some of these were killed by order of the lord of Shiki, and their companions buried them in Nagasaki.¹⁶⁹

In spite of their heterogeneous origins, the Nagasaki population had something in common: they had been exposed to the preaching of the Jesuits and to a certain extent were familiar with Christian religious practices. Missionary sources claim that from the foundation of the town most of the population followed a Christian daily life, probably meaning that they attended church on Sunday and participated in the main Christian celebrations. In most of the places where the Jesuits established missions, like Nagasaki village, Christian space and ritual had to compete with previous religious institutions and practices, but this was not the case in Nagasaki town, because it was built anew with a Jesuit church as its only religious institution.

Father Belchior de Figueredo was present at the distribution of land for the new town in spring 1571 and was also in charge of the planning and construction of

¹⁶⁵ (Kataoka 1998, 114)

¹⁶⁶ (Kataoka 1998, 114)

¹⁶⁷ (Pacheco 1970, 312)

¹⁶⁸ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.2 376-377)

¹⁶⁹ (Companhia de Jesus 1598b, vol.1 317r-317v; Schütte 1968, 717)

the Jesuit church. Valignano's *Apologia* reports that Figueredo chose a plot of land on the hill at the extreme of a small cape.¹⁷⁰ Although no specific reasons for his choice are given in missionary sources, the place was clearly distinctive because of its elevated position that allowed an overview of the beach, the port, and Nagasaki village. At the time there was a shrine dedicated to Ebisu at the far end of the cape according to the *Kiyōryakuengi*.¹⁷¹ Since missionary records make no mention of it, the shrine may have been abandoned or worn by the elements by the time the port town was created; or it may have been dismantled by the Christians of Nagasaki village in the raids on non-Christian sacred spaces in the area during Father Vilela's stay in the village. Thus, even if Figueredo was not aware of the existence of the shrine, it seems probable that the site where the Church of the Assumption was erected already had sacred connotations for the locals, especially for the fishermen.

Figueredo dedicated the church to Our Lady of the Assumption, whose feast day fell on 25 August, in memory of the arrival of Francis Xavier in Japan, who had first set foot in Kagoshima on 25 August 1549.¹⁷² Since a church is usually dedicated after it has been completed, it seems that it was built within five months. Japanese scholars like Kataoka Yukichi refer to this first church as the 'church of the cape' (*misaki no kyokai* 岬の教会), but this must be a recent coinage, since I have not found written proof of this name being used at the time by the Nagasaki townsmen.¹⁷³

There are no detailed descriptions of the rituals performed at the church: the letters of this period focus on the dramatic battles taking place in the lands of the main patrons of the Jesuits at the time, namely Bungo, Ōmura and Takaku, and on the mass conversions in those places. However, already in this early period, there are mentions of three of the main celebrations of the Christian calendar, namely, Christmas in winter, Easter in spring, with a preparation period of Lent for confession and penance, and the feast day of the Assumption of Our lady, the patron saint of the new church, in summer. Moreover, since a Jesuit priest lived in the town and most of the population had been baptised, Sunday mass must have been

¹⁷⁰ (Pacheco 1977, 52-53)

¹⁷¹ (Nagakashiyakusho 1967b, 22)

¹⁷² (Zubillaga 1996, 353-354)

¹⁷³ (Kataoka 2003, 50)

customary. In addition, the Portuguese merchants regularly went to the church for mass and confession when they stayed at the port, from the arrival of the *nao* in mid or late summer until they sailed back to Macao in mid or late autumn. Confession seems to have been also a common practice among Nagasaki townsmen, since Frois says that from the beginning Figueredo was busy all year long hearing the confessions of the Christians who gathered in Nagasaki port.¹⁷⁴ That the new town was already highly Christianised becomes evident in comparison to Nagasaki village, where Vilela had waited two years to introduce confession and, when he did so, only as a practice associated with Lent, as seen above.

Another sign of the intense Christianisation of the port town can be found in the introduction of Catholic holy days during the year, on which people had to refrain from labour and attend church instead. In Japan the Jesuits introduced the Christian calendar gradually, so that the number of holy days that Japanese Christians were required to celebrate varied depending on the stage of Christianization of each particular Christian community.¹⁷⁵ Since missionaries considered that most of the population in Nagasaki town were Christian from the beginning, it was where the highest number of compulsory holidays was introduced. Already by 1580, although only Sunday mass was compulsory for Japanese Christians in Ōmura, Hirado, Amakusa, Arima and Gotō, Nagasaki townsmen were also required to attend the celebration of five main Christian holidays (Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Assumption).¹⁷⁶ In sum, although missionary sources refer to Nagasaki port town as a Christian town from its foundation, at this stage this basically meant that most of the population was baptised and attended church both for private (confession) and communal ritual (Sunday mass and holiday celebrations). It was only perhaps in retrospect that its Christian origins were heavily emphasised due to the importance it later had within the Jesuit mission.

From its foundation the Jesuits acknowledged the strategic value of Nagasaki as the port of the *nao*, but initially they saw it as a rather peripheral mission base. Proof of this is the fact that missionary sources do not provide much information about the Jesuit mission base in Nagasaki town, beyond the fact that from 1571 at

¹⁷⁴ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.2 377)

¹⁷⁵ (Lopez Gay 1970, 46-47)

¹⁷⁶ (Lopez Gay 1970, 46-47)

least one missionary resided permanently there. Almeida did not include the Nagasaki residence in a letter that he wrote on 5 October 1572 to the Provincial Father of the Oriental Indies Antonio de Quadros, in which he listed the members and residences of the Society of Jesus in Japan. He referred to the whole territory of Ōmura Sumitada as being the most flourishing Christian community, where all the lords had already been baptised and the missionaries were free to work on the baptism of the population at large, but he did not mention Nagasaki.¹⁷⁷ Since he had been the very first missionary to preach in Nagasaki village in 1567 and had visited the Jesuit church there in 1570 when accompanying Cabral on his way to Ōmura, it cannot be that he was unaware of the existence of Nagasaki, so such an omission must mean that the Jesuits considered Nagasaki a peripheral mission base.

There are almost no references to the Jesuit residence in the new port town, but Figueredo must have built a house or a room adjacent to the church, large enough for a permanent residence, in which to host visiting missionaries or Jesuits en route. Cabral's letters from Nagasaki in September 1571 and 1572 suggest that at least once a year the Jesuit Superior went to the new port town to visit the Portuguese captain before the Portuguese ship sailed back to China.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, Cabral did not mean to reside permanently at Nagasaki. Although initially the Superior meant to stay in the port where the Portuguese merchants undertook business, Cabral stayed in the castle-towns of powerful lords, where he was granted protection. Probably Jesuits feared that Nagasaki would be attacked by Sumitada's enemies as Yokoseura and Fukuda had been, and this indeed came to pass only three years after the opening of the port.

The Fortification of Nagasaki town

The Portuguese *nao* called regularly at Nagasaki from 1571 to 1576, except in 1573, when the ship of Antonio de Vilhana that left Macao on 21 July was wrecked and had to return to Macao.¹⁷⁹ As Alison has pointed out, Nagasaki had natural advantages as a port for the large Portuguese carracks, but was still threatened by the

¹⁷⁷ (Schütte 1975, 91)

¹⁷⁸ Francisco Cabral signed a letter in Kuchinotsu dated 29 September 1572, only ten days after he had signed a letter in Nagasaki (Obara 1981, 43-44).

¹⁷⁹ (Schütte 1968, 721-722)

attacks of Sumitada's enemies: his half-brother Gotō Takaaki, lord of the Gotō islands, his brother-in-law Saigō Sumitaka, lord of Isahaya, as well as Fukahori Sumitaka, lord of Fukahori (fig 2.1 & 2.2). They had family ties with Sumitada, but opposed his alliance with the missionaries, to the extent that Sumitada had postponed his own baptism.¹⁸⁰ Indeed, Sumitaka and his allies did exert strong military pressure on Sumitada with repeated attacks on the Ōmura castle and its town, as well as the ports for the Portuguese trade. Nagasaki port was also attacked soon after its foundation and it became necessary to fortify it.

Japanese sources date the fortification of Nagasaki port town to before the opening of the port, which is extremely unlikely.¹⁸¹ The six streets and the church of the new town were probably first fortified in 1574, when the Nagasaki area was attacked as part of a multiple strike against Sumitada coordinated by Saigō Sumitaka, lord of Isahaya. Frois refers to this episode in the chapters dedicated to 1573 in his *Historia* but, as Schütte has pointed out, he notes that the attack took place in the year after the abovementioned wreck of Antonio de Vilhana's ship, that is 1573, which confirms 1574 as the date of the fortification.¹⁸² After Saigō attacked the Ōmura castle, the lord of Fukahori—his brother and ally—assaulted both Nagasaki village and the new port town by sea, with a fleet of sixty ships.¹⁸³ According to Frois, the rumour that Sumitada's fortress had been taken spread around Hizen province, leading to despair on the part of the residents of the new Nagasaki town, since Nagasaki Jinzaemon believed that the reason for Isahaya's attack on Ōmura was the Jesuit presence and so would not grant military protection to the new town, even refusing to provide shelter to the missionaries. Faced by the prospect that the town would be ravaged, a man was sent to Ōmura for instructions and brought back orders from Sumitada not to abandon the port town.¹⁸⁴

In order to avoid the desecration of the church of the Assumption, the priest organized a procession to take the altar of the church and a reliquary with an image of Mary to the woods and hide it in a safe place. Then the Father gathered the Christians and they built a wood palisade and a ditch around the Jesuit church and

¹⁸⁰ Belchior de Figueredo, Letter dated 1570 (Compañía de Jesus 1575, 280r-283v)

¹⁸¹ (Elison 1991c, 417)

¹⁸² (Schütte 1968, 721)

¹⁸³ (Schütte 1968, 721-722)

¹⁸⁴ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.2 391)

the six neighbourhoods. Once the protective structures were completed, the Christians organised another procession to bring back the altar, the sanctuary and Mary's image. The altar was put in its place and consecrated, and the church was dedicated again.¹⁸⁵ These actions, which prevented the mutilation or destruction of key objects in the rituals that made the church sacred, strengthened their importance, purity and holiness. It might be surprising that with the prospect of an imminent attack, the population spent time and energy in protecting these objects and so rituals, but doing so also functioned as a petition for protection at a time of imminent crisis, both from the point of view of the Christian priest and the townsmen, since it was customary in Japan to pray to *kami* and buddhas for protection before a battle.¹⁸⁶ Although the church had been emptied of what made it sacred for a few days and therefore no ritual took place during that period, the anticipation of the return of the holy image and the sense of achievement in having been able to complete the defensive palisade, might explain the 'festive' character that Frois ascribes to the rituals of consecrating the altar and dedicating the church, which sacralised the space and made it apt for communal ritual, bringing back its symbolic centre to the community, which at a time of crisis must have been key in uniting it.

After the attack on Ōmura, the Isahaya allies attacked Nagasaki by sea and by land, setting fire to a small hamlet of fishermen outside the fortified port town and to Nagasaki village, including the residence of the lord of Nagasaki and the church of Todos os Santos. Frois writes that the Father and the Christians of Nagasaki town from their fortified spot on top of the hill on Morisaki cape could see how their enemies ravaged the village. Four men from Shiki who were inside the town with the Jesuits organised a counter-offensive and attacked the Isahaya forces. Although some of the town's defenders died, nine of the enemy's leaders were killed. The attackers retired by sea and the fortified port town, including the church, were saved. The corpses of those who had died defending the port town were buried and solemn Christian funerals were performed.¹⁸⁷ The solemnity of the funerary rituals was justified by the fact that the deceased were military men and had died protecting the

¹⁸⁵ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.2 391)

¹⁸⁶ Ōmura Sumitada prayed to the Buddhist deity Kannon before resisting the attack of Gotō Takaakira in 1572 (Takase 1993, 123)

¹⁸⁷ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.2 391)

town, and must have appealed to the population, since the care of the dead was highly regarded in Japan.¹⁸⁸ Based on customary Christian funeral practices in early modern Japan, it can be assumed that the funerary rituals involved a ceremony in the church, a procession through the city and the burial ceremony itself. No cemetery is mentioned, so the corpses may have simply been buried outside town as was customary in Japan.¹⁸⁹ The participation in these rituals in the church and across the town must have contributed to the Christianization of the port town Christian community and also of the port town itself.

Frois also writes that the Christians in Nagasaki village soon rebuilt the burnt church of Todos os Santos in what seems to have been an initiative of the villagers, although the Jesuit priest in the port town must have been involved in the rebuilding works and undoubtedly in the rituals of dedication. This suggests that the absence of a resident missionary in Todos os Santos and the formation of a more solid Christian community in Nagasaki town did not mean the dissolution of the community of Nagasaki village. On the contrary, the proximity of a solid Christian community and a priest in Nagasaki port town were crucial in the reproduction of sacred space in Nagasaki village, which was treated as a satellite church of the main church in Nagasaki port town. Most probably the local Christians took care of the maintenance of the church and organised prayers and reading of Christian doctrinal works, and the Jesuit priest from the port town visited them frequently to perform mass, preach and hear the confessions of the Christian community of Nagasaki village.

The Isahaya forces burned the church at the foot of Sumitada's fortress in Ōmura, but eventually retired.¹⁹⁰ Sumitada escaped death but had been severely weakened and had to gain back his vassals. He decided to convert all his subjects to Christianity, probably to force them to prove their allegiance, in what could be seen as the Christian version of the loyalty oaths that were customary among Japanese military lords at the time. Cabral reports that the Jesuits baptised 17,000 or 18,000 people and that even the Buddhist monks of fifty or sixty monasteries converted. He appointed Fathers Gaspar Coelho and Giovanni Francesco as well as Japanese catechists, and summoned brothers Baltasar Lopez, who was in Kuchinotsu, and

¹⁸⁸ (Lopez Gay 1970, 197-98)

¹⁸⁹ (Tronu Montané 2006b)

¹⁹⁰ Francisco Cabral, Letter dated 12 September 1575 (Companhia de Jesus 1598b, vol.1 349v-353r)

Brother Miguel Vaz, who was in Shiki, and regretted not having enough missionaries for such a massive enterprise.¹⁹¹ Father Giovanni Francesco wrote in 1575 that Sumitada urged five of his main retainers to become Christian, for which they went to Nagasaki to hear the Christian doctrine and get baptised. One of them was the lord of a castle with 1300 vassals, and was given the Christian name of Joao. Once baptised, he decided to make his subjects become Christian and asked the Jesuit father in Nagasaki to send a missionary to preach there.¹⁹² Coelho went to Ōmura and sent Giovanni Francesco to Nagasaki. From there he visited and baptised the people from the villages of Fukuda, Teguma and Miye. His stay was relatively short because Coelho soon requested his help in converting the Buddhist monks of Kori (figure 2.6).¹⁹³ In sum, although only one Jesuit resided permanently in Nagasaki town, it seems that it very soon served as a nodal point for the propagation of Christianity throughout the region.

¹⁹¹ (Companhia de Jesus 1598b, vol.1 350r-352v)

¹⁹² (Companhia de Jesus 1598b, vol.1 353r-353v)

¹⁹³ (Companhia de Jesus 1598b, vol.1 354r-354v)



Figure 2.6 Map of West Kyushu
Source: (Anesaki 1930)

In the second half of the 1570s the Jesuit missionary sources focus on the areas perceived as political centres, such as Kyoto, Bungo and Ōmura, expressing concern about the wars in which the powerful pro-Christian lords were involved and rejoicing about the massive conversions in the territories of Sumitada (1575), Ōtomo

Sōrin (1578), and Arima Harunobu (1580).¹⁹⁴ Nevertheless, by the end of the 1570s, the emerging importance of Nagasaki as a base for the evangelisation of rural villages in the area begins to become evident in the archive. Although the Catalogue of the Jesuits in Japan for 1574-75 records only five main residences in Hirado, Ōmura, Kuchinotsu, Bungo and Miyako and Nagasaki is not mentioned at all, the 1575 annual report lists Nagasaki among the eleven main residences of the Jesuits in Japan.¹⁹⁵ We have no detailed information on the ordinary activities of the Nagasaki Christian communities in the early half of 1570s, since unfortunately there are no extant letters from Fathers Figueredo and Cabral in this period.¹⁹⁶ However, it seems that Nagasaki port town gained a certain status within the Jesuit mission structure after its fortification. New residents had moved to the town from other areas and the town comprised more than 400 houses by 1579.¹⁹⁷ By then, the residence in Nagasaki town was already one of the three Jesuit main residences in the Ōmura region and three Jesuits were appointed to reside there: a priest to take care of the town's church and its Christian community, and another priest and a brother to evangelise and maintain Christian communities in the surrounding rural villages.¹⁹⁸

In sum, the dynamic creation and re-creation of space played an essential role in the process by which within one decade the Morisaki cape in Nagasaki bay was transformed from a natural port at the foot of an agricultural village into a small but fortified merchant port town. The erection of two churches produced two differentiated Christian communities in Nagasaki village and Nagasaki port town, although the lack of support of the Christians by the local lord became clear in time of crisis. While Nagasaki village and its church were ravaged, the townsmen in the port took action to fortify the town and preserve the church and its images, which strengthened the cohesion of the dwellers in Nagasaki town as a community and their engagement with the Christian church. These are also signs that reveal the growing economic and administrative autonomy of the new town and its progressive

¹⁹⁴ (Companhia de Jesus 1598b, vol.1 passim)

¹⁹⁵ (Wicki 1948, 770-771; Schütte 1975, 99)

¹⁹⁶ (Pacheco 1970, 309)

¹⁹⁷ Francisco Carriao, annual report of 1579 (Companhia de Jesus 1598b, vol.1 431v-434r), 1579 Jesuit Catalogue in (Schütte 1975, 107)

¹⁹⁸ Francisco Carriao, annual report of 1579 (Companhia de Jesus 1598b, vol.1 431v-434r)

detachment from the lord of Nagasaki village that would culminate in the following decade. Sumitada's donation of the port town to the Jesuits in 1580 turned Nagasaki town into what could be called a Christian 'temple town'. The following chapter assesses the causes and the dramatic consequences of this major change for Nagasaki and its Christian community.

Nagasaki port town as a Jesuit ‘temple complex’ (1579-1587)

The previous chapter explored the involvement of the Jesuit missionaries and the local Japanese in the spatial transformations caused by the foundation of Nagasaki port town. This chapter argues that major changes in financial and political administration during the 1580s consolidated the town as a self-governing Christian entity. This thesis is supported by the actions that the Christian community as well as the Japanese authorities took in order to either strengthen or diminish the influence of the Jesuits over the town’s citizens and sacred spaces. Section one assesses the first major change in the administration, which occurred in 1580, when the local lord Ōmura Sumitada put the town under Jesuit jurisdiction. Clear signs of how this empowered the Jesuits and the Christian community can be seen in the enlargement of the Church of Our Lady of the Assumption in 1581, as well as in the establishment of a lay confraternity and its headquarters in 1583, with an adjacent church dedicated to Saint Isabel. Section two discusses the second major administrative change, which occurred in 1587, when the central government put Nagasaki under its direct control and issued an edict expelling the Jesuits from Japan. This caused the first large-scale crisis in the Japanese mission, but also confirmed that the Japanese saw Nagasaki as a Jesuit temple town (*jinaimachi*). Although the Jesuits were deprived of their properties on Morisaki cape and the church of the Assumption was closed, their influence over the citizens continued.

3.1 Alessandro Valignano's restructuring of the Jesuit mission in Japan

In 1579 Father Alessandro Valignano arrived in Japan as the Jesuit Visitor of the East Indies. The Visitor was the representative of the Jesuit General Father abroad, and was thus bestowed with the highest authority among the Jesuit missionaries. Other Visitors had visited Japan before, but Valignano showed an unprecedented interest in and enthusiasm for the Japanese mission. After assessing the situation of the Japanese mission through several consultations with the missionaries in the field and visits to the main residences, Valignano considered that the Japanese mission had a high potential for success in spite of a serious lack of resources, and introduced dramatic reforms to ensure its continuity and growth.¹⁹⁹ The Portuguese ship in which Valignano travelled anchored in Arima province, which was then in turmoil. The Lord of Arima was a relative of Ōmura Sumitada, who offered him military support but was also eager to keep the Portuguese ship coming to his territories. Valignano offered support and munitions to Arima Harunobu, and after bringing the warfare to a successful conclusion Arima was baptised and made his people convert en masse to Christianity in April 1580.²⁰⁰ The loss of the benefits of the Portuguese trade in 1579 and the prospect opened by the collaboration between Arima and the Jesuits must have urged Sumitada to close a deal to ensure that Nagasaki was identified as the port for Portuguese trade, before the ship arrived in the following year. Early in June, Ōmura Sumitada granted the land and jurisdiction of Nagasaki to the Jesuits, as well as the right to collect the portuary fees, in exchange for keeping the taxes from the Portuguese trade transactions.²⁰¹

Valignano decided to accept the deal, although he was aware that it would cause surprise and suspicions in Rome, but it was one of the major issues discussed in the consultations with the missionaries in Japan.²⁰² He explained the reasons for such a move in the official report for the Jesuit General Father on the Japanese

¹⁹⁹ For a detailed study of Valignano's policy for the Japanese mission see Schütte (1980)

²⁰⁰ (Schütte 1980, vol.1, 319-325)

²⁰¹ (Pacheco 1970, 313)

²⁰² (Schütte 1980, vol.1, 327-329)

mission that he completed in 1583 once he had already left Japan.²⁰³ Although Valignano foresaw problems in assuming the administration of the Nagasaki port town and investing in the Portuguese silk trade with Macao, it was a crucial move in consolidating the Jesuit engagement in the Portuguese silk trade with Macao. This was an unprecedented action for a religious order, but Valignano saw it as the only way to generate an urgently needed financial income to sustain the growing network of mission posts, increase the human resources and create educational institutions to train native clergy. The funds that the Portuguese crown and the Papal See sent from abroad were insufficient. Moreover, these were sent through Portuguese merchants and administered by the Jesuit authorities in India, who did not prioritise the interests of the Japanese mission. Delays, reductions of the assigned amount, or even complete loss because of shipwreck or piracy were not unusual. This left the Japanese mission, which was the very last port on the Portuguese route, in an unsustainable situation, and without any power to speed up or guarantee the delivery of stipends. In contrast, the silk trade granted larger and quicker income, and was under the direct management of the Jesuits in Japan.²⁰⁴

The donation of Nagasaki port town to the Jesuits (1580)

In 1580 Sumitada and Valignano signed a contract by which the territory of the new port town (*shinmachi*) was put under the administrative rule of the Jesuits. The original Japanese document is not extant, but a contemporary abbreviated translation into Spanish that Valignano sent to the Jesuit Father General is kept in the Jesuit Archive in Rome, of which Joseph F. Schütte, Diego Pacheco and George Elison have provided English translations.²⁰⁵ The main conditions of the agreement are clear, namely, that Sumitada and his son made a perpetual donation to the Jesuits and the Father Visitor of the village [sic.] of Nagasaki and that of Mogi. The Jesuits could appoint the administrator of the port town and collect the portuary fees of the Portuguese ship, while Sumitada reserved for himself the dues of all ships that might reach the Nagasaki port.²⁰⁶ In a letter to the Jesuit General Father Valignano explained Sumitada's reasons for the cession, which was a way to protect the port

²⁰³ (Álvarez Taladriz 1954a)

²⁰⁴ (Elison 1991c, 102-104)

²⁰⁵ (Pacheco 1970, 313; Schütte 1980, vol.1 328; Elison 1991c, 94-95)

²⁰⁶ (Pacheco 1970, 313)

from being taken by his local enemies, and especially by the powerful lord Ryūzōji Takanobu, thus ensuring for himself the portuary fees of the Portuguese ship and a safe haven in which to take refuge if Ōmura was attacked.²⁰⁷

The Japanese and missionary sources provide different views on the reasons for the donation of Nagasaki town. Japanese sources suggest that the Jesuits took advantage of Sumitada's financial debts to them and pressured him to let go of his control of Nagasaki port.²⁰⁸ Jesuit sources, however, have it that Sumitada offered the inner town to the Jesuits of his own initiative.²⁰⁹ Alison considers that regardless of whether the initiative came from the Jesuits or Sumitada, the responsibility was shared and the trigger was the mutual benefit from the Portuguese trade.²¹⁰ The Jesuits were in need of income to sustain the existing mission bases and erect more churches. Moreover, the training of Japanese clergy envisioned by Valignano required schools (*seminarios*) and colleges (*colegios*) that also needed to be funded and maintained, increasing the financial burden on the Jesuits. Sumitada was under constant threat from neighbouring lords and needed military resources. He would benefit from collecting the taxes paid by Japanese merchants to trade with the Portuguese and from the mediation of the Jesuit missionaries in acquiring munitions from the Portuguese. Thus, Nagasaki's cession to the Jesuits clearly empowered both parties. Most significant is the fact that two weeks after the agreement was formalised, Valignano ordered the fortification of both Nagasaki and Mogi and that both should be well supplied with artillery and ammunition, so that they were able to resist in case of attack.²¹¹ Although Mogi was a very small village with a sparse revenue, it provided an alternative route by sea from Nagasaki to the Arima peninsula, faster and safer than the land route along Isahaya, which was under the rule of lord Ryuzoji Takanobu, who was hostile to the Christians (fig 3.1). This route was not only important locally. It was part of what has been called the "*kirishitan* belt", a route that connected the Christian mission across Kyushu, from Ōmura to Bungo, and up to Kyoto through Christian-friendly territories.²¹²

²⁰⁷ Alessandro Valignano, Letter dated 15 August 1580 (Pacheco 1970, 315)

²⁰⁸ (Elison 1991c, 99-101)

²⁰⁹ (Álvarez Taladriz 1954a, 80-81)

²¹⁰ (Elison 1991c, 101)

²¹¹ (Elison 1991c, 94-95)

²¹² (Kawamura 2006, 110-112)

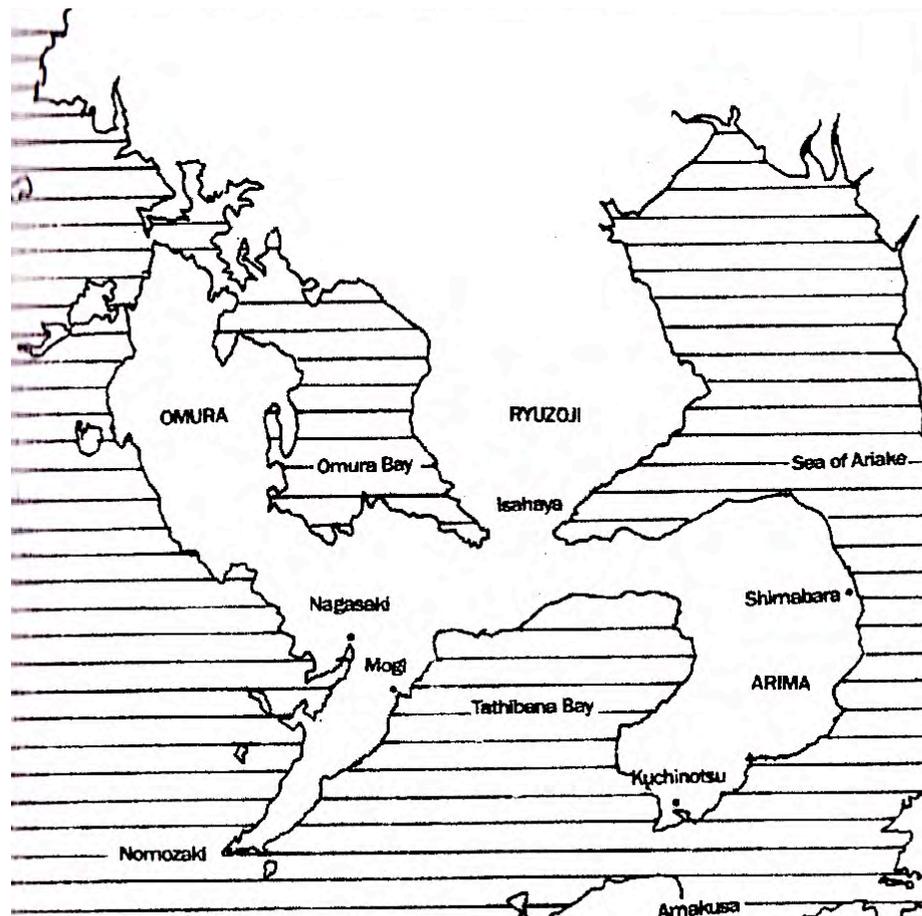


Figure 3.1 Map of Nagasaki, Mogi and the Shimabara Peninsula
Source: (Kawamura 2006, 111)

At a local scale, the cession of Nagasaki port town sanctioned the intervention of the Jesuits in matters beyond the religious sphere. Valignano regretted that the Jesuits had no jurisdictional authority, but he emphasised that Sumitada had introduced amendments to the criminal laws according to Christian values at the request of the missionaries and that the Jesuits could appoint the magistrate (*yakunin*), so that they could exert some influence on his actions or replace him if needed.²¹³ In addition, the administrative posts were held, as before, by representatives of the various neighbourhoods of the port town chosen by the citizens, who happened to be powerful merchants who had become Christian and had been very close to the Jesuits since the foundation of the town.²¹⁴

²¹³ Alessandro Valignano, Letter dated 15 August 1580 (Pacheco 1970, 318)

²¹⁴ (Harada 2006, 50)

When Nagasaki was granted to the Jesuits, it comprised around 400 households within the area surrounded by the ditch.²¹⁵ In addition, around nine new neighbourhoods (*machi*) had developed next to the six original ones.²¹⁶ Moreover, the population increased in the autumn season, because the Portuguese and the Japanese merchants who came to trade stayed in the town while the Portuguese ship was anchored in the port. The consolidation of the Jesuit influence over Nagasaki, together with the demographic and urban growth, account for the enlargement of the church on the cape. According to a letter by Lorenzo Mexia dated 20 October 1580, as soon as the Jesuits assumed authority over Nagasaki, they started to gather timber to build a bigger, more beautiful building for the Church of Our Lady of the Assumption, which was completed by 1581.²¹⁷ There is no information about the layout of the new church building. In the official report on the Japanese mission, entitled *Sumario de las cosas de Japón*, Valignano wrote that the new church of Nagasaki port town was not completed when he left Japan in 1582, but Pacheco argues convincingly that he must be referring to further works of enlargement that continued during the following years.²¹⁸ Valignano was not happy with the design of the five rooms next to the church that formed the Jesuit residence, which probably explains why further works were necessary in order to improve the facilities.²¹⁹ The increase in living space for missionaries indicates that Nagasaki gained in functions and relevance within the Jesuit mission, becoming the base for the evangelization of the rural and coastal villages in the environs of Nagasaki.

The church of the Assumption was certainly important for the Nagasaki citizens as their religious centre, but it also became the symbol of the port town for the outsiders. In the *Sumario* Valignano argued that a larger church was needed in the port town, owing to the many visits to Nagasaki by affluent merchants from all around Japan.²²⁰ This suggests that the Jesuits, and probably the Nagasaki citizens, were aware that the church attracted the attention of the merchants from other areas of Japan who visited Nagasaki during the trading season. It is unclear from

²¹⁵ Lorenzo Mexia, Letter dated 20 October 1580 (Pacheco 1977, 53)

²¹⁶ (Harada 2006, 50)

²¹⁷ Lorenzo Mexia, Letter dated 20 October 1580 (Pacheco 1977, 53)

²¹⁸ (Pacheco 1977, 53)

²¹⁹ (Pacheco 1977, 53)

²²⁰ (Álvarez Taladriz 1954a, 80)

Valignano's words whether merchants attended the church's rituals, or simply visited the church either out of curiosity or to pay respects to the Jesuits as mediators in the silk business, but the quote is interesting because for the first time the enlargement of the church is associated with an objective beyond the ritual needs of the local Christian community. Standing as it did at the top of the hill on Morisaki cape, the church was in a very prominent location, and thus would have been the first building seen by the visitors approaching Nagasaki either by land or by sea. This made the church the perfect showcase for displaying the wealth and prosperity of the town and the success of the Jesuit evangelisation. As Nagasaki became both a Jesuit town and a merchant town for the silk trade, attracting merchants from central Japan and elsewhere, so the church of the Assumption represented the Society of Jesus and Christianity, not only at a regional level, but to the whole of Japan.

Desecration and Resacralization of the Church of the Assumption (1581)

The commitment of the town's citizens to their church was underlined in 1581, when the church of the Assumption was desecrated, but then resacralized through the cooperation of the Jesuits and the local population. As argued in chapter one, ritual is ultimately what produces or re-produces sacred space, turning a building into a church. The key moment for this transformation was the ritual of consecration when a church was founded, which explicitly imposed a dramatic change on the nature of the place itself, sanctifying it and turning it into a sacred place. Nevertheless, it was the performance of the first Eucharist that established a series of differentiated places within the church, which mirrored the social position of the participants and created specific power relations between the attendants and the performers. These were maintained by the periodic celebration of mass on Sundays and the celebrations of the holidays of the Christian calendar during the year. Missionaries were aware that the Japanese had high standards of cleanliness and considered material and symbolic purity an important characteristic of sacred space. Therefore maintaining such purity implied not only regular cleaning and ornamentation, but also a certain code of behaviour within the church, respectful towards the priests and the very place itself. If compromised, it was necessary to restore this purity in both material and symbolic ways, through cleaning and ritual actions.

According to a letter by Father Gaspar Coelho, in 1581 a fight between two Japanese men desecrated the church. We do not know whether these were Nagasaki citizens or foreigners, as no details are given, but this episode reveals much about the production and reproduction of sacred space in Nagasaki. After the event Valignano ordered the removal of the altars and the image of Mary and had the Christians change the straw mats inside the church.²²¹ This seems to indicate that the fight involved the shedding of blood in some way, as blood was the main cause of pollution of both Christian churches and Japanese shrines or temples, and therefore required properly restorative actions and rituals. Jesuits performed the appropriate rituals of what was known as reconciliation, and although Coelho does not describe the rituals involved in this process, they must have followed the ‘Order for Reconciliation’ prescribed in contemporary Portuguese Catholic ritual handbooks and later incorporated in the *Manual for the Administration of Sacraments* published in and for use in Japan.²²²

The removal of the altar and the image while the straw mats were being changed and the building cleaned stressed their sacredness. It is likely that the missionaries organised a public procession to remove the altar and the main image from the church, as had been the case previously during the attack in the mid 1570s recounted above. For the Japanese the very action of cleaning and renewal must have had a strongly purificatory meaning, recalling the periodic rebuilding of shrines as a way of maintaining purity and avoiding pollution and decay.²²³ The temporal impasse during which the polluting elements were removed and purity restored was also marked spatially with processions first taking out the relics and image of Mary and then bringing them back. Finally, the replacement of the main image, the consecration of the altar and the public ritual of reconciliation of the church restored and sanctioned the sacredness of the building.

It is possible to reconstruct the details of the reconciliation ritual in the *Manuale ad Sacramenta Ecclesiae Administranda*, the ritual handbook for priests in Japan, which includes instructions on how to resacralize a church that had been desecrated by the pollution caused by a homicide or the spilling of blood inside the

²²¹ (Pacheco 1977, 53)

²²² (Cerqueira 1605, 301-319)

²²³ (Yusa 2002, 27-30)

church.²²⁴ A priest with a violet pluvial, surplice and stole, or only wearing the surplice and stole, enters the main gate of the church, preceded by a processional cross with candle holders in each side. Then from inside the church the priest chants in Latin the Antiphon *Asperges me Domine*. This is the first two verses of the Psalm 51: ‘You will sprinkle me, O Lord, with hyssop and I shall be cleansed. You will wash me, and I shall be washed whiter than snow.’²²⁵ He then chants the whole of Psalm 51 repeating the Antiphon at the end. As he chants, the priest sprinkles the church with holy water with his right hand, starting with the main altar and then walking to the other parts of the church until he returns to the point where he started. When the priest approaches the zone that has been especially contaminated, he sprinkles it thoroughly, before standing at its very centre and saying a prayer in Latin, making the sign of the cross and genuflecting twice. Then, the priest goes to the main altar and, kneeling down, chants a Litany. He stands up, says a deprecation and performs the sign of the cross; then kneels again and brings the Litany to an end.²²⁶ Finally, after standing up and saying a prayer facing the altar, the priest performs mass or alternatively a blessing.²²⁷ The literal meaning of the Latin words must have escaped the understanding of the Japanese observers, but the action of sprinkling holy water to sprinkle the church and especially the area that had been restored must have transferred a clear sense of purification.

Although the fact that two men confronted each other and fought inside the church was indeed a sign of disrespect towards the Christian church as sacred space, the affair provided an opportunity for the Jesuits to perform the reconciliation ritual and engage the whole community in the material and ritual reconstruction of the church, that is, an act of ‘re-producing’ the sacred space in the Lefevrian understanding presented in chapter 1. Through actions such as communal cleaning and refurbishing, and participation in the reconciliation ritual performed by the priest, the community publicly condemned the profanation of the church through blood shedding and confirmed the importance of the church as a sacred space and as the town’s symbolic centre.

²²⁴ (Cerqueira 1605, 301-319)

²²⁵ (Cerqueira 1605, 306)

²²⁶ (Cerqueira 1605, 306)

²²⁷ (Cerqueira 1605, 302-311)

The Church of Saint Isabel and the Misericordia brotherhood (1583)

The consolidation of the Christian community of Nagasaki was evident in 1583, when a group of Nagasaki citizens inaugurated a lay brotherhood, the Misericordia, and built a new church. The Jesuit church on the Morisaki cape remained the main church of the city, but the presence of a second church, mainly cared for by a lay brotherhood, was a sign of the population's engagement with and demand for Christian ritual. Lay confraternities had proliferated in medieval Europe, as devotional practices gained popularity. In Portugal brotherhoods oriented to charity works rather than devotional exercises, named Misericordia after the Portuguese word for compassion or charity, became particularly popular due to the patronage and encouragement of Queen Eleanor.²²⁸ Such confraternities developed in the Portuguese colonies abroad and in Japan there are references to Misericordia in Kyushu as soon as 1557 in Funai and Bungo and in 1562 in Hirado and Hizen.²²⁹ While in Macao the Misericordia was basically an affair of the Portuguese elite, this was not the case in Japan, where the locals seem to have been eager to organise themselves into *konfurariya* (Japanese pronunciation of *cofradia*, the Portuguese word for confraternity), probably due to the Japanese tradition of lay organizations called *kumi* or *kō*.²³⁰ Thus, while they relied on the missionaries for advice, the members elected their own leader, who was a lay Christian called *mordomo* (butler) in Portuguese or *jihiyaku*, from the Japanese translation for administrator (*yaku*) and charity (*jih*).²³¹

The Nagasaki Misericordia was constituted in 1583. Jesuit sources say that a Japanese merchant christened Justino, who had moved to Nagasaki from Sakai, played a major role in setting it up.²³² There were already 100 members by 1585, including the four administrators (*tōnin*) of the port town.²³³ The Misericordia acquired a plot of land in Hon-Hakata-machi bordering the ditch of Kōzen-machi

²²⁸ (Oliveira e Costa 2003, 75)

²²⁹ (Oliveira e Costa 2003, 76)

²³⁰ (Kawamura 2003; 2009, 159)

²³¹ (Kataoka 1998, 116)

²³² Jesuit annual report dated 1585 (Kataoka 1998, 115-116)

²³³ (Kataoka 1998, 114; Oliveira e Costa 2003, 76)

(figure 3.2).²³⁴ The headquarters of the confraternity was called Casa da Misericordia (house of charity in Portuguese) and referred in Japanese sources as *jihiya* (house of compassion).²³⁵ Next to their headquarters they built a church, dedicated to the Visitation of Our Lady, often referred as the church of Saint Isabel. The building was completed in 1584 and although it was smaller than the Jesuit one on Morisaki cape, it had an adjacent room to host a Jesuit father and a brother, as well as an outdoor cemetery for the members and their relatives.²³⁶

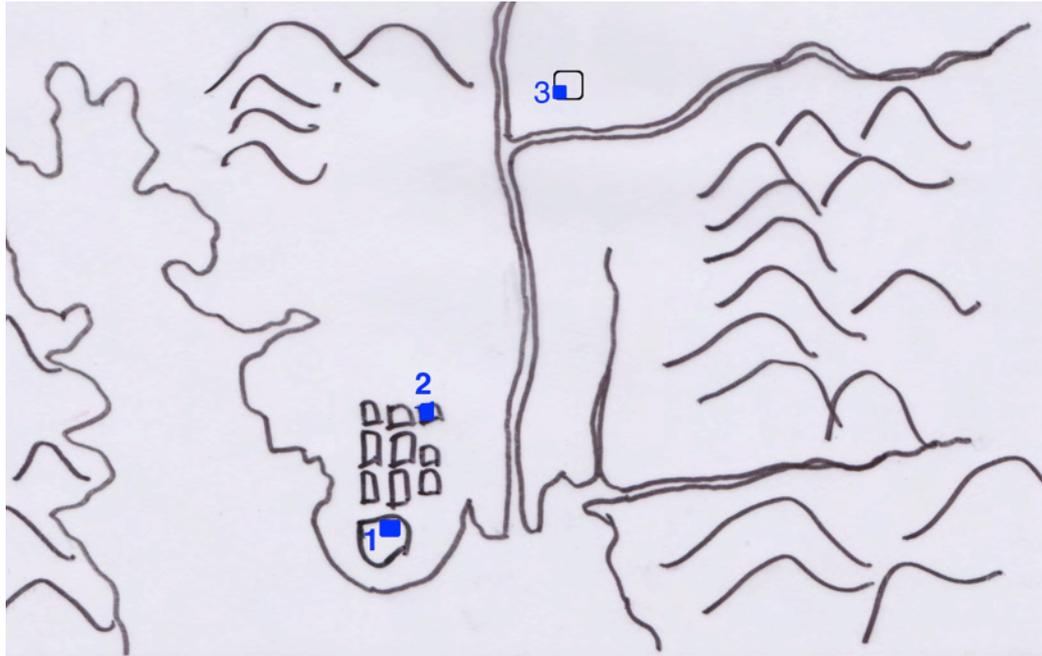


Figure 3.2 Schematic map of Nagasaki around 1583

1. church of the Assumption, 2. House of the Misericordia and church of St Isabel,
3 church of Todos os Santos

The Nagasaki Misericordia statutes took as a model the regulations of the Macao Misericordia.²³⁷ They established the main activities of the organization according to the Corporal and Spiritual Works of Mercy, of which the Jesuits circulated a Japanese translation in the summarised Christian doctrine (*Dochiriina Kirishitan*).²³⁸ These included seven spiritual deeds (to teach the simples, to give advice to one who asks for it, to show compassion to those who commit mistakes, to offer solace to those who are sad, to pardon those who commit mistakes, to endure

²³⁴ (Pacheco 1977, 60)

²³⁵ (Kataoka 1998, 117-118)

²³⁶ (Pacheco 1977, 60)

²³⁷ (Oliveira e Costa 2003, 76)

²³⁸ (Cieslik 1970; Kataoka 1998, 118)

slander with patience, and to pray to God for the living and the dead) and seven bodily deeds (to free and/or visit prisoners, to heal the sick, to dress the naked, to provide food for the hungry, to provide water to the thirsty, to lodge the pilgrims and the poor, and to bury the deceased).²³⁹ Misericordia members took care of the preparation for death and the funeral of former members and their relatives, who were guaranteed a place in the confraternity's cemetery, as well as memorial masses and prayers for their souls. This must have been appealing to the Japanese since funerary rites and ancestor worship were central in Japanese society, but a Buddhist funeral was costly and unaffordable for commoners.²⁴⁰ Apart from taking care of other members, they also practiced charitable deeds towards non-members in need, such as giving alms and food to the poor, and taking care of the sick. This became one of their main activities, and as had the Funai Misericordia in 1557, they set up a leper hospital on the outskirts of Nagasaki, which is a sign that Christian values were taking root, since lepers were at the time highly marginalised in Japanese towns because of ancestral taboos regarding pollution (*kegare*).²⁴¹ The establishment of the Misericordia in Nagasaki is therefore an important landmark for the integration of Christian values and their actual practice, and because of its social function within the city. It was also crucial because it set a precedent in Nagasaki for a lay organization supporting a church and its priest, a model that would prove crucial for the implementation of the parish system in Nagasaki at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as will be discussed in chapter 6.

Nagasaki within the Jesuit mission

After the cession of the port town to the Jesuits in 1580, the Jesuit residence on Morisaki cape gained importance within the Japanese mission as a safe haven, but remained peripheral. Valignano has divided the Japanese mission into three areas, Miyako (Kyoto and central Japan), Bungo (north-eastern Kyushu) and Shimo (Hizen and western Kyushu). The main Jesuit base in the Shimo area, to which Nagasaki belonged, was Ōmura castle-town, where their patron Sumitada had his main residence. In addition, the Jesuits put their efforts into developing the mission in the

²³⁹ (Kataoka 1998, 118)

²⁴⁰ (Tronu Montané 2006b)

²⁴¹ (Kawamura 2009, 159)

Kyoto area, Japan's political centre and a Buddhist stronghold. Oda Nobunaga had taken Kyoto in 1568, starting the process of unification, and in 1581 Valignano met him in Kyoto and visited his new fortress in Azuchi, near Lake Biwa, envisioning a Jesuit seminary for central Japan.²⁴² Nobunaga allocated the Jesuits a plot of land at the foot of the castle in Azuchi in order to build a residence, a church and a school for children.²⁴³

When he left Japan in 1582, Valignano envisioned central Japan as the centre of the Jesuit mission. Before sailing from Nagasaki, he decided to organise a Japanese embassy to Europe. He chose four Japanese boys trained in the recently inaugurated Jesuit school of Arima as representatives of the most powerful Christian lords in Kyushu (Ōtomo Yoshishige, Ōmura Sumitada and Arima Harunobu).²⁴⁴ They were meant to visit the Pope and the Spanish king, who had also ruled over Portugal and its colonies abroad since 1580.²⁴⁵ Valignano expected the embassy to have a double effect. The fact that the boys were learned in Christianity and spoke Portuguese and Latin would prove the success of the Jesuit endeavours in Japan and the great potential of the Japanese people; hopefully the interest and investment of the Pope and the Spanish king in the Japanese Jesuit mission would increase. On the other hand, once the boys returned to Japan, they would recount the wealth and magnificence of the European courts and the Church, improving the image of Christianity and Europe in Japan and thus stimulating the Japanese to convert and support the Jesuits.²⁴⁶ Valignano and the embassy left Nagasaki on 20 February 1582 carrying a set of folding screens depicting Nobunaga's castle in Azuchi that they would offer as a present to the Pope, but four months later the political situation in Japan changed. On 21 June 1582, Nobunaga was murdered by one of his generals and Azuchi castle and its town were burnt to ashes. The Jesuits had to abandon the residence, the church and the school and relocated the 25 students to more stable areas of central Japan, first the Jesuit residence in Kyoto, and then Takatsuki castle-town, under the patronage of the Christian lord Takayama Ukon.²⁴⁷

²⁴² (Murakami 1943, 373)

²⁴³ (Murakami 1943, 373)

²⁴⁴ (Elisonas 2007, 33)

²⁴⁵ (Valladares 2001, 1)

²⁴⁶ (Cooper 2005, 13)

²⁴⁷ (Murakami 1943, 373)

Nagasaki had a peripheral but strategically crucial position within Valignano's design of the Jesuit mission in Japan. As the regular port for the Portuguese ships, it was the place where the Jesuits dealt with the incoming human, material and financial resources for the Japanese mission, and many young or newly-arrived missionaries were trained in Japanese there before being allocated elsewhere. For example, Father Francisco Pasio arrived in Nagasaki on 25 July 1583 and stayed there for two years to learn the Japanese language until in 1585 he was sent to the Kyoto region.²⁴⁸ The Jesuit residence on Morisaki cape also became a missionary centre at the local level, since it was the base for the missionaries in charge of disseminating Christianity to the neighbouring villages and taking care of the new community with periodical visits. Pasio wrote that usually there were three Jesuits in the Nagasaki residence. 'One takes care of the port, that belongs to the Society of Jesus, and the other two take care of the surrounding towns and fortresses.'²⁴⁹ Pasio himself was responsible for 22 communities 'in a long cape that was 15 leagues long', which he had already visited twice by December.²⁵⁰

The further enlargement of the main church suggests the prosperity of the Portuguese trade and the consolidation of the Christian community in Nagasaki that followed the cession of the port to the Jesuits. In 1585 arrangements to build a larger building for the Church of the Assumption started. The town's citizens raised 2,000 *cruzados* for the new church, and the Jesuits had timber brought to Nagasaki from several parts of Japan. It is not clear when exactly the building works started, but they were still on-going in 1587.²⁵¹ This enlargement and the way in which the lay community got involved in it confirmed the Church of the Assumption as the symbolic centre of the town and the close relationship between the Jesuits and the Nagasaki citizens. Sumitada's cession of the town had strengthened and sanctioned the influence of the Jesuits beyond religious affairs, so that Nagasaki now had features of what in Japan is referred to as temple-town or temple complex (*jinaimachi*), that is, a town with a religious institution as its centre.²⁵² It was fortified and able to resist military attacks and citizens closely related to the Jesuits managed

²⁴⁸ (Pasio 1585a, 39r-39v)

²⁴⁹ (Pasio 1583, 230r-230v)

²⁵⁰ (Pasio 1583, 230r-230v)

²⁵¹ Luis Frois, Letter dated 25 October 1585 Nagasaki (Pacheco 1977, 54)

²⁵² (Kawamura 2009, 158-161)

its political and economical administration. Regulation had been adapted to Christian values and most of the population participated in the celebration of Christian holidays, so that the communal rituals of the citizens followed the rhythm and values of the foreign religion. The donation of the town to the Jesuits secured Nagasaki as the regular port for the Portuguese trade, but also turned Nagasaki port town into a Christian version of a True Pure Land temple town to the eyes of the Japanese central authorities, which had important consequences, as we will see in the following section.

