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THE DOMINICAN MISSION IN JAPAN (1602-1622) AND LOPE DE VEGA

BY

C. R. BOXER AND J. S. CUMMINS

*Rev. P. F. Bennoni Biermann Ord. Praed.,
rerum a praeconibus christianae fidei inter gentes
praeclare gestarum scriptori praeclaro, octogesimum
recurrente natali die D.D.D.*

In comparison with the well-publicised Jesuit and Franciscan missions in feudal Japan, the Dominicans and the Augustinians have remained very much in the background. To a large extent, this is perfectly understandable. The Jesuits were the first and for a long time the only missionaries in Japan, and the regular publication of their Annual Letters assured them of a wide and interested audience in all save the most bigotedly Protestant countries of Western Europe. The Franciscans, though their mission was established forty four years after St. Francis Xavier had landed at Kagoshima, quickly achieved renown throughout Christendom with the spectacular martyrdom at Nagasaki on the 5 February 1597 in which they provided the great majority of the victims. Moreover, the success of the Christian *daimyos'* embassy to Rome, Madrid and Lisbon which had been organised and publicised by the Jesuits in 1583-90, was emulated within three decades by the dispatch of Daté Masamune's embassy accompanied by Friar Luis Sotelo, O.F.M., and which attracted almost as much notice in Western Europe. Finally, the Jesuit and Franciscan records of their respective missions in Japan, both published and unpublished, are evidently much more voluminous than those of either the Dominicans or the Augustinians. For these and other reasons which need not be mentioned here, historians both clerical and lay, European and Japanese alike, have tended to concentrate on the activities of the two former Orders in the Japanese mission-field, and have left the others to their contempo-

rary chroniclers and hagiographers¹. While not disputing the primacy of the Jesuits and the Franciscans in the Land of the Rising Sun, it is the object of this essay to show that the Dominicans' missionary efforts were far from negligible and that they secured the sympathy and support of Spain's most famous playwright. The Augustinians do not fall within the scope of this article, save incidentally, but it is to be hoped that the remarkable life and labours of Fray Bartolomé de Gutiérrez, O.E.S.A., (to mention only one of their martyrs) will attract a modern biographer before long. Nor are we concerned in this article with the last fourteen years (1623-1637) of the Dominican mission in feudal Japan.

The first recorded Dominican friar to set foot in Japan was Fr. Juan Cobo, who landed at Satsuma in 1592 as envoy from the Governor of the Philippines to Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Nothing came of his visit, since he was shipwrecked on the return voyage and perished at the hands of the head-hunters of Formosa. Ten years elapsed after Cobo's death before the Dominicans tried to get another footing in Japan, but then they were more successful. The exact origins of the mission which they founded in Satsuma in 1602 are still not altogether clear, but Dr Antonio de Morga's version is probably not far from the truth. The martyrdom of 5 February 1597, though primarily a Franciscan triumph, had quickened the interest in Japan of all the four Religious Orders represented at Manila. Fr. Jerónimo de Jesús, O.F.M., who had returned to that country in 1598, and been well received by Tokugawa Ieyasu, the military dictator who became the effective ruler of the island empire after the battle of Sekigahara (20 October 1600), claimed that there was a rich harvest of souls awaiting Jesuits and friars alike. In 1601, the Dominican Prior at Manila, Fr. Francisco Morales, became very friendly with some Japanese Christians from Satsuma

¹ The principal sources for the Dominican mission in feudal Japan are the original letters preserved in the archives of the Philippine Province of the Rosary at Manila, many of which have been published serially in an obscure periodical entitled "Misiones Dominicanas" (vols. II-VIII, Madrid-Alcalá, 1919-1925) and hereinafter referred to as MD.; Jacinto Orfanel, O.P., and Diego Collado, O.P., *Historia eclesiástica de los sucesos de la cristiandad de Japón, 1602-1622* (Madrid, 1633); Diego Aduarte, O.P., *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores en Philipinas, Iapón, y China* (Manila, 1640). A second edition of Aduarte's *Historia* was published at Saragossa in 1693, but our quotations are from the first edition. For a short, factual modern survey cf. Pablo Fernández, O.P., *Dominicos donde nace el sol* (Barcelona, 1958), pp. 81-97.

and he asked them about the possibility of opening a Dominican mission in that fief. The Japanese were most optimistic, and the Father Provincial accordingly gave them a letter addressed to the ruling *daimyo*, Shimazu Yoshihiro, asking if missionaries of that Order would be allowed to work there. An affirmative reply was received in the following year, and despite some misgivings on the part of the newly-arrived Governor of the Philippines, Don Pedro de Acuña, and a few of the lay authorities at Manila, a party of five friars headed by Fr. Francisco Morales left for Satsuma in June, 1602².

Having fought on the losing side against Ieyasu at the battle of Sekigahara, Yoshihiro had been forced to resign the fief (in 1602) to his son, Tadatsune, who took the name of Iehisa in the following year. It was, however, apparently the former who received Morales and his companions at Kagoshima, kindly enough at first, but later with more reserve when he realised that they had not come with the intention of attracting Spanish traders and merchant shipping from Manila, as he had hoped, but solely with the object of making converts to Christianity. As late as February 1606, however, Friar Juan Rueda de los Angeles O.P., who had joined the mission two years previously, wrote that "El Rey nos tiene mucha afición, hacenos limosna, y no le hemos pedido cosa que nos la haya negado". The Dominicans were allowed to remain in Satsuma until the year 1609, but there were never more than six of them there at any given time, and they never had more than one small church — at first on the off-shore island of Koshiki, and from June 1606 at the little port of Kyodomari on the opposite coast.

Unfortunately, we have very little information about this Dominican mission in Satsuma, neither Orfanel nor Aduarte devoting much space to it in their respective chronicles³. It is obvious that the friars made relatively few converts, despite the exemplary lives they led and the

² Dr. Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas* (Mexico, 1609), reprinted with copious notes and an introduction by W. E. Retana (Madrid, 1909), from which edition our references are taken, pp. 101-103, 128-30; Diego Aduarte, O.P., *Historia*, Libro I, cap. 55. Fr. Lorenzo Pérez, O.F.M., in his lavishly documented monograph on "Fr. Jerónimo de Jesús, restaurador de las misiones del Japón, sus cartas y relaciones, 1595-1604" (Firenze, 1929), pp. 18-40, points out that Morga was mistaken on some points of detail; but he accurately reflected the mixed feelings in Manila about the pros and cons of reopening missionary and commercial contacts with Japan in 1598-1603.

³ Orfanel, *Historia* (1633), ff. 1-8; Aduarte, *Historia*, Libro I, caps. 55, 64, 67 and 68. Only a few original letters from this period are published in the MD.

rigour with which they followed the Constitutions of their Order. Nor is this surprising, as the difficulties in the way of evangelisation which St. Francis Xavier experienced during his stay at Kagoshima were still more formidable half a century later. Buddhism was very strongly established here, and the Bonzes were more respected than they were in many other regions. The inhabitants prided themselves on their fanatical loyalty to their *daimyo*, and these *daimyo* let it be clearly understood that they did not favour converts to Christianity. As elsewhere in Japan at this time, the conversion of nobles and *samurai* was forbidden on pain of death, but the prohibition was enforced more rigorously in Satsuma than in most other fiefs. It was a breach of this prohibition which provided the Dominicans with their first Japanese martyr, a *samurai* named Leon Shichiyemon who was baptized in July 1608, and executed when he refused to renounce his faith four months later.

Even though they did not make many converts during their seven-year stay in Satsuma, the friars were not entirely wasting their time. They earnestly studied the Japanese language, manners and customs; and if two of the missionaries could not last the course and had to return to Manila, the others became remarkably proficient linguists. Fr. Juan Rueda de los Angeles wrote, in his above-quoted letter of 24 February 1606, that the friars took daily lessons in Japanese and often spoke it among themselves. By this time, he averred, "Todos los Padres han salido con la lengua, confiesan, y predicán y catequizan en ella"⁴. He himself became so expert that by the time of the general persecution in 1614 he could pass himself off as a Japanese. The friars naturally had to contend with much opposition and counter-propaganda from the local Bonzes. Orfanel also mentions one who was certainly no bigot, but whose polite evasions were more difficult to overcome than argumentative hostility:

"Era este de buen natural, y hombre a mi parecer que se le dava poco de passar dos, o tres dias sin rezar. Solia ir algunas vezes a casa de los Padres, pareceme que mas porque le conbidassen a beber, que por otra cosa. Quando le dezian algo de nuestra ley, oialo, y luego respondia: Que lo mismo tenian ellos puntualmente en la suya sin discrepar en nada. A todo dava esta respuesta, con que no se le hallava pies ni cabeça, y si le queria hablar mas en ello, luego dezia que estava de priessa, y se despedia".

⁴ Fr. Juan Rueda de los Angeles, O.P., to the Provincial, Kiyodomari, 24 February, 1606 in MD. IV (1921), pp. 370-71, 399-400.

This attitude reminds one of St. Francis Xavier's friend at Kagoshima, the abbot of the Zen monastery of Fukushoji, who likewise tried to avoid becoming enmeshed in abstruse theological arguments, without giving offence to his interlocutor⁵.

Although the Dominicans had never made any secret of the fact that they had come to Satsuma solely for the purpose of preaching the Gospel, the Shimazu family evidently hoped that the presence of the friars would act as a bait to Spanish traders in much the same way as the presence of the Jesuits at Nagasaki facilitated the trade with the Portuguese merchants of Macao. If the Shimazu did not actively encourage the friars to remain when the ships from Manila failed to come, at least they tolerated them for some years, giving them land for the construction of their two churches and sending them occasional gifts in money and kind in lieu of the fixed income they had originally offered and which the friars had politely declined. With the gradual, if modest, expansion of their missionary work, and the continued absence of shipping from Manila, the *daimyo* began to lose patience. The conversion and martyrdom of Leon Shichiyemon evidently proved the last straw. The blow did not actually fall till May 1609, but the friars had some warning that their expulsion was contemplated, although the *daimyo* politely dissimulated with them personally up to the last moment. When he dropped the mask, he was frank enough, as Fr. José de San Jacinto Salvánés reported in a letter dated 27 January 1610:

“El recado nos dieron a dos de mayo, diciendo que el Rey aborrecia nuestra Ley y que después que estábamos allí, habíamos hecho muchos cristianos y que se iba perdiendo la adoración de sus dioses, que en su Reino mas que en otros del Japon se estimaba en mucho, y que por otra parte, no le eran [*sic*; eramos?] de ningun provecho, porque no venia nunca nao — ésto se quede en casa — y que así nos fuésemos presto a otra parte”. For these reasons, as Fr. José wrote in the same letter: “De Satsuma nos desterraron después de haber renegado muchos cristianos y salido desterrados otros muchos por no querer renegar”⁶.

Fortunately for the friars, they had already managed to establish a foothold elsewhere in Kyushu, as well as in Kyoto, by the time of

⁵ Orfanel, *Historia*, fl. 2. For Xavier's relations with the Zen abbot of the Kagoshima Fukushoji, see Michael Cooper, S.J., *The early Jesuits and Zen* (*The Month*, May, 1962, pp. 261-74), especially, pp. 263-5.

⁶ José de Salvánés, O.P., to the Padre Provincial, Kyoto, 27 January 1610 in MD. V (1922), p. 61.

their expulsion from Satsuma in May 1609. Henceforth the province of Hizen became their principal mission-field, for they had been given an unexpectedly cordial welcome there by Nabeshima Naoshige, *daimyo* of Saga, three years earlier. When Friar Alonso de Mena was granted a preliminary audience by Nabeshima, the friar, mindful of the trouble brewing with the Shimazu of Satsuma, pointed out that if the Dominicans were allowed to settle in Hizen, they could not guarantee that Spanish ships would visit his ports. Nabeshima gave a reassuring reply, saying that "ni el tampoco les admitia en su Reino por esos respetos, que no tuviessen pena". He added that he would give them leave to build churches in his fief provided that no objection was raised by a famous Buddhist scholar-priest named Genkitsu, who was one of Ieyasu's confidential advisers and was then visiting a neighbouring monastery. Fr. Alonso de Mena naturally expected that Genkitsu would strongly advise against any such concession, but, on the contrary, he readily gave his approval and rebuffed some of his colleagues who urged that the missionaries should be rejected⁷. Nor was this the only instance of Buddhist tolerance that the friars experienced in Hizen. When they finally had to leave in November 1613, as a consequence of the general persecution, a famous old Zen hermit who lived near their church at Hamamachi, and who often paid them friendly visits, came to condole with them on the eve of their departure "y mostrava a los menos en lo exterior tanto sentimiento, que no le faltava sino llorar"⁸. Incidentally, this Bonze had also adopted the technique of his Satsuma colleague in politely evading the friars' efforts to engage him in theological disputations.

On their expulsion from Satsuma, Fr. Francisco Morales and his two remaining companions moved to Nagasaki, where they founded the Dominican church of the Rosary. Between 1609 and the beginning of the general persecution in 1613, the Dominican mission achieved its greatest extent and prosperity in Japan. In addition to the church at Nagasaki, there were three churches in Hizen, one in Kyoto, and one in Osaka. Other places in Southern Japan, such as Hirado, were visited periodically; but the Dominicans were too few in number to

⁷ Orfanel, *Historia*, fs. 3-4, 9; Aduarte, *Historia*, Libro I, cap. 64, where the Bonze's name is given as "Gaco", which is a transcription of the Japanese word *Gakko* (school, college), and was often applied to Genkitsu, since he had been director of the celebrated Ashikaga Gakko, or Ashikaga College (University).

⁸ Orfanel, *Historia*, fs. 22-23; Aduarte, *Historia*, Libro I, cap. 75.

accept the invitation of Daté Masamune, the powerful *daimyo* of Oshu (Mutsu), to extend their mission to the northern provinces. As there were never more than ten ordained Dominicans in Japan at any given time, and as some of them were always on the move, ministering to the scattered Christian communities, there were never more than one or two friars officiating in each of the six churches before the outbreak of the general persecution in 1613 led to the concentration of all the missionaries at Nagasaki.

As indicated above, we have very little information about the missionary and conversion techniques employed by the Dominicans in Japan, in contrast to the wealth of material available in Jesuit and Franciscan sources. We know, however, that they were careful to avoid any close connection between God and Mammon, and they assured potential converts that they had no special "pull" or influence with the traders at Manila. "Mas queremos cuatro cristianos hechos puramente por Dios", wrote Fr. Juan Rueda de los Angeles in February 1606, "que ciento por interés del mundo, que corren mucho peligro en la fe en faltando el interés que los movió a hacerse cristianos". They also realised that some of the primitive Satsuma peasants and fishers whom they converted did not always fully understand what was involved in their conversion. For this reason, continued Rueda, "parece necesario que todos los domingos se les diga alguna cosa de catecismo, ahora sea dentro del mismo sermón, o de otra cualquiera manera"; and this, as he recognised, was one of the reasons why the friars should (and did) study the language intensively⁹. We also know that the friars made great use of *dojuku*, or native catechists, as the Jesuits and Franciscans had done before them.

Although the friars emphasized that their missionary methods differed in some ways from those of the Jesuits, they frankly acknowledged their debt to several of the works printed in the vernacular by the Jesuit press in Japan. These included an abridged version of one of the most famous works by a writer of their own Order, *The Sinner's Guide* of Fr. Luis de Granada, O. P. Among several tributes to the great popularity of this book the following by Fr. Jacinto Orfanel, O. P., is worth quoting in full. Writing of a Christian household in the village of Kibara, Bungo province, he states:

⁹ Juan Rueda de los Angeles, O.P., letter of 24 February 1606, ed. in MD. IV, pp. 370-71, 399-400.

“ Tenian estos buenos Christianos en su casa el *Guia de pecadores* del Padre fray Luis de Granada, y solian leer en él muy de ordinario hasta la Maxencia, que tambien sabia leer: y no se puede bien dezir el gran provecho que ha hecho en Iapon este libro traduzido como anda, al qual no solo estiman, y andan perdidos por él los Christianos; pero aun hasta los Gentiles gustan de leer en él muchos, y le tienen algunos en sus casas ”¹⁰.

This Japanese version was first printed at Nagasaki in 1599, in a mixture of woodblock and moveable type. The bulk of the text was in Sino-Japanese characters and *kana* syllabary, with many quotations from the Vulgate printed in Latin. It proved so popular that a second edition was apparently printed a few years later, but no copy of this has survived, and only some eight existing copies — all save one, incomplete — are recorded of the first edition. The universal appeal of *The Sinner's Guide* is shown by the fact that it also ran through two editions in contemporary England (1598 and 1614), where its translator was a Protestant preacher and its popularity likewise was not confined to Catholic readers.

This is not the place to discuss the reasons for and the antecedents of the decree promulgated by the Tokugawa *Bakufu* (*lit.* “curtain government”) or military dictatorship in January 1614, by which all the missionaries were expelled from Japan, and the profession and propagation of Roman Catholic Christianity were forbidden on pain of severe punishment. Even this decree, though applied from the beginning more seriously than previous anti-Christian decrees had been, was not enforced with the utmost rigour in all localities for the first few years, and some of the *daimyo* used harsher methods than others. Even in places directly controlled by the Bakufu, such as Kyoto and Nagasaki, the decree was not at first applied wholesale to all those who were known to be Christians, but only to certain selected — or unlucky — victims. One reason for this was that for a couple of years the authorities were preoccupied with the two Osaka campaigns which culminated in the defeat and death of Toyotomi Hideyori (4 June, 1615) and this gave the missionaries a relative breathing space. They

¹⁰ Orfanel, *Historia*, fl. 33. For other references to the Japanese version of the *Guia de pecadores* and its popularity in Japan, cf. *ibidem*, fl. 42, 74; Aduarte, *Historia* (ed. Manila, 1640), Libro II, pp. 38, 56; MD. III, p. 190. For a bibliographical description and the location of all recorded copies, see Johannes Laures, S.J., *Kirishitan Bunko*. A manual of books and documents on the early Christian missions in Japan (3rd ed., Tokyo, 1957), pp. 60-62.



had all been concentrated at Nagasaki during the spring and summer of 1614, pending their deportation to Manila and Macao in three ships, which finally set sail in November. But a few of them managed to slip away in disguise before the ships left and many others disembarked when the ships had reached the open sea into some boats sent by the local Christians. Of the nine ordained Dominicans who were then in Japan and assembled with the other missionaries at Nagasaki, seven managed to evade arrest in this way. This was a relatively higher proportion than with any of the other Orders, since out of the ten Franciscans only six remained; out of three Augustinians only one; out of eighty-five Jesuits only twenty-seven; and five Japanese secular clergy out of seven. Those missionaries who had remained in hiding or else returned in disguise, naturally wore secular clothing from then on, though many of them kept the habits of their respective Orders to wear if they should be captured and martyred¹¹.

The return of so many missionaries in disguise had been arranged by one of the leading Japanese Christians, Murayama Toan, the *Dai-kwan*, or Deputy-Governor of Nagasaki, whose previous career deserves some notice. Though the Dominicans claimed that he was of *samurai* birth, it seems that he was really born at Nagoya of humble parents. He went to Nagasaki when a youth, where he was baptized by the Jesuits under the name of Antonio. Here he not only displayed a commercial acumen which enabled him to amass a large fortune, but he became famous as a *bon-viveur* and cook, particularly in European-style dishes or *Namban-ryori*. Wealthy, amusing and hospitable as he was, he soon became one of the leading citizens. He was selected as a delegate from the municipal council to Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1592, when the latter made an attempt to incorporate Nagasaki in his own domains. His conversation, cooking, and buffoonery so pleased Hideyoshi, with whom he seems to have had a good deal in common, that the latter changed Antonio's name to Toan and made him the local tax-farmer, in return for a fixed annual payment of 25 *kwamme* of silver. Toan closely cooperated with the Jesuits in the workaday administration and commerce of Nagasaki, and all his male children were educated by

¹¹ As, for instance, Fr. Francisco Morales, O.P., did with the sanction of the official who arrested him on 15 March 1619; cf. Orfanel, *Historia* (p. 93): "Entro el Padre, y de alli a poco salió vestido con su habito de Religioso (porque antes estava de seglar) con tanta autoridad, y alegria de rostro, que se espantaron todos los que presentes se hallaron".

them. When Tokugawa Ieyasu came to power, he continued to patronise Toan as Hideyoshi had done, and confirmed him in his post of deputy-governor. Toan's five sons and three daughters were all devout Christians, and one of the former, Francisco, had been ordained as a secular priest by the Jesuit Bishop of Japan in 1604¹².

For reasons which are far from clear, Toan seems to have fallen out with his Jesuit friends and benefactors about the time of the Dominicans' arrival at Nagasaki. At any rate, he transferred his favours to the friars and became a member of the Dominican confraternity of the Rosary, as did his sons. He avoided an open breach with the Jesuits for some years, but they considered he was partly to blame for the destruction of the great ship from Macao which was attacked and sunk near Nagasaki in January 1610¹³. However this may have been, both his wealth and his generosity to the local Christians and their European pastors over a period of many years are well attested facts from both Japanese and Western sources. Fr. Francisco Morales, O.P., was certainly not exaggerating when he recalled in 1620 that Toan "era el amparo de todas las iglesias y religiones de Nangasaqui, y en particular él y sus hijos muy aficionados a la de San Francisco y San Domingo". Morales added with engaging frankness: "No por estas limosnas y virtudes de Toán le quiero canonizar por santo; mas antes, yo concedo que con las muchas riquezas y poder que tenía andaba también distraído, mas lo bueno bien es que se diga, y lo que tuvo también es que en cosas de la fe estuvo siempre firme; y si no lo estuviera, sus hijos, que fueron en este particular muy extremados (como luego diré), le dejaran y le fueran más crueles enemigos que cuantos él tenía"¹⁴.

Despite the fact that Murayama Toan and his family were widely known to be staunch Christians, and although they all took part in a public procession of intercession and atonement organised by the Dominicans at Nagasaki on the 9 May, 1614, no action was taken against them by the Bakufu until 1617 or 1618. At that time, however, Toan became involved in a bitter dispute with another prominent Nagasaki

¹² For Murayama Toan and his career cf. N. Peri, *Essai sur les relations du Japon et de l'Indochine aux XVI et XVII siècles* (Hanoi, 1923), pp. 55-58; C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (California University Press, 1951), pp. 178, 273, 298, 333-34, 345, 430.

¹³ Cf. C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East. Fact and Fancy in the History of Macao, 1550-1770* (The Hague, 1948), pp. 52-62, and the sources quoted there.

¹⁴ Undated letter (1620 or 1621) of Fr. Francisco Morales, O.P., in MD. IV (1921), pp. 156-57, 187, 220-21.

character, Heizo Suyetsugu, who had likewise been a Jesuit convert, but who had apostatised before the crisis of 1614.

