Catholic Missionaries and the Unification Regime in Japan

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Abstract

This chapter attempts to clarify the recognition of Christianity in the so-called "Christian century" in Japan, focusing on political authorities and the general societal perception of the faith. The study's sources mainly consist of missionaries' reports written in that period and previous research conducted by Western and Japanese historians. It attempts to shed more light on Japanese scholarship, as only a few of these works are well known in the Western world. Japanese historians have conducted many in-depth studies using abundant European historical sources from the beginning of the twentieth century. At the same time, these historians were so influenced by the Eurocentric views found in the sources that they could not see Japanese Christians (called "Kirishitans," to differentiate them from European Christians) as they were. Furthermore, this chapter's most critical question is: "Was Christianity accepted as the Buddhism of the West? If so, why?" To answer this question, we have to learn how the missionaries tried to propagate Christianity in Japan and the response of the indigenous society. In this regard, the concept of "cultural accommodation," applied to the missionary field in Japan by Alessandro Valignano S. J., should be treated as a prominent issue. Although the paper largely discusses the activities of the Society of Jesus, the Spanish mendicant orders will also be referred to. The last section of this chapter focuses on the confrontation between Japanese Kirishitans and the newly arrived missionaries from Europe at the end of the Edo period.

Keywords: cultural accommodation, Kirishitan, Society of Jesus, Spanish mendicant orders, bans against the faith

Introduction

In Japan, the Christian faith was strictly prohibited for about 260 years, from the third month of Keicho 17 (1612), when the Edo shogunate issued an edict to its territories, until the ban was lifted in 1873. In the first half of the seventeenth century in particular, the clampdown was extremely strict, and it is well known that many "martyrs" emerged as a result.

Why was Christianity oppressed to this extent by the unification regime? One of the reasons for this has been given as the anti-political thought that Christianity embodied, based on the monotheistic notion that "only one God (Deus) is the ruler of this world." However, the policy prohibiting religion cannot be explained by this one factor; rather, the ban on Christianity came about due to the overlap of coincidence and necessity, in addition to countless material factors—the international environment surrounding Japan in the early modern period, the changes in foreign policy effected by this environment, and the various changes that occurred in the country due to proselytization and the awareness of followers. The purpose of this paper is to provide a careful examination of these various factors and to reflect on why the unification regime adopted a policy to control religion, while taking into account the significance of the Christian faith in Japanese society at the time.

In this paper, the word "Christianity" is used to describe the religion in general, while "Kirishitan" is used to describe the faith as it was accepted in Japan and "Kirishitans" is used to refer to its followers from then on. A clear difference exists between modern Japanese, who have some knowledge of Christianity due to the positive acceptance and popularization of Western culture after the Meiji era, and those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who accepted Christianity without prior knowledge. The most conspicuous point is that the Japanese at the time were unable to recognize Christianity and Buddhism as considerably different

religions. The confusion resulted from the incorrect translation of terms and concepts by early missionary groups; the popular theory is that the confusion was gradually reduced or eliminated as missionary efforts became more organized, and the Japanese understanding of the doctrine progressed.

However, Konchiin Suden notes that in the Ikoku Nikki manuscript, which contains diplomatic records from the early period of the Tokugawa shogunate (1608–1629), Portugal and Spain are "Buddhist countries." Joji Fujii points out that, even at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the mainstream view was that Christianity was "a sect of Buddhism." Furthermore, because Kirishitan beliefs were recognized as a sect of Buddhism, it was not possible to make the tenets "evil" under Buddhism (Fujii 1994). The shogunate's view that Christianity was unacceptable in Japan was based on Japan's status as a "*shinkoku*" (divine nation) since ancient times, and the official stance was that "Buddha and God are the traces (*suijaku*)."

In the study of the history of Kirishitan, there is little recognition that it was considered a sect of Buddhism, even in the seventeenth century. This is because, even in the missionaries' letters, it is emphasized that early proselytization methods were corrected by the conservative policies of the chief priest in Japan, Francisco Cabral S. J. However, this subjectivity was perhaps formed based on a tradition that has over-emphasized the written records of Jesuits themselves as the only source of information on Kirishitan history. The possibility that the Kirishitan religion was widely understood in Japan as a new school of Buddhism and that the misunderstanding persisted is undeniable based on the various points described below.

1. How Did the Japanese Receive Christianity?

1.1. Oda Nobunaga's Understanding of the Missionaries

Oda Nobunaga, who went to Kyoto to install Ashikaga Yoshiaki as the shogun in 1568, was known for his cordial welcome in Kyoto of the missionaries, who had come from Europe to spread their faith, as those who had knowledge of the unknown world for him. Nobunaga was willing to have intense confrontations, such as with the followers of the Ikkō-shū school of Buddhism (later known as Jōdo Shinshu) and the burning of the Mt. Hiei community, with its Buddhist forces, which had had a close relationship with political powers for more than one thousand years. On the other hand, regarding the newly introduced Christian religion, he was generally positive about it during his lifetime.

In 1571, as Nobunaga aimed to unify the entire country, he realized that armed religious forces posed a powerful obstacle. In the ninth month (of the lunar calendar) of the previous year, the head of Ikkō-shū, Ken'nyo of Honganji Temple, called for an uprising to oppose Nobunaga; in response Nobunga formed an alliance with the Nagashima Ganshoji Temple, Tatsuoki Saito, and other forces, but they suffered a major defeat in the fifth month of Genki 2 (1571), despite the fact that Nobunaga himself took part in the fighting in northern Ise. Although the head monk of Ganshoji Temple was killed in the sixth month, the Nagashima uprising fiercely resisted Nobunaga until 1574, which resulted in the killing of 20,000 followers—men and women. In addition, it was in the tenth month that Mt. Hiei was set on fire, along with "three to four thousand priests and laypeople, both men and women" (*Tokitsugu Kyoki* [Tokitsugu Diary]). It was in the midst of the confrontation with this series of Buddhist forces that Francisco Cabral S. J., who had just been appointed as the head of the Jesuits in Japan, Luis Fróis S. J., who was engaged in missionary work in Kyoto, and Lorenzo Ryosai, a Japanese brother, visited Nobunaga in Gifu.

Missionary efforts in Kyoto were started by Gaspar Vilela S. J. in 1559, who was joined by Luis Fróis S. J. in 1565. In 1570, Leon Gnecchi-Soldo Organtino S. J., an Italian, also joined the group, and signs of their activity began to appear. It is conceivable that the purpose of this

audience with Nobunaga served as New Year's greetings; at the same time, however, it is possible that it was to request approval and protection of missionary efforts in areas under Nobunaga's control, including Kyoto. A description of this audience appears in Fróis's *História de Japam*, though a letter from Cabral describes the situation at the time in greater detail and contains interesting information for understanding Nobunaga's thoughts on Buddhism and monks during that time.

Shincho Koki (Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga) cites the reasons for the burning of the Mt. Hiei community as the result of anger over the monks' deceptions of the doctrine, as they were engaged in "debauchery, eating fish and birds, and obsession with gold and silver bribes," as well as dissatisfaction with Mt. Hiei's response to the Azai-Asakura alliance—the enemies of Nobunaga (Elisonas and Lamers 2011). The conflict with the followers of Ikkō-shū also remained in an unresolved state. Shortly before entering the land around Gifu Castle, the Cabral group observed the bodies of twenty-four people who had been hung under Nobunaga's command, and most were followers of Ikkō-shū.

The first thing asked by Nobunaga, who had invited the Cabral group, was why the missionaries were not wearing their traditional silk costumes. Upon his arrival to Japan, Cabral had abolished the missionaries' practice of wearing the splendid costumes, following a message from António de Quadros S. J., provincial superior of India. At the general meeting for local missions in Japan, which was held on Amakusa Island, he announced the requirement for monks to wear a simple black cotton robe, as in Europe and India. All Jesuits were summoned to this meeting except for Fróis, who was in Kyoto, and the majority of the members opposed the requirement; the Japanese valued appearance, they believed, and they would not be able to increase the number of converts with such a poor appearance. Cabral replied to Nobunaga, who had his doubts about the new costumes, "up to now, we wore the costumes of this land so as not to be thought strange by the Japanese." In other words, the silk costumes worn by the missionaries were not from Europe but from Japan (Letter of F. Cabral dated September 23, 1572. Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia 9-2663, fol. 85r.-107v.).

When Vilela first went to Kyoto, prior to leaving the Bungo region, he shaved his head and went out wearing the travel clothes of a Buddhist monk, so that Japanese people would not think of him as strange. In other words, not only did they wear splendid silk costumes when meeting with noblemen, but it is thought that they emulated the appearance of Japanese Buddhist monks on a daily basis. Although Vilela's travel clothes had been characterized as an "exception" by historians, one record shows that when Cabral left Bungo for the Kinai area (ancient Kyoto and its surrounding area), missionaries and Kirishitans living in Bungo strongly recommended that he wear a Japanese kimono and cover his head with a hood. The outer garments of the Jesuit missionaries that are depicted on Namban *byobu* (folding screens which depict things and people from southern barbarian countries) were long black coats called "*soutanes*," yet, looking at the collars, it appears that some wore kimonos underneath. Furthermore, Japanese monks and *dojukus* (Japanese evangelists and preachers) generally had shaved heads; thus, if the black coat had been removed, perhaps their appearance would have been no different from that of monks. From these descriptions, it is possible that the "silk robes" used in Japan were similar to those of monks.

After Nobunaga asked the Cabral group various questions about the doctrine and other matters, he agreed with the theory that "there are no gods [of Japan] or Buddha," and he was satisfied with the explanation that "only God has the power to deprive a king of the control over his territories." After the audience, so as not to be thought of as a "madman," Nobunaga told his retainers, "rather than killing many monks and destroying their temples, protect the missionaries and help to spread their teachings"; it is said that this was effective in promoting the weakening of Buddhist forces. Afterward, while he stayed in Kyoto, he kept missionaries close by and frequently had them bring a globe or world map to him for casual conversations. Although it is unlikely that Nobunaga was motivated to convert, there are no indications of persecution of

Christians—perhaps in light of the possibility of uniting the nation with an eye on the Kyushu campaign.

