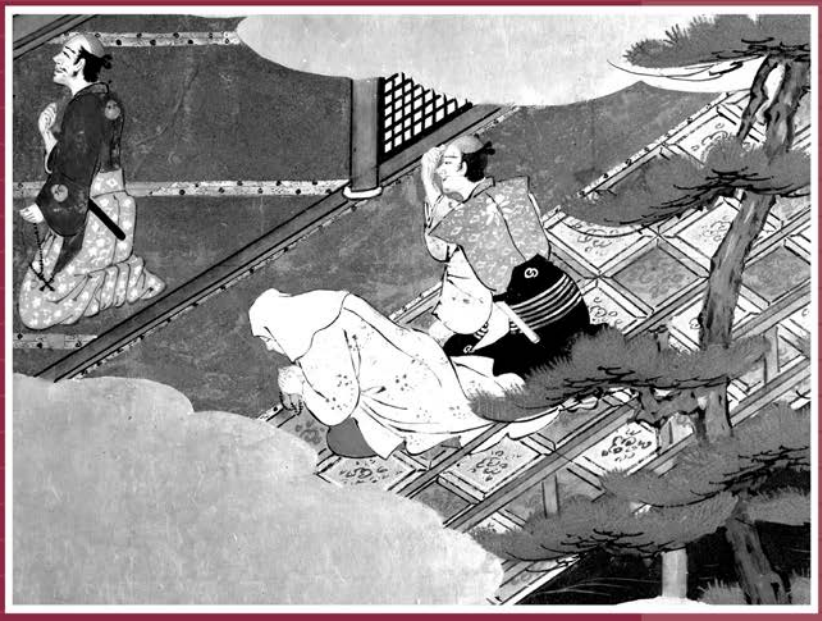
Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549–1650

Haruko Nawata Ward



WOMEN AND GENDER IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD

WOMEN RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN JAPAN'S CHRISTIAN CENTURY, 1549–1650

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Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549–1650

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List of Abbreviations

AHSI	Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
Cartas	*Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus … escreverão dos Reynos de Iapão e China …*, Evora, 1598
Cartas 1575	*Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañia de Iesus, que andan en los Reynos de Iapon …*, Alcala, 1575
Constitutions	Saint Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, trans. George E. Ganss
Daijiten	*Nihon Kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten*
Dan'atsu to teikō	Ebisawa Arimichi, *Kirishitan no dan'atsu to teikō*
Genbunsho	*Nihon kankei Iezusukai genbunsho*
História	Luís Fróis, *História de Japão*
Hōkokusho	*Jūroku-shichiseiki Iezusukai Nihon hōkokusho*
Jap. Sin.	ARSI, *Japonica Sinica* documents
Joshi shūdōkai	Kataoka Rumiko, *Kirishitan jidai no joshi shūdōkai*
"Kon'in mondai"	Kataoka Chizuko, "Ōtomo Sōrin no kon'in mondai"
Kontemutsusu munji	*Kontemutsusu munji*, ed. Obara Satoru
Manuale	*Manuale ad Sacramenta Ecclesiae Ministrada D. Ludovici Cerqueira …* , Nagasaki, 1605
Menkō shūroku	*Menkō shūroku*, ed. Hermann Heuvers

MHJ 1	*Monumenta Historica Japoniae I: Textus Catalogorum Japoniae Aliaque de Personis Domibusque S.J. in Japonia Informationes et Relationes 1549–1654*
MHJ 2	*Documentos Del Japon: 1547–1557: Monumenta Historica Japoniae II*. Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, 137
MHJ 3	*Documentos Del Japon: 1558–1562: Monumenta Historica Japoniae III*. Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu 148
Myōtei mondō	Fabian Fucan, *Myōtei mondō*, ed. Ide Katsumi et al. in *Kirishitan kyōrisho*
Nanbanshiryō	Matsuda Kiichi, *Kinseishoki Nihon kankei nanbanshiryōno kenkyū*
Nihonshi	*Nihonshi*, ed. Matsuda Kiichi et al.
Shakai katsudō	Ebisawa Arimichi, *Kirishitan no shakai katsudō oyobi nanban igaku*
Santosu no gosagyō	*Santosu no gosagyō*, ed. Obara Satoru
Sumario/Adiciones	Alessandro Valignano, *Sumario de las cosas de Japon (1583); Adiciones del Sumario de Japon (1592)*
Tratado	Luís Fróis, *Kulturgegensätze Europa-Japan (1585): Tratado em que se contem … algumas contradições e diferenças de custumes antre a gente de Europa e esta provincia de Japão*
Traité	*Traité de Luís Fróis, S.J. (1585)*
Tsukimono	Yoshida Teigo, *Tsukimono*

Chapter 1
Introduction

The Christian Century in Japan spans the period between the arrival of the Jesuits in 1549 and the church's banishment in 1650.[1] Christianity flourished in this brief moment in history. It offered both benefits and challenges to women living in a society with long-standing Shinto-Buddhist traditions.[2] Many women became Christians (Kirishitans), with some becoming leaders, while others chose to remain faithful Shinto-Buddhists.[3] In this encounter, women developed novel ways of expressing their new religious identity. This book tells a series of stories of Kirishitan women who created apostolic ministries out of resources from both Catholic and Shinto-Buddhist traditions.

Some folding screens from this period, called *nanban byōbu*, depict vivid impressions of women breathing in the new culture.[4] These *byōbu* conventionally

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[1] C.R. Boxer coined the term Christian Century in his pioneering work on the period, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (Berkeley, CA, 1951).

[2] The term *Shinto-Buddhism* designates the combination of Shinto and Buddhism. Buddhism came to Japan from China and was adopted as the imperial religion in 538. Japanese state Buddhism incorporated Japanese native religion, or ancient Shinto, which resulted in a synchretic combination of these two religions. Throughout the medieval period, Buddhist temples were built beside the ancient Shinto shrines, and together they formed shrine-temple complexes.

[3] The term *Kirishitan* derived from Portuguese *cristão* and was used either as a noun designating a Catholic individual or as an adjective for persons and things Christian. It applies only to the phenomena during the Christian Century while in other periods a generic term Christian is used. Thus a "Kirishitan woman" signifies a woman convert to Christianity in Japan during the Christian Century.

[4] *Nanban* (also *namban*) literally means southern barbarism or barbarians from the South; *byōbu* means folding screen. About 70 *nanban byōbu* remain. These *nanban byōbu* are rare visual windows to the Jesuit mission in Japan because very few other artifacts survived persecution. See Fernando G. Gutiérrez, "A Survey of Nanban Art," in *Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan*, ed. Michael Cooper (Tokyo, 1971), 175. Because of the popularity of such screens, *byōbu* became a common Portuguese noun for screen as *biombo*. See Maria Hellena Mendes Pinto, *Biombos Namban: Namban Screens* (Lisbon, 1986), 5. Most of the *nanban byōbu* were executed by secular painters of the Kanō school. For the Jesuit influence on the Kanō school between 1590 and 1686, see Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto, 1999), 79–80. See also Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "The Art of the Jesuit Missions in Japan in the Age of S. Francis Xavier and Alessandro Valignano," in *St. Francis Xavier: An Apostle of the East*, vol. 1: *The Encounter between Europe and Asia during the Period*

describe simultaneous scenes of the encounter between the Japanese and the *nanban* people. For example, in one of these *byōbu*, the lower tier scene shows a captain and sailors emerging from a Portuguese ship, accompanied by Malayan, Indian, and African slaves carrying their merchandise.[5] On the street they meet a group of strolling figures including a Portuguese Jesuit *padre*, a Japanese *irmão*, a Spanish Franciscan, and more Portuguese and Japanese merchants.[6] The middle tier depicts the interiors of Japanese merchants' row homes. From each home a woman is peeking through a window observing the foreign crowd on the street. In the very center of the *byōbu*, a young woman parts the entrance curtain to see better (See fig. 1.1). The top tier is an illustration of a church, which resembles a large Japanese noble residence. In one room, a European Jesuit *padre* and a Japanese *irmão* are having a discussion over a book. In the next room, another *padre* is hearing confessions from a Japanese *samurai*. In what seems to be a sanctuary, four Japanese and two Portuguese individuals are praying in front of an altar together. Among them is a Kirishitan noblewoman. The eyes of these several women on this screen appear curious, serious and intense. The women's gaze makes the observer of the *byōbu* wonder what they were looking at so intently and what their inner thoughts were.

There are several important historical factors which influenced the women's responses to the Jesuit religion. First, the Christian Century is almost synonymous with the century of the Portuguese Jesuit mission. Carrying the vision of Ignatius of Loyola in the spirit of the Catholic Reform, Francis Xavier and his companions launched the first Christian mission in Japanese history in 1549.[7] It was six years after Portuguese merchants first set foot on Japanese soil, and only nine years after Pope Paul III constituted the Society of Jesus by his bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*. After Xavier left Japan for China in 1551, his successors had a virtual monopoly of Christian missions in Japan for about 50 years. The origin of this monopoly lay in the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. The Portuguese and Spanish crowns under papal supervision divided the world map in two, setting the dividing

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of the Great Navigation, ed. The Executive Committee 450th Anniversary of the Arrival of S. Francis Xavier in Japan (Tokyo, 1999), 186.

[5] See frontispiece. See also Sakamoto Mitsuru et al., *Nanban bijutsu to yōfūga*, *Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu* 25 (Tokyo, 1970), 64–6; and Soga Tetsuo, ed., *Tanbō daikōkai jidai no Nihon*, vols. 1, 2, 4, and 5 (Tokyo, 1978–79).

[6] The Japanized Portuguese term *padre* (or *pādere*, *paderen* or *bateren*) designates a Catholic priest. I am using *padre* to distinguish a Catholic priest from a Shinto and Buddhist priest. The term *irmão* (or *iruman*) means a lay brother or scholastic.

[7] On the foundation of the Society of Jesus in the context of Catholic Reform, see John Patrick Donnelly, "Religious Orders of Men, Especially The Society of Jesus," in *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research*, ed. John W. O'Malley (St. Louis, MO, 1988), 147–53; also see John Patrick Donnelly, "The New Religious Orders, 1517–1648," in *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, vol. 2: Visions, Programs, & Outcomes*, ed. Thomas Brady et al. (Leiden, 1993 and Grand Rapids, MI, 1995), 2:283–315.