It is not clear from the conflicting evidence who started the quarrel, but it was carried as far as the Shogun's council and became a famous law-case in feudal Japan. It seemed as if Heizo would lose the day (and possibly his head) but then he played his trump-card by revealing to the Bakufu that Toan's clerical son, Francisco, had been among the defenders of Osaka Castle when he was killed in the final assault, and that Toan and his family were giving aid and comfort to the missionaries who had secretly returned to Japan. These accusations, which were perfectly true, turned the scale in Heizo's favour. Toan and two of his sons were disgraced and exiled from Nagasaki, and his office of *Daikwan* was awarded to his accuser. Further than that the Bakufu did not go, "pero dejándole con su plata y hacienda, a la mujer y los demás hijos libres", as Morales wrote in 1620¹⁵.

The death of Ieyasu (May, 1616), and the accession to real power of his son, Hidetada, who had been the nominal Shogun since 1605, was the occasion of intensifying the persecution of Christians, both native converts and foreign missionaries, since Hidetada was even more resolved to stamp out Christianity than his father had been. The first Europeans to suffer martyrdom, Father Pedro de Asunción, O.F.M., and Father João Baptista Machado, S.I., were beheaded at Omura on the 29 April 1618, and a few weeks later Father Alonso de Navarrete, O.P., and Father Hernando de San José Ayala, O.E.S.A., suffered the same fate, as related on pp. 54 ff. *infra*. These martyrdoms coincided with the disgrace and banishment of Murayama Toan and the triumph of the apostate Heizo Suyetsugu. Toan's eldest son, André Tokuan, was still left in undisputed possession of his house and property at Nagasaki, although he was known to be a fervent Christian, and the government must have suspected that he was secretly giving aid and protection to the missionaries in hiding, as indeed he was. Fr. Francisco Morales, the Dominican superior in Japan, was lying concealed in Tokuan's house when this fact was revealed under torture on the 15 March 1619 by a Japanese catechist of Fr. Alonso de Mena, O.P., who had been caught the day before. This was the final ruin of the Mura-

¹⁵ Sources quoted in notes (12) and (14) above; Fr. Francisco Morales, O.P., letter of 25 April, 1620 in MD. III (1920), p. 384; N. Murakami (ed.), *The Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant of the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622* (2 vols., Tokyo, 1899), II, pp. 39-69 *passim*.

yama family, who had been such general benefactors of the Dominican mission in Japan. Tokuan was burnt alive at Nagasaki on the 18 November 1619, "alcanzando gloriosa corona de martirio", as Francisco de Morales reported from Omura jail. "Por el mismo tiempo", he added, "al Toán y a su hijo Jochuán hizo llamar el Emperador [= Shogun] del destierro, y los mandó cortar la cabeza; para lo qual ellos se aparejaron como buenos cristianos con mucha oración y lección de libros devotos y muchos actos de contrición, etc.". More of Toan's children and grandchildren, one of them only seven years old, were executed next year, and the women of the household were exiled or imprisoned. "No por esto quiero decir que Toán es mártir", concluded Fr. Francisco Morales, "pero menos me atrevo a decir lo contrario, pues no se sabe que haya otra causa sino la dicha".¹⁶

We have dealt with this tragedy at some length because the part played by the Murayama family has been underestimated or misunderstood by many writers on the history of Christianity in Japan. The testimony of Fr. Francisco Morales, O.P., who knew the family well, and who was burnt alive when André Tokuan's wife, María, was beheaded in the "Great Martyrdom" at Nagasaki on the 10 September 1622, is sufficient to dispose of the slander that Toan was "a leading Judas", as Padre João Rodrigues Girão, S.I., called him in 1618¹⁷. No doubt Toan's conduct was equivocal at times, and Richard Cocks was only repeating a widely spread opinion when he alleged that Toan "is held to be the richest man in Japan, and come up of base parentage by his subtle and crafty wit". But without him and his "subtle and crafty

¹⁶ Letter of Fr. Francisco Morales, O.P., in MD. IV (1921), pp. 220-21. Cf. also M. Anesaki, *A Concordance to the history of the Kirishitan Missions* (Tokyo, 1930), pp. 40-41, 139-40, for the martyrdom and genealogy of the Murayama family.

¹⁷ "mas são tantos os Judas em Jappão, persuadidos de hum Judas principal que he Toão o qual na demanda que teve com Feizo pera lhe fazer mal, e justificar a sua causa se ajudou de Fabião, e doutros dojucus que estiverão na Igreja os quaes como ladrões de caza sabião muy bem que Padres, quantos e aonde estavam, e as cazas em que se agazalhavão em Jappão principalmente em Namgazaqui, pretendendo o mau homem fazer nos também mal com isto, e bom por este caminho á sua causa contra Feizo, e dizendo desta materia mil mentiras; as quaes descobrindosse todas e suas muitas faltas, e ladroices, ficou todo por falso mentiroso, e ladrão, e perdeu o yaku de Nangazaqui, e corre risco de perder também a vida, e tudo quanto tem" (P. João Rodrigues Girão, S.J., to P. Bartolomeu Sequeira, S.J., Macao, 12 December, 1618, *apud* António Baião (ed.), *Carta Anua da Vice-Provincia do Japão do ano de 1604* (Coimbra, 1933), p. xi.

wit", far fewer of the missionaries would have evaded deportation in November 1614, and he ended by sacrificing everything for the sake of his religion. The Jesuit historian, Charlevoix, was being less than fair when he wrote of Murayama Toan: "Il ne fut pas longtemps sans abjurer le Christianisme: ensuite... il se porta aux plus grands excès: il fit enfin profession ouverte de l'Athéisme... Il haïssoit les Jésuites, a qui il devoit tout; et comme il vit que quelques Personnes venues des Philippines n'étoient pas bien disposées en leur faveur, il se joignit à eux, se contrefit assez pour les tromper plus aisément, les servit de son crédit et de sa plume"¹⁸.

It was precisely this bland assumption of superiority that antagonised so many people of all races and creeds against the Jesuits both then and later, in the Far East as in Europe. The insinuation that the friars — "frailes idiotas" as the Jesuits often termed them — were poor deluded fools, who were easily hoodwinked by a smooth-tongued Japanese apostate, is quite erroneous. By the time that Morales wrote his defence of Toan's loyalty, he had lived for nearly twenty years in Japan and knew as much about the Japanese as did any Jesuit, and certainly more about the Murayama family than they did. Any unprejudiced person who takes the trouble to read the Dominican defence of Murayama Toan as well as the Jesuit attacks on him, must come to the conclusion that the Jesuits' assertions of his treachery and apostacy are grossly exaggerated where they are not wholly false.

Fr. Francisco Morales, who was the founder of the Dominican mission in Japan, who was its leader for much of the time that it existed, and who was the man who suggested that a Spanish dramatist might find it a suitable theme, was certainly not a "fraile idiota", who could easily be fooled by Murayama Toan or by anyone else. He was born at Madrid in 1567, son of the licentiate Morales, "Fiscal del Consejo Real". Educated at the Convent of San Pablo de Valladolid, where he took the habit of the Friars Preacher, and the College of San Gregorio, he came out to the Philippines in 1598. Without accepting at their face value all the eulogies of his contemporary colleagues and biographers, Manzano, Orfanel and Aduarte, it is clear from his published correspondence that he was an exceptionally intelligent and attractive character, who had the gift of getting on with all conditions of men. We can believe Manzano when he tells us that Morales was

¹⁸ J. Charlevoix, S.J., *Histoire du Japon* (ed. 1754), Livre XIV, p. 454-55, *apud* N. Peri, *Essai sur les relations du Japon et de l'Indochine*, p. 56 n.

“ muy amado de los Portugueses que alli habitan, por su apacible condicion, mui respectado de todas las Religiones por sus letras, mui querido de todos los Iapones por su virtud, predicación, i zelo que en él veian ”; and we can believe Orfanel when he tells us that at the time of Morales’s arrest in Nagasaki, “ era el Padre fray Francisco muy estimado en toda la ciudad por sus muchas partes y talento, que hasta los de la Xoya tenian noticia desto, y le respetavan ”¹⁹.

From 1614 onwards, the missionaries who remained in Japan, or who were subsequently smuggled into the country by Portuguese or Chinese ships, had to work in disguise and “ underground ”. At first they disguised themselves as Spanish or Portuguese laymen; but later, when foreign merchants were forbidden to travel in the interior, save on officially escorted trips to Yedo or Kyoto, they had to resort to Japanese costume. A Dutch account of 1629 noted that “ the priests are usually concealed in holes in the earth under the floorboards of the room of the houses wherein they lie, which holes are covered over with planks and mats; others stand all day long in a small space behind the privy, in dirt and filth, wherein one would not expect to find a beast, let alone a man; others conceal themselves between two partitions or behind the wainscoting which appears to be thinner than it really is ”. As the pursuit grew hotter, lepers’ huts became a favourite hiding-place; “ for the lepers, who are numerous in Japan, are greatly abhorred; and nobody will be easily persuaded to enter into their huts or hovels, which are very miserable and merely slight things of straw, put up to keep off the rain at night, since they go abroad to beg in the daytime ”²⁰. To their honour, the missionaries of all the Orders had always ministered to these leprous outcasts, who were regarded as pariahs in feudal Japan, just as they had been in feudal Europe. The Dominicans had a small leprosarium attached to their church at Kyodomari, and they

¹⁹ Fr. Melchor de Manzano, O.P., *Relación verdadera del insigne y excelente martyrio, que diez Religiosos de la sagrada Orden de Predicadores, padecieron en el populoso Imperio de Iapon el año pasado de 1622 (Binondoc-Manila, 1623),* fls. 58-60; Orfanel, *Historia*, fls. 93-95; Aduarte, *Historia* (ed. 1640), *Libro II*, pp. 152-53. Confirmation from Japanese sources in M. Anesaki, *Kirishitan Dendō no kōhai* (Tokyo, 1930), p. 294. The *Xoya* (Japanese, *shoya*, village headman) is here used for the municipal government of Nagasaki.

²⁰ Cf. R. Gysbertszoon’s account of the persecution of the Japanese Christians, first printed at Amsterdam in 1637, and translated into English by C. R. Boxer, *A true description of the mighty kingdoms of Japan and Siam by François Caron and Joost Schouten* (London, 1935), pp. 73-88.

brought the inmates with them when they moved from Satsuma to Nagasaki in 1609.

The story of the persecution of the Christians in seventeenth-century Japan has often been told, and we will confine ourselves here to mentioning a few points which are sometimes overlooked. The incidence of the persecution varied greatly at different times and places, and the persecutors sometimes revealed a curiously ambivalent attitude. The Matsura *daimyo* of Hirado, for instance, who had always been anti-Christian, and who systematically persecuted converts in their fief, yet turned a deaf ear on more than one occasion to the resident English Factor, Richard Cocks, when he reported that fugitive priests were hiding in the town. For that matter, the attitude of the English Protestants themselves was not always consistent, and they seem to have had occasional qualms of conscience about denouncing their adversaries. The famous Will Adams, who continually advised Tokugawa Ieyasu and his son to expel all the missionaries, was married with a Roman Catholic Japanese wife, and their children were brought up in that faith. Moreover, he remained on friendly personal and business terms with many Portuguese and Spaniards, while actively intriguing against these nations at the Shogun's court. Similarly, Richard Cocks, who was never backward in denouncing Roman Catholics and all their works, wrote in his Diary on the 3 June 1615:

“ I thought good to note down that a padre or Jesuit came to the English house and said his name was Tomas and a Biscayan by nation, and gave it out that he was a merchant; and others gave him the name of Captain. Yet I knew what he was, having seen him in this house before etc. He begged a little alloe of me, which I gave him, as I did the like when he was here before. For you must understand that these padres have all the gift of begging and always answer: *Sea por el amor de Dios*. This is a general note to know them by, for they cannot so counterfeit but that word will still be thrust out ”.

Nor did Cocks betray the transparently disguised Fr. Tomás del Espíritu Santo Zumárraga, O.P., on this occasion, although he did not hesitate to denounce fugitive missionaries at other times, as stated above ²¹.

²¹ Diary of Richard Cocks, 1615-1622 (ed. N. Murakami), Vol. I, pp. 3-4. Fr. Tomás del Espíritu Santo, O.P., born at Vitoria (Vizcaya) in 1577, entered the Dominican Order in 1594, joined the pioneer Japan mission in 1602, and was martyred at Omura, 12 September 1622. According to Manzano (Relación, 1623), he was “ muy elegante y abundante en la lengua de aquel Reyno ”.

The recorded number of Christians who were killed outright, tortured to death, or died of privations suffered in prison, during the period with which we are concerned was as follows:

Year	Persons
1614 ...	63
1615 ...	13
1616 ...	13
1617 ...	20
1618 ...	68
1619 ...	88
1620 ...	17
1621 ...	20
1622 ...	132

It is certain that some other victims must have suffered for their faith, whose names did not find their way into the contemporary reports from which these figures are taken. But as these reports were compiled with great care and accuracy, it is unlikely that the real number of martyrs substantially exceeded these figures²².

The Dominicans found by experience, as did the Jesuits and Franciscans, that on the whole the poor and lowly were more ready to sacrifice their lives than were their social superiors. "Todos estos Santos mártires que murieron este año", wrote Fr. Jacinto Orfanel at Nagasaki on the 28 March 1615, "eran muy penitentes, gentes de buena vida y humildes; buena disposición para recibir del Señor grandes mercedes: por falta de lo qual renegaron los demás". The Dutchman, Reyer Gysbertszoon, was also impressed by the steadfastness under torture of the Christian fishers and peasants.

"Their resolution is all the more to be admired, since they know so little of God's word, so that one might almost term it stubbornness rather than steadfastness; because (in so far as Holy Writ is concerned) they know but little, and can only read a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria, besides a few prayers to Saints. The Romish priests exhorted them not to recant, upon pain of the loss of their salvation, accompanied with many dire threats. It is indeed

²² For various estimates of the number of martyrs and a discussion of the different figures, cf. C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 354-61; J. Laures, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Japan. A short history* (Tokyo, 1954), pp. 177-79.

extraordinary that there are so many among them who remain steadfast to the end, and endure so many insufferable torments, in despite of their scanty knowledge of the Holy Scriptures”²³.

It may be added that both Roman Catholic and Protestant accounts of the persecution agree that a high proportion of Japanese Catholics were from the seafaring communities of Kyushu.

The missionaries, as we have said, were well aware that many of their converts knew only the rudiments of their new faith, and among the means which the Dominicans used to strengthen the courage and cohesion of their flock was the establishment of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary. They had founded this brotherhood at Nagasaki when they moved there in 1609, but Orfanel tells us that it was not until the persecution hotted up in 1616, that the friars decided to intensify their propagation of this form of devotion:

“ y assi pusieron en lengua y caracteres Iapones el sumario de la Cofradía, y sus indulgencias. Y informados los Iapones de la verdad, y viendo la excelencia desta santa devocion, y las grandes indulgencias que a sus Cofrades están concedidas, comenzó una tan estraña devocion en todo el pueblo, que no avia otra cosa sino el santo Rosario, y hazer pintar imagenes del Rosario, que les fue necessario a los Padres hazer emprenta de la Imagen ”.

Orfanel does not tell us whether these pictures and the explanatory text on the Confraternity were printed from wood-blocks or with movable type; but as the Jesuit mission-press had been dismantled and sent to Manila in 1614, the former would seem to be by far the most likely, though hitherto no specimens have come to light.

The most ardent propagandist of the efficacy of the cult of Our Lady of the Rosary was friar Juan de los Angeles Rueda, O.P. Born at Villasandino near Burgos, he came out to the Philippines in 1603, and was sent to Japan next year. He became exceptionally fluent in Japanese and, as his friend and biographer, Diego Aduarte, tells us:

²³ Fr. Jacinto Orfanel, O.P., letter of 28 March 1615 in MD. VI (1923), p. 252. Reyer Gysbertszoon's narrative *apud* C. R. Boxer (ed.), Caron and Schouten's description of Japan and Siam (1935), p. 80. Cf. also Richard Cocks's account of the martyrdom he had witnessed at Kyoto when 55 people were burnt alive, including little children of five or six years old, burned in their mothers' arms crying out "Jesus receive their souls" (R. Cocks to T. Wilson, Nagasaki, 10 March 1620, *apud* N. Murakami, Letters written by the English residents in Japan, 1611-1623 (Tokyo, 1900), pp. 238-39.

“ Del sancto Rosario era muy devoto y tan continuo predicador de sus sanctos misterios, que los Japones le llamavan el padre del Rosario ”. He founded a branch of this Confraternity in Arima, where he worked in disguise for several years. His propaganda was so successful, that in 1619 the members refused to supply the labour for building a Buddhist temple at Shimabara, as they had been ordered to do by the *daimyo's* local representative. The brethren of the Rosary met periodically for mutual religious help and discussion, held retreats and prayer meetings, organised demonstrations at martyrdoms down to 1623 (whereafter they were usually strictly forbidden); and they kept the missionaries advised of safe hiding-places, and of those believers who were in need of their ministrations²⁴.

At the end of 1619 or early in 1620, Fr. Juan de Rueda was sent to Manila, “ vestido de Japon con dos catanas a su usança en la cinta, para mas disfrazado llevar socorro a tan necesitada Christiandad ”. In this he was unsuccessful, for reasons briefly discussed below, and he then resolved to return to Japan alone; but before he did so, he compiled two extensive treatises on the Rosary in romanised Japanese, which were printed at the Dominican press at Binondoc (a suburb of Manila) in 1622-23. In this latter year he embarked for Japan via the Ryukyu islands, which had recently been conquered by the Shimazu of Satsuma, “ para desde alli con mas facilidad passar en habito de Japon, que muchos años auia vestido, y le asentaua tan bien que engañaua a los naturales de alla ”. This was the last that was heard of him for several years, until a Japanese Dominican friar on his way to Japan in 1629, who also called at the Ryukyu, heard that he had been martyred by drowning at sea off Awaguni island, having previously profaned a sacred Buddhist (or Shinto?) grove there²⁵. The date of Rueda's death is not known, but it was probably in 1623 or 1624, and he may have been the missionary involved in the conversion of one of the local officials under the circumstances related in Appendix IV, below.

²⁴ Orfanel, *Historia*, fs. 64-65; Aduarte, *Historia*, Libro II, cap. 28.

²⁵ Aduarte, *op. et loc. cit.* For the Rozario Kiroku and the Rozario no Kyō, compiled and published by Rueda at Manila in 1622-23, cf. J. Laures, S.J., *Kirishitan Bunko* (ed. Tokyo, 1957), pp. 117-121; Fr. J. Gayo Aragón, O.P., “ Catálogo de los impresos Filipinos conservados en los archivos de la provincia del Smo. Rosario de Filipinas y de la Universidad de Santo Thomas de Manila ”, (in: *Unitas*, Año 25, nr. 2, Manila, April-June, 1952), pp. 323-26; M. Kinoshita, “ Manila-han Rozario no kyō ni tsuite ”, in *Shigaku*, XII (Tokyo, 1932), pp. 107-50.

With the departure of Fr. Juan de Rueda from Japan, only three Spanish Dominicans were left at large in that country - Orfanel, Salvanés, and Diego Collado who had arrived from Manila at the end of July, 1619. Two others, Fr. Juan de Santo Domingo and Fr. Angel Ferrer Orsucci, had arrived in August 1618, but they had been arrested in December of the same year, before they had been able to do much more than begin to learn the language. A third, Fr. Luis Flores, had been seized on his way to Japan together with his Augustinian companion, Fr. Pedro de Zúñiga, when the Japanese ship in which they were travelling was intercepted by some vessels of the Anglo-Dutch "Fleet of Defence" cruising in the straits of Formosa. In order to save the Christian captain and crew from execution, Flores and Zúñiga, who were disguised as laymen, for a long time denied their identity when brought to Hirado, but they eventually confessed who they were. The indefatigable Collado, who was to prove the stormy petrel of the mission, threw himself with equal energy into missionary work, Japanese language study, and plots to release Flores and Zúñiga from their captivity at Hirado. "El Padre Fr. Diego Collado", wrote Orfanel to the Dominican Prior at Manila on 20 March 1620, "está muy adelante en la lengua, tanto que confiesa ya a todo género de gente; y segun se da prisa, paréceme que dentro de poco me dejará a mi por popa si somos vivos. Está tan contento en esta tierra que me parece que no trocaria su buena suerte por ninguna corona de Emperador ni Rey, ni por la tiara del Sumo Pontifice"²⁶.

Two reinforcements for the mission, Fr. Domingo Castellet and Fr. Pedro Vásquez, reached Nagasaki in July, 1621, but their arrival was offset by the arrest of Orfanel (in April) and of Salvanés (in August) of the same year. All the arrested Dominicans were now concentrated in Suzuta jail at Omura, where they remained until they were martyred in August and September of 1622. Their life in prison, and the ways in which they contrived to communicate with the outside world are

²⁶ Orfanel to Manzano, 20 March, 1620; MD. VI, 316. For the seizure of Flores and Zúñiga by the Anglo-Dutch "Fleet of Defence", and their subsequent misadventures at Hirado, cf. L. Riess, *History of the English Factory at Hirado, 1613-1622* (Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXVI, Yokohama, 1898), pp. 86-92, as well as the Dominican accounts by Orfanel and Aduarte, *op. cit.* Collado also tried to persuade his compatriots to sabotage English and Dutch shipping at Hirado. Cf. his letter of 3 March, 1622, quoted in part by C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon. Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640* (Lisbon, 1959), pp. 104-5, and in full on pp. 78-81 *infra*.

briefly discussed on pp. 48 ff. below, and it will suffice here to mention their tragic if triumphant end.

The first to suffer were Fr. Luis Flores and his Augustinian companion, Fr. Pedro de Zúñiga, who were burnt alive at Nagasaki on the 19 August 1622, together with Joaquín Hirayama, the Captain of the ship in which they had been taken, while thirteen of the passengers and crew were beheaded on the same occasion. On the 10 September occurred the "Great Martyrdom" near Nagasaki, when twenty-five Christians, including five European Dominicans were burnt alive, and another thirty-one believers, including two Japanese Dominican friars, were beheaded. The martyrdom was witnessed by a crowd estimated by some eye-witnesses at 60,000 people, most of them Christians of both sexes and all ages from Nagasaki and its immediate neighbourhood, who covered the surrounding hills and fields or watched from boats moored inshore. The missionaries were able to exhort those who were nearest them; and Fr. Francisco Morales told them that their spiritual leaders were now prepared to make good with deeds what they had taught with words. "Solo les advertia que si acaso el cuerpo como flaco, i ellos como hombres de carne i sangre se meneasen algun poco no lo tuviesen a flaqueça del espíritu, ni se escandalizasen, que no seria señal de cobardia, no falta de voluntad de padecer, sino oficio de la carne que naturalmente rehusa el tormento"²⁷.

The day had dawned wet and windy, though the sky cleared and the weather was fine and hot by the time that the martyrdom began about one p. m. when each of the victims meant for burning was tied loosely to his stake.