In 1578, Araki Murashige of Settsu led a rebellion, and Organtino, the director of the Kyoto mission, was dispatched by Nobunaga to end the alliance between the Takayama family and Araki, for the reason that the Takayama family was Kirishitan. As a result, the father, Tomoteru, stayed on Araki's side, but the son, Ukon, left to join Nobunaga's side; Nobunaga was greatly satisfied with this result. It is thought that Nobunaga was aware of the Kirishitans' dramatic growth in Kyushu and the conversion of the lords of Omura, Arima, the Otomo clan, and others. In the following era, when the rebellion of the five lords of Amakusa in present-day Kumamoto (the lords of the Amakusa clan, Shiki clan, Oyano clan, Sumoto clan, and the Kozuura clan) occurred in 1589, Konishi Yukinaga, who had been given the fiefdom of Higo by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, had to ask the representative of the local Jesuits to mediate the reconciliation with Amakusa Hisatane, the principal lord in the rebellion, who was Kirishitan.

1.2. Early Missionary Methods

Explanation of the Christian doctrine

It is well known through the research by Georg Schurhammer S. J. and Hisashi Kishino that when Francis Xavier S.J. first arrived in Japan, according to the translation of his Japanese companion Anjiro (Paulo de Santa Fé), he preached using "Dainichi" (Mahāvairocana) as the translation of "Deus" (the only God). Based on this, Japanese people misunderstood Christianity as a sect of Shingon (a Japanese Vajrayāna Buddhism which was created by Kukai who studied in Tang China), which regards Dainichi as the origin of the universe. Moreover, Xavier had Anjiro translate the *Doctrina Breve* (Short Doctrine), which is a compilation of twenty-nine main prayers, and the Ten Commandments, and it has been pointed out that Anjiro used Buddhist terms in the translations, for example, the "Virgin Mary" was translated as "Kan'non" (Avalokitesvara), "angels" as "Ten'nin" (Deva), and "Heaven" as "Gokuraku" (Sukhāvatī /pure land). Apart from the *Doctrina Breve*, a textbook was created to explain "Creation," the Apostle's Creed (declaration of devotion to major matters of the doctrine, the main prayer of Catholicism), and the Ten Commandments. The book was translated into Japanese by Anjiro. When proselytizing, the missionaries adopted a street-preaching method, reading from the textbooks in Portuguese, while Anjiro stood next to them explaining in Japanese. The same translated terms used in the *Doctrina Breve* were also used in this textbook (Schurhammer 1964; Kishino 1998).

Toward the end of his stay, Xavier realized that translations like "Dainichi" had a harmful effect, in that his religion was being mistaken for Buddhism, and he prohibited the use of Buddhist terms in the Christian doctrine. It is believed that he decided to use Portuguese for all special terms and concepts instead, and that this policy was bequeathed to the missionaries after him.

However, the Jesuit Melchior Barreto, who had come from India to inspect the mission in Japan, said the following: "In using Japanese terminology to explain all matters concerning God, the Japanese people have a misconception resulting from the misuse of names, and regardless of the amount of teaching they receive from preaching, discussion, and books, by substituting their words, they have formed the wrong understanding according to the meaning inherent in the word" (Letter of Barreto, dated January 13, 1558, in Historiographical Institute ed. 2011).

Barreto was only in Japan for a short time, and his stay was limited to the Bungo area. Although it cannot be said that this was in line with the overall situation in Japan, it has been confirmed that the misunderstanding of the Japanese people was not easily dispelled, even after Xavier banned the use of Japanese religious terminology in the explanation of the doctrine. Furthermore, Barreto reported that the translation of "Deus" as "Dainichi" during the period of

Xavier's mission, was replaced by the word "Hotoke" (Buddha) by about 1556. The *Doctrina Breve*, which Anjiro had translated, was revised by subsequent missionaries and basically used by believers to first recite and then exercise deeper comprehension.

Medical and charitable activities

In early missionary efforts, hospitals played a crucial role in the acquisition of followers. In a separate letter, Barreto said, "the followers of Christianity in Bungo are mostly poor people, and their conversion was triggered, in many cases, by some kind of need, especially illness. When they are ill, they are saved by the Jesuits, and because of the treatment, they find kindness in them."

In 1557, a Jesuit hospital was founded in Otomo Yoshishige's castle town in Bungo; this was the work of the Portuguese brother Luis de Almeida S. J., who contributed by donating the private funds he had built up as a merchant.

After the hospital was established, Almeida himself worked as a doctor; in addition to teaching medicine to Japanese servants and Brother Paulo, a former monk from Tonomine in Nara, Almeida also entrusted his private funds to some Portuguese merchants he knew to purchase Chinese goods and sell them in Japan. Additionally, Almeida's activities were not limited to the area within Bungo prefecture but covered the whole area of Kyushu. Rumors about the hospital in Bungo reached as far as Kyoto, and some people even traveled to receive treatment there. Among the patients, many wanted to join the religious group; however, under the policy of Superior Cosme de Torres S. J., they could not be baptized while being hospitalized. It is said that, after treatment, those who wished to be baptized had to take the appropriate steps before joining because, among these patients, some expected that "if they converted, they would receive better treatment."

Along with the hospital, a mutual-aid organization called the "group of mercy" (*jihi-no-kumi*) was formed under the guidance of European priests and operated independently among the Japanese followers (Kawamura 2003). It resembled the "Misericórdia" in Portugal, which collected alms from relatively wealthy followers in the region to help the poor. In Japan, a relatively wealthy person in the community would be appointed to be the manager of the safe (*mordomos*), and from there, expenses would be allocated to relief activities in the event of famine and to the distribution of food during holidays. The efforts of the missionaries to save the sick and poor attracted the scorn of the Japanese; at the same time, however, for those Japanese who lived in the Warring States (*Sengoku*) period and for whom tomorrow was uncertain, the act of serving others must have seemed a fresh idea.

During the Kamakura period, Ninsho, a monk of Shingon Ritsu sect, distributed rice porridge to people during times of famine; he is also known for establishing a facility for leprosy patients, though there is no evidence that temples of the Warring States period did the same. During the audience between Oda Nobunaga and Cabral, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, it was explained that Japanese monks used to seclude themselves in the mountains to conduct academic study and training. Nevertheless, from the descriptions of antipathy toward Buddhist monks who intervened in secular matters, it can be said that, for Nobunaga, the Jesuits, who put "charity" in the forefront of their missionary activities, reflected what religious people should do.

Religious organizations and brotherhoods

During the missionary period in Japan, the total number of missionaries was consistently insufficient. According to Takashi Gonoi, in relation to the number of followers of Christianity, which was said to have reached 300,000 in the early Edo period, the number of missionaries never exceeded 150, even including missionaries from the Spanish mendicant orders who arrived in Japan at the end of the sixteenth century (Gonoi 2002). In other words, it can be said that Kirishitans in Japan basically had to maintain their faith without any clergy nearby. For this

reason, even from the early days, Jesuits could perform the five sacraments (baptism, confirmation, holy communion, marriage, extreme unction), excluding repentance and priesthood ordinance, and the establishment of community confraternity (sodality) was encouraged.

In the Christian doctrine, repentance is a prerequisite for being called to Heaven. In particular, the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century was agitated by the issue of indulgence (atonement); the Council of Trent (1545–1563) determined that seeking forgiveness of sins without going through the process of repentance should be avoided as much as possible. Since repentance could only be heard by specially qualified confessors, this was a serious problem in areas with virtually no priests—let alone confessors. Thus, to solve this, the Jesuits spread the prayer of indulgence "*Konchirisan no Riyaku*" (Benefits of Contrition), which could be used as a temporary substitute by chanting enthusiastically and repenting one's mistake sincerely. It has been confirmed that the Nagasaki merchant Goto Soin printed the prayer by hand in 1603. The sacrament, which was performed mainly by the confraternity, was practiced among Kirishitans even during the persecution period, and it was mainly performed by hereditary officers such as *mizukata* (in charge of baptism) and *choukata* (in charge of the calendar and events).

1.3. Trade

As mentioned above, when Almeida joined the Society, the Jesuits became involved in trade to create an economic foundation for the mission in Japan. Initially, with few missionaries it had barely survived on the alms of Portuguese merchants and wealthy Japanese; this, however, was due to the large amount of funding required for the operation of the hospital in Bungo, relief, and other activities essential for the expansion of followers. After Almeida joined the Society, he ran the trade business himself, but since he was also needed in various places in Kyushu, a priest responsible for financial matters—called the procurador—was appointed from 1563 onward. The first procurador was an Indian-born Jesuit, Miguel Vaz, who served until 1582; Almeida, however, continued to carry out transactions when Portuguese ships arrived and was heavily involved in the negotiations for opening the port of Yokoseura in Omura's territory (Oka 2006).

There are two reasons why the lords of various parts of Kyushu requested that missionaries enjoin Portuguese ships to visit ports within their territories. The first was that the arrival of Portuguese ships gathered merchants from remote areas within the territory and encouraged trade on land; the second was that it was possible to directly acquire munitions, explosives such as saltpeter, lead, and foreign-made firearms. Hakata and Sakai merchants gathered in Hirado, where the largest number of Portuguese ships entered the port. In addition, as soon as Yokoseura was opened and Portuguese ships entered the port, groups of merchants came from Bungo to conduct trade. Otomo Yoshishige also obtained large cannons and gunpowder through the missionaries.

1.4. Principles of Conformity

Japanese brothers and dojukus

Rather than the European missionaries, who were few, it was the Japanese brothers and *dojukus* who played a substantial role in spreading the mission's work in Japan.

Fig. 1. A European priest with a Japanese brother and a *dojuku* at the beginning of the XVII century (Namban Bunkakan Museum, Osaka)

During the Kirishitan period, there were as many as 109 Japanese brothers (*irmão*/*iruman*) among the Jesuits and about 320 *dojukus*, who assisted priests and brothers in preaching to general followers (Gonoi 1992). In their early missionary work, Japanese brothers were actively welcomed in order to supplement the overwhelming shortage in personnel; followers with a basic education by Buddhist monks, who were familiar with the traditional Buddhist doctrine, which was the object of controversy, were immediately welcomed and valued as effective workers. Alessandro Valignano S. J., who visited Japan from East India as a supervisor in 1579, wrote about the Japanese brothers: "They are in fact engaged in the work of preaching to the heathens and converting them. But they are not novices—they come into our monasteries and engage in sermons day and night.(Letter of Valignano dated October 27, 1580. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesus, JAPSIN 8-I, fols.295-297v.)" Therefore, we can see that they were still driven to guide their followers, although they did not have much time to study the Christian doctrine thoroughly.