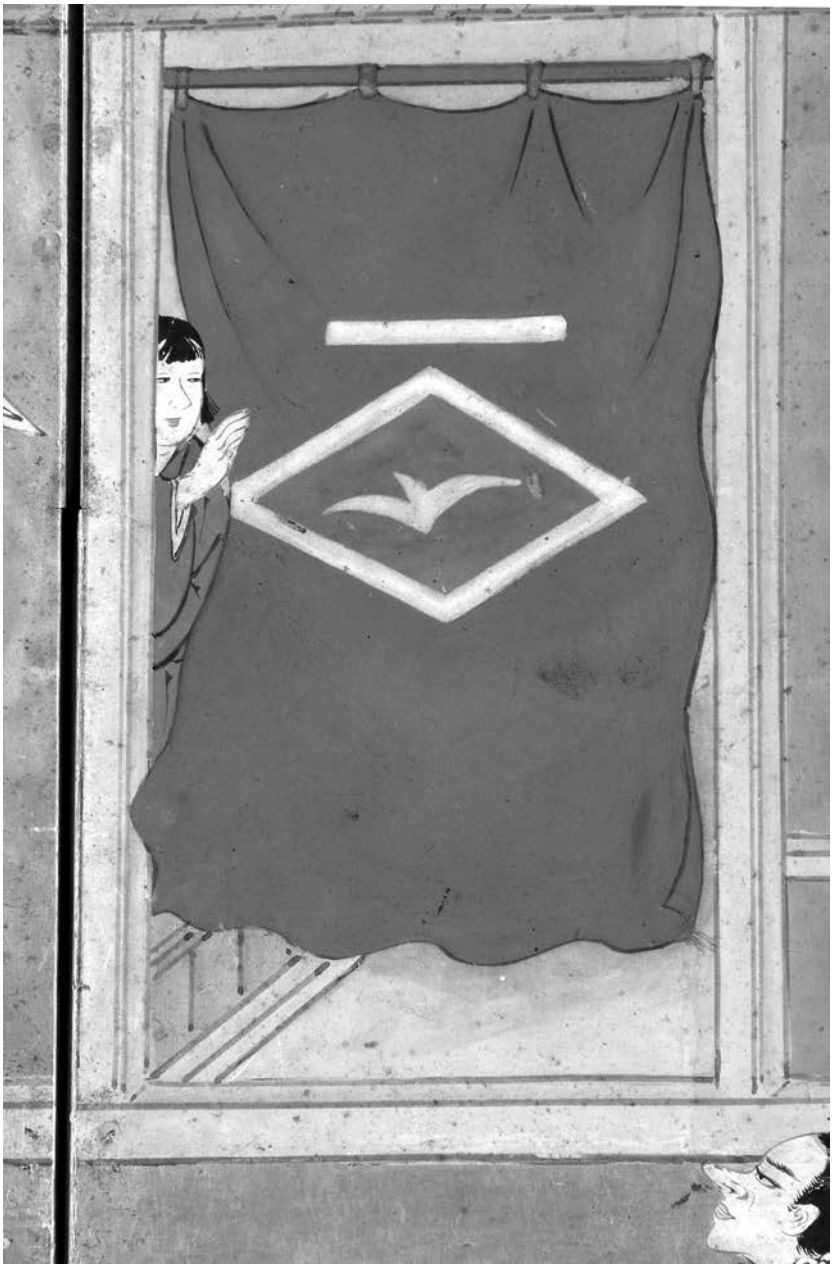

Fig. 1.1 A girl looks out to see the Portuguese priests and merchants. Screen (six-fold): *Nanban byōbu* (detail), School of Kanō Mitsunobu.

line 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands.[8] This and other ensuing treaties entrusted the military conquest and Christianization of the West Indies to the Spanish royal patronage (*patronato real*), and the East Indies to the Portuguese royal patronage (*padroado real*). Under the enthusiastic leadership of the devout Catholic crowns, the Portuguese sailed to the ports of Africa, India, the Moluccas, Malacca, Macao, and Bahia and established outpost colonies of the East Indies (*O Estado da Índia*). Newly "discovered" Japan belonged to this Portuguese *padroado* even though Portugal would never colonize it, as it lay very far from Europe and boasted aggressive military power.[9] Papal bulls continued to ensure that the Society of Jesus under Portuguese *padroado* would be the only order to work in Japan until 1608.[10] Under these privileges, the early Jesuits in Japan developed a unique mission, experimenting with their method of persuasion and accommodation, rather than the more common forced conversions of the conquistadores.[11] This Jesuit "way of proceeding" set perimeters on their dealings with Shinto-Buddhist women and Kirishitan women converts.[12] The Jesuits had already established this pattern of mission when the mendicant orders under Spanish *patronato* from the Philippines arrived in Japan much later.

The Christian Century corresponds also to the turbulent transitional period toward the unification of Japan. When the Jesuits arrived, the nation had been in a century-long state of civil war known as the *sengoku* period, or the period of

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[8] See Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters Between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492–1800*, trans. Ritchie Robertson (Stanford, CA, 1989), 56. Also see Donald F. Lach, "Portuguese 'padroado' (patronage) of the East," in *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1: *The Century of Discovery* (Chicago, 1965), Book 1, 230–44.

[9] See Lach, "Jesuit Enterprise, 1542–1600," in *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, Book 1, 247 on Xavier's mission under *padroado*. See also John W. Witek, "From India to Japan: European Missionary Expansion, 1500–1650," in *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research*, 193–210.

[10] See Lach, "Mission Stations in Further Asia," in *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, Book 1, 294–5 on Pope Gregory XIII's documents ensuring the monopoly of the Jesuits under *padroado* in Japan. His bull *Ex pastorali officio* of 1585 prohibited any other orders than the Society of Jesus under Portuguese *padroado* to enter Japan. The friars succeeded in obtaining Paul V's reversal decision *Sedis Apostolicae* in 1608, which allowed every order via either patronage route to work in Japan.

[11] For the missiological analysis of the Jesuit accommodation policy in Japan and China, see Andrew C. Ross, "Alessandro Valignano: The Jesuits and Culture in the East," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley et al. (Toronto, 1999), 336–51.

[12] On the distinctive "way of proceeding" of the early Jesuits, see John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), 8. Elsewhere O'Malley suggested that within the three factors of the *Spiritual Exercises*, *Constitutions*, and Jesuit schools "lurk important elements of a Jesuit way of proceeding." See his "The Historiography of the Society of Jesus: Where Does it Stand Today?," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, 27–9. I suggest that we add the fourth factor of the Jesuit "missionary letters" to the list.

warring nations.[13] The authority of the imperial house had long been lost to the military rule of the Kamakura government (1221–1334) of the Hōjō, and then to the Muromachi government (1334–1573) of the Ashikaga. Since the War of Ōnin (1467–77), the Muromachi government itself lost control. The nation was divided into more than sixty feudal kingdoms, where feudal lords fought among themselves to acquire larger fiefs.[14] *Gekokujō* phenomena of the lower usurping the higher became widespread and loyalty to one's lord could no longer be assumed. Women lived precariously, both physically and socially, because family patriarchs arranged and rearranged marriage and concubinage for strategic alliances. Christianity offered women an alternative concept of family. Some women who appear in this book chose perpetual celibacy, and some of these left their biological families and lived in women's communities.

In the mid-sixteenth century, as the Ashikaga shogunate was breathing its last, a series of military strongmen became de facto unifiers of Japan. The first half of the Christian Century fell under the rule of two Azuchi-Momoyama unifiers, namely, Oda Nobunaga (1534–82) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98). Both saw value in the Portuguese trade, especially in European weapons to enhance their military capabilities. In their wars of conquest of the states, they defeated all entities that could potentially pose threats to their domination. They destroyed powerful Shinto-Buddhist temples, which boasted their own military troops with the financial backings from their adherents. These economic, political, and religious tides worked favorably for the still obscure Jesuit mission, and between 1549 and 1585, the Jesuit missionaries gained gradual recognition from the unifiers, witnessing steady church growth. Notable conversions of the Kirishitan *daimyō*, such as Ōtomo Sōrin Francisco, Ōmura Sumitada Bartolomeu, and Arima Harunobu Protásio, as well as some of the women in this book, including Hibiya Monica (Part 1) and Justa of Nagasaki (Part 4), occurred during this period. There were also localized persecutions of Kirishitans. The wife of Ōtomo Sōrin

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[13] The term *sengoku* (a noun or an adjective) means warring states or of the warring nation. Historians' periodization of the particular *Sengoku* Period (the Period of Warring States) varies. The most standard dating is from 1467 (the beginning of the War of Ōnin) to 1573 (Oda Nobunaga's deposing of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiaki). I am using the generic *sengoku* to designate the continuing state of civil wars between 1467 and 1600, from the War of Ōnin to the Battle of Sekigahara. The civil wars continued until 1615 when the Tokugawa secured its position as the shogun. According to conventional Japanese historiography, the *sengoku* period falls as a sub-period within Chūsei (1185–1600). More strictly the Christian Century began in the late Muromachi period (1394–1537) and ended in the early Edo period (1603–1868) in the Japanese official periodization. Since Chūsei literally means Middle Ages, I will use the term *Middle Ages* or *medieval* to designate this Japanese periodization, which roughly corresponds to the medieval to early modern period in Europe.

[14] The Jesuits equated the Japanese feudal lords to European dukes. They considered *daimyō*, or the most powerful feudal lords, as princes and kings.

Francisco, alias Jezebel, rejected Christianity and became a formidable Shinto-Buddhist leader against the Jesuits (Part 2).

Nobunaga was assassinated in 1582, and Hideyoshi received the title *kampaku* (imperial regent) from Emperor Ōgimachi in 1585. Hideyoshi immediately began to assert his power as the sole unifier of Japan. By then the Kirishitan population had grown noticeably, to about 240,000,[15] and Hideyoshi may have perceived a threat of Portuguese colonialism through the Jesuit mission. He issued the first nationwide *Edict of Expulsion of Padres* in 1587. Even though he never strictly enforced the *Edict*, the climate was steadily changing against the Jesuit mission and their Kirishitan followers. Hideyoshi fought and lost his own disastrous colonial campaigns in Korea between in 1592 and 1597; these invasions finally ended with his death in 1598. Then Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) assumed power as the last unifier. He won the historic Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, established the Tokugawa shogunate in 1603, and then moved the seat of the government from Kyoto to Tokyo (Edo). Though the *Edict* was still in effect, the Kirishitan population increased to about 300,000 by 1600. Such noblewomen as Hosokawa Tama Gracia, a daughter of Nobunaga's assassin, Kiyohara Ito Maria, and Kyōgoku Maria (all Part 3) as well as Naitō Julia (Part 1), were converted and became important Kirishitan catechists during this period.