"Los Santos Religiosos, que estavan pegados al palo, atadas las manos con un cordel que de lo alto de la columna pendia, sin que el cordel ciñese pies, braços, ni cuerpo, como se usa en aquel Reino (porque pudiesen menearse o moverse, con que los infieles tomarian motivo de risa, i ocasion de irision de su poco animo i valor) recojidos en lo intimo de sus coraçones empeçaron a ofrecerse a su Criador. La leña como estava algo apartada, i humeda del agua

²⁷ Manzano, *op. cit.*, fs. 48-56, for the earliest printed account of the "Great Martyrdom" of September, 1622, mainly derived from the eye-witness narrative of Castellet and Collado. For other contemporary and contemporaneous accounts by Dominican, Jesuit, Augustinian and Franciscan writers see Streit-Dindinger, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, VI (Aachen, 1929), pp. 463-97.



Fig. 2. The Great Martyrdom of 1622 (From a contemporary painting, Chiesa del Gesù, Rome)

que por la mañana avia caido, ardia mal, i todo era humear, i aflijir a los Santos, que con un invincible animo, superior fortaleza, i nunca vista quietud se estaban tostando i ahumando ... Acabose la leña, i juntamente acabaron algunos sus vidas, despues de media hora de fuego lento, saliendo sus almas abrasadas con el fuego vivo del amor de Dios. Uvo otros que no acabaron tan presto, por ser de mas recia complexion, pues del Santo Fr. Iacinto Orfanel, dijeron las guardas que al canto del dia siguiente, le avian hallado diciendo, Jesús, Jesús, Jesús, Maria, aviendo los de mas acabado a la una i medio del dia”.

Two days later, Fr. Tomás del Espíritu Santo Zumárraga, with a Japanese Dominican friar, Mancio de Santo Tomás Chiwato, and seven other inmates of Suzuta jail were burnt alive in the mountains three miles from Omura. Their martyrdom was not attended by such publicity as the previous one, since Christians were strictly forbidden to witness it.

The two surviving Spanish Dominicans in Japan, Collado and Castellet, had been among the crowd watching the “Great Martyrdom” and at the end of the year the former left for Manila to try to obtain some reinforcements for the mission. In this he was hardly more successful than Rueda had been, although three friars disguised as laymen reached Nagasaki via Kagoshima in 1623, a fourth having been mortally wounded in a fight with Chinese pirates on the voyage. Dissatisfied with the support that he found at Manila, Collado left for Madrid and Rome to get more concrete support for the mission. During his stay in Europe, he saw a number of works through the press, including a Japanese grammar and dictionary, and a couple of memorials bitterly denouncing the Jesuits for their real or alleged obstruction of the Mendicant Orders in Japan. After much lobbying at Madrid and Rome, he procured from the Dominican Master-General and the Holy See permission to found a congregation called San Pablo, independent of the Philippine Province of the Rosary, whose members would devote themselves to the evangelisation of Japan and China. Collado returned to Manila with twenty-three Religious in June, 1635, but immediately encountered opposition from his colleagues of the Rosary Province, who claimed that he had got permission for his new Congregation (of the “Barbones” as the members were called locally) under false pretences. Among his fiercest critics was the chronicler, Fr. Diego Aduarte, now Bishop of Nueva Segovia, who denounced him, among other things, for his advocacy of the formation of a native Filipino clergy — “cosa indigna de pensarse, pero assi lo traia en su misma patente, por aver el assi informado al Reverendissimo, contra todos quantos buenos

espíritus a avido en las Indias, y contra todo lo que a mostrado la experiencia, desde que ay en ellas religiones”²⁸. Aduarte’s continuator and biographer tells us that the Bishop’s death (August, 1636) was hastened by his chagrin at Collado’s attempts to found a break-away Congregation in the Far East, and he fiercely denied Collado’s claim that the Province of the Rosary had unduly neglected the Japan mission. Local opposition proved too strong for the innovator in the end, and finding his Congregation dissolved and his efforts frustrated, he left again for Europe clandestinely, but was shipwrecked and drowned on the voyage. Collado’s abortive attempt to found an autonomous congregation for the Dominican Japan mission closely paralleled the previous failure of Fr. Luis Sotelo, O.F.M., to found a custody (“con la advocación del Nombre de Jesús”) for Japan independent of the Franciscan Province of San Gregorio in the Philippines, and which was likewise squashed by the opposition of his colleagues at Manila in 1618-1620²⁹.

Although Collado was not altogether fair in accusing the Philippine Province of not doing all it could for the support and reinforcement of the Dominican mission in Japan, the fact remains that for one reason or another, only a few friars were sent at long intervals. They were all caught, tortured, and martyred sooner rather than later, just as happened with the Jesuit, Franciscan, and Augustinian missionaries who succeeded in effecting an entry from time to time, whether they were Westerners or Asians. The last Dominican party, three Europeans and a Japanese, were martyred in September, 1637, and this was the end of the Dominican mission in feudal Japan. During its existence of less than forty years, thirty-two sons of the Philippine Province of the Rosary had sacrificed their lives in its service. Nineteen were Europeans; three were Japanese friars and ordained priests; the remainder were Japanese choir-brothers, lay-brothers, and *donados*. Apart from

²⁸ On the other hand the friars early decided that the Japanese might be admitted to Holy Orders and minister the Sacraments (Juan López, O.P., *Quinta parte de la historia de Santo Domingo y de su Orden* [Valladolid, 1621], f. 270).

²⁹ Aduarte, *Historia*, II, cap. 51. For Collado’s writings and memorials, cf. Streit-Dindinger, 534-37, where, however, item 1481 should be ascribed to the year 1626 or 1627 and not to 1633. For the reluctance of the Religious Orders in the Philippines to admit Filipinos to their ranks, cf. J. L. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*. Spanish aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700 (Madison, 1959), pp. 84-89. For Sotelo’s unsuccessful attempt to found a Franciscan mission in Japan, cf. Fr. Lorenzo Pérez, O.F.M., *Apostolado y martirio del Beato Luis Sotelo en el Japón* (Madrid, 1924), pp. 187-219.

these, there were seventeen tertiaries, and numerous brethren of the Rosary Congregation. Finally, it may be mentioned that the martyr who achieved a record for enduring the terrible torture of the pit (*anatsurushi*) without recanting was a Dominican tertiary, Sister Magdalena de la Cruz, whose sufferings lasted for thirteen and a half days (October, 1634)³⁰.

Unlike the Jesuits and Franciscans, the Dominicans do not seem ever to have estimated the total number of their Japanese converts, or if they did, their estimates have not come down to us. But Orfanel admitted in his *Historia* that the great majority " fueron bautizados ya desde niños por los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús ", who had preceded the Dominicans in this mission-field by over fifty years. This was natural enough, especially as the Dominicans after their expulsion from Satsuma worked chiefly in Nagasaki, Arima, Omura, Hizen and Kyoto, where the Jesuits were already strongly established save only in the fief of Saga, since Nabeshima was unfriendly to the Society, and denied them the facilities which he gave to the Dominicans in 1606. The Jesuits would have been more than human if they had not sometimes resented this intrusion into " their " mission-field, to reap where they had sown. On the other hand, they do not seem to have objected to the intrusion of the Dominicans nearly as much as they did to that of the Franciscans, perhaps because the Dominican effort was on a more modest scale. In any event, the Jesuits, though by far the most numerous of the four Orders represented in Japan during the first four decades of the seventeenth century, simply had not got enough men to cope with the existing Christian communities, quite apart from making new converts. We may therefore agree with Orfanel when he wrote: " y assi no ay duda sino que la venida de las demas Religiones a Iapon fue para general consuelo, alegria, y esfuerço de los Christianos, que los Padres de la Compañía solos no podian tanto, y la verdad que ellos predicavan y predicán mucho mas confirmada queda con quatro testigos que con uno " ³¹.

The Jesuits argued exactly the opposite: in their opinion a diversity

³⁰ Pablo Fernández, O.P., *Dominicos donde nace el sol* (Barcelona, 1958), pp. 91-95.

³¹ Orfanel, *Historia*, fls. 117-18; and López notes (op. cit., f. 265) that the first friars encountered Japanese converted by Xavier who had then been forty years without priest or religious instruction; they knew only the holy Names, Jesus and Mary.

of missionaries from different Orders would confuse the Japanese who would mistake them, with their different methods and theological principles, for devotees of different religious sects. Considerable controversy followed upon this clash of opinions and it influenced the Dominicans in the Japan mission-field by making them aware, in a unique way, of the urgent need for publicity for their work. The result of this realisation is of interest to students of Spanish literature since it led to Lope de Vega's prose work, *El triunfo de la fe en el Japón* and to the writing of the play *Los primeros mártires del Japón*. Another curious characteristic of this Dominican mission was the friars' attitude to martyrdom. We shall now consider these two aspects of the Dominicans' work.

The Jesuits had already shown themselves to be adept in the art of propaganda for their mission and had aroused the envy of the Mendicant Orders in this respect. One of their most successful ventures was the despatching of the first Japanese embassy to Europe which, in the words of Pastor, "spread the praise of the Society of Jesus throughout the world". The Fathers reinforced this by the publication of the letters sent to their Roman headquarters which appeared as the *Annuae Iaponicae* and since they brought the first news from unknown worlds they naturally enjoyed an immense success. The Jesuits were not the first to use the press to publicise their achievements, for the Dominicans and Franciscans had already published similar reports from Mexico and North Africa; but here, as elsewhere, the Jesuits gained by their rigorous systematization. St Ignatius Loyola had laid down rules that virtually made letter-writing a religious obligation for the Jesuit. The Society's primary aim in publishing these letters was to win favour and financial support for their work and to encourage their own brethren within the Order besides stimulating volunteers for the missions³². In this they were eminently successful; sometimes too much so. When Father Trigault arrived in Europe from Asia in 1615 and published his account of China there were so many offers from all over the continent that the Iberian patrons of the mission took fright at the prospect of a large number of foreigners entering their sphere of interest. Trigault's propaganda tour made a great impression on Germany, for instance, and there were 31 volunteers from there

³² J. Correia-Afonso, S.J., *Jesuit Letters and Indian History* (Bombay, 1955), pp. 3-34.

alone. These however were rejected, in accordance with policy, for Germans were regularly told to go and find their "Indies" to convert within Lutheran Germany³³.

Some friars took this clever propaganda badly and saw it as the cause of the Jesuits' undoubted power at Rome. Others, however, and more positively, saw it as a stimulus and took to writing accounts of their own work to be shown to the Pope and Cardinals. Thus a Franciscan writing in 1585 from Goa to Rome urged that a *relación* of their activities in India should be shown to the Pope "por que saiba como cá ajudamos a Igreja de Deus, o que os Padres Teatinos fazem, porque nada cá fazem que o não saiba o Papa pollo seu Geral"³⁴. The Dominicans made a determined effort to systematise the sending of reports to their Roman headquarters and in 1609, for instance, the Master-General of the Order sent a formal command to Japan and the Philippines demanding news of the development of Dominican work there. The friars were ordered, under pain of mortal sin, to submit an annual account to the General giving complete progress reports and statistics "y todos las demas cosas, que pueden ser de honra a Dios, consuelo a los religiosos, ornato y hermosura de nuestra religion"³⁵. But earlier than this, however, the friars had shown an awareness of this need, and Aduarte tells us that in 1606 the Dominicans in Manila had decided that "se juntassen con diligencia todas las cosas memorables y dignas de ponerse en historia, que huviessen sucedido en esta provincia, y en virtud desto el padre provincial puso precepto formal a todos los religiosos de la provincia, que le escribiesse cada vno lo que en esta parte supiesse, con toda fidelidad, y verdad, y por esta via se junto algo, de lo que aqui queda referido, pero siempre es mucho lo que se queda sepultado en olvido"³⁶.

These good resolutions unfortunately were allowed to lapse, at least outside Japan, and in 1645 when fray Juan Bautista Morales arrived in Rome to report on the situation in the China mission he found that in Propaganda Fide they had had no news of the friars' work there for years, apart from some random notes from an Augustinian who "escriu-

³³ E. Lamalle, S.J., *La Propagande du P. Nicolas Trigault en faveur des Missions de Chine (1616)*, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, IX (1940), pp. 49-120.

³⁴ F. Lopes, O.F.M., *Os Franciscanos no Oriente Portugues de 1584 a 1590*, in: *Studia*, N. 9, January, 1962, p. 81.

³⁵ Aduarte, *Historia*, I, p. 366.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

iendo al Señor Secretario de Propaganda, casualmente y entre renglones, le participó nuevas de nuestra mission" ³⁷.

The Dominicans in Japan, as we have said, were very different. They took very seriously indeed the order to write and showed a laudable keenness to publish accounts of their life and activities and to enlist the aid of established writers and artists in Spain to further this propaganda. An early example of the publication of Dominican letters is the *Relacion verdadera ... de Iapón* by Melchor de Manzano O.P. (Binondoc, 1623), published, according to the preface by the Dominican provincial, to act as a "despertador a los [frailes] que están en España, esperando (que no quiero decir ociosos) viña fertil que cultivar i Minas Ricas que labrar". The provincial goes on to say that a fuller history will follow this, "que les servirá de espejo en que se miren, de exemplo que les mueva i solicite, de Iardin en que se recreen, i de mesa bien proveyda de diversos manjares conque se sustenten". This promise was indeed fulfilled by Orfanel's *Historia* of 1633 and Aduarte's of 1640 ³⁸. Orfanel's history covered the years 1602-1620 and a supplement for 1620-22 was added by friar Diego Collado who published the work. Collado had urged Orfanel to write the book, and after the latter's arrest by the Japanese he felt it his duty to complete the work, even though this was, as he said, "poner cabo de esparto a cordon de seda y oro". Orfanel was a shrewd choice for the task, for he was painstaking and careful and went to extraordinary lengths to make sure his version was accurate. When the history was written he sent the manuscript into prison where friars Francisco Morales, Tomás de Zumárraga and Alonso de Mena lay awaiting martyrdom, so that they could check his accuracy from their own experience; he also showed it to his fellow-

³⁷ Domingo Fernández Navarrete, *Controversias antiguas y modernas de la mission de la Gran China* (Madrid, 1679; printed but not published), p. 51. Selections from this work are included in the English edition of Navarrete's writings: *The Travels and Controversies of friar Domingo Navarrete*, ed. J. S. Cummins (London, Hakluyt Society, 1962). In 1623 Propaganda demanded annual reports from those Orders engaged in the missions, though for years this remained an unfulfilled ideal (L. Pastor, *Lives of the Popes, XXVII* (London, 1939)), p. 137.

³⁸ López's *Quinta parte* also goes some way towards this aim. This work, which Aduarte drew upon, reads at times almost like a newspaper printing stop-press reports. There is, for example, a strikingly modern sense of urgency about the "particulares avisos que han venido" printed at the end of the work, and which include the comment that there is nothing new out of China beyond a report (in 1621) that the Tartars have broken through the Great Wall.

prisoners after he himself had been arrested and took careful note of their comments. The final amended draft manuscript he then sent to Fray Francisco Hurtado urging him to use it, rather than the earlier version sent to him the previous year. The result, as Collado notes, was that the history had been seen by some thirty persons in all and was checked, amended and added to by them. It was not only accurate but charitable, and, where it was necessary to criticise, Orfanel did so "con mucha brevedad, y de passo, o los escusa, dorando intenciones, sin nombrar personas, ni aun de que Religion eran" remarks Collado in his prologue. Others shared this zeal and in 1620 fray Joseph de San Jacinto Salvanés wrote to the Provincial warning him that anything published about the Japanese mission was to be sent back to Japan first so that it might be proof-read and approved by the friars on the spot: "la Orden y menos Dios no tiene necesidad de alabanzas falsas ni postizas"³⁹.

In their letters and reports the friars show a keen awareness of the need for publicity and even in prison they were busy writing: "En esta dichosa cárcel o paraiso, vi un precepto de V. R.", wrote fray Alonso de Mena to his Provincial in 1620, "en que mandaba que apuntasen las cosas que fuesen para gloria de Dios y honra de la Orden" and in obedience to this command he dispatched "por diferentes vias diferentes relaciones a un sustituto de V. R. que tambien me lo mandó, como forzado". These reports were written with a view to sending them to Rome; "he enviado largas relaciones a V. R. y a sus antecesores y creo que ya V. R. las tendrá enviadas a nuestro P. General y a todos los Padres de la Orden". Similarly fray Francisco Morales sent a report from prison. These writers did not limit their accounts to their own doings, either, but celebrated the sufferings of their converts. Fray Francisco Carrero wrote a history of the Dominican Rosary Confraternity but thought its glories deserved even more: "requerian un libro muy grande y una historia muy copiosa que algun dia saldra a luz con el favor de Dios"⁴⁰. These *relaciones*, like the Jesuits', were thus made a religious duty, and fray Tomás Zumárraga answered his provincial by referring to an order "por obediencia" to submit an account of events in his area after the death of the Dominican proto-martyr

³⁹ Orfanel, *Historia*, prologue, n. p. MD. VI, 58; MD. V, 93.

⁴⁰ Orfanel, *Historia*, fl. 118; MD. II, 348, III, 286; F. Carrero, O.P., *Triunfo del Rosario* [1626], (Manila, 1868), 60.

in Japan, fray Alonso Navarrete⁴¹. These written reports were also backed with relics and pictures. A painting of the martyrdom of two celebrated Japanese, Cosme and Juan, was sent from Japan to the Philippines by friar Mena in 1615⁴²; and the sword with which fray Alonso de Navarrete was martyred was bought from the executioner for 150 *escudos* and sent back to Spain as a relic; cloth soaked in the proto-martyr's blood was also sent to Madrid and to the Dominican priory of San Pablo de Valladolid where, at the end of the eighteenth century, it still figured among the community's treasures⁴³. A "miraculous" ear of corn was sent by friar Orfanel to the Provincial in Manila ("con todo envio a V. R. dentro de ésta, espiga de trigo...") and through him came into the hands of Lope de Vega when he was writing the *Triunfo de la fe* ("Con todo eso, me enviaron una espiga de una heredad...")⁴⁴.

The friars had another and basic reason for publicising their work in Japan: they felt obliged to justify themselves because of Jesuit criticism of their right to be in Japan and of their behaviour while they were there. In 1585 the Jesuits got a *Motu proprio* from Gregory XIII which gave them the monopoly of the Japan mission-field. The friars, alleging that the Jesuits had obtained this papal favour by underhand means, were therefore undeterred by it, and they themselves then entered Japan in the rôle of ambassadors from the Philippine government. The quarrel was complicated by nationalism, for the Jesuits worked under the Portuguese and the friars under the Spaniards, and this difference sometimes showed itself in bizarre ways. A Spanish sea-captain who attended a Mass offered by the Jesuits complained that they were unwilling to pray for King Philip of Spain in the "*memento* for the living" and that "diciéndolo al Padre Rector, respondió que devía de haver sido descuydo; y al día siguiente dixeron: *V. Regem*,

⁴¹ MD. III, 90; for evidence that the friars' letters from the missions were read and appreciated at home see Aduarte, I, 59-66.

⁴² MD. VI, 27.

⁴³ Archive of the Dominican convent of S. Pablo, Valladolid: 'Inventario de alajas, joyas y reliquias a principios de 1768', fol. 20 v.: "... un pedazo de paño ... manchado con la sangre del Ve. Pe. fr. Alonso Navarrete, hijo deste convento". L. Pagés, *Histoire de la Religion chrétienne au Japon depuis 1598 jusqu'à 1651* (Paris, 1869-70), I, 366; II, 189.

⁴⁴ MD. VI, 252; Lope de Vega, 'Triunfo de la Fe en los Reinos del Japón, por los años de 1614 y 1615', p. 176 of "Biblioteca de autores españoles", vol. 38, (Madrid, 1908), pp. 159-180; hereinafter referred to as BAE.

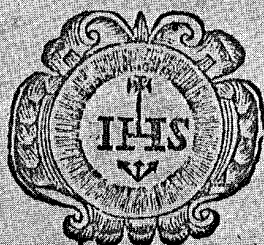
TRIUNFO DE LA FEE

EN LOS REYNOS DEL JAPÓN,
por los años de 1614. y 1615.

AL ILUSTRÍSSIMO,
y Reverendísimo señor el Cardenal,
de Sandoval, Dean de Toledo.

POR LOPE DE VEGA CARPIO,
Procurador Fiscal de la Camara
Apostolica en el Arçobispado
de Toledo.

Año



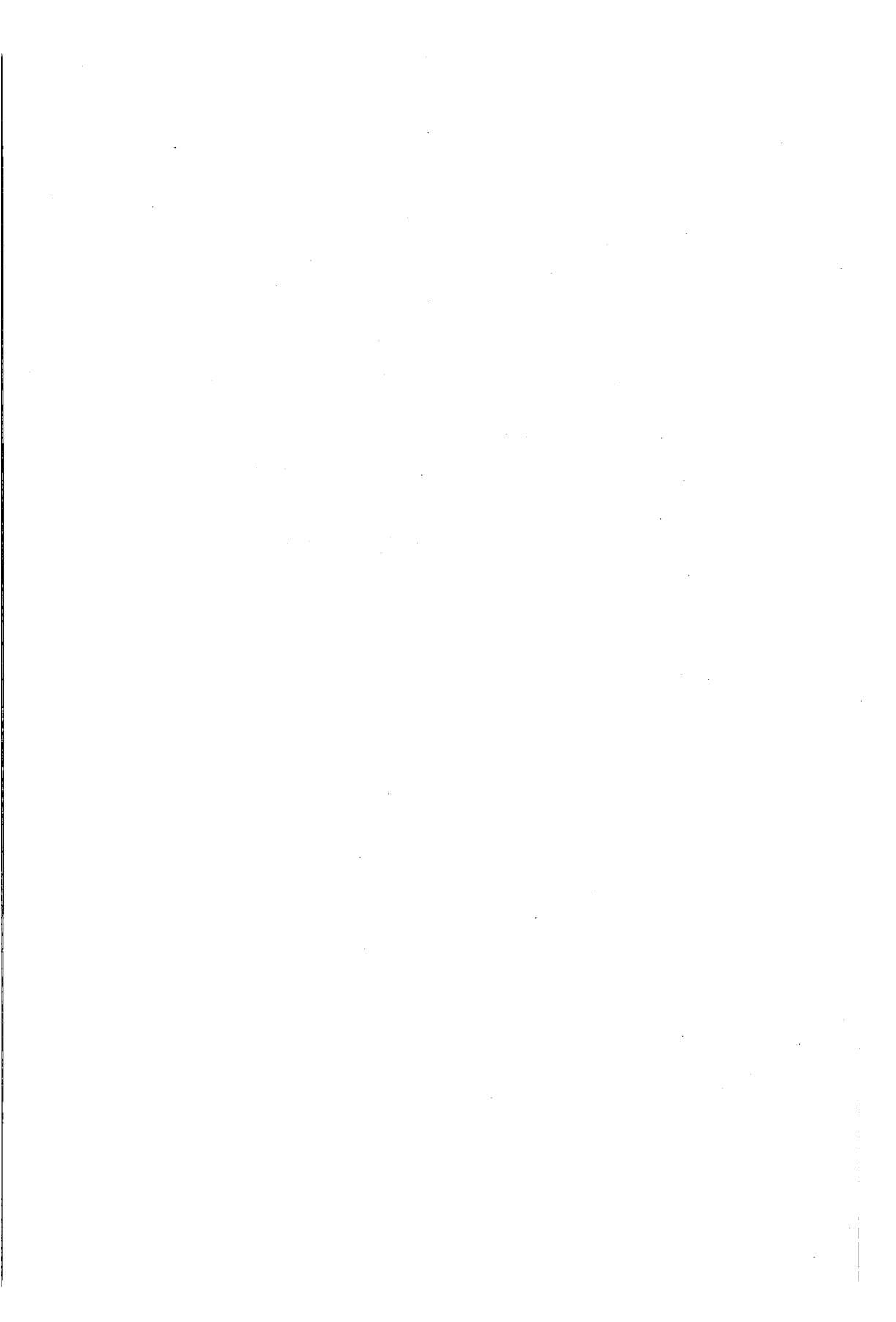
1618.