Valignano wrote the following about the need for Japanese Jesuits: "For Japanese to join the Jesuits and not to think of it as a religion for foreigners, without the help of Japanese Jesuit monks . . . who use natural methods that match the Japanese people, we would have never have attained a solid root in Japanese society nor obtained the income or means needed for that life" (Valignano 1954). Jesuit letters show that Paulo from Tonomine, who supported the hospital in its early days as Almeida's assistant, was baptized in Yamaguchi by Xavier, rather than by missionaries unfamiliar with Japanese culture. Furthermore, it was the efforts of the "*biwa hoshi*" (lute-playing priest) from Hirado, Lorenzo Ryosai, along with Paulo Yofo (a former doctor from Wakasa, who was known as a translator of Kirishitan publications), and his son Vincente Toin that lay the foundation for the mission in Japan. In addition, a woman named Clara—a bhikkhuni nun who traveled around the country—made a large donation to the early Bungo church and was involved in providing war widows and others with work.

1.5. Valignano's View of Buddhism

Valignano, like other Jesuits, maintained the view that Buddhism conveyed the teachings of a

wicked devil, though he also maintained that "it seems that the devil has found a way to teach in a way that imitates our rituals . . . because, in many ways, it is consistent with what we say," and acknowledged that there was a considerable number of commonalties between Christianity and Buddhism at that time.

Mahayana Buddhism greatly differs from pre-sectarian Buddhism and early Buddhism in that its teachings prioritize the salvation of others rather than representing oneself through "altruism" as described above; it also believes that Maitreya Buddha will appear at the end of the world and save all beings. From the following description we can infer that Valignano used the misunderstandings of the Japanese in some respects, saying, "since the ceremonies (decided by the monks) are so deeply accepted by the people, there are many things that even we must do according to those methods. Otherwise, it would seem unreligious in the eyes of the Japanese, and we would lose their trust" (Valignano 1946). In other words, he openly states that missionaries could not help but incorporate a great deal of Buddhist etiquette into their rituals.

Cultural accommodation advocates for the need to consider the unique features of each mission area, to recognize the values of each culture, and to tailor missionary work in a suitable way (Moran 1993). However, as far as we can infer from reading the passage above on the right, cultural accommodation in the Japanese context was not limited to "culture"; in order to prioritize Christianity being recognized as a religion, even it was considered as a kind of Buddhism. As Katsumi Ide points out, Otomo Yoshishige and Omura Sumitada continued to use Buddhist names even after converting to Kirishitan, as the two were not in conflict in the minds of the Japanese who had accepted the religion; the missionaries did not strongly denounce this practice (Ide 1995).

If the Japanese saw Kirishitan as a kind of Buddhism for the majority of the missionary period, then the background leading to the prohibition of this sect has less to do with the special characteristics of the Christian doctrine; instead, it is first necessary to recognize that forces united by religion, typified by the disturbance by Hokke sect monks and their followers in Kyoto (1536) and the expansion of powers of Ikkō-shū followers, were an extension of the problems threatening the conventional government. The difference between Kirishitan and other religions in Japan was that international factors, such as the sense of crisis regarding the invasion by foreign powers, also had a strong influence.

2. An Examination of Hideyoshi's Expulsion Edict for Expelling Jesuit Missionaries"

Apart from the areas in which the hereditary military lords had banned Kirishitan in their territories from an early stage, such as Hirado under Lord Matsura, the first time that a unified authority clarified its intentions toward Kirishitan was with Hideyoshi's Expulsion Edict for expelling Jesuit missionaries." This law was not promulgated on impulse; it was closely linked to Hideyoshi's efforts to deal with various domestic and international problems at that time.

2.1. Justification of the Expulsion Edict

The "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries" was promulgated on the nineteenth day of the sixth month of lunar calendar in 1587 (Tensho 15). At the beginning of the twentieth century a new document was found relating to the edict dated the preceding day, a "memorandum" (dated the eighteenth day of the sixth month), which belongs to the collection of the Ise Grand Shrine. Even if the intents of the texts are similar, the differences in their respective provisions are significant. Since then, the two documents have been considered as a pair and as objects for comparison (Anno 1989).

Even in the records of the Jesuits, a portion of both the Edict and the "Memorandum" have roughly similar descriptions, including the circumstances in which they were transmitted; in addition, as described below, the content that was communicated to the Jesuits contained a

mixture of elements from both. Regarding this, Tatsuo Fujita points out that what was passed on to the Jesuits was the official text, and what was published on official bulletin boards as the "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries" in the relevant territories of the lords and major cities was a "draft" (Fujita 2001).

In recent years, Chisato Kanda has argued that because the "Memorandum" has been stored at the Ise Grand Shrine, the Ise Grand Shrine must have been involved in the promulgation of the Edict. It has been pointed out that, because of the conversion of lords in Kyushu (in Omura, Arima, etc.), which was traditionally an area of strong Ise Shinto faith, some may have feared the Ise Shinto faith would be weakened—with a subsequent decrease in donations. As a result, there was some pressure on Hideyoshi by the Ise Grand Shrine (Kanda 2016). After the conversion of the lords, we know that Kirishitan was promoted across the population of fiefs such as Takatsuki (which Takayama Ukon later exchanged for Akashi), Arima, Omura, and Amakusa; aside from the picture presented in the results-oriented reports of the missionaries, it is, however, unlikely that the forced conversion process was thorough. Regardless of the scale of conversion in those territories, it is nearly certain that, because the lords had converted, there was large-scale destruction of temples and shrines and a movement against images of Shinto and Buddhist gods.

Today, we understand that Hideyoshi's "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries" was not a ban on the faith itself; rather, its purpose was to deport missionaries from Japan and prohibit Kirishitan lords from forcing conversion upon their subjects and from destroying temples and shrines in their territories, while those with less than two hundred *cho* (a measure of land area) and two to three thousand *kan* (a monetary unit) were free to become Kirishitans.

In the "Memorandum" the Kirishitans were referred to as "the Eight Sects and the Nine Sects." It stated that people were free to believe in any faith. During the Warring States period, "the Eight Sects and the Nine Sects" was a general term for Japanese Buddhism (originally the Eight Sects indicated the six old Nara sects in addition to the two Vajrayana schools [Tendai and Shingon], while the remaining one differed depending on the sects). Regarding this, Masaki Anno states that, for the purpose of "recognizing the essential identities of another's sects and to coexist in peace and harmony, all existing religions were included under the authority of Hideyoshi (the whole realm)"; thus, Kirishitans were treated as one sect under Buddhism using that term, which also made further reference to the fact that Japanese people thought of Kirishitans as Buddhist (Anno 1989).

In 1593, Maeda Gen'i, the governor of Kyoto in the Hideyoshi regime, wrote a letter to the vice-provincial of the Jesuit mission in Japan, Pedro Gomez, explaining Hideyoshi's intention by stating that "what the priests teach does not contain falsehoods" and that the doctrine itself was not the problem; rather, because Japan was a "divine nation," it was forbidden to spread teachings that did not recognize the manifestations of gods and Buddha. This had also been communicated to the four Franciscans from Manila who had come to Japan. In other words, Christianity did not correspond with the gods of Japan and this was unacceptable in such a divine nation.

2.2. Intent of the "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries"

Comparison to the Honganji (Ikkō-shū) forces

Arimichi Ebisawa points out that an article in the "Memorandum" compared the Ikkō-shū and Kirishitan, and that their similarity was behind the "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries" (Ebisawa 1971). It is true that in the "Memorandum," it is stated that what was once a "menace to the country," such as the movement of Ikkō-shū sect, which had driven out the lord in Kaga and taking over rule of the province. As such, it is possible to read this as meaning that Kirishitan would also be accepted. On the other hand, Chisato Kanda argues that, as Hideyoshi himself was a follower of Ikkō-shū, "a reference was made to the Order of the Honganji (Ikkō-

shū) simply to emphasize the danger of the Kirishitan," and that it was not Hideyoshi's intention to equate Kirishitan with Ikkō-shū.

However, in the "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries" and the "Memorandum" it is clear that the destruction of temples and shrines in the territory of the converted lords and the forced conversions of the people living in the territories were regarded as dangerous, and it could be said that the unification regime was aware that the local governments and religious groups could unite and pose a military threat. In that sense, it seems undeniable that the precedent of the challenge posed by the followers of Ikkō-shū to Nobunaga made an exceptionally strong impression on his successor, Hideyoshi, in regard to his plan to unite the regime.

In the last article of the "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries," a section states that "henceforth, those who do not break the order set by Japanese Buddhism, such as merchants, shall be allowed to come and go from outside at any time," and thus missionaries were not forbidden from coming to Japan in the future—on the condition they could coexist with Japanese Buddhism. Despite the expulsion order also stating that missionaries had "twenty days to prepare to leave the country and return home," the final article was the basis for the implicit acceptance of the fact that most missionaries remained in Japan.

Horses, cattle, and slaves

Actually, the Edict by Hideyoshi does not seem be a law promulgated after careful scrutiny; the basis for this is that the "Memorandum" includes provisions that make false charges seemingly unrelated to religion, such as the custom of Portuguese merchants eating cow and horse meat and the open trade of Japanese slaves. However, as it is well known that there was an inseparable relationship between the missionaries and Portuguese in the so-called "Namban trade" by the Portuguese between Japan and Macau since the middle of the sixteenth century, these two items cannot be considered false accusations.

Duarte de Sande S. J., who was the rector of the Jesuit college in Macau at the end of the sixteenth century, wrote in his *De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium* (1590) concerning the problem of slave export: "In Japan, we have always criticized the practice of selling Japanese people as an immoral act, but depending on the person, all of the responsibility for this is placed on the Portuguese or the Jesuit priests, and among these people, the Portuguese greedily buy the Japanese, while the priests do not use their authority to stop these purchases."