In the last quarter of the Christian Century, political and social hostility toward the Portuguese presence and the Kirishitan movement escalated in a nationwide persecution. While the Tokugawa shogunate was establishing itself, it still allowed Portuguese trade and Kirishitan activities for a decade. As the government adopted Neo-Confucianism as the state ideology, it began to carry out anti-Christian policy more systematically and ordered the feudal lords to eradicate Kirishitans among their subjects. Meanwhile, the monopoly of the Jesuits under the Portuguese *padroado* gradually eroded. After the Spanish conquest of the Philippines in 1565 and the annexation of Portugal by Spain in 1580, the missionaries under the Spanish *patronato* began seeking possibilities of extending the Spanish way of Christianizing (and colonizing) to Japan. This led to many negotiations on the European scene and many conflicts in the mission fields of the East Indies. The missionaries under the jurisdiction of Spain entered Japan, first illegally, beginning with the Dominicans in 1592, followed by the Franciscans in 1594, and Augustinians in 1602. Although these late-arriving mendicants gained new converts, the majority of the Kirishitan communities would remain under

[15] My statistics are complied from several sources, including *Nihon Kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten* (Tokyo, 1988) [indicated hereafter as *Daijiten*], 736–7, 957, 1236–7, and *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., 7:737–41. According to Father Obara of Kirishitan Bunko Library, Sophia University, there were 700,000 Kirishitans out of the population of 18 million at the end of the sixteenth century. There were about 40,000 martyrs in the persecution of the seventeenth century. See Satoru Obara, *Acceptance, Rejection and Transformation: Christianity and the Historical Climate of Japan* (Tokyo, 1994), 49–50.

the care of the Jesuits through the end of the Christian Century.[16] In 1608 the mendicants obtained a reversal of the papal bull, which allowed all orders to labor in Japan. This meant that they began their work against the tide, when the Kirishitan persecution had become intensified. A few Dutch and English traders arrived in Japan in 1600, hoping to win the favor of the Japanese lords over their Catholic enemies.[17] Needless to say, bitter intra-Christian antagonism between the Portuguese Jesuits and Spanish friars as well as Catholics and Protestants elevated Japanese authorities' caution against foreign invasions.

In the aftermath of an incident involving Kirishitan *daimyō* Arima Harunobu João, the Tokugawa reissued *the Edict of Expulsion of Padres* in 1612, marking the beginning of the end of the Christian Century. In 1613 the major city officials registered, arrested, and tortured European missionaries and prominent Kirishitan leaders as dangerous elements. In the Great Expulsion of 1614, the Tokugawa forcefully deported hundreds of these, including Naitō Julia and her community of women catechists, out of Japan. The Tokugawa's final victory over the remnants of Toyotomi supporters in the Battle of Osaka natsu no jin in 1615 ended the last of the *sengoku* wars. In order to establish the long-awaited stable nation without interference from outside, the government issued the *Edict of Sakoku* (closing of the nation) to all Portuguese, Spanish, and English contacts and entry. It also banned all Japanese travels in and out of the nation beginning in 1616. It enforced the ban of Christianity, and after the Amakusa-Shimabara Peasant Uprising in 1637–38, it took extreme measures of suppression of all things and persons Kirishitan. In the fierce persecution, many women and men died as martyrs, others apostatized (*korobi*), while still others survived underground as *kakure* (secret) Kirishitan. A few European and Japanese *padres* hid to care for the Kirishitan communities, but traces of their presence disappeared after 1640. By 1650 the Christian Century vanished. The ban of Kirishitan religion was not lifted until 1873, five years after the new Meiji government ended *sakoku* (1868) and eight years after several *kakure* Kirishitan villagers resurfaced (1865).

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[16] The Dominicans entered Japan in 1602 and ended their mission in 1637. The total number of their followers is unknown. The Augustinians also entered in 1602 and remained until 1637. They claimed 14,000 followers. The Franciscans obtained permission for their mission in 1593, but it was dissolved around 1635. They claimed 13,000 followers. In 1612 the numbers of Kirishitans under Jesuit care rose to 600,000. The total numbers of Kirishitans were about 400,000 in 1614 under the care of 140 Jesuits, 26 Franciscans, 9 Dominicans and 4 Augustinians.

[17] The English East Indian Company maintained its factory in Hirado between 1613 and 1623. The Dutch East Indian Company contracted with the Matsuura in Hirado, where it operated the factory between 1609 and 1641. The Tokugawa government ordered it moved to Dejima, an artificially constructed island off the coast of Nagasaki, where it remained as the sole European trading house in Japan on the condition that residents not proselytize among Japanese for any form of Christianity. The Tokugawa also allowed the Ming Chinese merchants on Dejima.

Re-visioning women in Christian-Century Japan

Throughout the Christian Century, Kirishitan women provided crucial leadership in the spread, nurture, and maintenance of the faith through their various apostolic ministries. However, their voices have been long silenced and forgotten in the historiography. By paying more attention to women's conversion, participation in or rejection of Christianity, historians of women may begin to revise standard views of the Christian Century. Such revisions will enhance the rethinking of the Jesuit mission in Japan that has already been accomplished. This rethinking has included topics such as Xavier's vision,[18] members of the Society in Japan,[19] Valignano's mission strategies,[20] the political/cultural conflict between Japanese authority and the Jesuits,[21] Jesuits and Japanese trade,[22] Kirishitan literature and

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[18] For the standard bibliography on the Christian Century in Japan, see László Polgár, *Bibliographie sur l'Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus 1901–80*, vol. 2: *Les Pays: Amérique, Asie, Afrique, Océanie* (Rome, 1986) as well as Boxer, *The Christian Century*. Georg Schurhammer produced notable works on Francis Xavier in his Japan mission: *Francis Xavier: His Life and Times*, vol 4: *Japan 1549–1552* (Rome, 1982) as well as his collected essays in *Xaveriana*, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu, 22 (Rome and Lisbon, 1964); *Orientalia*, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu, 21 (Rome and Lisbon, 1963); and *Varia*, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu, 23 (Rome and Lisbon, 1965). For Xavier's letter collection, see *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii, Aliaque Eius Scripta*, ed. G. Schurhammer and I. Wicki (Rome, 1944–45), 2 vols. Also *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, translated and introduced by M. Joseph Costelloe (St. Louis, MO, 1992). A recent work on Xavier's life and work in Japan by a Japanese scholar is Kishino Hisashi, *Zabieru to Nihon: Kirishitan kaikyōki no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1998).

[19] Josef Franz Schütte, ed., *Monumenta Historica Japoniae I: Textus Catalogorum Japoniae Aliaque de Personis Domibusque S.J. in Japonia Informationes et Relationes 1549–1654* (Rome, 1975).

[20] Josef Franz Schütte, *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, trans. John J. Coyne (St. Louis, MO, 1980, 1985), 2 vols; José Luis Alvarez-Taladriz, "Introduction" and notes in Alessandro Valignano, *Sumario de las cosas de Japon (1583); Adiciones del Sumario de Japon (1592)*, ed. José Luis Alvarez-Taladriz, Monumenta Nipponica Monographs, 9 (Tokyo, 1954), 2 vols.; also J.F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (London and New York, 1993); and Andrew C. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China 1542–1742* (Maryknoll, NY, 1994).

[21] George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA, 1973); Ebisawa Arimichi, *Kirishitan no dan'atsu to teikō* (Tokyo, 1981); Ide Katsumi, *Kirishitan shisōshi kenkyū josetsu: Nihonjin no Kirisutokyō juyō* (Tokyo, 1995); Obara, *Acceptance, Rejection and Transformation*.

[22] Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750* (Stanford, CA, 1996); Takahashi Kōichirō, *Kirishitan jidai no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1977); C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640* (Lisbon, 1959).

liturgy,[23] Kirishitan *daimyō*[24] and persecution.[25] Social historians have surveyed the activities of lay Kirishitan male leaders, but not paid attention to their female counterparts.[26] No scholar has yet extensively considered the apostolic role which Kirishitan women leaders played in its social, religious, and historical context. Comparative historians of Japanese religions, i.e., Shinto-Buddhism, Confucianism, and folk religion, have yet to integrate the perspective of women converts or rejecters of Christianity.

Yet Kirishitan women's apostolate was not without witnesses. Encyclopedic works in Japanese history sometimes mention the names of prominent Kirishitan women, albeit in a cursory fashion. For example, Samson's *History of Japan* listed "Gracia Hosokawa, daughter of Akechi Mitsuhide; [Kyōgoku] Maria, sister of Hideyoshi's consort Yodogimi; [Kyakujin] Magdalen, the companion of Hideyoshi's wife" first among the "distinguished names" of the Japanese converts.[27] In Part 3 of this book I examine in what ways and for what reasons these three women were distinguished in their vocation as catechists. I will also bring into conversation some feminist revisionist literary and scholarly works on these individual women in the course of the discussion.[28] Most importantly, Jesús

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[23] See Jesús López-Gay, *La Liturgia en la misión del Japón del siglo XVI*, Studia Missionalia, Documenta et Opera, 4 (Rome, 1970) on liturgy. On Kirishitan literature, see John Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko: a Manual of Books and Documents on the Early Christian Mission in Japan; with special reference to the principal libraries in Japan and more particularly to the collection at Sophia University, Tokyo. With an appendix of ancient maps of the Far East, especially Japan* (Tokyo, 1957); Ebisawa Arimichi et.al.ed., *Kirishitan kyōrisho*, Kirishitan kenkyū 30 (Tokyo, 1993).

[24] Johannes Laures, *Takayama Ukon und die Anfänge der Kirche in Japan* (Münster Westfalen, 1954). Michael Steichen, *Les Daimyo Chrétiens, ou un siècle de l'Histoire religieuse et politique du Japon, 1549–1650* (Hong Kong, 1904).

[25] Kataoka Yakichi, *Nihon Kirishitan junkyōshi (Historia Ecclesiae Japoniae Martyrum Sanguine Foecundatae)* (Tokyo, 1979). Juan G. Ruiz de Medina, *El Martirologio del Japón (1558–1873)* (Rome, 2000).