CON LICENCIA.

Madrid : Por la Viuda de Alonso Martin.

A costa de Alonso Perez, Mercader de Libros.

Fig. 3. Title-page of Lope de Vega's *Triunfo de la fee* (1618)



sin poder cabar contigo, aunque les andávos bien a los alcanzes, y que nos havían lastimado, *V. Regem nostrum Philippum*". This unfortunate rivalry also affected the converts who began to refer to themselves as "friar-Christians" or as "Jesuit-Christians" as the case might be ⁴⁵. Both friars ⁴⁶ and Jesuits ⁴⁷ lamented that the situation had become like that of which the Apostle speaks, with the faithful crying out, "Ego sum Pauli; ego autem Cephae; ...". Fr. Gabriel de Matos S.J., complained of this division among the converts: "No tratan los Christianos hechos por los frailes con los que hizieron los de la Compania" ⁴⁸. Though, on the other hand, the Jesuits seem to have preferred that it should be so. Even the distinction between the Spanish and the Portuguese forms of the Christian names given to the converts began to take on an importance of its own ⁴⁹.

Nevertheless, the friars maintained that they had a right to be in Japan, especially as later Popes modified Gregory XIII's *Motu proprio* of 1585. They also, quite rightly, emphasised that there were not enough Jesuits for the work in Japan; they pointed to the province of Hizen as an example of an area which had not been properly evangelised until their arrival: "parece que se guardaba como bocado regalado para

⁴⁵ For some documents dealing with the question of the friars' right to be in Japan see Maggs's Catalogue 515 (1929), Bibliotheca Asiatica, Pt. III, pp. 29-44, especially the report of 1606 (pp. 33-4); Orfanel, Historia, 118. L. Pérez, O.F.M., Cartas y relaciones del Japón, III (Madrid, 1923), 255 gives the sea-captain's remark.

⁴⁶ Diego de San Francisco, O.F.M., in: Relaciones, ed. L. Pérez, O.F.M. (Madrid, 1914), p. 34: "... los cristianos, entre los cuales, sucede lo mismo que en el tiempo de los Apostoles, que unos decían: *ego sum Pauli; ego autem Cephae; ego Christi*; asimismo dicen en Japón: yo soy de la compañía; yo soy de los frailes".

⁴⁷ "ay en Japón lo que reprehendia S. Pablo a los de Corintho que dezian *Ego sum Pauli, ego autem Apollo, ego vero Cephae...*" Gabriel de Matos, S.J., "Rasones... por las cuales se muestra no ser de prouecho, antes de daño la ida de los Religiosos por Nueva España y filipinas a Japón" (British Museum, C. 62-i-18, item 93, para 4).

⁴⁸ Ibidem. Sometimes they came to blows: some friar-converts went to the Jesuit bishop to be examined by him to satisfy him as to their knowledge of Christianity but the Bishop's servants held them up first, quarrelling and disputing: "Oydas estas razones por los criados del Obispo, llenos de indignación de ira, les dieron muchas puñadas y cozes, hasta que al ruido salió el Obispo y les puso en paz... viendo a los Japones las caras tintas en sangre y los vestidos hechos pedaços..." quoted in L. Pérez, O.F.M., Cartas y relaciones del Japón, III (Madrid, 1923), p. 251.

⁴⁹ M. Anesaki, A Concordance to the history of Kirishitan Missions (Catholic Missions in Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), Supplement to vol. VI of the Proceedings of the Imperial Academy (Tokyo, 1930), p. 6.

nuestra Orden de Santo Domingo, que hasta que ella fue allá, no tuvo la predicacion del santo Evangelio libre entrada”⁵⁰. Moreover, the Jesuits in Japan showed less discretion than did their colleagues in China, for they took part in political struggles and got themselves mistrusted by the central government. Some of the *daimyo* also turned against them and did not want them in their territories; this reinforced the friars’ arguments that the Mendicants were needed in Japan to work those areas where the Jesuits had fallen from favour, or were forbidden “por particulares enemistades que ... tienen”⁵¹. The friars also mistrusted the Jesuits who were involved with traders and merchants, not merely because they thought this undesirable in Religious vowed to holy poverty, but also because they felt that in the long run such a stratagem would bring ruin on the mission. “Sé decir”, wrote fray Alonso de Mena to his provincial in Manila in 1609, “sé decir que esto de andar con navíos y contrataciones no lo puedo tolerar” and the reason was that “hemos pasado ogaño enfados y pesadumbres intolerables en orden a esto”.

The Jesuits, on the other hand, complained bitterly that the friars were endangering the mission by their rash behaviour and their reluctance to compromise. Some of them, said the Fathers, acted as though they were still at home in Old Castille, and when high-ranking Jesuits rebuked them for their imprudence they were said to reject these counsels and, worse, “hazian burla y no hazian caso dellas”. The Jesuits, in the words of one witness, were more discreet and when persecution broke out in the 1590s “andan los dichosos padres por las cozinhas y rincones de los Christianos, con mucho secreto y resguardo”⁵². The Fathers regarded the intruding friars as poachers upon the Society’s private reserves, and at one time they attempted to prevent their converts from having any dealings with friars or even to attend services conducted by them⁵³. They were alleged to forbid the converts to join the Domi-

⁵⁰ Carrero, *op. cit.*, 40.

⁵¹ MD. IV, 336; G. B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (London, 1950), p. 166.

⁵² MD. IV, 336-7; 370-1; *Dos Informaciones hechas en Japón*, printed privately, Madrid, 24 May 1599, fols. 30 r-v.

⁵³ Domingo Fernández Navarrete, O.P., *Controversias*, 404, 447, 470-71; C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century*, 418 and, for Jesuit-Franciscan rivalry in Japan, pp. 160-71, 231-47, 326, 416-8, 470-2, and the sources quoted therein. See also L. Pérez, O.F.M., *Cartas y relaciones del Japón*; III: *Persecución y martirio de los misioneros franciscanos* (Madrid, 1923), 248-56, and López, f. 266.

nicans' Rosary Confraternity and to refuse absolution to those who did so, but possibly this is an exaggerated rumour; and probably the Jesuits feared the Confraternity would be mistaken for a political organisation and alarm the government⁵⁴. But even the most discreet Dominican historians hint at opposition to the Rosary Confraternity without identifying whence it came⁵⁵. The Jesuits, then, not only forbade their converts to resort to friars, but they also refused to confess the friars' converts: the friars alleged that this was because they were unwilling to confess members of the friars' sodalities, but the Jesuits retorted that the real reason was the ignorance of the friars' converts, who were not properly instructed in the Faith⁵⁶.

It was against this background that the martyrdoms of 1597 took place⁵⁷. On that occasion twenty-six Christians died: six Spanish Franciscans, seventeen Japanese converts and three Japanese Jesuits. Incredible accusations were launched against the Jesuits as a result of this. They were said to have been the prime cause of the persecution. The Rector of Nagasaki was reported to have declared that the martyred friars got what they deserved. Some friars went so far as to declare that the Jesuits paid the executioner, and an eye-witness report by Andrés de Cuaçola, a senior Government official, stated that the Jesuits had refused to intercede for the condemned friars "first, so that they should not be deprived of their martyrdom, and secondly so as not to encourage the Conbaco [Kwambaku] to hold the Jesuits to ransom and demand sums of money from them. They assured the petitioners that the sentence was immutable. What astonished the Spaniards was the fact that after the execution the Judge who martyred the Padres, sat down to a meal with the Jesuits who 'served and regaled him' ...". It is likely that the Jesuits did not realise that the Franciscans would be martyred but had assumed they would merely be deported. The allegation that they paid the executioner is probably due to the fact that they wanted to buy weapons used in the martyrdom, or some other relics: this was quite usual. However, stories of this sort, true or not, served to accentuate the rivalry between Jesuit and friar, and this feeling was not limited to the mission but also spread back to Europe. The

⁵⁴ Domingo Fernández Navarrete, *Controversias*, 404, 470-71.

⁵⁵ Orfanel, *Historia*, ff. 21, 139; Carrero, *Triunfo del Rosario*, 51-2.

⁵⁶ C. Bayle, S.J., in a review article in: *Missionalia Hispanica*, V (1948), p. 201.

⁵⁷ On this see A. Millares Carlo and J. Calvo, *Los protomártires del Japón* (Nagasaki, 1597): ensayo biobibliográfico (México, 1954).

friars naturally celebrated the martyrdom as something praiseworthy, but the Jesuits opposed these celebrations and in Manila were even said to have ridiculed the martyrs "con representaciones mímicas". Some Jesuits maintained that since the friars had entered Japan against the wishes of the Pope, as implied in Gregory XIII's *Motu proprio*, they had therefore died excommunicate, and were not martyrs to the Faith, but to their own folly and imprudence. One preacher in Macao in 1639 declared that the martyrs had only been absolved of their excommunication at the foot of their crosses. In Seville the affair caused particular excitement and "llegó a tanto, que estuvo en bandos la ciudad y no sin riesgo de alguna sedición grave"⁵⁸. The canonisation of the martyrs by Urban VIII in 1627 was something of a triumph and vindication for the friars. A drawing of the scene of their deaths was made for these celebrations and it was noticed that only the friars and their Japanese converts were shown crucified: the three Japanese Jesuit martyrs were not, nor was any reference made to them. In the frontispiece to Juan Francisco de San Antonio's *Chronicas* (Sampaloc, 1738-44) the martyrdom is depicted and here too only the Franciscans and laymen are shown. The only Jesuits to appear in the picture are two absolving the martyrs at the foot of their crosses, and, in the bottom right-hand corner of the picture, may be seen the Jesuit bishop observing the scene from the safety of his quarters⁵⁹. In the canonisation celebrations in the Franciscan Church in Barcelona the Jesuit martyrs seem also to have been ignored, although the Fathers made up for this omission by "suntuosas y costosas fiestas"⁶⁰.

The friars laid great stress upon the need for martyrs in the new Church and their record in the Japan mission is remarkable; they behaved with great courage and utter selflessness, and it is worth noting that not a single European friar apostatised during the entire persecution, even under the most severe torture. So that it must be said that if they were reckless, as is alleged, they had at least the necessary courage to match their convictions. The Dominicans were especially proud of the proto-martyr of their Order in Japan, fray Alonso Navar-

⁵⁸ L. Pérez, O.F.M., *Cartas y relaciones del Japón*, III (Madrid, 1923), pp. 8, 19, 62, 170-3, 177, 207 bis, 208 bis, 252-6; Maggs's Catalogue 515 (1929), *Biblioteca Asiatica*, Pt. III, 5, 10, 11. Domingo Fernández Navarrete, O.P., *Tratados históricos* (Madrid, 1676), p. 442.

⁵⁹ E. Male, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente* (Paris, 1951), 117-19.

⁶⁰ *Memorial histórico español*, XX (Madrid, 1888), 23-5.

rete, who died in 1617, and the Dominican Orfanel boasted, quite justifiably, of the record of his colleagues: " aunque en Iapón ay otras santas Religiones, son mas los Padres de Santo Domingo que están presos, que los de las demas Religiones, por aventajarse continuamente los Padres de Santo Domingo a los demas en ayudar a la Christiandad, postpuesto qualquiera proprio peligro " ⁶¹.

In 1617, when each of the four Orders working in Japan had at least one martyr to its credit the friars saw a divine mark of approbation in the fact. But the Jesuits continued to complain of the Mendicants' imprudence, and Alonso Navarrete's courage in deliberately courting death, which greatly impressed the Japanese, was denounced by some writers. Thus Charlevoix describes the " zele plus vif que prudent " of the friars, and Cordara's officially sponsored Jesuit *Historia* blames Navarrete's " excessive ardour " as the reason for the fresh outburst of persecution. The Dominicans held that Navarrete had a divine vision which induced him to seek his martyrdom and down to the 19th century showed themselves ready to spring to his defence when he was attacked by Jesuit critics: " Créteineau Joly, apasionado historiador de los Jesuitas, llama al beato Alfonso Navarrete *fanático y aventurero cuyo celo indiscreto mereció el desprecio y la burla de todos*. La Iglesia le ha decretado solemnemente los honores de Beato, le ha puesto en los altares; luego el fanático aventurero, indiscreto, calumniador y hasta blasfemo es Créteineau Joly ", wrote one defender ⁶².

It is hardly surprising, then, if Navarrete's own contemporaries saw clearly the need to defend the reputation of their proto-martyr. But even earlier than this they had approached Lope de Vega to write a prose account of their achievements in Japan. It was thus that the *Triunfo de la fee en los Reynos del Japón por los años de 1614 y 1615* came to be written in 1617.

Lope states clearly that the source material for the work had reached him from Japan and the Philippines: " Escribo los martirios no testigo de vista, que no fue mi dicha tanta, pero por relaciones de algunos padres que me las enviaron desde Manila, a efecto que en el estilo con que he nacido las publicase ", and in a letter to the Duque de Sessa, written

⁶¹ Orfanel, *Historia*, f. 140.

⁶² P. F. X. Charlevoix, S.J., *Histoire et description générale du Japon* (Paris, 1736) V, 502; J. Cordara, S.J., *Historiae Societatis Jesu, Partis Sextae Liber II* (Romae, 1750), 121; R. Martínez-Vigil, O.P., *La Orden de predicadores* (Madrid, 1884), p. 151.

in mid-July, 1617, he remarked, "Mi estudio estos dias ha sido una historia de unos martires, o digamos *Relación*, a que me ha obligado haberme escrito unos Padres desde el Japón"⁶³. The reference to "unos Padres" is sometimes taken automatically to mean the Jesuits⁶⁴, although this assertion may be discounted immediately. It is easy enough to follow the events, for Lope in writing his *Triunfo* relied almost entirely upon a *Relación* written on 28 March, 1615 by the Dominican fray Jacinto Orfanel in Japan⁶⁵. Orfanel concludes this report with the comment that it has been written "para que sepan de las maravillas que el señor obra por acá" and adds that he is sending a copy to the Prior of Manila "para que lo envíe a España". The most likely contact in Madrid between Lope and the Philippine and Japan friars would be Canon Pedro Fernández Navarrete, author of the *Conservación de monarquías*, brother of the martyr fray Alonso Navarrete and first cousin of the martyr fray Alonso de Mena⁶⁶. The Navarrete family, which was not without distinction, was proud of its martyrs, and Canon Pedro Navarrete refers in the *Conservación* to his "glorioso hermano fray Alonso Navarrete ... el protomártir de su religion en aquellas provincias"⁶⁷. Nothing would be more natural than that when the Japan Dominicans, with whom the Canon corresponded, sought his advice about finding a publicist of renown to record their story, he should think of the greatest writer of the day, Lope de Vega, and ask him to undertake the task 'with that style with which he had been born'⁶⁸.

⁶³ Lope de Vega, *Epistolario* (ed. A. G. Amezúa), III (Madrid, 1941), p. 317; and BAE, XXXVIII, p. 162.

⁶⁴ As in H. Bernard Maitre, S.J., *Lope de Vega et l'Extrême-Orient*, *Monumenta Nipponica*, IV (1941), p. 279.

⁶⁵ Published in MD. V (1922), p. 389; VI (1923), pp. 26-27, 58-9, 89-90, 123-24, 217-18, 251-52.

⁶⁶ MD. VI, p. 252; Pagés, II, 187, 189, prints letters sent to the Canon in Spain by friars in Japan.

⁶⁷ Pedro Fernández Navarrete, *Conservación de monarquías* (Madrid, Biblioteca de autores españoles, 1920), vol. XXV, p. 539. The martyr's nephew, the marqués de la Terca, for instance, enquired in Rome for news of his uncle's process in 1672 (*Dominican Archives*, Rome, IV, 145, fol. 5-6).

⁶⁸ Lope de Vega, *Triunfo*, BAE, XXXVIII, p. 162. In English literary history there is an interesting and contemporary parallel to the case of Lope's being asked to write a work of religious propaganda. The promoters of some of the first English settlements used poets, preachers and playwrights to advertise the new lands and to make them appealing. Thus in 1622 John Donne was enlisted by the Virginia Company to preach what has been called the first missionary sermon in English in favour

Even if this conjecture as to the identity of the middle man is mistaken, there is certainly no mistake about the identity of Lope's informant as we shall show. Lope was willing to undertake the work, for he regarded himself as a martyrologist-historian: the duty of Apostolic Notaries in ages past was to write "las persecuciones de los tiranos y los gloriosos triunfos de los mártires" thus it seemed to him proper that he, a Notary Apostolic himself, should write the new martyrology. He was proud of this work and mentioned it later in *La Filomena* as evidence of the range of his literary interests: "Yo canté, finalmente, los mártires japones"⁶⁹.

Those critics who maintain that the *Triunfo* was written from Jesuit source material and to exalt Jesuit successes in Japan have apparently not reflected upon the singular fact that the work of the Society is scarcely mentioned in the essay. There is a bare *memento* of the three Japanese Jesuits who died with the Franciscans in 1597; in the opening paragraphs the Jesuits are named, with the three other Orders, as working in Japan, and there are one or two conventional asides; apart from that there is no mention of them, and this is the more conspicuous in a work which is headed by a prologue full of warm praise for "el Tito Livio Cristiano", Father Mariana. Lope could, of course, have used Jesuit material had he chosen to do so, for he knew the value of their letters from Japan⁷⁰, and would have had easy access to the *Relaciones* of Morejón and Pineyro⁷¹. Perhaps the answer is to be found in the fact that at the very time he was preparing the *Triunfo* Lope was having trouble with the local Jesuits who, according to him, were threatening to take his house from him. In December 1617 he complained to Sessa, "Hasta ahora no nos han quitado la cassa estos padres; que las de los lados son las que más han menester; y aunque entraron con cohetes,

of the colony which needed to recapture popular support. In return for this, Donne received stock in the Company and for a time he nourished the hope of becoming Secretary of the Corporation (Newes from the New-World, ed. L. B. Wright, Huntingdon Library, 1946, pp. 1-5). See also The Sermons of John Donne, ed. G. R. Potter, and E. M. Simpson, IV (Berkeley, 1959), pp. 37-8, 264-282.

⁶⁹ Lope de Vega, *La Filomena*, BAE, XXXVIII, pp. 483, 491.

⁷⁰ Lope de Vega, *Triunfo*, p. 162. On Lope's coolness towards the Jesuits, as shown in the *Triunfo*, see A. G. de Amezua (ed.), *Epistolario de Lope de Vega*, II (Madrid, 1940), p. 200.

⁷¹ Pedro Morejón, S.J., *Relación de la persecución... 1612-15* (Rome, 1615; Mexico, 1616; Saragossa, 1617); Luis Piñeyro, S.J., *Relación... del Japón... 1612-15* (Madrid, 1617).

no quieren que sea a fuego y sangre ... Finalmente, cuando me quiten mi cassilla, mi quietud, mi guerteçillo y estudio, me queda V. Exa ”. And if one may judge from a later letter of his he had a poor opinion of the Fathers whom he described to Sessa as “ gente que, en medio de su humildad y preceptos de su instituto, tienen más tretas y modos de vivir que mercaderes de mohatras ”⁷². He could, of course, be cynical about the friars too and make Voltairean asides about their explanation that the Rosary had won the battle of Lepanto⁷³. But perhaps he was the more sympathetic to these friars who, like himself, were being threatened by the Jesuits. These friars, moreover, were very different from those he was criticising at home, and he knew how to distinguish between the two types, just as did his informant, Canon Pedro Navarrete. For it is to be noted that the passage in which the Canon praises the friar-martyrs of Japan comes from the section of his *Conservación de monarquías* where he denounces the excessive number of clergy in Spain. Moreover Lope read the friars’ account of their trials at a time of crisis in his own personal life, for in that summer of 1617 he, a priest vowed to chastity, was daily awaiting news of the child to be born to him of ‘ Amarilis ’. “ Esta noche no he dormido, aunque me he confessado; mal haya amor que se quiere oponer al Cielo! ” he wrote in a letter at that time. In such a mood of guilt and repentance he may well have found every line in the friars’ *relación* from Japan was an accusation and a reproach to himself, for their story, in his own words, seemed “ una afrenta de los que con tal descuido esperamos el incierto límite de nuestra vida ”. It is a little to be wondered at if he was moved to sincere admiration and perhaps even spoke the truth when he confessed that he had written the *Triunfo* with tears in his eyes⁷⁴.

A comparison of Orfanel’s long letter from Japan and Lope’s *Triunfo* shows the latter following scrupulously to his source except once or twice where he inserts material from other Dominican writers: for instance, he refers to a “ relación del venerable padre fray Josef de San Jacinto ” which he had used⁷⁵. The first clue, however, to Orfanel’s

⁷² Lope de Vega, *Epistolario*, II, 197; III, 350; IV, 142.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, III, 320; IV, 53.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, III, 325; *Triunfo*, 162; J. de Entrambasaguas shows (*Estudios sobre Lope de Vega*, I (Madrid, 1946), 391 ff.) how Lope used the preface to the *Triunfo* to strike a blow in his controversy with Torres Rámila.

⁷⁵ *Triunfo*, 176. Or he could have supplemented Orfanel with the *relaciones* of friars Mena and Morales: details in H. Ocio y Viana, *Reseña biográfica* (Manila, 1891), pp. 200, 204.

identity comes when Lope writes: "el que por sus cartas me ha advertido destas relaciones, ... se partió a Arima, donde de la sangre de tantos mártires traía hecho un jaspe el hábito del español Domingo" which may be compared with Orfanel's original account: "Yo me fuí a Arima, donde fue el martirio de los santos, del cual me hallé tan cerca, que casi puedo decir que me volví salpicados los vestidos con su sangre"⁷⁶. It may be noted that though Lope's reference to the Dominican habit is useful for identifying his unnamed informant he is however mistaken, for, as we have said (p. 13), the friars were not wearing their religious habits at that time, and when Orfanel says *los vestidos* he is referring to his lay or secular costume⁷⁷. This opening passage serves to pinpoint the difference between Lope and Orfanel, for it draws attention to the precision with which the friar wrote and reveals Lope's readiness to jump to conclusions, and to spoil the simplicity of the friar's account with "fine writing"—a mistake made worse, elsewhere, by the introduction of irrelevant classical allusions, or what Aubrey Bell has called the "brambles of erudition"⁷⁸. These, no doubt, were inevitable since Lope hoped to please his readers ("pienso que agrada") and this artificial style was calculated to gratify sophisticated taste.