In other words, there was already a custom of human trafficking in Japan, and the Portuguese merchants took advantage of this; Hideyoshi's administration, however, viewed it as a problem that the missionaries tolerated. Afterward, under Hideyoshi's instruction, the Jesuits in Japan requested the Portuguese viceroy of India to issue an anti-slavery ordinance.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, the act of exporting Japanese people as slaves seemed to be limited mainly to the Kyushu region. In Luis Fróis's *História de Japam*, Hideyoshi is quoted as saying, "I know that the Portuguese, Siamese, and Cambodians who come to the region for business have purchased many Japanese, stripping them of their homeland, parents, children, and friends, to take them to other countries as slaves" (Fróis 1976).

In 1579, the Shimazu clan captured a Cambodian ship that was headed for Otomo's Bungo area, and another ship from a "Namban country" had entered the Bungo port shortly before that. Boats from Siam entered Omura's Yokoseura port in 1563 and Matsura's Hirado in 1576. In other words, during the Tensho era, communication between Kyushu and Southeast Asia was not limited to the Namban trade with the Portuguese. A large amount of lead from the Siamese port of Ayutthaya, which was abundant in minerals, was transported to Kyushu and distributed from there in the latter half of the sixteenth century (Oka 2010). In exchange for resources, which Southeast Asia had in abundance, silver from the Iwami silver mine, which had undergone remarkable development, flowed out of the country, as did slaves. In 1585, the price of a boy from Bungo sold to a Portuguese merchant in Nagasaki with a three-year indentureship contract was about seven pesos. Japanese people were seen as a rare product overseas, and a

twenty-one-year-old youth in Argentina at the end of the sixteenth century was traded for 800 pesos. In some cases, as with the boy from Bungo, they went overseas on a relatively short contract instead of being a slave for life (Sousa 2018). The background to this is that rumors may have been circulating about places in the south such as Siam having warm climates and rich land, and that there would be no risk of dying of famine.

There are at least two conceivable reasons behind Hideyoshi's intent to condemn the customs of eating beef and horse meat. First, as clearly stated in the "Memorandum," there was a demand for these as they were animals necessary to farming. Furthermore, after the Kyushu campaign, it is possible that expansion overseas was already in sight for a unified Japan. If so, it can be hypothesized that Hideyoshi was not concerned about the outflow of human resources abroad as a humanitarian issue, but that he anticipated the demand for labor needed to clear the fields that would be left unattended after the Kyushu campaign, during the Warring States period, and for the troops needed for overseas wars.

As previously mentioned, even after the Edict by Hideyoshi was proclaimed, there was no adoption of a firm policy that prohibited Kirishitan When was it then that the Kirishitans and their leaders, the "*Baterens*" (European Jesuits), were clearly recognized as having the potential to harm the country?

2.3. Mendicant Orders Arrive in Japan and the *San Felipe* Incident

In Valignano's *Sumario de las Cosas de Japon*, he asserts his opposition to the activity of mendicant orders, such as the Franciscans and Dominicans, in Japan on the premise that the Jesuits had already made good progress through cultural accommodation. One of the reasons is given as follows: "I think it is likely that the Japanese lords think we have evil plans for this country. There has long been a strong sense of distrust that if indoctrination into Christianity is allowed, in the future, along with the Christian followers [in this country] we will stage a revolt against the king of this country to which we have been dispatched . . . and if more unfamiliar religious members visit this country, suspicion will increase and they will plan to do something bad to the Christian followers and to us."

The Japanese lords' sense of crisis that Valignano perceived was likely a general perception that political leaders had toward Kirishitans, and such awareness was potentially the foundation for the martyrdom of the twenty-six saints on Hideyoshi's orders and, ultimately, the prohibition of Kirishitan by the Edo shogunate.

Hideyoshi's diplomacy with Luzon and the mendicant orders

Despite promulgating the "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries," Hideyoshi tolerated the missionaries staying in Japan. At the same time, Takayama Ukon and other Kirishitan lords under Hideyoshi were forced to renounce their religion. Arima Harunobu was assigned to Konishi Yukinaga's army in 1592 and was sent to Korea; he was not allowed to return to Japan for seven years, until 1598. During this time, his wife (baptismal name Lucia), who accompanied him, died during childbirth in Suncheon. *The Jesuit Annual Report of the year 1592* states, "The Kanpaku [Hideyoshi] was determined to take control of the south [Kyushu]. Therefore, there is no doubt that he will take the territories of Kyushu and, in return, give Arima and Omura large territories in Goryeo" (Annual Report by L. Frois dated October 1st in Hayo, Ioanne (ed.) *De rebvs iaponicis, indicis et pervanis epistolæ recentiores*.1605.); it was also recognized that Hideyoshi was determined to force the collapse of the Kirishitan lords and transfer their rule from Kyushu to Korea. While Kirishitan lords in Kyushu were forced to renounce their religion, a number of Hideyoshi's retainers, including Kyogoku Takatomo, Oda Hidenori, and Maeda Shigekatsu, had converted to the Kirishitan faith in Kyoto in the last decade of the sixteenth century. It is worth noting that the efforts of the mission had been successful in Kyoto at that time despite of the prohibition of the faith.

Hideyoshi attempted to establish military power over other Asian territories, and one of the areas from which he demanded allegiance was Luzon Island, which the Spaniards had occupied since 1571, and where the governor-general of Manila was located. From 1591, three diplomatic missions were conducted between the Hideyoshi administration and the governor-general of Manila, starting with the first mission, led by a Kyoto-born merchant named Harada Kiemon. The governor-general of Manila, who had received a letter demanding respects to be paid to Hideyoshi, dispatched an envoy with the Dominican priest Juan Cobo as the ambassador, and the Cobo group met with Hideyoshi at Hizen-Nagoya Castle in present-day Saga, which was built as the headquarters of his military campaign in Korea. However, during his return to Manila, Cobo met with disaster near Taiwan and was never heard from again. The governor-general of Manila appointed four Franciscans for the second mission, and the envoy went to Kyoto after meeting with Hideyoshi at Hizen-Nagoya Castle. For the third mission, an envoy represented by three Franciscans was sent. This envoy also met with Hideyoshi and then joined the preceding Franciscan group, who had already begun building a foundation in Kyoto (Boxer 1967).

Even though other religious orders were prohibited from entering Japan according to the papal bull of 1585, the governor-general of Manila elected to send Franciscans to Japan as envoys. As the reason for this, Hirokazu Shimizu has mentioned that they oversaw the pastoring of Japanese Kirishitans who were living in Manila (Shimizu 2001). In the early 1590s, such a great number of Japanese people lived in Dilao, a suburb of Manila, that it was possible to create a Japanese quarter. In 1603, when an uprising of Chinese people occurred in Manila, records state that about 500 Japanese soldiers were sent to suppress the uprising. According to various documents, the Kirishitans who lived in the Japanese quarter of Dilao were followers of a Franciscan pastor, and Antonio de Morga, an administrative officer in the Philippines, wrote in his *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (*Events in the Philippine Islands*) that "there, the mendicant Franciscan friars were in charge of managing them and had interpreters for this purpose." Thus, this confirms that, rather than already being Kirishitans before traveling to Manila, these Japanese travelers were baptized by the Franciscans and then became Christians.

Not only were the Franciscans familiar with Japan's circumstances; it is presumed that they had also learned from the precedent set by the Jesuits, who used their diplomatic positions appointed to them by the King of Portugal and the viceroy of Portuguese India to gain audiences with powerful figures. Sending a monk as a diplomatic envoy did not contradict the principles by which Japanese envoys and vice-envoys sent to Ming China were selected from among the Zen monks of Gozan (the established temples in Kyoto); as such, it was something that the Japanese could accept naturally. The Franciscans who were sent to Kyoto as the envoys of the governor-general of Manila were prohibited from engaging in missionary activities but could perform charitable work, such as establishment of a hospital.

2.4. The Twenty-Six Martyrs

In late summer 1596, the galleon *San Felipe* left the port of Cavite in Luzon bound for Mexico and was shipwrecked due to a storm, drifting offshore of Tosa, Shikoku. The lord of Tosa, Chosokabe Motochika, ordered his retainers to bring it to the Urado port in his domain. Hideyoshi heard the news from Chosokabe and instructed his retainer Mashita Nagamori to confiscate the ship's cargo and the sailors' belongings. It is said that the reason for the confiscation was the unsuccessful peace negotiation with the Ming envoy (first day of the ninth month). It is said this failure caused Hideyoshi's intention to send military forces to invade Korea again. He intended to use the confiscated material to defraying urgent military expenses. In addition, Hideyoshi pointed to Spain's plan to invade Japan and the proselytizing efforts of the missionaries who came before them to justify the confiscation of the cargo, and he decided to execute the Franciscans—who had ignored the prohibition on Kirishitan conducting

missionary efforts in Kyoto—as a warning, despite the fact that they had come to Japan as diplomatic envoys.

The Luzon Spaniards' plan to conquer Japan was not a fabrication of Hideyoshi's mind. In fact, Gaspar Coelho, who was the superior (vice-provincial) of the Jesuit mission in Japan from 1582 to 1590, created a plan for the Luzon Spaniards to conquer Japan after the "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries," which never came to fruition. Later, Valignano treated Coelho's actions as ridiculous, but Koichiro Takase stresses that this was a sort of camouflage, and that Valignano himself had considerable interest in a plan to conquer Japan (Takase 1977).

In October 1596, six Franciscan missionaries who were active in Kyoto and Osaka, along with Japanese *dojukus*, evangelists, and followers, in addition to two Japanese Jesuit brothers who were active in Osaka and Kyoto (Miki Paulo and Goto João), for a total of twenty-four people, were gathered and sent to Nagasaki for execution. The Jesuit priest Organtino, who had been involved in missionary work in Kyoto for many years, was spared, but the two followers who were instructed by Organtino to take care of the party along the journey were eventually arrested and executed along with the rest. A board that was posted on the first of the various vehicles that conveyed the party stated that it was unforgivable to carry out missionary activities, which had already been prohibited, under the name of a diplomatic mission, and "twenty followers who had converted to Kirishitan were added in order to show other people the example of punishment for whom had broken the law, and they would be crucified in Nagasaki" (Shimizu 2001). This indicates that the targets of the execution were the foreign missionaries, and that the Japanese followers were "supplemental," with their executions serving as a warning. It is possible that the reason that none of the passengers onboard the *San Felipe*, who were also suspected of "invading Japan," were not executed was that Hideyoshi himself had confiscated the cargo of the wrecked ship without justifiable cause and thus felt guilty, and that he was not actually prepared to engage in a conflict with the Luzon Spaniards.