[26] Ebisawa Arimichi, *Kirishitan no shakai katsudō oyobi nanban igaku* (Tokyo, 1944). See also Kawamura Shinzō, "Jesuit Confraternities in Japan," paper delivered at the Jesuit conference, Boston College, May 29, 1997; and Shinzo Kawamura, "Making Christian Lay Communities During the 'Christian Century' in Japan: A Case Study of Takata District in Bungo" (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1999).

[27] George Samson, *A History of Japan 1334–1615* (Stanford, CA, 1961), 350. Also see *Nihon josei no rekishi*, vol. 7: *Sengokujidai no josei* (Tokyo, 1978).

[28] Protestant Iwata Sumie, who translated Mary Daly's *The Church and the Second Sex* into Japanese, became interested in Catholic Japanese women's history from a feminist perspective. See her "Kirishitan josei ni deau," in *Shūkyō no naka no joseishi*, ed. Okuda Akiko (Tokyo, 1993), 98–115. For a collection of essays which are not necessarily historically accurate yet useful as a feminist corrective, see *Monogatari Kirishitan daimyō no tsumatachi*, ed. Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha (Tokyo, 1991). Elisabeth Gössmann challenged hagiographic and misogynist treatment of Hosokawa Tama Gracia in her "Gracia Hosokawa

López-Gay, an eminent historian of the Jesuit mission in Japan, pursued more in depth the importance of the "feminine element" in his study of the process of conversion in *El Catecumenado*.[29] While focusing on the women converts' familial relationships with their male kin, he recognized the significance of their autonomous motivation for conversion. He classified the pattern of women's responses into two groups. Women in the first group had been fervent Buddhists of the Nichiren, Zen, and Jōdo schools. Some, such as Jezebel, resisted conversion but remained Buddhist for life.[30] Others, such as Hibiya Inez, after struggling and disputing with the Kirishitans, chose the Christian faith.[31] The second group of women became Kirishitan against their husbands' objections and abuses. Some, such as Koteda Beatriz, left their husbands, while others, such as Hosokawa Tama Gracia, stayed "heroically with the unfaithful and apostate husbands."[32]

López-Gay's work laid an important foundation for the study of women in this book. First, he correctly noted that the Jesuit sources contain information on the different Shinto-Buddhist sectarian background of each woman. Second, he made a good point that in all cases of rejection or conversion, the women made autonomous decisions and did not blindly follow the orders of male authorities or join the Kirishitan movement simply in a way "appropriate for their sex."[33] He affirmed that for Kirishitan women's "conversions were the fruit of years of maturation and struggle" and therefore "authentic," "sincere," and "profound." He suggested that there were variants in the patterns of women's lives after conversion, though he did not go much beyond this. For example, he listed several Kirishitan women as "apostles" in the index, while in the body of the text he did not name or discuss their apostolic work.[34]

Tama (1563–1600)," in *Japanese Religions* 19, nos. 1 and 2 (1994): 8–22. This and other writings of Gössmann are discussed further in Part 3. See also Kataoka Yakichi, *Shinkō ni kagayaku Nihon joseitaci* (Nagasaki, 1931); Kataoka Chizuko, "Ōtomo Sōrin no kon'in mondai," *Kirishitan Bunka Kenkyūkai kaihō*, no. 11–1 (Dec. 1968), 19–35; and Kataoka Rumiko, *Kirishitan jidai no joshi shūdōkai: Miyako no bikunitachi*, Kirishitan Kenkyū Series 14 (Tokyo, 1976) on Naitō Julia and her society of women catechists. Shibuya Mieko has produced scholarly works on Kyōgoku Maria such as "Kyōgoku Maria fujin," in *Aoyama Gen kyōju tainin kinen ronbunshū: rekishi, bunka, kotoba* (Nagoya, 1999), 39–63.

[29] Jesús López-Gay, *El Catecumenado en la Mision del Japon del s.XVI*, Studia Missionalia, Documenta et Opera, 2 (Rome, 1966), 125. The chapter is entitled "Las Conversion del Elemento Femenino."

[30] López-Gay, *El Catecumenado*, 120: López-Gay included Koteda Jeronimo, Sr.'s wife and Koteda Antonio's mother "who died a pagan" in this list.

[31] López-Gay, *El Catecumenado*, 121: López-Gay included Kyōgoku Maria and Arima Harunobu's mother (possibly Maria Madalena) in this list.

[32] López-Gay, *El Catecumenado*, 122–5: López-Gay included Catarina of Tanba and Matsuura Shōtōin Mencia as other examples.

[33] López-Gay, *El Catecumenado*, 123.

[34] López-Gay, *El Catecumenado*, 249.

This book greatly expands the treatment of women on those two important points, namely their background in Japanese religions and their autonomous decisions. It goes far beyond López-Gay's work, however, in its focus on women's lifelong vocation. It argues that the Christian Century in Japan was the century of women's apostolic ministries. A closer study of primary sources reveals that the Christian Century was indeed marked by the ministries of the women "apostles" as López-Gay called them. Inspired by the Jesuit style of active apostolate, these Kirishitan women worked side by side with the Jesuits as if they envisioned themselves as Jesuits, too. I am proposing that these women apostles created their own space of ministry beyond the Jesuit initiative, in preaching, teaching, catechizing, religious disputations, administration of certain sacraments, works of mercy for the poor, and martyrdom. This book also builds upon López-Gay's method of relating women's original religious affiliations to their adoption of Christianity. I argue that while Kirishitan women converts rejected Shinto-Buddhist doctrines which disadvantaged them, they utilized theological, liturgical, communal, and practical tools from their Shinto-Buddhist past in creating their own Kirishitan mission.

This burst of women's active apostolate was unexpected because of several basic conditions. First, the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus prohibited its members to work regularly with women. The Society decided early on that they would permanently forgo the foundation of any female branch and the regular spiritual direction of women. This decision came shortly after Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society, admitted three women into the order. In December 1545 Isabel Roser, a long time benefactor to Ignatius from Barcelona, received endorsement from Pope Paul III and took vows of obedience to the Society in Rome with her two companions, Lucrezia di Brandine and Francisca Cruyllas. After several months of confrontations with Isabel, however, Ignatius disbanded this Society of Women Jesuits and appealed to the pope to release the Jesuits from the regular care of women. In November 1546 the pope ordered that the vows of these women be transferred to the diocesan bishop. In May 1547 Ignatius further petitioned the pope for perpetual release from the care of women, and the pope complied by issuing bull *Licet debritum* in 1549.[35] Ignatius made only one exception to this policy, when for political reasons he accepted Princess Juana de Austria, with her pseudonym of Mateo Sánchez, as a scholastic member of the Society in absolute secrecy between 1554 and 1573. In 1558 the first General Congregation of the Society firmly established the clause in the *Constitutions*:

> [B]ecause the members of this Society ought to be ready at any hour to go to some or other parts of the world where they may be sent by the sovereign pontiff or their own superiors, they ought not to take a curacy of souls, and still less ought they to take charge of religious women or any other women whatever

[35] See Hugo Rahner, *Saint Ignatius Loyola: Letters to Women*, trans. Kathleen Pond and S.A.H. Weetman (New York, 1960), 251–95 on Ignatius of Loyola and the brief life of the female branch of the Society, and 52–67 on the secret Jesuit Juana de Austria.

> to be their regular confessors or to direct them. However, nothing prohibits them in passing from hearing the confessions of a whole monastery for special reasons.[36]

This prohibits the Society from establishing a second order of women or third order of lay persons, in contrast to the Dominicans, Franciscans, or Augustinians.

Despite this constitutional limitation, waves of women identified themselves with the Ignatian active apostolate. Such women as Mary Ward and Angela Merici founded their own societies for women in the Jesuit way but were criticized as "Jesuitesses."[37] Women apostles in Japan mission also worked outside the Jesuit constitutional bounds. The missionaries benefited greatly from these women's apostolic work. They also had close pastoral relationships with women as their confessors. They accommodated to women's requests as much as they were able. Yet in their official documents they took care to dissociate themselves from women while giving recognition and compensation to their Japanese male members. This question of Jesuit curacy of souls is discussed in detail in each woman's case.

Second, there was pervasive discrimination against women in Shinto-Buddhism which also hindered their active participation. While the orthodox Tendai and Shingon schools were on the decline in the late medieval period, the religious revivals among the more egalitarian "reformed" sects of Zen, Jōdo, Hokke, and Jōdo-Shinshū (or Ikkōshū) attracted women.[38] All schools offered doctrines of the

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[36] *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, trans. George E. Ganss (St. Louis, MO, 1970), [558]–5 on pages 262–3. [In the following, this translation is indicated as *Constitutions*.] Ganss's note 5 in *Constitutions*, 263 offers a summary of the events which led to this codification and explained that Ignatius' "chief motive" to put this clause in the *Constitutions* was "avoidance of impediment to the mobility of his men." Unless otherwise noted, I am using Ganss's translation of the *Constitutions* from the Spanish text of 1594, which retains "much of the Ignatian flavor" (58) instead of the contemporary version.

[37] Critics of the "black robes" have tended to mock the Jesuit exclusion of women. E. Boyd Barrett, for example, charged the Jesuits with allegations of "profound distrust, not unmingled with fear and contempt" of women in his *The Jesuit Enigma* (New York, 1929), 131. Manfred Barthel generalized by saying "In the real world ... the Order has never lacked for sympathizers, and throughout the centuries the most devoted of these have been women," in *The Jesuits: History and Legend of the Society of Jesus*, trans. and adapt. Mark Howson (New York, 1984), 60. On "this perennial female urge to join the Jesuits despite all snubs, disappointments, vetoes and rejections," see Jean Lacouture's chapter entitled, "No Women Need Apply," *Jesuits: a Multiplebiography*, trans. Jeremy Leggatt (Washington, D.C., 1995), 136–60 (citation from 159). John W. O'Malley admitted that the sixteenth-century Jesuits were not "free of the standard prejudices against the 'weaker sex'" but felt that "the Jesuits' practice in dealing with women was much better than their talk about it," in *The First Jesuits*, 75.