3.2 Nagasaki port town under the control of the central government

After Oda Nobunaga, the leader who had started the unification of Japan, was assassinated in 1582, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, one of his most successful generals, took charge as his successor and continued the task of unifying the country by widening the territory under his rule.²⁵³ This involved several measures, two of which are important in terms of their relevance for understanding Hideyoshi's actions towards Nagasaki: his campaign against powerful Buddhist institutions and the pacification of Kyushu. In 1585 Hideyoshi attacked the Buddhist Shingon Monks of Negoro and the Jodo Shinshū (True Pure Land sect) of Saiga, in the Kii peninsula, Wakayama. Negoro was a producer of muskets and had supplied the Ishiyama Honganji fortress. Saiga was a Jōdo Shinshū community of twenty-six villages that claimed political autonomy and had successfully resisted Nobunaga's attack in 1577. Hideyoshi sent first 40,000 men to Negoro and in three days obtained their surrender and confiscated all their weapons. Then he reduced Saiga, which was the last armed Shinshū enclave in Japan. Hideyoshi sent a warning to the Shingon monks' headquarters on Mt. Koya saying that they should not produce or retain weapons, and took measures to control the administration of Buddhist temples, especially in Kyoto, where he forced the monks to keep their internal rules. He also reduced the properties of the Buddhist monasteries, cut their ties to the guilds and commercial establishments, and relocated

²⁵³ For detailed studies on Nobunaga and Hideyoshi's politics see Lamers (2000) and Berry (1982).

popular temples away from their congregations.²⁵⁴ He was not against the Buddhists, since he allowed them to rebuild their temples or to transfer them elsewhere, but his actions were clearly aimed at cutting their military and economic power.

Hideyoshi's attitude towards the Jesuits was initially supportive. As soon as he seized power, he started building a magnificent castle in Osaka, where the Ishiyama temple-fortress once stood. Ishiyama, literally 'stone mountain', had been a fortified temple that had resisted Nobunaga's attacks for a decade, before surrendering in 1580. Hideyoshi's choice to make it his fortress was a display of his power as well as a reminder of his stand towards the Ikkō sectarians. In September 1583 the Jesuits, following the advice of Takayama Ukon, one of Hideyoshi's generals, who was a fervent patron of the Jesuits, asked Hideyoshi for a plot of land in Osaka on which to build a church and obtained a place nearby the castle.²⁵⁵ The Jesuits were further reassured when in April 1586 Hideyoshi visited the Jesuit church of Osaka and said that they were better than the Bonze of Osaka because of the pure life they lead, exempt of the filth of the Buddhist Bonzes.²⁵⁶ The Bonze of Osaka was the True Pure Land Buddhist priest Kennyō Kōsa, the leader of the Honganji branch, with had had its headquarters in Ishiyama. The comparison between the Fathers and the True Pure Land monks initially favoured the Jesuits but, as Alison points out, would turn against them and become the main reason for Hideyoshi to take action against the missionaries in 1587.²⁵⁷

In 4 May 1586 the Jesuit Vice-Provincial Father Gaspar Coelho visited Hideyoshi in Osaka castle.²⁵⁸ According to Luis Frois, who acted as translator, Hideyoshi showed signs of hospitality and openness towards the Jesuits, showing them around the fortress and offering them a tea ceremony. He told Coelho about his intention to give the Hizen province to the Christian lord Takayama Ukon and one of the two governors of Sakai, Konishi Ryūsa, who favoured the Jesuits and were present during the Vice-Provincial visit. He also told them that he planned to expand his territories to Korea and China, where he would allow the Jesuits to build churches

²⁵⁴ (Berry 1982, 85-86)

²⁵⁵ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 35)

²⁵⁶ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 234-235)

²⁵⁷ (Elison 1991c, 111-112)

²⁵⁸ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 227-234)

and preach their doctrine.²⁵⁹ What is most relevant is that according to Frois, Hideyoshi promised to issue to the Jesuits an officially-sealed patent to maintain the Nagasaki port, although they would have to wait until he had settled political matters in Kyushu. It also had to be clear that this was a magnanimous gesture coming from Hideyoshi and not a response to a Jesuit request.²⁶⁰ Frois seems to have been very optimistic about Hideyoshi's openness with the Jesuits and, as Alison noticed, he did not show any criticism of or suspicion about the hegemon's intentions towards the Christians. In contrast, from a letter to the General Father by Father Organtino Gnecci Soldi, we know that both he and the Christian lords who were present were worried about raising political and military matters during the interview. They considered it inappropriate of Coelho to have offered to mediate with the Christian lords of Kyushu so as to join forces with Hideyoshi in the Kyushu campaign as well as to have complied with Hideyoshi's request for the Jesuits to supply two large Portuguese ships for the China enterprise.²⁶¹ Hideyoshi did not seem to show any mistrust towards the Jesuits at this point, and indeed on 20 June 1586 he issued a decree allowing the Jesuits to preach in all the territories that recognised his authority.²⁶² Nevertheless, Hideyoshi was about to engage in the Kyushu campaign, which would bring him close to Nagasaki and let him notice suspicious similarities with the True Pure Land Buddhist temple towns.

The pacification of Kyushu was one of the most important campaigns lead by Hideyoshi. In May 1586 Ōtomo Sōrin requested Hideyoshi's help to fight against the Shimazu family, his most powerful and persistent enemy. Hideyoshi offered a truce to the Shimazu, but they rejected it, so the former prepared his troops for intervention. In December 1586 two of Hideyoshi's vassals moved with their armies to Buzen and Bungo, another one followed in February 1587 and finally Hideyoshi himself joined them in April.²⁶³ Hideyoshi's headquarters for the Kyushu campaign were in the city of Nagoya, in the Hizen province, not far from Hirado (figure 2.1), which gave him an opportunity to learn about the Jesuits' position in Kyushu.

²⁵⁹ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 229)

²⁶⁰ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 233)

²⁶¹ (Elison 1991c, 112-114)

²⁶² (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 238; Elison 1991b, 359)

²⁶³ (Berry 1982, 88-90)

The battles lasted half a year until the Shimazu surrendered on 16 June 1587. In the first week of July Hideyoshi returned to his military base near Hakata, where Coelho visited him to congratulate him and pay his respects.²⁶⁴ Coelho went from Nagasaki to Hirado on a *fusta armada*, a Portuguese ship, which was smaller than a *nao* (a merchant carrack), but still a large ship of 200 or 300 tons and armed with artillery.²⁶⁵ On 15 July Hideyoshi spotted the ship crossing Hakata bay, and the large *fusta* remained in sight while anchored at the Hirado port. In 19 July Coelho reached Hakata, whereon Hideyoshi unexpectedly approached the ship by sea and visited the Jesuits. The fathers showed him each detail of the ship and offered him food. This was the day on which Hideyoshi was going to distribute the land of Hakata, in order to start the reconstruction of the town. Coelho congratulated him for his victory and asked him for a plot of land in Hakata to build a church. Frois has it that while the Buddhists were required to build their temples outside town, the Jesuits received a plot of land in town.²⁶⁶

Hideyoshi asked Coelho to have the *nao* that was then anchored in Hirado brought to Hakata, but the latter's harbour were not suitable and on 24 July the Portuguese captain visited Hideyoshi to decline and apologise. Hideyoshi accepted the explanations and showed signs of favour, but on that very same night, he sent a messenger to the Jesuits with three inquiries that suggest his disapproval and suspicion of the true intentions the Jesuits:

“Why do the fathers fervently recommend and force everyone to become Christian?

Why do you eat horses and cows?

Why do the Portuguese buy Japanese and take them abroad as slaves?”

²⁶⁷ [my translation]

Coelho sent a reply, but on the morning of 25 July the messenger returned asking why the Jesuits destroyed temples and shrines and persecuted Buddhist monks.²⁶⁸ Coelho replied promptly claiming no responsibility for the forced conversions and destruction of native sacred spaces and emphasising that his task in Japan was merely

²⁶⁴ (Berry 1982, 88-90)

²⁶⁵ (Elison 1991c, 115)

²⁶⁶ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 390-394)

²⁶⁷ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 399-401)

²⁶⁸ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 399-401)

concerned with the spiritual salvation of the Japanese. By the time the response reached Hideyoshi, he had already issued two documents against the missionaries: a notice (*oboegaki*) to be circulated among his daimyo retainers, in which he restricted their engagement with Christianity, and a public edict expelling the Jesuits from Japan (*Bateren tsuihōrei*) to be published in all the territories under his authority. On the following morning, a copy of the public edict was delivered to the Portuguese captain who was staying on board the *fusta* with Coelho.²⁶⁹ These two documents mark a turning point in the Christian mission in Japan and therefore need to be cited in full and analysed closely. Following my analysis I want to suggest how the effects of these documents played out in Nagasaki.

The only extant copy of the notice that Hideyoshi circulated among his retainers dated 23 July 1587 (Tenshō 15.VII.18), is the one addressed to the Hakozaki district, Hakata, and is kept in the archives of the Ise shrine.²⁷⁰

NOTICE

1. The matter of [becoming] a sectarian of the Bateren shall be the free choice of the person concerned.
2. Whereas provinces, districts, and localities are granted in fief by His highness, it is miscreant for the recipient to force farmers belonging to Buddhist temples, and others in their fief, against their will into the ranks of the Bateren sectarians by ordering them, unreasonably and unjustly, to become such.
3. Provinces, districts, and fiefs are granted to their recipients on a temporary basis. Although the recipient may change, the farmers do not change. In case of unreasonable demands exerted on any point, the recipient shall therefore be declared miscreant by His Highness. Be heedful of this.
4. Persons holding more than two hundred *chō*, two thousand or three thousand *kan*, may join the Bateren only upon obtaining permission from the public authority [*kōgi*; i.e., Hideyoshi].

²⁶⁹ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 404-407)

²⁷⁰ (Heibonsha 1956, 270; Ebisawa 1990, 268; Elison 1991c, 115)

5. Persons holding fiefs smaller than the aforementioned: It being a question of the Eight Sects or Nine Sects, each head of the house may decide individually as he pleases.
6. The sectarians of the Bateren, it has come to His Highness's attention, are even more given to conjurations with outsiders than the Single-Minded sect. The Single-Minded sect established temple precincts in the provinces and districts and did not pay the yearly dues to the enfeoffed recipients. Moreover, it converted the entire province of Kaga into its own sectarians; chased out Togashi, the lord of the province; turned over the fiefs to priests of the Single-Minded sect; and, beyond that, even took over the province of Echizen. Everyone knows that this was harmful to the realm.
7. The priests of the Honganji sectarians had temples built on every cove and inlet. Although they have been pardoned, His Highness no longer permits them to run their temple precincts as they did before.
8. That daimyo in possession of provinces and districts or of localities should force their retainers into the ranks of the Bateren sectarians is even more undesirable by far than the Honganji sectarians' establishment of temple precincts and is bound to be harmful to the realm. Those senseless individuals shall therefore be punished by His Highness.
9. Those among the common people who freely choose to become sectarians of the Bateren may do so, it being a question of the Eight Sects or Nine sects.
10. The sale of Japanese to China, South Barbary, or Korea is miscreant. Add: In Japan trade in human beings is prohibited.
11. To buy or sell cattle and horses for slaughter and consumption shall also be considered miscreant.

The above are strictly prohibited. Any transgressor shall swiftly be brought to justice for his offense.

Tenshō 15.VI.18 [23 July 1587] VERMILLION SEAL [Hideyoshi]²⁷¹

²⁷¹ (Elison 1991c, 115)

These instructions to his daimyo retainers contained eleven articles with specific measures dealing with the issues that Hideyoshi had raised with Coelho, namely, forced conversions and the trade in humans for slavery and cattle for consumption. The first article stated that becoming a Christian had to be the free choice of an individual, and articles 2 and 3 reminded the vassals that they had received their fiefs from Hideyoshi himself and were not allowed to force the farmers or Buddhist monks in their territories to convert to Christianity against their will. By doing this he made it clear to his vassals that their authority over the inhabitants of their fiefs had been delegated and was limited, so that they should not interfere in religious matters. It was also an affirmation of Hideyoshi's power to give and take their fiefs, which confirmed him as the central authority. That his main concern was political, not religious, is clear from article 4, which established that lords with fiefs bigger than two hundred *chō* (508 acres) had to ask for Hideyoshi's permission in order to convert to Christianity, while articles 5 and 9 made it clear that this applied neither to vassals with small fiefs nor to commoners, since religious adherence concerned the Buddhist institution rather than the state. Hideyoshi's main concern seems to have been to prevent *daimyō* from encouraging entire villages or provinces to revolt and challenge his authority. Articles 6 to 8 compare the Christians with the Honganji sectarians in that they are 'given to conjurations with outsiders' and are 'harmful for the realm'. They note that the single-minded sect in Kaga rebelled against their lord and took the whole province and, although Hideyoshi pardoned them, he did not allow them to run their temple towns as before. Finally, articles 10 and 11 are direct bans on the trade in Japanese slaves and horses, activities that Hideyoshi clearly attributed to the Portuguese merchants and the Japanese who traded with them, most of whom became Christians, as well as to the Jesuits who certainly ate meat when available and acted as mediators in commercial transactions.

As for Hideyoshi's public edict expelling the "Fathers" from Japan, a copy issued in Hirado, the domain ruled by the Matsuura clan, is kept in the archives of

the Matsuura Historical Museum.²⁷² Modern Japanese versions are available, though I quote the most authoritative English translation, by George Elison:²⁷³

DECREE

1. Japan is the Land of the Gods. That a pernicious doctrine should be diffused here from the Kirishitan Country is most undesirable.
 2. To approach the people of our provinces and districts, turn them into [Kirishitan] sectarians, and destroy the shrines of the gods and the temples of the Buddhas is something unheard of in previous generations. Whereas provinces, districts, localities, and fiefs are granted to their recipients temporarily, contingent on the incumbent's observance of the laws of the realm and attention to their intent in all matters, to embroil the common people [in the Kirishitan doctrine] is miscreant.
 3. In the judgement of His Highness, it is because the Bateren amass parishioners as they please by means of their clever doctrine that the Law of the Buddhas is being destroyed like this in the Precincts of the Sun. That being miscreant, the Bateren can scarcely be permitted to remain on Japanese soil. Within twenty days from today they shall make their preparations and go back to their country. During this time, should anyone among the common people make unwarranted accusations against the Bateren, it shall be considered miscreant.
 4. The purpose of the Black Ships is trade, and that is a different matter. As years and months pass, trade may be carried on in all sorts of articles.
 5. From now on hereafter, all those who do not disturb the Law of the Buddhas (merchants, needless to say, and whoever) are free to come here from the Kirishitan Country and return. Be heedful of this.
- That is all.
- Tenshō 15.VI.19 [24 July 1587]²⁷⁴

²⁷² (Heibonsha 1956, 271; Ebisawa 1990, 266-267; Murai 2004, 60-61)

²⁷³ (Kuwata 1975, 347-349)

²⁷⁴ (Elisonas 2006, 167-168)

The edict is composed of 5 articles. The first article defines Japan as the Land of the kami and Christianity as a pernicious doctrine. The second article forbids the forcible conversion of commoners to Christianity and the destruction of shrines and temples. As emphasized in the instructions for the retainers, it makes it clear that lords receive their fiefs from the central authority temporarily so they should not force their subjects to accept Christian doctrine. Article 3 identifies the Christian missionaries as the cause for the destruction of Buddhism, so they are not allowed to stay in Japan and should leave within 20 days, although no one should disturb them while they prepare to leave. In contrast, article 4 explicitly dissociates the Portuguese trade from the propagation of Christianity and allows the trade to continue, while article 5 specifically allows merchants and foreigners from Christian countries who do not attack Buddhism to come to Japan and return.

None of the documents mentioned Nagasaki or Takayama Ukon explicitly, but given that Hideyoshi disenfeoffed Takayama Ukon and took Nagasaki under his direct control at almost the same time that he issued them, he probably had very specific referents in mind when talking about fortified temple precincts and Christian lords who forced their retainers to convert. Nagasaki port town was an important trigger of Hideyoshi's suspicions. Nagasaki was officially recognised by the local daimyo as the territory of a religious community, so that it was exempted from paying taxes. It was an emerging merchant city governed by its own citizens and flourishing economically as the main port for the silk trade. It was fortified, strategically surrounded by the sea and a moat, and well supplied by the Portuguese with weapons and ammunition. It had also successfully resisted an attack, as shown above. Its initial design and subsequent development made it clear that the symbolic centre of the town was the Jesuit church, while most of its inhabitants were Christians, who had established a lay brotherhood that resembled the religious brotherhoods (*kō*) that existed within the *ikkō* communities.

The explicit comparison of the Jesuits with the *ikkō* sectarians in articles 6 to 8 of the notice for daimyō indicates that from Hideyoshi's point of view, Nagasaki resembled a Christian version of an *ikkō* temple precincts, a temple domain or a temple town (*jinaimachi*), as Elison, Berry, Takase and Kawamura have already

argued.²⁷⁵ Hideyoshi's confiscation of the town from the Jesuits can be seen as a continuation of his policy to eradicate the militarised clergy and fortified temple precincts that involved whole villages or towns, which were seen as potential threats for the unification enterprise.²⁷⁶ As said above, in the past True Pure Land Buddhist groups had revolted repeatedly against both local and central powers, and Hideyoshi had only recently disempowered them. Hideyoshi's concern at the fact that Nagasaki was well furnished with artillery and a strong fortress was known within his entourage, and was transmitted to the Jesuits, some of whom regretted the very existence of a fortified Jesuit city.²⁷⁷ I want to stress that the resemblance between Nagasaki and a True Pure Land temple town (*jinaimachi*) was likely one of the triggers for Hideyoshi's expulsion edict because it is a clear sign that Nagasaki had indeed come into being as a Christian space, as was argued in chapter 2, and that the citizens of Nagasaki were identified as a highly engaged Christian community.

There were several cases of forced mass conversions of which Hideyoshi must have been aware. In northern Kyushu, in 1574 Omura Sumitada had forced the villagers in his territory to hear the preaching of the missionaries and get baptized; according to missionary sources the number of Christians thereby increased from 5,000 in 1571 to 60,000 in 1577.²⁷⁸ Similarly, when Arima Yoshisada converted in 1579, he forced 15,000 of his vassals to embrace Christianity as well.²⁷⁹ Takayama Ukon was one of Hideyoshi's direct vassals and not only had induced more than half of the population in his Takatsuki fief to embrace Christianity; when Hideyoshi transferred him to Akashi in 1585 he also encouraged the population of his new fief to become Christian and burn Buddhist statues.²⁸⁰ Hideyoshi must have been well aware of these cases. The disenfeoffment of Takayama Ukon, together with the order to dismantle the fortresses and churches in Omura and Arima provinces can be seen as punishment and warning to the Christian lords, but most importantly as a way to prevent the formation of a coalition of Christian lords with the military potential to challenge Hideyoshi's rule.

²⁷⁵ (Berry 1982; Elison 1991c; Takase 2001; Kawamura 2009, 152-153)

²⁷⁶ (Takase 2001, 12)

²⁷⁷ (Pasio 1585b, 275-276v)

²⁷⁸ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.2 431)

²⁷⁹ (Oliveira e Costa 1999, 42)

²⁸⁰ (Elison 1991c, 130)

Hideyoshi opposed Christianity, and more specifically the presence of the Jesuit missionaries, the existence of Jesuit temple precincts, the conversion of powerful lords and the forced conversions, out of political and economical reasons. He sanctioned his discourse by referring to religious concerns, but his main concern was not religion. Hideyoshi clearly stated that religious adherence to a particular school or tradition was not part of the duties of a subject. As George Alison points out, Hideyoshi's desire to stop the conversion of powerful daimyo to Christianity and the massive conversions of their subjects was not a matter of religious freedom.²⁸¹ Hideyoshi's objective was far from imposing a specific religion on the population under his rule, but he was determined to assert control over any religious group that might challenge his rule.

In the very first article of the public edict Japan was presented as the 'Land of the Gods' (*shinkoku*) in opposition to the 'Christian Countries', but the relationship between politics and religion in Japan was very different from that in Portugal and Spain, where Christianity was the official religion and Jews and other heretics were harshly persecuted. The concept of Japan as the 'Land of the Gods' (*Shinkoku Shisō*) had already been used in the past: from a religious point of view it sanctioned the introduction of Buddhism into Japan and from an ideological perspective it emphasized Japanese resistance to the Mongol attacks and defined Japan as superior to the Mongol empire.²⁸² Hideyoshi now deployed it to strengthen Japan's unity and counter possible foreign interference with his unification endeavors. Gonoï points to the fact that the discourse on *kami* in the expulsion edict was in tune with the religious discourse of the Ise shrines.²⁸³ Takagi argues that Hideyoshi created an ideological discourse in which the political stability of Japan was based on a syncretistic interpretation of Buddhist and Shinto elements, but drawing a new meaning from these in order to sanction the new rule he had recently imposed.²⁸⁴

Further proof that Hideyoshi's references to religion and tradition in the edict were framed within his political agenda of unifying the country is the fact that neither the notice to the daimyo nor the public edict prohibited the Christian faith, as

²⁸¹ (Elison 1991c, 119)

²⁸² (Kuroda 1996, 353-385)

²⁸³ (Gonoï 2002, 263)

²⁸⁴ (Takagi 2004, 59-84)

Murai Sanae stresses.²⁸⁵ Indeed, although the edict considers ‘most undesirable’ the diffusion of a pernicious doctrine from the Christian country, in the notice for daimyo retainers the option to convert to Christianity is left open for small lords and commoners. In this regard, as Ōhashi Yukihiro pointed out, Hideyoshi’s 1587 regulations targeted the Christian elites, namely the missionaries and the military lords.²⁸⁶ He was suspicious that these two groups would use Christianity as a way to establish and sanction loyalties other than those imposed by the central power, and to mobilize the commoners. His priority in the aftermath of the conquest of Kyushu was to eliminate any chance for the Kyushu lords to mobilize their subjects and revolt against the central government.

Christianity is presented as a pernicious doctrine in the public edict because it destroyed the Buddhist Law, but doctrinal issues remain undeveloped. The most elaborated criticism of the Christians both in the notice and the edict is their similarity to the Honganji sectarians in their capacity for mobilizing commoners against the political powers. The other reason given for Christianity to be considered a pernicious doctrine in articles 1 to 3 of the public edict is that Christians destroy ‘the shrines of the gods and the temples of the Buddhas’, implying that the Jesuits are responsible for the destruction of Buddhist institutions. Certainly, mass conversions to Christianity were often followed by the transformation of Buddhist temples into Jesuit churches and attacks on the local shrines and temples. Although Coelho argued that these were spontaneous actions by the Japanese, there are records of zealous Jesuits encouraging or directly involved in the attacks on local ‘idols’ and sacred spaces, a clear example of which can be found in Vilela’s actions in the Nagasaki area as noted above. Sacred spaces were symbolic centers for local communities and their material destruction was a clear corroboration of the power of the foreign missionaries to mobilize lords and commoners to break with tradition and turn against their local religious institutions. Shrines and temples were symbols of the syncretistic ideology promoted by Hideyoshi. In this sense, the fact that the decree was publicized in major shrines and temples, such as the headquarters of Shingon Buddhism at Koya-san and the Ise shrines, can be seen as a means to sanction his ideological discourse.

²⁸⁵ (Murai 2004, 59)

²⁸⁶ (Ōhashi 1998, 50)

Articles six to eight of the notice drew on the example of the Ikkō rebellion in Kaga, which had overthrown the Echizen daimyo, to define the Christians as being even more harmful for the realm and ‘given to conjurations with outsiders’. This might be seen to refer to the Portuguese, but it might also mean those Kyushu lords who were not within Hideyoshi’s circle. Takase believes these words reveal Hideyoshi’s real fear that the Portuguese would use Nagasaki as a base for the conquest of Japan.²⁸⁷ In contrast, Elison considers that such an interpretation mirrors an emphasis in the Tokugawa historiography on external threats, arguing that while further measures that Hideyoshi would take in 1597 indeed responded to such threats, the 1587 expulsion edict is best understood in the context of Hideyoshi’s internal policy. Even if Hideyoshi feared a Portuguese attack, he did not yet want to give it any publicity, nor did he consider that the missionaries conspired against Japan.²⁸⁸ Whether the concern was internal revolts or external attacks, it seems clear that Hideyoshi saw the Jesuits and the Christians as a potential threat, with the focus of its resistance in the fortified Nagasaki port town.

We should not disregard the economic rationale for issuing the Edict of Expulsion. It is obvious that Hideyoshi was extremely interested in the Portuguese silk trade and wanted it to continue, but under his direct control. Takase thinks that he tried to cut the links between the Jesuits and the Portuguese merchants just as he had cut the ties between the Buddhists and the guilds in 1585.²⁸⁹ The economic autonomy of the Jesuits depended on their investment and mediation in the trade between the Portuguese ships from Macao and the Japanese merchants. Hideyoshi had a double objective, to disempower the Jesuits and to increase the profits of the Japanese merchants in the silk trade, and he would take actions accordingly.

Reaction of the Jesuits and the Nagasaki citizens to the edict

Coelho begged Hideyoshi to delay the expulsion, arguing that there was not enough space for all the missionaries in the Portuguese ship. Before the Jesuits left Hakata to return to Hirado, Hideyoshi sent them a message saying that he was aware that it was impossible for them to leave Japan within 20 days, as he had ordered, and

²⁸⁷ (Takase 2001, 12)

²⁸⁸ (Elison 1991c, 115)

²⁸⁹ (Takase 2001, 11)

that they were allowed to stay until the Portuguese ship sailed to Macao, but in the meantime they all had to gather in Hirado. Coelho wrote to Christian lords and even to Hideyoshi's wife, seeking their intercession, even offering money for bribes, should this help to convince him to revoke the edict, but Hideyoshi's stand towards the Christians and the missionaries was so hostile that no one dared to intercede for the Jesuits.²⁹⁰

Frois records several actions that Hideyoshi took immediately after issuing the expulsion edict. He sent notice to the Portuguese that in future ships coming to Japan should not bring missionaries on board. In Hakata, the edict was announced publicly and on a notice board, while the plot of land that Coelho had received to build a church was given to the Buddhists to build a temple instead. Notice boards were also set up in Kyoto, Osaka, Sakai, Nara and in pilgrimage sites like Mount Koya and the Ise shrine. Banners with crosses among the troops in the Hakata camp had to be removed and six Christian lords were asked to recant and sign a blood oath on an image of Kumano Gongen. Hideyoshi also ordered the destruction of the fortresses and the Christian churches in Omura and Arima. Most relevant for this thesis is the fact that Hideyoshi confiscated the Jesuit territories of Nagasaki, Mogi and Urakami (figure 2.3) and sent two of his men to demolish the Nagasaki wall and to collect 500 silver bars. Hideyoshi assigned to Lord Kobayakawa in Chikuzen province the timber of the Jesuit church on Morisaki cape, which was not yet completed, and to Lord Mori the timber of the Jesuit residences in Nagasaki and Hirado.²⁹¹

Coelho was still in Hakata when he was informed that Hideyoshi would send two of his men to Nagasaki to collect the silver. Coelho sent a messenger to Nagasaki before they arrived in the city alerting the Jesuits that they should save the Society's property. Apart from religious images and ornaments, the Jesuits also kept in storage the silk that the Portuguese could not sell in order to sell it on the following year. Coelho advised the Christians to hide any young women to avoid them being taken as concubines by Hideyoshi.²⁹² The news alarmed the Nagasaki population and some people abandoned their houses, while others tried to hide their

²⁹⁰ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 224-226)

²⁹¹ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 421-22)

²⁹² (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 422)

possessions. The Jesuits quickly dismantled the church and took the religious images away at night into one of the two Japanese ships that would carry the most important properties of the Jesuits to Hirado, where the Portuguese *nao* would be anchored during the winter.²⁹³

According to Frois, once Hideyoshi's men reached Nagasaki, the Jesuits used their maintenance funds to bribe them and they did not destroy the churches, only the wall that protected the town.²⁹⁴ Hideyoshi had ordered that as much as possible had to be collected before he left Hakata, so one of the men took 100 silver bars, most of them obtained from the Portuguese merchants who were staying in Nagasaki. Frois has it that the Portuguese paid their respects to Hideyoshi's men and offered them presents to ameliorate the situation. As soon as the first 100 silver bars were brought to Hakata, Hideyoshi asked for 200 more, but the Nagasaki citizens did not have that amount of silver, and although some sold their rice and clothes, the Jesuits had to contribute with 550 cruzados, which was more than half of the required silver.²⁹⁵

A Christian lord named Miguel who had a castle near Nagasaki, knowing that Hideyoshi's men would destroy his fortress as they had in other areas of Omura, burned down his castle himself and moved to Nagasaki with his family. Because of the edict, the Jesuits in Nagasaki asked the population not to go to the churches and cancelled all public celebrations of mass. Frois says that the Jesuits secretly performed mass in their living quarters. This probably refers to a mass in Todos os Santos only for and by the Jesuits with a portable altar, since attending a daily mass was compulsory for all Society members. After Hideyoshi's men were gone, the first public mass was celebrated on 15 August 1587, the day of the Assumption and an important holiday since the church was thus dedicated. Frois has it that many citizens attended and the church was full.²⁹⁶

Once most of the Jesuits had gathered in Hirado, they held a consultation to discuss how to react to the edict, deciding not to leave Japan, but to disperse to peripheral territories under the protection of Christian lords, where they could stay without calling the attention of Hideyoshi, such as the remote isle of Shōdoshima,

²⁹³ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 421-22)

²⁹⁴ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 423)

²⁹⁵ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 423)

²⁹⁶ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 424)

under the control of Konishi Yukinaga, christened Agostinho.²⁹⁷ In fact, when the Macao ship left Japan in the autumn of 1587 it took only three Jesuit brothers on board, who intended to be ordained in the Jesuit college in Macao and to return to Japan as priests. In Nagasaki, the main church and residence on Morisaki cape were closed and the missionaries moved to Todos os Santos in Nagasaki village, but two Jesuits stayed hidden in the Misericordia church in town. Although they kept the church doors closed to avoid suspicion, Father Organtino Gnecci Soldi woke up early in the morning to say mass and administer sacraments to the citizens.²⁹⁸ In this way, some of the citizens, most probably the Misericordia members and the Portuguese, maintained to some extent their observance of the main Christian holidays. Pasio reports that many visited Organtino secretly to confess during Lent.²⁹⁹ In this way, the Misericordia members showed their strong support of the Jesuits and the Jesuits remained connected to Nagasaki's Christian community while apparently complying with the central authorities.

Nagasaki under the direct control of Hideyoshi

On 3 August 1588 Hideyoshi appointed Tōdō Takamichi Sado no kami and Terazawa Hirotaka Shima no kami as bailiffs (*daikan*) to collect taxes in Nagasaki. Moreover, after the Portuguese ship called at Nagasaki on 17 August 1588, Hideyoshi sent Konishi Ryusa, who was in charge of managing Hideyoshi's funds, to deal directly with the Portuguese merchants in Nagasaki, and Jesuits were not allowed to intervene in the negotiations.³⁰⁰ He bought most of the raw silk at an unprecedentedly low price, and the rest of the Japanese merchants were not allowed to deal with the Portuguese until he had closed the transaction. This reduced enormously the benefits of the Portuguese and caused disagreements and rows among the merchants. According to Pasio, in 1588 there were intense fights between the Portuguese and the Japanese merchants in Nagasaki port town while the *nao* stayed in the port, and although the Jesuits had retired to Todos os Santos in Nagasaki village, their mediation was crucial in preventing the fights from

²⁹⁷ (Wicki 1976-84, vol.4 424)

²⁹⁸ (Pasio 1589, 110r)

²⁹⁹ (Pasio 1589, 110r)

³⁰⁰ (Takase 2001, 11-14)

escalating.³⁰¹ This situation alarmed the Jesuits and the Portuguese alike, and they planned a way to resist and redress the situation.

Coelho planned to take up arms, withstand a siege in Nagasaki, and wait for aid from the Philippines.³⁰² He asked the Arima lord to seek support from other Christian daimyo in order to offer joint armed resistance against the expulsion edict, although he was unsuccessful. He then wrote to Manila, Macao and Goa requesting two or three hundred soldiers and firearms.³⁰³ Valignano was unaware of the turn of events in Japan until he arrived in Macao in August 1588, accompanying the four boys discussed above. He expected a triumphant entry into Japan, and hoped that the boys' explanation of their experiences in Europe would impress the Japanese authorities and improve the image and the conditions of the Jesuits in Japan. When Coelho's emissary Father Belchior de Moura reached Macao in March 1589 and Valignano heard of Coelho's demands for military support from Macao and the Philippines, he was dismayed and felt compelled to intervene. The Spanish authorities in Manila sent the request on to the Court in Madrid, while the Jesuit Superior of Manila condemned Coelho's plans and sent him a letter of reprimand. The Portuguese in the Indian colonies sent weapons, but not manpower.³⁰⁴ In the end, there was no military reaction to Hideyoshi, although this was not simply Coelho's idea alone, as Valignano's official version claimed. Coelho consulted a number of senior Jesuits —Gomez, Organtino, Frois, Mora, Rebello and Laguna—, and all of them except Organtino supported Father Mora's suggestion to seek reinforcements from the Philippines.³⁰⁵

Instead of a military reaction, in order to force Hideyoshi to reconsider his stand towards the silk trade and the missionaries, the Jesuit Visitor Father and the Portuguese civil authorities in India agreed that in 1589 the Portuguese *nao* bound for Macao would sail to Mexico and no Chinese silk would reach Japan.³⁰⁶ The message was clear: if Hideyoshi wanted Portuguese ships to trade in Japan, he would have to allow the Jesuits to stay and act as mediators. Valignano would go to Japan

³⁰¹ (Pasio 1589, 110r)

³⁰² (Elison 1991c, 133)

³⁰³ (Elison 1991c, 133)

³⁰⁴ (Elison 1991c, 132-133)

³⁰⁵ (Takase 2001, 18)

³⁰⁶ (Takase 2001, 16)

the following year to negotiate a deal with Hideyoshi in person. Thus, on 21 July 1590 the Macao ship arrived in Japan, bringing back the four Japanese boys and Valignano as the ambassador of the Viceroy of India.³⁰⁷ His main objective was to gain back both trading privileges for the Portuguese merchants and permission for the Jesuits to stay and preach in Japan.

In sum, the edict of expulsion and the confiscation of Nagasaki confirmed the Christian character of the town, while at the same time opening a period of instability for the Jesuit mission in Japan, the landmark of which was Hideyoshi's order to close the Christian churches in all the territories under his rule. He did not enforce the edict, however, and the Jesuits did not leave the country, although they abandoned their main mission posts and retired to peripheral locations in the countryside. They also kept their missionary activities within certain limits to avoid calling the attention of the authorities, for example not preaching in the open, but only in private places. In Nagasaki the church of the Assumption was closed and so the Christian community was deprived of its symbolic centre. The Jesuit missionaries based there had to abandon their headquarters on Morisaki cape and retired to the church of Todos os Santos in Nagasaki village, although two of them remained in town, staying at the house of the Misericordia. This situation of an empty centre and a resistant periphery mirrored in microcosm the situation of the Jesuit mission in Japan at large, since Jesuits abandoned their houses in the main cities of central Japan (Kyoto, Osaka and Sakai) and hid in the countryside under the rule of sympathising powerful lords, like Konishi Yukinaga of Higo and Arima Harunobu of Arima. The next chapter reveals how Hideyoshi's appropriation of Nagasaki and the closure of its main church broke the Jesuit religious monopoly over the city, which became a contested space, and argues that actions and spaces in the periphery were crucial to maintain Nagasaki as a Christian space.

³⁰⁷ (Elison 1991c, 133)

Chapter 4

The sacred space of Nagasaki contested (1590-1597)

The previous chapter suggested that in spite of Hideyoshi's confiscation of Nagasaki in 1587 and the loss of the main Jesuit church and residence in the inner town, the citizens were perceived and reacted as a Christian community committed to the Jesuits. During the following decade the Jesuits' position in Nagasaki was affected profoundly by a series of challenging moves from the Japanese central authorities and the arrival of other religious groups, but the Christian community and the Jesuits allied and resisted so that in the end Nagasaki was confirmed as a Christian space. Jesuits were unable to prevent Franciscans and Buddhists becoming established in the outskirts of Nagasaki, since the ultimate decisions on residence permits and the construction of new buildings was now in the hands of Hideyoshi's magistrates. Thus the town became a contested space owing to the tensions between different religionists and their local supporters. This chapter argues that Hideyoshi's actions produced a contested space, which provided opportunities for various actors but also prompted ever-more oversight by the political authorities.

This chapter is divided into three sections, the first of which explores the role of peripheral Christian spaces in Nagasaki during this time of crisis. With the support of the Portuguese merchants and the members of the *Misericordia*, the Jesuits succeeded in recovering the central church on Morisaki cape and their influence in Nagasaki's commercial and religious affairs. The second section shows how the arrival in Nagasaki of Spanish Franciscan missionaries as well as Japanese Buddhist priests from the mid-1590s on challenged the Jesuit religious hegemony and unleashed a struggle in the production of sacred space.

Finally, section three discusses the accidental arrival of a Spanish ship in Japan in 1596, bringing Mendicant friars, who openly preached in Kyoto and prompted a crackdown by the authorities. In 1597 the first public execution of

foreign missionaries and Japanese Christians took place in Nagasaki. Hideyoshi ordered that the condemned be taken all the way from Kyoto to Nagasaki to be executed there as a display of authority and a warning to the Christian communities in western Japan. For the Japanese Christians it was the first public martyrdom, and the remains of the martyrs and the execution ground itself became an object of devotion, producing a new kind of sacred space in Japan. While the execution constituted a tremendous blow against the propagation of Christianity, it also created a site of martyrdom with strong symbolic power, reinforcing Nagasaki's image as a Christian town and projecting it beyond the local Christian community. Nagasaki became known as a Christian space in Japan, not only to Christians but to non-Christians as well.

4.1 A Strong periphery and an unstable centre

Hideyoshi's issuance of the expulsion edict in 1587 inaugurated a period of crisis for the Japanese mission, as suggested in the previous chapter. The Vice-Provincial Father Gaspar Coelho and most of the Jesuit missionaries gathered initially in Hirado, as ordered by Hideyoshi, but once Coelho obtained permission from Hideyoshi to postpone their departure, the missionaries scattered to rural areas in Kyushu and central Japan, under the protection of Christian lords. The Jesuits also relocated and concentrated their institutions and mission bases in the periphery, mainly in western Kyushu. No Jesuit institutions remained active in central Japan and only Father Organtino stayed in hiding near Kyoto to lead the Christian communities in that area. The largest institutions, such as the *seminario* in the Kyoto area and the *colegio* and probation house in Bungo moved to Western Kyushu, so that by 1589 more than 115 Jesuits were residing in residences in Arima, Ōmura and Amakusa.³⁰⁸

Similarly, in Nagasaki, on a smaller scale, the Jesuit missionaries had to abandon their central base on the Morisaki cape of Nagasaki inner town and retire to the peripheral church of Todos os Santos in Nagasaki village. Nevertheless, two Jesuit priests stayed underground in the house of the Misericordia so that the

³⁰⁸ Gaspar Coelho, letter dated 24 February 1589 (Companhia de Jesus 1598a, ff.234r-235r)

Christians in the inner town might visit them secretly to attend to mass and say confession. Despite the changed circumstances, however, as the new decade started things were looking up for the Christian community of Nagasaki, since in 1590 they completed the enlargement works of the church of Our Lady of the Assumption on the Morisaki cape, which was the largest in Japan at the time.³⁰⁹ The second visit to Japan of Father Valignano was crucial for the continuity of the Jesuit mission in Japan, and especially in Nagasaki. Valignano could not enter Japan as the Jesuit Father Visitor, but in 1590 he returned as the ambassador of the Portuguese Viceroy of the Indies accompanying the four boys' embassy.

In March 1591 Valignano had an audience with Hideyoshi in the Jurakutei villa, the residence he had recently built in Kyoto. Valignano's main purpose was to negotiate an agreement that ensured the continuation of trade as well as the revocation of the expulsion edict, so that the Jesuits could officially develop their mission in Japan.³¹⁰ He explained that no ship had been sent to Japan on the previous year because Hideyoshi had expelled the missionaries and forced low prices on the silk. If Hideyoshi wanted Portuguese ships to trade with Japan in the coming years, he had to grant freedom of negotiation over the price of silk, silver and gold as before. Moreover Valignano pleaded that the Portuguese merchants required the missionaries' assistance in both religious and business matters, so that missionaries should be allowed to stay in Japan, if only to provide religious rituals and pastoral care to the merchants who resided in Nagasaki. Hideyoshi accepted this, as it was the only way to obtain Chinese silk, and he gave permission for up to ten Jesuits to stay in Nagasaki.

The compromise reached between Hideyoshi and Valignano ensured the continuity of the trade with Macao and of the Jesuit mission in Japan and had important consequences for Nagasaki. When the Macao ship arrived in the summer of 1591, the price of gold was negotiated through Jesuit intermediaries as before, and the profits of the Portuguese merchants increased.³¹¹ In addition, the Portuguese captain, Roque de Melo, made a donation to build a hospital with an adjacent chapel in Nagasaki. Thus by the end of 1591 or early in 1592 the hospital of Saint Lazaro

³⁰⁹ (Pacheco 1977, 53)

³¹⁰ (Massarella 2005, 347-348)

³¹¹ Jesuit annual report of 1591 & 1592 (Takase 2001, 13)

was built in Nishizaka (figure 4.1), on the outskirts of Nagasaki town, close to the beach where the ships anchored. The reason for locating the hospital in Nishizaka was probably that it was a hospital for lepers, as the name suggests. In Japanese society, as in Europe, lepers were considered a source of pollution and were usually forced to live outside villages and towns.³¹² The Jesuits must have preached to the hospital patients and provided pastoral care such as mass, confession and preparation for death, but it was mainly the members of the Misericordia who took care of the sick and administered the hospital. As noted in the previous chapter, taking care of the sick was one of the fourteen deeds of charity that inspired their activities.

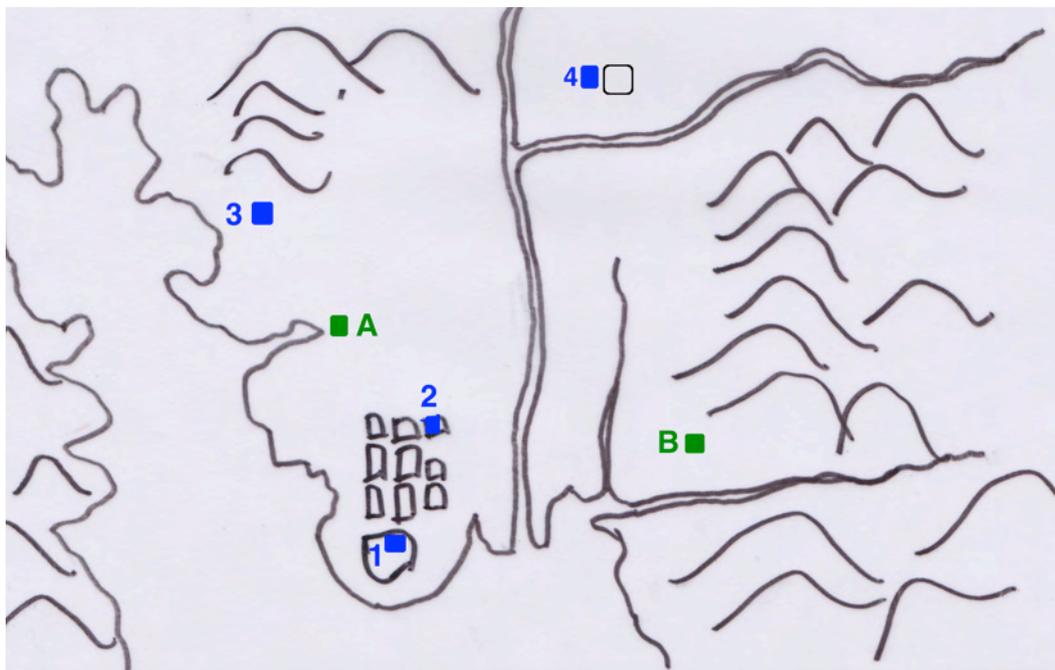


Figure 4.1 Schematic map of Nagasaki around 1590

1. church of the Assumption, 2. church of the Misericordia, 3. church of St Lazar,
4. church of Todos os Santos A. Funatsu-machi, B.Kajiya-machi

Takase thinks that Hideyoshi had to renounce the main objective of the Edict of Expulsion, which was to put an end to the Jesuit mediation and the preferential treatment of Portuguese so that the central government could deal directly with the foreign merchants and impose rates and conditions that benefited the Japanese side.³¹³ He was not willing to renounce the second objective, however, which was to stop the spread of the Christianity among the Japanese. Although the missionaries

³¹² (Pacheco 1977, 62)

³¹³ (Takase 2001, 13)

interpreted the fact that Hideyoshi had received them as a sign of forgiveness, he had not revoked the edict of expulsion. Thus, the Jesuits continued their policy of discretion, avoiding public ceremonies and staying in peripheral areas. For instance, when Valignano and the four boys visited the Omura and Arima lords in Kyushu on their way back from Kyoto, the ceremonies were indoors and more discreet than the Japanese expected.³¹⁴ Nevertheless, getting back their role as mediators in the Portuguese trade and permission to stay in Nagasaki allowed the survival of the Jesuit mission and the building of new Christian spaces in Nagasaki, if only in the periphery.

However, developments in Hideyoshi's expansionist policy, as well as in relations between the Portuguese and Spanish merchants and missionaries, ended up hardening Hideyoshi's anti-Christian policy. In order to better understand why diplomacy between the Japanese and the Spanish in the Philippines was slow and difficult, it is worth looking back at the initial contacts. As early as 1570 the Spanish were aware of Japanese merchants regularly going to the Philippines to trade, but Japanese pirates attacked the Philippines repeatedly after 1580, so that the Spanish authorities in Manila were defensive and suspicious towards the Japanese who approached them asking for trade relations and missionaries.³¹⁵ The Spanish had settled in the Philippines in the 1570s and their expansionist efforts in Asia clashed with Hideyoshi's expansionist policy in the 1590s.

The background of this encounter was tension between the Portuguese and the Spanish because of disagreements about the demarcation of areas of influence in the Pacific Ocean, which had to be maintained even after Portugal was put under the Spanish crown in 1580. The possibilities of military and missionary expansion by the Spanish in China set the frame for the first contacts with the Japanese. In 1581 the Jesuit priest Alonso Sanchez was sent to Macao to inform the Portuguese in Macao of the union of the Portuguese and the Spanish crowns in 1580 and confirm their loyalty to Philip II.³¹⁶ The Franciscan friar Juan Pobre, who had accompanied Sanchez, accidentally reached Hirado in 1582 and established contacts with the local lord and merchants, who immediately showed interest in Christianity and in trade

³¹⁴ (Massarella 2005, 349)

³¹⁵ Letters from the Governor of the Philippines to the King of Spain (Sola 1978, 49-50; 1979, 40)

³¹⁶ Alonso Sanchez sent a controversial and failed proposal to Philip II to invade China (Ollé 2002).

with Manila.³¹⁷ In 1583 Philip II ordered the Superior of the Spanish Augustine Province of the Holy Name of Jesus, the only religious province at the time in the Philippines, to explore the Philippines' neighbouring countries to see how the missionaries might be of help. The first expedition to Macao and Siam was unsuccessful and in 1584 a second one formed of two Augustinians and two Franciscans, including Pobre, sailed to Macao on a Portuguese ship, again arriving accidentally in Hirado. The missionaries stayed there for two months, leaving for Macao as soon as a ship was available, but they were again approached by the lord and the merchants, who sent Christian Japanese merchants to Manila the following year asking that Mendicant missionaries and merchant ships should come to Hirado.³¹⁸ The lord and merchants were basically interested in trade, but having seen how closely the Portuguese merchants and the Jesuits worked together, and dismayed that the Jesuits had stopped using Hirado after the foundation of Nagasaki, they appealed to the Spanish Mendicant orders. They explicitly positioned themselves against the Jesuits and claimed that they wanted to receive baptism from the mendicants. Mirroring the pattern that had worked for Omura Sumitada, in benefiting from regular trade with Macao, they offered the Spanish missionaries a village for their maintenance if the merchant ships from Manila regularly called at Hirado.

The Jesuit missionaries also approached Manila, although with different purposes. In 1584 and 1585 the Jesuit Vice-Provincial of Japan repeatedly asked the Governor of the Philippines to send military support to the Jesuits and the Christian lords of Kyushu, but Manila did not respond, claiming that the Viceroy of India had banned Spanish ships from the Philippines sailing to Macao and the Portuguese colonies in Asia.³¹⁹ In the religious arena, the Mendicant friars in the Philippines were most interested in Japan, but the Jesuits had been granted the monopoly of the Japanese mission by a Papal bull dated 28 January 1585, which was made public in Macao and Manila in 1586, so that Mendicant orders under Spanish patronage were not allowed to evangelise in Japan.³²⁰ However, in 15 November 1586 another papal brief allowed the Spanish mendicant orders in the Philippines to go to China as long

³¹⁷ (Bernard 1938, 112)

³¹⁸ (Hartmann 1965, 17-18)

³¹⁹ (Bernard 1938, 113-114)

³²⁰ (Álvarez Taladriz 1979, 4)

as they used Portuguese ships. The bull confirmed the ban on going to Malacca, Siam or Cochin, but did not mention Japan at all, which the mendicants interpreted as a green light.³²¹ In 1587 a group of Japanese merchants again presented a petition to the Bishop of Manila asking for Franciscan missionaries to be sent to Hirado.