2.5. Pedro Gomez and the Jesuit Mission Press

In the case of Hideyoshi's execution of the Franciscans in Nagasaki, which took advantage of the *San Felipe* incident, only three Japanese Jesuits were executed. This is a result of the Jesuits' practice of proselytizing according to cultural accommodation. While Spain had conquered Central America and a large part of South America and the Philippines by military force, Portugal became a part of the Habsburg Empire under the same crown from 1580 onward because of the interruption of the royal lineage. The activities of the Franciscans related to the ambition of the Spanish Empire was regarded as unpleasant one for Hideyoshi while the Jesuits were more obedient to the Japanese regime. A letter written by a Franciscan in 1627 noted that "Japanese followers quarrel with each other saying that some are the *companhia* (Jesuits) faction, others are the Franciscan faction, the Dominican faction, the Augustinian faction, etc."; for the Japanese of that time, they were perceived to be of different denominations. While the Jesuits adopted a flexible method for their mission in Japan, the proactive expansion of the mendicant orders that were strict on adherence to doctrine caused serious conflict between the two groups.

It was Pedro Gomez, a well-known theologian in Spain and Portugal, who assumed the post of superior and vice-provincial of Japan after Gaspar Coelho, who had intended to carry out a military attack from Luzon to convert all of Japan to Kirishitan. In 1582, when Coelho was selected to be the vice-provincial of Japan, Gomez was the highest-ranking priest in Japan at that time and was quite popular. However, Valignano ignored this and appointed Coelho as the superior instead. This may have been influenced by the fact that Gomez was from a family that had converted from Judaism and had been exiled from Europe by the superior general, Everard Mercurian.

It is said that Valignano introduced the printing business to Japan upon his return after the

Tensho Embassy, but it was Gomez who made use of this to promote various mission publications. After Gomez was appointed superior, he actively translated and published Christian principles and did all that he could to let Japanese brothers, *dojukus*, and followers spread the truth of Christianity. During Gomez's time as superior during the Tensho and Keicho periods, many printings of manuals on religious doctrine were made in Amakusa and Kazusa, such as *Excerpts from the Acts of the Saints*, *Doctrina Christiana* (Christian Doctrine), *Fides no Doxi* (Guide to the Faith), and *Guia de Pecadores* (Guide for Sinners). It is thought that the written explanation of the doctrine helped the Japanese brothers and *dojukus* involved in missionary work and the followers to clearly understand the differences between Kirishitan and Buddhism, a significant development.

3. The Edo Shogunate's Recognition of Kirishitans

3.1. The History behind the Rule of Nagasaki

In 1571, a Portuguese ship from Macau entered the port of Nagasaki, and this laid the foundation for it to develop as a city. In 1580, the converted lord Omura Sumitada donated Nagasaki to the Jesuits as a territory of the Society of Jesus, and afterward "everyone without exception became Kirishitan" (Tanabe 1760). Masaki Anno describes Nagasaki's system of rule as "the duality between the Jesuits and the Japanese political leaders," and his theory is that the Jesuits were not necessarily the decision-making body; rather, within the Society they were forbidden from becoming involved in earthly affairs in Nagasaki. However, there are indications that the Jesuits did have to take part in trade and mediation (Elisonas 1991).

In 1588, on Hideyoshi's order, the area of Nagasaki that was the "territory of the missionaries" was confiscated to be "public territory," and the magistrate, Nabeshima Naoshige, was entrusted with Nagasaki city and the villages of Urakami, Mogi, and Sotome. Koichiro Takase states that Hideyoshi's purpose for the confiscation was to monopolize trade and eliminate the danger of colonization by the Portuguese, but as a result of Hideyoshi buying raw silk from a Portuguese ship that entered the port in the summer of the same year, a sense of crisis was felt among the Macanese merchants, and Portuguese ships did not come the following year. Valignano also petitioned for the protection of the Jesuits in exchange for facilitation of trade, and the "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries" became nominal (Takase 2001).

Hideyoshi's over-emphasis on trade and the subtle relationship between missionaries and Kirishitan carried on even after Tokugawa Ieyasu created the shogunate, which made the wholesale price of raw silk from Portuguese ships in Nagasaki uniform. Jesuit missionaries intervened in setting the wholesale price of the "Itowappu (yarn guild) system," in which the raw silk that was purchased was allocated to merchants by the shogunate. In addition to this, Ieyasu and members of his cabinet entrusted their capital to Portuguese agents and were deeply involved in transactions to directly obtain desired products; thus, the Jesuits, who acted as intermediaries and interpreters among the Portuguese merchants, were essential in facilitating the transactions (Takase 2002). Although there was no clear trend of Ieyasu rejecting Jesuit influence prior to the ban on Christianity that was issued to territories under the direct control of the shogunate in 1612, he did banish the Japanese Franciscan friars from Edo in 1605.

After Hideyoshi's "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries," Jesuit activities in Kyoto waned, and the missionary system centered around Nagasaki. In comparison, while Ieyasu engaged in diplomacy with Luzon and New Spain (Mexico), the mendicant orders, who were once again allowed into Japan, focused on Edo and Tohoku rather than Nagasaki, where Jesuits had a strong influence.

3.2. The Beginning of the Ban on Religion; Oppression and Martyrdom

In 1606, in response to a request from Yodo-dono (the second wife of Hideyoshi, mother of the heir, Hideyori) and others, Ieyasu restricted the warrior class and issued a ban in Osaka prohibiting the faith of Kirishitan, with content that resembled Hideyoshi's "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries." In other words, even after political power was transferred to the Edo shogunate, the law established during the Hideyoshi era was not revised, and it can be said that, while it was not strictly managed, it continued to live on as national policy.

In the spring 1603, Ieyasu dismissed Terazawa Hirotaka, lord of Karatsu, who had been the magistrate of Nagasaki since the Hideyoshi era and had remained in the role even after the Battle of Sekigahara, and ordered Ogasawara Ichian, a former retainer since his time in Mikawa, to take over the role. It is said that with the appointment of Ogasawara Ichian the Buddhist temple in Nagasaki was restored, and this paved the way for the future oppression of Kirishitans. Ichian had the Ikkō-shū monk Dochi establish the Shokaku-ji Temple.

Apart from the activities of the shogunate, oppression of Kirishitans in Hirado by the Matsura clan intensified from 1597, and the persecution of Kirishitans had begun even on the lands of formerly Kirishitan lords. After Sorin's death in Bungo, his successor, Otomo Yoshimune, after receiving Hideyoshi's "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries," renounced the religion and issued the ban within his territory, destroying the churches. Omura Sumitada's heir, Yoshiaki, ostensibly renounced the religion due to Hideyoshi's order; however, there was no full-scale oppression of Kirishitans in his territory at that time. According to a letter from the Jesuit Gregorio Cespedes, who traveled from Japan to Korea during Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea, Yoshiaki and his brothers frequently visited Cespedes; because he had practiced penance, as of 1593, Yoshiaki secretly remained a Kirishitan. However, he became part of the Tokugawa administration and, when Sotomachi (which had been under the control of Omura clan) in Nagasaki was confiscated by the shogunate in 1605, he suspected that the Jesuits were involved in the negotiation. Under the influence of Kato Kiyomasa who was an influential lord belonging to Hokke sect, Yoshiaki also became interested in Hokke Buddhism (later called Nichiren-shū) and thus drove the Jesuits out of his territory and ordered his people to renounce the religion.

After the "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries" was issued, Kirishitans were not subject to the nationwide policing of the edict, but that potential sense of danger was a continuous and central part of the shogunate. This became clear when an incident involving bribery and slander occurred between Honda Masazumi's retainer, Okamoto Daihachi, and Arima Harunobu, a Kirishitan lord in Kyushu. It originated with the "Nossa Senhora da Graça (Madre de Deus)" episode, which started with troubles among Japanese sailors and foreigners overseas (in Macau); afterward, problems came to light concerning the shogunate license to trade overseas issued by Ieyasu and the power of the Jesuits in Nagasaki, all of which involved complicated interests.

As such, various bans were issued to the territories (Sunpu, Edo, Kyoto, Nagasaki, etc.) under direct control on the same day, the twenty-first day of the third month of 1612, when Okamoto Daihachi was executed. These bans, unlike Hideyoshi's "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries," included other prohibitions related to employment for one season and the smoking of tobacco, along with one provision stating that "Kirishitan is prohibited and if anyone should go against this ban, they shall not escape from punishment."

In the "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries" it was specified that the people had freedom of religion, but that the ban in 1612 placed prohibitions on people's beliefs, regardless of their social status, was ground-breaking. The following year, the ban was issued for the entire nation and missionaries were banished from the country under Konchiin Suden's draft of the "Decree Expelling *Baterens* [priests]." Prior to this, in 1610, the Jesuits had finally decided to relocate João Rodrigues, the Jesuit who had served as an interpreter to Hideyoshi and Ieyasu and was in charge of purchasing foreign commodities for them; thus, there no longer were any Kirishitans who acted as close aides to policymakers—a point of difference with the circumstances surrounding the "Edict Expelling Jesuit Missionaries."

On the eighth day of the eighth month (lunar calendar) of 1616, a decree from the shogun's council of elders sent to Shimazu Iehisa (the most powerful lord in Kyushu) declared that Kirishitans in the Satsuma domain should be thoroughly eradicated "through to the lower classes and peasants," and entry of foreign ships other than Chinese ships should be limited to Hirado and Nagasaki. Nobuyuki Kamiya points out that this was a major turning point for measures against Christianity and management of trade, and that the policies set during this period laid the groundwork for the National Isolation Order in the Kan'ei Era (1624–1645) (Kamiya 1997).