After a brief survey of the work of the four Orders in the missions, Lope turns to Japan, "ya tan conocido de nosotros, como ignorado antiguamente, o por la noticia de sus embajadores en Roma, o por los que al Rey Católico vinieron tan deseosos de la fe, por orden de los padres de San Francisco, el año de 1615, o lo que es más cierto, por la que nos han dado con sus cartas los padres de la Compañía, buenos testigos del fruto de su predicación, y cuidado". A brief survey of the Japanese background follows in which the Japanese are described as "gente blanca, su ingenio y memoria admirable". He then states his precise aim in the *Triunfo*: he will relate the new persecution of the Japanese Christians during 1614-15, and in his outlines of the historical background he notes a similarity between the persecution in the Japanese islands and that in Britain. Even in this general outline there

⁷⁶ Ibidem, 164; MD. V. 389.

⁷⁷ See friar Orsucci's description of the friars in Japan "in abito di mercanti con la spada alla cintura... senza corona alla testa e con i barbigi lunghi" (P. T. Masetti, *Lettere Edificanti scritte dai Frati Predicatori martirizzati nel Giappone* [Roma, 1868], pp. 38-9).

⁷⁸ A. F. G. Bell, "Lope de Vega as a writer of Prose", *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, XII (1935), 234.

are echoes of Orfanel's account here and there, such as the mention of the fact that condemned Christians were made to parade naked through the streets and Christian women were put into the public brothels as a punishment ⁷⁹.

Then follows an account of the persecution in Arima, Ariye and Kuchinotsu, and from this point Lope remains close to his source, only departing from it momentarily, perhaps to show he is not merely a copyist:

Orfanel: MD., VI, 26:

el tiempo que duró esta persecución no fue menos terrible que la de Domiciano o Diocleciano.

Partió, pues Safioye con multitud de soldados de varios reinos al de Arima, ...

dando primero un tiento a los de Cuchinote...

Lope: BAE., 164-5:

Los pocos días que duró la persecución deste tirano, no pienso que fue inferior a las de Nerón y Diocleciano.

(Safior) Acompañado pues de armas y de arrogancia, con numeroso ejército de soldados de varios reinos llegó al de Arima, ...

dió un tiento a los cristianos de Cochinotzu...

Sometimes Lope misreads a date; thus he mistook Orfanel's "17 November" for the 7th November and rather heavily underlined his error by glossing it:

MD., ibid.:

lunes a 17 de noviembre ...

BAE., ibid.:

séptimo día de la octava de Todos Santos y víspera de los cuatro coronados, no sin misterio, pues siendo escultores, por no haber hecho, a petición de los romanos, las imágenes de sus fabulosos ídolos, entre los azotes de plomo dieron sus almas ...

Next in the account comes the story of the two brothers, Juan and Cosme. In this section of the essay, which follows Orfanel's very nearly, there are one or two additional items, probably taken from an account

⁷⁹ Triunfo, 162-4; MD. VI, 218,

by fray Juan de los Angeles, O.P., who knew the two martyrs personally. However, Lope may have used other *relaciones* or letters by Orfanel which have not survived or not been printed, for, it should be noted, he refers to Orfanel's writings in the plural and therefore must have had at his disposal more than the one letter of March 1615⁸⁰. In the main however he is following this letter as when he goes on to quote from it a miracle connected with the martyrs' relics:

Orfanel: MD., VI, 27 :

(a Juan) le dieron crueles palos y
uno en lado derecho de la frente de
donde le corrió tanta sangre
que le cegó el ojo
y la carne quedó denegrida y él tan
fatigado de este golpe que siempre se
entendió que le habían quebrado el
hueso,
hasta que el otro día,
mirando su santa cabeza - (que en
nuestro poder está este precioso
tesoro) - vide que está entero el hueso.

Lope: BAE., 165 :

le dieron tantos palos,
que por su bendita cabeza
corría un mar de sangre,
y quebrado el uno de los ojos,
puso la interior vista donde no alcan-
zan las tinieblas de la tirana ira ...
...
...
aquella venerable cabeza, que mirada
después de los padres, que hoy la
tienen con digna veneración en
Manila, ninguna lesión muestra.

A comparison of these two passages above shows Lope following his original obediently but with some changes permitted by artistic licence, and obviously he is confused in thinking that the relic is in Manila, for Orfanel who had looked at it "el otro día" was then in Nagasaki, where he wrote his account, although afterwards it was in fact sent to Manila⁸¹. Later in his *relación* Orfanel returned to the story of Cosme and Juan but Lope seems to have thought this second reference was to a different pair of brothers; also he misread Orfanel and made Cosme the first to be beheaded⁸². Moreover, Lope puts into the mouth of the martyrs speeches which are not to be found in his source. An example can be seen in the story of the torturing of Juan Kizayemon who, having been struck on the head and bleeding as a result, is made to address the judge with the words, "No soy yo el ciego, juez engañado; así vieras tú el bien que pierdes, como yo por

⁸⁰ Triunfo, 164, 170.

⁸¹ MD. VI, 27, 217.

⁸² MD. VI, 217; Triunfo, 174.

las celosías desta sangre". Sometimes, indeed, Orfanel does quote dialogue to add to the dramatic effect of his story. Lope follows him closely in re-telling the story of the 15-year-old slave, Martin, who asks his master to grant him his freedom so that he may surrender to the judge and volunteer for martyrdom:

Orfanel: MD., VI, 58:

Lo cual le concedió su amo; y asi casi toda aquella noche no durmió, rezando y acudiendo a otras cosas de la casa.

Lope: BAE., 166:

Esto le concedió su amo enternecido, y así toda aquella noche no durmió un instante, antes bien la paso toda rezando las oraciones que sabía, y acudiendo á otros ministerios de la casa para dejar en orden lo que estaba a su cuenta.

Lope's version is more verbose, and nothing is gained by his additions or attempts at greater precision. The account continues:

Venido el jueves, a las nueve del día, como ya comenzasen a examinar los cristianos, lavándose la cabeza y el cuerpecito

para entregar limpios el alma y el cuerpo a Dios, puesto el mejor y menos remendado vestidillo que tenía se fué allá y procurando entrar dentro de aquella rueda de soldados.

no pudo porque se lo impedían, pensando que iba a ver no más, como muchacho: y así el uno le daba un puntapié, otro un empellón, otro con el palo de la alabarda.

Venido el día, que fue jueves, como ya comenzasen el examen de los cristianos, y le alterase el ruido y confusión de las voces y de las armas, lavandose la cabeza y el cuerpecillo en el mar

para ofrecer á Dios el alma y el cuerpo limpios, puesto el mejor ó menos remendado vestidito que tenía, se fué adonde sonaba el concurso de la gente, y procuró entrar en aquella rueda de soldados que servía de muro al teatro, donde representaba la fe tan soberanas tragedias, ayudándole la esperanza hasta los postreros actos.

Mas como ellos pensasen que solo quería ver, como muchacho, aquel espectáculo, era con los cabos de las alabardas y con las coces resistido de todos.

Orfanel concludes the story and comments that he can only give the bare summary of many of these events and this too Lope echoes, though more wordily: "Si se hubieran de referir los tormentos que en

esta dichosa ocasión padecieron innumerables mártires, parece que lo fueran (i. e. tormentos) estos discursos". Orfanel then tells how he ministered to these martyrs just before their end and Lope retells the story, without, however, revealing the friar as his source. Orfanel relates the story of Liyemon who at the moment of execution apostatised in the hope of saving his life, but the judge, an old enemy of his, ordered him to be beheaded and ignored the retraction. Though Liyemon died "con señales de contrición" he was not considered to be a martyr. Lope's version of this affair is much longer, and he either used a supplementary source or else the printed version of Orfanel's letter makes omissions at this point. It seems more likely that an additional source was consulted here for Lope also mentions, though briefly, the brothers Gaspar and Bartolomé Yatayu who are not mentioned in Orfanel's letter of March, 1615.

After this brief truancy from his source, Lope returns, and the narrative passes on to discuss the persecution at Ariye, a town about a league to the north of Arima. This was carried out by a judge called Matashiro:

Orfanel: MD., VI, 89:

un juez llamado Mataxiro,
cruel enemigo de cristianos y de
malísimas entrañas,

el cual, después de haber hecho sus
diligencias, ...
usó
de una traza diabólica ...

Lope: BAE., 167:

un nuevo Diocleciano, llamado Mata
Girion, hombre de ferocísimo ingenio
y duras entrañas, y á quien era abo-
minable el Evangelio:

el cual, despues de haber hecho las
posibles diligencias ...
trazó, pensó y ejecutó
la mas diabólica imaginación que
pudo fabricar su entendimiento ...

In the following passages Lope intersperses the account with biblical and classical allusions which are not in Orfanel. But this particular passage is interesting for it bears out, if the coincidences of the two narratives did not, the fact that Lope is relying on the friar for his information:

MD., VI, 90; 123:

Estaba el juez, este día,
en un pueblo media legua de Ariye,
llamado Sucava,

BAE, 168-169:

Estaba el juez aquel dia
en un pueblo llamado Sucaba, media
legua de Arie,

donde entonces estaba yo escondido

y acabando de rezar completas; ya casi a la puesta del sol, llegaron a mí corriendo dos o tres cristianos a decirme que allí, en la calle, acababa de cortar la cabeza a Adrián ... dos horas después de muerto el Santo Adrián, ... pasé por el lugar donde le habían cortado la cabeza; y también acababa de recibir una carta del P. Fr. Juan de los Angeles ...

donde el padre, de quien es el alma, y substancia destas relaciones, estaba escondido;

y cuando acababa de rezar completas, llegaron a él corriendo dos japoneses cristianos, que le dijeron como en aquella dichosa hora acababan de cortar la cabeza al bienaventurado martir, ... Dos horas despues de muerto el santo Adrian, pasó este padre por donde le habian cortado la cabeza, y allí recibió una carta del padre fray Juan de los Angeles ...

There is no doubt, then, that Orfanel was Lope's chief source, for he admits and shows it is so. A running parallel version of the two accounts from beginning to end is not necessary here, but it is hoped to publish it in a new edition of Lope's *Triunfo*. Curiously, Lope never identifies Orfanel as his source, though he refers to him in his essay as one of the friars working in Japan. One reason for this might be that the friar out of modesty had asked not to be named⁸⁸.

After telling of the persecution in Kuchinotsu, Lope concludes his account in the brief business-like manner of the Roman Martyrology ("*et alibi, aliorum plurimorum sanctorum Martyrum...*"), by naming other martyrs who died elsewhere and at different times, including those who had died in 1597. In the course of this account Lope quotes some Latin verses in honour of the martyrs and adds some of his own in Spanish and finally closes his study with a pious invocation.

Orfanel's original, like those of his colleagues printed in *Misiones Dominicanas*, makes stirring reading, and it is not difficult to see how Lope was moved by them. The style is straightforward and unpretentious; and where the scrupulous Orfanel is writing it can be taken that the story is well authenticated. Lope took his task seriously and on two occasions saw fit to censor the original in the interests of edification. Once he primly altered a reference by the friar to Japanese sexual mores

⁸⁸ On Orfanel's modesty see P. T. Masetti, *I Martiri dell'Ordine de' Predicatori* (Rome, 1868), 249-50.

so as to make the incident described less shocking to pious Spanish ears⁸⁴. Another time, in re-telling Orfanel's story of an apparently miraculous and certainly symbolical ripening of a martyr's harvest, Lope suppressed a comment by the friar who adds that the fields of others, not martyrs, had also ripened in the same way.

The *Triunfo* is written in unequal prose and the reason is that, apart from the difficulty of deciding whether he was writing for a sophisticated or a simple audience, a doubt common to all Golden Age writers, remarks Aubrey Bell, Lope was further troubled by the need to select a style proper to his exalted subject⁸⁵. He could have written a poetic history: "dar esta relación a las musas y hacer a Clio metrificadora" as he commented in the prologue. But he was aware that he was writing not merely history, but sacred history; that truth is the first law of history; and "la verdad siempre fue enemiga del artificio, alma de los colores poéticos, como ella de la historia, y más en las cosas de la Iglesia y del aumento del patrimonio de Jesucristo". Yet the gaunt, homely prose of friar Orfanel was not sufficient, as the friars themselves implicitly admitted when they chose to send the *relaciones* to Madrid and asked Lope to re-write them, "a efecto que en el estilo con que he nacido las publicase⁸⁶. There was reason for feeling particularly self-conscious about the style of the *Triunfo*, therefore, and for making sure that those who had solicited it were not disappointed when they asked him to write his best on their behalf "de las cosas de la Iglesia y del aumento del patrimonio de Jesucristo". The theme demanded a certain grandeur, and before long he was exclaiming "Quien tuviera un estilo grandiflocuo" and the less satisfactory portions of the work, the heavy sententious, obscure passages, are obviously written in an attempt to capture this grandiloquence. It is ironical in this connection to find Bell praising a passage of the *Triunfo* as an example of Lope's ability to write with discretion and restraint, and, unfortunately for his thesis, choosing as his model a paragraph which is taken almost word for word from Orfanel, "Venido el dia, que fue jueves..." (see p. 44 above).

* * *

The second aspect of the Dominican mission to Japan upon which we wish to comment concerns the friars' attitude to martyrdom. They

⁸⁴ MD. VI, 58-9, 251; *Triunfo*, p. 175.

⁸⁵ Bell, *op. cit.*, 232, 234.

⁸⁶ *Triunfo*, p. 162.

held fully the belief that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church, or in Lope's words, " Quien considerare los fundamentos de la Iglesia, que Jesucristo adquirió con su sangre en la de tantos mártires, desde las primeras piedras de Esteban, a las últimas líneas de su edificio, conocerá fácilmente que donde quiera que se planta este soberano arbol de la fe catolica, se ha de aumentar con sangre, como a los que produce la naturaleza el alma vegetativa con el humor del agua ". The friars' record shows that as far as they were concerned this was no mere cliché, and some consideration of this attitude is essential to the understanding of the events related in the *Triunfo*, but much more so for the appreciation of the conduct of the Dominican proto-martyr, Alonso Navarrete, and his Augustinian companion, fray Hernando de San José Ayala, whose martyrdom in June 1617 forms the central theme of the play *Los primeros mártires del Japón*.

Conditions in Japanese jails differed according to the locality, and some were enough to make the strongest quail. The best known and certainly the most horrifying description is the frequently quoted account of Yedo prison by the indomitable Franciscan, fray Diego de San Francisco⁸⁷. Omura jail, during these years, is described in detail by the Dominican Manzano in his *Relación verdadera* which is based on letters written by the prisoners themselves. The central cage of the prison, the *jaula*, was composed of thick wooden stakes so close together that only a finger or two could be squeezed between them. This *jaula* measured approximately 18 feet by twelve and was six feet high; 34 persons were kept in it. Of these 16 were Religious and the remainder were Japanese converts. There was one small door, which was only opened to admit newcomers, and a trapdoor through which the prisoners' food was pushed. Surrounding the cage were three separate stockades of thornwood to discourage sympathisers from approaching, and the guards were changed daily to prevent any fraternisation. Moreover not even the guards were allowed to go closer than the second stockade. The diet was officially set at two daily helpings of soup (*shiru*) and some vegetables⁸⁸, but the Dominicans seem to have been given

⁸⁷ Ibidem, 161. Diego de San Francisco's classic account of the horrors of Yedo jail is quoted by many writers; see for instance, H. Cieslik, S.J., "The Great Martyrdom in Edo 1623", in: *Monumenta Nipponica*, X (Tokyo, 1954), 1-44; Orfanel, *Historia*, fls. 60-61; J. Murdoch, *History of Japan*, vol. II (Kobe, 1903), pp. 604-5; C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 347-9.

⁸⁸ Cieslik, op. cit., p. 24; cf. also MD. III, 93, 94; VIII, 189.

rice and occasionally a little fish ("una sardina podrida"); the drink was warm water. Despite the severity of the conditions, their converts sometimes sought to smuggle food into the *jaula* and Manzano tells of two such who were trapped and executed, "i los dos dichosos Cofrades por el valor de dos melones vinieron a poseer el Reyno de los Cielos"⁸⁹. The prisoners' clothes were never washed and were swarming with lice. Since knives and scissors were forbidden in order to prevent suicides, their hair, beard, and nails could not be cut, and soon the prisoners looked like hermits from the desert. Writing materials were strictly forbidden but it is apparent from the number of letters that were written that the friars found their way around this prohibition in very many cases. Yet it is far from clear how these letters were written or despatched. Manzano, having commented on the difficulty of obtaining writing materials in the *jaula*, almost immediately goes on to describe how the prisoners spent part of their day in writing letters "para consolar las viudas de los Martyres. Unas escrivian a los vezinos de Nangasaqui, otras a los Españoles de Manila, paraque acudiesen a las necesidades, que en Japón pasavan muchas personas, por aver dado posada a Religiosos"⁹⁰. Other letters went to the superiors in Manila urging the brethren there to go over to Japan to join the martyrs. Sometimes, obviously, they managed to send letters by bribing the guards. Tomás del Espíritu Santo Zumárraga, in order to express fully how severe is his prison, remarks that "not even letters" can be received or despatched, though this is then qualified by a possibility: "sino es por alguna traza" and he himself writes from prison to thank Admiral Juan Ruiz de Icoaga in Manila for a gift of 100 pesos which will enable him to bribe the messengers: "ahora es menester sobornar al que ha de meter o sacar algunas cartas". A few months later this was still possible: "Aqui hay grande rigor y el que mete cualquiera carta es con grande peligro de la vida, y así, el dinero abre algún camino para algunas cartas"; two months later still the same friar was asking for "algunas resmas de *fanagami* que puedan servir para cartas ... un poco de tinta y plumas de Japón". One of this friar's letters begins with the supercription, "perdone V. M. el papel; es de carcel"⁹¹. More puzzling still is how Orfanel managed to smuggle his manuscript history in and

⁸⁹ Manzano; *Relación verdadera*, 43-44.

⁹⁰ Orfanel, *Historia*, 61; 124; Manzano, 43-45.

⁹¹ MD. II, 318; III, 30, 31, 94, 125, 156, 190, 347.

out of prison and have it checked by his colleagues as described above (pp. 30-31).

The friars, like the Jesuits, were wont to pepper these letters with Japanese words and phrases which is evidence of their affection for Japanese as well as of their knowledge of the language. Tomás del Espíritu Santo, in a short note of barely 30 lines uses no less than 13 Japanese words, and there are many more instances of this tendency⁹². At other times they resorted to the use of code words intended to deceive the Japanese, thus a priest is often called "the doctor" in a letter and his equipment for saying mass is referred to as the "medicine"⁹³. For safety's sake letters were addressed as to seculars. Superiors of the Order were called "The Boss" or "The Captain"; Collado who came from Salamanca was referred to as "Señor Salmantino" and instead of being called "vuestra reverencia" was called "vuestra merced"; Fr. Diego de la Cruz was called "Cruzado" and the Third Order of St Francis was the "Tercera Escuadra". These attempts at deception were far from subtle, and anyone reading the letters would not have had any doubt that the addressee was a Religious⁹⁴.

Severe though conditions might be, even in the appalling *jaula* of Yedo, the friars rejoiced, such was their exalted mood, and in letters from these prisons they frequently remark that they would not change places with anyone:

"Que no trocar yo este lugar por los más soberbios palacios de los monarcas del mundo; ni las sogas y cordeles con que me amarraron por sus piedras preciosas y cadenas con 'tuson'; ni la mala y poca comida con sus opulentas mesas y preciosos manjares ... Esta cárcel escojo por *requies mea* ... Cuando me ataron la sogá comenzó mi vida, entonces comencé a ser religioso..."⁹⁵.

⁹² MD. III, p. 30. For an example of this tendency in Jesuit writers see the letters of Jeronimo de Angelis and Miguel de Carvalho in H. Cieslik, S.J., *Hoku-ho Tanken-ki* (Tokyo, 1961), p. 3-42.

⁹³ Pagés, *Histoire*, II, 131. To hear confessions was described as "taking the pulse".

⁹⁴ Diego de San Francisco, *Relaciones*, ed. L. Pérez (Madrid, 1914), pp. 38, 84; Orfanel, *Historia*, fl. 164; P. T. Masetti, *Lettere edificanti scritte dai Frati Predicatori Martirizzati nel Giappone* (Rome, 1868), 76 n.

⁹⁵ MD. VIII, 189-90; Pagés, *Histoire*, II, 172. It is rather touching to find friar Orsucci, in prison awaiting martyrdom, writing a last letter in which he bids farewell to the Indians he had known in the Philippines: "... Addio mille milione di volti, addio a tutti gl'Indiani" (Masetti, *Lettere*, p. 48).

For some friars prison conditions were not severe enough and they sought to add to their trials by taking the discipline; and they rejoiced so much in these sufferings which, of course, they saw as purposeful and to the honour of God, that they dreaded being released from their *jaulas*: "la peor nueva que nos podían dar, es que nos fuésemos libres a donde quisiesemos ... No faltan temores que nos han de embarcar para Manila". Fray Alonso de Mena, writing from "esta dichosa carcel o paraíso", expresses the fear that he and his companions may be deported and not martyred; Fray Francisco de Morales expresses a similar fear, adding, "estoy yo más contento con mi esposa, la cárcel, que algún marido con su mujer"; fray Tomás del Espíritu Santo, writing from "esto tronco o jaula" described his contentment in curious language: "es tan grande nuestro contento y alegría en esta cárcel, que me parece que todo el infierno junto no podrá causarnos tristeza, ni enfado"⁹⁶. They managed to lead something like a religious life in their prisons; their regime in Omura, for example, was as if they were in "la más bien ordenada casa i más bien rejido convento de la Orden". They rose at midnight to say Matins, but since they had no light to read their breviaries they used to recite the Mattins of the Little Office of Our Lady each day since they knew this by heart; this was followed by an hour of mental prayer and the discipline was taken by the "community". At dawn the *Benedictus* was sung and in the early days, while they still had bread and wine, a Mass would be said, though later a *misa seca* in which the elements are not consecrated, had to suffice. At noon was another hour of mental prayer, and in the evening the *Salve Regina* was sung in accordance with the ancient Dominican tradition. On Saturdays the Rosary was said in common. Before sleep there was another hour of meditation based usually on a reading from Luis de Granada's *Guía de pecadores*. The remainder of the time was spent "en hablar de Dios" and their "happy lot"⁹⁷.

The converts were as devout as the friars and often spent their time

⁹⁶ MD. III, 94, 156, 285; VIII, 58; see also friar Orsucci's letter of 1620 in which he says "Il mio desiderio è di essere abbruciato vivo ..." (Masetti, Lettere, 44).