It is also true that in spite of the colonial authorities' agreement to respect the areas of influence, Portuguese and Spanish merchants ventured beyond the established limits. There are records of Portuguese ships sailing from Macao to Manila and Mexico in 1588, while the Spanish *galeon* San Martin sailed from Acapulco directly to China without the mediation of the Philippines.³²² In 9 August 1589 Phillip II gave permission to the Governor of the Philippines to authorise trade travel to Japan and Macao, as long as there were no serious inconveniences. It is interesting to note that in the same documents the Spanish king ordered six ships to be ready in the Philippines to counter attacks by the Japanese, showing that there was still mistrust on the Spanish side when Hideyoshi approached the Spanish authorities in Manila in 1591.

After Hideyoshi had brought Kyushu under his rule, he focused on external politics and made plans to conquer China. His external policy towards Korea and the Philippines was aggressive, requiring them to acknowledge his political hegemony and offer military aid against China. Korea did not comply and Hideyoshi took military action in a campaign that started in 1592. The Japanese merchants, who had repeatedly contacted the Philippines, approached Hideyoshi, who showed interest in establishing regular trade with Manila and obtaining naval reinforcements for his Chinese enterprise. In 1590 Hideyoshi sent a rather menacing letter to the Governor of the Philippines, in which he declared himself invincible, requesting the Governor to send a friendly embassy within two months acknowledging Hideyoshi's superiority, or be considered an enemy.³²³ Harada Paul, a merchant from Sakai who had been involved in the previous contacts with Manila, volunteered as Hideyoshi's ambassador, but did not in the end go to Manila, sending Hideyoshi's letter through a low-ranking relative, which contributed to increasing the suspicions of the Spaniards. The Governor discussed the matter with his counsellors and, although the Jesuit

³²¹ (Bernard 1938, 117)

³²² (Bernard 1938, 116-118)

³²³ (de Ribadeneira 1970, 328-329)

Visitor Valignano had advised him not to comply with Hideyoshi's demands until the Spanish king had been consulted, he decided to send an embassy to Japan with the Dominican friar Juan Cobo as his representative to investigate the matter and inquire about the real power and intentions of Hideyoshi.

When Cobo reached Satsuma in July 1592, Hideyoshi was organising the Korea campaign from his military base in Nagoya, where he received the embassy and dealt with issues concerning Nagasaki. He sent Nabeshima Naoshige, who had been the Nagasaki bailiff (*daikan*) since 1588, to Korea and appointed Terazawa Hirota, who had been the Nagasaki *bugyō*, in his place. Juan Solis, a Spanish merchant who wanted to take a ship from Japan to Macao and had clashed with the Portuguese, joined Cobo, accusing the Jesuits and the Portuguese captain of preventing the Spaniards from trading in Japan.³²⁴ Hideyoshi was furious with the Jesuits and the Portuguese and issued an order to Terazawa to dismantle the church and send the timber to Nagoya, to be used in his military base. This time, Terazawa enforced the order and brought 150 men to dismantle the church and the Jesuit residence, although the Jesuits managed to recover part of the timber. Cobo saw that the church had been dismantled when he passed through Nagasaki on his way back to Manila.³²⁵ Unfortunately, Cobo left Japan earlier than Harada Paul and died on the return voyage due to shipwreck, which delayed Manila's response to Hideyoshi and increased the suspicions on the Spanish side, as we will see below.³²⁶

Terazawa also tried to dismantle the peripheral Christian spaces in Nagasaki, namely the hospital of Saint Lazaro in Nishizaka and the house of the Misericordia, but could not, since they were not Jesuit property, but in the care of the lay Japanese members of the confraternity. He probably succeeded in closing down the chapel adjacent to the hospital, since by 1594 it was no longer in use, although the hospital remained active.³²⁷ The Jesuits who resided on Morisaki cape had to relocate again and this time the Misericordia members sheltered them in their headquarters. According to Valignano's records, in 1592 there were fifteen Jesuits in the Nagasaki mission. Eight, including the vice-provincial father, resided in the house of Todos os

³²⁴ (Álvarez Taladriz 1940, 658)

³²⁵ (Bernard 1938, 119)

³²⁶ (de Ribadeneira 1970, 330-331)

³²⁷ (Pacheco 1977, 62)

Santos in Nagasaki village, and seven were staying at the house of the Misericordia in Nagasaki inner town.³²⁸ As Pacheco suggests, in order to host so many people and institutions, the Christians must have built structures adjacent to the church of Todos os Santos, although the missionary reports do not mention this.³²⁹ The Christian community was again deprived of its main church, and this time the symbolic centre was not only closed to the public and emptied, but also materially dismantled. Such a setback called for a Jesuit reaction. The following year they would seek the support of a Portuguese captain visiting Hideyoshi, precisely at the moment when the second embassy from the Philippines approached the Japanese leader.

The Franciscan embassy to Hideyoshi in Nagoya (1593)

When the two Japanese ships reached Manila early in 1593, Paul Harada presented Hideyoshi's letter to the Governor of the Philippines, a brief letter from Cobo saying that he had left Japan after a successful meeting with Hideyoshi, and his own petition asking for Franciscan missionaries to be sent to Japan. The Governor postponed any decision for six months hoping in vain for Cobo's return since he had perished *en route*. Finally, he decided to send Fray Pedro Bautista Blasquez and three more Franciscan missionaries with a reply in order to clarify the confusion and to allay Hideyoshi's hostility. The Governor's letter suggests that he doubted Harada's credentials. The fact that Fray Cobo did not return increased his suspicions over Hideyoshi's embassy.³³⁰ The Jesuit superior in Manila, Father Antonio Sedeño, opposed this initiative, appealing to the Papal Bull that granted the Jesuits the monopoly of the Japanese mission, but the Governor did not terminate the Franciscan embassy.³³¹ Legal disputes between the Catholic orders were not allowed to interfere with his main priorities, which were to avoid a military attack from Hideyoshi and to consolidate regular trade with Japan, which was crucial for the royal stores of Manila at the time.

In 1593 Father Pedro Bautista and Father Fray Bartolomé Ruiz arrived in Hirado, but a second ship carrying Fray Francisco and Fray Gonzalo, who had some

³²⁸ (Valignano 1592, f.5v)

³²⁹ (Pacheco 1977, 52)

³³⁰ (de Ribadeneira 1970, 330-331)

³³¹ (de Ribadeneira 1970, 332-333)

knowledge of the Japanese language, arrived later and at a different port. Bautista feared that they had been lost and regretted that they had to start the embassy without their own translators. The Jesuit Vice-Provincial Father Pedro Gomez sent one of his men with refreshments, a present, and a welcome letter. Bautista wanted to visit the Jesuit Vice-Provincial, but did not because Hideyoshi urged them to go to Nagoya straightaway, which was taken as an offense by the Jesuits.³³² The Franciscans travelled to Nagoya in ships that Hideyoshi sent specially for them, and in Nagoya were visited by many lords and retainers of Hideyoshi. Details of the meeting with Hideyoshi are given in a letter from Bautista dated 7 January 1594.³³³

From the beginning, relations between the Franciscans and Hideyoshi were uneasy, subject to competing political agendas and diplomatic styles and so fraught with misunderstandings and tensions. The Franciscans were determined to establish themselves in Japan, and in contrast to the Jesuits, who invested effort and resources in adopting Japanese etiquette and manners, the Franciscans were reluctant to compromise even on the smallest details. For instance, when they arrived in Nagoya, they refused to ride the horses they were offered because of their vows of poverty and humility and insisted in going on foot, although the streets were very muddy. On the same occasion, Harada suggested they offer silver to Hideyoshi as a present and proof of submission, but the Franciscans refused. Even when Hideyoshi's interpreter insisted to the ambassadors that they show respect and acknowledge their subservience to Hideyoshi, Bautista replied through his own interpreter that they had come to establish friendship, which was not the same as paying tribute. He refused to show subservience claiming that 'the King of Spain did not recognise subordination to anyone but to God, the king of Heaven and Earth'.³³⁴

Hideyoshi's position against the spread of Christianity in Japan remained firm. He had not enforced the 1587 expulsion of the Jesuits and in 1591 he did allow ten Jesuits to stay in Nagasaki under the pressure of the Portuguese merchants and authorities. In 1592, however, he did not allow Cobo to preach in Japan and as soon as he found out about the Jesuits' activities in Nagasaki he again closed their church. In 1593, however, Hideyoshi compromised to a certain extent with both the

³³² (de Ribadeneira 1970, 334-335)

³³³ (Gil 1991, 54-55)

³³⁴ (de Ribadeneira 1970, 336-337)

Franciscans and the Jesuits, for the sake of commercial and political relations with Macao and Manila. He had initially demanded the Franciscan ambassadors to return to Manila immediately, telling the friars that they should not introduce their God to Japan because the Japanese already had many *kami* and *hotoke*.³³⁵ Nonetheless, the Franciscans insisted that they wanted to stay in Japan as a sign of friendship between Japan and the Philippines, to which Hideyoshi finally consented, granting them permission to build a house in Kyoto.³³⁶

Hideyoshi accepted the presence of the Mendicant missionaries as diplomatic hostages out of his interest in the trade with Manila, but the missionaries refused to accommodate. The Franciscans were determined to establish a missionary base, but they were only allowed to stay in Kyoto, which was very resistant to Christianity, as the Jesuits had already experienced, since Buddhism was so deeply rooted. The missionaries were lodged initially at the residence of one of Hideyoshi's retainers, who treated them as political hostages, so that their movements were restricted, making it very difficult to acquire a plot of land. After a while, though, they founded a church and a small monastery in northern Kyoto, where they openly practised their spiritual routines and evangelised in the area, which contrasted with the prudence that had granted the Jesuits their permanence in Japan.³³⁷ The mendicants' evangelisation activities in Kyoto would prompt a harsh response from Hideyoshi, as we will see below, but at this point we must turn to how the Jesuits, allied with the Portuguese merchants, again appealed to Hideyoshi's interest in keeping trade relations with the Portuguese in order to recover the central church in Nagasaki inner town.

In early July 1593, while the Franciscan ambassadors were still in Nagoya, the Macao ship of Captain Gaspar Pinto arrived in Nagasaki and he went to pay his respects to Hideyoshi in Nagoya, where the latter was dealing with the Franciscan ambassadors. The Jesuit Francesco Pasio accompanied Pinto as translator. Pinto insisted that it was necessary for the Portuguese merchants residing permanently or temporarily in Nagasaki inner town to have access to a church and Jesuit priests to

³³⁵ (de Ribadeneira 1970, 337)

³³⁶ (Gil 1991, 55)

³³⁷ (Willeke 1994c, 57-58)

carry out their religious practices.³³⁸ This was clearly a Jesuit strategy to keep their central position in Nagasaki and in touch with the Nagasaki Japanese Christians, but the claim had precedents, as Valignano had already achieved such permission in 1591. Hideyoshi compromised again, granting permission to reopen the church of the Assumption, but for the exclusive use of the Portuguese and off limits to the Japanese. He also noted that the Jesuit missionaries would be required to leave Japan when the Spanish ambassadors sailed back to Manila, once a response from the Philippines reached Japan.³³⁹ The logic behind Hideyoshi's attitude towards the Jesuits was similar to the one he had shown to the Franciscans. He opposed the spread of Christianity in Japan, but he consented to the presence of Jesuit missionaries and the rebuilding of their church in Nagasaki as a means to maintain the silk trade with Macao and the diplomatic relationship with the Portuguese Viceroy of India.

After Hideyoshi returned to Kyoto, the pressure of the Nagasaki *bugyō* on the Jesuits diminished. Terazawa was open to negotiations with the Jesuit Vice-Provincial and allowed the Jesuits to build a new church and a new house on the Morisaki cape, where the Church of the Assumption and the Jesuit residence had stood. However, he did not return the whole property, only two thirds of the original plot of land, and registered the new buildings as the property of the Portuguese captain. The Jesuits raised alms among the Portuguese for the new church, gathering 300 silver *taes*. The new church was built within 31 days, together with new rooms for the Jesuits, which were better designed than the old ones. The first mass was celebrated on Christmas day 1593 and although Japanese were not allowed to attend, they rejoiced over the new church and sent congratulatory messages to the Jesuits.³⁴⁰

The closure of the Church of the Assumption and its residence until 1590 and again from 1592-3, together with the creation of a hospital for lepers on the outskirts of Nagasaki, suggest the instability of the Jesuits' situation in the centre of the town. This triggered the development of a resistant periphery, in the neighborhoods on the edge of the inner town, in Nishizaka outside the inner town and in Nagasaki village inland. The Japanese community were deprived repeatedly of a central sacred space

³³⁸ (Bernard 1938, 128)

³³⁹ (Bernard 1938, 128)

³⁴⁰ (Pacheco 1977, 54), Pedro Gomez, Letter dated 8 February 1594 (Álvarez Taladriz 1981, 130-131)

for the performance of communal ritual, but they maintained their allegiance to the Jesuits by giving them shelter in the Misericordia house and secretly attending ritual practices. They also enlarged peripheral spaces and built other kinds of Christian spaces, like the hospital, where they carried out charitable and devotional practices that did not require a priest, thus maintaining the Christian community in times of crisis. Although Hideyoshi's issuance of the expulsion edict in 1587 prompted the Jesuits to move to peripheral locations and avoid attracting the attention of the authorities by not performing any religious activities in public, after 1591 the number of Jesuits in Nagasaki increased considerably. The Portuguese played a vital part in negotiating the continuity of the Jesuit presence in Nagasaki and recovering its main church. With the rebuilding of the principal church and the Jesuit residence on the Morisaki cape, the Jesuits regained and reactivated the symbolic centre of the inner town. Although officially Japanese Nagasaki citizens were not allowed to engage in Christian ritual, Hideyoshi had sanctioned Jesuit mediation in trade and the performance of Christian ritual in Nagasaki. While for Hideyoshi this was probably just a concession to the Portuguese merchants, Jesuits saw it as a foundation on which to continue their evangelization in Japan.

4.2 The Jesuit religious monopoly challenged

As soon as the Franciscan convent in Kyoto was completed, Bautista, the Franciscan Superior in Japan, started planning a Franciscan convent in Nagasaki, because it was a strategic location for internal organization and secular affairs. As an international port, it was better placed to manage supplies and letters from and to Manila, plus western medicines were available.³⁴¹ Nevertheless, it was not easy for the Franciscans to establish themselves in Nagasaki, where they found opposition from the Jesuits, the Misericordia and the *bugyō*.

The Franciscan presence in Nagasaki (1595-1597)

While Bautista and his companion Fray Jerónimo de Jesús were on their way to Nagasaki, Bautista fell seriously ill. When they arrived in Nagasaki on 18 December 1594, the Jesuits offered them lodgings and medical treatment. Bautista

³⁴¹ (de Ribadeneira 1973)

visited the Jesuit Vice-Provincial Pedro Gomez in Todos os Santos in Nagasaki village, who examined the papal documents presented by the Franciscans and approved their stay in Japan. However, Gomez took for granted his authority over the mendicants and gave them written directions, which were to be followed by all Franciscan missionaries in Japan. Bautista circulated these among his men and ordered them to observe the instructions, but this did not prevent disputes and disagreements between the two orders over missionary methods and behaviour.³⁴² The Jesuits in Nagasaki thus offered assistance to the Franciscans, but also from the beginning tried to control and restrict the newcomers.

Gomez offered the Franciscans the option of staying at the Jesuit residence as guests, but they declined, as they wanted to establish their own mission. Thus, the Franciscans stayed with the Jesuits for Christmas and New Year, and then they moved into the house of a Portuguese merchant. With the help of the Portuguese merchants, they constructed two small rooms near the abandoned chapel of the *San Lazaro* leper hospital. Bautista preached to the Portuguese during Lent and heard their confessions. Admonished by the Jesuits to be prudent, Bautista preached only to local Japanese men inside the church, with the doors closed. However, women wanted to attend as well and one day they entered the church by force. Following this incident, Bautista preached to all who wished to attend and Franciscan sources report that many Japanese Christians attended his church during Lent.³⁴³ Franciscan sources provide a picture of the daily life of the two Franciscan missionaries, which were basically devoted to religious duties. They practiced daily prayer and penance, keeping the six short daily offices (Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Matins and Lauds). At lunchtime, Bautista and De Jesus went to the hospital to serve and feed the lepers, and carried out deeds of charity and humility. At night, after reading a lesson of the Passion of Jesus Christ, they practiced scourging, in which they were joined by Japanese and Portuguese Christians.³⁴⁴

After Lent, however, the Franciscans began to be pressured to leave the church. They refused to go because they had the support of certain Portuguese merchants and both the church and the hospital had been founded by the Portuguese

³⁴² (Uytenbroeck 1959, 12)

³⁴³ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 10)

³⁴⁴ (de Ribadeneira 1970, 353)

in 1591. However, the Misericordia members claimed ownership of both, since they had taken care of the hospital since its founding. Through a Portuguese middleman the Franciscans asked the head of the Misericordia leader to donate the church to them, but the response was negative and gave an opportunity to the Misericordia to assert their allegiance to the Jesuits.³⁴⁵ Since the friars refused to leave, even the Jesuits got involved, but they did not do so until the *bugyō* Terazawa Hirotaka forced them. Nevertheless, he gave them permission to live in the outer town and, with the help of their Portuguese acolytes, they found lodgings and started negotiations to buy the house, but a long dispute followed: the owner of the house was indebted and a pro-Jesuit Nagasaki resident intervened. The Jesuit Rector of Nagasaki, Antonio Lopez, repeatedly asked the Franciscans to leave, but they decided to stay in the house, since they had enough donations to pay for it.³⁴⁶

Differences between the two orders about evangelisation had existed long before their encounter in Nagasaki and had both a political and a theological background.³⁴⁷ As soon as the Franciscans started preaching in Japan the Jesuits disapproved of their methods. Already in a letter dated 8 February 1594 the Gomez had complained that the Franciscans in Kyoto gave the Japanese Franciscan habits and cords brought from abroad, to which they attributed the capacity to perform miracles. According to Gomez:

‘The Japanese take the habits and the cords thinking that these will save them, because the Franciscans do not know enough Japanese to tell them what indulgences are and how they must be earned.’³⁴⁸ [my translation]

In Nagasaki, too, tensions soon emerged, in spite of their initial co-operation, since the Franciscans heard the confession of anyone who wanted, even residents to whom the Jesuits had denied confession.³⁴⁹

The confrontation culminated when the bishop Pedro Martins arrived in Nagasaki on 14 August 1596. The Franciscan Superior of Nagasaki Jerónimo de Jesús and Fray Bartolomé Ruiz approached the Portuguese *nao* in a boat to pay their

³⁴⁵ (de Ribadeneira 1973)

³⁴⁶ (de Ribadeneira 1973)

³⁴⁷ (Correia 2001)

³⁴⁸ (Álvarez Taladriz 1981, 132)

³⁴⁹ (de Ribadeneira 1973)

respects to the bishop before his landing, but he did not deign to receive them. Bishop Martins was a Jesuit and had been informed about the situation even before setting foot in the field. He did not approve of the Franciscan presence in Japan, because it contravened the Papal bull that granted the Jesuits a monopoly on the evangelization of Japan and excommunicated the Franciscans. He also ordered the Portuguese and Nagasaki residents not to attend any religious service by the Franciscans and only allowed them to give alms to the Franciscans in the form of food, banning donations towards the building of a house. To ensure this, the Jesuits sent a few men daily, who stood at the door of the Franciscan church in order to prevent any Japanese, or even the black slaves of the Portuguese, from participating in religious services and registered all the alms that the Franciscans received.³⁵⁰

In addition to the Jesuit pressure, the Franciscans had to endure surveillance by the Nagasaki authorities, who enforced Hideyoshi's ban on Japanese attending Christian rituals. The *bugyō* warned two Japanese who had high positions in the village and favoured the Franciscans, periodically visiting the church to check if there were any Japanese inside and, on two occasions, arresting those present.³⁵¹ Nevertheless, a few Portuguese visited the Franciscans at night and some Japanese threw them donations over the fence. On 4 October 1896, many Japanese Christians attended the Franciscans' celebration of the feast of St Francis. Ribadeneira urged the Japanese to leave, but they stayed anyway, although only two friars and three Spaniards attended Ribadeneira's preaching after the Mass, because the Portuguese boycotted the celebration, probably pressurised by the Jesuits.³⁵² Franciscans and Jesuits clashed from the beginning in Nagasaki, and soon the confrontation between the two orders permeated the whole Christian community. Although the Franciscans managed to stay in Nagasaki outer town, the slow and difficult process the newcomers faced in finding a place to live confirms the strength of the Jesuit influence on the Nagasaki Christian community.

³⁵⁰ (de Ribadeneira 1973)

³⁵¹ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 423)

³⁵² (Uytenbroeck 1959, 423)

Buddhist priests in the Nagasaki periphery

According to Japanese sources the Buddhist priests in villages and towns near Nagasaki strongly disliked the fact that there was not one Buddhist temple in either the inner or outer towns.³⁵³ Since Nagasaki was now under the control of the central administration, however, the Jesuits no longer had any influence over residence permits, which were now in the hands of the *bugyō*. This gave a few Buddhist priests the opportunity to undertake the revival of Buddhism in Nagasaki.

During the mid-1590s a True Pure Land priest named Dōchi and a Pure Land priest called Seiyo moved to Nagasaki and opened the path for the revival of Buddhism.³⁵⁴ Dōchi had been in the service of Katō Kiyomasa, a powerful daimyo in control of Higo province since 1586. When he first came to Nagasaki, he stayed at the house of Shōbayashi Gozaemon in Funatsumachi, on the northern outskirts of Nagasaki's inner town, not far from the St Lazaro hospital (figure 4.1). Terazawa supported him for a long time with rice and a stipend, assigning him lodgings in Kajiya-machi, at the southeastern outskirts of Nagasaki's outer town (figure 4.1). It was from this peripheral place that Dōchi started to spread Buddhist teachings, but sources have it that when he did so, he felt threatened by the Christians. In order to guard himself from physical attacks, he gathered forty-seven men from families to whom he was related, who protected him with spears and swords, so that he could spread the Buddhist Law in the streets.³⁵⁵

In 1596 the Buddhist priest Seiyo, the younger brother of the abbot of the Pure Land temple Zendō-ji in Chikugo, came to Nagasaki and built a simple monk's hut (*anshitsu*) on Mount Inasa, outside Nagasaki, where he started to preach the Pure Land teachings. Like Dōchi, however, the Christians did not make his life easy, sabotaging his public preaching so that Seiyo preached to the residents only at night, hiding in the Fudan foothills at the foot

³⁵³ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967a, 13)

³⁵⁴ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967a, 14)

³⁵⁵ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967a, 272-273)

of Mount Inasa.³⁵⁶ It would only be in 1598 that Seiyō founded Goshin-ji temple on the mountain and not until 1604 that Dōchi succeeded in establishing the Shokaku-ji temple on the outskirts of Nagasaki town, as will be discussed below.

Even though both men faced obstacles to their ministry in Nagasaki, what I want to emphasize here is the way in which the confiscation of Nagasaki from the Jesuits opened up the possibility for Buddhists to attempt to proselytise in Nagasaki. The fact that they were sabotaged by the local Christians and that they got neither land nor permission to build temples until a few years later reveals that, in spite of Hideyoshi's anti-Christian measures, the Christian community of Nagasaki was strong and resisted Buddhist proselytizers. The fact that missionary records do not mention these Buddhist proselytizers at all seems to indicate that at the time Buddhism was not seen as a real threat. The main concern of the missionaries in this period, judging from contemporary sources, was the coming of the Franciscan missionaries under Spanish protection. Jesuits reacted aggressively against the Franciscan missionaries' presence because they challenged the Jesuit monopoly of the Japanese mission and especially of the Christian community of Nagasaki.

4.3 The execution ground of Nishizaka as a Christian sacred space

The accidental arrival of a Spanish ship in Japan was the catalyst for Hideyoshi's first execution of Christians. The *galeon* San Felipe sailed from Manila in July 1596 under the command of General Matias de Landecho carrying an important cargo of gold to Acapulco. However, the ship encountered several storms that took her off route, ending up near the Japanese coast of Urado, in southwest Shikoku, in October 1596.³⁵⁷ Hideyoshi ordered the local lord to confiscate the cargo and capture the crew. The Spanish captain went to Osaka to ask Hideyoshi for compensation, but nothing good came out of it, although the Franciscans mediated in

³⁵⁶ (Nagasaki-shiyakusho 1967a, 46-47)

³⁵⁷ Details on the fate of the San Felipe and the events that followed in Pérez (1997).

the dispute. The pilot of the San Felipe boasted about the vast extent of the Spanish king's territories, and when asked how had he built such a large empire abroad, the Spaniard said that missionaries entered first to preach and military forces then followed to subjugate the population. When Hideyoshi was told about this and knew that the mendicants had been preaching to the Japanese in Kyoto, disregarding his orders, he took immediate action. On 29 December 1596 he passed a death sentence on the mendicant friars in Kyoto and their Japanese assistants and ordered that the rest of the Spanish missionaries who had come from the Philippines leave Japan as soon as possible.³⁵⁸ Jesuits held the mendicants responsible for having preached openly in Kyoto in spite of Hideyoshi's ban on preaching to the Japanese. The mendicants blamed the Jesuits who translated and mediated between the Spaniards and Hideyoshi for having accused them.

When Hideyoshi ordered these executions at the end of 1596, there were three Franciscans in the Nagasaki house, Agustino Rodriguez, Bartolomeo Ruiz and Marcelo de Ribadeneira. Jerónimo de Jesús had recently received a letter from Bautista summoning him to the Osaka house to take the place of Ribadeneira, who was ill and needed to rest and get treatment in Nagasaki.³⁵⁹ On 13 January 1597 the news about Hideyoshi's execution order reached Nagasaki, where the *bugyō* urged the Franciscans to leave their house. They refused, arguing that they had permission from Hideyoshi and referring to their diplomatic status. They also argued that their Superior, to whom they owed obedience, had not ordered them to leave. Two Portuguese were sent as mediators, but the Franciscans refused to leave. The *bugyō*'s officials took them by force out of their monastery to a Portuguese ship anchored at Nagasaki, where the Franciscans had to remain on board until the ship left Nagasaki. Fray Juan Pobre, who was on his way from Kyoto to Urado at the time because of negotiations related to the San Felipe affair, tried to attend the executions in Nagasaki, but was recognized because of his habit and taken by force onto the Portuguese ship with the other three Franciscans expelled from Nagasaki. The execution aggravated the tensions between the Spanish mendicants and the Jesuits, but it produced a new kind of Christian sacred space in Nagasaki. Nishizaka became the first site of Christian martyrdom.

³⁵⁸ (Perujo 2007, 71-78)

³⁵⁹ (Uyttenbroeck 1959, 10-11)

Crucifixion of Franciscans and followers in Nagasaki

The six Franciscans, the 18 Japanese who worked with them in Kyoto, and two Japanese Jesuit brothers who joined them *en route* and had been also condemned became the first Japanese martyrs.³⁶⁰ What is relevant for my discussion is the choice of Nishizaka, on the outskirts of Nagasaki outer town, as the execution ground. Bringing the prisoners to Nagasaki involved a long journey across western Japan, displaying and humiliating the prisoners to dissuade the Japanese to engage with Christianity. By executing them in what had been a Christian town and was still the town of Portuguese merchants, Hideyoshi was targeting both a display of his authority and a warning not to neglect his ban on the spread of Christianity on the Nagasaki residents, the Christian missionaries and the foreign merchants, who would report back to their countries, so indirectly also warning Macao and Manila not to send more missionaries to Japan.

When the 26 condemned men arrived, the Nagasaki *bugyō* was absent and his brother Terazawa Hazaburo was in charge, who neither consented to the petitions of Bautista and Paul Miki to be allowed to hear mass from a Jesuit Father and take communion before being executed, nor did he allow the bishop to assist the condemned during their execution. In the end, however, Terazawa Hirotaka arrived and allowed two Jesuit Fathers to be next to the condemned in their last moments. In addition, through the mediation of influential Portuguese, he consented to arrange the crosses from which the 26 Christians would be hung in a semi-circle, with those of the Franciscans in the middle and those of their Japanese assistants on the sides, with the youngest, who were still children, standing next to Fray Bautista.³⁶¹

Bishop Martins watched the execution from the window of the Jesuit house and when it was over, he went to the site, knelt and invoked the names of the martyrs, recited the Mass of the Martyrs, and recommended himself to them before God. Many Japanese and Portuguese Christians visited the execution ground daily, to pay their respect to the martyrs, to ask for their intercession with the Lord and to gather relics³⁶². The bodies remained on the crosses for nine months, and several measures

³⁶⁰ (Pacheco 1961)

³⁶¹ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 26)

³⁶² (Uytenbroeck 1959, 29)

had to be taken to prevent the Christians from taking relics away. The bishop prohibited such initiatives under the penalty of excommunication and persuaded the Governor to place guards at the site. However, when the ambassador from Kyoto went to Nagasaki to pick up the corpses, very little remained of the bodies or crosses.³⁶³ The Franciscan Friars Marcelo de Ribadeneira and Juan de Santa Maria and the Jesuit Fathers Luis Frois and Pedro Gomez were commissioned to write reports. The mendicants also carried out interrogations of the witnesses in Manila in order to petition for the canonization of the six Franciscans as martyrs by the Pope.³⁶⁴

Miracles at Mount Tateyama

The Christians transformed the execution ground at Tateyama into a sacred space, through narratives about the martyrs and especially the miracles that were attributed to them. The site attracted many Christians as a place for prayer and veneration of the bodies of the executed Christians. According to Ribadeneira's account of the martyrdom, several miracles occurred at the execution site. To start with, the crows did not eat the corpses. Then, on 14 March lights were seen on top of the crosses spreading towards Nagasaki's inner town. Japanese Christians and Portuguese staying in the town, including captain Landecho, affirmed that they had seen the lights, and Ribadeneira himself claims to have witnessed them from the Portuguese ship anchored in Nagasaki bay. In addition, the Portuguese visited the execution site before leaving Japan for Macao and found the 26 bodies uncorrupted: blood from some of the martyrs was collected in a porcelain jar, remaining liquid and without any bad odour during the journey to Macao, according to Ribadeneira's testimony.³⁶⁵ The Jesuits denied some of the miracles and in response Juan de Santa Maria, the Franciscan bishop of Manila, wrote a monograph on the martyrs, taking into account the testimony of several witnesses and the report of Frois. Santa Maria emphasised that some of the miracles related to the martyrs had indeed occurred, as in the Franciscan church in Kyoto where blood had flowed from an image of Christ

³⁶³ (Uyttenbroeck 1959, 25-26)

³⁶⁴ (de Ribadeneira 1628; Galdós 1935; Tellechea Idígoras 1998)

³⁶⁵ (Uyttenbroeck 1959, 31-32)

before and after the martyrdom. He also considered it a miracle that the crows did not devour their bodies, and that they remained uncorrupted for three months.³⁶⁶

On 21 March a ship left for Macao carrying the four surviving Franciscans and the bishop Pedro Martins. Christians around Japan knew that the bishop had to return to Macao, and many came to Nagasaki to receive the sacrament of confirmation from him before he left. Frois says that the flow of people visiting the martyrdom site was so great that the local people feared a negative reaction from the authorities.³⁶⁷ Fray Jeronimo de Jesus, who had not been seized because he was *en route* to Osaka, returned to Nagasaki, where he was forced to leave for Manila in October 1597. His ship went first to Macao, where he arrived in November 1597 and met the other four Franciscans who had been expelled from Japan in March. They all returned to Manila together, where they landed in January 1598.³⁶⁸ Although the hostility between the Jesuits and the Franciscans hardened, the mendicants continued their attempts to establish missions in Japan, but they concentrated their efforts in central and eastern Japan and Nagasaki remained under the influence of the Jesuits.

We have so far seen that the Nagasaki Christian community responded to the Buddhist proselytisers and to the brutal treatment by Hideyoshi with more fervour than fear, while the Jesuits kept to their policy of extreme caution. Although the main church and the Jesuit institutions in the town were empty or inactive for a while, the Jesuits maintained their bonds with the Christian community from Nagasaki village, thus maintaining their religious hegemony, despite the opening of new religious spaces outside the inner town. In 1591, diplomatic relations between Japan and the Philippines began amidst suspicion and crossed purposes and as a result Hideyoshi's anti-Christian policy hardened. The situation would soon change, however, when Hideyoshi died in 1598. In the succeeding decade, as Japan as a whole underwent dramatic change, so would the balance between centre and periphery in Nagasaki town shift again. While the Tokugawa forged the final unification of the country, Nagasaki would flourish as the symbolic centre of the Japanese Christendom as a whole, as we will see in the following chapter.

³⁶⁶ (Santa Maria 1601, 178r-179v)

³⁶⁷ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 30)

³⁶⁸ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 33)

Chapter 5

Nagasaki as the centre of Christianity in Japan (1598-1605)

The previous chapter explained how different religious groups as well as the central authorities took actions over specific sacred spaces, which challenged the Jesuit religious monopoly, but at the same time provided an opportunity for Nagasaki residents to reaffirm their allegiance to Christianity and more specifically to the Jesuits, who managed to maintain their main church and residence in the inner town. This chapter explores the developments in the centre and periphery of Nagasaki between 1597 and 1605 to provide the urban and national context within which Nagasaki would emerge as a Christian space from 1606. The main argument is that although the Jesuits again had to go underground and to face a Buddhist challenge, realized in Buddhist temples on the outskirts and in the outer town, Bishop Luis Cerqueira's arrival in Japan, together with political developments after Hideyoshi's death, allowed for Nagasaki to gradually aggregate functions and become the centre of the Jesuit mission and the Japanese Diocese. The chapter divides into four sections, the first looking at the role of Todos os Santos in the aftermath of the executions of 1597, the second at the establishment of the Jesuit headquarters in the *colegio* on Morisaki cape, the third at the establishment of the episcopal see and the enlargement of the central church, and the fourth at the administrative annexation of Nagasaki village and the outer town, all of which set the necessary spatial frame for the implementation of the parish system in 1606.

5.1 Todos os Santos as the centre of the underground Jesuit mission (1598)

After Hideyoshi's execution of 26 Christians and expulsion of the Franciscan missionaries in 1597, the Jesuits were the only Christian missionary order in Japan.

Since Hideyoshi reaffirmed the ban on preaching, they returned to a policy of utmost discretion and went underground again, waiting for the political situation to change in their favour.³⁶⁹ Building on the experience of the previous decade, Jesuits again dispersed to peripheral locations within the domains of Christian lords, while the Vice-Provincial Father Pedro Gomez and his counsellors moved to Todos os Santos, the Jesuit complex in Nagasaki village, which became their underground headquarters in Japan. Part of the *seminario* (children's primary school) and the *colegio* (college for future Jesuit brothers), which had been located in the Jesuit residence on Morisaki cape, also moved to Todos os Santos.³⁷⁰ It was also the first base for the Father Visitor Alessandro Valignano and the future Bishop of Japan Luis Cerqueira.

Bishop Pedro Martins, who left Nagasaki after the 1597 executions, met Valignano in Goa. Considering Martins' advanced age and poor health, and the unstable situation of the Japanese mission, they agreed to send Cerqueira to Japan as his successor. The Christian mission was again under threat, but Hideyoshi was seriously ill and political change might bring an opportunity for the missionaries to bounce back, so Valignano headed back to Japan, accompanying the future bishop. They arrived in Nagasaki in August 1598, but this time they were received with the utmost discretion, without any of the processions and etiquette that might reveal their rank within the Society of Jesus and the or Church Hierarchy, and they immediately went to Todos os Santos.³⁷¹

Soon after their arrival, news that Pedro Martins had died in Malacca reached Japan, so that Cerqueira officially became the Bishop of Japan. Following the Jesuit policy of discretion, this was not conveyed to the *bugyō*, but Cerqueira immediately started to work on his diocese.³⁷² Between 4 September and 23 November he organised four consultation meetings in Todos os Santos with the most experienced Jesuits in Japan, to have a clear sense of the present situation of the mission and its problems. In the first they discussed the involvement of the Portuguese in slave trade, in the second they agreed to oppose the coming of the Spanish mendicant orders

³⁶⁹ (Pasio 1598c, 1v)

³⁷⁰ (Pacheco 1977, 52)

³⁷¹ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 68)

³⁷² (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 68)

from Manila, in the third the bishop restructured the liturgy and pastoral activities, introducing some of the Trent reforms, and in the fourth he inquired about the miracles related to the corpses of the martyrs of 1597.³⁷³ Some of the decisions taken in these consultations were crucial for the implementation of the parish system in Nagasaki and the ongoing rivalry between the Jesuits and the Mendicant missionaries, which will be explored in chapters 6 and 7 respectively. After 1597, Todos os Santos became the cocoon where the Jesuit mission in Nagasaki discreetly but steadily prepared for the transformation that was expected after Hideyoshi's death, which the Jesuits hoped would end the need to be underground.



Figure 5.1 Detail of a map of Nagasaki in 1647, Kyushu University Archive

Source: Shōhoyonnen Nanbantōrai nifushokōfugun Nagasakikōzu, Kyushu University Archive
<http://record.museum.kyushu-u.ac.jp/nagasaki/motoyama.html> accessed 12 January 2012

³⁷³ (Oliveira e Costa 1998, IV 9)

In September 1598, from his deathbed, Hideyoshi ordered the return of his troops from Korea. The Nagasaki magistrate, Terazawa Hirotaka, moved to Hakata and increased the pressure on the Jesuits in Nagasaki. Proof that the Nagasaki authorities in 1598 were responsive to Hideyoshi's open hostility towards Christianity can be found in their support of the founding of a Buddhist temple in on the outskirts of Nagasaki. Most scholars who have studied Nagasaki in this period focus on Christian developments, but no attention has been paid to the attempts to challenge the Christian hegemony through the production of Buddhist and Shintō sacred spaces. However, the historical records of Goshin-ji temple on Mount Inasa, which overlooks Nagasaki from the other side of the bay, place its origin precisely in this period of difficulty for the Christians in Nagasaki (figure 5.1).³⁷⁴

The Buddhist priest Seiyō, a disciple of the chief priest of Zendō-ji temple in Kurume, Chikugo province, had moved to Nagasaki around 1596 with the purpose of restoring Buddhism in the area. As noted above, he first established a very simple 'monk's hut' on Mount Inasa and started to preach on Pure Land Buddhism, but the Christians opposed his activities, and he was only able to instruct the locals at night, in a secret location at the southern foot of the mountain. Nevertheless, in 1598, Seiyō obtained authorization from the Nagasaki magistrate and built a temple next to his hut with the support of one Ittoku, the government official (*shōya*) in charge of Sanri village, and the villagers. The Abbot of Zendō-ji temple, Seiyō's master, granted him institutional permission and the funds to establish a temple, for which both a 'mountain name' and a 'temple name' are recorded, namely, Shūnan-san Goshin-ji.³⁷⁵

The editors of *Nagasaki-shishi* argue that although only large temples were granted a 'mountain name', it is likely that at the start Goshin-ji was not as substantial as its records suggest. Given that Christianity was flourishing in the area again at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the temple must have been rather insignificant and only became important after the prohibition of Christianity.³⁷⁶ Regardless of size, however, the establishment of a Buddhist temple in one of the

³⁷⁴ *Goshinji engi* (Nagasaki-shiyakusho 1967a, 46)

³⁷⁵ *Goshinji engi* (Nagasaki-shiyakusho 1967a, 46-47)

³⁷⁶ (Nagasaki-shiyakusho 1967a, 48-49)

villages adjacent to Nagasaki with the permission of the magistrate was significant. First, it set a precedent for the central administration to permit the establishment of non-Christian sacred spaces in an area that had been intensely Christianized under the patronage of the provincial lord. Nor were such spaces isolated: they were connected to various local and national networks, so that Nagasaki became a node in competing religious networks. It also reveals that the Jesuits had no control over the Nagasaki *bugyō* or the Sanri village officials. Nagasaki could be seen from Mount Inasa and *vice versa*, as can be appreciated in a modern picture of the bay taken from the mountain (figure 5.2). Still, the peripheral location of Inasa with respect to the town meant that missionaries' influence over Nagasaki and its residents was not seriously challenged. In fact, this close yet peripheral location was the reason why the cemeteries for the Chinese and the Dutch were established behind the mountain later in the Tokugawa period and why Goshin-ji would become one of the temples for the Chinese community, at which point its architecture would acquire a strong Chinese flavour (figure 5.3).³⁷⁷

The Jesuits reacted to the anti-Christian pressure of the magistrates in Hakata by sending the bishop away from Nagasaki, so that the authorities would not find out about him. In February 1599 Cerqueira moved into Konishi Yukinaga's territory, where he stayed more than a year studying the Japanese language and waiting for the right time to announce himself.³⁷⁸ The Jesuit effort to keep undercover such an important ecclesiastical authority and the decision to move elsewhere suggests that although the leaders (*otona*) of Nagasaki's inner town were Christians, the Jesuits were exposed to the pressure of the Nagasaki magistrate and the central administrative authorities. This would not last for long, though.

³⁷⁷ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967a, 49)

³⁷⁸ (Kataoka 1985)



Figure 5.2 Photo by Ueno Hikoma of Nagasaki from Ebisu shrine on Mount Inasa
Source: Metadata Database of Japanese Old Photographs in Bakumatsu-Meiji Period,
Nagasaki University Library Collection, <http://oldphoto.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/en/target.php?id=5312>
accessed 10 December 2011



Figure 5.3 Photograph by Ueno Hikoma of Goshin-ji temple on Mont Inasa
Source: Metadata Database of Japanese Old Photographs in Bakumatsu-Meiji Period,
Nagasaki University Library Collection <http://oldphoto.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/en/target.php?id=5340>
accessed 10 December 2011

5.2 Jesuit headquarters in the Nagasaki *colegio* (1599)

Hideyoshi died in September 1598 and, although his death was not revealed to the military lords then in Korea in order to avoid rebellions, as soon as the news reached Nagasaki, the Jesuits believed that the ban on Christianity had ended.³⁷⁹ The central government, however, did not deal immediately with the missionary issue because the question of Hideyoshi's succession was unsettled. Hideyoshi had only one legitimate son, Hideyori, who was just five years old, and his achievements rested on a precarious balance of power. Hideyoshi had appointed five regents and five magistrates, fearing that, if all the power was concentrated in the hands of a single regent, he would overthrow the Toyotomi family. In spite of this, dissension arose within the government very soon after Hideyoshi's death. Tokugawa Ieyasu, one of the most powerful regents, gradually seized power, which caused unrest among the other regents. In spring 1599 preparations for war started, with Ieyasu taking Fushimi castle as his base and the other regents joining forces in Osaka castle, where Hideyori resided. The Christian lords aligned with the supporters of Hideyori. The Jesuits were wary lest the outcome of the war might change the fate of their benefactors.

Ieyasu did not meet the Jesuits to clarify their situation in Japan before the war, but ordered the Nagasaki *bugyō* to reduce the pressure on the missionaries and the Christians and let them live according to their own customs, which meant that they were allowed to celebrate Christian ritual openly in the church.³⁸⁰ This seemed a good time for Valignano to send Father Joao Rodrigues, who had been a translator at Hideyoshi's court, with letters to the central government magistrates in Kyūshū and to the Nagasaki *bugyō*, who were in Hakata supervising the return of troops from Korea. In these, Valignano paid his respects and let them know that he was in Japan to supervise the activities of the Jesuit missionaries, but he did not mention the presence of the Bishop. Valignano obtained a positive response from the magistrates, but they asked the Jesuits to remain quiet until the political situation was stable. Immediately, the Jesuits started to rebuild or return to some of the mission posts that they had had to abandon in Ōmura and Arima provinces and in Kyoto and Osaka. In

³⁷⁹ (Pasio 1598b, 181r; 1598a, 182Ar)

³⁸⁰ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 69)

Nagasaki, the Jesuits built a new building for the *colegio* on the Morisaki cape, which was now the main and largest residence in Japan. From 1599 it sheltered some 70 children in the *seminario*, who had been scattered around Kyushu, and all of the instructors and students of the *colegio*, who had been divided between Morisaki and Todos os Santos.³⁸¹

Although the initial attitude of Tokugawa Ieyasu was rather lenient, allowing the Jesuits to establish their headquarters in Nagasaki, the ban on missionaries was not officially removed, and Todos os Santos remained an important space within the Jesuit network, as a refuge in times of crisis. For example, between October and November of 1599 a large group of around 600 people Christians from the island of Hirado migrated to Nagasaki village, encouraged by the Jesuits and the bishop, who provided financial support as well as lodging for them.³⁸² The trigger of this massive migration to Nagasaki was the lord of Hirado, Matsuura Takanobu, forcing all the Christians in his territories to recant so that they could attend funerary ceremonies for his father. The Koteda family, who were powerful retainers and relatives of the Matsuura family, decided not to recant and to leave Hirado instead.³⁸³

After consulting with the Jesuits, they secretly escaped to Nagasaki with all their relatives, retainers and servants. The Bishop and the Vice-Provincial Father welcomed them, lodging Lord Koteda and his main retainers in the Jesuit residence at Todos os Santos, while the rest were lodged in the homes of Christian families in Nagasaki village and other neighbouring villages in the Ōmura territory, by order of the Ōmura lord. Matsuura mobilised guards to prevent further migrations, but another 200 managed to escape to Nagasaki, after which Matsuura stopped the pressure on the Christians and the missionaries in his lands, and promised the *émigrés* that they would not have to recant if they returned. Koteda and his followers did not comply, however.³⁸⁴ According to missionary records, in 1601 they relocated to Chikuzen province, in northwestern Kyushu, as retainers of the Hosokawa lord.³⁸⁵ This massive migration suggests that Nagasaki and more specifically Todos os Santos was a sanctuary, not only for Jesuits but also for lay Christians, and that the

³⁸¹ (de Guzman 1976, vol. 2 641)

³⁸² Gabriel de Matos, JS 25, 56-59v (Schütte 1975, 360)

³⁸³ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 73)

³⁸⁴ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 75)

³⁸⁵ Gabriel de Matos, JS 25, 56-59v (Schütte 1975, 360)

Ōmura lord and the villagers in Nagasaki village were responsive to the Jesuit elite. Todos os Santos remained an important place within the Jesuit network that now had Morisaki cape as its centre.

Although Hideyoshi's expulsion edict was not formally revoked, in December 1599 the Jesuits celebrated Christmas solemnly as an affirmation of the continuity and vitality of the Christian community.³⁸⁶ Cerqueira came to Nagasaki to administer a solemn mass according to the pontifical ritual, reserved to the Pope and the bishops, which is a sung mass with a lavish display of ornaments and assistant priests. In addition, the students of the *seminario* performed religious plays about the birth of Jesus, which was customary in Europe at the time. In Japan, *kagura* dances by young girls at Shintō shrines set a precedent for artistic performance within sacred spaces, although the Christian plays were more narrative in approach and very long. Guerreiro writes:

The Christians organized celebrations (*festas*) and theatrical representations (*autos*) in the territory in front of the *colegio*. The students of the *seminario* performed a play of the Birth of Jesus inside the church. The play took longer than four hours and the lord of Ōmura [Yoshiaki] Sancho attended together with his retainers.³⁸⁷ [my translation]

There are no further details available, but Nelson thinks that these outdoor performances were the contribution of merchants from central Japan who had experienced Noh theatre, before migrating to Nagasaki.³⁸⁸ Even if their contributions were not religious, the fact that the Nagasaki population engaged with the celebration reinforces the idea of a highly Christianised Nagasaki area.

In other parts of Japan, Christians were a minority and had difficulty in celebrating Christian holidays, since they had to adapt to the local working rhythm and festival calendar, but in Nagasaki town and village the population was allowed to follow the Christian calendar and participate in Christian holidays.³⁸⁹ Particularly on this occasion, it is likely that most of the villagers engaged in the preparations and

³⁸⁶ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 71)

³⁸⁷ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 71)

³⁸⁸ (Nelson 1996, 136)

³⁸⁹ (Lopez Gay 1970, 45-46)

the celebration since the lord himself attended the Christmas plays. His presence sanctioned both the Jesuit presence in his lands and the importance of the bishop, if not for the Nagasaki magistrate, who was not aware of his office, at least at the eyes of the inhabitants of the village and town who attended the celebrations.

The aggregation of functions in Nagasaki was accompanied by an increase of manpower. By 1600 the number of Jesuit missionaries in Nagasaki had doubled, since there were 30 Jesuits in the three local residences, i.e. the main *colegio* adjacent to the church of the Assumption on Morisaki cape, the house of the Misericordia in the inner town, and Todos os Santos in Nagasaki village.³⁹⁰ On a wider scale, the Nagasaki *colegio* was the base for the missionaries who catered for the Christian villages in the region. By 1600 there were three such priests, one taking care of Hokame, one of Fukahori, Mogi and Urakami, and the final one of Koga and Isahaya, suggesting that Nagasaki was the centre of an increasingly large network (figure 2.2).³⁹¹ In 1600, the Vice Provincial Father Pedro Gomez died and Francesco Pasio was appointed as his successor.³⁹² The latter would be one the main agents in the transformation of Nagasaki in the following decade, as we will see below. In the same year, the Jesuit printing press was established in the Nagasaki *colegio*. Print played a crucial role in the Jesuit mission, especially in times when open preaching on the streets was suspended, since the circulation of Christian literature spread ideas and models of behaviour beyond the reach of the missionaries.³⁹³ Together with its educational programmes for Japanese who wanted to enter the Society of Jesus and its editing of Christian books, the Nagasaki *colegio* became the centre of the diffusion of Christian culture in Japan.