In Kyushu, Kyoto, and Tohoku, where the Christian missionaries had achieved a certain degree of success, the clampdown was severe, especially in areas around Nagasaki, where originally most of the townspeople had been Kirishitans. It is estimated that the total number of Kirishitans nationwide who died as martyrs without renouncing their religion was approximately ten thousand (excluding the casualties from the Shimabara-Amakusa Rebellion), though the actual number is still unknown to this day. It is said that the apostates were suggested to convert to either Jodo or Zen Buddhism, but most chose the Jodo sect; this makes sense, in that it shares with Christianity the commonality of seeking salvation in the Hereafter. It should be noted that the shogunate maintained a consistent stance that placed emphasis on first allowing the Kirishitans to renounce their religion rather than creating martyrs.

3.3. The Threat of Luzon and The Plan to Invade Japan

Shimizu Yuko discusses in detail how, in the course of the Edo shogunate's expansion of its policies to "prohibit religion" and initiate "national isolation," one deliberate target for exclusion was the Spaniards living on Luzon Island (Shimizu 2012). Since the *San Felipe* incident, Japanese policymakers had been aware that the Spanish colonial rulers and their military forces were stationed in the Philippines, which was only a short distance away using the Kuroshio Current, existed as a potential threat. It is worthy of special mention that, even according to Coelho and the Jesuits who were active in Japan, it was not the familiar Portuguese from Macau who relied on military force but rather the Spaniards in Manila, who had a complicated relationship with their interests (Oka 2010).

The settlement of the Portuguese in Macau, which had functioned as the port of international trade for the Ming dynasty, was established on the condition that the land rent and port tax were paid to the dynasty itself; during the sixteenth century, these settlers were not allowed to have any military equipment at all. After the Dutch fleet invaded Macau in 1622, the Ming dynasty allowed the construction of military facilities such as fortresses with cannons, but the numbers of cannons and ships equipped with attack functions moored on the Pearl River were strictly regulated.

However, even if the Spaniards in Manila had actually led several warships to Japan, it was obvious that they would not have been able to conquer it by themselves. While it is true that during the Age of Discovery Spain and Portugal were able to extend their powers to the New World and Asia and become political rulers in some areas, it is safe to say that they would not have been able to do this on their own. In each of these lands, among the opposing forces, there were potentially revolutionary groups that held power in proportion to the local royal authorities; by providing military force to these groups, they were able to succeed in dismantling the existing royal authority. Based on these experiences, if they had planned to have a strong influence on Japan, then it would have been necessary to fully support the Kirishitan lords or any influential people who could potentially be converted. However, this did not happen due to various circumstances.

Among the Kirishitan lords who served Hideyoshi in Kyoto, for example, Oda Nobunaga's grandson Saburo (later Hidenobu) was expected to come to power after Hideyoshi's death. In fact, in 1596, Saburo and his younger brother Hidenori were taught and guided by the Japanese

Jesuit Vicente Toin and secretly baptized.

It is clearly stated in the records of the Dominican order that, during the Siege of Osaka (the battle between Tokugawa and Toyotomi) in 1614 and 1615, many Kirishitans were besieged in Osaka Castle, and that the Japanese Dominican Tokuan, a son of Murayama Toan, the former governor of Nagasaki, was killed. According to those records, Hideyori promised to protect the Kirishitans after he gained political power, provided that Kirishitans would join the Osaka side (Orfanel 1633). This is an issue that still needs to be considered, as none of the Japanese historical records have confirmed this theory. It is considered to be a fact that a large number of Kirishitans did enter Osaka Castle, and it appears that the shogunate subsequently recognized the Kirishitans as a military threat, which was a major factor leading to a more severe response.

The discourse of the invasion of Japan by "Kirishitan countries" was widely adopted by texts and guidebooks that criticized and scrutinized the Kirishitan faith, and the way of thinking was that "if the sect was expanded, they should take over the country." This gained strength after the Shimabara-Amakusa Rebellion (1637–1638), which is thought to have occurred because the rebels expected to receive reinforcements from foreign countries, and permeated society thereafter as a just cause for the ban on the Kirishitan faith.

3.4. Shift in the Awareness of Kirishitan

Advances in Kirishitan studies as a result of anti-Kirishitan writings

It is conceivable that the equation of Kirishitan to Buddhism in various Japanese texts was an understanding shared by both the shogunate and perhaps the Kirishitan followers up to about the Keicho period (1596–1615).

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, Konchiin Suden's understanding was also one example of this, until about the time that the "Decree Expelling *Baterens*" was drafted in 1612. However, ironically, in the process of the ban prohibiting Kirishitans and favoring religious oppression, as a result of the regime's intent to refute the doctrine and force followers to renounce the religion, it is undeniable that Kirishitan studies have made a dramatic leap forward. The first anti-Kirishitan texts to be collected in a single volume, *Ha Daiusu* (Destruction of Deus), were written in 1620, and the author, Fukan Fabian, was a Japanese former Jesuit brother; it is said that he was a Zen priest (in the Rinzai sect) in Kyoto prior to becoming a Kirishitan. He worked as a teacher in Jesuit schools to train students and also as an author of various Kirishitan publications. He wrote the *Myotei Mondo* (Myotei Dialogues), which attacked the traditional religion of Japan, but he renounced the Kirishitan faith religion the following year (Baskind and Bowring 2015). He began with *Ha Daiusu* and even published *Kirishitan Monogatari* (The Christian Story) in Kyoto in 1639 for the Japanese Buddhist audience, followed by *Nanbanji Kohaiki* (The Fall of Nanbanji) and *Kirishitan Shumon Raicho Jikki* (Real Record of the Arrival of the Christian Sect in Japan), among others (Elison 1988).

The Shimabara-Amakusa Rebellion

The Shimabara-Amakusa Rebellion (also known as the Shimabara Rebellion) occurred in response to the shogunate's fear that the Namban "Kirishitan countries" and domestic Kirishitan forces would ally with the aim of overthrowing the nation. Moreover, although the rebels had expected reinforcements from the Namban countries, absolutely none arrived, and there is no evidence that it was even considered.

In the past, opinions regarding the nature of this rebellion have been divided between it being a religious rebellion and a peasant uprising; in recent years, however, it has been established that it was a religious rebellion that focused on "reconverted" Kirishitans. Yukihiro Ohashi attempts to define the actual circumstances of the rebellion, observing that the rebel forces comprised of "returners" in addition to those who had nothing to do with Kirishitans, and that a large number of people were forced to join the battle (Ohashi 2008).

Chisato Kanda has pointed out that regional characteristics during the transition period from a medieval to an early modern society in Amakusa, where the rebellion broke out, were important elements in the background of the rebellion (Kanda 2005). Amakusa, far from the central regime of Japan, had been controlled by the autonomous local regime. Even in the period in which Hideyoshi sent his retainer Konishi Yukinaga, a Kirishitan lord, to rule the region, the local lords (also Kirishitans) were not convinced to obey the authority of Hideyoshi and rebelled against Konishi. As a result, there was a considerable amount of friction because the Jesuit Collegio (theological seminary) was located in Amakusa, the area was a second base for the Jesuits (after Nagasaki), and the Amakusa clan and other lords in the ruling class were devout Kirishitans. The Shimabara-Amakusa Rebellion has a continuity in a local character as not being obedient to the central regimes through the medieval period.

In addition, Shimabara was originally Arima's territory and a region where Kirishitans were ingrained from the early days of the mission. In both areas, with the defeat and death of Konishi Yukinaga in the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, the forced suicide of Arima Harunobu, who was the central character in the Okamoto Daihachi incident mentioned above, and the transfer of the Arima family domain to Nobeoka, in Hyuga province (present-day Miyazaki), Amakusa became the domain of Lord Terazawa, and Shimabara became the domain of Lord Matsukura. Revolts against tyranny related to labor, collection of land taxes, etc. are considered to have been the root cause of the rebellion.

It goes without saying that the Shimabara-Amakusa Rebellion was a major turning point in the Kirishitan policy of the Edo shogunate. Prior to the rebellion, the control and extermination of Kirishitans was left to the discretion of each clan, but after the rebellion, the *bakuhan* system (a feudal state based on the lord-vassal bond existing between the shogunate and *daimyos*) was created in order to bring discipline and order to the nation, and the issue was handled by the united military of Shogun and other feudal lords.

Yukihiro Ohashi points out that the Kirishitans had mainly been referred to as "*Bateren* followers" and "those of the *Bateren* sect" in the laws and regulations up until the time of the Shimabara-Amakusa Rebellion (Ohashi 2008). However, because the people causing the rebellion were not led by the "*Baterens*," and it was a voluntary uprising of general Kirishitans instead, the term "*Bateren*" came to be used less frequently. In other words, the "general public" who believed in Christ came to be recognized as a threat to the shogunate rather than their leaders, the *Baterens*. This suggests that the reason the name "Kirishitan" became established was that the Christian religion in Japan at this time had transitioned to a group of followers without instructors; that the distinction between Kirishitans and Buddhists was clearly recognized; and that in some cases, the use of the words meaning "monk" and "sect" regarding the Kirishitan which evoked Buddhist schools, had been gradually disappearing.

4. Rediscovery of the Kirishitans by the Missions Étrangères de Paris

As we have observed above, in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the large part of Catholic missionary activity seems to have been carried out by the Society of Jesus. However, when the Kirishitans were "re-discovered" by the newly-arriving Missions Étrangères de Paris (MEP) in the end of Edo period, the priests of MEP found that there were traces among the Kirishitan in Nagasaki region that seemed to originate not from the Jesuits, but, unexpectedly, from the Spanish mendicant orders.

4.1. The Proselytization by the Franciscans in Japan

The Franciscan order, which was founded by Saint Francis of Assisi in the thirteenth century, was repeatedly divided into sects throughout the Middle Ages. Under the influence of the Counter-Reformation movement in the sixteenth century, it was largely split between the

Conventuales (the religious faction) and the *Observantes* (the reformist or constitutional faction). Among the *Observantes*, the order of *Alcántara* (originating from Pedro de Alcántara) gained momentum and succeeded in gaining new followers from the "New World" following the overseas expansion of Spain and Portugal. Most of the Franciscans who were active in Japan were Spanish and affiliated to this order of Alcántara.