[38] On Nobunaga's centralization policy, his triumph over the militia and commercial centers of the Buddhist temples, waning of the late medieval Shinto-Buddhist spirituality, weakening of the early charisma of Zen as it was taken advantage of by the politicians, and

afterlife that offered little hope of women's salvation after death, however. The *ketsubonkyō* (blood bowl sutra) taught that because of the impurity due to their blood of menstruation and childbirth, all women must suffer in *ketsubon* (blood lake) after death. Only if the firstborn sons recited *ketsubonkyō* for their mothers, may the mothers be rescued from the suffering.[39] The *ketsubonkyō* had origins in Chinese extra-canonical texts. Coming to Japan in the fourteenth century, these teachings were combined with already existing misogynist teachings of *nyoshin kue* (impurity of women's body), *goshō sanjū* (five impediments and obedience to three lords), *nyonin kekkai* (sacred areas prohibited to women), and *henjō nanshi* (turning into a man). By the sixteenth century these doctrines became standardized in all schools of Shinto-Buddhism, providing popular sermon topics. In this book I examine how these Japanese religious and social taboos might have influenced each woman in her own Shinto-Buddhist context. The despair in Buddhist fatalism often influenced women's Kirishitan conversion, as they hoped for salvation and liberation beyond death.

While the Jesuits pioneered the study of other religions in the sixteenth century and knew the complexities and conflicts among the Shinto-Buddhists, their understanding of the whole system was simplistic at times. On the one hand the Jesuits praised the sophisticated beauty of Japanese religious architecture and noted some liturgical and philosophical similarities between Shinto-Buddhism and their Reformed Catholicism. On the other hand they regarded all Japanese religions as polytheistic, idolatrous, and evil. They lumped all the idols that they saw into one phrase, *camis e fotoques*, to express their categorical disdain.[40] For example in 1565, Irmão Luís de Almeida attempted to distinguish the role of *kami* and *hotoke*, saying that the Japanese prayed to Shinto *kami* for longevity, health,

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bursting energies of the peasant followers' *ikki* (uprising) of Ikkō (Jōdo-Shinshū) and Saika sects, see Neil McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (Princeton, NJ, 1984).

[39] On the history of *ketsubonkyō*, see Makino Kazuo and Kodate Naomi, "Ketsubonkyō no juyō to tenkai" in *Onna to otoko no jikū: Nihon joseishi saikō = TimeSpace of Gender*: *Redefining Japanese Women's History*, ed. Kōno Nobuko and Tsurumi Kazuko (Tokyo, 1996), 3 Chūsei: 81–115. On various versions of *ketsubonkyō* text in English translation, see Takemi Motoko, "'Menstruation Sutra' Belief in Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 10, no. 2–3 (1983): 229–46. One version appears in pages 230 and 232. See also Duncan Ryūken Williams, *The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton, NJ, 2005), which has the text of *The Origins of the Blood Pool Hell Sutra for Women's Salvation* in Appendix A, pp. 125–8. Also see Hitomi Tonomura, "Re-envisioning Women in the Post-Kamakura Age," *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford, CA, 1997), 164–5.

[40] In the modern Hepburn Romanization, *cami* is spelled *kami*, and *fotoque* is spelled *hotoke* but their pronunciations are almost identical.

wealth, honor and other temporary good while to Buddhist *hotoke* for salvation.[41] He was not aware of the predominant doctrine of *honji suijaku*, which considered Shinto *kami* (gods and goddesses) as manifestations of Buddhist *hotoke* (buddhas or bodhisattvas). Padre Luís Fróis was most critical of the powerful Tendai Buddhist "republic" of Kōyasan, calling their founder Kōbōdaishi a son of the devil. However, he provided more objective criticism of Tendai's prohibition of all things and creatures female in their temples (*nyonin kekkai*), and their insistence that women were impure (*nyoshin kue*) and could not attain salvation unless they were transmuted into men (*henjō nanshi*).[42] The Jesuit criticism of Shinto-Buddhist misogyny facilitated conversions of some Kirishitan women.

One must also remember that many Japanese women rejected Christianity on the grounds of their Shinto-Buddhist convictions, which gave them sufficient religious and spiritual support. While in general Shinto-Buddhism subjugated women to the male hierarchy, some religious women did attain a certain degree of autonomy and climbed to prominence. While numerous women became professional *bikuni* (ordained nuns) in such schools as Zen, Jōdo, Hokke, and Nichiren, others remained as *zaikeni* (stay-home-nuns) or devout practitioners at home. The Christian Century corresponds to the period which scholars of Buddhism call the golden age of Kumano *bikuni*, who enjoyed prominence as preachers of the Buddhist path to the afterlife for women.[43] The Kumano *bikuni* urged women to take their female fate in their hands, and by reciting *ketsubonkyō* for themselves, live positively in the network of women to overcome women's hardships. Their sympathy for women's suffering attracted women, who rejected the Christianity of the Jesuits that harshly condemned these *bikuni* as evil. Ancient Shinto, which must be differentiated from modern imperial state Shinto, affirmed

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[41] Luís Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, ed. José Wicki, 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1976), 2:49. In his letter dated 27 August 1585, Fróis also differentiated two kinds of idols. The first, *hotoke*, had two principal deities [Bodhisattvas] of Shaka and Amida. From them all other deities originated. There were 13 sects in Buddhism. Japanese people prayed to these *hotoke* for the forgiveness of sins and salvation in the next life. The second, *kami*, were numerous indigenous deities. The three major *kami* were goddess Tenshōdaijin, Kasuga Daimyōjin and Hachiman Bodhisattva. The Japanese prayed to these *kami* for health, longevity, wealth, children, and victory over one's enemies. See *Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Reynos de Iapão e China aos da mesma Companhia da India e Europa, desdo anno de 1549 ate o de 1580* (Evora, 1598; facsimile, Tenri Central Library, 1992), 2 vols. [Indicated as *Cartas* hereafter], 2:155–155v.

[42] See *Cartas*, 2:162–162v (Fróis' letter dated 1 October 1585).

[43] The Kumano school originated in the Kumano mountain region in the Kii peninsula. Hagiwara Tatsuo provided evidence of various types of Kumano *bikuni* in his *Miko to Bukkyōshi: Kumano bikuni no shimei to tenkai* (Tokyo, 1983). See also Barbara Ruch, "Woman to Woman: *Kumano bikuni* Proselytizers in Medieval and Early Modern Japan," in *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan*, ed. Barbara Ruch (Ann Arbor, MI, 2002), 567–75 [indicated hereafter as "Woman to Woman"]. Ruch's definition of Kumano *bikuni* differs from Hagiwara's.

goddesses and their priestesses. The demonization of Ōtomo Nata Jezebel, who had a strong self-identity as a Shinto *miko* (priestess) and protector of Kumano religious, is a good example of how the Jesuits feared and mistreated women leaders of Shinto-Buddhism. By making such women into "witches," they missed the opportunity for serious religious dialogue and perhaps conversion.

What then were the unique benefits of Christianity to the Japanese women of this period? The strongest attraction of Catholicism to women was again its more inclusive doctrine of salvation when compared to what Shinto-Buddhism offered. Christianity assured women of the salvation of their own souls and of their loved ones in the afterlife through prayers. In addition, their confidence prompted Kirishitan women to work actively with the Jesuits for the care of the souls of others in this life. These demands of autonomy often placed women in danger. Christianity required women to make a personal decision about their religious choices and confess it publicly in a society where women's opinions mattered little. It required them to maintain a stronger loyalty to Christ than to their feudal lords, fathers, elder brothers, husbands and sons. It empowered women to take vows of celibacy, or choose their own marriage partners from among Kirishitan men. The autonomy of Kirishitan women frustrated family patriarchs, who perceived them as insubordinate, and turned oppressive. While early modern Catholicism itself also taught women to endure such subjugation to patriarchs, Kirishitan women bonded together to stand up against abuse, using the liberating message which they heard in the Christian gospel as their resource. Above all, the church legitimated women's desires to form connections beyond their family contexts and with other women of different social class. The alternative understanding of the Christian family freed women to establish a new spiritual relationship with both Japanese and *nanban* Jesuits. The Christian community gave them new opportunities for exercising their leadership in ministries of teaching, persuading, preaching, and works of mercy.

There was a direct link between this proliferation of Kirishitan women's apostolic ministries and the radicalization of Japanese political ideology in the first half of the seventeenth century. Formally adopting Neo-Confucianism as its state ideology in 1607, the new Tokugawa shogunate set out to establish a stratified society with strict class and gender segregation. As the result of this ideological shift, Japan moved toward total rejection of Christianity and complete subjugation of women in society and religion in the subsequent centuries. During these early years of the Edo period, Kirishitan women's egalitarian and liberationist ministries flourished. Whether it was in ministry of conversion, vows of perpetual virginity, forming religious communities, or resistance against oppression, Kirishitan women acted in deliberate opposition to official policy. They trespassed Neo-Confucian boundaries of women's appropriate place in families, would not submit to their patriarchs' orders, and posed a major setback for the government in accomplishing its program. The government was so alarmed that in 1614 it deported Naitō Julia and her Miyako no bikuni from Japan as dangerous political adversaries. Not

being threatened by such measures, Kirishitan women continued their freedom-seeking activities.

The second Shogun Hidetada moved decisively in exterminating Kirishitans by force. Women whom the society deemed weak ignored the repeated ban of Christianity, resisted persecution, and endured torture. Twenty-six women were among the 56 martyrs in the Great Martyrdom of 1619 in Kyoto. Beginning with this date, countless women, independently from their families, chose to die by the hands of the state as criminals rather than renounce their religion. By the end of the rule of the third Shogun Iemitsu in 1651, the government succeeded in solidifying the Neo-Confucian society. Kirishitan women survivors took protection under *kakure* Kirishitan families hiding in remote villages. During the rest of the Edo period, women were no longer seen publicly exercising social or religious leadership.

Sources and method

The lack of discussion of Kirishitan women in the historiography was due to historians' assumptions about the scarcity of primary sources and the challenge of reconstructing women's own voices from male writings. Kirishitan women did speak and write about their religious thoughts and experiences, but very few such writings were preserved, partly because they were by women and partly because of the persecution of Christians. What have survived are fragments of women's speeches, letters, and poems that were quoted by the male authors, mostly in the writings of the Jesuit missionaries, Jesuit-Japanese coauthored literature, and some discussion in the Japanese chronicles. It is true that the Jesuits quoted these women's words as manifestations of the faithfulness of the new converts, effectiveness of the Jesuit mission, and the spread of Christianity among the pagans. While one must remember this Jesuit apologetic tendency, these women's words themselves can be trusted as accurate, because the Jesuits were under no obligation to report such obscure matters to their Roman headquarters. The gleaned fragments make up a substantial body of information, and its quality is consistent enough to provide a cornucopia of the thoughts and lived realities of these individual women.