5.3 Nagasaki town as the episcopal see (1600)

In 1600, war broke out in central Japan between the followers of Toyotomi Hideyori and those of Tokugawa Ieyasu. All the military lords had to take sides in the fight for Hideyoshi's succession and the missionaries knew that the positioning of the Christian daimyo would be crucial for their fate. The safety of the Jesuits and

³⁹⁰ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 80)

³⁹¹ (Schütte 1975, 356)

³⁹² (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 80)

³⁹³ (Pacheco 1971, 441)

the Japanese Christians would be at risk, should the lords who supported them fall in disgrace. While the final battle was fought in Sekigahara, the Tokugawa allies invaded the territories of Konishi Yukinaga in Higo province, Kyushu, since he supported Toyotomi Hideyori. As noted above, Konishi was sheltering Jesuit missionaries, institutions like the *seminario*, and communities of *émigré* Christians like the Koteda of Hirado. According to Guerreiro, during the siege of the fortress of Uto and the attack on Shiki and Amakusa, many Jesuits and their Japanese assistants (*dōjuku*) had to take refuge in Nagasaki and Shiki. Konishi himself asked the Jesuits to shelter his wife in Nagasaki, since her father had been killed and he could not ensure her safety while at war.³⁹⁴

Once more Nagasaki became a refuge in both a religious and a strategic sense. From the first, perhaps, Nagasaki had been conceived as a refuge, since it had been Christian *émigrés*, escaping from religious hostility, who had built and populated the first six streets of the town. But it had also been a stronghold during local warfare, for instance in 1586 when the Ōmura and Arima lords fought over Tokitsu and Nagae.³⁹⁵ The war between Hideyori and Ieyasu did not involve any direct attack against Nagasaki, but it affected the economy, because it disrupted the usual procedures of the silk trade. Missionary sources report that the Portuguese ship in Nagasaki port struggled to sell its cargo because due to the war most of the merchants returned to their hometowns and the roads remained closed. Jesuits worried, since the Portuguese trade was the main source of their income and with the aggregation of institutions and increase of manpower in Nagasaki their expenses had increased.³⁹⁶

It was in this context, in the summer of 1600, after having spent thirteen months in Shiki, that the bishop moved to Nagasaki and settled there for good. He decided to move even before the battle of Sekigahara had determined the outcome of the war, feeling that Nagasaki, under the direct control of the central administration, was safer than the territory of a daimyo engaged in the ongoing war. This probably was a wise move, since a few months later the Konishi territories were invaded. He also gave other reasons, such as the fact that Nagasaki was the largest Christian town,

³⁹⁴ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 133)

³⁹⁵ (Schütte 1972, 118-122)

³⁹⁶ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 130-131)

in which the Visitor and the Vice Provincial resided. He bought a plot of land next to the Jesuit *colegio* in order to build a house with an inner door to communicate with the Jesuits, since as head of the Catholic hierarchy in Japan he would often have to communicate often with the Jesuit leaders.³⁹⁷ Moreover, until the Bishop's residence was completed in 1606, he resided in the Jesuit *colegio*. The mutual recognition and cooperation between the Jesuits and the Bishop was thus materialised spatially. By establishing the episcopal see next to the Jesuit complex on Morisaki cape, the bishop sanctioned the Jesuit mission, and aggregated yet another function to the Jesuit complex on Morisaki cape, which was now both the headquarters of the Jesuit mission and the institutional centre of the Japanese diocese, and thus of the Catholic Church in Japan.

On September 1600 the battle of Sekigahara established Tokugawa Ieyasu as Hideyoshi's successor, putting an end to the war. He forced the main supporters of Hideyori to commit suicide, including the Christian lord Konishi Yukinaga. The latter's estate was put under the control of Katō Kiyomasa, who imprisoned for almost one year the two Jesuit missionaries residing in Kumamoto and expelled the Christians from his territories.³⁹⁸ Konishi was replaced in his post of superintendent of Kyushu by Terazawa Hirotaka, who was also confirmed as the Nagasaki magistrate as a reward for taking the Tokugawa side during the war. Ieyasu also confirmed the inner town's exemption from taxes, established by Hideyoshi in 1588, and Murayama Tōan as the outer town *daikan*.³⁹⁹

In a letter dated October 1600 the recently appointed Vice Provincial Father Francisco Pasio wrote that Ieyasu disliked discovering that, although most Christian lords had sided with Hideyori, some had encouraged Christianity in their territories in spite of Hideyoshi's orders. He said that no missionaries would be allowed to settle in *daimyō* domains. As a result, some lords, who had requested missionaries to return to their domains as soon as it was safe to travel after the war, changed their minds and refused to host any Jesuits, and even the lords of Ōmura and Arima

³⁹⁷ Jesuit annual report of 1600 (Oliveira e Costa 1998, IV 8)

³⁹⁸ (Ruiz de Medina 1999, 114)

³⁹⁹ (Harada 2006, 50)

became cautious.⁴⁰⁰ Indeed, Ieyasu would only grant permits for missionaries to reside in towns under his direct control, as we will see below.

Terazawa seized the opportunity to argue that the island of Amakusa should be taken from the lord of Arima and given to the lord of Ōmura. Ieyasu consented and issued the order, but the two Christian lords managed to reverse Ieyasu's decision through middlemen and presents. Terazawa then accused them of being Christians, claiming that they had allowed the foreign missionaries to erect many churches in their lands and to destroy temples and shrines, which angered Ieyasu, who ordered Terazawa to destroy all churches in Ōmura and Arima. The two Christian lords sent word to the Jesuits about the situation, explaining that allowing Terazawa to destroy the churches would be dishonourable both for the lords and for the Christian Law and proposing to let their governors dismantle the churches with the agreement of the Jesuits, before Terazawa's men arrived. The Jesuits and the Japanese Christians feared that after the destruction of the churches a persecution would follow, but accepted the proposal for the Christian lords' sake. However, in the end the two lords convinced Ieyasu to let them live in their lands according to their custom, since they had been Christians since childhood, before Hideyoshi's edict, so that the order to destroy the churches was revoked at the last minute.⁴⁰¹ After the battle of Sekigahara Tokugawa Ieyasu wanted to secure a united Japan and was determined to suppress any potential rebellion, showing no mercy towards powerful Christian lords like Konishi Yukinaga, while he was ready to negotiate with smaller, peripheral ones like Ōmura and Arima.

The Jesuits interpreted Ieyasu's lenience towards the two Christian lords as a sign that they were out of danger and had Ieyasu's sanction to stay in Japan.⁴⁰² They thought it was time to make the bishop's presence public, so in October 1600 the Procurator Father Joao Rodriguez and the Brother Martino Hara visited Terazawa to announce that the Bishop was in Japan and to negotiate his first public appearance in Nagasaki's inner town. Terazawa was receptive and, after two visits from Bishop Cerqueira between October 1600 and February 1601, he promised to favour him and

⁴⁰⁰ (Pasio 1601a, 71v)

⁴⁰¹ (Pasio 1601a, 71v)

⁴⁰² (Valignano 1601, 73v)

the missionaries.⁴⁰³ The establishment of Cerqueira in the inner town transformed Nagasaki into both the episcopal see and, since Japan was a single Diocese, the centre of the Catholic church in Japan. The presence of the bishop allowed the performance of solemn ritual celebrations in the church of the Assumption. Masses were sung rather than spoken, richer objects and vestments were used, and a higher number of assistant priests participated in rituals. This, together with the consent of Japan's new leader, attracted more acolytes to church.

The church of the Assumption, which had been constructed quickly on a small plot of land during the underground period, was not suitable for the growing demand that followed such an aggregation of functions. In 1600 there were so many attendants at Sunday mass that the Jesuits allowed the laity to access the church through the door connecting the church with the *colegio*. Men and women entered and left the church through different doors and sat separately during mass, so a divider was built inside the church.⁴⁰⁴ According to Guerreiro, 800 to 1200 people were eligible to have communion during the main feasts. The church also had no capacity for lay Christians to scourge themselves inside the church. In order to fulfil the reawakened demand of the residents and to have a church worth of a bishop, the Jesuits decided that a larger building for the church was necessary, and started to raise funds. They obtained 1000 *cruzados* from Nagasaki residents, 200 *cruzados* from a Portuguese, and Jesuits contributed 800 *cruzados* from their own funds.⁴⁰⁵ These figures, and the fact that the transport of the timber and part of the labour was carried out for free by the residents, suggest that they formed a Christian community with substantial resources and deeply engaged in the reproduction of sacred space.

⁴⁰³ (Oliveira e Costa 1998, IV 8)

⁴⁰⁴ Valentin Carvalho Jesuit annual report of 1600 (Pacheco 1977, 54)

⁴⁰⁵ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 81)

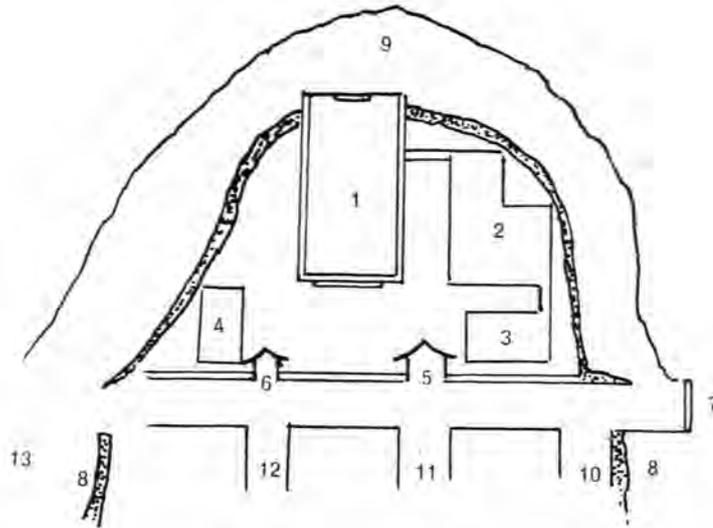


Figure 5.4 Schematic plan of the Jesuit compound at Morisaki cape

1.church of the Assumption, 2.Saint Paul *colegio*, 3.Bishop's residence, 4.seminario, 5.main gate, 6.side gate, 7.pier, 8.town wall, 9.beach (Edo-machi), 10.Hirado-machi, 11.Hokaura-machi, 12.Bunchi-machi, 13.Shita-machi. Source: (Pacheco 1977, central pages)

In mid February 1601 the Jesuit Fathers Joao Rodriguez and Organtino Gnecci Soldi visited Ieyasu and obtained official permits to establish Jesuit residences and churches in Kyoto, Osaka and Nagasaki, all of which were towns under the direct control of the central government.⁴⁰⁶ This enabled the Jesuits to claim back the part of the Morisaki cape complex that Terazawa had confiscated in 1592. As seen in the previous chapter, he had claimed that returning the whole plot might annoy Hideyoshi, but since Ieyasu approved of the Jesuit presence in Nagasaki, he complied with the Jesuit request. Jesuits started to design the new church. Unfortunately none of the plans are extant, but we know that the church was 58 meters long and 18 meters wide and was surrounded by Japanese-style verandas (figure 5.4). Since the available land was insufficient for such an ambitious project, the church was partly built on a wooden platform out over the cliff, with the scaffolding visible from the bay.⁴⁰⁷ According to missionary sources, the Bishop himself performed the solemn ceremony of laying and blessing the corner stone of the building on 25 March 1601, the day of the Annunciation to our Lady, and later

⁴⁰⁶ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 81)

⁴⁰⁷ (Pacheco 1977, 54-55)

the consecration and first Mass on 21 October 1601, the celebration day of the 11,000 virgins.⁴⁰⁸

Apart from the new church, the Jesuit complex on Morisaki cape aggregated other spaces and institutions. According to a letter by Father Francisco Rodriguez, ‘proper classrooms’ were created for the students of the *colegio* and a separate classroom, detached from the building of the *colegio* and facing the bay, for the boys of the *seminario*.⁴⁰⁹ The Jesuits also accommodated the printing press and an art academy in the *colegio*. Eight days after the inauguration of the new church, however, a big fire started in Kōzen-machi, where the Misericordia headquarters stood, and spread towards Morisaki cape, destroying many of the streets in the inner town. Although luckily the wind direction changed just before the fire reached the Jesuit complex, Valignano realised the danger of concentrating so many institutions in the *colegio* and decided to relocate the *seminario* primary school for good in the Arima province. The art academy moved into a separate building recently built for the *seminario*.⁴¹⁰ Nonetheless, the new church attracted even more citizens, so that mass was celebrated three times on Sundays and holidays, and every time the church was full.⁴¹¹ The Nagasaki *colegio* also became the Jesuit infirmary, where sick and elder missionaries were taken care of, probably because of its convenient location, near the supplies of European medicines brought by the Portuguese *nao*, but most importantly because it was their most comfortable and secure residence. Thus, when the Jesuit superior of the Kyoto area fell ill in 1602, the Visitor sent him to the main Jesuit residence in Nagasaki.⁴¹² By 1603 the Jesuit complex in Morisaki cape had become an impressive architectural complex comprising the new building of the church of the Assumption, the largest in Japan, and the *colegio* of San Paulo, which was the Jesuit headquarters and also hosted the Bishop and the Japanese in training to become diocesan priests, until their own lodgings were ready in 1606. This gradual aggregation of functions and institutions consolidated Nagasaki not only as the

⁴⁰⁸ Gabriel de Matos Jesuit annual report of 1602 (Pacheco 1977, 56)

⁴⁰⁹ (Nagaskishiyakusho 1967c, 144)

⁴¹⁰ (de Matos 1603a, 193r-194v) For a study on the various relocations of Arima *seminario* see (Yūki 2005).

⁴¹¹ (de Matos 1603a, 193r-194v)

⁴¹² (de Matos 1603a, 193r-194v)

institutional centre of the Jesuits but also of the Japanese Diocese, and therefore of the Catholic Church in Japan.

Nagasaki within rival religious networks

In 1603 Tokugawa Ieyasu received the title of *shogun* from the emperor, which sanctioned him as the successor of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and as political and administrative leader of Japan. In the same year Ieyasu appointed Ogasawara Ichian as the new Nagasaki magistrate in place of Terazawa Hirotaka, with ten officers (*yoriki*) and two lords from Ōmura and Satsuma (*machishiyaku*) to assist him.⁴¹³ Japanese sources do not mention the reason for the new appointments, but missionary sources suggest that it was triggered by business disagreements.

Two merchants who usually come to the *nao* fair in Nagasaki complained that they were not sold the quantity of silk that they desired. They took as intermediaries two of the *bugyō* officials, and Ieyasu was very angry. They accused the Portuguese and Ieyasu spoke ill of them and of Nagasaki. But later, the situation was clarified. Joao Rodrigues together with Antonio [Murayama Toan], one of the main men of Nagasaki, who is a good Christian, visited Ieyasu in the New Year. Terazawa Hirotaka fell in disgrace with Ieyasu, and he appointed Murayama Toan and another 4 Christian men of Nagasaki as the governors of Nagasaki. He later issued a provision for that.⁴¹⁴ [my translation]

This change opened new opportunities for religious proselytisers other than the Jesuits. In 1603 Franciscan missionaries managed to challenge the Jesuit monopoly over the Christian community, while in 1604 a Japanese True Pure Land Buddhist priest joined the competition.

In 1599 Ieyasu approached a Franciscan missionary who had managed to secretly return to Japan in 1598. Two friars, Geronimo de Jesús and Luis Gomez, had re-entered Japan in disguise, dressed as Japanese civilians and on a Japanese ship, because no Portuguese ship was allowed to bring missionaries to Japan under a penalty of excommunication and a fine of 100 ducats. Gomez stayed in Higo, but

⁴¹³ *Nagasaki* (Narushima 1929-1935, 22-24)

⁴¹⁴ (Pasio 1603a, 129r)

was soon captured, imprisoned for three months in a storehouse in Nagasaki, and sent back to Manila on a Portuguese ship bound for Malacca. De Jesús, however, managed to move to central Japan and stay unnoticed. In 1599 he was hiding near Ise, in the Kii Peninsula, but his presence became known to Ieyasu, who instead of expelling him, offered the Franciscan permission to reside in Edo and open a small church. In exchange, de Jesus was asked to act as mediator with the Governor of Manila in negotiations to establish regular trade between Manila and the Kantō ports within Tokugawa territory.⁴¹⁵ Ieyasu, like Hideyoshi, was eager to establish a regular trade route with the Spanish under his direct control, an alternative to the Nagasaki Portuguese route.

Spanish ships did not succeed in calling at the Kanto ports, but in June 1601 a third diplomatic envoy from the Philippines of three Franciscan friars arrived in Hirado with confirmation of Spain's interest in regular trade between Manila and Edo. Ieyasu granted the Franciscans permission to stay in Japan and open a second residence in the castle town of Fushimi, south of Kyoto. In 1603, Ieyasu allowed them to open further churches in Sakai, Osaka and Kyoto. Missionaries were given official permission only in towns under the direct control of the central government, but Ieyasu restricted the Franciscan mission field to Kansai and Edo. This was probably because his acceptance of the Franciscans was oriented to ports in the Kantō, so that little benefit would be obtained from allowing them to operate in Nagasaki, which was already consolidated as the port for Portuguese trade. Ieyasu's keeping them out of Nagasaki suited both the Jesuits' and the bishop's agenda. To obtain a place at the centre of the Japanese mission would sanction the Mendicant presence in Japan, which they were far from accepting.

Nevertheless, the Franciscans considered it crucial to have a base in Nagasaki, in order to have better connections with Manila and to benefit from the donations of the Portuguese and Spanish merchants established there.⁴¹⁶ Their first attempt to set foot in Nagasaki in 1595 had been opposed by the Jesuits and the Christian community alike, as noted above. In 1603 a Franciscan priest fell ill in Kyoto. Since the Franciscans had no appropriate medicine in their Kyoto residence, he was taken to Nagasaki to receive proper treatment. It was on this occasion that the Franciscans

⁴¹⁵ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 34)

⁴¹⁶ (Willeke 1994a, 13)

tried again to obtain a place in Nagasaki, in order to be close to their Portuguese supporters, who lived in Nagasaki, and to organise regular voyages to Manila. However, they did not make any progress. In fact, the second attempt was less fruitful than the first, which confirms that the Jesuits had increased their influence in Nagasaki and had the bishop on their side and that Ieyasu only tolerated the missionaries' presence on the basis of his commercial interests. It was only three years later that the Mendicants would be able to establish a church in Nagasaki, as we will see below.

While Franciscans were unsuccessful in establishing themselves in Nagasaki, in 1604 a Buddhist temple was built in the inner town. Thus the first non-Christian sacred space was produced just as Nagasaki became the centre for Japanese Christianity. Having arrived in Nagasaki in 1594 and lodged in the outer town, as related in the previous chapter, the Buddhist True Pure Land priest Dochi later moved into a small house of his own in Kajiya-machi, also in the outer town, between the Nakagawa river and the Kasagashira mountain (figure 4.1). From there he started proselytizing in the streets, but only after Ogasawara became magistrate was he able to establish a temple.⁴¹⁷

The former magistrate Terazawa had received baptism, but Ogasawara did not. He had previously received Buddhist training, which is perhaps why he supported Dōchi's endeavours. As he surveyed Nagasaki, he became aware that Dōchi's house was surrounded by Christians and that Dōchi constantly suffered their attacks when preaching in the street. Consequently, in 1604 he decided to enlarge Dōchi's residence, granting him the adjacent houses, so that he was able to build a temple. Ogasawara also obtained the permission of the main True Pure Land temple in Kyoto, the Nishi Hongan-ji, to found a temple together with a name for it, Shōkaku-ji. The Christian residents sabotaged the construction, however.⁴¹⁸ They poisoned the water of Dochi's well and threw stones at him when he went out into town, so that he had to wear a protective outfit and the magistrate Ogasawara ordered two officials to accompany him.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁷ (Narushima 1929-1935, 22-24)

⁴¹⁸ (Nelson 1996, 17)

⁴¹⁹ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967a, 273-274)

Missionary correspondence does not mention the building of Shōkaku-ji. Since it is unlikely that the Jesuits ignored its existence, such silence might be interpreted as a sign that they did not see it as a real threat or as a deliberate strategy to conceal the presence of Buddhists at the centre of the Christian mission. After such a long period of instability and underground resistance, missionary letters instead brought attention to their achievements. In addition, their main concern was to maintain their monopoly over Christianity, so they presumably felt more threatened by mendicants than by Japanese religionists. Buddhism was deeply rooted in Japan and they did not have the means to reverse this, but they were convinced that it was still possible to ban the mendicant orders, since this depended on Rome and Spain, where they could exert their influence, or at least so they thought, as will be discussed in chapter 7.

As Nagasaki emerged as the Christian centre of Japan, the Buddhists were already on the offensive. Shōkaku-ji was the first non-Christian sacred space established since the foundation of the town, breaking a Christian monopoly of more than three decades. However, the fact that it was located in a peripheral position, on the western limits of the outer town, together with the actions taken by its neighbours against the building and Dōchi himself reveal a rather militant allegiance to Christianity. The Nagasaki residents invested resources and labour into the production and reproduction of Christian sacred spaces, but actively opposed non-Christian sacred spaces. There are no written sources from the Nagasaki population, so that it is their indirectly recorded actions over space and ritual that brings their voices into the history of the Christian community of Nagasaki.

5.4 Annexation of the Nagasaki ‘outer town’ (1605)

The annexation of the outer town to the inner town in 1605 was a very important administrative change for the Christian community, because it brought together the Christian spaces of the inner town, the outer town and Nagasaki village into the same administrative unit. I will first explain the formation of the outer town and the kind of problems that emerged between the two towns, which prompted requests for annexation from various agents already at the beginning of the century. I

will then focus on the trigger for the annexation in 1605 and its consequences for Nagasaki and its Christian community.

The territory outside the tax exemption mark established by Hideyoshi in 1588 belonged to the Ōmura domain, and was therefore subject to taxation and to different institutions and legal procedures. From 1592 the central government created the post of Nagasaki *daikan*, who supervised the administration of the outer town and was in charge of collecting the land taxes. However, Nagasaki attracted commoners and artisans, as well as Japanese Christians who had been expelled from their own territories and were able to live according to Christian practice, so that the town's population kept growing rapidly, with the newcomers establishing new neighbourhoods in both the inner and the outer town. The limits of the tax-exempt inner town had been fixed in 1588, when the urbanised area, at the time fortified by a wall, comprised basically Morisaki cape and the inland neighbourhoods framed by the coast line, the Urakami river and the moat on the north side. By 1597, there were 23 streets in the inner town. The number of streets in the outer town at the time is unknown, but at least three new streets were in place, *Zaimoku-machi*, *Moto-kōya-machi* and *Fukuro-machi*, (that is, streets of timber dealers, dyers and bag makers), suggesting that most of the residents of the outer town engaged in economic activities related to the trade with the Portuguese, like the residents of the inner town. From 1598 onwards, new fields (*arata*) were opened in the area, so that population growth and urban development in the outer town continued.⁴²⁰

By 1605 Japanese sources describe 23 neighbourhoods in the inner town and 18 neighbourhoods in outer town, while Jesuit missionaries report that by the turn of the century the outer town was already larger than the inner town.⁴²¹ This might well be the case in terms of area, since in the inner town new streets had usually been formed from dividing old streets, while in the outer town urbanisation spread outwards across the plains between the hill on Morisaki cape and Mount Tateyama to the north, across the Urakami River and Kasagashira Mountain to the south-east, so that the urban development of the outer town reached Nagasaki village (figure 5.5).

⁴²⁰ *Nagasaki Kongenki* (Kudamatsu 2004, 96)

⁴²¹ (Kataoka 1970, 13; Schütte 1972, 206; Kudamatsu 2004, 96)



Figure 5.5 Map of Nagasaki in the Kan'ei period, Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture
Source: Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture Archive, <http://www.nmhc.jp/museumInet/prh/colArtAndHisSubGet.do?command=image&number=148525> accessed 14 March 2011

The spatial continuity between inner town and outer town made it easy for some criminals to evade justice, causing a 'problem of double administration' or a 'problem of contiguous towns'. For instance, when someone was sought after because of a crime in the port town, avoiding judgement was as easy as crossing over to the adjacent new town: the inner town authorities had no jurisdiction in the outer town and *vice versa*.⁴²² Missionary records say that the local officials in the outer town as well as the magistrate in the inner town had tried to solve this unsuccessfully. The exact date is unknown, but the magistrate in charge of supervising the trade

⁴²² (Schütte 1972, 208-210)

transactions was the first to try to control the outer town, suggesting the shogunate give the territories in Urakami confiscated in 1588 to the Ōmura Yoshiaki in exchange for the outer town and Nagasaki village, but Yoshiaki rejected the exchange.

After this first failed attempt, the four head officials of the Nagasaki port town (*otona*) tried again, asking the Vice Provincial Father to persuade the Ōmura lord to exchange the land and to put them in charge of the administration of the 'outer town'. They promised to act only as Yoshiaki's representatives, obeying him absolutely, and collecting the taxes that he expected from its inhabitants on his behalf, so that he would not lose out, but justice could be applied equally in both towns. Yoshiaki agreed and both sides signed documents accepting the above conditions. However, Yoshiaki's relatives also sought to control the area and asked him to undo the agreement with the Nagasaki *otona*. They argued as follows:

[Yoshiaki] would be disregarded among the other *daimyō* of Japan for putting the weak and strangers in charge of the government of his territory, instead of appointing his powerful relatives, even more so when these officials had been among his lowest servants when the whole city belonged to him. At least, they told him, he should give only three quarters of his property and keep one for himself, to govern it through his own men, since otherwise other lords would think that he esteemed his close retainers very low.⁴²³ [my translation]

The Nagasaki head officials belonged in fact to merchant or townsmen families, the lowest rank in the Japanese social scale. His relatives were asserting claims of blood and status in order to maintain the *status quo*. Yoshiaki feared that these powerful men would revolt, and asked Father Alfonso de Lucena, who had lived in Ōmura for several decades as the confessor of the Ōmura lord, to convey to the Jesuit Vice Provincial Father his order to call off the agreement.⁴²⁴ Although Lucena tried to 'cool off' this decision he was not able to dissuade Yoshiaki and the inner town *otona* sent the signed documents back in anger, feeling profoundly affronted by Yoshiaki's retraction.⁴²⁵

⁴²³ (Schütte 1972, 208-210)

⁴²⁴ (Schütte 1972, 208-210)

⁴²⁵ (Schütte 1972, 208-210)

According to Father Lucena, this tense situation exploded when a man from the outer town stole the goods of a man who was passing through the outer town and killed him. Since the crime had happened outside their territory and the criminal fell under Yoshiaki's jurisdiction, the inner town *otona* petitioned Yoshiaki to punish the man accordingly. For some reason Yoshiaki's officers delayed acting on this case and the *otona* sent a petition to the *shogun* complaining about Yoshiaki's neglect and claiming that it was impossible to govern the two towns with two different systems. Yoshiaki was very disappointed, because the *otona* did not notify him about this move, and he could not send a representative in time to make his case.⁴²⁶

Cerqueira provides more detailed information about the problem and its resolution.⁴²⁷ He notes that 'the village [*sic.*] was divided in two parts, governed by different laws, and this brought problems to the governors. For instance, there were false silver smelters in the part belonging to Ōmura.' In 1604 the recently-appointed magistrate Ogasawara Ichian went to Nagasaki to supervise the business with the Portuguese. Magistrates resided in Nagasaki only for half a year, during the trading season, and during that period they acted as the superintendent of the inner town. Ogasawara ordered the drawing of a rough outline of the two towns that he showed to the shogun once he returned to the court, asking the latter to put both towns under the same law. This time Ieyasu agreed and sent some of his officers to implement his decision at the end of 1605. The Nagasaki *otona* supported this petition 'because the division of the city had many disadvantages, since Nagasaki depended on the Ōmura lord for almost everything and there were plenty of suits, quarrels and confrontations between the two.'⁴²⁸

Thus, in 1605 the Tokugawa administration took Nagasaki village and the outer town under its direct control, while Yoshiaki received five villages in Urakami.⁴²⁹ From then on, both the village and the outer town were known as the 'outer town', because they remained outside the area exempt from land tax. The first proposals of Terazawa to the shogun and of the inner town *otona* to Yoshiaki had failed, but in 1605 the Tokugawa shogunate was ordering all the provincial lords to

⁴²⁶ (Schütte 1972, 208-210)

⁴²⁷ (Cerqueira 1606a, 393v)

⁴²⁸ (Cerqueira 1606a, 393v)

⁴²⁹ *Ōmura Kenbunshū* (Nagasaki Bunkensha 2006a, 15)

submit information on the productivity or their lands to the central authorities in order to compile the first national-level cadastral registers. Thus, Ichian's petition had arrived at a moment when the Tokugawa shogunate was starting to implement effective control measures over the provincial lords in order to secure a regular financial income. Yoshiaki and his relatives were certainly not in a position to oppose Ieyasu.

As a result, Yoshiaki lost the loyalty of Nagasaki Jinzaemon, his brother-in-law, who had been in charge of Nagasaki village. Yoshiaki granted him Jitsū village in fief and taxable land worth 700 *koku* to compensate for the loss of Nagasaki village. Jinzaemon, however, refused the offer and pledged service to Tanaka Yoshimasa instead, who offered him an estate worth 2,300 *koku* in Chikugo province.⁴³⁰ Another consequence that followed from this administrative change was that the Jesuits lost the favour of the lord of Ōmura. Lucena has it that Yoshiaki was already angry with the Vice Provincial Father because not only had he not stopped the *otona*'s petition, but he had not even notified him about their intentions. He was therefore convinced that the Jesuits and the *otona* had conspired against him and never again trusted the Jesuits.⁴³¹ Indeed, his mistrust only increased. Although Bishop Cerqueira certified that the Jesuits had not taken part in the 1605 petition, Father Joao Rodrigues had accompanied the Nagasaki *bugyō* and the Portuguese captain to Ieyasu's court as usual, so Yoshiaki thought that he had taken the *bugyō*'s side against him.⁴³² The enlargement of Nagasaki ended the symbiotic relationship between the Jesuits and the lord of Ōmura, which had been most beneficial for the missionaries and had made possible the foundation of Nagasaki. Without the support of Konishi Yukinaga and the lord of Ōmura, negotiation with the central authorities and the support of the lay citizens became crucial for the development of Christianity, as we will see below.

In summary, following Hideyoshi's crackdown on Christianity in 1597 and during the wars that followed his death, the Christian network in Nagasaki played an important role in the continuation of the Jesuits' activities underground, while Todos

⁴³⁰ Ōmura, *Tokitsumura Yuishonokoto* (Kataoka 1970, 13)

⁴³¹ (Schütte 1972, 208-210)

⁴³² (Cerqueira 1606a, 393v)

os Santos worked as a religious and military refuge. Subsequently, the Jesuit *colegio* on Morisaki cape aggregated functions as both the headquarters of the Jesuit mission and the episcopal see. The enlargement of the church of the Assumption proved that Nagasaki residents had the resources and were committed to produce and maintain their sacred spaces. Finally, the annexation of the outer town and Nagasaki village in 1605 created a unified administrative space. The spatial frame was ready for the implementation of the parish system.

Chapter 6

Nagasaki as a Christian city: the implementation of the parish system (1606-1611)

In the previous chapter, we saw how between 1598 and 1601 Nagasaki aggregated various functions as the centre of the Jesuit mission, of the Japanese diocese, therefore of the Catholic Church in Japan. From 1601, this was evident in the expanded role of the Church of the Assumption, which functioned as the seat of the bishop and so the cathedral for both city and archipelago. In line with these developments, Nagasaki became more identifiably a Christian city. In part this was a matter of catering to an increasing demand, evident from the annual report of 1601, which noted that 10,000 people from the city and its surrounding villages confessed once a year and that around 1,000 citizens regularly attended the church of the Assumption, where the Jesuits offered three masses on Sundays. Yet the church was full to overflowing for all of these, with worshippers straining the capacity of the building, so that missionaries had to recommend that they should instead attend mass at other churches within or near the city.⁴³³

The population of Nagasaki was 5,000 in 1592 and 24,700 by 1616, suggesting an average annual increase of approximately 820 persons.⁴³⁴ This included newborn babies, but labour-driven migration was the main cause of the population growth. In 1606, for instance, Jesuit sources report 880 new dwellers moving into the city to work.⁴³⁵ The increasing population called for a larger number of churches and priests in order to integrate the newcomers into the Christian community. Already in 1602 the Bishop ordered the celebration of mass on Sunday and public holidays for the laity in all four existing churches in the area, some of

⁴³³ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 81-2)

⁴³⁴ (Kudamatsu 2004, 91)

⁴³⁵ Jesuit annual report for 1606 (Rodrigues Girão 1607, 216r)

which had only served as chapels and which therefore only catered to the residents of the institution of which the chapel was part, like the churches of the Misericordia and of the San Lazaro hospital.⁴³⁶ In addition to the existing provision, during the succeeding decade, Nagasaki residents built seven new churches and the bishop ordained native priests.

As the increasing population prompted more churches, so the churches themselves changed the city. This was evident, for example, in the everyday experience of passing time, which in Japan followed the Chinese system, dividing the day into twelve units. Although it is difficult to ascertain to what extent was this system rooted among the commoners, Rikiya Komei has emphasized that the introduction of Christianity also introduced ‘Christian time’, which divided the day into 24 hours, with certain hours reserved for prayers or sacred offices.⁴³⁷ In Nagasaki, as elsewhere in the Christian world, this new understanding of time was embodied most explicitly in the bell tower of the cathedral. In addition to signalling the hours of the day, a variety of bells summoned the parishioners to church on different occasions, such as burials, marriages, feast days or regular Sunday mass. This was all new to Japan, not least the sound of a western bell, struck from the inside, with an iron clapper producing a higher and louder sound than Japanese temple bells, which are thicker and struck from outside with a tree trunk. The fact that Christian churches used bells to summon not only the religious community but also the laity, must have strengthened the image of Nagasaki as a deeply religious town to outsiders and contributed to forge its sense of identity as a Christian city.

The supply of and demand for Christian services thus produced a transformation of both the space of the city and the experience of time in it. In this chapter, I turn from the place of Nagasaki in the Japanese mission as a whole to explore further these two dimensions of the city itself, arguing that the implementation of the Christian calendar and the parish system was what organized Nagasaki as a self-consciously Christian city. After a brief consideration of the implications of the Christian ritual calendar in the first section, the majority of the chapter is devoted to an exploration of the parish system, as it was implemented on the city in the years following the turn of the seventeenth century. Sections two

⁴³⁶ Jesuit annual report for 1602 (de Matos 1603b, 194v; Pacheco 1977, 56)

⁴³⁷ (Komei 1998, 18-22)

explores Bishop Cerqueira's preparation of the field between 1601 and 1605, section three the creation of eight Jesuit and diocesan parishes from 1606 to 1609, and section four the creation of three Mendicant parishes from 1609 to 1614, when the Tokugawa administration banned Christianity and Christian churches were destroyed. Finally, section five looks at the economics and the infrastructure of the parish system in order to explore the involvement of the Nagasaki lay population with their parishes.

6.1 The Christian Ritual Calendar in Nagasaki

When Bishop Cerqueira arrived in Japan in 1598, he observed that the habit of going regularly to church to attend mass and listen to sermons, and even the custom of fasting on certain days, was already somewhat rooted among the Nagasaki population.⁴³⁸ The Jesuits had been working in Nagasaki for three decades and the religious habits of the Portuguese and the Spanish merchants had clearly set an example for the Japanese citizens. The Jesuit annual reports say that Ieyasu allowed the Christians in Nagasaki 'to live freely according their way'.⁴³⁹ The missionaries do not explain any further what this meant, but it seems sensible to assume that they refer to the organisation of labour and time according to Christian ritual. Indeed, in Nagasaki, most of the citizens participated in the main celebrations of the Catholic liturgical year, like Christmas and Easter, and attendance at Sunday mass was high.⁴⁴⁰

The Catholic ritual calendar involved regular participation in the Eucharist and a series of holidays, the so-called Cycles of the Lord, of Mary and of the Saints. Some of these fell on a Sunday, but others were fixed on a specific weekday, like Ash Wednesday or Corpus Christi, which is always celebrated on a Thursday, 60 days after Easter Sunday. Some of the holidays were on the same month and day every year, while others such as Easter depended on the lunar calendar and thus might fall on different days and even during different months. The Catholic calendar was designed and approved by the Pope and copies distributed in order to maintain a

⁴³⁸ Consulta 1598 (Lopez Gay 1970, 47)

⁴³⁹ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.1 9, vol. 2 9)

⁴⁴⁰ Consulta 1598 (Lopez Gay 1970, 47)

uniformity of practice. However, there was space for regional variation in the celebration of the patron saints of villages, towns and countries, and in the fact that the bishops had the authority to establish new holidays in their dioceses. In medieval Europe the number of compulsory holidays had increased to the point that by the thirteenth century there were more than 100 a year, including Sundays, on which the laity was required to refrain from work and to attend mass at their parish church, prompting complaints and their eventual reduction in the seventeenth century to 85, including Sundays.⁴⁴¹

In the East Asian missions, the Church mandated a lower number of compulsory holidays. In 1568, the Archbishop of Goa designated all Sundays and 21 compulsory holidays that did not fall on a Sunday, which made 73 days off work per year.⁴⁴² The Jesuit mission to Japan was part of the Indian Province at the time, but its characteristics differed from the colonised port towns of Goa and Macao. In Japanese towns and villages Christians lived alongside non-Christians, and taking a day off to go to church was not straightforward, especially for the lower classes, who needed permission from their village heads or the local authorities. The Jesuits therefore did not declare any compulsory holidays, although already during the first three decades of the Japanese mission (1550-1570) they had encouraged the devotional celebration of Christmas and Easter and attendance at church on Sundays.⁴⁴³ In 1580, in order to encourage a certain uniformity of practice, the Visitor Father Alessandro Valignano reformed the mission and established which holidays were to be mandated in Japan, although implementation had to be gradual according to the particular circumstances of each Christian community. In the *Obedientias* he established five compulsory feasts in addition to regular Sunday worship: Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Corpus Christi, and the Assumption of Mary, plus the feast day of the patron saint of the local church. Another nineteen holidays had to be introduced gradually as appropriate, not as compulsory holidays, but rather as devotional feasts.⁴⁴⁴ In reality, not all the five main feasts were introduced

⁴⁴¹ (Holweck 1909; Lopez Gay 1970, 46)

⁴⁴² (Lopez Gay 1970, 46)

⁴⁴³ (Lopez Gay 1970, 46)

⁴⁴⁴ Valignano, *Obedientias* 1580 (Lopez Gay 1970, 46)

successfully, as suggested by the fact that even in Ōmura, where the lord supported Christianity, Corpus Christi was not celebrated until 1606.⁴⁴⁵

In his Consultation of 1598, Bishop Cerqueira established three different calendars, classifying Japanese Christian communities according to their degree of Christianisation. In the first category were the so-called 'new christendoms', Japanese towns and villages where missionaries had introduced the gospel only recently or where no mission base was established. Most of them were mixed religious communities, in which the local authorities did not foster Christianity and the Christians were a scattered minority. The second category were 'still new but more settled christendoms' and included the castle towns of Ōmura and Arima, in which the lords were Christians and therefore most of the population was Christian. This category also included Hirado and the Gōto islands, where the lords were not Christian, but the Christian communities were large and had been established for a long period of time. Finally, the third category referred to well-established Christian communities, exemplified by the city of Nagasaki and some of the villages in its surrounding area, where the local authorities supported Christianity or were Christian themselves, most of the population engaged in confraternities, and practically everyone followed a Christian way of life.⁴⁴⁶

Cerqueira increased the number of public holidays according to the degree of Christianization. More specifically, in the newest Christian communities only the feasts of the so-called Cycle of the Lord were to be mandated, that is, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, together with their vigils, as well as Epiphany and the Ascension of the Lord. In the second category, there were fifteen feasts to be observed, including four feasts from the Cycle of Mary and three feasts from the Cycle of the Saints. Finally, in the 'well-established christendoms', the feast days of the apostles were added, so that there were 30 public holidays in total, although not compulsory.⁴⁴⁷ This only applied to the Japanese population, however, since the Portuguese and Spanish merchants in Nagasaki had to follow the calendar

⁴⁴⁵ Jesuit annual report for 1605 (Compagnia di Giesù 1609, 145)

⁴⁴⁶ (Lopez Gay 1970, 47)

⁴⁴⁷ (Lopez Gay 1970, 47)

established at the Metropolitan Church of Goa, with 21 compulsory holidays apart from Sundays.⁴⁴⁸

In 1605 Cerqueira prepared and the Jesuit press in Nagasaki published the *Manuale ad Sacramenta Ecclesiae Administranda*, a handbook for the administration of the sacraments in Japan, mainly following the post-Trent Roman Rite, but adapting some of its elements to Japanese culture and society.⁴⁴⁹ The *Manuale* was the most sophisticated of the Christian publications printed with the Jesuit movable-type press of the Sao Paulo *colegio* in Morisaki cape, the only which used red ink and included musical notation of Gregorian chanting.⁴⁵⁰ Although mainly written in Latin, it included a booklet with the Japanese translations of several formulae to be used by the priests and the participants in the ritual, which was ground breaking, since at the time liturgy in vernacular languages was not allowed in Catholic Europe.⁴⁵¹ The handbook included a calendar with all the official ecclesiastical feasts of the Roman Rite month by month (figure 6.1).⁴⁵² This only included those fixed according to the Roman calendar, however, and not the movable feasts. Table 6.1 therefore shows all the feasts mandated in Nagasaki following Cerqueira's consultation of 1598. Moreover, the Japanese calendar at the time followed a luni-solar system, so that both the dates of the movable and the fixed feasts varied yearly according to the Japanese calendar.⁴⁵³ Extant manuscript and printed calendars with the Japanese dates for Sundays and other Ecclesiastical Feasts show that Japanese Christians prepared and distributed copies of the Christian ritual calendar according to the Japanese calendar.⁴⁵⁴ Thus the Christian community had a common temporal frame and ritual structure that allowed uniform replication.

⁴⁴⁸ (Cerqueira 1598; Lopez Gay 1970, 49; Oliveira e Costa 2000a, 111)

⁴⁴⁹ (Lopez Gay 1970, 16-40)

⁴⁵⁰ (Takei 2000, 122)

⁴⁵¹ (Laures 1941)

⁴⁵² (Cerqueira 1605)

⁴⁵³ Shimizu (1998, 45-55) provides a table of the Japanese dates for Easter and Christmas days from 1549 to 1872.

⁴⁵⁴ (Murakami 1942)

Table 6.1 Public Christian holidays in seventeenth-century Nagasaki

Ecclesiastical Feasts ⁴⁵⁵	Date ⁴⁵⁶
Circumcision	1 January
Epiphany	6 January
Purification of Our Lady	2 February
Matthew Apostle	24 February
Annunciation to Our Lady	25 March
Philip & Jacob Apostles	1 May
Invention of the Holy Cross	3 May
St Peter and St Paul	29 June
James Apostle	25 July
St Laurence	10 August
Assumption of Our Lady	15 August
Bartholomew Apostle	24 August
Nativity of Our Lady	8 September
Exultation of the Holy Cross	14 September*
Matthew Apostle	21 September
Simon and Jude Apostles	28 October
St Michael	29 September
All Saints	1 November
Andrew Apostle	30 November
Thomas apostle	21 December
Christmas	25 December
St Stephen	26 December
St John Apostle and Evangelist	27 December
Movable Feasts	
<i>On Mamori no Santa Maria</i> ⁴⁵⁷	Japanese New Year's day
Resurrection of the Lord & the 2 f. days	1 st Sunday after 1 st full moon in spring
Ascension	40 days after Easter (Thursday)
Pentecost & the 2 following days	50 days after Easter (Sunday)
Corpus Christi	60 days after Easter (Thursday)

*Dates that were later modified and are different in today's Catholic Church.

Shrine festivals (*matsuri*) had long provided Japanese communities with a similar ritual punctuation of the year, as well as a communal experience of cohesion. The daily tolling of the cathedral bell, weekly attendance at mass and the episodic punctuation of the annual cycle, not least the celebration of the patron saint of the local church, similarly brought the various congregations of Nagasaki together as Christian communities. But the introduction and experience of Christian time also tied them into the wider congregation of the Christian faithful, which extended throughout the city, across the archipelago, however fitfully, and back to Rome. In

⁴⁵⁵ (Cerqueira 1598, 57r-71v)

⁴⁵⁶ (Cerqueira 1605)

⁴⁵⁷ (Lopez Gay 1970, 48, 299)

equivalent fashion, Bishop Cerqueira's gradual implementation of the parish system in Nagasaki produced a space within which the ritual calendar could be prescribed, regulated and sustained. The remainder of the chapter explores this Christianization of the space of the city.

6.2 Preparing the field (1601-1605)

The parish system in Nagasaki had both a spatial and human dimension, and its implementation was a gradual process closely linked to the urban development of the city, its population, and its sacred spaces, as well as the various religious. The spatial dimension of the establishment of the Catholic parish system in Nagasaki has not received much attention in previous scholarship.⁴⁵⁸ There were only a few towns in the overseas Asian missions where parishes were established, but these were usually in territories colonised and ruled by the Portuguese or the Spanish. Nagasaki was the only town outside the colonies and the only one in Japan where the parish system was implemented. The number of churches in Nagasaki (including inner and outer towns and the village) increased from five in 1601 to twelve in 1613, eleven of which functioned as parish churches (figure 6.2). In order to understand the significance of these developments, I will first briefly explain the contemporary parish system in the Catholic Church in Europe and the overseas missions in order to have a sense of the degree of innovation of the Nagasaki case.

⁴⁵⁸ The parish system is mentioned by Costa as one of Cerqueira's achievements, stressing that the lay population provided the funds for some of the churches and their priests and so proving that, contrary to Jesuit expectation, Nagasaki residents were prepared to sustain Christianity economically (Oliveira e Costa 2000b, 246).

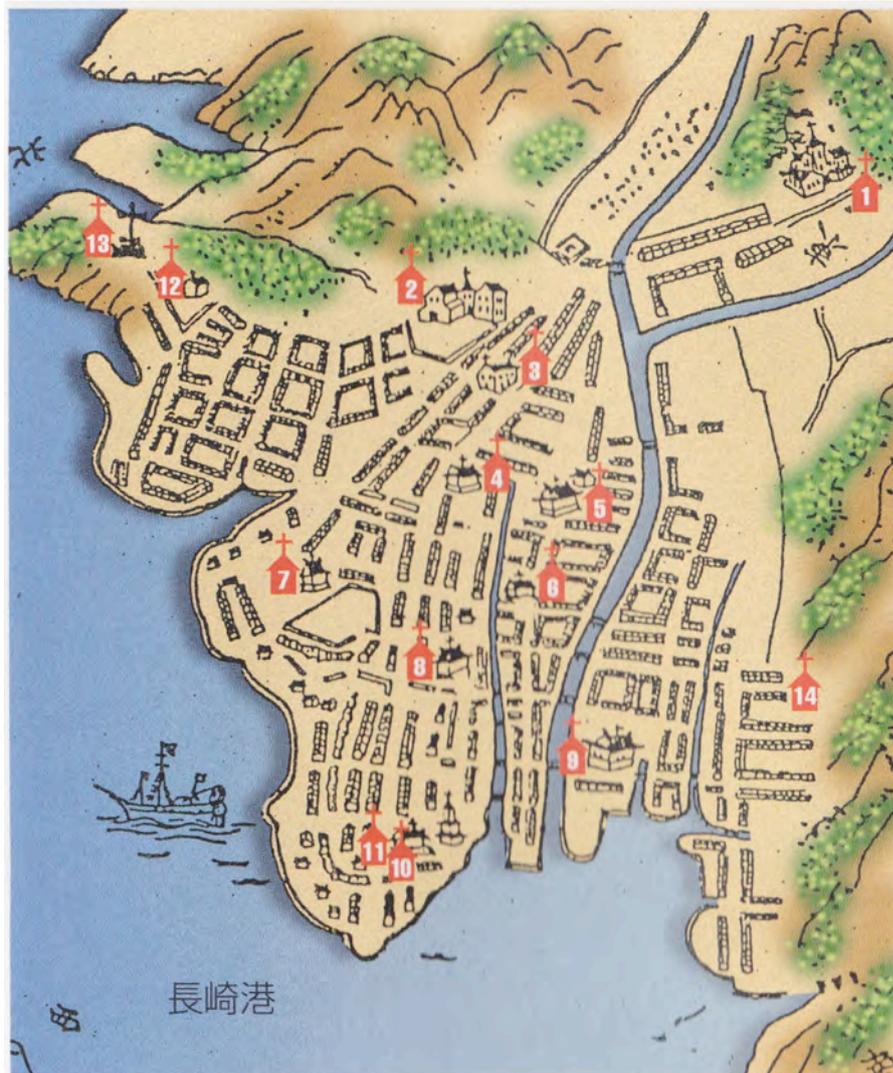


Figure 6.1 Nagasaki religious sites as of 1613

1.Todos os Santos; 2.Santa Maria; 3.Santo Domingo; 4.San Francisco; 5.San Antonio; 6.Santiago (with hospital); 7.San Pedro; 8.Santa Isabel (Misericordia headquarters); 9.San Agustin; 10.Church of the Assumption and *colegio* of San Pablo; 11.Episcopal see and *seminario* for diocesan priests; 12.San João Baptista and hospital of San Lazaro; 13.Nishizaka martyrdom site; 14.San Lazaro. Source: (Gonoi 2006, 45)

Parishes had first appeared at the end of the eleventh century due to the need to serve large urban Christian communities. At that early stage, however, the territorial limits of a parish were not clearly defined and the sacrament of baptism had to be administered in the main church, the cathedral. Parishes can thus be seen as an intermediate category that appeared in medieval times between the two basic categories of churches that had existed since the Early Christian Church: ‘baptismal churches’ for the regular administration of sacraments and so-called ‘secondary chapels’ or ‘oratories’, mainly devoted to the worship of relics. In 1545, however,

parishes were regulated by the Council of Trent, which defined them as territorial units under the authority of a priest, also called a rector or curate, legitimately appointed by the bishop to provide religious services to the faithful who are dwelling within its boundaries.⁴⁵⁹ The main function of a parish was the care of souls, more specifically, the administration of sacraments to the parishioners (baptism, confession, marriage, extreme unction) and the celebration of their funerary rites. Each such sacrament had to be recorded in a register and each parish had to collect fixed or occasional contributions for religious services, liturgical furniture and building maintenance. The parish system involved rights and duties for both the parishioners and the priests.