⁹⁷ Manzano, 44-5; those who, like one of the present writers, spent some years of the Pacific War of 1941-45 in a Japanese jail (as distinct from a P. O. W. Camp) will notice that in one respect at least Omura *jaula* had the advantage. The inmates were evidently permitted to talk freely with each other, and were not forced to squat in silence facing a wall, with the risk of being beaten up if they were caught by a jailer whispering to each other.

in prison in spiritual exercises preparing for death. The imprisoned priests also sought to convert other prisoners. The heroic fray Diego de San Francisco, in the midst of the unspeakable horrors of Yedo jail, converted no less than seventy of his fellow-prisoners and they, in turn, protected him from being murdered by the rest when he lay ill. Stranger still, some prisoners converted in jail were even admitted to the Dominican Order and actually studied Latin there under the friars' tuition ⁹⁸.

Martyrdom was welcomed by both friar and convert and they waited each day, "esperando la dichosa sentencia de ser asados", as Tomás del Espíritu Santo reported to his provincial in 1619 from Omura ⁹⁹. They made something like an attempt at psychological conditioning in preparation for martyrdom; for although the friars travelled and worked in lay dress they always kept a habit in readiness so that they might die in the respective robes of their Orders ¹⁰⁰. Similarly, the converts who joined the Rosary Confraternity had special, and elaborate, vestments which they wore to martyrdom; or else kept their best clothes aside for the occasion. Alonso de Mena describes a family in which "hasta la mujer e hijos tenían hechos sus vestidos de seda blanca para cuando las pusiesen en las cruces". Orfanel describes the habit of the Rosary Confraternity:

"era una toga blanca, larga hasta los pies, y encima una capita negra como muceta de obispo, y la cruz y armas de la orden, con el rosario alrededor del pecho, y como entre éstos del numero había muchos principales y ricos hacían esta ropa, quién de tercielo, quién de damasco o tafetán, y quién no podía tanto, de manta de china, cada uno según su posibilidad. Y ahora, cuando salieron al martirio, cuatro de ellos, eran del número y tenían guardados sus hábitos, fueron con el..." ¹⁰¹.

The Japanese converts showed an extraordinary desire to die for their new faith: one who had been condemned to death by burning

⁹⁸ MD. III, 157; Manzano, *Relación*, 46-8, 66; Orfanel, *Historia*, 125-6; Pagés, II, 174. The converts' devotion (and the idea of 40,000 striving to confess to a dozen priests) made one friar compare the Mission to the church of the very Apostles themselves (López, f. 270). Later he preached upon this theme in Mexico.

⁹⁹ MD. II, 317, 319, 348, 349, 350; III, 92, 93.

¹⁰⁰ See page 13 above; and also MD. II, 349; Orfanel, *Historia*, 26, 73, 93, 124. Masetti, *Lettere*, 38-9.

¹⁰¹ MD. II, 349; VI, 283; Carrero, *Triunfo del Rosario*, 151.

wrote to thank the missionary who had indirectly been the cause of his fate; another convert, Leon, was constantly repeating " *go foco ni ximitai, esto es, deseo morir en servicio de Dios* " and Orfanel reported, what was certainly true, that even children of five years of age longed to die a martyr's death. Joaquín and Tomé, whose deaths are briefly mentioned by Lope, sought to prolong their suffering. They were hanged by the feet, head downwards, from a tree, and Joaquín, who was a doctor, told Tomé to try to keep his head up so that the blood would not rush to it immediately: " *conviene que lo hagas y que no desees morir presto, considerando que estos tormentos te han de servir de tener aqui el purgatorio y todos han de ser para mayor merecimiento* ". Later, managing to free an arm and secure a piece of rope, Joaquín began to whip himself as he hung from the tree. Such was their zeal to suffer that fray José de San Jacinto reported how converts consulted him to ask if it was legitimate to throw themselves on to the fires in which other Christians were being burnt, and thus find their own martyrdom although not yet condemned to die. The Jesuit, Organtino, describes the native Christians as hastening to martyrdom " *as if to a festival* ", and some of the missionaries were obliged to discourage many who were over-eager to die¹⁰². They also had to urge some of the converts to moderate their penances and flagellations. This is understandable because the Japanese way of life with its high regard for ritual suicide predisposed the converts to martyrdom and their stoical—not to say masochistic—temperament was naturally encouraged by the Christian doctrine of the purpose of suffering, and found ready expression in the practice of physical penances. This national attitude distinguished the Japanese from many other Asian peoples that the missionaries had met, and it made conversion easier, for the Japanese, unlike the Chinese, for example, found nothing repugnant or distressing in the doctrine of the Crucifixion or the Atonement¹⁰³.

The ecstasy with which these martyrs suffered is shown clearly in Orfanel's account of how he questioned converts who had had their

¹⁰² MD. IV, 30; VIII, 57, 58; G. B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (London, 1950), 130-40. The twenty-year old Japanese friar brother Tomás del Rosario, sentenced to be beheaded, begged to be burnt alive as were the Europeans; this was refused him but he clung to the stake and had to be dragged from it. (Ocio, *Reseña*, 234).

¹⁰³ Sansom, 136; on religious suicide in Japan at this period see L. Delplace, S.J., *Le Catholicisme au Japon* (Bruxelles, 1910), II, 42-3.

fingers and toes cut off and been branded on the forehead. He, true to his inquisitive nature, asked them how they had endured such suffering and precisely what pain they had felt. One of them explained to him that there had simply been no pain at all: the cutting off of the toes and fingers had felt like a soft brushing of his hands and feet; the branding had been equally painless, for though he had heard the hissing of the brand burning into his flesh and had felt something warm on his brow, there had not been the slightest pain involved¹⁰⁴.

This extraordinary mood was not peculiar to the Japanese, however, and Orfanel describes how the Portuguese Captain, Domingos Jorge, the first European layman to be martyred in Japan, went to the stake in 1619. He was dressed in the rather spectacular Rosary Confraternity habit described above, "y como el hábito era de seda y él blanco y rubio, estaua muy hermoso, y todo el camino fue con una boca de risa, despidiendose de todos con un pañiuelo blanco que llevaua en la mano...". He was accompanied by Andrés, who "parecía un Angel con una rosa en cada mexilla con gran alegría". As they were tied to the stake they showed great signs of joy at the prospect before them. When the fires were lit the Portuguese began to recite the *Credo*, but only reached the words *Incarnatus est* when the smoke began to suffocate him and prevented his continuing. But just before the end the bystanders saw him looking up to heaven, and it appeared to them that he was laughing as he died¹⁰⁵.

This wide-spread longing for martyrdom, the desire to be dissolved and made one with Christ, which was common to priest and convert alike throughout the mission, may be said to date from 1617 and the dramatic self-sacrifice of friar Alonso Navarrete O.P., and his Augustinian companion fray Hernando de San José Ayala. To the Japanese the deaths of these two must have seemed almost like a Christian form of *hara-kiri*. For some time there had been a lull in the persecution but in 1617 there was a fresh spurt of activity on the part of the authorities with the result that for the first time since 1597 some of the foreign missionaries forfeited their lives. Early in 1617, under pressure from the new Shogun (Hidetada), the feudal lord of Omura who was sympathetic to the Christians, was forced to arrest two missionaries: Father João Baptista Machado, a Portuguese Jesuit, and friar Pedro de la Asunción, a Spanish Franciscan. The *Daimyo* of Omura reported the arrest

¹⁰⁴ Orfanel, *Historia*, f. 46.

¹⁰⁵ Orfanel, *Historia*, f. 100.

to the Court and was ordered to execute the pair; the sentence was carried out on 29th April when the two priests were beheaded, not by the common executioner but by one of the leading *samurai*¹⁰⁶. This martyrdom had the double effect of strengthening and stimulating the persecuted converts and of inspiring two other missionaries to seek a similar fate. Friar Alonso Navarrete, the Dominican Vice-Provincial, had for some time been disturbed by the fact that though the converts were being martyred, their foreign pastors, who had encouraged them to persevere unto death, had themselves escaped unharmed. Others felt some shame too when witnessing the Japanese converts' readiness to die; their zeal was such that one writer reported, "nobis quoque nativitate et patria Christianis haec Japoniorum non ita pridem ad fidem conversorum, ad vitam pro hac effundendam alacritas non levem pudorem incuteret"¹⁰⁷. This, together with the need to give a further example to the persecuted and a reproach to the apostates, made Navarrete act. A few days after the martyrdom of the Jesuit and the Franciscan, Navarrete decided to offer himself openly for martyrdom. He had already given an indication of his spirit when some time earlier he had tried to snatch away some rosaries which were being burnt; on that occasion he had been severely beaten for his pains. Once decided on martyrdom, he wrote to his Dominican colleagues appointing Friar Francisco Morales in his place as Superior of the Mission and explaining his plan to revivify the Church, now unhappily dwindling under the new persecution, by shedding fresh blood: this time his own. He had, also, another reason for his decision which he did not confide to them, at least so far as we know. Among the friars in Japan there remained only one Augustinian, Hernando de San José Ayala, who had become attached to the Dominicans and was Navarrete's penitent: in Aduarte's words "casi siempre andava entre nosotros, como si fuera frayle Dominico". To him Navarrete revealed his plan and the Augustinian agreed to accompany him, sharing his lot: "si tuviera perlado", he declared, "por el me rigiera pero pues no le tengo, no me queda otro remedio sino ponerme en manos de V. R. a quien doy en nombre de Dios la obediencia"¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁶ Pagés, I, 350 ff.

¹⁰⁷ L. Froes, in *De rebus Japonicis*, ed. J. Hay (Antwerp, 1605), 30, 32, 322; cf. also Masetti, I *Martiri*, 64 n. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Aduarte, *Historia*, II, 35; Masetti, I *Martiri*, 66-74; Boxer, *The Christian Century*, 328 ff.

After two days' prayer and reflection they decided to set off together to seek death in Omura. On the way they met Morales, who, a hard-headed man, submitted the two Enthusiasts to close questioning as to their motives and the prudence of their decision. Their sensible answers showed him that they had weighed the matter before deciding and thus they convinced him; Morales gave his approval to the project and asked the two friars for their blessing. The rest of the journey to Omura was a combination of triumphal procession and mobile spiritual exercises; for the friars spent their time holding services, preaching, conducting public readings of Granada's *Gua de pecadores* and hearing confessions. As they neared their objective they changed from secular dress into their religious habits and shaved their tonsures. Finally the forces of the *Daimyo* of Omura caught up with them and they were arrested with many *kowtows* and apologies from the soldiers, some of whom were lapsed Christians themselves. For their part the friars courteously presented the officer with a hat and six wax candles *en albricias*. A number of Christians begged the honour of being arrested with the friars, but this was refused, since the soldiers explained they had no orders to arrest anyone but the two friars; they did, however, give in to the importunings of one youth, "Tomás, mancebo de poca edad que desde niño se avía criado en la iglesia de Sancto Domingo ayudando a missa". Making an exception in his case they consented to arrest him¹⁰⁹. The party set off by night in pouring rain; the friars were mobbed by enthusiastic crowds of converts who tried to kiss their habits as they passed. Navarrete's scapular and part of his habit were torn off by eager relic-hunters, and the *Daimyo* was so alarmed by the demonstrations that he ordered the friars to be removed to a small island. Even there, however, converts, including the *Daimyo's* aunt and grandmother, came to them for confession. To the aunt Navarrete gave a picture of our Lady, which he wore round his neck. In their last moments the friars wrote a number of letters, and Navarrete begged that his institute for rescuing abandoned children and orphans should be allowed to continue. They also wrote to Morales. Navarrete himself

¹⁰⁹ The servant's desire to suffer with his master is no doubt an aspect of the Japanese custom whereby the servants of a man who committed harakiri often imitated him. (A. Valignano, *Historia del principio y progresso de la compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales* (1542-64), ed. J. Wicki (Rome, 1944), 132). For other instances see Orfanel, *Historia*, f. 122 and Diego de San Francisco, *Relaciones*, ed. L. Pérez, p. 44.

wrote a highly significant letter to the Jesuit superior, pleading for charity and concord between the Orders in Japan:

“ Ben si vede, P. Rettore, che vuole Dio Nostro Signore, che tutti siamo fratelli, poichè di tutti i quattro Ordini ci menano a morire in Omura, e mentre a Dio piace, non andiamo noi altri divisi, e non procuriamo che non entri uno dove l'altro ha posto il piede; questa Cristianità si trova molto in bisogno e però quegli che prima si troverà in pronto la soccorra ec. Fr. Alfonso Navarrete ” (sic).

Reading between the lines here it is easy to see that they were proposing to lay down their lives for a number of causes, and one of them was that the friars should thereby earn the right to remain working in the Japan mission field. That the two friars had special reasons for seeking martyrdom is suggested by a discreet remark of the Augustinian fray Hernando which shows they were sacrificing themselves in a cause which they had decided to keep to themselves alone: “ ... yo estava determinado de no dezir ninguna razon de las que nos movieron a yr ”, he wrote. There is further evidence for this view in the fact that Navarrete asked the Augustinian to join him; it would have been more natural for him to urge a fellow-Dominican, such as Morales, to share his fate, but that would have left one of the Orders unrepresented. His turning to the Augustinian was, therefore, no mere accident, but design ¹¹⁰.

On Thursday 1st June 1617 the two were beheaded, together with a Japanese catechist, León. Their bodies were put in the coffins in which lay the two martyrs of a week earlier, Machado and Asunción; the Jesuit and Dominican were placed together in one and the Franciscan and Augustinian in another. Not surprisingly Aduarte, the Dominican chronicler, saw this as symbolic: “ donde parece que el Señor quiso hazer una estrecha hermandad entre estas quatro religiones ... huuo de cada una dellas un mártir ... y como los cuerpos de los mártires estaban juntos y abraçados en los ataudes assi las religiones estuviessen unidas con vinculo de amor y paz en un mismo espíritu ” ¹¹¹.

This, alas, was still a little optimistic. But the self-sacrifice of

¹¹⁰ Aduarte, *Historia*, II, 61; Pagés, I, 363, 365, II, 183; Masetti, I *Martiri*, 75; Masetti, *Lettere*, 2.

¹¹¹ Aduarte, II, 62-3; and Orfanel used almost the same words writing to the Augustinian Provincial in Manila (Pagés, II, 183). López was especially impressed by this symbolism around which he weaves elaborate arabesques (*Quinta parte*, f. 396-7).

Navarrete and Ayala had quite remarkable results in other ways. The Faith in that area had cooled considerably in recent years during the persecution, partly owing to the lack of priests. Now there came a burst of spiritual fervour throughout the whole Nagasaki area: the faithful were inflamed, the indifferent became ardent, the timid took courage, the apostates were reconciled. The new Dominican superior, Morales, threw all his available men into the zone to cope with the demand for priests, and in Aduarte's words "plantavan casi de nuevo la fe". Friars of the other Mendicant Order, the Franciscans, now joined the Dominicans in their work. Aduarte, relating the scene, was reminded of the fervour of the ancient Church in Egypt during the time of St Antony. The priests were obliged to work ceaselessly: "ni de dia ni de noche descansavan" and such was the pressure of those demanding confession that they had to make a rule that only penitents who had not confessed for three years or more could be heard. The authorities had completely mistaken the situation, for instead of intimidating the Christians they had stirred them up: "Con la ayuda de estos religiosos y la sangre fresca de los mártires, Omura, que antes era un monte escabroso de cambrones y espinas, quedó hecho un jardin de deleytes; ya rezavan y se confessavan y tratavan de su salvacion y aun se ponian a peligro de perder la vida por la fe, y si se atrevieran los tiranos a perseguirlos, hubiera muchos martires"¹¹². Yet another result of the martyrdom was that even some non-Christians were now convinced that the priests were not crypto-conquistadores; and their willingness to volunteer to die for their Faith was taken as evidence of the purity of their intentions. The most striking example of the effect of their deaths was the reconciliation of the apostate Lino Tomonaga Jirobioye, deputy of the *Daimyo* of Omura. The son of Christians, the brother of a Jesuit, he had apostatized after the *Daimyo's* example and had presided at the martyrdom of the two missionaries, Machado and Asunción. Perhaps he was moved by their deaths; certainly he was impressed by the heroism of Navarrete and Ayala, and the result was his re-conversion. When acting as ruler during the *Daimyo's* absence he had aided the Christians, and for this was denounced upon the *Daimyo's* return. But Lino refused to abandon his twice-found Faith, and in November he was executed for it¹¹³.

The friars, as well as the converts, were moved by Navarrete's action. Morales, who at first had questioned their wisdom and motives,

¹¹² Aduarte, II, 66-68; MD. III, 90; VIII, 92.

¹¹³ López, Quinta parte, ff. 277, 392, 398-400.

was deeply impressed by their courage and by the effect of their deaths. Contemplating what seemed like a Second Spring in Omura he realized that he had witnessed something remarkable. And if friar Orfanel and the other publicity-conscious friars had felt that the persecution of 1614-15 deserved to be commemorated, Morales saw that the latest events were much more striking, for he had seen a drama, more, a Christian tragedy, and this also deserved to be perpetuated for the glory of Spain and the Dominican Order so that, in the words used of the "Great Martyrdom" of 1622, "alégrese España con su triunfo, y la Religion de Santo Domingo, celebre justamente su gloria"¹¹⁴. There was also, of course, the need to defend Navarrete's self-sacrifice from the criticisms of the Jesuits (cf. p. 37 above). The idea of a play recounting the martyrdom of Navarrete would come readily to Morales's mind, for the theatre was a highly developed and popular feature of life in the Philippines, where it was used for religious and official occasions. There, as in Europe, the theatre had had religious origins and was, in fact, started by the Jesuits, although even earlier the local Spaniards had regularly attended performances put on by the Manila Chinese, and this in spite of their being unable to understand a single word of what was said or sung on the stage. Among the first Spaniards in Manila to learn Chinese were the Dominicans who soon discovered that the Chinese plays were often improper and required censorship. Censored or not, however, they retained their attractions, and in 1638 when the local Chinese were planning an uprising in Manila it was alleged that they knowingly arranged to perform a play near one of the city gates in order to distract the citizens from noticing their designs. The Filipinos themselves were greatly addicted to the theatre; every feast-day had to have its play and even the rehearsals were packed. They had a special preference for extended serial-type plays, based on historical accounts or on novels, and which continued in daily instalments for a month or often more. Rather curiously, it has been asserted that this taste was due to the popularity of the play *La Celestina* in the colony¹¹⁵. Morales, then, with all this in mind, set himself to compose

¹¹⁴ Quoted in J. A. Robertson, "Bibliography of Early Spanish Japanese Relations", Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, XLIII(i), (Yokohama, 1915), p. 100.

¹¹⁵ The remark about the influence of *La Celestina* was made by S. de Mas, Estado de las islas filipinas (Madrid, 1843), II, 115; see also E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, The Philippine Islands 1493-1898, XL (Cleveland, 1906), 246. Aduarte, I, 200; W. E. Retana, El teatro en Filipinas (Madrid, 1909), 17, 23-7, 31, 32, 44; C. Sanz, Primitivas relaciones de España con Asia (Madrid, 1958), 284-5, 289.

a long account of Navarrete's death, and this he sent to Madrid to the martyr's brother, Canon Pedro Fernández Navarrete, royal chaplain and secretary. Fray Alonso de Mena, cousin to both the Navarretes, and himself to die a martyr's death a few later, also sent an account of the death home to Spain. Morales's letter, however, is the more important of the two, for it was this which seems to have led to a dramatist's having been approached for a play upon the theme of the martyrdom.

Morales first congratulated the Canon upon his brother's happy death, which was an honour to his house, to his Order and the Church; he enclosed a letter left with him by the martyr for his brother in Spain and also sent a drop of the martyr's blood, together with the sword which had been used at the execution and which had later been ransomed. The friars in Japan had been sufficiently moved by Navarrete's death to have a picture painted depicting the scene in all its detail, and Morales now told the Canon that this had been sent to the convent of San Pablo in Valladolid, Navarrete's mother-house, so that "there, where there are excellent artists, it may be reproduced with more art" ¹¹⁶. This might be thought to be enterprising enough, but Morales was not satisfied and he continued his letter with a reference to the long account of the martyrdom which he was enclosing: "Your Reverence can have a tragedy composed upon this subject if there is anyone who feels inspired to undertake the task: it would be a subject of great edification to all" ¹¹⁷. This letter is dated 12 March 1618, from Japan.

Since Lope, the greatest dramatist of the day, had already written a prose work, the *Triunfo*, upon the subject of the missions to Japan, he would be the obvious person to whom the Canon would turn for a play upon that same theme and to celebrate the martyrdom of "mi glorioso hermano ... el protomártir de su religion en aquellas provincias" ¹¹⁸. In any case, it seems likely that the result of friar Morales's suggestion is the justly neglected play, *Los primeros mártires del Japón*, which has been attributed to Lope de Vega. For our study of the friars' awareness of the value of propaganda the authorship of this play is not

¹¹⁶ Pagés, I, 366; II, 189. And see p. 32 above. One wonders whether this painting could have influenced the dramatist in his stage-directions for the final scene of the play, *Los mártires*.

¹¹⁷ Pagés, I, 366; II, 182-90.

¹¹⁸ Pedro Fernández Navarrete, *Conservación de monarquías* (Madrid, Biblioteca de autores españoles), vol. XXV, p. 539.

a prime concern, though in fact the play was probably not the work of Lope.

The *comedia* was subjected to a characteristically close (and somewhat testy) scrutiny by the late A. R. Nykl, who raised all the main problems connected with it, although he was not in a position to answer all of them. Nykl believed the play was by Lope and suspected, rightly, that both the prose work and the play were written in response to requests from friars; and he also discussed Morley and Bruerton's theory that the play as it stands is not by Lope alone, and he concluded that there are strong arguments against this theory. Nykl, like the other commentators, is puzzled by the title of the play, for Navarrete and his companion were not the first martyrs in Japan as was well known. Why, then, was it given the secondary title of *Los primeros mártires*? The answer is that the play, of course, is primarily about Alonso Navarrete, the Dominican protomartyr, "el protomártir de su religión en aquellas provincias". Hence the title has nothing to do with *primeros* in the sense of *mejor, más notable*, as Nykl conjectured. There can be no doubt about this, because Navarrete is shown as the central martyr in the drama: the other friars in the story, although of different Orders, are shown as unhesitatingly accepting fray Alonso as their leader, and his is the dominant personality all through. He is the only friar who is specifically named (the others have only generic names representing their different Orders): moreover, the play includes not only Navarrete's brief biography but also a sketch of his physical characteristics and thus reveals knowledge on the dramatist's part which could only have come from the martyr's brother, Canon Pedro Navarrete.