The lack of interest in Kirishitan women has also been due to the fact that scholars have focused more on the polity and theory than on what actually went on in the mission. Visitor Alessandro Valignano concerned himself mainly with representative Japanese men in his statements on Jesuit mission policy, making little room for discussing women.[44] In contrast, the Jesuits in the field left various

[44] The office of the visitor was the highest ranking missionary administrator answerable directly to the General of the Society of Jesus. As the visitor to the East Indies, Valignano "visited" Japan three times for a few years (25 July 1579–20 February 1582; 21 July 1590–9 October 1592; 5 August 1598–15 January 1603). He always relied on interpreters (primarily Fróis) in his communication with the Japanese.

descriptions of Japanese women alongside their citations of women's words. Above all, Luís Fróis and his *História de Japão* provides abundant pictures of Kirishitan women apostles.[45]

Fróis and his writings need an introduction for English readers.[46] Luís Fróis was born in Lisbon in 1532, and as a youth worked in the Royal Secretary's office.[47] He joined the Society of Jesus in 1548 and departed for Goa in the same year. After studying in the College of Saint Paul in Goa, he went to the Malacca mission from 1554 until his return to Goa in 1557. After completing his theological studies, he was ordained a priest and became a confessor in 1561. He left Goa in 1562, and after spending about ten months in Macao, he arrived in Yokoseura, Japan, on 6 June 1563. From that day until his death in Nagasaki on 8 July 1597, Fróis lived as an active field missionary in Japan, except when he accompanied Visitor Valignano as interpreter-amanuensis-secretary to Macao between 1592 and 1595. He was first stationed in Miyako (1565–76), became superior of Bungo (1577–81), and later was assistant to Vice-Provincial Gaspar Coelho (1582–87). He took his final vow in Kazusa in 1591. He was secretary at consultations, and often acted as Jesuit spokesperson to the first two unifiers of Japan.

Most important, Fróis was a writer and editor of Jesuit annual letters throughout the years. His literary skill was already widely recognized in Goa, when he began the task in 1552. After his arrival in Japan, he continued to be the chief editor of the letters. These experiences prepared him in his writing of his *História*, which is the best source on the Kirishitan women who appear in this book. In 1579 Jesuit historian J.P.Maffei asked the Society's General Everard Mercurian to recruit Fróis to write the section on Japan in his comprehensive *History of India*.[48] After Mercurian's death in 1580, the next General Claudio Aquaviva requested Visitor Valignano to convey this order to Fróis via his superior Gaspar Coelho. Fróis received the order around 1584. By the end of 1586 Fróis completed Part 1 of *História*, which covered the history of the Jesuit mission between 1549 and 1578. He finished Part 2 (1579–89) around 1590. Part 3 (1589–93) was finished in

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[45] Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, ed. Wicki. Wicki used the modernized spelling of *História de Japão*, except on the title page. [This work is indicated hereafter as *História*.]

[46] Throughout this book, I provide my own English translation for Fróis' writings and for other primary sources in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Latin, and Japanese, as well as for secondary sources in Portuguese, Spanish, German, French, and Japanese unless otherwise noted.

[47] On the life of Fróis, see José Wicki's "Introduction," in Fróis, *História*, 1:3*–10*; see also Engelbert Jorissen, *Das Japanbild im Traktat (1585) des Luis Frois* (Münster, 1988), 22–36, 134–83; Jesús López-Gay, "Fróis, Luis [*sic*]," in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (Grand Rapids, MI, 1998), 230.

[48] On Maffei's commission of Fróis' *História*, see Wicki, "Introduction," in Fróis, *História*, 1:1*–3*, 11*–17*. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, Book 1, 325; Book 2, 686.

Macao in 1593. Fróis seems to have continued to write his *História* until 1597, but this last part, like parts of his earlier work, is lost.

História (1549–93) was never published as the General and its author had intended. Valignano did not allow it to be sent to Rome, saying that it contained too many details and copious examples "not suitable to mention" to the European audience and that its size was too enormous.[49] In addition, Valignano aspired to write his own history of Japan, which he never completed but was incorporated in Maffei's history. Fróis' work stayed as a manuscript in Macao during the early modern period.[50] In 1742, José Montanha made two or three copies of the texts in Macao with the intention of sending them to the newly established Royal Academy of History in Lisbon. After the departure of Padre Montanha to Indochina, Irmão João Alvãres continued the task. The original manuscript of *História* was burned in a fire in 1835. The Montanha-Alvãres copies, which did arrive in Europe, continued their peculiar journeys, showing up and getting lost in different continents and nations, surviving Jesuit suppressions, earthquakes, fires and wars. Finally, in 1923, Georg Schurhammer, an eminent Jesuit historian, identified Part 1 in Lisbon and published its German translation.[51] Parts 2 and 3 were discovered by Dorotheus Schilling, a Franciscan scholar, in Toulouse in

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[49] On Valignano's censure and suppression of Fróis' writings, see Wicki, "Introduction," in Fróis, *História*, 1:1*—3*, 11*,17*; also Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 35–41. António da Silva compared different foci of Valignano and Fróis: "more extensive and immediate (version) of Fróis and more abridged and weighed-from-a-distance (version) of Valignano." See his "O Grande Encontro Cultural Luso-Japonês,—ou a 'Historia de Japam,' de L. Fróis," *Broteria* 125 (1989): 70–78. Da Silva tried to give balance to Schütte's opinion, whose admiration of Valignano overshadowed his views of Fróis. Schütte took Valignano's criticism of Fróis' uncritically and concluded that Fróis only provided "excess information," which lacked a structural analysis of the status of the mission in Japan, recording "more external events than the pastoral process or the internal purpose of the missionary body" (78). Da Silva evaluated Fróis' wider interest outside the church more objectively, saying that "his interests in the land, people and profound societal changes," which may have seemed "curiosities" to Valignano, present modern historians an invaluable source (78). He found in Fróis "the historian of the radical change in which he lived and contributed," and of "a new and rapid inculturation but without consolidation of the faith"(79).

[50] On the fascinating stories of the rediscovery of the manuscripts in the twentieth century and the critical assessment of the text as a whole, see Wicki's "Introduction," in Fróis, *História*, 1:17*–19*. See also Da Silva, "O Grande Encontro Cultural," 67–8; Schurhammer, "P. Luis Frois SJ, ein Missionshistoriker des 16. Jahrhunderts in Indien und Japan," in *Orientalia*, 518–604; Josef Wicki, "Die Geshichte Japans des P. Luis Frois S.J. (1549–1594)," *Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft* 31 (1975): 192–206; and Matsuda Kiichi, "Kaidai," in *Nihonshi*, ed. and trans. Matsuda Kiichi and Kawasaki Momota (Tokyo, 1977–80), 1:26–40.

[51] Published as P. Luis Frois, *Die Geschichte Japans (1549–78): Nach der Handschrift der Ajudabibliothek in Lissabon übersetzt und kommentiert von G. Schurhammer und E.A. Voretzsch* (Leipzig, 1926).

1931, and another copy of Part 2 in Lisbon. The Portuguese editions of these two parts appeared in Tokyo in 1938.[52] After a few more lost-and-found incidents, six partial manuscripts found a home in three archives in Lisbon, where they remain to this day.[53] It was not until 1976 that José Wicki began publishing a five-volume critical edition in Portuguese. Wicki's edition followed the manuscripts' original chronicle-style, chapters organized by the year. Meanwhile, between 1977 and 1980, Japanese scholars Matsuda Kiichi and Kawamura Momota edited and completed the twelve-volume Japanese translations from the manuscripts in the archives.[54] Fearing his time was running out, Matsuda first extracted the most desired chapters related to Toyotomi Hideyoshi, which had no previous Japanese translations, then grouped the chapters by major geographical areas: Gokinai, Bungo and Shimo.[55] Fróis had meticulously followed the regional stories so that a coherent narrative emerges even in this geographical reorganization. I use Wicki's critical edition as the base text.

What did Fróis mean by *História* or "history"? In the larger context, it belongs to the genre of the Portuguese humanist "Chronicle-Narrative," in the style of João de Barros. In the age of Portuguese expansion, the chroniclers dealt with increased information from overseas, and provided their non-traveling readers "a fuller than normal narrative with many more explanations of settings and lengthier identifications of places, peoples and things."[56] The authors cited primary sources and used rhetorical skills in "weaving a rich diversity of materials into a smooth, readable, and informative historical fabric."[57] Fróis certainly achieved this effect of weaving materials from the East Indies, informing the readers with new and

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[52] Published as *Segunda parte da História de Japam que trata das couzas, que socederão nesta V. Provincia da Hera de 1578 por diante, começando pela Conversão del Rey de Bungo (1578–1582)*, *Capitulos I a XLIII*, ed. and annot. João do Amaral Abranches Pinto and Yoshitomo Okamoto (Tokyo, 1938). See also *Terza parte da Historia de Japam (1582 -1592)*, ed. J.A. Abranches Pinto, Y. Okamoto, and Hiri Bernard, Monumenta Nipponica Monographs, 6 (Tokyo, 1945).

[53] On the present locations and status of manuscripts, see Wicki, "Introduction," in Fróis, *História*, 1:20*–23*. In May 1999 I visited these three archives in Lisbon (Biblioteca Nacional, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, and Biblioteca da Ajuda) and examined the manuscripts and/or their microfilms in good condition.

[54] Matsuda Kiichi and Kawasaki Momota, ed. and trans, *Nihonshi*, 12 vols. (Tokyo, 1977–80). [Indicated hereafter as *Nihonshi*].

[55] *Nihonshi*, 1:3–4. Matsuda remarked: "Whenever I read a passage in the letter of Fróis to the Father General which he wrote in Macao, I feel for his sorrow which he must have felt in front of the massive manuscript which did not seem to have the destiny for publication, and I am reduced to tears. Whenever I read it, I wish to realize his never-realized dream, after four centuries, in this land of Japan which he loved, and to console his spirit"(5–6).

[56] Lach, "The Chronicle Narrative," *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2: *A Century of Wonder* (Chicago, 1977), Book 2, 141.