The Council of Trent stipulated that in order to create a parish bishops had to make sure the parish had a minimum number of parishioners and that, as soon as the population became too large for the parish priest ‘to know his sheep’, the parish had to be sub-divided in order to create a new parish. The creation of a new parish in Europe was usually put into effect by an Episcopal decree, but this might not have been the case in overseas missions.⁴⁶⁰ In fact, there are no official documents on the creation of early modern parishes in Nagasaki in the Vatican or Jesuit archives; since missionary sources do not refer to any such decrees by Cerqueira, it is likely that they were not even produced.⁴⁶¹ No parish records such as registers of baptisms, marriages and burials are extant either, although they must have been kept, since they are referred to in missionary letters.⁴⁶² This lack of official documents makes it impossible to ascertain the precise dates and spatial boundaries of each parish. Nevertheless, indirect evidence on the creation of parishes, such as allusions to the appointment of parish priests, the number of parish churches and their approximate locations can be found in annual missionary reports and in the letters from the bishop himself.

In the Catholic Church, a diocese may have different kinds of churches, chapels and oratories, while churches and cathedrals are related hierarchically and differ in their ritual functions and in their link to the clergy. Chapels and oratories

⁴⁵⁹ Session XXIV of the Council of Trent (Kirsch 1912)

⁴⁶⁰ Session XXI of the Council of Trent (Kirsch 1912)

⁴⁶¹ (Schütte 1964; Obara 1981; di Giovanni *et al.* 2005)

⁴⁶² (Schütte 1968, 410; Lopez Gay 1970, 83)

are basically places for the laity to pray and pay respects to sacred relics. They do not necessarily have a permanent priest, although mass can be celebrated on request of the faithful. Examples in Nagasaki would be the church of the Misericordia and the church of the hospital of San Lazaro before they became ‘churches of mass’ or proto-parishes in 1602, as well as Santa Maria on Mount Tateyama, which remained a chapel until 1607.⁴⁶³ Parish churches, though, have a resident priest with the duties to his parishioners noted above. In Europe, parishes usually had a school or a hospital as well, and provided food or donations to the poor of the parish, recording the names of those who depended on the church for subsistence in a book called *matricula*.⁴⁶⁴ In Nagasaki, two parish churches had hospitals and Cerqueira refers in his letters to poor who depended solely on the donations of the Church. The financial accounts for 1600 for instance, assigned 800 *cruzados* for the maintenance of the poor and, although this is not specified, these were most probably distributed through the parish churches.⁴⁶⁵ Finally, a cathedral has the same functions as a parish church for the parishioners in its vicinity, but also has the bishop’s permanent seat, the *cathedra*, and is where meetings concerning the whole diocese take place.⁴⁶⁶ In Nagasaki, the church of the Assumption had Cerqueira’s seat and was where he ordained diocesan priests and held meetings with the missionaryes and concerning the diocese, so it can be considered as the cathedral, although contemporary sources do not refer to it as such.⁴⁶⁷

Bishop Cerqueira and the creation of diocesan priests in Japan

The implementation of the parish system in Nagasaki was made possible both by the particular characteristics of Nagasaki and its Christian community, noted above, and Cerqueira’s own ambition to introduce the Tridentine reforms in the Japanese field. The regulations regarding parishes could not be applied to towns and villages where Christians were a scattered minority, but the Christian community of Nagasaki was a large and cohesive body of faithful.⁴⁶⁸ Moreover, as noted above,

⁴⁶³ (de Matos 1603b, 194v)

⁴⁶⁴ (Boudinhon 1911)

⁴⁶⁵ (Oliveira e Costa 2000b, 240)

⁴⁶⁶ (Boudinhon 1911)

⁴⁶⁷ Jesuit annual report for 1601 (Pasio 1601b, 160r)

⁴⁶⁸ (Lopez Gay 1970, 47)

the population of the town kept increasing in the early seventeenth century, and the need for priests called for action. The Jesuit Vice Provincial wrote:

The bishop is aware of the limitations on establishing clergy in Japan. The Christians are so new, and live under heathen lords, that there is constant change and lack of stability. He has decided to proceed with caution in giving ordination, following the Council of Trent, but still he cannot stop ordering clerics to cover the needs of this church, because there are no European clerics wanting to come to Japan, and because of the lack of funds and the unrest of the land.⁴⁶⁹ [my translation]

Nevertheless, after 1601 there were 17 Jesuits residing on a permanent basis in the Nagasaki *colegio*. Cerqueira must have considered that he had sufficient human resources to organise the Nagasaki Christians in proto-parishes while he began to train the first generation of diocesan priests, which was followed in turn in 1606 by his implementation of a full-fledged parish system.⁴⁷⁰

The ordination of diocesan, or secular, priests was a critical element for the implementation of a parish system in Nagasaki. Such priests did not belong to a religious order and therefore did not renounce their will through a vow of obedience to a superior. They had the vow of celibacy in common with monks, but were only responsible to the Bishop.⁴⁷¹ In order to produce such priests, Cerqueira had already established a separate *seminario* in 1601 to train clerics under his own supervision. At least three years of training were necessary to become a diocesan priest, since candidates had to be ordained first as presbyters and then as deacons before achieving the priesthood, and one year of training was required to qualify for each ordination. Finally, in 1606, Cerqueira ordained the first three Japanese diocesan priests.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁹ Jesuit annual report for 1601 (Pasio 1601b, 160r)

⁴⁷⁰ Jesuit annual report for 1605 (Compagnia di Giesù 1609, 144), Jesuit Catalogues for September 1603, February 1607 and October 1607 (Schütte 1975, 462-463, 497-503, 504-507)

⁴⁷¹ The secular cleric makes no profession and follows no religious rule, he possesses his own property like a layman, and owes to his bishop canonical obedience, but not the renunciation of his own will, which results from the religious vow of obedience; only the practice of celibacy in Holy Orders is identical with the vow of chastity of religious orders' members.

⁴⁷² (Pasio 1606, 49r)

The fact that such separate educational institutions were only just emerging in Europe suggests the innovative nature of Cerqueira's project. The Tridentine regulations on diocesan seminaries were as follows:

(1) Every diocese is bound to support, to rear in piety, and to train in ecclesiastical discipline a certain number of youths, in a college to be chosen by the bishop for that purpose; poor dioceses may combine, large dioceses may have more than one seminary.

(2) In these institutions are to be received boys who are at least twelve years of age, can read and write passably, and by their good disposition give hope that they will persevere in the service of the Church; children of the poor are to be preferred.

(3) Besides the elements of a liberal education, the students are to be given professional knowledge to enable them to preach, to conduct Divine worship, and to administer the sacraments.

(4) Seminaries are to be supported by a tax on the income of bishoprics, chapters, abbeys, and other benefices.

(5) In the government of the seminary, the bishop is to be assisted by two commissions of priests, one for spiritual, the other for temporal matters.⁴⁷³

Ecclesiastical seminaries were introduced gradually in Italy, where the Church was deeply rooted, and in most of Europe not until the mid-seventeenth century, as in France, or even later, as in Germany and England.⁴⁷⁴ Given how unusual it was for clerics to be trained in diocesan seminaries in contemporary Europe, Cerqueira's seminary was pioneering, not only for being one of the first of its kind, but because it accepted native Japanese into the Church hierarchy and, in comparison to that offered by the Jesuit institutions, opened up a fast track to priesthood. No native priests had been ordained in any of the Catholic missions before.

In deciding to create such a seminary, Bishop Cerqueira was building on Jesuit achievements: his first eight students came from the Jesuit *colegio* and Jesuit missionaries worked as his training advisors and assistants.

⁴⁷³ (Kirsch 1912)

⁴⁷⁴ (Kirsch 1912)

The bishop decided to start a way of clergy, asking the superiors of the SJ for who had been trained in the Jesuit seminaries for years for this purpose. He will have them in his house and train them until they are ready to be ordained. The fathers selected eight youngsters, six Japanese and two Portuguese. They were already educated in Humanities, so the bishop ordered two Jesuit fathers to give them two lessons of ‘casos de consciencia’ every day. The fathers read to them, and they have their repetitions and ordinary disputes.⁴⁷⁵ [my translation]

The Jesuits were pioneers in the institutionalisation of education for native priests in their Asian mission posts, starting in Japan at the end of the sixteenth century, and later in China in the eighteenth century.⁴⁷⁶ In the Japanese context, Valignano had been the first to advocate the ordination of Japanese priests because of the need of human resources in Japan, fostering the training and ordination of native Japanese from 1580, and Cerqueira had discussed the matter thoroughly with the Jesuits in 1598. However, some within the mission elite were opposed, such that by the time Cerqueira set up his seminary in 1603, there were Japanese Jesuit brothers who had served for more than 10 years and had not yet been ordained as priests.⁴⁷⁷ One main source of resistance was Francesco Pasio, the Vice-Provincial from 1600 to 1610. Although Pasio encouraged the acceptance of Japanese into the Society of Jesus, he was reluctant to accept a full-fledged native priesthood with the same status as European priests and stopped the promotion of the Japanese Jesuit brothers after Valignano’s death in 1606, causing frustration and sometimes the abandonment of the Society of Jesus and Christianity.⁴⁷⁸

Cerqueira was different, however. Having seen the opportunity and acquired the start-up funds for the *seminario* from the Spanish Crown, he reported back in 1612 on the progress of the initiative:

In the past years I started to proceed to ordain natural priests, though with the moderation required. They are progressing satisfactorily and religiously, with the acceptance of the people, according to the good

⁴⁷⁵ (Pasio 1601b, 159-160)

⁴⁷⁶ In 1728 the Jesuits opened the *Colegio de San José* in Macao to train Chinese priests (O’Neill 2001, 2453).

⁴⁷⁷ (de Mezquita 1607, 285v)

⁴⁷⁸ (Oliveira e Costa 2000b, 240; Lopez Gay 2001, 27-42)

education that the religious men of the Society of Jesus gave them, since they were children. There are five priests, two of holy orders, and another five of minor orders. Some others, younger, are preparing themselves. To three of the priests I have given churches or parishes in the city of Nagasaki, which is big (the rest are in the hands of the fathers of the Society).

Those in charge of the churches live in them and in their houses, which are arranged in the fashion of monasteries in the same place as the churches, so that they do not live promiscuously among the houses of the laity, as is more convenient for the good service of church, the administration of souls and the sacerdotal authority and decency in which I want to keep them. The rest, who do not take care of souls yet, live in the *Seminario* for clerics that I ordered be built in the episcopal residence, with an appropriate room for them, and from there they carry out the services that the Bishop appoints for them.⁴⁷⁹ [my translation]

Given contemporary developments in Europe and the local context in Asia, the innovative nature of Bishop Cerqueira's initiative should be clear. Takase has argued that native priests only had subordinate roles in Japan, suggesting that diocesan priests had no proper voice and were in fact manipulated by European missionaries.⁴⁸⁰ This may have been the case after Cerqueira died, and I will take this up in the following chapter, when considering the role of the native priesthood in the disputes between Jesuits and Mendicants. Here it should be enough to emphasize the urgent need for parish priests, given the demand in Nagasaki, which prompted Cerqueira to innovate and which laid the foundation on which he could implement the parish system. Having seen how he created the human resources, the next sections explore the churches to which they were assigned and the system of which they became a part.

Jesuit churches and Nagasaki chapels as proto-parishes (1601-1605)

When Cerqueira established his see in Nagasaki, he was limited by the mission's financial difficulties, the instability produced by war and hostility from the

⁴⁷⁹ Luis Cerqueira, Letter to the Spanish king dated 5 March 1614 (Ribeiro 1936, 49-50)

⁴⁸⁰ (Takase 2001, 23-28)

central authorities. Nevertheless, he made the most of the resources available to prepare the field for the implementation of the parish system. As soon as he settled in Nagasaki, Cerqueira systematised the pastoral activity of the Jesuits. The 1601 Jesuit annual report says:

with the convenience of so many fathers in this house, the whole village of Nagasaki, that is already very large, was divided in several neighbourhoods in the fashion of parishes giving to each father his neighbourhood, who as its own shepherd understands better its sheep. From this partition has followed great fruit and good for the souls.⁴⁸¹ [my translation, my emphasis, this passage was omitted from the printed edition in Italian⁴⁸²]

From this, it is clear that Cerqueira had already divided Nagasaki into what I call proto-parishes. There are no details on how many there were or what their boundaries were, probably because the system was not yet official.⁴⁸³ Indeed, the fact that this passage was omitted in the Italian translation of the report suggests that there may have been an attempt to keep this development quiet, especially at a time where criticism of Jesuit procedures in Japan was reaching Europe.⁴⁸⁴ Moreover, at this point, not all priests resided permanently in their assigned church or area, as required of a parish priest, since Father Gaspar Carvalho, who was in charge of the church of Saint Isabel and would become its resident priest from 1606, was still living in the Nagasaki *colegio* in 1603.⁴⁸⁵ Nonetheless, all of them carried out the main functions of a parish priest, which was to provide religious services to a specific community. The development of such personal bonds between priest and community was the first step towards the implementation of the parish system.

The 1602 report notes that there were three churches where mass was said on holidays, in addition to the cathedral.⁴⁸⁶ No names or locations are given, but since Santa Maria on Mount Tateyama was only a small chapel next to the cemetery at the time, we can be confident that the four included: the church of St Isabel adjacent to

⁴⁸¹ (Pasio 1601b, 158v)

⁴⁸² (Pasio 1604, 22)

⁴⁸³ (Pasio 1601b, 194r)

⁴⁸⁴ (Pasio 1604, 22)

⁴⁸⁵ (Cerqueira 1602, 37r; Schütte 1968, 744)

⁴⁸⁶ (de Matos 1603b, 194v)

the Misericordia in Moto-Hakata-machi; Todos os Santos in Nagasaki village; and the church adjacent to the lepers' hospital of San Lazaro in Uo-machi. Officially, Nagasaki village was not part of the town until 1605, but in this report 'Nagasaki' refers to an area bigger than the town, so we can assume it applied the same logic to the counting of churches.⁴⁸⁷ Moreover, a 1603 copy of the *Certificate on the number of men, buildings and losses of the Jesuits in Japan* reveals that Jesuits regularly attended the churches at the Misericordia headquarters and the two hospitals, but does not mention Santa Maria.⁴⁸⁸

In 1603 the Jesuits reported that four churches besides the cathedral were serving 'as parishes for the cultivation of the people of this city'.⁴⁸⁹ The new church was built in 1603, attached to a new hospital dedicated to San Antonio in Sakaya-machi. Although the members of the Misericordia took care of the patients, a Jesuit priest was in charge of the hospital's church, which served as the proto-parish church for the neighbourhood. To cut a long story short, by 1605 the church of the Assumption already functioned as a kind of cathedral, while the Jesuits residing in the *colegio* functioned as proto-parish priests, regularly administering mass and the sacraments at the four churches in Nagasaki: the churches of the Assumption and of Saint Isabel in the inner town; and the church of Todos os Santos and those of the two hospitals in the outer town, San Juan Bautista in Nishi-zaka and Santiago in Sakaya-machi (see figure 6.2).⁴⁹⁰

As explained above, parishes were not meant to be created from scratch, but rather as an official recognition of an existing congregation of faithful with a regular priest and church that worked as their local centre. This is why this first partition of Nagasaki was so important as a precedent for the establishment of parish divisions. The bishop, as the highest authority of the church in Japan, played a major role in starting the whole process through the management of manpower and spaces and in making it official, but none of this would have been possible without the already existing bonds between the lay population and the Jesuit priests, the prior educational

⁴⁸⁷ (de Matos 1603b, 194v)

⁴⁸⁸ (Cerqueira 1602, 37r)

⁴⁸⁹ (Cerqueira 1602, 37r)

⁴⁹⁰ (Pasio 1606, 49r; Pacheco 1977, 63-64)

institutions of the Jesuits and the investment of the Jesuits and the lay community in building churches.

6.3 Eight diocesan and Jesuit parishes (1605-1609)

By 1606 Bishop Cerqueira was in a position to fully implement a parish system. The 1605 report is unfortunately not extant, but we know from the 1606 report that he ordained his first diocesan priest in 1604, who was subsequently appointed to Santa Maria in Tateyama, and in October 1606 he ordained three more Japanese clerics.⁴⁹¹ In addition, as explained in the previous chapter, in 1605 the outer town and Nagasaki village were annexed to the inner town, providing an administrative whole over which parishes could be overlain. Finally, in the same year, Bishop Cerqueira published his handbook, specifying the way in which priests were to administer to their parishioners.⁴⁹²

In the following years he created new parishes and upgraded the churches that had functioned as proto-parishes to fully-fledged parish churches, so that by 1609 the Nagasaki Christian community was divided into eight parishes.⁴⁹³ The sources that mention Nagasaki's parishes do not provide any details about their boundaries, emphasizing instead the priests and the churches. This suggests that boundaries remained rather vague or approximate, but this was not peculiar to Nagasaki. The fact that the Council of Trent recommended that the bishop make the boundaries of a parish explicit in order to avoid problems of jurisdiction suggests that in Europe too it was not yet current practice to determine exactly the territorial extent of a parish. It is possible however to guess the territory of each parish by looking at the structure of the city and the location of the parish churches. (figure 6.2).

The Jesuit parishes in the inner town: the churches of the colegio and of the Misericordia

Having created Santa Maria in Tateyama as the first diocesan parish, Cerqueira conferred parish status on the church of the Assumption, adjacent to the

⁴⁹¹ (Cerqueira 1606c, 45v)

⁴⁹² (Cerqueira 1605)

⁴⁹³ (Schütte 1968, 742)

Jesuit *colegio*, and the church of St Isabel, adjacent to the Misericordia. These were the two oldest Jesuit churches in Nagasaki inner town, with a large body of regular faithful and with enough financial resources to host and maintain a Jesuit father as parish priest. The Jesuit Catalogues of the *colegio* from 1603 onwards do not specify the name the parish priest of the church of the Assumption, but the 'Prefect Father in charge of the church' must have been the parish priest. The spiritual care of St Isabel was entrusted to an experienced Jesuit Father, Gaspar Carvalho.⁴⁹⁴ While the bishop assigned a diocesan priest to Santa Maria in Tateyama, these two churches were so closely related to the Society of Jesus that he left them in the hands of Jesuit fathers as parish priests.

The Jesuits had helped the Nagasaki citizens found the Misericordia in 1583 and, although its members were in charge of the building and care of the church, the Jesuits provided them with religious service and pastoral care. This link was strengthened while the main Jesuit residence on Morisaki cape was temporarily closed and from 1592 until probably 1598 the Misericordia was the home of four Jesuit fathers and three brothers, while the remaining Jesuits moved to Todos os Santos.⁴⁹⁵ Although in the 1603 catalogue no resident Jesuits were yet registered in the Misericordia house, one of the Jesuit priests residing in the *colegio* served regularly at its church, as noted above. From March 1606 Carvalho moved into a house near the church and the Misericordia headquarters and served as its parish priest until 1614.⁴⁹⁶

The brotherhood members seem to have been deeply involved in the functioning of Saint Isabel as a parish church. Usually, most priests in Jesuit residences were assisted by a Japanese brother, but the parish priest was registered as the only Jesuit resident, so the members of the Misericordia must have assisted him in the practicalities of daily life such as cooking and housekeeping, as well as in the preparation and performance of rituals.⁴⁹⁷ Saint Isabel had been built by and for the Misericordia members, who had duties but also exclusive privileges. For instance, only members of the Misericordia and their close relatives were buried in its

⁴⁹⁴ (Schütte 1975, 464)

⁴⁹⁵ (Schütte 1975, 286, 329)

⁴⁹⁶ (Schütte 1975, 493)

⁴⁹⁷ (Schütte 1975, 286, 329, 493)

cemetery, while other Nagasaki residents were buried in the larger cemetery of Santa Maria in Tateyama.⁴⁹⁸ Perhaps only those who belonged to the Misericordia were considered parishioners of St Isabel, but most of them must have lived nearby anyway, so the parish maintained its spatial unity.

The parish churches in the outer town: Santa Maria, Santiago, San Juan Bautista and San Antonio

In 1605 the outer town had eighteen streets (*machi*) and three churches, Santa Maria, Santiago, San Juan Bautista.⁴⁹⁹ By 1607 a fourth church was built and so the outer town had four parishes. The first was created some time between November 1604 and October 1606, when the bishop appointed the Portuguese diocesan priest Miguel Antonio as the parish priest of the church of Santa Maria at the foot of mount Tateyama.⁵⁰⁰ Santa Maria's parish probably included the neighbourhoods in the north-west of the outer town, but it included a large cemetery for all Nagasaki residents as well as two chapels for lay Christians to pray for the dead.⁵⁰¹ The second was the church of Santiago, which was enlarged and made into a parish in 1606. Its priest was the Portuguese Jesuit father Rui Gomes, who lived with a Jesuit brother in an adjacent house.⁵⁰² Sources on the foundation of the Santiago hospital in 1603 say that its church served the streets between the ditch of the inner town and the Nakagawa river, so probably these were also the parish boundaries in 1607.⁵⁰³

In the same year the church of San Joao Baptista in Uwa-machi was made into a parish church, with the Japanese diocesan priest Paulo dos Santos in charge.⁵⁰⁴ It had been built in 1591 as a church adjacent to the San Lazaro leper hospital with a donation from the Portuguese captain Roque de Melo. At the time of its construction, it was near the site used for the execution of criminals, far from the port and clearly on the periphery. By 1607, however, new streets had been built that connected the city with the church, which was located in Uwa-machi, but still surrounded by

⁴⁹⁸ (Cerqueira 1602, 37r)

⁴⁹⁹ (Kudamatsu 2004, 96)

⁵⁰⁰ Jesuit annual report 1606 (Schütte 1968, 742)

⁵⁰¹ (de Matos 1603b, 194)

⁵⁰² Jesuit Catalogues for February 1607 and October 1607 (Schütte 1975, 497-503, 504-507)

⁵⁰³ (Pacheco 1977, 64)

⁵⁰⁴ (Schütte 1968, 742)

forest.⁵⁰⁵ Although it remained in a peripheral position at the city limits, it had been integrated into the outer town as one of its parish churches.

In 1607 the *daikan* Murayama Toan built a new church in Moto-daiku-machi, probably on the border with Uo-machi, and his son, the diocesan priest Francisco Murayama, was appointed as its parish priest.⁵⁰⁶ The church was dedicated to Saint Anthony, probably as a gesture of acknowledgement by the bishop towards the sponsor of the church, since the *daikan* had been Christened ‘Antonio’.⁵⁰⁷ According to the contemporary report of a Spanish merchant, Avila Girón, there was a small cemetery next to the church, bordering the Uo-machi neighbourhood.⁵⁰⁸ This church must have served as the parish church of the inhabitants of the north-western side of the town outside the ditch, since the south-western area was already taken care of by the Santiago parish church.

A shugenja in Nagasaki village (1607)

By 1607, then, with eight fully-fledged parishes, Nagasaki was flourishing as a Christian town. That its influence extended also into the surrounding countryside is suggested by an episode during the year, when a Japanese ascetic (*shugenja*) arrived in the city. He was called Kōjun, was affiliated to the Ifuku-ji temple located between Nagasaki and Ōmura, and worshiped an image of Tenmangu in a small hut in Sakurababa-machi close to the bridge Sujikai-bashi in the Higashinaka-cho neighborhood.⁵⁰⁹ This had been part of Nagasaki village and was near Todos os Santos. Apparently Kōjun feared that Christians might soil the image of Tenmangu and carried it on his back whenever he went out. He also always carried with him a strong baton made of iron.⁵¹⁰ There are no direct references to Kōjun’s presence in Nagasaki’s outer town in the missionary sources, but the Jesuit report of 1607 notes that a Japanese religionist was active in the area.

The lord of the land did not allow any father to stay permanently, and therefore, the Christians had not seen a father for a long time. At that

⁵⁰⁵ (Pacheco 1977, 62)

⁵⁰⁶ (Pacheco 1977, 65)

⁵⁰⁷ (Álvarez Taladriz 1966b, 93-114; 1966a, 395-418)

⁵⁰⁸ (Pacheco 1977, 65)

⁵⁰⁹ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967b, 4)

⁵¹⁰ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967b, 4)

time a ‘magician’ established himself in those territories and a father went there to prevent people from abandoning Christianity. The ‘magician’ worshiped the *kami* with power over the fish of the sea and the animals on earth, on illness and other necessities of men and claimed that he was able to cure all sickness. During the absence of the lord of the land, a Jesuit father visited the village and denounced the lies of the magician. Those who had followed him repented and performed public scourging. In 15 days, the father confessed 15,000 people, baptised the children and some adults and then returned to Nagasaki.⁵¹¹
[my translation]

This episode suggests that the Jesuits took action against *shugenja* and seems to confirm the Christian hostility towards Kōjun recorded in the Japanese sources. The coming of itinerant monks and *shugenja* was not seen as a treat but as an opportunity for the Christian community to reaffirm their allegiance to the Christian Church.

Balancing accounts

From the middle of the first decade of the seventeenth century, then, Cerqueira as Bishop presided over an evolving religious landscape, which required him both to cater to an expanding Christian population and to balance the tensions that emerged with the success of the mission. The implementation of the parish system and the creation of new churches went some way towards managing the demand, not only from the town but from the surrounding villages, making it possible to distribute confession and other religious services more evenly. From the missionary records we know for example that the priests baptised in all kinds of churches, since parish churches only existed in Nagasaki, and even outside sacred ground, on their ‘missions’ to villages and towns where there were no churches. This was not particular to the Japanese mission, , since it existed also in other missions, for example in India, and even nowadays is in fact acceptable in places where churches are not established. What was particular to the Japan mission was that even lay Christians were allowed to administer baptism in case of need, for which the Jesuits circulated a book of instructions.⁵¹² This did not always solve the problem,

⁵¹¹ (Guerreiro 1930-42, vol.3 155)

⁵¹² (Hayashi 1981)

however. For instance, Christians from the villages of Urakami had their own church, dedicated to Santa Clara, from 1603 and a resident Jesuit priest from 1607, who was in charge of saying mass and hearing confessions.⁵¹³ Nevertheless, there were hardly any baptisms in Santa Clara church, since the Urakami congregation kept going to the cathedral in Nagasaki for baptism.⁵¹⁴ The cathedral was the symbolic centre of Christianity for the whole country, and it attracted Christians from other areas, not least Nagasaki residents, who gathered in their own parish church for regular Sunday service, but visited the cathedral occasionally. During the main Christian celebrations, the cathedral's appeal extended beyond its parish limits. In Easter 1607, for example, attendance at the main church was such that the congregation occupied the church, the garden, and the adjacent street, to the surprise of the Portuguese and Spanish.⁵¹⁵

While managing the demands of the swelling community, Cerqueira also had to calibrate his own position as head of the diocese. On his arrival in Nagasaki in 1601, he had bought a plot of land next to the Jesuit *colegio* and the cathedral, but for the first six years of his tenure he had lived in the Jesuit *colegio*. It was only in 1606 that he noted in a letter that construction was underway and in the following year he finally moved into a house of his own. His personal servants, the aspirants to diocesan priests and three Jesuits, one who was his General Vicar and two brothers, moved with him as well.⁵¹⁶ Thus, even though Bishop Cerqueira was able to insist on some independence, establishing a system of parishes and training a cadre of diocesan priests, he still had to keep the Jesuits on side, with his headquarters in the same compound as the Jesuit headquarters. The Jesuits remained a major force in the religious life of the city. Their very first church, dating from the foundation of the port, was now the cathedral, the diocesan priests had been students of the Jesuits *colegio*, and Jesuit priests were in charge of both parish churches in the inner town, among whose inhabitants were the four *machidoshiyori* of Nagasaki. Cerqueira's balancing act continued in the second half of the decade, with the creation of two new parishes between 1607 and 1609. One was created by upgrading the Jesuit church Todos os Santos in the outer town and the other by building a new church

⁵¹³ Jesuit Catalogues for October 1607 (Schütte 1975, 504-507)

⁵¹⁴ Jesuit annual report 1612 (Nagasaki Bunkensha 2006a, 15)

⁵¹⁵ (Guerreiro 1930-42, 147)

⁵¹⁶ (Cerqueira 1606c, 45r)

dedicated to San Pedro in Ima-machi, in the north-western corner of the inner town, to which Cerqueira appointed the Japanese diocesan priest Lorenzo de la Cruz as its parish priest. Cerqueira wrote about it as follows:

A rich man founded a big and gorgeous church in honour of S. Pedro and gave a perpetual annual stipend to maintain the priest in charge of it and also offered funds for a minor chapel, a Confraternity of the Apostle S. Pedro, and the priest in charge of the masses and other ministries.⁵¹⁷ [my translation]

This is another case, similar to that of San Antonio, in which the funds for the maintenance of the priest and a brotherhood came from a local patron, probably Murayama Tōan, who lived in the adjacent street of Kane-machi, and the church was located in the inner town because it was where the patron owned property.⁵¹⁸ However, it also gave the opportunity to Bishop Cerqueira to appoint a diocesan priest under his direct control in the inner town, where so far there had only been two Jesuit parishes, Saint Isabel and the church of the Assumption.

By 1609, therefore, there were eight parishes in Nagasaki, three in the inner town and five in the outer town. Four each were in the hands of diocesan priests and Jesuits. Although the bishop had established a diocesan parish in the inner town and two Jesuit parishes in the outer town, the Jesuits maintained their influence on the former, while the diocesan priests had stronger roots in the outer town, as would become evident after Cerqueira's death in 1614.⁵¹⁹ The need to manage tensions and balance accounts between the different religious forces in the city became even more acute when the Mendicant missionaries settled in Nagasaki from 1609.

⁵¹⁷ Luis Cerqueira letter to the Spanish king dated 5 March 1614 quoted in (Ribeiro 1936, 49)

⁵¹⁸ (Nagasaki Bunkensha 2006a, 48)

⁵¹⁹ (Oliveira e Costa 2000a, 116)

Table 6.2 Parish churches in Nagasaki by 1612

year	parish church	parish priest	location	institutions	
1606	Santa Maria	Miguel Antonio, Portuguese diocesan priest	Mount Tateyama outer town	Confraternity of Santa Maria	
1607	Assunção	Jesuit priest	Morisaki cape inner town	Confraternity of the Assumption (1605)	
1607	Santa Isabel	Gaspar Carvalho, Portuguese Jesuit priest	Motohakata-machi, inner town	Misericórdia brotherhood (158?)	
1607	Santiago	Rui Gomes, Portuguese Jesuit priest	outer town	hospital	
1607	San João Bautista	Paulo dos Santos, Japanese diocesan priest	Nishizaka, outer town	leper's hospital	
1607	San Antonio	Francisco Murayama, Japanese diocesan priest	Motodaiku-machi	brotherhood	
1609	Todos os Santos	Jesuit priest	Sakurababa-machi outer town		
1609	San Pedro	Lorenzo de la Cruz, Japanese diocesan priest	Ima-machi	Confraternity of St Peter the Apostle	
1609	San Francisco	Franciscan priest	Cruz-machi Sakura-machi	Third Order of the Cord of St Francis (1611)	Confraternity of Charity
1610	Santo Domingo	Dominican priest			
1612	San Agustín	Augustinian priest		Third Order of St Augustine Brotherhood of the Cincture	

6.4 Three Mendicant parishes (1609 to 1612)

In June 1608, after a long process that will be examined in detail in the following chapter, Pope Paul V granted all missionary orders the right to evangelise in Japan no matter how they came to the archipelago. The official documents would not reach Japan until 1611, but Cerqueira was already aware of the Pope's decision in 1609 and began to recognise the churches of the Mendicant missionaries who had reached Japan through the Atlantic route under the Spanish Crown's patronage. Between 1609 and 1612 he created three new parishes in Nagasaki that were

entrusted to the three Mendicant orders active in Japan, Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians (figure 6.2).

The Franciscan parish in Nagasaki (1609)

The Franciscans did not wait for official permission before setting foot in Nagasaki. They had encountered resistance from Nagasaki residents before, but now that they enjoyed the favour of Ieyasu, they decided to open a mission base. In the summer of 1606 Fray Alonso Muñoz arrived in Japan as the new Franciscan Superior, with explicit orders from the Franciscan authorities in Manila to establish a monastery in Nagasaki.⁵²⁰ Although Cerqueira opposed this, the Franciscans gained the support of Murayama Tōan, the bailiff (*daikan*) of Nagasaki outer town, who owned several properties in the inner town and made a case for the Franciscans at the Edo shogunal court, obtaining written permission to this effect from Ieyasu.⁵²¹ They first stayed in the outer town and in 1608 they moved to the inner town. Bernardino de Avila Girón, a Spanish merchant who lived in Nagasaki at the time, reported that:

In 1607 the Franciscans came from Kyoto to Nagasaki and lived in a small lodge in the outer town until the following year when they moved into the inner town and built a church, with written permission from the Japanese king [sic].⁵²² [my translation]

Juan de Santa Maria's *History of the Franciscan missions* is useful in understanding how the Franciscans managed to get a plot of land in the inner town, which was under the influence of the Jesuits. He explains that the Spanish merchant José de Aduna was very close to the Franciscans from Manila and bought a plot of land with a house in Nagasaki under his name and offered it to the Franciscans.⁵²³ Thus, the Franciscans were able to establish themselves in Nagasaki thanks to the mediation of the *daikan* and the patronage of a Spanish merchant.

Willeke says that soon after the Franciscans moved into their monastery in inner town, they built an adjacent church with donations from their supporters, completed in 1609 and dedicated to San Francisco.⁵²⁴ However, there is no

⁵²⁰ (Willeke 1994a, 13)

⁵²¹ (Willeke 1994a, 15)

⁵²² (Willeke 1994a, 14)

⁵²³ (Willeke 1994a, 14)

⁵²⁴ (Willeke 1994a, 15)

agreement among scholars on the date of the church's completion. Willeke's claim is based on a letter from Cerqueira to the Jesuit General Father in Rome on 22 March 1609, which says that after the arrival of a ship from Manila the Franciscans had opened a monastery and a church and administered the sacraments without his authorization.⁵²⁵ Dominican and Augustinian sources also refer to San Francisco as being active in 1611 for the funeral of the Japanese martyr Leon.⁵²⁶ Kataoka gives 1611, probably because Jesuit sources report a great celebratory mass on St Francis's day of that year.⁵²⁷ Pacheco, however, says that Pedro de la Asunción started the construction of the church in 1611, but mobilizes various pieces of evidence to argue that the church was never completed.⁵²⁸ Thus the sources seem to contradict each other. Perhaps the Franciscans set up a chapel next to or inside their monastery where they celebrated mass and St. Francis's day, but decided to build a separate church sometime before July 1611, which would explain the episode explained in Vieira's report. The construction works did not prevent the Franciscans from celebrating a mass in October 1611, but clearly the church was not finished in 1614.

Local historians have identified the site of the church in the inner town, on a broad street that led to the port, in a neighbourhood called Cruz-machi.⁵²⁹ Both the church and the monastery were made of stone and according to Franciscan records the church was substantial. Dominican records affirm that St Francis was a luxurious church decorated in the Spanish style and considered by Nagasaki Christians as a church for confession.⁵³⁰ Next to the church the friars built a small hospital where the sick received free treatment and care under the responsibility of a Franciscan friar trained in medicine, Juan de Palma.⁵³¹ In 1611 they established a lay organisation, the Third Order of the Cord of Saint Francis. A third order is slightly different from a brotherhood in that its members are integrated in the so-called family or rank system of the Franciscan hierarchy, following the Second Order (nuns) and the First Order (monks). Its main activity was to gather in the church to carry out devotional practices, which the Jesuits harshly criticised for encouraging superstitious ideas and

⁵²⁵ (Willeke 1994a, 16-17)

⁵²⁶ (Willeke 1994d)

⁵²⁷ (Kataoka 2003, 56) Pedro Bautista Porres, Memorial 1625 quoted in (Willeke 1994d, 18)

⁵²⁸ (Pacheco 1977, 67-68)

⁵²⁹ (Pacheco 1977, 67; Willeke 1994a, 16)

⁵³⁰ (Willeke 1994a, 16)

⁵³¹ (Willeke 1994a, 16)

practices.⁵³² While the purpose of the Jesuit Misericordia was to do good deeds for people in need, the focus of the Mendicant order was personal salvation. Nonetheless, the Franciscans followed the pattern established by the earlier Jesuit and diocesan parish churches in which the lay organization played an important role either in the maintenance of the church and its priest or as a way of engaging the parishioners. The Dominicans and Augustinians would also follow suit.

The Franciscans considered Nagasaki a strategic location, but focused their endeavours on Edo, Kyoto and Osaka until the Tokugawa banned Christianity in their domain in 1612. The Franciscan Superior of Japan, Fray Diego de Chinchón, only settled in Nagasaki and the Franciscan community grew from 1613. The Franciscans did not develop educational institutions like the Jesuit ones, but did take in some native Japanese, for example a Japanese named Cosme who lived in Nagasaki. The Franciscans in Nagasaki devoted themselves to preaching, hearing confessions and taking care of the sick and the poor, especially the lepers.⁵³³ As the first mendicant missionaries to settle in Nagasaki, the Franciscans prepared the ground for the Dominicans and Augustinians.

The Dominican parish in Nagasaki (1610)

Dominican missionaries were summoned from Manila to the Satsuma domain in 1602, because the Shimazu lord was interested in establishing trade with Manila. From 1605 the Dominicans received permission to preach in Sendai, in northern Japan, and from 1606 in various towns of Hizen province. However, the Spanish ships from the Philippines repeatedly failed to reach Satsuma and in the end, the Shimazu lord expelled the missionaries from his territory.⁵³⁴ Since Ieyasu had granted them permission to open a church in Nagasaki in 1608, the Dominicans settled there at the end of May 1610, with the help of the bailiff Murayama Toan and his son Joao Tokuan.⁵³⁵ Father Morales sent statues and religious objects to Murayama Toan's house and travelled to Nagasaki by boat. In fact, he needed three boats to take with him the timber and vestments of the church and of the house that

⁵³² (Willeke 1994a, 18-19)

⁵³³ (Willeke 1994a, 21)

⁵³⁴ (Murai 2004, 64)

⁵³⁵ (Muñoz 1965, 70)

the Dominicans had built in Satsuma, as well as to carry secretly the corps of the martyr Leon. Morales even took with him the lepers for whom he had cared, to prevent them from abandoning Christianity or being killed after his departure.⁵³⁶ At first Morales lodged with the Franciscans, but soon he acquired some land in Sakuramachi and built a Dominican monastery. It had large rooms and offices, and a cloister for processions, as was customary in the order. Recent archaeological findings provide fascinating details about the church of Santo Domingo, which was also built of stone in Spanish style, with tiled floors, a drainage system and a well. Japanese style roof tiles with a cross pattern made specifically to order have been found, as well as many objects of devotion like medals and rosary beads, which confirm the emphasis on personal piety among the Mendicants.⁵³⁷

The Dominican Provincial Chapter recognised the church of Santo Domingo in Saga in 1608 and the church of Santo Domingo in Nagasaki and the church of Our Lady of the Rosary in Kyoto in 1610. From 1610 to 1614 there were 6 Dominican residences in Japan: one each in Kyoto and Osaka, active until April 1612, three in Saga (Hamamachi, Kashima and Saga), active until September 1613, and the one in Nagasaki, which was the last to be dismantled in October 1614. The number of Dominican missionaries was always smaller than that of Franciscans and by 1614 there were seven Dominican fathers and two brothers in Japan.⁵³⁸

The Augustinian parish in Nagasaki (1612)

The Augustinians were the last to set foot to Nagasaki. Their first base from 1602 was in Bungo, and after a first failed attempt to settle in Nagasaki in 1607, in 1611 Hernando Ayala went to Nagasaki to establish the headquarters of the Augustinian Japanese mission and a church dedicated to St Augustine.⁵³⁹ The monastery opened in 1612 and during the Augustinian Chapter held in Guadalupe in May 1613 Ayala was officially appointed as its Prior. Cerqueira designated it as a parish church in charge of the streets from the monastery eastwards as far as the river, the modern Furukawa-machi.⁵⁴⁰ The fact that Augustinian sources provide these

⁵³⁶ (Muñoz 27)

⁵³⁷ (Nagakashikyōikuiinkai 2003)

⁵³⁸ (Muñoz 28)

⁵³⁹ (Hartmann 1965, 50-51)

⁵⁴⁰ (Hartmann 1965, 51)

details about the extent of their parish suggests that even if the bishop did not establish the limits, some kind of agreement existed on the parish boundaries, probably related to geographical landmarks. Father Ayala also established a third order, which had a large membership.⁵⁴¹ In cooperation with the Vicar Provincial of the Dominicans and a Franciscan friar, he also established an overarching brotherhood, the Confraternity of Charity, for the relief of the poor of the parishes under the care of the mendicant friars.⁵⁴² Considering the equivalent initiatives of the Franciscans, noted above, we can conclude that lay support through private donors and organizations like the third orders was crucial for integrating the Mendicant priests and churches into the Nagasaki parish system.

By 1612, therefore, the city was well-provided with Christian institutions, the on-going demand for which was confirmed during the year, with the arrival of three Portuguese ships, reports of considerable activity at Santiago hospital, and the enlargement of the churches of Santa Maria and Santiago.⁵⁴³ At this point, Nagasaki had eleven parishes, four in the inner town and seven in the outer town, with Jesuits and diocesan priests in charge of four each and the Mendicants of three.⁵⁴⁴ When looking at the location of the Mendicant parish churches, it is striking that St Francis and St Dominic were relatively close to already existing parish churches. It is worth remembering, however, that by 1609 urban development was already far advanced in Nagasaki, so the location of churches was limited by the availability of ground for sale and by the location of the property of the donor.

It is difficult to prove to what extent the new parishes Mendicant parishes rivalled the older parishes for parishioners. It is unlikely that members of a brotherhood attached to an existing parish voluntarily left to engage with one of the new parishes, so probably the parishioners of Mendicant churches were mainly drawn from newcomers and from parishioners of older parishes who did not yet belong to a brotherhood. Augustinian sources have it that their parish embraced more than 4,000 families and 10,000 Christians.⁵⁴⁵ These numbers seem exaggerated, given that the total population of Nagasaki in 1616 was 24,700, since it would mean

⁵⁴¹ (Hartmann 1965, 51)

⁵⁴² (Hartmann 1965, 51)

⁵⁴³ (Schütte 1975, 422)

⁵⁴⁴ (Schütte 1975, 422)

⁵⁴⁵ (Hartmann 1965, 51)

that approximately half of the population of the city belonged to the parish, which is unlikely. Nevertheless, the church of Saint Augustine must have been a relatively large parish, since it was the only one in the most recently developed area on the western shore of the Nakagawa river, while there were two parish churches in the area between the ditch and the river, similar or even smaller in size. The developing geography of the town goes some way towards explaining why the new mendicant parishes found their niche in the outer town, where affluent newcomers were building new streets.

In addition to the eagerness of the Mendicants themselves to minister to the people and the demand of the expanding population for their services, one also has to consider Cerqueira's reasons for accepting the Mendicants in Nagasaki after 1609, following nearly a decade of neglect and opposition. Once they had obtained official sanction from the Pope to preach in Japan, it was clear that they would be eager to set up operations in Nagasaki, which was the centre of the Japanese Church, and that it would have been foolish of Cerqueira to deny them. At the same time, it is also possible that the presence of the Mendicants also helped to further balance the influence of the Jesuits, allowing Cerqueira to buttress his own authority not only as head of the diocese, which had already been institutionalized through the ordination of his own native priests, but also as the arbiter among the various orders. At the same time, however, the arrival of the Mendicants complicated matters. There were very few towns in Japan with missionary bases from different orders and Nagasaki was the only one where missionaries of all four orders plus diocesan priests were active. It proved difficult to come to any agreement on how the different orders were to co-exist in a single city, as the following chapter makes clear.

Nonetheless, the cathedral remained the symbolic centre of the whole city and of the Christian community in Japan, while the extent and variety of religious activity in Nagasaki underlined its pre-eminence within the archipelago. In terms of religious activity in the city itself, it is clear that the parish system provided the basic means for churches to take root among the population. This integration of citizens into their churches and of newcomers into the city took various forms, many of which demanded the financial engagement of the congregation with their parish, and helped to consolidate citizen networks at an intermediate level between the

neighbourhoods and the whole city, which materialized in the proliferation of lay brotherhoods. Activities such as attending mass, doing charity work, and decorating or refurbishing the parish church required different kinds of interaction and involvement, but they certainly nurtured a sense of belonging, which culminated in the regular joint participation into Christian ritual. The remainder of this chapter explores the various ways in which the churches both depended on and integrated both their own congregations and the city as a whole, beginning with the question of economic support for parish priests and churches by the lay confraternities.

6.5 Economic and organizational infrastructure: the lay brotherhoods

The prerequisite for a successful mission was adequate financial support. From the beginning of the Japanese mission, however, Jesuit sources had reported financial hardships. Official funds from Europe were often intercepted by other Asian missions and rarely reached Japan, which was at the very end of the Portuguese route. To compensate for this, the Jesuits engaged in trade, with investments in the silk trade as their main source of income. During the first decade of the seventeenth century, however, the situation was aggravated by the large community that depended on the Society of Jesus, the tax increase that followed the 1605 cadastral survey, and the Dutch sabotage of Portuguese merchant ships, so that the Jesuits had to borrow money and contracted serious debts with Tokugawa Ieyasu himself.⁵⁴⁶ Already in 1603, the Jesuit Provincial Father Francesco Pasio explained how desperate the situation was.

We wanted to establish residences in certain promising places, but the *nao*, which sustains us, had not arrived yet by 20 August, and all were worried because it is impossible to establish business unless the *nao* arrives. On 30 August a *pataxo* arrived with a SJ brother who said that two Dutch ships had caught the Portuguese ship. Because we have no other *rentas* we had to cut down on many things in order to make it to the end of the year. After a few consultations with the F. Visitor I sent

⁵⁴⁶ (Oliveira e Costa 2000b, 244)

orders to many houses to cut down on dress and food.⁵⁴⁷ [my translation]

When the Jesuit Visitor Father Alessandro Valignano died in 1606, Pasio deeply regretted his loss, because he had been the most efficient fundraiser of the Japanese mission, as ‘using his authority, provided resources for the Japanese mission in Macao’.⁵⁴⁸ Costa argues that Jesuit financial policy focused on increasing income instead of cutting expenses, which was ineffective in dealing with the crisis. The efforts to reduce expenses were too late and too little. The main Jesuit problem, according to Costa, was that they failed to understand that by the seventeenth century, Christian communities could support their churches and priests.⁵⁴⁹

The Jesuits were not alone in their preoccupation with finances, however. Cerqueira also complained of budgetary problems because the stipends of the Holy See and the Spanish crown took a very long time to reach Japan, if they arrived at all.⁵⁵⁰ In a letter from October 1606 Bishop Cerqueira asked the Spanish king for money, because he needed to get presents for his visit to the shogun in Kyoto and the money that the viceroy sent through India had not reached the bishop for the past three years.⁵⁵¹ Unlike the Jesuits, however, Bishop Cerqueira seems to have understood that he could also rely on the Japanese lay population to support their churches and clerics. Already in 1603, both in the city and villages nearby, locals were providing support for the diocesan parish priests, the enlargement of churches and the new hospital.⁵⁵² By 1612, the situation seems to have improved substantially. In the report Bishop Cerqueira sent to the Spanish Crown in March 1612 on his training of the diocesan clergy, he noted how the Crown’s investment and his innovations had produced a virtuous cycle not only of faith but of finance.

The naturals appreciate a lot the mercy that God shows to them, by promoting their nation to such a high dignity; they show particular respect to the priesthood almost naturally, according to the customs of the land. Seeing the good behaviour of these their priests, very different

⁵⁴⁷ (Pasio 1603b, 34v-35v)

⁵⁴⁸ (Pasio 1606, 49r)

⁵⁴⁹ (Oliveira e Costa 2000b, 246)

⁵⁵⁰ (Cerqueira 1606b, 51v; 1612b, 125v)

⁵⁵¹ (Cerqueira 1606c, 45v)

⁵⁵² (Oliveira e Costa 2000b, 243)

from the heathen *bonzos*, and that they are indeed useful to this Christendom, they start, although people are commonly poor, to give to the Church, so that we can have hope that from now on they will maintain their Priests and Ministers of Souls, which is so necessary for the conservation of this Christendom.

Last year, a rich and noble man who now is the governor of the city built a big and very beautiful church, one of the best that exists now in Japan, in honour of St. Peter and gave a generous perpetual annual stipend very sufficient to maintain the parish priest in charge of it. He also gave a rent to pay the 'chaplain' of a minor chaplaincy inside this church, made by the Confraternity of St. Peter the Apostle, who is a clerical priest who offers mass and ministers there.