Nykl also discusses the date of the play which Restori put at 1617. Nykl himself suggests 1618 as more likely, although this itself leaves unanswered another problem, for the play makes a reference to Philip IV, who came to the throne in March 1621. Now the main reason for assuming that the play was written before 1618 seems to be that a play about the martyrs of Japan was performed in Manila in December 1619, and this is taken to be *Los primeros mártires*. But this conclusion is false. First, the play about the martyrs of Japan performed in Manila in 1619 was part of nineteen days' celebration marking the arrival of a papal bull authorising devotion to the Immaculate Conception; and secondly, the play was put on by the local Franciscans. These two facts alone dispose of the idea that the play was the one attributed to Lope, for the Manila Franciscans, if they were planning to celebrate any martyrs of Japan in 1619, would think immediately of their famous six mar-

tyrs of 1597, for whose canonisation they were then strenuously working. Nor would the Franciscans have chosen a play like *Los primeros mártires* (the very title would have proved unacceptable to them) which exalted not their own Order but the Dominicans, through the figure of fray Alonso Navarrete. Moreover, if fraternal charity had inclined them to choose the "Lope" play, they would quickly have desisted, because the Dominican Order was opposed to the establishment of the doctrine and devotion of the Immaculate Conception; and during those three weeks' celebrations in Manila the Dominicans alone, of all the Religious Orders in the colony, were conspicuously absent from the festivities and, indeed, did not leave their convent once during the entire time, a fact which caused much gossip. If, therefore, the Franciscans had deliberately chosen the play attributed to Lope for that occasion, they would not have been demonstrating brotherly feeling for the Dominicans but rather showing an extraordinary insensitivity, not to say malice, at a particularly delicate moment. More evidence is provided by the Jesuits, who, in their Annual Letter of 1619-20, praise the play put on by the Franciscans. They would have found it easy to praise a play celebrating the martyrs of 1597, since among those martyrs were three Japanese Jesuits, but on the other hand, they certainly would not have praised *Los primeros mártires*, because it is remarkable for its calculated omission of all reference to the Jesuits, an omission which is one of the more mysterious features of the work. Finally, as has already been stated, the Jesuits did not approve of Navarrete's self-sacrifice which they denounced as reckless folly, and this conviction would naturally bias them against a dramatic *apologia* for the Dominican's action ¹¹⁹.

Indeed it is far more likely that the play was written in 1621 or later. Morales's letter suggesting a tragedy be commissioned by Canon Navarrete was written in Japan on 12 March 1618, and its arrival in Madrid would bring the first news of the martyrdom to Lope or to anyone else there. It is not possible to estimate exactly how long this letter took to reach Madrid. The yearly galleon from Manila to Aca-

¹¹⁹ The play is included in the edition of the *Obras de Lope de Vega publicadas por la Real Academia Española*, V (Madrid, 1895), pp. 505-39. All references to this play herein are to these pages. A. R. Nykl, *Los Primeros Mártires del Japón and Triunfo de la fe en los reinos del Japón*, *Modern Philology*, XXII (1925), pp. 305-23; S. G. Morley and C. Bruerton, *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's comedias* (London, 1940), pp. 328-29; Retana, *Teatro*, 23-9.

pulco in Mexico left the Philippines any time after the 1st May; if Morales's letter, which had to be smuggled out of Japan first, arrived in Manila too late for the 1618 galleon, it would then have to wait for another year, that is until the summer of 1619, before starting its journey to Madrid via Mexico¹²⁰. In any case, the letter would probably have taken two years to reach Spain, and thus at the very earliest could not have been there before the summer of 1620, and it might easily have been 1621 before the *comedia* was finished, in which case the reference to Philip IV is self-explanatory. It was certainly not unusual for news from Asia to take two years to reach Spain, or vice versa: the death of the Bishop of Japan, which took place in February 1614, was not known in Spain until the early summer of 1616; and a papal bull issued in June 1608 did not reach Japan until 1610. Besides, the news of Navarrete's death may very well have taken much longer to reach Europe since during those years (1618-20) Manila was harassed by Dutch raiding vessels and, as happened on other similar occasions, the Manila galleon might not have been able to leave port for as much as a year after its annual scheduled sailing-date. Thus the reference to Philip IV does not necessarily postulate a *refundición*. The final line of the *comedia* ('Del año que está presente'), which Restori took literally and consequently dated the play 1617, must be dismissed as poetic licence: there is enough poetic licence in this play to make the operation easy as well as necessary¹²¹.

Moreover, if the play was written after 1621, the omission of any reference to it in *La Filomena* (1621) is also self-explanatory. Morley and Bruerton object that in the *Filomena* Lope is referring to the *comedia*, rather than to his prose work, because he uses the word "*cantar*" which "is a curious word to use of a prose work"¹²². Curious it may be, but there is not the slightest doubt that he does mean the prose work, for in the dedication to the *Segunda Parte* he names it by its name: "defiende lo que ha cantado ... *El triunfo de la fe*", and this is evidently what he means when, a little later, he amplifies the remark:

Yo canté, finalmente,
Los mártires japones,

¹²⁰ The news appears to have reached Manila in June-July, 1618 (cf. López, ff. 388, 389) and an account was published in Manila 1618 (Streit, V, 435).

¹²¹ Fr. Lorenzo Pérez, O.F.M., *Apostolado y martirio del Beato Luis Sotelo en el Japón* (Madrid, 1924), 251 n.; Pagés, II, 187; Morley-Bruerton, 328.

¹²² Morley-Bruerton, 328.

Porque mi voz no agradeciese solo
 El mar que el Duero, el Tajo, el Bétis bebe, ...

BAE, XXXVIII, 491.

But, in any case, when Lope in Spain was writing *La Filomena*, friar Morales, in Japan, had barely concluded his account of the martyrdom of Navarrete, about which Lope could not have heard for two more years at least.

Nykl's third point is that much of the material used in the prose work is also used for the background of the play. This, however, is not so, for the play shows little sign of any desire to achieve geographical or historical accuracy, apart from the presentation of the main figure, Navarrete.

When Lope sat down to write the *Triunfo* he presumably thought of writing it in verse for in the preface he remarks that "bien se pudiera dar esta relación a las Musas y hacer a Clio Metrificadora". But he finally decided to confine himself to prose since he was writing history and "la verdad siempre fue enemiga del artificio, alma de los colores poéticos, como ella de la Historia, y mas en las cosas de la Iglesia".

The essentials of the plot of *Los primeros mártires* are as follows:

Act. I: Tayco Soma, the "Emperor" of Japan died leaving the throne to his six year old son, Tayco. But for fifteen years the son has been imprisoned in the tower of Usaca by a usurper-Emperor, Jisonen. Tayco, ignorant of his own identity and of all life around him, grows up like a savage, dressed in skins, his only contact with the world being Alcaide, described as "un indio viejo". When the petty king of Siguen denounces Jisonen as a usurper, the petty king of Bomura, an apostate Christian, explains that Siguen is plotting with the Christians who have placed their hopes in Tayco. Jisonen, having seen the prisoner-prince Tayco (who feigns madness at the interview), decides that the youth is no danger to his throne and allows him some freedom, as a result of which Tayco learns who he is and then falls in love with Quildora, a widow, huntress and mother of Tomás, a child convert to Christianity.

Friar Alonso Navarrete is accepted as their superior and leader by the three Orders of friars working in the Japan missionfield. (No reference is made to the Jesuits). The friars are deported but plan to return, under Navarrete, to work in disguise.

Act. II. The usurper, Jisonen, also falls in love with Quildora. Tayco's jealousy leads him to betray himself, thus arousing the usurper-Emperor's suspicions, and he is put under guard. The friars return in disguise and Navarrete comes across the Emperor molesting Quildora whereupon he goes to her aid and frees her. The thwarted Emperor, though furious, finds himself

mysteriously unable to shoot Navarrete and goes off vowing vengeance. Navarrete then catechises Quildora and gives her a picture of the Crucifixion. The young Tayco, observing this, mistakenly assumes Navarrete is acting as a go-between for the Emperor. Believing the picture is of the Emperor he later snatches it from Quildora and nails it to a tree, whereupon blood spurts from the picture into his face. Tayco then promises the Unknown God that he will become a Christian if the Empire is restored to him. The rebel king of Siguen stirs up a revolt against Jisonen.

Act. III: The Franciscan is arrested and questioned as to the identity of Navarrete whose brief biography is then related. When the Emperor orders the burning of rosaries in a furnace, Navarrete appears, rushes into the flames to rescue them and is miraculously saved. Captured later, Navarrete is sentenced to death; his former housekeeper, Mangazil, brings the friars' habits, representing the three Mendicant Orders. They are executed together with the child Tomás. A rebellion, connected vaguely with the martyrdom, breaks out and the usurper Jisonen is killed. The final scene is presided over by the triumphal appearance of Navarrete, "con la cabeza en las manos y un hacha que la parte"; he is flanked by the Franciscan and the Augustinian martyrs. Tayco takes Quildora for his wife and they both promise to become Christians though it must be a secret until they are on the Imperial throne.

This plot, which is a variant of the Barlaam and Josafat story, has some, though little, connection with the reality of the situation. On the other hand, the dramatist knew what Madrid audiences demanded, and it can be argued that he was fully justified in departing from the facts since his chief aim was to arouse enthusiasm for the heroic figure of Navarrete. The introduction of the fantastic love-story would make the martyrology more palatable, and it is no worse than what happens nowadays in popular film versions of Biblical themes.

The first liberty taken is with the chronology, for the time sequence is telescoped so that the expulsion of the friars from Japan (1614) is made to precede Navarrete's death by a short time. And in putting his death in the shogunate of Ieyasu, the author has anticipated the event by at least a year, for Ieyasu died in May 1616 and the friar in June 1617. There is another error here also, for not a single European missionary was martyred under Ieyasu. Navarrete's deliberately seeking martyrdom is not properly brought out in the play, although one would have thought that this was precisely what made him unique; instead he appears rather to have been arrested and executed in the normal course of duty like any of the other missionary-martyrs. The incident

in which Navarrete attempted to rescue the burning rosaries is true (see p. 55 above) though it is naturally much dramatised in the play, and the miraculous elements, of course, are not mentioned in the friars' accounts of the affair. There is no way of checking the description of friar Alonso's appearance, but the biography of him put into the mouth of the Franciscan is accurate, though incomplete. The dramatist rightly stresses Navarrete's courage, nobility and generosity, virtues which properly become the hero of a *comedia*, and indeed the Navarrete who rescues the Amazon-like Quildora from the unwelcome attentions of the Emperor might be thought more akin to the hero of a *capa y espada* drama than to a missionary. Perhaps it is significant that at this point Navarrete tells Quildora that she has been rescued by a priest of the "Dios de los españoles". Thus the gentler side of Navarrete's character, for instance the un-Spanish love of animals which so gratified the chronicler Aduarte, is here ignored¹²³.

Nevertheless there is some evidence that the dramatist had read, even if he did not follow, the *relaciones* sent to Madrid by friar Morales and Navarrete's cousin, friar Mena. Once or twice the speeches of the martyrs in the play echo lines from the friars' histories. Quildora's convert son, who dies with the martyrs, was a real person (see p. 56 above) who acted as mass-server for the friars, and in the play he refers to this: "cómo ayudaré yo a misa?" is his question when the friars are deported. However, the chronicles make no mention of his mother, and in any case Quildora is a quite fantastic figure. The dramatist sometimes shows himself informed about conditions in the mission. This is particularly true, for example, where he makes the King of Bomura declare that the priests can be caught more easily through the confessional; that this was so is borne out by the statement of fray José de San Jacinto, who explained how he himself was arrested as he was hearing confessions, for he mistook the approaching soldiers for more penitents and thus, off his guard temporarily, was trapped¹²⁴. There is surely sly irony—at least it is unconscious humour—in the picture of Navarrete's arrest, for the friar's first request on hearing the sentence is for writing materials (*recado para escribir*). The dramatist, like the modern reader of these letters written from Japanese jails, must have

¹²³ Aduarte, II, 64, 66. For the connection between this play and the Barlaam and Josafat story see Lope de Vega, Barlaán y Josafat, ed. J. F. Montesinos in *Teatro antiguo español*, VIII (Madrid, 1935), pp. 189, 191, 202 ff., 219, 229, 235-6, 239.

¹²⁴ MD. VIII, 154; Pagés, I, 364, II, 363; *Primeros Mártires*, 531a, 537b.

wondered at the freedom and readiness with which the condemned martyrs fell to writing, and were able to 'post' their splendid letters. The author also shows he was aware of the friars' custom of arranging to die in their religious habits and thus has Navarrete call for his after his arrest.

As we have seen (p. 56 above) Navarrete was visited after his arrest by the grandmother and aunt of the *Daimyo* of Omura and to the latter, Marina, the martyr presented a picture of our Lady. The dramatist took up this detail and used it in the second act, with some changes, where it is made to influence Tayco and leads to his conversion.

A striking characteristic of the play is the insistence upon the Spanish aspect of the friars' enterprise in Japan. Presumably this also was a bid to win popular sympathy. Thus there are references to:

"el Dios de los españoles"; "la religión de España";
"la ley de los españoles"; "sacerdotes españoles";
"la sangre de españoles inocentes"; "estos muertos españoles";
"el Imperio español",

and there are others besides these¹²⁵. This emphasis reflects exactly the mood of the earlier anonymous *romance*:

"Pues en Japón y en la China
se espera otro nuevo estado
con que para siempre sea
el nombre de Dios loado;
y así nuestro rey invicto
quiere estar siempre ocupado
en sembrar por todo el orbe
el Evangelio sagrado,
y con este santo celo
todo lo tiene allanado" ¹²⁶.

For although the idea of conquering China and Japan had had to be rejected, it was still hoped that they might be conquered spiritually, and it was widely believed in Spain that this task was reserved by God for the Spaniards. This nationalistic undertow running through the

¹²⁵ Primeros Mártires, 509a, 520b, 521b, 527a, 530a, 538b, 539a.

¹²⁶ Quoted in F. Díaz-Plaja, *Verso y prosa de la historia española* (Madrid, 1958), 156.

play may well explain why all reference to the Jesuits was deliberately omitted. For the Jesuits were either Portuguese or worked in most of the Orient under Portuguese sponsorship, even at this time when the two crowns in Iberia were united. Nevertheless, the omission is remarkable when one considers the achievements of the Fathers of the Society in Japan and when it is remembered that a Jesuit, Father Machado, was martyred at the same time as Navarrete: hence the emphasis by the friars upon the fact that God had chosen a martyr from each of the four Orders. On the other hand, however, the Jesuit Machado was, rather inconveniently, a Portuguese, and thus the author may have preferred to ignore him in the interests of simplicity and to avoid any depressing qualifications to his theme. Still, he might have allowed a Jesuit to be represented in the final *cuadro* of the play, or, when the *gracioso* appears bringing the martyrs' habits ("Sale Mangazil con habito negro [Augustinian], escapulario blanco [Dominican], y capilla de francisco" [Franciscan]), the traditional Jesuit biretta might have been included. As it stands, the play gives the impression that Japan was evangelised exclusively by Spanish Mendicant friars; and this was indeed to write for the groundlings, since the educated among the audience would have been aware of the Jesuits' well-publicised work in the East. It is interesting to recall here that Lope's *Triunfo* also virtually ignores the Jesuit contribution to the Japan mission.

One reason for believing that the play is not by Lope is that there are many factual divergences between the essay and the drama. Thus, as Nykl pointed out, though Japan is presented in the *Triunfo* as a cold land, in the play it has become the haunt of parrots and alligators; in the prose work it is a sterile land: in the play it is "Japón hermoso, campo ameno, de variedad y de hermosura lleno", a land of "ejércitos de flores" which "nos da sus frutos, Piadosamente cortés; Produce las plantas bellas". Though in the *Triunfo* Lope had correctly counted the provinces or petty kingdoms of feudal Japan as sixty-six, in the play the dramatist names seventy-four petty kings. The Japanese in the prose work are described as being white, but in the play they have become "indios", and Navarrete, when planning to return in disguise to continue his work, is made to say, "estemos disimulados como indios"¹²⁷. More understandable are the mistakes due to simple igno-

¹²⁷ *Primeros Mártires*, 507 (stage directions), 509b, 516a; Nykl, 314, 315, 320. The description of the Japanese as "indios" is explained by the fact that Japan was regarded as part of the "Indies". In fact the Japanese were inconveniently white

rance, such as making the Emperor present diamonds to Quildora when in fact the Japanese despised diamonds; nor would the Emperor of Japan be likely to refer to Venus, Diana and their nymphs, although this, perhaps, given contemporary taste, was inevitable in a *comedia*. Tayco, the prince-prisoner of the play, was actually Hideyori, son of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who died in 1598 after leaving the five year old prince in the care of a regency under Ieyasu. The Regent gradually took control of the government, and the prince grew up for the next fifteen years in Osaka Castle, an immense construction, the greatest and strongest fortress in the empire, with a defence force of some 90,000 men. His life, therefore, was in no way similar to the description of it in the play, and the young Hideyori was far from being the semi-savage, dressed in skins, who "como muerto vive" in the play. Ieyasu (the Jisonen of the *comedia*) attacked Osaka castle in 1614 and finally overcame all resistance there in the summer of 1615. Hideyori committed suicide and consequently Ieyasu remained supreme. The Christians, and especially the Dominicans, had put their hope in Hideyori, though there is little evidence that they would have fared any better had he survived and conquered Ieyasu. The dramatist, in converting him to Christianity, allowing him to defeat Ieyasu and making him Emperor of Japan, had abandoned any pretence at reality and was indulging in fantasy; or else he was expressing Christian hopes of what might yet be, for after the battle of Osaka, Orfanel reported that the young prince's fate was not known, though it was thought he might have escaped down river by boat. At best, the dramatist was writing history as it should have been, where Lope's prose work kept fairly closely to the facts supplied to him.

Some confusion surrounds the figure of the villain of the piece, the petty king of "Bomura", more properly Omura. The persecutor of the Christians in the *Triunfo* was, correctly, named as Sahioye who was the moving force behind the persecutions in Arima, Ariye, and Kuchinotsu in 1614-15. The play, as we have said, transposed the martyrdom of Navarrete from 1617 to this earlier period, but instead

and Orfanel, who was swarthy, found it hard to pass himself off in disguise for that reason (Aduarte, II, 140). Valignano, the celebrated Jesuit writer and policy-maker for the missions, warned that the Japanese were not to be called 'niggers' (J. F. Schütte, S.J., Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan, Bd. I (Rome, 1951), 325, 422). López, in his *Quinta parte*, refers to the Japanese as 'Indios'; see, for example, ff. 266, 268.

of retaining the historical figure of Sahioye it also transposed the Prince of Omura, making him the persecutor. Omura was in fact an apostate, though it is doubtful if he was as anti-Christian as Sahioye, for he had Christian relatives and was evidently unwilling to order the execution of the first two of the four missionary-martyrs of 1617, hesitating until definite orders came to him from the Court. In the case of Navarrete and Ayala he had no alternative but to execute them since they demanded nothing less than martyrdom. Nor did Omura press Ieyasu to banish the missionaries, as he is made to do in the play; moreover, though he renegued out of political ambition, different and differing reasons are given in the play: in Act I he declares that "por conocer nuevos dioses Dejé la ley que ellos siguen", though a few lines later his reason is that a missionary condemned his importuning a woman who was the wife of one of his vassals; in the second act he says "¿ No es Nerea la que me mata de amores y por quien dejé la ley del español que persigo? "

Such confusions betray a distracted hasty writer; and there are others: the King of Amanqui later appears as Amarque; the king of Siguen rebels against Jisonen but a little later is absent-mindedly shown accompanying the Emperor. The guardian of the prince-prisoner during his years in Osaka Castle is a "indio viejo" who is not named in the cast but in the play itself has no less than three names: Gualemo, Polemo, and Lepolemo. Navarrete's housekeeper, Gaspar, who surrendered to the friar's captors and who was himself martyred, is shown in the play as Manganzil, a pagan and the clown of the plot.

* * *

The play, then, though rough and rude, is not without interest, and if it was ever performed it would have served its purpose fully, that is, to make the name of fray Alonso Navarrete, the Dominican protomartyr of Japan, known in the market-place. Even if it were never performed and this purpose remained unfulfilled, it still remains as a tribute, of a sort, to a remarkable man and to those of his colleagues who felt the need to honour his courage and devotion in a modern way¹²⁸.

¹²⁸ We are indebted to Professor A. A. Parker of London University, and to Professor E. M. Wilson of Cambridge, for reading the portion of this paper which deals with Lope de Vega and for their helpful criticism and comments.

APPENDIX I

*List of European Dominican Missionaries Working in Japan
(1602-1622)*

	Arrived	Arrested (or left)	Martyred
1. Francisco Morales	5 July 1602	15 March 1619	10 Sept. 1622
2. Alonso de Mena	5 July 1602	14 March 1619	10 Sept. 1622
3. Tomás del Espíritu Santo Zumárraga	5 July 1602	July 1617	12 Sept. 1622
4. Tomás Hernández	5 July 1602	returned to Manila in 1605	
5. Juan de la Abadía (lay brother)	5 July 1602	returned to Manila in 1605	
6. Juan de los Angeles Rueda	1604	returned to in Ryukyu, Manila 1620	1623 or 1624
7. Jacinto Orfanel	June 1607	25 April 1621	10 Sept. 1622
8. José de San Jacinto Salvanés	June 1607	17 August 1621	10 Sept. 1622
9. Juan de San Jacinto (lay brother)	June 1607	returned to Manila before 1614	
10. Juan de Santo Tomás	July 1609	returned to Manila before 1614	
11. Antonio de San Vicente (lay brother)	July 1609	returned to Manila before 1614	
12. Alonso de Navarrete	August 1611	May 1617	1 June 1617
13. Domingo de Valderrama	August 1611	returned to Manila before 1614	
14. Baltasar Fort	Aug. or Sept. 1612	» » »	Nov. 1614
15. Juan de Santo Domingo	August 1618	13 Dec. 1618	19 March 1619
16. Angel Ferrer Orsucchi	August 1618	13 Dec. 1618	10 Sept. 1622
17. Diego Collado	July 1619	left in Nov. 1622	
18. Luis Flores (Frarin)	July 1620 (as a prisoner of the Dutch)		20 Aug. 1622
19. Pedro Vásquez	July 1621	April 1623	25 Aug. 1624
20. Domingo Castellet	July 1621	15 June 1628	8 Sept. 1628

In addition to the above twenty friars who are mentioned by Aduarte, Orfanel, and other contemporary chroniclers, the following were in Japan for short periods before 1622, according to Hilario Ocio y Viana, *Reseña biográfica de los Religiosos de la Provincia de Filipinas, 1587-1650* (Manila, 1891):

21. Antonio Zamudio de la Madre de Dios (lay brother), assigned to Nagasaki in 1610.
22. Tomás Gutiérrez, assigned to Satsuma in 1608.
23. Lorenzo Porras, arrived in 1612, and returned to Manila in Nov. 1614.
24. Antonio Gutiérrez, allegedly in Japan at some unspecified date.
25. Domingo González, allegedly in Japan at some unspecified date.
26. Juan Bautista Carro, arrived August 1618 (intended for Korea), left Dec. 1618.
27. Diego Rivabellosa, arrived August 1618 (intended for Korea), left Dec. 1618.

The last two hardly count in any event, as they were intended for the Korean mission and only spent a few months at Nagasaki before returning to Manila.