[57] Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2, Book 2, 143.

curious information. In the narrower context, *História* belonged to the Jesuit exercise of classical rhetoric. The Jesuit schools trained their students in a humanist curriculum, in which the history of antiquity and knowledge of geography were valued highly.[58] In some schools, history was the most popular subject, and history books were given as prizes to the best students of the year. Missionary letters, which provided "not only edifying, but colorful descriptions of terra, flora and faun[a]" were soon "used in the Jesuit schools." These missionary findings "helped to confirm what had been discovered by the writers of ancient times, the sure and certain fact of a '"common human nature.' " Fróis was trained in the humanist program in the Jesuit College in Goa, where he studied with students from Europe, Africa, and many Asian ethnic groups.[59] His respect for each person as representing a common humanity was reflected in his writing of *História*.

Fróis wrote not as a travel writer but as an historian. He avoided interpretations based purely on classic imagination and instead aimed for an objective presentation of the facts. In his "Prologue" to Part 1 in 1586 he noted the importance of collecting eye witness accounts of the "new discoveries."

> By extensive reasoning, and considering the way in which one could with ease take up the matter of the beginning part of the narration of the history of the conversion of Japan, two things occurred to me that would better illustrate and give it more decorum (principally since one intends not to differ from the connection and rectitude of the truth, the principle is that the eyes become greater [witnesses]).[60]

The first of these two things, Fróis said, was "true and genuine information"(*as informações veras e genuinas*) which only the early workers "in this new vineyard of the Lord" (*desta nova vinha do Senhor*) could provide. With a sense of urgency, he noted that by 1584 several witnesses had passed away. In order to preserve the facts of the early period, Fróis was still able to "pull out and collect many things about work, lack of necessities, difficulties and danger" (*tirar e coligir muitas*

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[58] John W. Padberg, "The *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599: Issues of Implementation History, Geography, and One Wide World," paper delivered at the Sixteenth-Century Studies Conference (St. Louis, MO, 30 October 1999). In this paper Padberg showed how the knowledge of the expanding world influenced the formation of curriculum in Jesuit schools, which culminated in the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599. The quotations are from pages 7 and 8. See also Martin P. Harney, "Jesuit Writers of History," *Catholic Historical Review* 26, no. 4 (Jan. 1941): 435 for the list of early modern Jesuit authors of "compendiums and manuals not only of classical, but of universal, secular and ecclesiastical history." How Fróis' own letters from India and Japan may have influenced the European curriculum should be studied in another project.

[59] H. Cieslik, "Early Jesuit Missionaries (IV): Father Louis Frois Historian of the Mission," in *The Missionary Bulletin* (Sept.–Oct. 1954): 153.

[60] Fróis, *História*, 1:1.

couzas dos trabalhos, penurias, diffuculdades e perigos) from the "*padres*, *irmãos* and some Kirishitans of old" who knew the period since 1549 and who were still alive. He also took advantage of the published annual letters (*do livro que anda impresso das cartas annuas*).[61] The second of Fróis' two points was the structural differences between Europe and Japan. In order to understand "conversions," one must first know "the climate of the land, the characteristics, nature and custom of the Japanese, the cult and veneration of their idols" (*do clima da terra, das qualidades, natureza e costumes dos japões, do culto e veneração de seos idolos*). Fróis hoped that the mission's 38 years of experience and study of Japanese culture and language would help clarify "ambiguities and questions" for the field missionaries.[62]

In the typical rhetorical *topoi* of humility and obedience, Fróis emphasized that he did not qualify for the task that the Father General entrusted to him: "Since this task seemed to exceed the limits of my ability and adequacy, I trusted in the famous and powerful virtue of holy obedience."[63] However Fróis' self-identity as the best qualified historian of the mission was evident in this passage.

> It occurred to me that one bases oneself [on the fact] that, by good fortune, it has been almost 40 years since I have been in the Society, having entered it before Padre Master Francis Xavier of holy memory, arriving in Japan, having spent fourteen to fifteen years in India with the letters that were sent there, having been in Japan for 24 years most of which in the region of Miyako, and having communicated in a very unhurried way from the beginning with all the *padres* and *irmãos*, who were sent here.[64]

Beside his methodological and experiential advantages, Fróis had other reasons to think that he should take up this task. First, he had already been collecting "old documents" (*papeis antigos*).[65] Second, he had the chance to collect more information from the long-term *padres*, *irmãos*, and Japanese Kirishitans when in 1586 he accompanied Vice-Provincial Gaspar Coelho in his visitation tour of all mission stations. He was ready to burst into writing. Write he did: 116 chapters and more.[66] But when he began Part 2 in 1587, he regretted that there were things in

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61 Fróis, *História*, 1:2.

62 Fróis, *História*, 1:5–9.

63 Fróis, *História*, 1:3.

64 Fróis, *História*, 1:3–4. Fróis joined the Society in 1548.

65 Fróis, *História*, 1:4.

66 One of the Montanha manuscripts contains Fróis' plan of the structure for Part 1. According to this, Fróis prepared some front matters preceding the 116 chapters of history. At the conclusion of the "Prologue" came the "Description of the 66 kingdoms of Japan," which is now lost. After this Description followed a "Treatise or General Introduction on Japanese Culture." Only the table of contents of this Treatise remains, indicating its 37 chapters with such titles as climate, people, government, custom, wars, buildings,

Part 1 "that were written so succinctly and briefly" (*o que tão sucinta e brevemente se escreveo*) and that there was much more "that he left unsaid" (*muito mais o que se deixou de dizer*).[67] He had secured more advantageous sources for Part 2 because "the present material is so modern that at most of these events we were either there or we attained true information of them shortly after when they happened."[68] He wrote 106 chapters for Part 2.[69] Whenever he used direct citations, Fróis made his sources clear whether it came from Jesuit letters or oral reports, women's own writings, or rumors among the people. This makes contemporary historians' tasks easier because we can tell fairly exactly which sources Fróis used.

Fróis utilized his humanist training fully in his copious record of examples.[70] The passion for particulars, such as names, exact numbers, and the vivid and "brilliant" description of happenings and persons, is the characteristic mark of *História*.[71] Twentieth-century historian Hubert Cieslik's observation that "Frois was wide-awake to his surroundings ... [and] interested in everything" is very true about his description of women.[72] As a sixteenth-century Christian humanist writer, Fróis shared with all contemporary Jesuit writers of the histories of missions the firm belief that they were witnessing antiquity come alive again.[73] They were convinced that Christianity was the one true religion, and that the pagan peoples in the East and West Indies would be converted to Christianity as it was believed to have happened in the post-Constantinian period in Rome.[74] In Fróis, we see his fundamental view that the providence of God was with the Jesuits as they

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education, clothing, temples, monks, priests, ascetics, sects such as Zen, Shingon, Negoro, Jōdo, Hokke, Nichiren, and Jōdo-Shinshū. See Wick's "Introduction" in Fróis, *História*, 1:11*–13*.

67 Fróis, *História*, 3:1.

68 Fróis, *História*, 3:2.

69 No "Prologue" or title remains for Part Three, for which he wrote 80 chapters.

70 As seen in Erasmus' *De Copia*, giving numerous and abundant examples was an important skill required for humanist rhetoricians. See Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996), 101–15.

71 Schurhammer, *Die Geschichte Japans (1549–78)*, ix.

72 H. Cieslik, "Early Jesuit Missionaries (IV): Father Louis Frois Historian of the Mission," *The Missionary Bulletin* (Nov.–Dec. 1954): 176, 181.

73 On Schütte's list of the most important early modern historians of the early church in Japan, see *Valignano's Mission Principles*, vol. 1, Part 1, 13–29. His list included Fróis, Luis de Guzmán, Daniello Bartoli, and François Solier. For a published edition of Valignano's history, see Alessandro Valignano, *Historia del Principio y Progresso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales (1542–64)*, ed. Josef Wicki, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu, 2 (Rome, 1944). Also, in an unpublished Oxford University doctoral thesis, Antoni M. Üçerler provided a new critical edition and analyses of this text. Michael Cooper gave a partial translation of João Rodrigues Tçuzu's *Historia do Igreja do Japão* as *This Island of Japan: João Rodrigues' Account of 16th Century Japan* (Tokyo, 1973).

74 This group includes such well known works as *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* of José de Acosta.

worked hard in the Lord's vineyard in Japan, where "the people who dwelled in darkness have seen the great light."[75] We sense his own excitement as he recorded victories of "Elijahs" (the Jesuits) defeating Jezebels, and saw another "Acts of the Apostles" unfold in front of his own eyes.

What distinguished Fróis' history from other histories was that he was not trapped entirely in the framework of providential history. As he said in the "Prologue," he valued the testimony of the native Japanese equally with that of his European companions. Neither did he write only on heroic figures. From his detailed descriptions we read the quotidian life not only of the Jesuits, but of Japanese of all classes, ages, and genders.[76] To borrow Cieslik's words again, Fróis was interested deeply in "the Weltanschauung, the spiritual and religious background" of the peoples of the East Indies.[77] Fróis had learned their languages, observed their decorum, and worked among and established relationships with the people, practicing cultural "accommodation" long before Valignano made it into a mission policy for the East Indies. He maintained a respectful, kind, and friendly view towards "the Other," or women and men of diverse East Indian races, and often admired and appreciated cultural differences.[78] His personal connections to the new Christian converts, whom he considered crucial members of the church universal as well as "the friends of God," who showed humane interests in the Jesuits' welfare, give his descriptions a sense of immediacy. Even while calling Muslims, Hindus, Shinto-Buddhists, and followers of other religious sects "enemies of God" and "Jezebels," he tried hard to give full accounts of them, based on his visits to their religious sites, study of their literature, and

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[75] Fróis, *História*, 1:4: "Populus qui ambulabat in tenebris vidit lucem magna[m], et sedentibus in regione umbrae mortis lux orta est eis." Fróis quoted Matthew 4:16 (citation of Isaiah 9:2). The vulgate has "populus, qui sedebat in tenebris, vidit lucem magnam: et sedentibus in regione umbræ mortis, lux orta est eis."

[76] Da Silva, "O Grande Encontro Cultural," 69; see also Engelbert Jorissen, "Luís Fróis (1532–1597): Escritor do Japão do Século XVI," *Revista de Cultura* 18 (1994): 43.

[77] Cieslik, "Early Jesuit Missionaries," 176. Cieslik credited Fróis' and others' contribution to Jesuit accommodation theory, which scholars tend to attribute only to Valignano: "Frois was a faithful disciple of Vilela who went in for large-scale adaptation to local ceremonies and customs. Father Organtino, who later succeeded Father Frois as pastor of Kyoto, also followed this same policy, with the result that the missionaries of the Kyoto area stood out as advocates of a far-reaching adaptation policy while those in the Kyushu area were more conservative. The adaptation policy was also approved at a later date by Father Valignano, the great Visitor of the Jesuit missions in Japan after he had discussed the matter at length with many of the missionaries." The content and degrees of regional adaptation need further research.