This year three other churches are to be built, two of them will be even greater than San Pedro, [dedicated] to San Joao Baptista and San Antonio, and another one to Our Lady, that here is called Nossa Senhora de Nagasaki, because the present ones are small, since there is a lot of concurrence, especially to the one for Santa Maria, which since the old times receives particular devotion among Christians from other parts of Japan and Nagasaki. And also the Portuguese that come here for trade, who were the ones that established this church, which used to be only a small chapel. Now it is a church and still has high devotion, especially from the Confraria de Santa Maria, that the church became too small and they determined to build a very big one, and I consented, since they gave many alms, and their ordinary donations maintain the priest and the ones that help him in the service of the church.

As I said before, it seems that we can expect that this nation will sustain from now on, once it is more rooted in the faith and devotion, their natural priests that will be ordained, and so it will be conserved and increased. I reported in detail about the native priests because I thought it would satisfy you to see that the funds that you ordered the Viceroy

of India be sent to pay for the seminary of clerics, for which I am most grateful, are giving fruit.⁵⁵³ [my translation]

As Cerqueira notes in this passage, the growth of the mission was underpinned not only by royal patronage and episcopal direction, but also by the efforts of the local population to support their churches. Perhaps the most important aspect of these was the lay organisations within which such efforts were coordinated. Although missionaries encouraged and helped in the formalities of setting up lay brotherhoods, the members of such brotherhoods chose their own leaders and the organisation was independent of the priests. Kataoka suggests that the indigenous tradition of organizing *kō*, lay groups of study and prayer attached to a particular temple or shrine, may help to explain the success of the Christian confraternities among the Japanese.⁵⁵⁴ In Nagasaki, the first inhabitants of the city may have been aware of the activities of Christian Misericordia in their towns of origin. It is believed that Hirado-machi, one of the original six *machi* of Nagasaki, was founded by people from Hirado, where an informal Misericordia was already active in 1562.⁵⁵⁵ They may thus have drawn on this experience in the city itself.

The first Misericordia in the city was established in 1583, but in the early seventeenth century, with the dramatic increase in population, new lay organisations appeared. In 1605, Cerqueira and the Jesuit Vice Provincial Father founded the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Assumption, which reached 9,000 members.⁵⁵⁶ In 1608 the wife of Murayama Tōan organised a female organisation, and in 1610 the Korean community of Nagasaki also established a brotherhood, probably attached to the church of St Lazar in the Korean neighbourhood.⁵⁵⁷ In 1611 two more confraternities were established, the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament and that of St Michael.⁵⁵⁸ There were differences among the organisations. Jesuit Misericordia were encouraged to follow the example of those in Portugal and Macao and to promote among their members the active practice of the so-called Corporal and

⁵⁵³ Luis Cerqueira, Letter to the King dated 5 March 1612 (Ribeiro 1936, 49-50)

⁵⁵⁴ (Kataoka 1998, 115)

⁵⁵⁵ (Oliveira e Costa 2007, 75)

⁵⁵⁶ (Oliveira e Costa 2003, 77)

⁵⁵⁷ (Oliveira e Costa 2003, 77)

⁵⁵⁸ (Oliveira e Costa 2003, 77)

Spiritual Works of Mercy, such as attending the sick, feeding the poor and burying the deceased.⁵⁵⁹ In contrast, the confraternities encouraged by the mendicants had a rather devotional spirit, and their main appeal was that the award of special indulgences to their members.⁵⁶⁰ Nevertheless, all kinds of lay brotherhoods played a crucial role in the consolidation of Nagasaki as a Christian city, because their members assumed the costs of the maintenance of their parish priests and churches or chapels.

Beyond the parish and the city

By the second decade of the seventeenth century, therefore, Nagasaki was thriving as a Christian city, such that the appeal of its churches was spreading far and wide, attracting all kinds of visitors, from Nagasaki Christians from other parishes to Japanese merchants who were neither Christians nor citizens, and only stayed in Nagasaki temporarily for business purposes. According to missionary sources the Jesuit *colegio* building and the Assumption church were considered one of Nagasaki's 'famous sites' (*meisho*), attracting travellers regardless of their religious affiliation.⁵⁶¹ While the priests in charge of a specific church devoted themselves on a daily basis to the people who lived in their assigned parish, they also organised special ritual celebrations, which would appeal to people beyond the boundaries of the parish. These were special occasions outside the regular calendar, like the burial of the Japanese martyr Leo, whose corpse was brought from Satsuma by the Dominicans and was solemnly buried at the Franciscan church at the end of May 1610.⁵⁶²

Religious orders commemorated the death of their founders and, although these were not public holidays, they enlisted the participation of the other religious in the city and the lay population. In 1611 the Jesuits organised a big event in the church of the Assumption in honour of Ignatius of Loyola, who had died on 31 July 1556, to celebrate his canonization by the Pope the previous year.

⁵⁵⁹ (Kataoka 1998, 117-118)

⁵⁶⁰ (Oliveira e Costa 2003, 79-80)

⁵⁶¹ (de Matos 1603b, 194v)

⁵⁶² (Willeke 1994d, 18)

The church was decorated at its best and an oil painting of the Saint was placed in the main altar, with a Jesus in a hand and a book in the other. Solemn Pontifical Vespers were sung, which forty [Jesuit] priests attended with their [black wool] capes, as well as the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians who were in Nagasaki. Vespers were sung with solemnity, accompanied by various musical instruments and chants that had been composed in honour of the Saint.⁵⁶³ [my translation]

These compositions were sung in special pauses between the psalms. The description continues:

At night many lanterns were alight in the fence around the *colegio*, in the highest places so that they could be seen, and the bishop did the same in his house, with candles inside paper lanterns of different forms and colours. The main streets of this city did also the same, and even those at the other side of the river, showing by doing this the devotion and obligation that they had toward the Saint and how happy they were about his beatification. And as it was a dark night and there were so many lanterns in so many places, 3,000 according to some and 4,000 according to others, it was a beautiful and cheerful spectacle. There were so many Christians going to the churches and streets to look at the illuminations and the great variety of lanterns and the decoration of the altars in front of which they prayed, that it was almost impossible to walk freely on the streets.⁵⁶⁴ [my translation]

The use of lanterns is customary in the Japanese *Obon* festival. Lanterns are lighted to both attract and see off the souls of the ancestors on the first and last of the three days of celebrations. The celebration for St Ignatius' beatification did not coincide with *Obon*, but perhaps its closeness in time and the Jesuit use of lanterns in the decoration of their compounds stimulated the Nagasaki dwellers to join in.

The fact that the Society of Jesus was in charge of four of the Nagasaki parishes, including two of the oldest, made it possible to involve a high number of people in the celebrations. The churches mentioned above must have been the Misericordia in the inner town and Santa Maria at the foot of Mount Tateyama, both

⁵⁶³ João Rodrigues Girão Letter dated 10 March 1612 (Pacheco 1977, 58-59)

⁵⁶⁴ João Rodrigues Girão Letter dated 10 March 1612 (Pacheco 1977, 58-59)

Jesuit parishes. The description suggests that celebration of the Jesuit founder's beatification engaged even neighbourhoods other than the Jesuit parishes, which suggests that even after the arrival of the three Mendicant orders, the Jesuits had a strong influence on the population. For instance, the houses referred to on the other side of the river must have belonged to the parish of the church of San Augustine, but they engaged in lantern decoration and visited the Jesuit churches. Moreover, the Church of the Assumption remained the central church in Nagasaki, and as both the oldest church in the city and the cathedral, any celebration in it, especially if it involved the performance or participation of the bishop, must have been significant to all Nagasaki citizens.

By inviting the Mendicants to the holy vespers, and by accepting the invitation, both sides showed acceptance and good will. However, the celebration may also have been an occasion for the Jesuits to show their superiority. It was in July 1611 that Bishop Cerqueira received the brief from Paul V allowing the missionaries from the Philippines to evangelise freely in Japan.⁵⁶⁵ This put an end to the Jesuit desire to be the only order preaching in Japan and they had to accept the Mendicants establishments in the archipelago. At a local scale, this translated into an acceptance of the Mendicant presence in Nagasaki, to which the Jesuits felt strongly attached given their role in its founding and development. In this context, the commemoration of Ignatius of Loyola provided an occasion for the Jesuits to display their power and resources in Nagasaki in front of their competitors, engaging not only the bishop and the population, but even the mendicant missionaries themselves.

Three months later, on 4 October 1611, the Franciscans organised a celebration in honour of their own founder, Saint Francis of Assisi, maybe stimulated by the success of the Jesuits and taking advantage of the fact that the documents granting them legitimate right to evangelise Japan had reached the bishop. The celebration was an opportunity to attract the residents of the city to their church, as well as a means to display their success in the fight for legitimacy in the centre of Christianity in Japan. Given the occasion, no effort was spared to provide a gorgeous display of holy objects, robes and chants, albeit within the limits of the Franciscan policy of austerity. According to a Franciscan report, the church was so full that the

⁵⁶⁵ (Cerqueira 1612a, 129v)

bishop, who was of advanced age, was not able to administer communion and a different priest was asked to take his place.⁵⁶⁶ The presence of the bishop and his Jesuit assistant at the celebration was a sign of the acceptance of the Mendicants, and of mutual respect between the orders. Nevertheless, the proximity of the two dates gave the parishioners of each of the churches an opportunity to assert themselves, by engaging in the preparations and displaying the resources and commitment of the parish to its church. No further details on the Franciscan ceremony itself remain, but it seems unlikely that they could have possibly equalled those of St Ignatius. In 1611 the celebration of St Ignatius fell on a Sunday, which was already a holy day for Nagasaki Christians, when they were required to gather in church, while that for St Francis fell on a Tuesday. Moreover, the Jesuits had involved more than one church, creating a circuit for informal processions or pilgrimages, another idea rooted and appreciated in Japan.

The worship of founders was one characteristic of the Japanese Buddhist schools, whose founders were at the time a common object of devotion among the Buddhist clergy, as well as the lay people.⁵⁶⁷ This might explain the appeal of anniversary celebrations for the founders of the Christian missionary orders. It was an opportunity for Nagasaki residents to have first-hand experience of the particularities of their churches. Jesuit churches were made of wood, in Japanese style, while the Franciscan and Dominican churches used stone, for the floors and exterior walls, according to the Spanish style.⁵⁶⁸ By participating in such rituals, they came into contact with a certain otherness and thus strengthened their sense of difference.

Missionary sources as well as contemporary Japanese anti-Christian literature like the *Bateren-ki* considered seventeenth-century Nagasaki a Christian city, a category that is also accepted by modern scholars like Kataoka and Costa, although no one so far has convincingly explained the basis for such a judgment, except for Gonoï, who compares Nagasaki to Rome, because of its high number of churches.⁵⁶⁹ I agree that the high number of churches is key, especially because their existence is

⁵⁶⁶ Pedro Bautista Porres, *Memorial* dated 2 June 1625 (Willeke 1994d, 18)

⁵⁶⁷ (Dobbins 1998, 24-42)

⁵⁶⁸ (Pacheco 1977, 57)

⁵⁶⁹ (Gonoï 2006, 45)

the only evidence of the actions of their congregations, in producing and reproducing them as sacred spaces through material construction and refurbishment, financial maintenance and ritual performance. I argue, however, that it was the implementation of the Christian ritual calendar and the parish system that made Nagasaki a Christian town, since it was these that structured the social dynamics of the community, shaping both the space of the city and its experience of time. The production of space and time here went hand in hand, as parish churches were essential in order for the citizens to implement the annual liturgical calendar, while regular ritual performance defined parish churches as sacred spaces and the symbolic centre of each parish. The engagement of the laity in these spatial and temporal dimensions of Christianity therefore explains why churches and lay organizations proliferated and how Nagasaki became a Christian city.

The bishop was the main agent of the implementation of the parish system in Nagasaki, since as the highest ecclesiastical authority he had the power to officially create parishes. Nevertheless, the actual functioning of the parish system was possible because of the involvement and support of the local administrative authorities, the missionary orders and the laity. The organisation of lay confraternities proved essential in building and rebuilding churches, and in formalising the bond between residents and their parish church. The establishment of parishes systematised church attendance and fostered a more personalised link to a particular priest and church, creating symbolic centres with which networks of neighbours could identify. In this sense, by 1612 Nagasaki was a Christian city formed of eleven Christian parishes, which shared a similar structure. However, the negotiations involved in the production and transformation of sacred spaces also reveal rivalries and struggles for power within the Nagasaki Christian community. Events in 1614 would prove that the cohesion between the diocesan, the Jesuit and the Mendicant parishes depended on the mediation of the bishop. In order to understand better the internal tensions of the Nagasaki Christian community, the next chapter explores how the rivalry between the Jesuits and the Mendicants evolved in Japan, culminating in Nagasaki after the death of Bishop Cerqueira in February 1614.

Chapter 7

Nagasaki's Christian community divided

In the previous chapter I argued that the engagement of most of the citizens with the Catholic parish system and liturgical calendar made of Nagasaki a full-fledged Christian town in spatial and ritual terms. At first, this might seem to imply a high degree of homogeneity within the Christian community, but internal cohesion should not be taken for granted. In this chapter I want to problematize this assumption and further refine the definition of Nagasaki as a Christian town by showing the inner complexity of its Christian community and how the internal competition was spatially and ritually expressed. Following the arrival of the Mendicant orders in Nagasaki in 1607, the differences between them and the Jesuits forged a sense of differentiation and competition among their congregations, which broke into the open when Bishop Cerqueira died in 1614 and a succession crisis divided Nagasaki into a pro-Jesuit inner town and a pro-Mendicant outer town.

The confrontation between the Jesuits and the Mendicants in Japan involved several authorities abroad, including the Superiors of the Orders, the Papacy and the Spanish crown, and is therefore widely documented. Scholars have looked at the differences in the principles governing the orders, their missionary methods and their previous evangelisation experience in other mission fields like India, America and the Philippines, which undoubtedly are useful for understanding their disagreements in Japan.⁵⁷⁰ Their fight for sacred space in Nagasaki has not yet been given much attention, however. I argue that the rivalry between the orders is crucial in understanding the internal dynamics of the Nagasaki Christian community in 1614 when the bishop's death and the proscription of Christianity by the Tokugawa shogunate prompted a major-scale crisis in the Japanese mission and particularly in

⁵⁷⁰ (Álvarez Taladriz 1979; Standaert 1999; Correia 2001; Nelson 2002)

Nagasaki, its centre. In the first section, I will look at the two main controversies in which Jesuits and Mendicants in Japan were involved, the long process through which it was resolved and the way in which it affected the Christian community in Nagasaki. The second section narrates and analyses the events that led to the internal crisis of the Nagasaki Christian community in 1614, also known as the Schism of Nagasaki.

7.1 The Rivalry between the Jesuits and the Mendicants

The first and greatest dispute between the Jesuits and the Mendicants over Japan started at the end of the sixteenth century, when the Franciscans targeted China and Japan, where the Jesuits had already established missions under Portuguese patronage.⁵⁷¹ Portuguese merchants had been the first Europeans to set foot in Japan in 1543 and soon established a regular silk trade between Macao and Japan. The Jesuits, who had established missions in Goa, Malacca and Macao under Portuguese patronage, started to evangelise Japan in 1549. For the first three decades, their monopoly was undisturbed by the other Catholic missionary orders, but the Mendicant orders under Spanish patronage settled in the Philippines, starting with the Augustinians in 1564 and the Franciscans in 1576 and followed by the Dominicans in 1587, which they saw as a base from which to approach China and Japan.⁵⁷²

The European context

In the sixteenth century, the right to settle Catholic missions was linked to the right of conquest. In the fifteenth century, as the Iberian monarchies explored Africa and America, the Papacy established a meridian in the Atlantic Ocean and gave the Portuguese crown the right to conquer and the duty to evangelise the lands discovered eastwards, and to the Spanish crown those discovered westwards. Disagreements between the Portuguese and the Spanish regarding the measuring and calculation of the anti-meridian led to disputes regarding whose area of influence the

⁵⁷¹ (Schütte 1967, 186-187)

⁵⁷² (Uyttenbroeck 1959, 1; Aduarte 1962, 47; Hartmann 1965, 16)

Moluccas, the Philippines, China and Japan fell under.⁵⁷³ Since neither Japan nor China was a realistic target for conquest, in spite of some proposals from the Spanish side, the dispute became a question of the right to evangelisation.⁵⁷⁴ The Jesuits had already approached China in 1552 but did not succeed in establishing a mission in China until 1580. The Franciscans in Manila were also intent on the evangelisation of China, but on top of Jesuit opposition they encountered persistent local resistance. In 1582 a Franciscan missionary going from Manila to Macao was stranded on the Japanese island of Hirado. The locals showed interest in Christianity as well as trade with the Philippines, and the Franciscans were eager to prepare envoys to evangelise Japan. The Jesuits, who had developed an innovative missionary method in Japan did not want other orders to interfere their plans to consolidate and expand the mission and sought the support of the Pope. In 1582 the Jesuits send the embassy of young Japanese students to Europe and in 1585 Pope Gregory XIII granted the Jesuits the exclusive control of the Japanese mission.⁵⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the Franciscans sent petitions to the Pope and the Spanish king asking for permission to enter Japan.⁵⁷⁶

As seen in chapter four, Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued a decree against foreign missionaries in 1587, but in 1590 he showed interest in trade with the governor of the Philippines. Further letters from Japanese merchants and local lords triggered envoys of Franciscans missionaries from Manila to Japan during the last decade of the sixteenth century.⁵⁷⁷ While acting as diplomats for the Spanish viceroy in Manila, the friars lived and preached according to their own methods, which differed substantially from the accommodative Jesuit approach. The Jesuits criticised them for this, wanting to protect their monopoly, while the Mendicants criticised Jesuit involvement in the silk trade and claimed their own right to establish mission bases in Japan. This unleashed a fierce confrontation between the Jesuits and the Mendicants. Jesuits were as eager to maintain the *status quo* as the Mendicants were to change it. Both sides produced numerous written reports and petitions to the Pope and to the Spanish king in support of their position. However, the distance and the involvement of both the Spanish king and the Pope made the process was very slow

⁵⁷³ (Álvarez Taladriz 1977, 5-6)

⁵⁷⁴ (Üçerler 2005, 88-91)

⁵⁷⁵ (Schütte 1967, 180)

⁵⁷⁶ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 7; Álvarez Taladriz 1977, 7)

⁵⁷⁷ (Álvarez Taladriz 1979, 3-32)

and the issue was only definitively settled in 1608, when all the orders were allowed to preach in Japan.⁵⁷⁸ In order to understand its complexity it is worth looking at the dynamics between the missions, the king and the Pope.

When Alessandro Valignano reformed the Japanese Christian mission in 1580, he argued that it was better not to have different orders to preaching in Japan, so that Christianity in Japan was presented as a cohesive doctrine, as opposed to the plurality of Buddhist sects.⁵⁷⁹ At the time, for example, the Jesuits and the Dominicans differed in certain aspects of doctrine, the confrontation over which would continue for decades.⁵⁸⁰ In 1597, the Pope Gregory XIII seemed to endorse Valignano's position by issuing a bull confirming the Jesuit monopoly in Japan. The main cause of friction in Japan was not theological, but that the Jesuits and Mendicants had very different ideas about as well as experiences of missionary activity. The Mendicants postulated a *tabula rasa* method in the Western Indies, cutting off all indigenous elements and religious background, while the Jesuits developed an innovative *ad gentes* method, ready to compromise with native traditions to a certain extent.⁵⁸¹

The friction between the Jesuits and the Mendicants in Japan also had a political and, according to some scholars, even nationalistic aspect, because the submission of Portugal to Spain in 1580 was badly received abroad. It had little consequence for the management of the missions, however, since the Spanish king Philippe II created a special council within the Castilian court called *Consejo de Portugal*, which dealt with the Portuguese colonies in the Oriental Indies and its Christian missions, keeping them separate from matters related to the Spanish colonies and the Christian missions in the Western Indies, which continued to be in the hands of the *Consejo de Indias*.⁵⁸² The Jesuit missionaries in Japan were sponsored by the Portuguese crown, sent from the Jesuit Province of Portugal and remained under the ecclesiastical authority of Goa, the metropolitan church of the Eastern Indies, and the civil authority of the Indian Viceroy. In contrast, the Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian missionaries in Japan were sent from

⁵⁷⁸ (Magnino 1947, 68-70)

⁵⁷⁹ (Álvarez Taladriz 1954a, 58)

⁵⁸⁰ (Loughlin 1908)

⁵⁸¹ (Schütte 1980; Takase 1999; Correia 2001; Nelson 2002)

⁵⁸² (Valladares 2001, 21)

Spanish or American Provinces, sponsored by the Spanish crown, and were the under the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of the Mendicant Provinces in the Philippines and Mexico.

The Mendicant orders in the Philippines had developed a long and close relationship with the Spanish crown during the colonial expansion into and evangelization of the American continent and the Philippines, and so were convinced that they would obtain royal sanction to enter Japan. The Jesuits, by contrast, had been deeply involved with the Catholic Counter-Reformation since their foundation in 1549, and were the only order whose members vowed ultimate loyalty to the Pope. This had proved beneficial for the Japanese mission in its early years, but in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century Popes tended to be in office only for very short periods. The decision of a Pope could be revoked by his successor, then later confirmed again by the next Pope, causing confusion in Japan itself. In addition, the Order's Generals and the Iberian monarchs had a great deal of influence over the missionaries, but the Holy See did not give up its authority of having the final say on ecclesiastical matters, even if this delayed the resolution of such disputes.⁵⁸³ In order to secure the control of the missions, at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Papacy created a special congregation to deal with all matters related to missions, called *Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide*, although it was not really functional until 1622. This first controversy was therefore dealt with directly with the Pope.

The missionary rivalry was further complicated by the commercial interests that were at stake in the relationship between the Japanese archipelago and the Iberian Peninsula. After fifty years of trade with the Portuguese ships from Macao based in the port of Nagasaki, by the turn of the century the Japanese authorities had the prospect of establishing regular trade with the Spanish ships from the Philippines and Mexico in Kanto area ports.⁵⁸⁴ The bishop and the Jesuit Vice-Provincial father were concerned that opening new ports in the Kanto would hinder the Macao trade, on which most of the Jesuit mission's resources depended.⁵⁸⁵ In this context, and taking into account that the journey between Japan and Europe took more than one year, the Jesuits sent procurators (representatives) to the Papal court in Rome to fight

⁵⁸³ (Pedot 1946)

⁵⁸⁴ (Gil 1991)

⁵⁸⁵ (Cerqueira 1606b, 51r-51v)

for the order's interests. Since the Papacy gave the Iberian crown the privilege of deciding issues related to education and missions abroad after Portugal was put under Spanish rule in 1580, the Jesuits of the Portuguese Province also decided to establish a procurator in the Castilian court to seek the favour of the king regarding missionary matters.⁵⁸⁶

The struggle over Japan

When Cerqueira arrived in Japan in 1598, one of the sessions in his Consultation with the Jesuits discussed the legitimacy of the presence of the Mendicant missionaries in Japan. Jesuits were opposed to this because the friars disobeyed the papal brief issued in 1585 by Pope Gregory XIII, which had limited the evangelization of Japan to the Society of Jesus. Cerqueira, as the highest ecclesiastical power in Japan, therefore expelled the Franciscan missionaries from Japan, urging them to return to Manila, and denied them permission to administer the sacraments, under the threat of excommunication. However, the Franciscans considered that the aforementioned brief had been invalidated in 1586 by Sixtus V, which allowed them to preach in the Eastern Indies.⁵⁸⁷ Armed with this argument, the Franciscans obtained permission from the king to send 40 missionaries to the Philippines.⁵⁸⁸ Although Sixtus V did not explicitly mention Gregory XIII's brief and it was not clear at the time whether Japan was part of the Eastern Indies, the Franciscans refused to leave Japan until their petitions to both the Pope and the Spanish king were answered, convinced that the result would be in their favour.

In addition, both sides sent missionaries to the Vatican as procurators. Armed with first-hand knowledge of the mission field and highly motivated, they put forward the reasons that their own order should be allowed to operate in Japan. These visits seem to have been crucial for the development of the debate. In 1595 Father Gil de la Mata reached Rome as the Jesuit procurator for the Japanese mission, and this visit bore fruit, since in March 1597 Clement VIII ratified Gregory XIII's Brief, confirming the exclusive Jesuit right to evangelize Japan.⁵⁸⁹ However, in the very

⁵⁸⁶ (Schütte 1961, 5-8)

⁵⁸⁷ (Magnino 1947, 35-38)

⁵⁸⁸ (de Castro 1979, 212)

⁵⁸⁹ (Schütte 1967, 187)

same year, the Franciscan Procurator Father Francisco de Montilla reached Rome and in 1608 obtained two bulls from Clement VIII allowing the Franciscans to collect relics in Rome in order to open churches in their missions in the Philippines and granting indulgences to those Christians who visited those churches.⁵⁹⁰ The Franciscans interpreted these bulls as an implicit derogation of Gregory XIII's bull, even though Japan was not explicitly mentioned, and sent some of these relics to Japan.

Three years later, in 1600, yet another Franciscan procurator, Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, arrived in Rome. Although his main task was to present a petition for the blessing and sanctification of the Franciscans executed in Nagasaki in 1597, he also pleaded in favour of opening the Japanese mission to the Mendicants. His labours had a positive outcome, since in December 1600 Clement VIII published a brief allowing the Mendicants to preach in Japan. However, a clause added the condition that the missionary envoys had to be appointed by the Archbishop of Goa and to go to Japan via the Portuguese route through India and Macao.⁵⁹¹ This satisfied neither the Jesuits, who wanted exclusive control of the Japanese mission, nor the Franciscans, who disagreed with the restrictions on the route and wanted to access Japan through New Mexico and the Philippines on Spanish ships. Accordingly, in November 1601 the Jesuits sent a *Memorial* to the Inquisition in Rome against the Franciscan Montilla and Ribadeneira, to which the Franciscans replied in the same month with their own *Memorial* in defence of the two friars and against the Jesuits in Japan.

Moreover, the decision of the Vatican needed the endorsement of the Spanish colonial powers, so the Mendicant authorities in Manila also petitioned the king directly. The issue was raised in the State Council in 1602, but Philippe II would not take any final decision until a special council of experts formed for the occasion provided him with a recommendation, so the final resolution of the matter was again delayed.⁵⁹² Matters were further complicated by the logistics of communications at the time, which meant that papal decisions in Rome were superseded by events on the ground in Japan. By the time Clement VIII's 1600 brief reached the Philippines

⁵⁹⁰ (Magnino 1947, 59-60)

⁵⁹¹ (Magnino 1947, 62-66)

⁵⁹² (Consejo de Estado 1602)

in 1604, Tokugawa Ieyasu had decided to establish trade relations with the Philippines and so had allowed Franciscans to open mission bases in Edo and Fushimi as ambassadors of the Spanish Viceroy in Manila, as seen in the previous chapter. Although they had travelled via Mexico and Manila, not Goa and Macao, and so had contravened the letter of the brief, they did not leave Japan.

The confrontation in Japan hardened and mutual accusations continued to circulate in Europe and abroad. In 1601 Ribadeneira published a history that included all the Franciscan missions in Asia.⁵⁹³ The book prompted the Jesuits to publish a series of critiques in 1605 in a document titled *Objectiones*, which in 1608 was answered by Ribadeneira in his *Responsiones*.⁵⁹⁴ In order to support their claims the missionaries prevailed on the Japanese to provide written proof of the veracity or falsehood of their respective claims. For instance, Kano Pedro, a Japanese who followed the Franciscans in Kyoto, signed a document criticising the Jesuits' hostile attitude towards the Franciscans.⁵⁹⁵ To speed up the process in Europe, the Franciscans sent Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora to Rome as procurator in 1606 and in 1608 the Augustinians sent Father Pedro de San Fulgencio to the Spanish court.⁵⁹⁶ In the meantime, despite the opposition of the Jesuits and the Bishop, the Mendicants under Spanish patronage in the Philippines and Mexico started sending larger envoys to evangelize Japan: six Franciscan friars in 1606 and ten Mendicants in 1607, including five Franciscans, three Dominicans and two Augustinians.⁵⁹⁷ The missionaries in the field were so determined that Papal decisions as well as the Franciscan authorities had to play catch up with events on the ground. For example, in 1608 the Franciscan Superior of Japan Alonso Muñoz, discouraged by the fact that no reply from Rome had arrived yet, ordered all Franciscans to abandon their mission posts and gather in Nagasaki, although this was not carried out.⁵⁹⁸

The matter was finally settled in June 1608, when Pope Paul V established that all orders could preach freely in Japan and abolished any restrictions on the

⁵⁹³ (de Ribadeneira 1601)

⁵⁹⁴ (de Castro 1979, 214)

⁵⁹⁵ (Kano 1603, 363r)

⁵⁹⁶ (Schütte 1967, 171-180)

⁵⁹⁷ (Gonoi 2002, 355)

⁵⁹⁸ (Uyttenbroeck 1959, 54)

access route.⁵⁹⁹ The clause stating that the missionaries could only go to Japan when obeying the will of the superior of their order was superseded by clauses added in 1609 and 1610, giving the Spanish king and the Pope the final word in determining the route and nominating the missionaries. This decision revealed a competition for control of the missions between the Spanish court and the Papacy, but it drew a line under the argument about the right of the Mendicant orders to preach in Japan.⁶⁰⁰ The official documents of the final resolutions reached Japan in 1611, but hostilities diminished from 1609, as news about them reached Bishop Cerqueira.⁶⁰¹

Once Japan was officially open to all religious orders, a second controversy arose between the Jesuits and the Mendicants, namely the question of whether it was appropriate for different orders to work in the same area or town. The Jesuits proposed to divide the mission field in Japan so as to avoid overlapping while the Mendicants argued that all orders should be free to work anywhere in the archipelago, especially after the persecutions started.⁶⁰² There was a precedent in the Philippines, which Philip II had divided into exclusive missionary areas in 1595.⁶⁰³ This would be indeed the pattern prescribed for Japan by the recently established Congregation of Propaganda Fide and the Spanish crown in 1631.⁶⁰⁴ Nevertheless, by the time they reached a clear stand on the matter in Europe, the appointment of different missionary areas to each order was pointless: anti-Christian pressure in Japan was so intense that the number of missionaries was less than a dozen in total.⁶⁰⁵ Although the resolution of this second controversy had no real effect on the Japanese mission, it proves that competition for space and ritual between the Jesuits and the Mendicants continued even after the 1614 prohibition.

According to Japanese sources, the churches (*kirishitan-dera*) from Osaka to the west belonged to the Society of Jesus (*konmenya*, a phonetic corruption of Companhia de Jesus, the Portuguese for Society of Jesus), while those to the east of Osaka belonged to the schools of the friars (*furate-ha*, *furate* being the phonetic

⁵⁹⁹ (Magnino 1947, 68-70)

⁶⁰⁰ (Schütte 1967, 188)

⁶⁰¹ (Willeke 1990, 17)

⁶⁰² (Schütte 1967, 188)

⁶⁰³ (Javellana 1999, 419)

⁶⁰⁴ (Pedot 1946, 142-143)

⁶⁰⁵ (Gonoi 2002, 343)

transliteration of *frades*, the Portuguese for friars).⁶⁰⁶ Overall, the Franciscans focused on central and northern Japan, while the Dominicans targeted Shikoku and sites from which Jesuits had been expelled, such as Satsuma and Higo.⁶⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the reality of the mission was more complex than this, as the Mendicants preached in places where the Jesuits were or had been before, responding to political and economical opportunity. This was especially so from the beginning of the seventeenth century, as Ieyasu granted permission to build residences and churches only in cities under his direct control, so that the Franciscans and the Jesuits coexisted in Kyoto, Fushimi and Nagasaki.

Struggle for space and ritual in Nagasaki

The Franciscans had been interested in establishing a base in Nagasaki from the beginning, although their main focus was central Japan. They had managed to establish a base in downtown Kyoto in 1593, but encountered many difficulties in Nagasaki when they first approached the town at the end of 1594.⁶⁰⁸ In spite of this initial failure, in 1595 the leader of the Franciscan mission in Japan, Jeronimo de Jesus, considered that while the order should concentrate on central and northern Japan, it was crucial to establish a base in Nagasaki for various practical reasons, so as to be near the bishop, the Portuguese donors, and western medicines, as well as to organise the human and material resources and correspondence arriving from Manila.⁶⁰⁹ This was not possible, though, and remained difficult when the Franciscans again came to Japan following the 1597 expulsion, because Ieyasu only granted them permission to settle in Edo in 1599, in Fushimi in 1601, and in Kyoto and Osaka in 1603.⁶¹⁰

It was in Nagasaki where their competition crystallized, as became evident when two Franciscans tried unsuccessfully to set up a friary in Nagasaki for the second time in 1604, as noted in chapter six. It is not clear from the sources how and why the two friars were made to leave, but in general the reasons for their exclusion seem clear, since they had no written permission from Ieyasu and they were rejected

⁶⁰⁶ *Kirisuto-ki* (Murai 2004, 63)

⁶⁰⁷ (Muñoz 1965, 23-24)

⁶⁰⁸ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 37)

⁶⁰⁹ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 35)

⁶¹⁰ (Willeke 1994d, 37, 57, 100, 137)

by the bishop and the Jesuits. Although Valignano had advised his men to be friendly and show unity with the Mendicants in order to avoid scandal in front of the Japanese, the Jesuit Viceprovincial Pasio and Cerqueira opposed the Franciscan presence in Nagasaki.⁶¹¹ Already in 1598 Cerqueira had disapproved their coming to Japan and in November 1604 he made public the 1600 brief of Clement VIII, according to which Mendicant friars could enter Japan but only through the Portuguese route, so that those who had gone there through Philippines had to leave Japan and return through the Portuguese route under penalty of excommunication.⁶¹² The Franciscans, however, had sent a supplication in 1603 asking the Pope to revoke that brief and decided to stay in Japan until they received an answer.

While the bishop refused to receive the Franciscans who had come to Nagasaki, he had a close spatial association with the Jesuits, keeping his residence in the Jesuit *colegio* until 1607.⁶¹³ The new building of the church of the Assumption was connected through covered corridors to the *colegio*, and had a specific space reserved to the bishop next to the main altar. While the Mendicant missionaries were denied access to the cathedral, the Jesuits continued in charge of its management and assisted the bishop in the ministry of mass. Franciscans were denied the production of space and therefore the performance of ritual.

There is almost no information on the Franciscans in Nagasaki until their headquarters moved there in 1613. While the bishop and the Jesuits saw their human resources grow and their spaces expand in both the inner and outer towns, the Franciscans' position in Nagasaki was weak and peripheral. From 1604 to 1607 they lacked a proper church. They stayed in the outer town observing their daily religious routines, preaching to the population and hearing confessions, despite the bishop's ban, as well as trying to get support for a plot of land in the inner town. In contrast, during these years the Jesuits reported an increase in the number of institutions in both the inner and outer town and not only high numbers during the regular administration of sacraments such as baptism, annual confession, marriages and funerals, but also several extraordinary occasions on which they displayed their hegemony over Nagasaki's ritual and its cathedral. They assisted the bishop in

⁶¹¹ (Cerqueira 1603, 82r-82v)

⁶¹² (Uytenbroeck 1959, 47)

⁶¹³ (Cerqueira 1606c, 45)

solemn pontifical masses during the yearly ordination ceremonies of Japanese clergymen and organized massive public processions, also from or around the cathedral.

The situation began to change in 1607, after an envoy of Spanish missionaries arrived from Manila in 1606. The new Franciscan superior of Japan, Alonso Muñoz, had received an order to set up a Franciscan friary in Nagasaki. Thanks to the mediation of the *daikan* Murayama Tōan, Ieyasu allowed the Franciscans to settle in Nagasaki. As explained in the previous chapter, in 1608 they moved into a house that a Spanish merchant bought for them in the inner town.⁶¹⁴ Although the bishop maintained the prohibition on the Mendicants administering sacraments under pain of excommunication, they started missionary activity focusing on confessions and on the care of the sick. The friars' plans to build an adjacent hospital and a church in their plot of land had to be executed rather slowly, probably due to the scarcity of resources and to the ostracism that resulted from the opposition of the bishop and the Jesuits.

In a letter dated 15 March 1609 to the Jesuit Provincial Father in the Philippines, Cerqueira regretted that they had obtained a place in Nagasaki and explained that he had not intervened because the local Japanese authorities were involved. He wrote:

They took a plot of land and a house against the apostolic brief and against the bishop its executor, turning to the secular and heathen wing with remarkable disedification.⁶¹⁵ [my translation]

To make clear his opposition, Cerqueira refused to receive the Franciscan Father Juan Bautista, the superior of the Nagasaki friary. The former was especially offended because the Mendicants had asked Ieyasu for permits to establish convents in Kyoto and Nagasaki claiming that the bishop and the Jesuits agreed to it, although they did not. He made it clear to the leader of the Franciscans in Japan, father Alonso Muñoz, that he would maintain the excommunication order and would not receive him.⁶¹⁶ The Franciscans opened a church in 1609 and Dominicans and Augustinians

⁶¹⁴ (Willeke 1994a, 14-15)

⁶¹⁵ (Cerqueira 1606c, 93v)

⁶¹⁶ (Cerqueira 1606c, 93v)

followed in 1610 and 1611, as explained in the previous chapter, but progress was slow.

It is not clear when Bishop Cerqueira retired the excommunication order on the Mendicants who administered sacraments in Japan. Most likely it was in 1611, since that was the year during which the 1608 bull allowing all orders into Japan reached Nagasaki, the bishop integrated the Franciscan church into the parish system, and Jesuits and Mendicants attended each other's ritual celebration in memory of the founder of their orders.⁶¹⁷ News of the beatification of Ignatius of Loyola reached Japan in 1611 and on 31 July, the anniversary of Loyola's death, the Jesuits organised a solemn celebration. The previous night the Bishop ministered the holy office of Vespers. Forty Jesuit priests assisted him, all dressed in rich capes and all the Mendicant priests who were in Nagasaki at the time were invited to attend the ceremony. The Jesuits lit colourful paper lanterns and placed them all around the fence of the *colegio* so that they could be seen from outside, as did the bishop, the rest of churches and some neighbourhoods.⁶¹⁸ Two months later on 4 October the Franciscans celebrated the feast day of their founder, Saint Francis of Assisi and Father Pedro Bautista Porres, the Franciscan superior in Nagasaki, asked the bishop to perform the celebration mass at the church of San Francisco. Cerqueira obliged, although he could not administer communion due of his advanced age and the high number of attendants.⁶¹⁹ The Bishop's ritual performance at the Franciscan church conferred sanctity and status on the church itself and sanctioned the order's presence in Nagasaki and Japan as a whole, since Nagasaki was the Christian centre. Mutual recognition of sacred spaces and joint celebration of ritual marked an important shift in the relationship between the Jesuits and the Mendicants in Nagasaki.

Even though the Franciscans had made substantial progress, competition between the Catholic orders continued. The Jesuits accused the Franciscans of inducing the members of the lay organisation they had founded in 1611, the Third Order of the Cord of St Francis, to believe that the Cord had magical power and its worship could liberate the deceased from hell. The Jesuits preached among their parishioners against the friars accusing them of holding the ritual practices of the

⁶¹⁷ (Willeke 1994a, 18)

⁶¹⁸ (Pacheco 1977, 58-59)

⁶¹⁹ (Willeke 1994a, 18)

Third Order higher than the Eucharist.⁶²⁰ This fostered a consciousness of difference and competition between the lay congregations of Nagasaki, which turned into rivalry, as can be seen in the fact that the members of the Misericordia asked the Pope for the same privileges granted to the members of the Confraternity of the Rosary founded by the Dominicans.⁶²¹

Thus, it seems clear that although the parish system reinforced the Christian identity of the Nagasaki citizens, as seen in the previous chapter, the presence of multiple orders generated competition between them that broke the cohesion of the community. The organisation of Nagasaki into parishes stimulated the creation of competing lay brotherhoods and strengthened the bonds of the congregations with their parish priests, so that the rivalry between the missionaries penetrated the laity and the diocesan clergy. This rivalry burst into the open when Bishop Cerqueira died in 1614.

7.2 The Schism of Nagasaki: the Japanese Church divided (1614)

By the end of 1613 Bishop Cerqueira had integrated the three Mendicant churches into the Nagasaki parish system and the Christian community of Nagasaki was thriving, with eleven parishes, many lay sodalities, four active missionary orders and a corps of native diocesan clerics. However, on 16 February 1614 the bishop died without a successor. The subsequent revelation of internal made it clear that his charismatic leadership had kept the peace. Costa thinks that the bishop himself was initially reluctant to ask for a coadjutor bishop to be appointed and sent to Japan because most of his colleagues in Europe and in the Portuguese Asian missions did not share his innovative ideas on the ordination of native priests.⁶²² As Cerqueira grew older and his health weakened, he asked for an assistant bishop to be appointed, but no moves had been made by the time he died. In addition, the process to appoint a successor was slow because it depended on both the Pope and the Spanish king. Philip III proposed the Jesuit Diego Valente as the new bishop of Funai only in

⁶²⁰ (Willeke 1994a, 19)

⁶²¹ (Gonoi 2006, 11-12)

⁶²² (Oliveira e Costa 2000a, 116)

November 1617, and Pope Paul V confirmed the appointment in January 1618.⁶²³ The archbishop of Goa had to appoint an administrator to rule the Japanese diocese until the new bishop arrived, but since his decision took time to reach Japan, the Japanese diocesan clergy had to elect an administrator, which exacerbated the rivalry between Jesuits and Mendicants.

On 22 February 1614 the seven diocesan clerics elected the Jesuit Provincial Father Valentim Carvalho as administrator of the diocese, but he was not well received among the missionaries. The Jesuits themselves were very critical of his poor performance as Provincial Father and of his change of attitude towards the bishop after he had been appointed. He was not well received by the Mendicants either, as was evident when the Dominican Domingos de Valderrama confronted him in March 1614.⁶²⁴ By October 1614, the opposition of the Mendicants became explicit, as the leader of the Franciscan missionaries, Diego de Chinchón, asked the diocesan priests to revoke their election of Carvalho. His request had no effect, but when Carvalho took action against Geronimo Iyo, a Japanese Mendicant friar who had disobeyed him, five of the Japanese diocesan priests revoked their support of Carvalho as administrator. They nominated the Dominican Father Francisco Morales instead, but he was obliged to renounce the post by his Provincial Father, so they appointed the Franciscan Father Pedro Bautista Porres.⁶²⁵ The Japanese Church thus had two competing heads and the Christian community of Nagasaki was divided, with the inner town supporting the Jesuits and the outer town the Mendicants. The diocesan priests who sided with the Mendicants sought the support of the Archbishop of Goa, as well as that of the Archbishop of Manila and the Spanish King, but they were severely scolded instead.⁶²⁶ Takase thinks that, lacking the real strength to administer the Japanese Church and the support of the Church and the colonial powers, the native diocesan priests were merely used by the Jesuits and the Mendicants in their fight.⁶²⁷

The controversy continued until the matter was settled in 1615, when the Archbishop of Goa confirmed the Jesuit Vice provincial father in Japan as the

⁶²³ (Magnino 1947, 88-89)

⁶²⁴ (Oliveira e Costa 1998, VII 20)

⁶²⁵ (Oliveira e Costa 1998, IV 10)

⁶²⁶ (Oliveira e Costa 1998, IV 10)

⁶²⁷ (Takase 1993, 184)

administrator of the Japanese mission in the absence of the bishop.⁶²⁸ By then, however, the dispute had been overtaken by events as the Tokugawa started a harsh persecution of Christianity in Japan and Nagasaki, and in November 1614 most of the missionaries including Carvalho himself had to leave Japan in exile. The Schism of Nagasaki was a short episode that did not subvert the Jesuit supremacy in the Japanese Church Hierarchy, but it brought to the surface the Jesuits' disapproval of their superior in Japan, the divergences between the Mendicants in Japan and their superiors in Manila and in Europe, and the dissatisfaction of the native clergy. The tensions diminished with the expulsion of the missionaries in November 1614 and the elimination of the Murayama family in 1619, but the mutual hostilities among the Jesuits and the Mendicants that had divided Nagasaki, were not put to an end, and continued during the years of persecution. The Christian community of Nagasaki was left without a charismatic leader who could manage the internal struggles and organise a cohesive response to the external threat posed by the Japanese government's persecution of Christianity, which became more and more systematic with time, as will be explained in the following chapter.

⁶²⁸ (Oliveira e Costa 1998, IV 10)

Chapter 8

De-Christianizing Nagasaki (1614-1643)

By the time the Tokugawa banned Christianity in 1614, Nagasaki was the most important commercial port in Japan, the centre of the Catholic Church in Japan and the Japanese headquarters for all the missionary orders. Beyond this, the active engagement of the population with the Catholic calendar and the parish system made Nagasaki a Christian city. Although the rivalry between the Mendicants and the Jesuits divided the residents of the inner and the outer towns following Cerqueira's death, it also stimulated communal activities and public displays of faith by the lay confraternities after Christianity was prohibited. Ieyasu had first favoured the missionaries for the sake of foreign trade, but once the Dutch had offered a purely commercial relationship, the missionaries were seen as a threat for the ongoing attempts to pacify the country. The shogunate therefore expelled them from Japan and developed a systematic strategy to de-Christianize the archipelago, specifically Nagasaki. The anti-Christian measures regarding believers, space and ritual started with a ruthless policy of elimination (exile or execution, together with the destruction of churches and devotional objects), followed by strategies of appropriation (torture and apostasy, together with the use of former priests as religious inquisitors, former churches as Buddhist temples, and Christian images in anti-Christian rituals).

The persecution of Christians produced a large number of victims, many of whom the Catholic Church claimed as martyrs and have been the object of study by western and Japanese scholars.⁶²⁹ The appropriation of space and ritual, however, has not been paid the attention it deserves, given the dramatic transformation that Nagasaki underwent during the first half of the seventeenth century. In this final chapter, I argue that actions over sacred space and ritual practices played a key role

⁶²⁹ (Jimenez 1867; Muñoz 1965; Kataoka 1970; Ruiz de Medina 1999)

in both the response of the Nagasaki Christians to the prohibition of Christianity and the central authorities' enterprise of de-Christianising Nagasaki. The central government first eliminated all the Christian churches and then reversed their function and symbolic meaning for the Christians by producing new spaces in their place, where the population was forced to engage in specific anti-Christian actions or religious rituals. The chapter is divided into four sections: the first assesses the response of the Nagasaki Christian community to the prohibition edict and the expulsion of the missionaries, the second looks at the elimination of churches and their appropriation as civil or Buddhist institutions, the third explains the dynamics behind the production of Shinto and Buddhist sacred spaces in Nagasaki, and the fourth focuses on the anti-Christian actions and rituals that took place in those newly created spaces.

8.1 The prohibition of Christianity and Nagasaki's first response (1614)

Ieyasu's interest in maintaining the Portuguese trade in Nagasaki and establishing a commercial port in the Kanto from which to trade with the Philippines and Mexico allowed the Christian mission to develop during the first decade of the seventeenth century. The Spanish, however, insisted on the mediation of missionaries and were slow and unsuccessful in their attempts to consolidate trade, whereas the Dutch were only interested in trade, and had no attachments to missionaries, establishing a factory (trading post) in Hirado in 1609 and sending regular ships from their colonial base in Batavia via Taiwan.⁶³⁰ Following a corruption scandal involving the Christian lord of Arima and a Christian shogunal officer, in 1612 Ieyasu issued an edict banning Christianity in his territories in the Kanto area, so that the Mendicants were expelled from Edo and Christians forced to apostatise.⁶³¹ Two years later, at the end of January 1614, the shogunate extended the prohibition of Christianity to all the unified territories of Japan.⁶³² The anti-Christian decree reached Kyoto in mid-February, Nagasaki few days later and Kyushu by the end of

⁶³⁰ (Fujita 1991, 160-161)

⁶³¹ (Murai 2002, 6)

⁶³² (Elisonas 2006, 148-149)

the month, with instructions to capture and send all the missionaries to Nagasaki to board the ships leaving for Manila and Macao.⁶³³ Missionaries expelled from other regions in Kyushu arrived in Nagasaki in early March and those from central Japan on 11 March. However, the ships for Macao and Manila only left in the autumn and the missionaries were forced to remain in Nagasaki until then.⁶³⁴

From March to October 1614, therefore, Nagasaki hosted more missionaries than any previous time. The concentration of individuals and the prospect of their exile produced a highly tense and doom-ridden atmosphere but also a last outpouring of displays of faith. As had been the case after Hideyoshi's expulsion edict in 1587, the Jesuits reacted cautiously, while the Mendicants remained rather bold in their religious activities. The Nagasaki authorities ordered the closure of the churches, but the Franciscan and Dominican churches remained open, the friars considering that especially in times of persecution the Christians needed prayers and help in preparing for martyrdom.⁶³⁵ Initially, very few residents attended the churches fearing the reprisals of the authorities, but the Mendicants organised penitential processions during Lent, which seems to have awakened the fervour of the residents. The Jesuits did not open their churches to celebrate Easter in order not to provoke the Nagasaki *bugyō*, but the Augustinians and the Franciscans did. On Holy Thursday the Franciscan Superior Diego de Chinchón organised a penitential procession through the streets to implore Heaven's help and ask God to give the city the fortitude necessary for martyrdom. On leaving the church the procession was composed of Franciscans only, but gradually other religious and lay Christians joined them, so that it became a massive procession in which the laity engaged with prayers and acts of penance.⁶³⁶ This was the first of a series of processions in which various congregations and sodalities responded to the prohibition of Christianity with public displays of faith.