The Franciscan mission in Japan began with the dispatch of four Franciscans, including Pedro Batista Blasquez, as part of the governor of the Philippines' second mission to the Hideyoshi administration. Human mobility between Manila and Japan had already begun even before the start of trade by "red seal ships" (*shuinsen*, shogunate-licensed trading ships) in the seventeenth century. There were even Japanese individuals who lived in Manila and a Japanese settlement in Dilao, near the capital, where the Franciscan order took care of their Japanese followers (Shimizu 2001).

Following the expulsion of the missionaries from Japan in 1587, the Jesuits refrained from major missionary activities in Japan, resulting in a tacit approval of their stay in Nagasaki. The Franciscans who arrived as diplomatic missions from the Philippines were allowed to reside in the central area of Japan, such as Kyoto and Osaka, under the guise of working in hospitals or charities. In reality, there was an increasing number of Kirishitan followers based at the Franciscan monastery in Kyoto; but, following the *San Felipe* incident in 1596, the Franciscans and their associates were arrested, sent to Nagasaki, and crucified in what led to them being known as the "Twenty-Six Martyrs of Japan." Rumors of conquest and the seizure of cargo associated with the *San Felipe* incident may have led to these events, although there was no significant crackdown on the Kirishitan following the expulsion of missionaries from Japan.

The opening of trade and communication between the Tokugawa shogunate and Manila in 1602 led to the return of the mendicant orders, which included the arrival of Franciscans (from Manila) on Spanish ships. In 1603, The Franciscan friar Luis Sotelo, who then served as the ambassador to the governor of the Philippines, liaised with Tokugawa Ieyasu and the second shogun, Hidetada, and was granted permission to build a church in Edo. Missionary work also began in Nagasaki, although the Jesuits had already established a foothold among the Kirishitan in the area, and no major progress could be expected. The Franciscan mission therefore continued to expand its range as far as Edo and the Tohoku region.

In the year 1614, the Edo shogunate issued a national ban on Kirishitan, and most Jesuit missionaries returned to Macau and Manila with several hundred followers, including the Kirishitan lord Takayama Ukon, who refused to apostatize the faith. In contrast, some other Franciscans secretly remained in Japan or even smuggled themselves back into the country. In the following year, the Franciscan order's base of operations moved to the Tohoku region, primarily under the care of the powerful lord Date Masamune in Sendai. In the Nagasaki region, patrolling instructions were provided to the followers who lived in rugged lands nearby, so they were less likely to be detected by the Nagasaki magistrate.

Jesuits in the Sotome region in the north of Nagasaki, which was previously under the domain of the Kirishitan lord Omura Yoshiaki, had not been permitted to operate in the area since before the national ban on the Kirishitan faith, because Omura had apostatized the faith and converted to the Buddhism. In the domain of Omura, many Kirishitans born during the mass conversion of the Jesuit missionary era were forced to renounce their faith. However, there were many who later wished to continue practicing it, and it was the missionaries of the Franciscans and Dominicans who guided their "return." The primary members of the mendicant order that preserved Kirishitan in the Sotome region following the ban included Francisco de Santa Maria (OFM), Juan de Santa Marta (OFM), Juan de Rueda (OP), and Tomas de Zumaraga (OP). There is a possibility that Juan de Santa Marta and Juan de Rueda became the models of the "San Juan-sama" talked in the Kirishitan tradition of Sotome. In this region, there are several sanctuaries for Kirishitans, and the important one is the Karematsu Jinja Shrine. This sanctuary is believed to be the place where a foreign priest called Juan lived and taught the

followers in Sotome. In the rituals among Sotome Kirishitans, which we can observe even now, there are two remarkable figures (Oka 2014). One is Juan and another is Bastian (Sebastian) who was a Japanese disciple and companion of the priest Juan. Bastian had left a Catholic calendar of the year 1634 for Kirishitan followers in the region. This calendar is still in use among the Kirishitans of Sotome. When MEP priests arrived in Nagasaki in 1864, in the eyes of French missionaries who visited the Sotome region there were some examples (e.g., *oratio* in addition to paintings) of the Kirishitan of this region being the "spiritual children of the Franciscan friars" (Marnas 1896).

4.2. The Kirishitan Paintings

The Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary

Before the Second World War, in Sotome there existed two famous Kirishitan paintings, which had been handed down through generations, although the originals have been lost. These were the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* and the *Image of the Archangel Michael*, the details of which can be found in pre-war reproductions, photographs of image sections, and photographic plates. After having been transferred there by the owner, the two works were displayed in the Urakami Cathedral in Nagasaki until they were destroyed by the atomic bomb on August 9, 1945.

Furthermore, *Saint Mary of the Snow*, held by the Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum, was said to have been stored in bamboo tubes by a Kirishitan family in Sotome. Of these, *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* is thought to have clear connections with the Franciscan order, besides the version which was found recently in a Franciscan convent in Paris (Morishita 2010). Furthermore, there are two well-known works both named the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary*, which have been passed down by the Kirishitan Higashi and Harada families in a village called Sendaiji in Ibaraki, Osaka. The founders of the Society of Jesus, Ignacio de Loyola S. J. and Francis Xavier S. J., are painted on the bottom of both pieces.

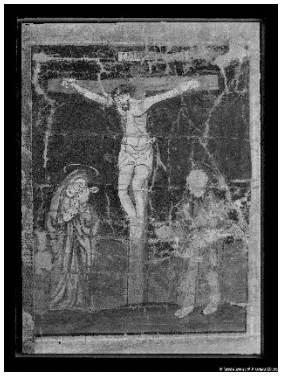

Fig. 2. *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* of Sotome. Glass plate negative made in the first half of the twentieth century. National Museum of Japanese History.

Fig. 3. Replica of *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* of Sotome painted by Yoshitaka Nakayama (1888–1969). Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture.

The *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* in Sendaiji showed the significant influence of Western painting techniques and tools, whereas the piece passed down between the Kirishitan of Sotome used native Japanese tools and styles. In the Sotome version, the first of the Fifteen Mysteries, the "Annunciation," is found on the right side towards the bottom of three sections, and the Mysteries progress moving from right to left across all three sections; the depicted figures have flat complexions with somewhat childlike features. Despite this, the stereotypical scenes of the life of Virgin Mary were strictly reproduced, and it is thought that this artwork was created based on some other template. The depiction of saints associated with the Franciscan order in the bottom section of the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* of Sotome, including Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Antonio of Padova, and John the Baptist and his sheep, leaves quite the impression.

Bernard Petitjean of MEP, who personally saw the aforementioned image of the Virgin Mary, also managed to catch a glimpse of the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* of Sotome after heading to the village of Shitsu in Sotome by himself on the night of September 13, 1865. Petitjean's letter, also cited by Francisque Marnas, includes his initial visit to the Kirishitan village of Shitsu and other important content with regards to the circumstances of the Kirishitan faith in

the region at the time. An overview of these circumstances are as follows (Marnas 1896):
1. There were approximately 600 families in the village of Shitsu during the end of Edo period, all of whom were Kirishitans.
2. All of the village's officials, including the village head, were also Kirishitans.
3. The villagers were able to recite the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, *Confiteor*, *Salve Regina*, and the Act of Contrition. There was a painting of "the Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary, which included Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Antonio of Padova, and a third saint whose name was not known" in the house of the village representative.
4. Kirishitan followers from this village and other nearby areas used to come to worship this painting.

These details are testament to the fact that the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* was a living object of worship to the Kirishitan in this region at the end of Edo period. As seen by Petitjean, the entire village of Shitsu was Kirishitan, and children were "baptized" accordingly shortly after birth. Even the observation of the officials in Shitsu being Kirishitan was a hugely important detail when considering the subsequent "Nonaka strife" which will be discussed later.

Image of the Archangel Michael

The 1887 annual report on the Apostolic Vicariates of Southern Japan in the MEP records the story of how the *Image of the Archangel Michael*, which was cherished as a religious object among the Kirishitan in a similar vein to the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* of Sotome, was donated to the Shitsu church: "In this Sotome region, 3,057 followers were dispersed across 7 or 8 villages. Two missionaries were in charge: Father Hata in Kurosaki, who has a parsonage and church, and Father De Rotz in Shitsu . . . Two holy paintings hung in the sanctum sanctorum of the church to remind the hidden Kirishitans of their ancestral relationship with the priests of the past. The first image was that of Saint Michael defeating the devil, and the other showed the Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary. They were both hidden in the homes of the faithful, although this put their lives at risk, and were passed down for over 200 years. When major holidays such as Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and Saint John the Baptist Day came, the holy relics were removed from their hidden cabinets and worshipped by an extremely select number of people in neighborhoods that were permitted to keep these images for a specific period of time." The report continues by telling what happened with this painting when a cholera epidemic struck the village: "The owner of the house who protected the first painting died of cholera two years ago on the first evening of Michaelmas (September 29). Prior to his death, as Cholera swept through Shitsu, he carried the image from house to house in an attempt to be moved by the spirit of faith and to divinely rid the region of this evil disease through the protection of the Archangel. After visiting the nearby towns in a single day and completing his mission, he returned to his home with a simple and majestic heart, and fell into an eternal sleep with his Lord a few hours later. . . . The priests sewed these two precious relics on fine flags and placed them within the church upon its completion to honor these events" (*Missions Étrangères de Paris Compte Rendu, des travaux de 1887*).

The report also indicated that there were still many Kirishitans (not Catholics) in Shitsu at this time. The holy images remained objects of worship for the hidden Kirishitans and were placed within the church in Shitsu in order to bring them back into the Catholic Church. The owner (probably Jiroku Tanaka) is said to have been conducting a form of Japanese religious practice—"*kaicho*" (the public exhibition of religious objects)—to Kirishitans in order to spread the image's "benefits" during an epidemic, which is one example of the Kirishitan paintings being used for healing.

The *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* of Sotome and the *Image of the Archangel Michael* were subsequently transferred from Shitsu Church to Urakami Cathedral, but, as previously mentioned, the originals no longer exist.