[78] On Fróis' use of the terms, "friends and enemies of God," and his cultural and religious tolerance, see Rui Manuel Loureiro, "A visão do outro nos escritos de Luís Fróis, SJ," in *O Século Cristão do Japão: Actas do Colóquio Internacional Comemorativo dos 450 anos de Amizade Portugal-Japão (1543–1993)*, ed. Roberto Carneiro and A. Teodoro de Matos (Braga, 1994), 650–63.

conversations and disputations with religious and laywomen and men.[79] *História* thus includes extensive descriptions of Kirishitan women and Shinto-Buddhist women in different schools.

The second major text for this study is Fróis' *Tratado*, a treatise on cultural comparisons between Europe and Japan.[80] Its handwritten manuscript was discovered by Schütte in Madrid in 1946. In fourteen chapters, Fróis paired two very succinct comments on the differences between European and Japanese cultures on 609 topics. Since most of the titles of the fourteen chapters of *Tratado* match those of the "Contents" of the lost "Treatise or General Introduction" of Part 1 in *História*, it is possible to extract to an extent Fróis' basic views on certain topics, such as Japanese religious practices and women.[81] However, the literary genre and content of *Tratado* are very different from that of *História*. Recently some scholars have argued that Fróis prepared *Tratado* as a training manual in cultural sensitization for the new missionaries; however, we lack evidence to support this theory.[82] Others see it as a Portuguese humanist work of cultural criticism, similar to that of the *Essays* of Michel de Montaigne.[83] All agree that Fróis' analyses were

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[79] Cieslik claimed that Fróis "studied Buddhism and Japanese culture more thoroughly than anybody else [among the missionaries]." See Cieslik, "Early Jesuit Missionaries," 176.

[80] Luís Fróis, *Kulturgegensätze Europa-Japan (1585): Tratado em que se contem muito susintae abreviadamente algumas contradições e diferenças de custumes antre a gente de Europa e esta provincia de Japão*, trans. and ed. Josef Franz Schütte, Monumenta Nipponica, 15 (Tokyo, 1955), contains Fróis' text in Portuguese and Schütte's German translation [indicated hereafter as *Tratado*]. A French translation is available as *Traité de Luís Fróis, S.J. (1585): sur les contradictions de moeurs entre Européens et Japonais*, preface by José Manuel Garcia, trans. Xavier de Castro, chronology and notes by Robert Schrimpf (Paris, 1993) [indicated hereafter as *Traité*].

[81] Chapter titles of *Tratado* include: on men, women, children, *bonzos*, temples, custom, horses, weapons, medicine, education, buildings, ships, dramas and miscellaneous matters.

[82] Loureiro, "A visão do outro nos escritos de Luís Fróis, SJ," 662.

[83] Jorissen, *Das Japanbild im Traktat*, 216. Elsewhere he elaborated on this discussion: "Frois' *Tratado* ... belong[s] to the humanist literature and [is] written with an intention of reform and critic [*sic*]. Frois in his *Tratado*, in a way similar to a dialogue, uses the possibility, not to decide on his own position and opinion. Read in this way his text bears the message of relativity of culture and civilization, and this means not only cultural facts of external everyday life but as well of taste, moral[s], and ethic and even of religion." See Engelbert Jorissen, "Texts of the Society of Jesus in India and Japan from the 16th to the 17th Centuries: An Attempt at Interpretation of the Contexts of the History of Thought, Literature, and Post-Colonialism" in *St. Francis Xavier: An Apostle of the East*, 1:112. Jorissen speculated that Fróis had a Jewish family background because of his acquaintance with Garcia da Orta and Fernão Mendes Pinto in Goa, their shared defiance to the Portuguese and Goan inquisitions of New Christians, as well as Valignano's repeated suppression of his works; however, no data on Fróis' lineage are available.

keen, realistic and "objective," almost like those of a "cultural anthropologist."[84] Chapter 2, "On Women," has attracted scholarly attention. One observer noted that Fróis practiced the Renaissance rhetorical "dry" listing of broad differences, ignoring possible commonalities, without making value judgments.[85] Another scholar regarded the chapter as a valuable source on women's status in marriage, freedom of mobility and association, and economic independence, during the "transient period between two periods of social stability."[86] I think that, unlike other men who wrote on women from this period, Fróis was able to avoid cultural judgment, providing observations of women without ridicule or debasement just as he did in his *História*.[87] Unlike *História*, in which he gave full accounts of individual women in a serious tone, in *Tratado* one senses that he was playful in making generalizations on lighter subjects such as hairstyle, dress, drinking, and so on.

The third principal source for this study is the Jesuit letters. The *Constitutions* required Jesuits in all mission fields to send reports regularly back to Rome.[88] Fróis left more than 130 letters from Goa, Malacca, Macao, and Japan and worked as chief editor of the Japanese annual letters.[89] Donald F. Lach, the author of *Asia in the Making of Europe*, established the authenticity of these letters as invaluable historical sources and said: "The superior quality of the letters from Japan can probably be attributed to the fact that most of them were written by Luis [*sic*] Fróis, one of the ablest observers and chroniclers ever to be associated with the Society."[90]

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[84] José Manuel Garcia saw the importance of *Tratado* in its profound and rigorous analyses of the quotidian life and mentality of the people of Europe and Japan, and deserves to be seen as "'anthropologie culturelle comparée,' où l'Europe porte un regard sur une autre civilisation." See "Preface," *Traité*, 38.

[85] Ana Maria Costa-Lopes, "Imagens do Japão 'Do que toca as mulheres, e de suas pessoas e costumes' no Tratado […] de Luís Fróis," in *O Século Cristão do Japão*, 591–601.

[86] Pierre F. Souyri, "Luís Fróis et l'histoire des femmes japonaises," in *O Século Cristão do Japão*, 639. See also Jorissen, *Das Japanbild im Traktat*, 269–87, on missionary attitude toward abortion, infanticide, other issues relating to women in *Tratado* and *História*.

[87] Souyri, "Luís Fróis et l'histoire des femmes japonaises," 643.

[88] See item 673–6 in *Constitutions* (pages 292–3) on the "exchange of letters" and the "union of the members' souls" in European provinces. On the modified rules for the "Indian" provinces, see Lach, "The Jesuit Letters, Letterbooks, and General Histories," in *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, Book 1, 315.

[89] See the list of Fróis' letters written between 1552 and 1597 in Wicki's "Introduction," in Fróis, *História*, 34*–41*. His 29 letters from India and Malacca are available in modern critical edition in *Documenta Indica*, ed. Josef Wicki (Rome, 1948–), vols. 2 through 5.

[90] Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, Book 1, 321. See also 314–31. Lach elaborated this opinion in vol. 1, Book 2, 683–4: "For the historian, Fróis' letters are particularly valuable because of the author's avid concern for concrete data and detail. Unlike many of the Jesuits, Fróis was not given to sermonizing or verbosity. In fact, the

The original manuscripts of the letters from Japan, written in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and Latin, are housed not in Japan but in European archives; the largest collection is the Japonica-Sinica (*Jap. Sin.*) documents in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu in Rome.[91] I consulted a limited number of the letters in the ARSI, treading water in the shallows of this vast sea of information. Critical editions of selective letters of the early mission to 1562 from the *Jap. Sin.* are available in print in the ARSI's primary source series.[92]

In addition, a number of copies of the official letters were published in Europe during Fróis' lifetime and are available also in the European, Japanese, and American archives.[93] Here I mention only the important Spanish and Portuguese editions of *Cartas* and point to other collections as they appear in this book.[94] In his composition of *História*, Fróis himself used and synthesized both original and published letters, which he himself or others wrote. European Jesuits reedited these letters by adding explanations to unfamiliar terms and deleting information not edifying to their readers. By comparing these letters with their corresponding sections in *História*, one may get a better sense of which version was more contemporaneous with the event and which was more analytical. The

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Roman censors apparently felt from time to time that his letters were too 'curious' and not 'edifying' enough. For unlike some of his forerunners, Fróis made a determined effort to master the Japanese language and through it to penetrate the civilization of Nipon [*sic*]. Even before Valignano arrived in Japan, Fróis had successfully begun on his own to cultivate acquaintance with people in high places by showing understanding and appreciation of the arts and achievements of Japan and by studying sympathetically all levels of Japanese society and various branches of its culture."

[91] For the description of the archives and the materials, see Matsuda Kiichi, *Kinseishoki Nihon kankei nanbanshiryō no kenkyū*(Tokyo, 1967) [indicated hereafter as *Nanbanshiryō*]. Besides the ARSI *Jap. Sin.*, there are large collections in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon, the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, and the British Museum. There is a comprehensive catalogue of the *Jap. Sin.* and other European archival materials, of which the Kirishitan Bunko in Sophia University has microfilms. See Obara Satoru, *Kirishitan Bunko: Iezusukai Nihon kankei monjo* (Tokyo: Nansōsha, 1981).

[92] Schütte, ed. *Monumenta Historica Japoniae I.: Textus Catalogorum Japoniae 1549–1654*; Juan G. Ruiz de Medina, ed. and annot., *Documentos Del Japon: 1547–1557: Monumenta Historica Japoniae II*, Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, 137 (Rome, 1990); and Juan G. Ruiz de Medina, ed. and annot., *Documentos Del Japon: 1558–1562: Monumenta Historica Japoniae III*, Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, 148 (Rome, 1995.) [These works are indicated as *MHJ* 1, *MHJ* 2, and *MHJ* 3, respectively.]

[93] Representatives of the numerous published letters from Japan are also catalogued in Obara, *Kirishitan Bunko: Iezusukai Nihon kankei monjo*, 11–14. See also Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko: A Manual*, 167–282 on the published letters between 1552 and 1700.

[94] *Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañia de Iesus, que andan en los Reynos de Iapon escrivieron a los de la misma Compañia, desde el año de mil y quinientos y quarenta y nueve, hasta el de mil y quinientos y setenta y uno* (Alcala, 1575) [indicated hereafter as *Cartas, 1575*]; and *Cartas* (see note 41). See Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, Book 1, 320 and vol. 1, Book 2, 676 on these collections.