The Spanish merchant Bernardino de Avila Girón, who lived in Nagasaki outer town at the time, provides a first-hand account of the outburst of these displays in May 1614, after the news reached the town that the persecution of Christians in

⁶³³ (Muñoz 1965, 35; O'Neill 2001, 2638)

⁶³⁴ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 78)

⁶³⁵ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 78)

⁶³⁶ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 73)

Kyoto had started. The first was organised by the Dominicans on Friday 9 May, at night, to celebrate the Pentecostal vigil, followed by a procession organised by the Augustinians the following day to celebrate Pentecost itself. On Monday 12 May, the Jesuits organised a procession from Todos los Santos, with more than 3,000 people participating. On Wednesday 14 May there were seven different processions during the day. Avila Girón reports in detail about one that left from the church of San Juan Bautista, in which the wife and children of the *daikan* Murayama Tōan participated. At the front of the procession, a placard displayed the names of all the participants and a statement asking for the forgiveness of their sins and the strength to die for the Christian faith. This one lasted day and night reaching 10,000 participants in total. Some residents went too far in their penitential zeal and in spite of the missionaries' orders to refrain from excesses there were four casualties due to self-mutilation. Further penitential processions took place, three during the day on Thursday 15 May, three during the day and three during the night on Friday 16, and one on Saturday with 500 participants. It seems that most of these processions were organised by the parishioners of a specific church or a specific sodality, although the route included other churches, with the Franciscans being particularly active in order to encourage the faithful to fortitude in time of trial. In a procession on Monday 19 starting from the church of Santo Domingo 2,000 women participated, wearing white robes and walking barefoot, as well as 3,000 residents doing penance, including the *daikan* himself and all his sons. Similarly, in a procession on 20 May starting from the church of San Agustín 484 participants wearing purple robes were followed by more than 1,000 penitents. The participants included many friars, six Jesuits, and the *daikan* and his son, who was a diocesan priest, while the procession included trumpet music, a silk purple banner, and a palanquin with an image of Holy Mary. The residents along the route hung images and little oratories from their windows. On Corpus Christi, 29 May, the Jesuits organized a solemn celebration in the cathedral, including a penitential procession in which the most powerful residents participated, dressed in red robes, although at their request the procession was confined to the Jesuit precincts on Morisaki cape, to avoid a reaction from the *bugyō*. In addition, the Misericordia members and the parishioners of Santiago Hospital also organised solemn processions to worship the Host displayed on the cathedral's altar. Apart

from the public displays of faith during the processions, the residents also engaged in underground practices. Various residents secretly set up altars and oratories in their homes and took turns to contribute to 40 hours of continuous prayer.⁶³⁷

On 23 June the Nagasaki *bugyō* came to Nagasaki from the court. He received the superiors of the four orders, but soon sent them notice to prepare to sail to Manila or Macao. Once the Portuguese trade was over and the winds were favourable, the expulsion was enforced. The Tokugawa administration sent two vassals to help the Nagasaki *bugyō* handle the operation, Yamaguchi Naotomo in August 1614 and one of his sons the following month.⁶³⁸ However, the ships were not yet ready and the departure was delayed until November, but the Tokugawa were eager to solve the Christian issue once and for all since war with the Toyotomi house was imminent.⁶³⁹ On 25 October the *bugyō* ordered the imminent departure of the missionaries and on 27 October the Jesuits celebrated the last mass in the cathedral and then dismantled the altars.⁶⁴⁰ In early November two ships sailed to Macao and one to Manila taking away Jesuit and Mendicant missionaries, Japanese diocesan priests, Japanese Christian nobles and their families, Japanese Christian nuns, and Japanese Jesuits and candidates, as well as the Japanese assistants of the Jesuits and the diocesan *seminario*. Thus, around 400 foreign missionaries and Japanese Christians were expelled from Japan and nine churches destroyed.⁶⁴¹ All the missionaries who had been brought to Nagasaki from elsewhere were recorded in a list by the Nagasaki *bugyō* and could not escape exile, but those who were already in Nagasaki and managed to hide before the expulsion edict was enforced remained in hiding near the city or elsewhere.⁶⁴² A few days after the departure of the ships with the exiled Christians, the shogunal forces started dismantling the churches.

⁶³⁷ (de Ávila Girón 1619, 73r)

⁶³⁸ (de Ávila Girón 1615, 251r)

⁶³⁹ (Colín 1663, 739)

⁶⁴⁰ (Pacheco 1977, 59)

⁶⁴¹ (de Ávila Girón 1615, 250v-252r; Uyttenbroeck 1959, 74; Schütte 1968, 746; Kataoka 1970, 55; Ruiz de Medina 1999, 191; Murai 2004, 67)

⁶⁴² (Hartmann 1965, 59; Gonoï 2002, 289)

8.2 Actions against Christian sacred spaces

The gathering of missionaries in Nagasaki confirmed the city as Japan's main port and strengthened its function as centre of the Christian mission, but most importantly it reinforced Nagasaki as a town where a Christian way of life was still possible when it was no longer sustainable elsewhere. Ieyasu's determination to destroy all churches in Japan necessarily included Nagasaki therefore. The Captain of the Portuguese *nao*, as the highest Portuguese authority in Japan and representative of the Viceroy of India, sent four of his men to ask permission to maintain a church for the use of the Portuguese merchants in Nagasaki, but Ieyasu made no concessions.⁶⁴³ As Boxer points out, Ieyasu was aware that when Hideyoshi in 1587 had allowed a church in Nagasaki for the Portuguese merchants, the missionaries had used it to re-establish the Church in Japan.⁶⁴⁴ Thus, in early November 1614 most of the churches in Nagasaki were dismantled.

Elimination of Christian churches (1614-1619)

The leaders of the operation were the Nagasaki *bugyō* Hasegawa Sahyōe and the *jōshi* Yamaguchi Naotomo, with the collaboration of three Buddhist monks. Many labourers were engaged for the task, under the direction of two supervisors (*kenshi*), Okuyama Shichizaemon and Satsuma Jūbei, and two carpenters (*daiku*) Tōryō Kawaue Shinsuke and Nishigawa Shazaemon.⁶⁴⁵ Sahyōe asked the local heads of the Nagasaki streets (*otona*) to carry out the task of demolition, but they refused arguing that the residents were exhausted.⁶⁴⁶ This suggests the residents' respect for the churches and was probably an indirect way of avoiding having to participate in such a frontal attack on Christianity and the city's sacred spaces.

Ieyasu ordered several lords from neighbouring domains to help and to ensure that the Nagasaki population would not interfere with the operation. The lords of Saga, Tokitsu, Hirado, Arima and Ōmura brought their men to Nagasaki as guards, while the lord of Kokura levied 500 of his men armed with muskets.⁶⁴⁷ Some of these men

⁶⁴³ (Pacheco 1977, 58)

⁶⁴⁴ (Boxer 1974, 325-326)

⁶⁴⁵ (Kataoka 1970, 56)

⁶⁴⁶ (Ruiz de Medina 1999, 187)

⁶⁴⁷ (Kataoka 1970, 56)

were lodged in the churches that they were meant to destroy. For example, at the end of October Hasegawa Sahyōe offered the church of San Juan Bautista, at the northernmost extreme of the city, to Ōmura Sumiyori for his retainers to lodge in, until they destroyed the building.⁶⁴⁸ The Ōmura men also destroyed the churches of San Antonio and San Pedro, both in the inner town, as well as the stone structures of the monastery and the church of Santo Domingo, while the Saga men destroyed the Franciscan church.⁶⁴⁹

According to Avila Girón the first church to be demolished on 3 November was the church of the Assumption, in the Jesuit compound on Morisaki cape. The last mass had been celebrated on 27 October, after which the altar was removed to avoid its desecration. The following day most of the Jesuits abandoned the precincts and on 29 October the Jesuit Provincial father left the *colegio* and the lord of Hirado and his men started the demolition. Ōmura Sumiyori ordered that churches whose timber could not be reused as construction material should be destroyed quickly, though the process was not a smooth one. Thus, the church of the Assumption was not dismantled but ruthlessly demolished, with its columns attacked with handsaws and axes and toppled using thick cords.⁶⁵⁰ The lord of Hirado then ordered that it be burnt down so that the task was completed in five days.⁶⁵¹ Santa Maria and San Joan Bautista followed on 5 November. Next was the turn of San Agustin and two days later, on the 9th, San Antonio. San Pedro and Santo Domingo followed on the 10th and San Francisco and Santiago were the last to be taken down on 15 November.⁶⁵² Diego de San Francisco, a Franciscan friar who remained in Japan in hiding, reports that as the soldiers dismantled the church of San Francisco the building collapsed on them crushing ten men and interprets this as a sign that the Franciscan church was dear to the Lord.⁶⁵³

All the churches in the inner town were destroyed except for the church of the Misericordia, which was closed and used to store the tatami and timber taken from

⁶⁴⁸ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 74)

⁶⁴⁹ (Pacheco 1977, 65-66)

⁶⁵⁰ (Kataoka 1970, 56)

⁶⁵¹ (Pacheco 1977, 59)

⁶⁵² (de Ávila Girón 1615, 252r)

⁶⁵³ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 74)

other churches.⁶⁵⁴ Some of the Christian sacred spaces in the outer town and its periphery were closed yet allowed to stand, namely Todos los Santos, San Miguel, which was one of the chapels in the cemetery on Mount Tateyama, San Lorenzo, the church of the Korean community near Kasagashira Mountain, and the church of Santa Clara in Urakami.⁶⁵⁵ The seven hospitals that were active in Nagasaki by 1614 were also spared dismantlement and the members of the Misericordia brotherhood continued taking care of the ill.⁶⁵⁶ After this first strike against the Nagasaki Christian community and its sacred spaces, four relatively quiet years followed, while the Nagasaki *bugyō* and his assistants focused on the persecution of Christians in the Arima and Ōmura domains, and the Tokugawa on the final battle against the Toyotomi.

Ieyasu had renounced the post of shogun in favour of his son Hidetada in 1606, but he continued to exercise power as retired shogun for as long as he was alive, as the main instigator of both the prohibition of Christianity and the 1615 attack on Osaka castle, the residence and symbol of the Toyotomi heir. The victory of the Tokugawa forces at Osaka sanctioned the authority of the Tokugawa shogunate and ensured its continuity. In 1616, when Ieyasu died, his son Hidetada had already been the shogun for ten years, so there were no unresolved issues regarding the succession. However, most of the daimyo were aware the he had so far been under the influence of his father. As Ronald Toby points out, Hidetada therefore needed to prove himself as a ruler and found in the persecution of the Christians and the enforcement of the anti-Christian law a way of reaffirming and displaying his authority for the Japanese lords and the foreign powers.⁶⁵⁷ In November and December 1618 he ordered twenty-one executions at Nagasaki's Nishizaka. These were the first martyrdoms in Nagasaki since those of 1597, but many would follow. For the Christians every execution confirmed Nishizaka as a sacred space. Even today it is considered the most important martyrdom site of Japan and was selected by the Catholic Church as the site for the canonization of 188 Japanese martyrs in October 2008.

⁶⁵⁴ (de Ávila Girón 1615, 252r)

⁶⁵⁵ (Schütte 1968, 746)

⁶⁵⁶ (Kataoka 1970, 54)

⁶⁵⁷ (Toby 1984, 65)

Following the 1618 executions, in June 1619 the Nagasaki *bugyō* Hasegawa Gonroku directed several searches targeting the foreign missionaries who had remained in hiding in Nagasaki and its vicinity. The diocesan cleric Tomas Araki was detained and forced to apostatise, then taken by Gonroku to the Kyoto court. As soon as the *bugyō* returned to Nagasaki at the end of October, he persuaded the leaders of the city to recant and ordered all residents who owned a house to sign written declarations that they were not hosting foreign missionaries or their assistants.⁶⁵⁸ The Spanish merchant Bernardino de Avila Giron wrote in his *Relación* that he himself was forced to do so, but continued hosting foreign missionaries at his house in the northeast of the city, even after having denied it and signed a declaration in front of the *bugyō*.⁶⁵⁹ This exemplifies the double-life that the residents of Nagasaki began to live, as the authorities began to punish with death those who refused to recant, observing Christian practices in their private life and secretly supporting the missionaries, while complying in public with the demands of the authorities. On 18 November, Gonroku ordered the execution of five Japanese and another eleven on 27 November.⁶⁶⁰

The Jesuit Provincial Matheus de Couros, in a letter written in Nagasaki dated 20 March 1620, says that ‘after having persecuted the living, Gonroku started to persecute the deceased’, since he ordered the exhumation of all the corpses from the three Christian cemeteries within town, that of the Misericordia brotherhood in the inner town, of Santa Cruz and Santa Maria, and of San Miguel outside town. Among others, these included the remains of Bishop Luis Cerqueira and the Jesuits buried in the compounds of the San Paulo *colegio*, which had been transferred to the cemetery of the Misericordia when the Jesuit compound had been demolished in 1614.⁶⁶¹

The following step was a second strike on the few Christian spaces that had survived the demolitions of 1614. Apart from the Misericordia church, seven houses within the city that served as hospitals were demolished, because these were considered as sites for the worship of the Christian God.⁶⁶² The churches of San Miguel, San Lorenzo and Todos los Santos, which stood on the outskirts of Nagasaki,

⁶⁵⁸ (Pacheco 1977, 69)

⁶⁵⁹ (Lejarza-D.Schilling 1933, 491)

⁶⁶⁰ (Kataoka 1970, 57; Pacheco 1977, 69)

⁶⁶¹ (Pacheco 1977, 69)

⁶⁶² Jesuit annual report for 1620 (Kataoka 2006, 55)

as well as Santa Clara in Urakami and a church in Inasa Mountain at the other side of the port bay, were also taken down. In addition, Matheos de Couros reports that another three hospitals for lepers outside town were destroyed at this time and says that 400 poor who were left without shelter were taken care of by the members of the Misericordia, who hosted the ill and the poor in their own homes, and by the hidden missionaries, who assisted them on their deathbed.⁶⁶³

The Nagasaki *bugyō* only stayed in Nagasaki during the trading season, in summer and autumn, and spent the rest of the year at the Tokugawa court in Edo or Kyoto.⁶⁶⁴ No Christian spaces were left in Nagasaki by the time the *bugyō* left the city at the end of 1619, but de Couros notes that the Nagasaki residents feared another strike of persecution when he returned.⁶⁶⁵ Indeed, as Pacheco pointed out, the visits of the Nagasaki *bugyō* to the central court seem to have been crucial for the actions he took locally, which suggests that the persecution of Christianity was not a local phenomenon but responded to a centralised policy imposed by the Tokugawa government.⁶⁶⁶

Appropriation of Christian spaces (1620-1640)

Once all the buildings associated with Christian activities had completely dismantled, the *bugyō* began to appropriate the space left behind, producing new civil and religious establishments with which to override their previous significance, thus responding to the shogunate's orders to harden the persecution policy and to deploy Buddhist proselytism as a means to encourage Christians to recant their faith. Already by 1620, the former Jesuit compound on Morisaki cape, where the cathedral had stood, had become the *bugyō* central office; a Pure Land Buddhist temple, Daion-ji, was built in the Misericordia compound; and a Nichiren temple, Honren-ji, was established on the site of San Juan Bautista church, next to the execution site in Nishizaka, which was considered a martyrdom site by the Christians. The location and establishment of these new administrative buildings and sacred spaces responded

⁶⁶³ (Kataoka 1970, 54; Pacheco 1977, 69-70)

⁶⁶⁴ (Cullen 2003, 37)

⁶⁶⁵ (Pacheco 1977, 69-70)

⁶⁶⁶ (Pacheco 1977, 69-70)

to a specific agenda of either secular or religious appropriation of the Christian spaces in Nagasaki.

The biggest Christian compound on Morisaki cape was turned into the central office of the Nagasaki *bugyō*. The location was convenient for the handling of trade operations, not only because it was next to the pier, but also because it had long been the centre for foreign trade since the opening of the port in 1571, when the Jesuits had acted as mediators and contracts were negotiated in their main residence. Probably Gonroku saw advantages in its geographical characteristics, which had prompted the Jesuits to make Morisaki the centre of the town. Its elevated position allowed a panorama over most of the city and made it the first thing to be seen when approaching Nagasaki from the sea. Most importantly, for almost half a century the town had developed around this economic, religious, and to some extent political centre, which had thereby become its symbolic centre. By annexing this, the *bugyō* was making a clear statement regarding his status and the nature of the city itself. He was now to be regarded as the highest authority, while Nagasaki itself was no longer a Christian town, nor even one organized around a religious institution in the manner of a temple town (*jinai*), but a shogunal port city specialising in foreign trade. Thus the centre of the town would be occupied by an administrative and economic entity directly associated with the Tokugawa shogunate.

The *bugyō* office had existed since 1592. Although it aggregated various functions, including the day-to-day affairs of the city, the control of the Kyushu daimyo, the administration of official red-seal trade, and the supervision of foreigners, initially its main role was to supervise the trade with the Portuguese, so the *bugyō*'s presence in the city was only required during the trade season, coinciding with the months when the Portuguese *nao* was in port.⁶⁶⁷ Although Gonroku continued to alternate his residence between Edo and Nagasaki, he had now established his office in the most visible and symbolic place in the city, reminding the population of the newly imposed *status quo*. This was the first step in the reconstruction and re-invention of Nagasaki. Once considered a *Nanban* city and the Christian city *par excellence* of early modern Japan, it was now de-Christianised and

⁶⁶⁷ (Elisonas 2008, 80)

turned into a commercial port, the only town in Japan where permanent foreign settlements would be allowed, but now in restricted, peripheral areas.

A second *bugyō* compound was built at the foot of Mount Tateyama, on the site of the church of Santa Maria. Santa Maria had initially been a small chapel, but it attracted many devotees, both Japanese and European, and in 1607 it became the first diocesan church, served by a Japanese priest, who lived in an adjacent residence. Next to it there was a Christian cemetery, which according to the bishop was the largest in the city. Both the church and the cemetery escaped destruction in 1614, but in 1619 the chapel devoted to San Miguel was demolished and the residents were forced to move their ancestor remains northwards, to another cemetery, not far from Tateyama, which became the only cemetery in Nagasaki, probably because it was located to the northeast of the city and outside the city walls. It is unknown when exactly the new buildings for the *bugyō* office were built on the site. In 1633, not one but two Nagasaki *bugyō* were appointed, Soka Yūzaemon and Imamura Denshirō, one of whom resided in the Morisaki office and the other in the Tateyama one, so being referred to as the Tateyama *bugyō*.⁶⁶⁸ Since 2006 this site has been occupied by the Nagasaki Prefectural Historical Museum, which includes a replica of the *bugyō* compound.⁶⁶⁹

The church of Santo Domingo had been built in the outer town on the land of and with funds from the *daikan* Murayama Tōan. His son Francisco, who had been the diocesan priest in charge of San Antonio, was found in 1615 inside Osaka castle encouraging Hideyori's forces and so was executed for being Christian and a traitor. In 1618 Tōan himself was also executed, as he fell into disgrace with the Tokugawa because of a conflict with Suetsugu Heizō, a powerful merchant of Nagasaki. Heizō was subsequently appointed as the Nagasaki *daikan*, and thus inherited the Murayama family's property, which included the premises where the church of Santo Domingo and the Dominican monastery had once stood.⁶⁷⁰ There he constructed a new residential villa, which has been recently excavated.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁸ (Pacheco 1977, 63)

⁶⁶⁹ (Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture 2011)

⁶⁷⁰ The *daikan* remained in charge of collecting the taxes of the outer town households and was also given control over the red seal trade ships, in which the Suetsugu family prospered. (Harada 2006, 18)

⁶⁷¹ (Nagasaki-shikyōikuinkai 2003)

The appropriation of these three places by the magistrates was due partly to the specific historical and geographical circumstances of the places themselves, but also clearly responded to the agenda of de-Christianising the city in general and former churches in particular. The most important of these was with no doubt the complex on Morisaki cape, hence it was the first to be appropriated. The physical destruction of the church itself was but the first step. Occupying spaces that were symbolic and sacred for the Christian residents, constructing new structures on the sites, and using them for administrative duties, some of which were related to anti-Christian searches and interrogations, were actions through which the Tokugawa officials ensured the de-sacralisation and de-Christianisation of churches. Another way in which the *bugyō* put forward the de-Christianising policy was to convert them into temples.

The establishment of new religious institutions on sites formerly sacred to a different religion or belief system is a very common phenomenon, not only in Japan but else. In Japan, many temples were constructed on the site of former shrines or in spaces considered sacred to the *kami*. Similarly, in Europe, early Christian churches were founded in the grounds of former pagan temples. Christian spaces constructed in former temples can be found in Japan as well. As seen in chapter 2, Vilela established the very first Christian church in the Nagasaki area in 1569, on the site of an abandoned Buddhist temple.⁶⁷² Thus, it was not surprising that the *bugyō* donated some of the former church compounds to Buddhist monks for the building of temples. Not only did this contribute to the de-Christianization of the sites, but at the same time the sacred nature of the site sanctioned the religious authority of the new institutions.

In 1619 there was a shift in the anti-Christian policy of the Tokugawa, as mentioned above. The death of Ieyasu and the assumption of office by Hasegawa Sahyōe led to a new surge of anti-Christian actions under the leadership of Gonroku, prompted by Tokugawa Hidetada. In 1620 two Buddhist temples were established in the grounds of two former Christian churches, Santa Isabel and San Juan Bautista. The *bugyō* donated the grounds of the Misericordia complex in the inner town to a

⁶⁷² (Pacheco 1970, 305)

Pure Land priest and gave him funds to build Daion-ji temple.⁶⁷³ In the same year a Nichiren temple, Honren-ji, was built in the grounds of the hospital of San Lazaro and its church of San Juan Bautista at Nishizaka, near the site where Christians were executed. Subsequently, in 1630 a Rinzai temple, Shuntoku-ji, was built on the site where the church of Todos os Santos had stood.⁶⁷⁴ This site had formerly been occupied by a Buddhist temple, so Buddhism thus gained back the very first space that had been Christianised by Vilela in 1569.⁶⁷⁵

The Buddhist appropriation of churches was possible because the *bugyō* had confiscated all the plots of lands belonging to the missionaries or to lay Christian organizations, and was prompted by orders from the Tokugawa in Edo to the Nagasaki *bugyō* to use the proselytism of Buddhism as a tool to achieve the apostasy of the Christian population.⁶⁷⁶ Thus while the general trend in the rest of Japan was the restriction and tight control of religious institutions, as part of its de-Christianising policy the central administration fostered the establishment of new temples in Nagasaki city and its vicinity.

8.3 Production of sacred space for the Buddhas and the kami

After the prohibition of Christianity, as Kudamatsu has pointed out, the Tokugawa government devised a series of anti-Christian strategies to transform Nagasaki into a typical Japanese town in which the *kami* and the Buddhas were worshipped. These involved the construction of temples and an annual check on religious affiliation, as well as the construction of shrines and the creation of festivals (*matsuri*), but the transition was not smooth since much of the population had been engaged with Christianity for more than thirty years.⁶⁷⁷ This section examines the negotiations between Nagasaki residents, the Buddhist and Shinto priests who came to the city, the local authorities and the central government that made possible the construction of Daion-ji in 1620 and the Suwa shrine in 1624.

⁶⁷³ *Nagasaki meikatsu zue* (Kataoka 2006, 55)

⁶⁷⁴ (Nagakashiyakusho 1967c, 615)

⁶⁷⁵ (Pacheco 1977, 51-52)

⁶⁷⁶ (Nagakashiyakusho 1967a, 83)

⁶⁷⁷ (Kudamatsu 2004, 92)

Production of Buddhist spaces: the Daion-ji (1620)

The Daion-ji was the first red seal temple (*shuindera*) in Nagasaki, which means that it was exempted of yearly tax and services by the shogun. It was relocated twice within Nagasaki city and its vicinity. Initially, a resident built a monk's hut (*ichian*) on his own property in Furu-machi. Very soon, the *bugyō* provided resources and donated a plot of land for a temple in MotoHakata-machi in Nagasaki's inner town. Finally, in 1638 the temple was relocated to its present-day location in Kajiya-machi in the outer town, where the ward officer (*sōmachi-yori*) oversaw the construction of a large temple (*daigaran*).⁶⁷⁸

The founder of Daion-ji was a Pure Land monk named Den'yo. He was from Chikugo province, where he had entered Shokaku-san Raiko-ji as a child, later moving to Kanto. In 1614, when he was 27 years old, he entered Zotoku-ji temple in Nobo village, Hizen province, where he took a vow to restore Buddhism in Nagasaki. He started to preach in the city, but no one gave him shelter initially.⁶⁷⁹ He then heard that there was a man named Iseya Dennojō in Furu-machi, who worshipped a statue of Amida Buddha. Den'yo visited him and worshipped the statue himself, whereupon Dennojō gave him lodging and gathered sixteen people to hear Den'yo preach. They repeated this on the following two nights, and by the third night already more than forty people were attending Den'yo's sermon.

Den'yo and Dennojō visited the abbot of Zōtoku-ji to raise various issues concerning the organisation of preaching in Nagasaki, after which Dennojō sought the support of Gonroku. In August 1614 the *bugyō* received Dennosuke and Den'yo and allowed the later to settle in Nagasaki to preach Buddhism. The shogunate had ordered Gonroku to make Nagasaki residents abandon Christianity through the proselytizing of Buddhism and so Gonroku told Den'yo that this was his main task.⁶⁸⁰ The *bugyō* gave Dennosuke permission to build a small monk's hut (*shoan*) on his own property in Furu-machi in which to enshrine the Amida statue, which he named Chudō-in, appointed Den'yo as its master (*anshu*) and made him responsible

⁶⁷⁸ (Nagasaki-shiyakusho 1967a, 21)

⁶⁷⁹ *Maruyama yogomachi yushosho* (Nagasaki-shiyakusho 1967a, 79)

⁶⁸⁰ *Daionjikiritsudome* (Nagasaki-shiyakusho 1967a, 83)

for preaching to the Christians.⁶⁸¹ He then invited Jōyo, who had been Den'yo's master at the Zeitoku-ji, to move to Nagasaki and help Den'yo with the de-Christianising challenge. Den'yo sought further help from a senior monk from Banshu-in temple in Edo, who came to Nagasaki to guide him, but due to his advanced age soon returned to Edo.⁶⁸²

According to Japanese sources, already in 1616, when the *bugyō* reported to the shogun about Den'yo's activity, Hidetada was very satisfied and issued a permit for Den'yo to build a pagoda hall on the site of the Misericordia in Motohakata-machi. The following year Den'yo went to Edo and was received by the shogun. Then he went to Chion-in in Kyoto, the head temple of the Pure Land School, where he was granted the name Shokaku-san Daion-ji for his new temple in Nagasaki inner town, which would thereby be a branch temple of Chion-in.⁶⁸³ Although later Japanese sources give 1617 as the date of Daion-ji's foundation, these seem less reliable than various contemporary western records, which note that the Misericordia compound was not dismantled until 1619, that the following year a Buddhist temple was built in its grounds, and that the European-style bell of the church of Santa Isabel was appropriated by the Buddhists and used in the new temple.⁶⁸⁴

Den'yo's efforts in Nagasaki were highly appreciated by the authorities, and in 1632 the Nagasaki *bugyō* and the Matsuura lord asked him to preach in the villages of Mogi and Himi, which had belonged to the Jesuits. Den'yo obeyed and helped in the founding various temples there, but three years later, Daion-ji required his attention and efforts.⁶⁸⁵ In 1635 the hillside on the eastern side of Daion-ji collapsed, together with the upper layer of the old Christian cemetery, exposing some human remains. Den'yo requested the *bugyō* prevent the residents of the neighbouring streets from digging out the earth in the hillside, but the problem was not solved, since in 1637 Den'yo had to repeat his request. The magistrates considered that the reason why the hillside had collapsed was because it was lacking a stone fence and ordered Den'yo to construct one, but he considered unfair and did

⁶⁸¹ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967a, 80)

⁶⁸² *Daionjikiritsudome* (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967a, 83)

⁶⁸³ *Daionjikiritsudome* (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967a, 83)

⁶⁸⁴ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967a, 81-82; Pacheco 1977, 61) *Nagasaki biroku taisei* (Kataoka 2006, 55)

⁶⁸⁵ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967a, 87)

not obey. Instead he issued a claim to the Edo magistrate (*rōjū*), but the Nagasaki local administrators (*machidoshiyori*) prevented the claim from proceeding.⁶⁸⁶

Den'yo thereupon found an alternative way to improve his situation. In 1638, when the Edo magistrate (*rōjū*) was in Shimabara to put down a rebellion by Christian peasants, Den'yo took the opportunity to visit him. He asked for an appropriate site to which to relocate Daion-ji, arguing that the compound was too cramped, and under great danger of fire because of its situation in the middle of a residential ward. The *rōjū*, taking into account Den'yo's service in preaching Buddhism for many years in the anti-Christian cause, responded to his petition and went to Nagasaki. Together with the *bugyō* he surveyed the possibilities and granted Den'yo a large plot of land in the southwest of the city, at the foot of Mount Kasagashira, near Kajiya-machi (figure 4.1). The head of the ward (*sōmachi-yori*) assumed responsibility for constructing a large temple (*daigaran*), and the *bugyō* gave Den'yo 100 silver bars to cover the costs of the relocation and ordered all the *machi* of Nagasaki to help out in the construction of the new temple building. On the occasion of the relocation, Den'yo asked and received permission to hide the bell that was used in the Misericordia in the dry moat next to the temple.⁶⁸⁷

The sources do not suggest why Den'yo's neighbours dug out the hillside. Taking into account that the temple was built on the site of the cemetery for Misericordia members, it may be that former members were trying to recover the remains of their relatives, which had not been properly transferred to the cemetery outside town, or perhaps it was a way for Christians to boycott the temple and Den'yo's anti-Christian activities. Despite their efforts, however, Den'yo was able both to relocate and to hide the former Misericordia bell, thus disassociating himself and Daion-ji from the Christian spaces and symbols that he was aiming to eliminate.

⁶⁸⁶ (Nagasaki-shiyakusho 1967a, 86-87)

⁶⁸⁷ (Nagasaki-shiyakusho 1967a, 88)

Table 8.1 Main temples founded in Nagasaki between 1598 and 1644⁶⁸⁸

Year	Temple Name	Denomination
1598	Goshin-ji (Inasa)	Pure Land
1603	Shōkaku-ji	True Pure Land
1609	Kōdai-ji	Sōtō Zen
1615	Daion-ji	Pure Land
	Daikō-ji	True Pure Land
	Kōei-ji	True Pure Land
	Shinsū -ji	True Pure Land
1617	Enmei-ji	Shingon
1620	Kōfuku-ji	Ōbaku Zen
	Honren-ji	Nichiren
1621	Hōsen-ji	Pure Land
1623	Sanbō-ji	Pure Land
	Kiyomizu-dera	Shingon
1624	Jōan-ji	Pure Land
1626	Seitoku-ji	Pure Land
	Kanzen-ji	True Pure Land
1628	Fukuzai-ji	Ōbaku Zen
1629	Sōfukuku-ji	Ōbaku Zen
1630	Shuntoku-ji	Rinzai Zen
1631	Chōshō-ji	Nichiren
	Chifuku-in	Pure Land
	Kōgan-ji	True Pure Land
1640	Eishō-in	Pure Land
1644	Seimudō-ji	Shingon
1644	Zenrin-ji	Rinzai Zen

Apart from Daion-ji, the Tokugawa shogunate and its local magistrates encouraged the establishment of several Buddhist temples in Nagasaki. The *bugyō* and subsequently the Ōmura daimyo provided most of the resources for this initiative, either silver and manpower for the construction works or stipends for the maintenance of the Buddhist priests. Between 1615 and 1624, ten temples of seven different Buddhist affiliations were constructed and in the following 20 years twenty-one new temples were built (Table 8.1). Including the three temples built before the prohibition of Christianity, by 1643 there were therefore 34 temples in Nagasaki, a rather high number, given that there were approximately 3,000 households in Nagasaki at the time.⁶⁸⁹

The Buddhist temples in Nagasaki were crucial for the long-term anti-Christian measures, like the annual renewal of religious affiliation, which required all

⁶⁸⁸ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967a, 40-46)

⁶⁸⁹ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967a, 21)

households to go to the temple and prove they were not Christians by performing a specific ritual practice, which varied according to the Buddhist school.⁶⁹⁰ The temple then issued a document with its stamp that the population had to present to the *bugyō* in the New Year. This led to the development of a Buddhist parish system (*terauke seido*) in Nagasaki, which overrode the Christian parish system, and from 1635 was implemented throughout Japan, as we will see below.⁶⁹¹ But first we need to supplement the Buddhist narrative by looking at the production of the first Shinto shrine in Nagasaki and the reaction of the Christian residents.

Production of Shinto spaces: the Suwa shrine (1624)

Just as the shogunate invested substantial resources in building temples and preaching Buddhism in Nagasaki as a way to counter Christianity, so it also encouraged the construction of shrines and the worship of the *kami*. The bakufu issued the first permission to rebuild a shrine in 1624 for the re-establishment of the Suwa shrine and from 1626 to 1629 the Nagasaki *bugyō* Mizuno Kawachi no kami encouraged the construction of four more shrines: Matsumori shrine in Hakata-machi, Yasaka shrine in Yasaka-machi (today's Ryo-machi), Tenmangu shrine in today's Izumo-machi, and Kōmachi shrine. In 1631 an Ise shrine was built in Korei-machi, which was renamed Ise-machi on the occasion, and by 1644 there were fifteen shrines in Nagasaki of which seven belonged to the Ryōbu Shinto school.⁶⁹² Nagasaki was thus transformed into a typical *shinbutsu shugo* town, that is, an urban space in which Buddhist and Shinto spaces coexisted.

The Suwa shrine was re-established in 1624 on Mount Maruyama in Nishiyama-sato, by merging three former shrines. Very little is known about the origin of these shrines, originally dedicated to local guardian deities (*ubusunagami*), because as noted earlier when the area was Christianised, the three shrine buildings (*shaden*) were pulled down. Although Moriyo, the head priest of the Morisaki shrine, had hidden the symbol (*shintai*) of Morisaki Gongen in the village of Magome-mura, the Christians found it and burned it in Nishizaka. In March 1622, however, one Aoki Kensei came to Nagasaki intent on producing a sacred space for the *kami* in

⁶⁹⁰ (Kyushushiryōkankōkai 1965, 1-30)

⁶⁹¹ (Murai 2002, 47)

⁶⁹² (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967b, 6)

Nagasaki. Aoki was from Karatsu in Hizen province, was related to the local Isahaya and Matsuura families, and had originally come to Nagasaki as a Shugendo monk of Konju-in temple. According to the *Suwa jinja engi* his family had served the Matsuura family and was in charge of ritual at the Kagami-jinja shrine. After the downfall of the Isahaya, he moved to Saga, and it must be by that time that he started practicing ascetic practices as a *shugenja*.⁶⁹³ When Aoki returned to Nagasaki, he did not find favour among the Buddhists, but after many hardships he found support from a villager of Nishiyama-sato, who was interested in reviving Shinto. He formed a small association with two more men who gathered to hear Kensei's teachings on the origins of the three old shrines of Nagasaki and their deities, Suwa Daimyōjin, Morisaki Gongen, and Sumiyoshi Myōjin army. They found out that the head priest of the old Suwa shrine was called Kobun Kurosaemon and resided in a remote area of Ōmura province that had not been Christianised. In 1623 they visited him to ask him to revive the Suwa shrine in Nagasaki. Kurosaemon's family had collapsed, however, and he was not in a position to take on the revival of the Suwa shrine, so he renounced his authority in favour of Kensei, who assumed the task instead. The following year Kensei visited Gonroku and told him about his desire to re-establish the shrine. So far Gonroku had concentrated on building Buddhist temples, but he accepted Kensei's request and when he returned to the capital got permission from Hidetada. Gonroku donated land in Nishiyamasato for the shrine. The acreage is unknown, but the location was in front of the Matsu no Mori shrine. Although Christianity was forbidden, the opposition of the underground Christians was obvious because some residents tried to sabotage the shrine construction works and to expel Aoki from Nagasaki.⁶⁹⁴

To cut a long story short, by 1640 there were fifteen shrines in Nagasaki and its immediate surroundings, classified according to rank into four groups. The Three Main Shrines of Nagasaki, recognised by the *bakufu* as untaxed sacred land (*shuinchi*), were the Suwa, Matsumori and Ise shrines. Together with the Hachiman and Mizu shrines they made up what were known as the 'Five Shrines' of Nagasaki, and with the Kanisakisempaku and Ebisu shrines, the 'Seven Shrines'. Except for the Suwa shrine, the other six shrines formed a league to assist one another in shrine

⁶⁹³ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967b, 25)

⁶⁹⁴ (Nelson 1996, 18)

ceremonies and to make joint petitions to the *bugyō* and to deal with the local authority (*furegashira*), in the person of the head priest of Matsumori shrine. Unfortunately the exact date when this league was formed is unknown.⁶⁹⁵

There were six more shrines within Nagasaki city, namely the Myoken, Sakagami Tenmangu, Yahata, Baien, Wakanomiya Inari and Juzenji Inari shrines. All of these except the Tenmangu shrine were located in the former Nagasaki village and were considered subordinate to the seven shrines in Nagasaki city. Finally, there were the Ebisu and Kanzaki shrines, which fell under the administration of Urakami-fuchi-mura but due to their location at the entrance of the Nagasaki port received considerable government support and had magnificent buildings and decorations.⁶⁹⁶ In 1635 the Tokugawa administration created the post of *jisha bugyō*, who was responsible for the legislation and administration of all matters related to shrines and temples. The Ise, Kamo and Kasuga shrines petitioned for licences and the upgrading of the rank of their shrines, but the rest of shrines were required to affiliate to either the Yoshida or the Shirakawa lineages, which canalized their petitions to the *jisha bugyō*. In Nagasaki, Aoki Kensei affiliated with the Yoshida lineage, and all the other shrines followed suit, except for the Ise shrine, which dealt directly with the Ise Outer shrine.⁶⁹⁷

Tokugawa support for shrines was less than that for temples.⁶⁹⁸ This was probably because there were twice as many temples as shrines and because shrines specialised in ritual functions, while Buddhist temples also aggregated the administrative function of controlling the population, which required additional resources. Nevertheless, the production of shrines reactivated the worship of the *kami* in Nagasaki and annual pilgrimages to Ise, as Kudamatsu has convincingly argued.⁶⁹⁹ The Suwa shrine inaugurated the *Kunji* festival, which became the most important and largest popular festival *matsuri* in Nagasaki, involving the entire city and thus overriding some of the social functions that Christian ritual had played. The following section explores how rituals in these newly created sacred spaces, together

⁶⁹⁵ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967b, 7)

⁶⁹⁶ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967b, 7)

⁶⁹⁷ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967b, 8)

⁶⁹⁸ (Nagasakihiyakusho 1967b, 9)

⁶⁹⁹ (Kudamatsu 2004, 101)

with the ritualization of the persecution of Christians, culminated in the transformation of Nagasaki and its Christian community.

8.4 Ritual and the transformation of Nagasaki

The actions over sacred spaces examined in the previous sections were part of a complex anti-Christian policy that the Tokugawa administration developed and gradually systematised. The strategy of elimination followed by appropriation and substitution that was applied to sacred space was also implemented towards people and ritual. The actions taken to eliminate Christian leaders became highly ritualized, in the sense that they involved physical actions that followed certain patterns, conferring a significance beyond their immediate effects and a new meaning on the spaces in which they took place. Christian ritual was also overridden with newly created or reinvented rituals that transformed the *bugyō* office, the Buddhist temples and the Shinto shrines into symbolic centres for the residents, and connected Nagasaki with religious networks at the national level, such as the pilgrimage to Ise.

This section argues that the imposition of new rituals on Nagasaki by the Tokugawa *bakufu* was crucial in order to de-Christianize the city, as a means of overriding the old Christian routines. The central authorities forced the population to participate in Shinto and Buddhist rituals in the new sacred spaces (Buddhist funerals and the *kunchi* festival of the Suwa shrine) to guarantee that the residents did not return to Christianity after recanting. They also imposed highly ritualised civil practices, the affirmation of religious affiliation (*shumon aratame*) and trampling on Christian images (*efumi*), which also kept the population under control. By the mid-seventeenth century the Christian community of Nagasaki had been dismembered, as most people had recanted their Christian faith, while those who refused to recant were either executed, died in prison or moved elsewhere. Only a few maintained Christian practices and beliefs as hidden Christians, but this was only possible outside Nagasaki. The central government put much effort into forging a new identity for Nagasaki, detached from its Christian past, as the only port open to foreign trade and the headquarters of the anti-Christian forces in Kyushu. The town thus became the most difficult place to survive as a hidden Christian. Moreover, some of the actions devised to de-Christianize Nagasaki were later implemented

elsewhere in Japan, so that what had been a Christian city was transformed not only into a typical Japanese town with Shinto and Buddhist institutions, but also into the model of an anti-Christian space.

In order to make clear the importance of space and ritual in the de-Christianization of Nagasaki city and its reinvention as a port town dominated by Shinto and Buddhism, this section explores the way in which the second Tokugawa shogun, Hidetada, sought to eliminate Christianity, as well as the appropriation and substitution of religious rituals carried out under the directions of Iemitsu, the third shogun. It also examines the way in which foreign missionaries and Japanese Christians used space and ritual to engage with or resist these policies.

Elimination: ritualizing the exposure and executions of Christians (1615-1622)

Several measures were taken in Nagasaki to implement the prohibition of Christianity, but since the residents sheltered the hidden priests and secretly maintained Christian ritual practises in their homes, the central authorities developed new and harsher methods, following a straightforward policy of elimination of Christians that had a dramatic impact on Nagasaki Christian community. These transformed the interpersonal dynamics and communal identity of the town, breaking the Christian networks by forcing apostasy, rewarding informers and imposing joint responsibility among neighbours, thus creating new surveillance networks. The persecution and execution of the Christians was gradually systematised and ritualised. The missionaries in turn praised and encouraged martyrdom, and many Christians refused to apostatise and faced death solemnly, sometimes in a rather ritualized way.⁷⁰⁰ The executions were no doubt a terrible blow for the Christian community, but also provided an opportunity for those who were executed to provide the ultimate proof of their faith in Christ, and for the rest of the community to claim local martyrs, which in a way integrated Japan into the Catholic Church. Several executions were carried out in Nagasaki, culminating with the execution of fifty-five Christians in Nishizaka in 1622.

In an attempt to keep the foreign missionaries under control, the *bakufu* registered the names of all missionaries who were sent to Nagasaki from elsewhere

⁷⁰⁰ (Anesaki 1931, 20-65)

in Japan for expulsion in 1614, but about 47 missionaries managed to stay in Japan, either hiding before registration took place or secretly abandoning the ships and returning to Nagasaki in fishermen's boats. Avila Girón, who was in Nagasaki at the time of the expulsion, suggested that the authorities had been lenient in spite of all the measures taken. In his own words,

The boats all left and the fathers remained here thanks to our Lord. If not all of them remained, many did, which we did not expect or hoped for. Anyone who saw the noise and uproar, the warnings and preparations of this enemy of Christ [the *bugyō*] would not believe it. Yet I do not understand all those preparations, because he undoubtedly consented in the staying of the religious, otherwise he would have had them registered much earlier, and he would have ordered to check the ships, or would have put them under the control of the *tonos* [lords] of Ōmura and Hirado, and made them be counted when they boarded, and escorted the ships all the way until they passed Gotō and Satsuma, for which one single *fune* [ship] would be enough, but there was none of this. [...] I say that God blinded him or he did this on purpose. Be this as it may, we still have many religious that say mass for us.⁷⁰¹ [my translation]

Most of the underground missionaries and Japanese clerics remained hidden in the Nagasaki area, either in the town or in the surrounding hills, but some of them moved to other regions to stay near the Christian communities they had served. The Jesuit Pedro Pablo Navarro wrote:

I am happy to stay in Japan, because I thought it would not be possible, since the pressure in Nagasaki is great. I could hardly leave at night, in hiding, and yet we double-checked along the way. Now I am hiding in the houses of the Christians.⁷⁰² [my translation]

After the dismantlement of the churches, the *bugyō* focused on other areas of Kyushu and the pressure over Nagasaki diminished. The underground missionaries secretly preached to the Nagasaki Christians, encouraging them to maintain their Christian faith and way of life by administering confession and mass. Mass took place at night

⁷⁰¹ (de Ávila Girón 1615, ff.250v-251)

⁷⁰² (Pacheco 1963, 93)

or before daybreak, using portable altars and inside private homes, so it is clear that the lack of sacred spaces and the limited number of priests transformed the way in which ritual was celebrated.⁷⁰³ The Nagasaki residents provided the hidden priests with shelter and food, and helped them to move between different houses and communicate with their acolytes and other hidden missionaries in the city.⁷⁰⁴ This underground ritual activity was possible because the residents had established networks, had created personal links with their parish priests and had integrated Christian ritual into their daily lives.

However, as noted above, after Ieyasu's death in 1616, the shogunate actively promoted apostasy among the Christians and searches for foreign missionaries throughout Japan, targeting the Nagasaki area in particular. Hidetada's strategy focused on the exposure and elimination of foreign priests (*bateren*) and Japanese lay leaders (*kirishitan no totō*).⁷⁰⁵ Gonroku, who was the Nagasaki *bugyō* from 1615 until 1625, supervised the implementation of this policy in the field. The apostasy of influential residents proved crucial for the weakening of the resisting Christian community in Nagasaki. Wealthy merchants and holders of administrative offices, like the four *toshiyori* of the inner town, were the first to be asked to recant. While Gotō Sōin Tomé and Machida Sōka Joan refused to do so, Takagi Sakuemon apostatised in 1616 and engaged actively with the *bugyō* in the exposure of Christians.⁷⁰⁶ Those who refused to recant were imprisoned, interrogated and, if they still resisted, executed or left to die in prison.

The initial searches for foreign priests were not very successful since they were able to hide thanks to the support network of residents in Nagasaki and the surrounding villages. The *bugyō* realised that the missionaries, lacking any economic resources of their own, were able to subsist because the commoners were sheltering them and providing for their maintenance, so he extended the searches and punishments to those who lodged the foreign priests. Missionary sources say that in May 1617 Gonroku required the head of every household in Nagasaki to sign a document stating that they were aware that lodging foreign priests was punishable

⁷⁰³ (Pacheco 1963, 93)

⁷⁰⁴ (Pacheco 1963, 93)

⁷⁰⁵ (Ōhashi 1998, 48-49)

⁷⁰⁶ (Nagasaki Bunkensha 2006b, 52)

with death penalty and committing not to do this, and that he quickly arrested anyone who did, together with their neighbours.⁷⁰⁷ Gaspar Hikojiro Ueda and Andrés Yoshida were the first Nagasaki residents to die because they had provided lodging for foreign priests. They had been among the Japanese fishermen who helped four Mendicant priests and five clerics escape the ship and return to Nagasaki in 1614. In 1617 they offered shelter to the Dominican priest Alonso Navarrete and the Augustinian priest Hernando Ayala, the leaders of their respective orders. When they heard that a Jesuit and a Franciscan priest had been executed in Ōmura on 22 May, they decided to go there to support the Christians, accompanied by their lodgers. The priests were arrested, imprisoned and executed in Ōmura on 1 June, but the Japanese men survived. Andrés had returned to Nagasaki before reaching Ōmura, while Gaspar was arrested together with the priests, but the Ōmura authorities sent him back to Nagasaki.

On 21 August, however, the two of them were arrested and kept in the house of the *otona* of their *machi* for the night. The Dominican priest Juan de la Rueda, who was hiding in Gaspar's house at the time, visited them secretly at the *otona*'s house and heard their confessions so that they were able to prepare for death. The following day they were put into prison and on 1 October they were executed outside the town, on Takanoshima Island, off the Nagasaki coast. The magistrate's men beheaded them and threw their corpses into the sea in order to prevent the Christians taking their remains to be worshipped as relics.⁷⁰⁸ It seems that the authorities were aware of the symbolic importance of martyrs and martyrdom sites for the Christians and intentionally tried out new spaces and execution methods that prevented the Nagasaki residents from accessing the execution site and the remains of the executed Christians. Their deaths were intended to weaken the support network for the priests by directly eliminating two resourceful members and indirectly dissuading the rest of the population from sheltering priests and from concealing neighbours who did so, as well as encouraging them to report on anyone who did in order to avoid joint responsibility.