4.3. The "Nonaka Strife"

The Conflict between Kirishitans and Catholics

The *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* and the *Image of the Archangel Michael* were not only treasured objects of worship among the hidden Kirishitan of Shitsu, but also a trigger for conflict between newly baptized Catholics and Kirishitans who practiced their ancestral faith during the period where missionaries from foreign states began Catholic revivals in the area.

The research by Father Urakawa Wasaburo on the "Nonaka strife" is remarkable, pieced together from interviews with individuals familiar with the matter (Urakawa 1928). Shitsu village had been located in Fukahori territory, which was an enclave of the Nabeshima clan of Saga during the Edo period, and tended to have more lax surveillance of Kirishitans compared with the neighboring Omura domain. In the Omura domain, the Kirishitan faith was more strictly prohibited because the lords of Omura was more sensitive to the implementation of the anti-Kirishitan edicts for the reason that they themselves had been known to be Kirishitan in the sixteenth century and the vigilance by the shogunate was stronger than in other domains. The Sotome region was divided into Omura territory and Fukahori territory. Kurosaki village, Shitsu village, and Kashiyama village were situated on the border of the two territories and divided into the Omura and Fukahori domains. Although there were hidden Kirishitans in the Omura territory as well, they made up a lower proportion of the population compared to the Fukahori territory.

In 1867, the "fourth Urakami *kuzure*" (the exposure of Kirishitans in Urakami) occurred, resulting in the severe persecution of the followers around Nagasaki by the shogunate. On constructing a Catholic church in the foreign quarter in Nagasaki port, many Kirishitans started visiting the priests asking them to baptize them as Catholics and this act made the shogunate furious. Similar to those in Shitsu, the Fukahori territory had villages where nearly all homes were those of hidden Kirishitans, but they were ostensibly parishioners of Tenpukuji Temple (of the Soto Zen school) in Higashi-Kashiyama.

As previously mentioned, Petitjean and other MEP priests visited Shitsu for the first time on the night of September 13, 1865. Shitsu Kirishitans had come to Nagasaki prior to this to listen to the sermon of Petitjean and others and to receive baptisms, and it is thought that the missionaries' interest in Shitsu, whose entire village was Kirishitan, increased during this time. As reported by Petitjean, "even the officials in this village are Kirishitan."

Petitjean stayed in the house of Kimura Juzo, who was from an important Kirishitan family in Shitsu, where the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* was passed down and hidden as an ancestral "treasure." Following Petitjean's visit, there was a sudden increase in devotion to Catholicism in Shitsu, and the villagers no longer concerned themselves with public perception, holding fervent religious gatherings even during the daytime. Although the head of the village was also an ancestral Kirishitan, he began to fear large-scale scrutiny like that seen during the Urakami *kuzure*, since the authorities of the domain would no longer be able to continue turning a blind eye after the villagers began to hold brazen religious gatherings. Tensions began to rise between non-Catholic Kirishitans and villagers who wanted to be baptized by the Catholic priests.

As a result, the village head, who was a traditional representative of the Kirishitan, and village officials such as Kimura Ichinosuke decided to steal the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* from Kimura Juzo, and the *Image of the Archangel Michael* from Tanaka Jiroku. Once they realized that their homes had been searched while they were away and their precious "treasures" were missing, they stormed the home of Kimura Ichinosuke in Nonaka to recapture their belongings. The storming of Ichinosuke's house and the bloodshed that ensued is what is now known as the "Nonaka Sōdō" or "Nonaka strife." However, later that night, the paintings were returned to Juzo and others by a messenger from the village head, and the incident was settled.

The Nonaka strife is extremely interesting in that it was not only a conflict over holy

Kirishitan paintings, but also an incident that directly reflected the turmoil between the old faithful Kirishitan and people who called for Catholic baptism in the nearby villages of Nagasaki around the end of the Edo period. The discord between the Kimura Juzo and the village heads was temporarily settled, but there were some people from the Kirishitan groups who were attracted by Catholic baptism and stopped practicing their old Kirishitan faith as a result of these events. According to the research by Father Urakawa, by 1928, only 60 out of the 260 families in Shitsu village were "*hanare*"—those who remained within the old Kirishitan faith. Even today, the *kakure* (hidden) Kirishitan faith continues in Shitsu, although it is now centered around Kimura Tomoyoshi, a descendant of Kimura Ichinosuke.

After the Nonaka strife

Following the Nonaka strife, the officials of Fukahori domain conducted an investigation into Catholic baptisms in Shitsu in 1867, which resulted in Kimura Juzo, the owner of the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary*, being sent to the Takashima coal mine for the labor there , along with thirty-five other men, as punishment. Subsequently, approximately 300 individuals, including women and the elderly, were sent from Shitsu village to the Takashima coal mine, and the officials were said to have personally visited Shitsu village to enforce persecution against baptized Catholics or those seeking baptism. During this time, many of the baptized were tortured and forced to renounce their faith. The officials of Fukahori forced them to endure a pilgrimage to Enjoji Temple in Kitozan, located in Fukahori, as proof of renouncing their faith. The Tenpukuji Temple in Kashiyama was revealed to have secretly protected Kirishitans for many years.

At the end of 1869, there were rumors that even harsher crackdowns were on the horizon, and many of the baptized in Shitsu fled to places like Hirado and Kuroshima. However, in reality, the main adult male believers were taken to Fukahori. Though they were not given severe punishments, they were imprisoned without food, and were often kicked and beaten by their jailors. Rumors that crackdowns against Kirishitan would be harsher within the former Fukahori domain became increasingly certain by the end of the year 1869, and individuals began to bury the sacred objects they had inherited from their ancestors or send them to distant relatives. Among these, Tanaka Monshichi and Tanaka Imakichi were brought by Miguel Chukichi (who worked as an assistant for MEP fathers to bring Kirishitans to be Catholics) of Kaminoshima to Father Villion and Father Poirier of Oura Church in June 1870 (Marnas 1896). They entrusted their "treasures" to these priests fearing the officials would confiscate them. This event might be related to the reason why a Kirishitan painting has been conserved in a Franciscan convent in Paris until recently.

Shortly after the completion of the Oura Cathedral in the foreign quarter of Nagasaki, Miguel Chukichi of Kaminoshima met with missionaries and then the believers of Urakami, thereafter fulfilling the role of the evangelist who connected the believers in the Sotome region with the Oura church. Chukichi also arranged Petitjean's visit to Shitsu in September 1865. Following this, Chukichi, along with his brother Pedro Masakichi, who served as the baptizer in Kaminoshima, were taken to Saga and imprisoned following a crackdown on the Kirishitan undertaken by the officials of Saga in 1871.

In this period, Chukichi preached at the Oura church as the representative of the missionaries in the Sotome and Saga areas. Iwanaga Mataichi of Urakami also preached around the same time in the Sotome region. However, while Miguel Chukichi recommended pretending to be Buddhist while living in accordance with old Kirishitan faith, Iwanaga Mataichi recommended removing Buddhist altars and Shinto shrines in the home and professing their Catholic faith, as instructed by the priests of the French missions. This resulted in "Chukichi" and the "Urakami (of Mataichi)" factions among believers with an interest in Catholic baptism in Sotome. This problem was resolved after Miguel Chukichi was advised by Petitjean to stop pretending to be a Buddhist. However, this split between the radical "Urakami Kirishitan," who professed their

Catholicism, and the traditional "Sotome Kirishitan," who disguised their faith under the guise of being Buddhist, shows that the acceptance of Catholicism in the Nagasaki area during the transition period from Edo to Meiji Era was not uniform. These differences at the time were also thought to have influenced how the *hanare* (old Kirishitan) of Sotome persisted with their Kirishitan practices despite the majority of the Urakami Kirishitan having received Catholic baptisms. In the later period, the community of Urakami produced people who created the Catholic Church of modern Japan.

The medals, crosses, paintings, statues, and rosaries seized during the fourth Urakami *kuzure* are now stored in the Tokyo National Museum, although very few paintings remain. In contrast, *Saint Mary of the Snow*, *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary*, and *Image of the Archangel Michael*, as well as the image of the Virgin Mary from Paris were stored in the Sotome region until the modern era, and remained objects of worship. Furthermore, these paintings were relatively large in scale. This was thought to go beyond the simple fact that the lords of Saga and Fukahori were more tolerant of the Kirishitans in their domains, but also that visual aids such as paintings were possibly used as tools for maintaining their faith.

Other worshiped paintings seemed to have remained in the Sotome region until the end of Edo period, but many of these were confiscated during the crackdowns on Kirishitan by the officials of Saga, which began in earnest in 1867, and have since been lost.

Conclusion

This paper has been a discussion on the changes in the way the unification regime in Japan viewed Kirishitans and the circumstances leading to the ban on religion, on the premise that it was possible that Kirishitan, which had been accepted in Japan, had long been thought of as a school of Buddhism introduced by the "*Baterens*." Ultimately, after the Edo shogunate had banned the religion through the interrogation of captured missionaries and Japanese evangelists with the purpose of forcing people to renounce it, they came to understand the overview of the Kirishitan doctrine and then clearly recognized the differences in its nature compared to Buddhism. At the final part of this paper, I inserted an episode that occurred in the end of Edo period. This episode reveals that "old Kirishitan" followers felt a strong sense of incompatibility with the Catholicism that was newly arriving with the French missionaries.

A theory has been proposed that Kirishitans were seen as a sect of Buddhism throughout most of the missionary period, and Kentaro Miyazaki advocates this theory in anthropological research on the customs of the hidden Kirishitans (Miyazaki 2014); yet, it cannot be said that this has been widely recognized in the study of Kirishitan history. However, regarding the syncretism seen in the existing rituals of hidden Kirishitans, rather than having transformed during the incubation period of about 250 years, as it has been said, the understanding that this transformation was already occurring during the period that the missionaries were active in Japan has been made clear in research by Ikuo Higashibaba and Shigeo Nakazono (Higashibaba 2001; Nakazono 2018). That during the transition period of Medieval Japan, despite it being an imported religion, Christianity gained a large number of followers rapidly, that it was strictly prohibited by the unified regime to an unprecedented extent, and that it was the clarification of the characteristics of the Kirishitan in Japanese society that drove people to martyrdom is the key to the future development of historical research on Kirishitan.

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