⁷⁰⁷ (Delgado 1993, 111)

⁷⁰⁸ (Delgado 1993, 23-30)

The next logical step came in 1618 when the *bugyō* offered rewards to those who revealed the location of hidden missionaries, hoping to speed up their exposure and break the bonds of loyalty that held together the Christian networks. There was already a law in Nagasaki by which anyone who exposed a robber was rewarded with 30 coins of silver, which was now also promised to those who reported a hidden priest. The money was displayed together with the notice during the day and the ward head (*otona*) was in charge of keeping them during the night and displaying them again in the morning. Missionary sources report the case of Pablo Kuroji, a Nagasaki resident who was the *otona* of his ward and the leader (*mordomo*) of the Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus, who refused to carry out this responsibility when he learnt that the silver coins were offered as a reward for those exposing Christians. When the *bugyō* asked him for his reasons, he confessed as a Christian and was imprisoned.⁷⁰⁹ Although this is an example of the reward system having an unintended effect, in general, the rewards jeopardized the complicity between residents and the pressure on the hidden priests and their lodgers increased, as suggested in a letter written by the Christians of Nagasaki to the Pope in 1622:

Since the *bugyō* had promised a lot of money to those who reveal the residence of a priest, lots of people taken by their greed searched for them night and day, contriving traps with this purpose, and if they heard a rumour that a padre was hidden in a particular house, they examined it thoroughly.⁷¹⁰ [my translation]

At the end of 1618, Heizō Suetsugu, a rich and powerful merchant, apostatised and accused the *daikan* Murayama Tōan of concealing the smuggling of Christian priests into the city. More specifically, he accused the *daikan* of allowing the return of his son, the diocesan priest Francisco Murayama, who had left on a ship bound for Manila in 1614. Together with a few Spanish missionaries, Francisco had secretly abandoned ship and returned to Nagasaki in a small boat of Christian fishermen. Tōan claimed that he had nothing to do with the plans to rescue his son, but the *bugyō* presented the case to the shogunal court. Tōan lost the case, was terminated as *daikan* and sent in exile to a small island offshore Tokyo. In his place the shogunate

⁷⁰⁹ (Delgado 1993, 67-68)

⁷¹⁰ (Shiryohensanjo 2003, 113-132)

appointed Suetsugu, who had recanted the Christian faith and was eager to prove his allegiance to the regime. He was given the plot of land where the church of Santo Domingo had stood, which had been Murayama's property, for his residence. The authorities thus appropriated a Christian space and integrated it into the anti-Christian network, since once in office the new *daikan* participated actively in anti-Christian searches, collaborating closely with Gonroku and the *toshiyori* Takagi.⁷¹¹ Within two years, the whole Murayama family was eliminated, through using the law punishing the lodging of Christians.⁷¹²

In June 1619, Gonroku came back from Edo and directed several searches targeting the foreign missionaries who remained in hiding. The Japanese diocesan priest Tome Araki was caught and made to apostatise and at the end of August Gonroku took him to Kyoto.⁷¹³ As soon as Gonroku returned to Nagasaki at the end of October, he ordered all Nagasaki homeowners to declare that they were not hosting foreign missionaries or their assistants, making them sign a written declaration. Avila Girón, who still lived in Nagasaki at the time, signed the declaration in front of the *bugyō* but continued lodging foreign missionaries at his house.⁷¹⁴ It might well be that other residents did the same and complied with the *bugyō* demands while secretly sheltering priests. However, the fact that Avila Girón's *Relación* comes to a sudden end and that there is no evidence of his fate after 1619 suggests that the pressure was so high that he was either caught or fled elsewhere.⁷¹⁵

The *bugyō* had already requested in 1617 that household heads acknowledge their awareness of the anti-Christian laws, while the general responsibility for implementing the anti-Christian policy is clear from the fact that the seven neighbours of Andres and Gaspar had been imprisoned for two years. So far, however, only the lodgers themselves had been executed. The demand from 1619 that household heads give written proof of their awareness of the ban on lodging missionaries suggests a joint responsibility system, by which all members of a group of 5 to 10 families, referred to as 'group of five' (*goningumi*), held joint

⁷¹¹ (Delgado 1993, 99)

⁷¹² (Delgado 1993, 85-90, 97-102)

⁷¹³ (Gonoi 2002, 334)

⁷¹⁴ (Lejarza-D.Schilling 1933, 491)

⁷¹⁵ (Lejarza-D.Schilling 1933, 492)

responsibility for the crimes of any of its members. Cieslik, in his study of the use of the *goningumi* system in the anti-Christian policy in Japan explains how the authorities gathered the household heads in groups and read them the laws aloud, then made them sign a document in which they acknowledged their awareness of the laws, their duty to inform the authorities if they found out that a member of the group broke the law, and of the joint responsibility of all the member families in case that anyone within the group broke the law. Unfortunately, the eldest extant written proof of the use of the *goningumi* system in Nagasaki dates from 1664, probably due to the big fire that took place on that year and destroyed most of the city, including most of the archives and official documents, but the practice started much earlier.⁷¹⁶

The first cases of the death penalty being applied for neighbourly co-responsibility date from 1619, many of them related to the surreptitious return from exile of Francisco Murayama. On 18 November 1619 Andrés Murayama Tokuan (another son of Murayama Tōan), Juan Shoun, Domingo Jorge (a Portuguese married to a Japanese woman) and the Japanese Jesuit brother Leonardo Kimura were burned alive at Nishizaka and their ashes were thrown into the sea. They were followed on 25 November by twelve relatives of Francisco and the three men who helped him return to Nagasaki. Finally, on 27 November, eleven neighbours of those who had provided him with lodging were also executed. Subsequent to Heizo Suetsugu's accusation of Murayama Tōan, the authorities had summoned to court the three Nagasaki residents who had been involved in Francisco's rescue, condemning them to death. The three men and their family were members of the Dominican sodality of the Rosary and on the day of the execution they dressed in the white robes of the confraternity's habit. They were first taken to the house of the *bugyō* and from there to Nishizaka, bound and in procession. At the front, an official carried a notice board saying: 'Punishment for giving shelter to a Christian father who had been expelled from Japan by the shogunate: to be burned at the stake'.⁷¹⁷ The detailed description of the way in which the Christians went to their execution suggests that not only was the execution itself ritualized, but it prompted a highly ritualized response by the Japanese Christians, who in their dress took the opportunity to display and assert their allegiance to Christianity.

⁷¹⁶ (Cieslik 1951, 121)

⁷¹⁷ (Delgado 1993, 60-63)

The intensification of Gonroku's searches in 1619 and the apostasy and promotion of Heizō Suetsugu marked a turning point in the attitude of the Nagasaki ward heads. In 1618, priests and detained Christians enjoyed the support of the *otona* and Jacinto Orfanel was able to spend time with Andrés and Gaspar while under arrest at the house of their ward head.⁷¹⁸ In 1619, however, the Jesuit priest Juan de Baeza reported that the ward heads had asked the priests to leave the city and not to hide in the homes of residents anymore.⁷¹⁹ At this point, twenty-nine Japanese had been executed in Nagasaki for lodging foreign priests or for belonging to the same *goningumi* group as those who did, but the authorities had not yet executed any of the imprisoned foreign missionaries.

As the persecution hardened the missionaries faced a dilemma over whether it was best to avoid being caught, in order to be able to attend to the Christians who were maintaining their faith, or to seek to be caught, in order to provide an example and attain the palm of martyrdom. Jesuits had had good results from their prudent response to the first edict of expulsion, so that they dressed as lay Japanese or Portuguese and hid in private houses. The Vice Provincial Father Jeronimo Rodrigues ordered them to hide in times of persecution and himself remained hidden for two months after reaching Japan.⁷²⁰ However, some Jesuits considered that by hiding they were depriving Japanese Christians of their encouragement and support, and especially of the sacraments, making it likely that they would recant or die alone for their beliefs while the missionaries protected their lives. After deliberation, the Jesuits decided to stop hiding and became pro-active, while trying not to put the life and property of the Japanese Christians in danger, as can be seen in an anonymous Jesuit manuscript with instructions and warnings for the missionaries who remained in Japan.⁷²¹

In 1616, a new confrontation had started between the leaders of the Dominicans and the Jesuits in Japan. The Jesuits had divided the whole of Japan into parishes (as large as regions) so that only one order was in charge of a particular parish, but the Mendicants wanted this to be abolished because it limited their

⁷¹⁸ (Delgado 1993, 28)

⁷¹⁹ Juan Bautista de Baeza, letter by dated 14 October 1622 (Pacheco 1963, 99)

⁷²⁰ Carlo Spinola, letter March 1615 (Pacheco 1963, 95)

⁷²¹ (Pacheco 1963, 96-104)

activity to areas where pressure was too high or the Christians had recanted, while they were kept out of other areas with better conditions or higher demand. They wanted to be able to administer sacraments to all those who requested them and for parishes to be abolished, because they complicated and restricted the Japanese Christians' access to ritual. For instance, marriages had to be celebrated by the relevant parish priest or else were not valid. The leaders of the Dominicans and the Jesuits in Japan exchanged several documents on this matter but reached no agreement, so that the case was raised in Europe, where the need for decisions to be ratified by both the court and the papacy slowed the process, meaning that the issue was not settled until 1630.⁷²² Thus, the rivalry between the missionary orders over space and ritual continued even during a time of persecution.

In 1618 most hidden missionaries were concentrated in the Nagasaki area, but the Jesuits and Mendicants still did not collaborate.⁷²³ The letters and reports of the underground missionaries focus on their own activities and the martyrdom of their coreligionists and assistants. Apart from a few exceptions, missionaries did not acknowledge the other orders in their reports. Some missionaries even refused to sign official documents as witnesses of the martyrs of a rival order. For example, in 1620, the friars imprisoned in Suzuta refused to attest that the Jesuit brother Ambrosio Fernandes had died a martyr, while the Jesuit priest Carlo Spinola refused to sign a document saying that a Dominican had stated his desire to die a martyr.⁷²⁴ Their squabble was soon to be overshadowed, however, in 1622 by what became known as the great martyrdom of Genna.

There were precedents for large-scale executions by the Tokugawa administration: 23 Christians had been executed in Edo in August 1613; 43 in Kuchinotsu, Arima, in November 1614; and 53 in Kyoto in 1619. In 1622, however, it was Nagasaki's turn, with 55 Christians executed at Nishizaka. This was triggered by an incident involving a Japanese merchant, Hirayama Jōchin, whose ship had received an 'official seal' to trade with Manila. In 1620 on his way back from Manila Hirayama took on board two Mendicant priests dressed as merchants, Pedro de Zúñiga and Luis Flores. They intended to enter Japan, but the ship was driven to the

⁷²² (Pedot 1946, 32)

⁷²³ (Pedot 1946, 33)

⁷²⁴ (Oliveira e Costa 1998)

coast of Taiwan coast, where the Dutch and the English attacked the ship, and confiscated its cargo. Once in Hirado, Hirayama petitioned Gonroku to get his cargo back, claiming that it had been an act of piracy on the Dutch side and that official seal ships enjoyed the protection of the central government. However, the Dutch and the English claimed the presence of the Spanish missionaries as justification for the attack and the seizure of the goods. The whole crew was imprisoned while the incident was investigated. After almost two years, during which the Dutch and the English supplied witnesses accusing the missionaries, the two priests confessed. On 19 August 1622 the two Mendicants and the the ship's owner were burned alive and the remaining crew of 12 men were beheaded in Nagasaki.⁷²⁵ This incident made the shogunate suspicious and the following month the Nagasaki *bugyō* executed all the priests that were imprisoned in Nagasaki and Ōmura prisons, together with some of their followers. 25 Missionaries were burned at the stake and 30 Japanese Christians were beheaded. This included most of the foreign missionaries remaining in Japan, including the Jesuit priest Spinola, who had been caught in 1618 and kept in Suzuta prison for 3 years and 9 months.⁷²⁶

Appropriation and substitution: imposing new ritual practices (1623-1643)

In 1623 Hidetada retired and his son Iemitsu stepped in as shogun giving the anti-Christian policy a new direction. He countered the smuggling of missionaries to Japan and the heroic martyrdoms by introducing strict controls over the ships coming from abroad and the use of torture to obtain apostasy. Although occasionally large-scale martyrdoms occurred in Northern Japan and Ōmura between 1624 and 1630, his strategy regarding the Christians shifted from elimination to appropriation and substitution, that is, apostasy and integration into Buddhist and Shinto ritual. The persecution of Christians in Nagasaki hardened as the *bugyō* took new measures to force the population to publicly apostatise. In 1624 Christians were not allowed to leave the city. Gonroku decreed that official travel permits to leave the city only be granted to those who declared in front of him that they were not Christians. The 1625 Jesuit annual letter reported as follows:

⁷²⁵ (Ebisawa 1990, 316-317)

⁷²⁶ (Kataoka 1970, 57)

Gonroku established that no Christian from Nagasaki could go out of town further than one league by land or sea to buy or sell or visit a relative. If they wanted to do so, they had to register with one of the sects of Japan and then they would get a certificate from him so that they were allowed to pass because they were not Christians and could travel around the whole of Japan. This was deeply felt because many here make their living from buying and selling goods from near and far lands, or from transporting these with their ships. Some sold their ships, others sold their houses for their maintenance and finally they became very poor, but did not recant. The same law was extended to the Urakami Christians who were only allowed to go to Nagasaki. But because they are peasants and do not look far away for their sustenance, they remain Christians and go everywhere they need to without fear.⁷²⁷ [my translation]

It is worth noting the different effects of the restrictions depending on economic activity. In Urakami village underground Christian communities would survive until the nineteenth century.⁷²⁸ The residents of Nagasaki, however, were more dependent on travel permits and were put under more pressure to apostatise. In 1625 people originally from Nagasaki who had moved away to a different domain were forced to return to Nagasaki, where they were asked to prove that they were not Christian.⁷²⁹ Nagasaki was de-Christianised and converted into a an anti-Christian place, the whole city resembling a prison for potential underground Christians to make them recant.

In 1626 Gonroku was relieved from his post and succeeded by Mizuno Kawachi, who deployed new anti-Christian methods in Nagasaki. The shogunate imposed severe reprisals against Japanese and Chinese seafarers who smuggled missionaries, while Mizuno closely supervised the crews of ships entering Japan, so that Japanese and Chinese sailors refused to take missionaries on board and, if they found anyone suspicious among their crew, delivered them to the authorities on

⁷²⁷ Jesuit Annual Report for 1625, BL 9859, f.297- 297v

⁷²⁸ (Nagasaki Bunkensha 2006a, 2-3)

⁷²⁹ (Nagasaki Bunkensha 2006b, 53)

landing.⁷³⁰ During his first year in office Mizuno issued an order to all the population to apostatise and with the collaboration of the *daikan* and the apostate *toshiyori* Takagi tried to force the Christian *toshiyori* Machida and Gotō to recant, but since they still refused, they were sent to Edo.⁷³¹ In 1627 Mizuno expelled 400 Christians who refused to recant Christianity from the city, only allowing them to carry one measure of rice per person. Diego de San Francisco reported that this put them under extreme duress but that they had kept alive, but were then forced to renounce the Christian faith and sent back to Nagasaki to serve as an example and to persuade any remaining Christians into apostasy.⁷³² In Nagasaki there was no escape for those who did not recant. The magistrate's men locked the doors and windows of resisting Christians, who were kept under *siege* in their homes and left to die.⁷³³ Together with the Matsuura lord, Mizuno also he devised a way to use the volcanic cliffs of Unzen in Shimabara peninsula as a torture site to force apostasy on the Christians.⁷³⁴

These measures made living conditions very difficult for underground Christians in Nagasaki, and most of them apostatised publicly and abandoned the Christian practices within their homes as well. Diego de San Francisco, the head of the Franciscan mission in Japan, who remained in Nagasaki from 1621 to 1626, strongly criticised the Nagasaki population in his writings. He shows great disappointment in the fact that after the great martyrdom of 1622 most of the population began to neglect the sacraments, daily prayers and the instruction of their children in Christian doctrine.⁷³⁵ In Diego's own words:

Five years ago [1625], seeing that all Christians in Nagasaki abandoned all good practices of virtue and accommodated slowly to the pagan customs, I wrote a treaty entitled *Advice from the priest to the Christians* in the Japanese language, where I proved with many quotes from the Scriptures that the Christian community of Nagasaki would be lost, as happened to those of the seven churches of Asia. And the Faith would be lost and pass to other kingdoms, as happened to the churches

⁷³⁰ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 92-93)

⁷³¹ (Harada 2006, 52)

⁷³² Diego de San Francisco, *Relaciones* (Uytenbroeck 1959, 86)

⁷³³ (Kataoka 2003, 62-66)

⁷³⁴ (Honma 2006, 32)

⁷³⁵ Diego de San Francisco, *Relaciones* (Uytenbroeck 1959, 86)

of Asia, Egypt and Jerusalem, according to the Scriptures. This would happen unless they corrected their behaviour and pledged to God with scourging, fasting, and prayers. I ordered this treaty be published throughout Nagasaki, and be read in all gatherings of Christians, reading it myself. And finally because they did not amend themselves the Nagasaki Church perished.⁷³⁶ [my translation]

This was clearly an important turning point since maintaining a ritual practice is what sustains a particular form of life in space. Diego himself left Nagasaki in 1626 and spent two years in the north of Japan. He attempted to return to Nagasaki in 1628, but when he reached Kyoto a letter from Brother Gabriel advised him not to, because the situation in Nagasaki was unbearable due to strict surveillance. ‘It is now impossible to live in the city. The persecutors and betrayers spare no means to apprehend the missionaries.’⁷³⁷ He moved to Osaka instead, and no details are known about the end of his life, so it seems he must have escaped the anti-Christian Tokugawa forces.

Takenaka Uneme assumed office as *bugyō* in 1629 and continued the search, targeting all Christians, not only priests and their hosts. Iemitsu had established ‘four man search parties’ and in 1630 several of these systematically explored the mountains around Nagasaki, setting the underbrush on fire in order to force the hidden missionaries out of their hiding places.⁷³⁸ According to the religious census of Hirado-machi of 1642, 158 residents apostatised during Takenaka’s office, while only 3 had recanted under Gonroku and 16 under Mizuno.⁷³⁹ Takenaka was therefore responsible for the 80% of the apostasies in one of the oldest wards of the region.

Takenaka also introduced the anti-Christian practice of ‘trampling on images’ (*efumi*), which was a quasi-religious ritual created expressly to disclose underground Christians. Local sources suggest that the practice was already being forced upon Nagasaki Christians in 1626, although the first full record dates from 1631.⁷⁴⁰ Initially, when commoners submitted to the *bugyō* the temple stamps confirming their affiliation, they were required to trample on bronze medals seized from

⁷³⁶ Diego de San Francisco, *Relación*, dated 25 September 1630 (Pérez 1909, 238)

⁷³⁷ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 91)

⁷³⁸ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 77)

⁷³⁹ (Honma 2006, 33)

⁷⁴⁰ (Voss 1940, 160)

Christian homes embedded in wooden tablets, called 'images to trample on' (*fumie*). This took place at the magistrate's residence, a civil space, but involved religious symbols and was periodically repeated so that it became an anti-Christian ritual. As naive as this might seem, several Nagasaki residents were arrested because they hesitated or refused to trample on the medals, which reveals that they considered the medals as sacred symbols and the trampling as a profanation. Again, although no written sources record the voice of these underground Christians their actions become a way for us into their beliefs.

In 1623 the Mendicants in Manila constructed a Japanese-style ship of their own in order to smuggle ten missionaries to Japan, but from 1623 the authorities in Macau forbade carrying missionaries on board, implementing the law so effectively that no Jesuits managed to enter Japan between 1622 and 1630 nor any Franciscans from 1624 to 1632. In 1624, too, the new shogunal administration banned Spanish ships from Japan, so that after 1626 Manila stopped sending Spanish ships.⁷⁴¹ As a result, while 72 missionaries entered Japan between 1615 and 1623, only 5 Japanese priests did so between 1624 and 1631.⁷⁴² In 1632 the retired shogun Hidetada died and Iemitsu implemented strict legislation to regulate foreign trade and keep the foreigners in Japan under control. In 1633 the first of the so-called five *sakoku* edicts was issued, closing all the ports of the country except Nagasaki. In 1634 the shogunate ordered 25 of the richest merchants of Nagasaki to build an artificial island in Nagasaki, next to the magistrate's office on Morisaki cape. The construction of living quarters and warehouses was completed by 1636, and thereafter all Portuguese merchants were forced to stay in Dejima while residing in Nagasaki.

Following Hidetada's death, in 1633, Iemitsu appointed two men as *bugyō*, who alternated one year of residence in Nagasaki and one in Edo. Thus there was a permanent magistrate in both Nagasaki and Edo, who switched posts in August or September. The first two *bugyō* to share the office designed the most painful of the tortures, known as the torture of the pit (*anatsuri*). The technique consisted in tying Christians with ropes so that they could not move, and hanging upside down with their head inside a pit, letting blood flow through their nose and mouth for long

⁷⁴¹ (Uytenbroeck 1959, 92-93)

⁷⁴² (Gonoi 2002, 357-361)

periods of time, from two days to a week.⁷⁴³ In 1633 this new method obtained the first apostasy of a foreign priest, the Jesuit Provincial Christovão Ferreira. Japanese Christians were shocked to see the Jesuit leader recant, but his fellow missionaries even more so. The Jesuits in Macao sent envoys to Japan to find Ferreira and induce him back to the Christian faith, but they failed. Ferreira was forced to take the Japanese name Sawano Chūan, embrace Buddhism, marry a Japanese woman and collaborate with the Nagasaki *bugyō*, warranting the apostasy oaths of former Christians until he died in 1652 in Nagasaki's Gotō-machi.⁷⁴⁴ The Jesuit Giovanni Bautista Porro and Martino Shikimi also recanted in 1638, followed by Alonso de Arroyo, Pedro Marques, Giuseppe Chiara and Francisco Cassola in 1643. Some were also forced to participate in the anti-Christian enterprise, as inquisitors or warrantors of the apostasy oaths of commoners.⁷⁴⁵

These brutal and ritualised techniques obtained numerous apostasies in the short term, but eventually personal repentance and encouragement by priests or Christian laymen led some fallen Christians to embrace the Christian faith again, through a specific form of the Catholic ritual of contrition adapted to the underground conditions known as *konchirisan*.⁷⁴⁶ What kept the Nagasaki population away from Christianity was the imposition of new religious rituals and practices, through which they developed links as parishioners with temples that substituted for those they previously had with their Christian parish churches. They also gradually engaged with *kami* worship at the various shrines and especially with the Suwa shrine festival, which would become Nagasaki's main communal celebration, involving the whole town. Regardless of the inner beliefs of the residents, their external compliance with religious affiliation and communal practice contributed to create a new non-Christian identity for Nagasaki, in tune with the bureaucratized idea of religion promoted by the Tokugawa shogunate.

According to Nelson, In 1633 Aoki quietly confirmed what the *bugyō* authorities already knew: there were far too few people visiting the Suwa shrine for worship (*omairi*). The government, which so far had only encouraged public

⁷⁴³ (Kataoka 1970, 61-62)

⁷⁴⁴ (Itō 1986, 7)

⁷⁴⁵ (Boxer 1974, 447)

⁷⁴⁶ (Kawamura 2001)

participation in shrine events, now enforced it. It issued a decree requiring all residents of the city to register at the shrine as parishioners (*ujiko*). Those who did not were suspected as Christians. Three wealthy businessmen and community leaders were chosen and handsomely paid to supervise shrine rituals and pressure public participation. The state appropriated a local fall festival known as *kunchi*. Beginning with the celebration of 1634 the deities of the shrine were put into portable shrines and carried through the streets to a harbour-side location where the population came to seek closer access to the powers of these kami. For many residents at the time this was a government directive that required public compliance. Farmers carried the portable shrines, the city merchants made special floats and participated in a parade, and courtesans from the entertainment district danced in front of the kami.⁷⁴⁷ There are five extant folding screens depicting the *kunchi* festival, some of which were commissioned as offerings to the shrine.⁷⁴⁸

Regarding the local dances and songs that were associated with the festival, Nelson says that as early as 1570 businessmen and entrepreneurs from Osaka and Hakata had moved to Nagasaki and brought with them some of their local traditions, which they taught to the ‘entertainers’ and geisha of the Maruyama district. The earlier fishing communities had observed spring and summer festivals in honour of the local Morisaki and Sumiyoshi deities, but when the song-and-dance events of the 1570s gained popularity and a bit of refinement, they were organised into a loosely run annual rite of merrymaking and entertainment. This had survived while the town was Christian, but was then appropriated by the government as a way to enhance the legitimacy of the Suwa shrine and the Tokugawa administration in 1634.⁷⁴⁹ The actual *kunchi* festival takes place in early October, with its climax on 9 October, which corresponds to the ninth day of the ninth month in the old Japanese calendar, considered an auspicious day in Daoism because ‘for a festival to begin on the seventh day and end on the ninth day of the ninth month places its numerical symmetry in harmony with the greater symmetry of the cosmos’. This custom was not restricted to Nagasaki, and numerous *kunchi* can be found in other areas of Japan,

⁷⁴⁷ (Nelson 1996, 20)

⁷⁴⁸ (Hesselink 2004, 182)

⁷⁴⁹ (Nelson 1996, 136)

especially in northern Kyushu, where Chinese influence had been strong.⁷⁵⁰ The *kunchi* took root among the population and became the most important festival in Nagasaki down to the present day. In addition to their growing attachment to the Suwa shrine, perhaps as a side-effect of their officially-induced engagement in kami worship and of the establishment of a branch of the Ise shrine in Nagasaki in 1631, Nagasaki residents also gradually started to engage voluntarily in pilgrimages to Ise, thus connecting to broader regional and national networks.⁷⁵¹ In addition to their engagement with Shinto, the authorities also forced the population to affiliate to and support Buddhist temples.

In 1635, after the death of Konchiin Suden, the Buddhist adviser to the Tokugawa in charge of the writing of anti-Christian decrees, Iemitsu established the institution of the commissioner for temples and shrines (*jisha bugyō*), who was in charge of regulating and controlling all matters related to religious institutions. In the same year the magistrates in shogunal territories (*tenryō*) and the *daimyō* of the various domains (*han*) were ordered to perform a general religious enquiry (*shūmon aratame*) in order to produce a religious census of the whole population in villages and towns (*shujin ninbetsuchō*). Most domains in Kyushu where Christianization had been high, like Usuki, surveyed the whole population, but in certain domains like Owari, Okayama, Ryūkyū and Ezo only former Christians (*korobi kirishitan*) were asked about their religious affiliation, so the operation was called *kirishitan aratame*.⁷⁵² In Nagasaki religious surveys of the whole population were performed earlier than anywhere else. The earliest documented enquiry about religious affiliation in Nagasaki dates from 1616, when Hidetada ordered the registration of the religious affiliation of the whole Nagasaki population, 24,693 people.⁷⁵³ The earliest extant religious register (*shumon aratamechō*), however, is the 1634 census of one of the oldest wards of the city, Hirado-chō. It is titled *Nagasaki Hiracho-chō Ninbetsu-chō*, a copy of which was kept by the ward head (*otona*), the head of the Ishimoto family, and has survived until the present day in the family archives. Only

⁷⁵⁰ (Nelson 1996, 140)

⁷⁵¹ (Kudamatsu 1993)

⁷⁵² (Murai 2002, 18-23)

⁷⁵³ *Nagasaki ryakushi* (Cieslik 1951, 121)

fragments of the registers for 1635, 1637 and 1642 have survived, but the copy for 1634 is almost intact.⁷⁵⁴

The entries are organised by household unit. The first entry is that of the household head, whose surname and the forename are given, then the name of the Buddhist school, the name of the temple and the ritual performed to prove affiliation (reading a sutra, saying the *nenbutsu*, visiting the temple, etc). Finally, under the name there is a signature, mostly the family stamp or a *kaō* signature for household heads and male sons, and a *kaō* signature or simply the thumb mark for female members and servants. There are entries for each family member, following a prescribed order: wife, elders and wet-maid, then sons and daughters, with servants and maids at the end. Occasionally the role within the family or the occupation of the household head is noted next to the name. Records for homeownership families come first, followed by entries for renters, sometimes indicating who was their landlord. Usually family members are affiliated to the same temple, although there are several cases in which they are not. Those with different affiliation are most likely servants, probably because they were not permanent members of the household. Although the lack of a complete census for 1635 does not allow a proper comparison, for those families with complete records on 1634 and 1635, we can see that servants changed form one year to the other. It is difficult to see any affiliation patterns without information for the rest of the Nagasaki wards, but most of the residents of Hiradochō were affiliated to the Nichiren temple Honren-ji, built where the Christian church of San Juan Bautista had stood, near Nishizaka. An affiliation to a temple required the parishioner to visit the temple to listen to preaching or to participate in rituals, which varied according to denomination. The administrative side of religious affiliation was a mechanism for the central authorities to control the commoners, but the ritual and devotional practices overrode Christian ritual.

By the end of the 1630s, then, the anti-Christian system of the Tokugawa was nearly complete, even if the regime did not yet feel quite secure, particularly in Kyushu. In 1637 a peasant uprising in Shimabara escalated into a major revolt against the local lord, clearly framed within a Christian discourse that alarmed the

⁷⁵⁴ (Kyushushiryōkankōkai 1965, 1-31)

authorities.⁷⁵⁵ Iemitsu, fearing an escalation, crushed the rebellion militarily with the help of the Dutch and subsequently carried to an extreme his anti-Christian policy in order to prevent a Christian resurgence, cutting ties with the Portuguese and extending some of the anti-Christian measures applied in Nagasaki to all of Kyushu and some even to the whole of Japan. In 1639 Portuguese ships were banned from Japan, which entailed great losses for the Japanese silk merchants and the residents of Nagasaki, who therefore pleaded with the shogunate to move the Dutch headquarters from Hirado to Dejima. In 1641 the Dutch occupied Dejima and thereafter only ships from China and Holland were permitted to trade with Japan, at the Nagasaki port.⁷⁵⁶



Figure 8.1 Map of Nagasaki at the arrival of the Portuguese in 1647, Kyushu University Archive
Source: Shōhoyonnen Nanbantōrai nifushokōfugun Nagasakikōzu, Dejima - Nagasaki kōzu, Kyushu University Digital Archive, <http://record.museum.kyushu-u.ac.jp/nagasaki/> accessed 26 June 2007

In terms of domestic controls, the yearly renewal of religious affiliation to a Buddhist temple as parishioners (*danka*) was implemented all over Japan.⁷⁵⁷ The shogunate also forced the population to hold funerals in the temple to which they were affiliated. Failure to do so was a cause for suspicion of belonging to Christianity or to a radical Nichiren branch called *Fujufuse*, which had been

⁷⁵⁵ (Murai 2002)

⁷⁵⁶ (Nagasaki Bunkensha 2006b, 54-55)

⁷⁵⁷ (Tamamuro 2001)

proscribed in 1629 for having challenged the shogun's authority.⁷⁵⁸ In 1640 the Tokugawa administration then created an office of inquisition, the *shumon aratame yaku*, which was in charge of the national annual enquiry into the religious affiliation of the whole population, even those who had never claimed to be Christian or were not related to Christians.⁷⁵⁹ From 1640 this office imposed an oath of apostasy by which the apostate renounced his Christian faith and called down the punishment of God and Christ should he recant, as well as that of the Buddhist gods to whom he promised faithful adherence. Priests who had recanted their faith, such as Cristovão Ferreria and Thomas Araki, were also forced to participate in this annual renewal of religious affiliation and as warrantors of these apostasy oaths as well as inquisitors.⁷⁶⁰ After 1640 the *goningumi* system was used to enforce the anti-Christian law throughout Japan and from 1660 onwards the practice of trampling on a Christian image (*efumi*) would be systematised and implemented throughout Kyushu as part of the New Year's ritual of renewing one's religious affiliation. Not only former Christians but the whole population were required to trample on the *fumie*, so that demand for these increased. The *bugyō* commissioned ten bigger bronze tablets with carved images of either Holy Mary or Christ inspired by Christian medals. The Nagasaki *bugyō* kept the images and lent them to the *daimyō* of northern Kyūshū so as to ensure that underground Christians did not use them as devotional objects.⁷⁶¹

In 1642 the Jesuits sent an embassy to negotiate the reopening of relations with Portugal, but it was arrested in Nagasaki on arrival and brought to Edo. All the members were tried and executed, as was a second embassy sent the following year. The execution in Nagasaki of five Jesuit envoys in both 1642 and 1643 were the last executions involving foreign missionaries.⁷⁶² The shogunate's ruthlessness regarding those who broke the laws prohibiting the entry of foreigners to Japan sent a very clear message and no more Catholic missionaries attempted to enter until the mid-eighteenth century.⁷⁶³ A non-religious Portuguese embassy would approach Nagasaki

⁷⁵⁸ (Nosco 1994, 573)

⁷⁵⁹ (Nosco 1994, 581)

⁷⁶⁰ (Voss 1940, 164-166)

⁷⁶¹ (Nagasaki Bunkensha 2006a, 29)

⁷⁶² (Ruiz de Medina 1999, 811-12)

⁷⁶³ (Gonoi 2002, 363)

in 1647, but it was not even allowed to enter the port. A huge military operation was put into action in Nagasaki bay (fig 8.1) and the whole crew was executed, putting an end to a century-long contact with Portugal.⁷⁶⁴ In place of the foreigners and their beliefs, Nagasaki became a watering-ground for its persecutors. Most of the Kyushu daimyo who had provided military resources for the persecution of Christianity and the protection of Japan from foreign powers established residential villas in the town.

In sum, the creation of new spaces and rituals was crucial in de-Christianizing the town, pointing to the intimate connection between the spatial and ritual transformation of Nagasaki and the dramatic changes in the religious lives of the residents. By the end of the sixteenth century Nagasaki had been a city where a Japanese could easily and openly live as a Christian, but by the mid-seventeenth century there was no space for Christians in Nagasaki. Now the centre of Nagasaki was occupied by an administrative office, representing the central government. The town was a commercial port and the only one open to foreign trade. Buddhist temples sponsored and supervised by the central authority had a strong anti-Christian bureaucratic function, while communal identity was reinvented through participation in newly-imposed religious practices and rituals such as the autumn festival *kunchi* held at the Suwa shrine. Through the imposition of religious rituals from above the shogunate achieved a high control over people's religious expression and practice, less concerned by belief than by communal organizations and forms of authority that might escape the central bureaucratic system. Nagasaki had not only been de-Christianised but turned into an anti-Christian space. Actions over sacred space and ritual practices were as important for the central authority's attempt to de-Christianise the city as they were among those Christians who were able to maintain their beliefs and practices and to develop underground Christian communities. In order to survive the persecution they created new kinds of spaces, practices and narratives that would not survive in Nagasaki city itself, but would be transmitted elsewhere in Japan and across time into the Meiji period.

⁷⁶⁴ (Boxer 1928)

Epilogue

Nagasaki's Significance for Japanese Christianity

Space is given meaning and status through history. Since sacred space is socially produced, it becomes a symbol for the construction and preservation of communal identity, as is evident in the history of the Christian community of Nagasaki in early modern Japan. The elimination of shrines and temples, the transformation of Buddhist temples into churches, and the production of churches proved key for Christian ritual to take root among the residents. The de-Christianisation of Nagasaki started with the elimination of Christian sacred space and the production of administrative buildings, Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines. In them Nagasaki residents were forced to participate in anti-Christian practices such as inquisitions into religious affiliation and trampling on images (*e-fumi*), as well as religious rituals like Buddhist funerals and the *kunchi* festival. Christianity was thus thoroughly overridden. Nevertheless, the production of sacred space continued among underground Christians while Christianity was banned (1614-1873). The anti-Christian policy in Nagasaki was so intense that it was impossible for underground Christians to survive in town, but large and long-lasting Christian communities were formed in neighbouring villages that had been part of the Christian network of the port, such as Urakami and Sotome, and on the islands of Ikitsuki and Goto.⁷⁶⁵ The first Catholic church to be built when Japan re-established relations with foreign countries in the mid-nineteenth century was in the Yokohama foreign settlement in 1861, but as soon as Nagasaki port opened in 1863 permission was asked to build a church in the Nagasaki foreign settlement, which was dedicated to the 26 Martyrs in 1865 and became the cathedral of the Nagasaki diocese in 1891.⁷⁶⁶ The Catholic Church in modern Japan claimed the symbolic power of Nagasaki and produced

⁷⁶⁵ (Nomura 1988; Harrington 1993; Turnbull 1994a, 1994b; Whelan 1996; Turnbull 1998, 2000; Miyazaki 2001; Kataoka 2003)

⁷⁶⁶ (Ōta 2004, 195; Catholic Bishop's Conference of Japan 2012c)

spaces to keep alive the memory of the early modern Christian community in the town.

The underground Christian communities created sacred spaces in their private homes for the practice of Christian ritual and turned execution sites and graves into sacred places, where they developed the ritual worship of, and narratives about, the local martyrs. The central government officials had ensured the absence of any relics and so the communities focused their veneration on the place of martyrdom or the gravestones.⁷⁶⁷ This was the case of the grave of Juan-sama near Karematsu shrine, near Kurosaki in the Sotome district, as well as the island of Nakae no Shima, in the middle of the bay between Ikitsuki and Hirado, where fourteen Ikitsuki Christians were executed between 1622 and 1624.⁷⁶⁸

Stephen Turnbull, who has studied the underground communities of Ikitsuki and Kurosaki, says that ‘the myths created around the historical martyrs [...] provide retrospective justification for beliefs and practices’ such as ‘the veneration of holy places, pilgrimage traditions, funerary customs, and a particular form of church calendar’.⁷⁶⁹ The relationship between religious identity and sacred space underpinned the refusal of the Nagasaki Christians to collaborate in the destruction of churches and in the building of Buddhist temples, as seen above. Similarly, in 1790 a group of nineteen underground Christians in Urakami were disclosed by the village head (*shoya*), because they refused to cooperate in building statues for the local Buddhist temple.⁷⁷⁰ Although on this occasion the authorities played down the affair, further raids followed against the Urakami Christians. In 1856, during the third raid, a rumor reached the Kurosaki underground Christian community that the authorities planned to cut down the trees in Mount Akadaka for timber. The underground Christians themselves cut the camellia tree that marked the site of Bastian-sama’s grave in Kashiya, Sotome, and its wood was distributed among the families, who placed a small piece of the wood wrapped in cloth in their coffins in order to identify themselves as Christians in the afterlife.⁷⁷¹ This is a good example of the way in which the veneration of sacred space fuelled the creation of

⁷⁶⁷ (Turnbull 1994b, 76)

⁷⁶⁸ (Turnbull 1993, 303-306; 1994a, 159)

⁷⁶⁹ (Turnbull 1994b, 59-60)

⁷⁷⁰ (Breen 1988, 11)

⁷⁷¹ (Turnbull 1994b, 72)

new practices and beliefs that gradually distanced the underground practices from Catholic ones.

Once Japan was forced to sign commercial treaties with western countries in 1858, Christian priests of several denominations were allowed in the open ports to cater for the foreign settlements. The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide established vicariates in East Asia, the initial stage in a mission field before dioceses can be formed, and appointed French Catholic priests of the Foreign Missions of Paris as Apostolic Vicars of Japan. In 1861 the first Catholic priest entered Japan to cater for the Yokohama foreign settlement and two years later Father Bernard Petitjean was sent to Nagasaki and built the first church in the Nagasaki foreign settlement.⁷⁷² In March 1865, a few weeks after the church was consecrated, an underground Christian community from Urakami approached Petitjean and disclosed their shared faith on St Mary.⁷⁷³ Since Christianity was still banned, the Urakami Christians suffered a series of raids culminating in the deportation of 3,394 Christians to 20 different domains across Japan in 1868 and 1869. Foreign countries pressured the government until the ban on Christianity was revoked in 1873, after which the surviving deported Christians were allowed to return to Urakami.⁷⁷⁴

After the ban on Christianity was revoked many underground Christians joined the Catholic Church, as was the case in Urakami, but some communities refused to discontinue their religious practices and beliefs, which had incorporated Buddhist or Shinto elements and developed funeral practices that were not strictly Catholic, remaining outside the Catholic Church, like the Ikitsuki communities. Those who remained underground even after prohibition were called *kakure kirishitan* or *hanare kirishitan*. They continued the worship of sacred sites related to Christian martyrs and obtained the recognition of some of them as Shinto shrines (*jinja*) or small shrines (*hokora*), like the shrine at the foot of Mount Inasa and Karematsu shrine on the grave site of San Juan-sama in Sotome, as well as the *hokora* dedicated to Bastian-sama inside Daijingū at the foot of Mount Akadake in Higashi-Kashiyama.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷² (Nakajima 2004, 187-188; Burke-Gaffney 2012)

⁷⁷³ (Nagasaki Bunkensha 2006c, 6)

⁷⁷⁴ (Breen 1988, 10; Nagasaki Bunkensha 2006b, 6-7, 20-23)

⁷⁷⁵ (Turnbull 1994a, 174; 1994b, 64-63)

Reinscribing sacred space was a way to define their identity as *kakure kirishitan*, and differentiate themselves from the Catholics, who worshipped the Japanese martyrs according to the official Roman Catholic ritual in ‘proper’ churches or shrines built anew and consecrated according to Catholic ritual. One such was built by Petitjean, opening in the Ōura neighborhood of Nagasaki in 1865 and dedicated to the 26 martyrs of 1597, whom Pope Pius IX had canonized in 1862 (figures 9.1 & 9.2). Encouraged by the discovery of the Urakami Christians and the legalization of Christianity in Japan, and in order to root the Catholic Church in Japan, in 1867 Pope Pius IX beatified a further 205 Japanese martyrs killed between 1597 and 1637, of whom 166 were from Nagasaki.⁷⁷⁶

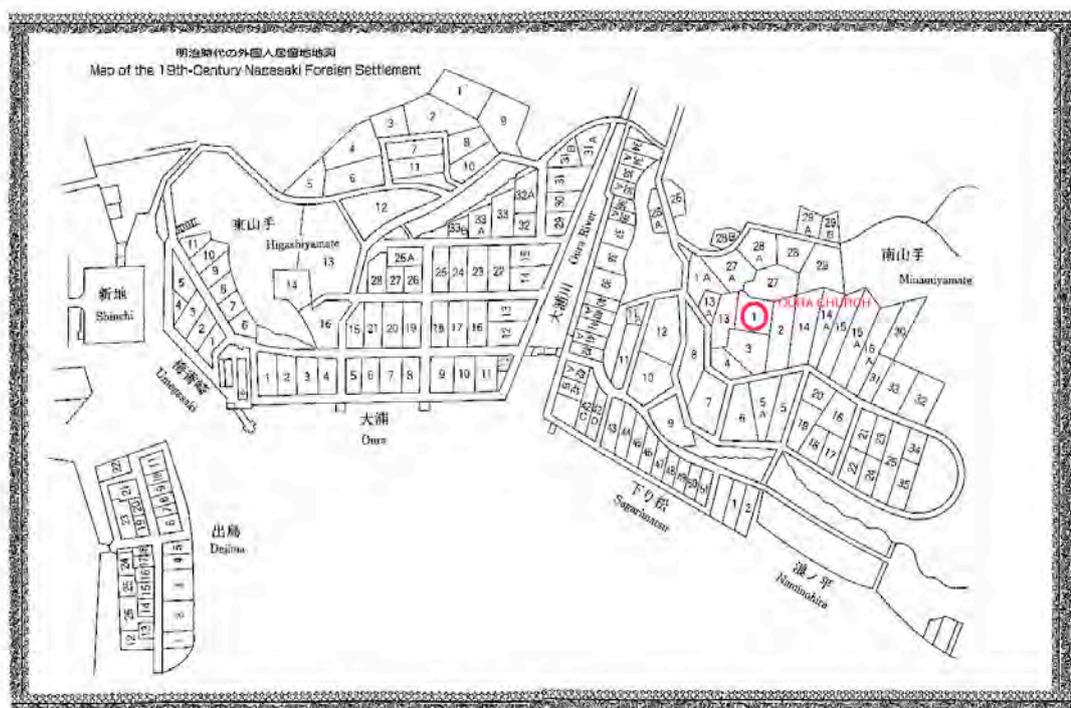


Figure 9.1 Map of the 19th century Nagasaki foreign settlement 1859-1941
 Source: NIAS, [http://www.nfs.nias.ac.jp/page009.html#MAP%](http://www.nfs.nias.ac.jp/page009.html#MAP%20) accessed 3 February 2012

⁷⁷⁶ (Catholic Bishop's Conference of Japan 2012c)



Figure 9.2 Picture of the Ōura Tenshūdō at the time of its construction
Source: (Nagasaki Bunkensha 2006b, 2)

Christian churches in the Nagasaki area had been appropriated by the central authorities and invested with Buddhist or administrative symbolism, so the Catholic community had to produce new sacred spaces in the nineteenth century, but it also claimed back some of the spaces related to the early modern Christian community, which were crucial for their historical memory. The Urakami Catholics purchased the site of the village head's residence, where for two centuries they had undergone the humiliating religious examinations requiring them to tread upon an icon of the Virgin Mary or Jesus (*e-fumi*). They used it to build a church as a way of keeping alive the memory of the long persecution they had suffered and overcome. Construction started on the church of St Mary in 1895 and by the time of completion in 1915 it was the largest Catholic church in East Asia.⁷⁷⁷ On 9 August 1945, the

⁷⁷⁷ (Nihondaijitenkankōkai 1973, 53)

Americans detonated an atomic bomb over Urakami, by that time a district of Nagasaki city, only 500 meters from the cathedral (figure 9.3).

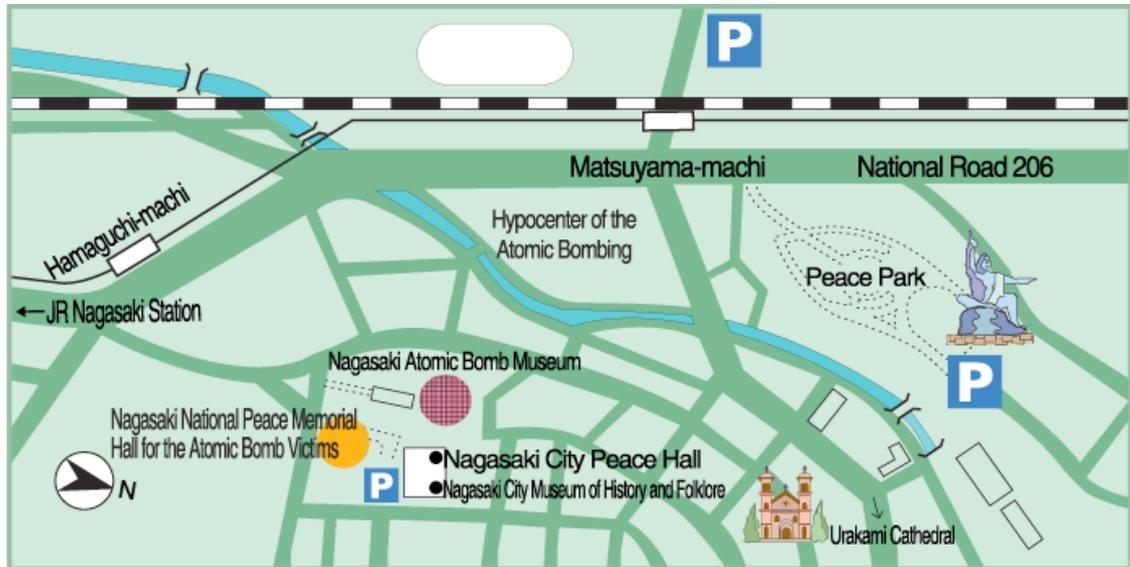


Figure 9.3 Map of the Urakami district of Nagasaki at present

Source: Peace and Atomic Bomb, <http://www1.city.nagasaki.nagasaki.jp/peace/english/abm/access.html> accessed 2 February 2012



Figure 9.4 Building of the Urakami Cathedral after 1980

Source: Peace Monuments in Nagasaki, http://peace.maripo.com/x_japan_nagasaki.htm accessed 2 February 2012

The bomb blast destroyed the church, and all the attendants including the officiating priest died, alongside approximately 8,500 of the 12,000 Catholics living in the district. The rebuilding of the church caused a serious debate between the

Nagasaki city government and the surviving congregation. The city government offered an alternative site for a new church and suggested preserving the cathedral's ruins as a historical heritage of the Second World War. The Catholics in Nagasaki, however, insisted on rebuilding the cathedral in its original place in order to preserve the historical memory of Christian persecution and resistance during the Tokugawa period. Finally, some of the ruins were transferred to the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum, a reconstruction of the ruins of the southern wall was placed near the Hypocenter Cenotaph in the National Peace Park, and a new church building was built in 1959 in the very same location, which was reconstructed in red brick in 1980 to reproduce the French Romanesque style of the original (figure 9.4).⁷⁷⁸

The re-Christianization of the city continued after the Second World War, as new churches appeared in the rebuilt city, now designated an Archdiocese. The Nagasaki Catholic community recovered and preserved the remains of Japanese martyrs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some of which had been preserved in Macao for centuries.⁷⁷⁹ Nishizaka was made into a park, and a monument with sculptures of the 26 martyrs in 1956 and a museum and an oratory were erected in 1962 (figure 9.5).⁷⁸⁰ In 1965 Nagasaki was chosen as the site for the celebration of the centenary of the discovery of the Urakami Christians and when John Paul II visited Japan in 1981, he spent half of his stay in Nagasaki and celebrated mass in the Ōura Cathedral and in the Museum of the 26 Martyrs.⁷⁸¹ In 1995 the relics of Japanese martyrs were enshrined in the altar of the Hall of Glory in the museum (figure 9.6). And on 24 November 2008 another 188 Japanese martyrs were beatified, in a large stadium where an altar was consecrated for the occasion with around 30,000 in attendance (see figure 9.7).⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁸ (Nagasaki City 2012)

⁷⁷⁹ (Boxer 1938)

⁷⁸⁰ (Twenty-six Martyrs Museum 2012)

⁷⁸¹ (Catholic Bishop's Conference of Japan 2012a)

⁷⁸² (Catholic Bishop's Conference of Japan 2012b)



Figure 9.5 Monument and church of the 26 Martyrs Museum

Source: Twenty-six Martyrs Museum web site, <http://www.26martyrs.com> accessed 2 February 2012



Figure 9.6 Hall of Glory in the Museum of the Twenty-six Martyrs

Source: Twenty-six Martyrs Museum web site, <http://www.26martyrs.com> accessed 2 February 2012



Figure 9.7 Beatification of 188 Japanese martyrs in Nagasaki's Big N Stadium

Source: Japan Catholic News: January 2009, Catholic Bishop's Conference of Japan, <http://www.cbcj.or.jp/eng/jcn/jan2009.htm> accessed 3 February 2012

The Ōura church is presently the oldest church in Japan and the only western-style building to have been declared a national treasure. Finally, since 2001 there has been a popular movement for the recognition of several churches in Nagasaki prefecture as World Heritage sites, which claims that many of the builders and believers were formerly underground Christians and that to preserve the churches also helps to preserve their the earlier history of persecution.⁷⁸³ In spite of its de-Christianisation during the Tokugawa period, or rather precisely because of it, Nagasaki is once again an important centre for Catholicism in Japan. The involvement of the population with its sacred spaces and their preservation is perceived as crucial for the continuity of the community.

⁷⁸³ (de Luca and Miura 2012)

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