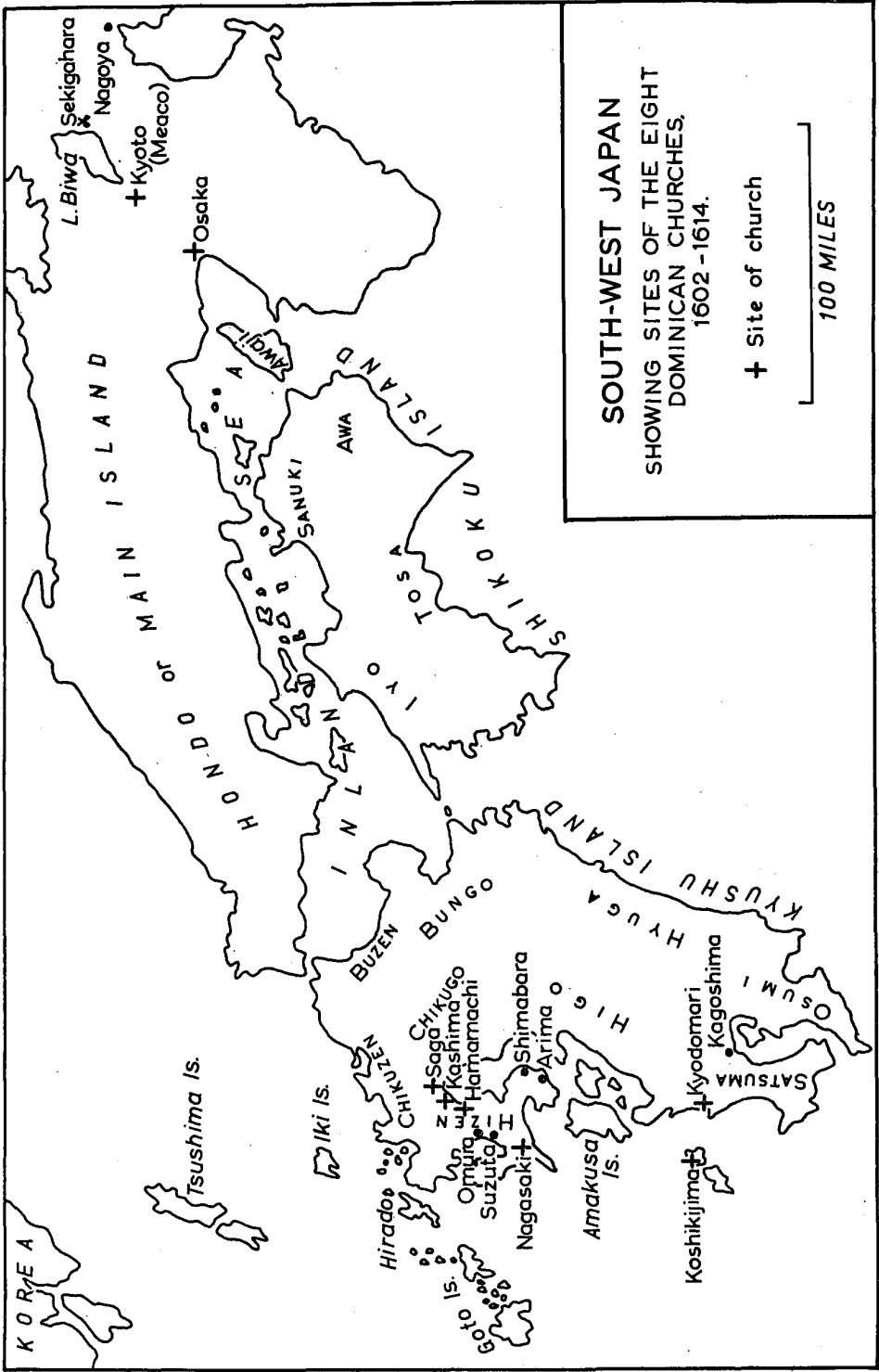


Fig. 4. Map of the Dominican Churches in Japan

APPENDIX II

List of the Dominican Churches in Japan (1602-1614)

1. N. S. del Rosario, Koshikijima, Satsuma, October 1602 - May 1606.
2. N. S. del Rosario, Kyodomari, Satsuma, July 1606 - May 1609.
3. N. S. del Rosario y Santo Domingo, Nagasaki, July 1609 - 28 October 1614.
4. N. S. del Rosario, Hamamachi, Saga, 1606 - 8 October 1613.
5. San Vicente, Kashima, Saga, 1607 or 1608-1613.
6. San Pablo, Saga, 1607 or 1608.
7. N. S. del Rosario, Kyoto, 25 January 1610-1613.
8. Santo Domingo, Osaka, 6 July 1610-1613.

APPENDIX III

Carta del Beato Alonso de Mena, O. P., al P. Provincial y Padres Definidores de la Provincia; 20 de Nov. de 1606. — From: Misiones Dominicanas, IV (1921) pp. 336-7.

Sea siempre con vuestras reverencias: Parecióme que era buena ocasión la que hoy se ofrece del Capítulo, para dar cuenta de las cosas que por estos Reinos pasan, así en lo que tocan a la conversión, como en otras cosas, y aunque ya VV. RR. tendrán por otras vías larga noticia de lo que hay, pero por cumplir mi oficio, daré breve relación.

Y lo primero digo, que es muy grande el provecho que por aquí se hace cada día y mucho más lo que se espera de hacer con la ayuda de Dios, así bautizando y predicando, como confesando y animando muchos de los cristianos que ya están hechos, que son muy muchos y muy esparcidos por todo el Japón, y muchos en partes donde nunca Padres de la Compañía llegan, porque son muy pocos dichos Padres, y tienen mucho en que entender, o porque los señores no permiten que Padres de la Compañía entren en sus tierras, por particulares enemistades que con ellos tienen; de los cuales hay algunos y muchos, aun de los mismos cristianos, que tienen más afición a otros religiosos que no a los de la Compañía como cada día vemos por experiencia. Pero como quiera que para estar en Japón es menester tener contentos a estos señores, los cuales todo su deseo es que vengan aquí navíos de españoles como de otros japoneses a contratar a sus puertos. Lo cual pretenden hacer por medio de religiosos, porque casi todos los japoneses que tratan de navíos o los más son cristianos; es mucho enfado y moína para los religiosos, porque cualquiera cosa que les suceda mal a los mercaderes, dicen que los Padres les persuadieron ir allí y que si fueran a otra parte que hicieran y acontecieran ... No sé si les persuadiría todo el mundo a que no tenemos parte en ellos y en las mercaderías; digo cierto que hemos pasado ogaño enfados y pesadumbres intolerables en orden a ésto. VV. RR. lo miren lo que les parece, por que lo que entiendo es que si no andamos así, no hay que tratar de estar en Japón, a lo que entendemos.

Las cosas de por allá no se pueden guardar en algunas cosas tan puntualmente como allá, por cuanto andamos entre gentiles. El año pasado, envió el Padre Provincial unas ordenaciones para que acá se guardasen; con ellas parece que está todo lo que se puede hacer bueno ...

Lo que por acá hay de nuevo es que un señor muy principal, que es uno de los señores nobles que hay en Japón cristianos, llamado Vomurandono y nombre de cristiano D. Sancho, ha renegado o está en hacerlo y mandado que en su tierra que es una parte del reino de Fijen, llamado Vomura, se cierren

las iglesias, y muchos de los principales han renegado ya; él está en la Corte del Emperador, y ahora esperan que venga; aún no ha echado los Padres por algunos respetos. Dícese que en viniendo de la corte donde está, puede ser que los eche, y dado que consienta estén en su reino, es como digo, por algunos respetos. La causa de aborrecerlos si fuera por reprenderles algun vicio fuera gran cosa, pero no es por eso, sino porque el Emperador le ha quitado un pedazo de tierra que tenía junto a Nangasaquí, que es la ciudad donde están los Padres con más poder y el señor Obispo.

Dirán VV. RR. qué culpa tenían los Padres? a esto respondo que el que gobierna a Nangasaquí es un cristiano, el cual fué puesto por el Emperador con traza de los Padres, con lo cual cuanto en aquella ciudad se hace es todo ordenado por los Padres y, a dicho de todos, el gobernador tiene el nombre y los Padres lo hacen todo.

Al presente, que esta escribo, estamos el P. Fr. Tomás y yo en tierras de este señor, donde hemos andado de una parte a otra, animando a unos y a otros confesando, para si acaso sucediere alguna persecución; ya la cristiandad tienen mucha afición todos, y todos echan la culpa a los Padres en común; harto los hemos escusado.

También hemos ido el P. Fr. Tomás y yo estos días a un reino que llaman Firando, donde el señor es grande enemigo de la cristiandad y no permite que ningún Padre, ni de paso, esté en su reino, aunque hay muchos cristianos. Estuvimos catorce días escondidos, donde fué cosa extraordinaria los muchos cristianos que acudían a confesarse de noche, que estábamos hasta las doce de la noche confesando y nos levantábamos a las tres o las cuatro a decir misa donde siempre acudía muchísima gente. Es cosa extraordinaria el grande amor que nos mostraron y las limosnas que nos dieron; hízose mucho provecho, las confesiones de muchos años; y animando a perseverar en la fe, que hacen harto los pobres según son los trabajos que tienen.

No hay otra cosa de que avisar, sino pedir a VV. RR. miren con mucha atención las cosas de esta cristiandad; yo tan aficionado soy como cualquiera y así he venido tres veces a esta tierra y trabajado lo que he podido. Mas sé decir a VV. RR. que esto de andar con navíos y contrataciones no lo puedo tolerar, fuera de que, como todos saben, yo al presente estoy enfermo y con enfermedad trabajosa. Sali de ahí el año pasado y así pido por amor de Dios que me den licencia para irme a curar; en particular pido encarecidamente que lo que toca en negocio de hacerme prelado vuestras RR. no traten nada, porque lo contrario me concierne mucho, y yo tengo muy grande experiencia de ello, y no tengo salud ni fuerzas para ello, y así pido por amor de Dios que VV. RR. me consuelen.

Con esto Dios dé a VV. RR. su santo amor y gracia como este menor hijo de esta santa provincia desea.

Fr. Alonso de Mena

De Vomura, a 20 de noviembre de 1606.

APPENDIX IV

Extract from a letter of Fr. Alban, O.F.M. Cap., Catholic Mission Okinawa, 21 February, 1953; to C. R. Boxer, University of London.

"In the heat of a recent discovery I have made while on the island of Ishigaki in Yaeyama Gunto, the southernmost of the Ryukyu Island groups, I have decided to consult you for information that may give me the story I want.

The "discovery" was the account of the governmental execution of a certain "bugyo" — I presume he would be called — named Motto Miyara (no kashira) Ishigaki Eisho. The execution — burning at the stake — took place in the last year of the rule of Hidetada, that is, in 1622.

This Ishigaki Eisho was a wealthy samurai owning vast property in Ishigaki Jima and conducting a widespread trading business. Having once been stranded on the shores of China, he had stayed long enough to learn both Chinese and Spanish — the latter from a missionary.

A "nam-ban-sen" ("Southern-Barbarian-Ship" — would this designation indicate the ship to be Portuguese or Spanish according to the differentiation referred to on p. 293 of your *Christian Century in Japan?*) being forced into the harbor of Ishigaki City (which may at the time have been called Miyara City), a Christian missionary-passenger of the ship lived in the city for the period required for repair of the damaged ship.

During this time Ishigaki Eisho served as interpreter between his people and the missionary. In the secrecy of the Ishigaki family's ancestral mausoleum outside the city, the missionary taught the Christian Faith to Ishigaki Eisho and his two younger brothers. There the three were baptized.

Nothing further is recounted of the missionary. But according to the account of Ishigaki Eisho's descendants (of whom there are some two thousand now living on these islands), the three Ishigaki brothers were reported to Shoho, the king at Shuri, Okinawa. Investigators were immediately dispatched to Ishigaki Jima. They took the Ishigaki brothers back to Shuri, where they underwent a trial before the highest court ("saiko saiban"). Eisho proffered a defence of their Faith, which served only to seal the verdict of guilt. One brother was beheaded; the other exiled to a small island of the southern gunto. Eisho, as the most responsible for the transgression, was sentenced to burning at the stake. Even to this day, once a year the descendants of Ishigaki Eisho gather at the family mausoleum and conduct the memorial services they know — the Buddhist — in honour of the man whose nobility is a matter of pride for every inhabitant of Yaeyama. The Ishigaki

family crest, still extant, shows the sign for " God " surrounding a Christian crown.

The story, Ishigaki City's Elder Historian told me, was never written into official published records, lest the example of so illustrious a native spread the Christian Idea. But it has been handed down in the family through the succeeding years ... ".

APPENDIX V

Memorial y arbitrio que presentan algunos religiosos que andan en Japon a los consejos de su Magestad el Rey de España, nuestro señor, que residen en corte. — British Museum C. 62-i-18(91).

No pudiendo sufrir los daños que vienen y los grandes peligros que instan a la honrra de Dios y de el Rey nr. sr. y a la fee catholica de el poder que tienen por estas partes los herejes cosarios Holandeses y Ingleses, y de la poca preparacion de parte de los vasallos de su magd. el Rey nro. sr. asi en las partes de la India y China, como en Luçon, no solo para echar a los herejes de por aqui; sino aun para defenderse así, y a los que de ellos se amparan; todo lo qual parece resulta de el poco concepto que en España de esto se tiene, por no saber quiças su Magd. el Rey nro. Sr. y sus reales consejos la verdad de lo que pasa y lo que esto importa. Movidos de el zelo de la honrra de Dios, y de vasallos leales de su Magd., por poder dar relacion de vista, disfrazados algunos (y el portador que es el p. fr. Diego Collado entre ellos) en habito de españoles seglares nos emos ido a meter entre los dichos Holandeses y Ingleses en el puerto de firado aqui en Japon y vistoles sus galeones de guerra contandoles las pieças de artillería y procurandoles sacar sus intentos en particular de algunos catholicos que por desgracia andan entre ellos; son pues lo primero impedir el trato de la China con Luçon; y tomarle para si; y con esto salir con otras cosas y para esto sustentan aora de compañía diez galeones de guerra que van todos los años¹²⁹, y aora actualmte. estan esperando en la costa de China y en la boca de Manila a los Chinas que vienen al trato con los Españoles, impidiendoles la entrada y robando a los que cogen, paraque molestados con estas obras, y incitados con promesas que les hacen; vengan a ir con el trato a sus fatorias de Jacatra y otras partes; y quede Manila perdida sin el en particular que de camino esperan los dichos herejes las naos que vienen de nueva España; y aun llegaron ya a pelear con una avra dos años¹³⁰; y si las cogen, quedan rematadas las islas Philipinas, sin poderse valer ni sustentar a si, ni socorrer a Maluco, que sin socorro de Manila no se puede sustentar, ni Manila socorrerle sino le llega conque de Nueva España.

Estos galeones de los herejes estan desde Noviembre hasta Julio en la boca de Manila, embocadero y costa, y despues se vienen a recoger y rehazer de todo a Japon y en el camino roban lo que encuentran. Son fuertes en par-

¹²⁹ A reference to the Anglo-Dutch annual "Fleet of Defence", which functioned in the China Sea with Hirado as its base, between August 1620 and July 1622.

¹³⁰ The Acapulco galleon *S. Nicolds* on 25 July, 1620; cf. W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1939), p. 348.

ticular los de los ingleses, de ingenios de guerra y de 34 a 42 piezas de artillería de 10 hasta 18 libras de vala, las mas de hierro. Y la gente que tienen es poca para tan grandes naos, y tanta artillería; en particular que enferma mucha de ella el tiempo que estan en la boca de Manila; Pero como en Manila no ai ya galeones ni se dan maña de haberlos con facilidad; aunque aya gte. y artillería no sirve de nada; y se estan los herejes a los ojos de los españoles todos los años con los daños y peligros dichos: y assi es necessario que venga socorro de España de galeones a Manila que con la ayuda de gte. y artillería de Manila y buenos soldados por cabeça destruyan de una vez esta potencia de los herejes y mientras se ordena, se puede probar a quemarles los dichos galeones, o cortarles las amarras en tiempo que se pierdan en firando que sera facil como dira el portador, si ai quien se ponga a ello por su ley y rey, que no seran los españoles que por aqui andan segun an mostrado en cosas que pedian menos brio ¹³¹.

Mas porque los dichos herejes no an de escarmentar como se a visto ya por experiencia dos veces que en Manila les an vencido y destruido en parte ¹³² por tener concepto de la gran importancia que les es salir con sus sobredichos intentos; y assi se an de procurar juntar otra vez y vezes, y nunca an de desistir, es menester tambien formar los españoles gran concepto de ello y conservar siempre galeones en Manila para salirles luego al encuentro y dar entrada a los navios de Chinas y a los que vienen de nueva España a Manila y poder sustentar a Luçon y socorrer al Maluco, y aun se podra tratar de ganarle echando los Holandeses de alli; aunq para esto es menester mas fuerça; Pero si se hiziera fuera de gran provecho a su Magd. Tiniendo la entrada de Manila segura, importara mucho se abra el viaje de Macan para Manila y no vengan los Portugueses de Macan a Japon, que para los de Manila y para los mismos Portugueses de Macan y para su Magd sera mucho mejor y con esto an de venir los Japones a cesar o a floxar mucho de la persecucion que hazen a la Christiandad porque buelvan los Portugueses al trato con ellos, y en particular si con esto se pusieran y fortificaran los Españoles en Isla Hermosa ¹³³ que es por donde necessariamte pasan todos los navios que van y vienen de Japon (que sera facil) se podía, tiniendo alli navios y galeras, lo uno hazer mal a los herejes que pasasen a Japon a recogerse, y por bastimentos para Jacatra y otras partes y para el Maluco; y de camino se les tendría tomado el lugar que ellos pretenden si les echan de Japon (que no tienen otro donde

¹³¹ This allegation was quite unjustified, as the naval victories won by the Spaniards in the Philippines against the Dutch (who usually enjoyed a numerical superiority in ships and men), between 1610 and 1646, clearly proved.

¹³² In the battles of the Playa Honda (25 April 1610, and 14 April 1617).

¹³³ As they did in 1626 in North Formosa (Kelung and Tamsui), two years after the Dutch had established themselves at Fort Zeelandia in the Southwest of that island.

poderse recoger en tal caso) y lo otro (si pareciese) se podia a su tiempo por via de su Magd. por escrito y un embajador de pecho, desengañar al Rey de Japon de el mal concepto que tiene de nra. ley y Rey y requerirle por los agravios que nos a hecho, que sino dexaua la persecucion no avian de dexar entrar ni salir navio en Japon; que junto con no venir los Portugueses de Macan al trato, les avia de obligar a quitar la persecucion y quedar solo amigos de los españoles, que de los Holandeses no les viene provecho: y sino les echan, o cierran la puerta, es por temer que sean de poner en isla hermosa y no dexar salir ni entrar navio en Japon. Esto es necessario por lo arriba dicho y aun para Macan mientras sustentan el trato con Japon, porque como entran y salen a un tiempo con los herejes en Japon, siempre es con grande riesgo; y ya por medio milagro sean escapado huyendo debaxo de los vaupreses de sus galeones por ser mas ligeras las galeotas de los Portugueses¹⁸⁴; pero para eso, trataban ya ogaño los herejes de hazer embarcaciones tan ligeras para poder les dar caça.

Si se haze lo dicho, se a de mandar se encarguen los officios y galeones, no por favor como suelen a vezes a quien lo echa a perder, sino a quien lo haga como debe con gran zelo de la honrra de su Dios Ley y Rey.

La India en opinion de los que por aca bien sienten, esta perdida en materia de gobierno y milicia y apoderados los Holandeses de mucho de ella y de sus Reynos circumvezinos por no tratar las cabeças de ella tanto de ser soldados y poner a los Portugueses en esto y hazerles obedecer, y mirar por la honrra de España; como de ganar dinero para si sin mirar por el bien comun y en particular que por no adunarse con los castellanos, ni ayudar a los de Manila quando es menester y pudieran, dan muestras que haran qualquiera cosa¹⁸⁵. Tienen los herejes intento de tomar a Malaca ayudados de

¹⁸⁴ Presumably a reference to the narrow escape of the *São Bartolomeu* on the 28 July 1620; cf. C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon* (Lisboa, 1959), pp. 314-15.

¹⁸⁵ A common complaint of the Spaniards, as instanced by Fr. Diego Aduarte, O.P., who wrote from Manila (26 June 1598): "Y es cierto que por via de los Portugueses, qui ni la Fee ni la Corona Real se augmenten mucho, porque ellos se pagan con solos los puertos que tienen para assegurar la mar para sus contrataciones" (Archivo Ibero-Americano, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 455-58). For Luso-Spanish cooperation — or lack of it — against the Dutch in the Eastern Seas at this period; cf. A. Botelho de Sousa, *Subsidios para a história militar marítima da India, 1585-1650* (4 vols., Lisboa, 1930-56), vols II (1605-1617), and III (1618-1635), passim. Some of the Portuguese were equally critical of their own countrymen in India. Ruy Freyre de Andrade wrote to the Crown from Ormuz on the 12 February 1621, that the King should ensure "aja armadas em forma e comprimento a suas instrucções, a que qua se não dá effeito, tratando as pessoas a quem toca a execusão, de anteporem particulares, e conveniencias proprias a toda a materia por grave que seja do serviso de Sua Magestade que anda mui distraido, pedindo castigo de tantas exorbitancias, e maos exemplos..." (British Museum, Egerton MSS, 1131, fl. 16).

el Rey de Dachen¹⁸⁶ y si pueden, por guerra, engaños o sobornos entrar en Macan: y irse fortificando mas y tomando fatorias por coger los tratos de la India y China; que no deben de ser poco provechosos, pues por ellos andan los herejes tan cuidadosos y dizen no se han de cansar, ni reparar en gastos: y assi es menester poner cabeças de gran gobierno y brio en la India y Macan y darles socorro.

Antes solían estar los Holandeses en Bantan, mas aora tienen ya guerra con el Rey de alli, y assi estan alli cerca en Jacatra, que es su principal fatoria en estas partes, parece que si los españoles tratasen de ayudar al Rey de Bantan para echar a los herejes de Jacatra, lo llevaría bien, assi el, como el de Jacatra que le tienen retirado, y podrían con esto tener los españoles el trato de alli de la pimienta¹⁸⁷.

En resolución si se quiere sustentar y augmentar lo que su magd. tiene en estas partes, y quebrar los braços a los herejes para las guerras de flandes y otras partes, y darselos a la Christiandad y corona de España, es menester hazer mas caso de las cosas de por aca, y tratar mas de veras de remediarlas que hasta aqui, y esto sentimos como que por aver estado antes en Philipinas y estar aora en Japon; lo vemos, y sabemos todo lo que aca pasa y avisamos como vasallos de su magd. con el portador, que dara mas larga relacion si es menester. De Japon y Março 3 de 1622 años.

(s) fr dio. collado vic. pl.

de Sto dgo en Japon.

fr Pedro de Sta. Cata. Mr.

fr Domingo castellet

fr Antonio de san Buenaventura,

comiss. por la Prov.de S. Greg. p. discalziatis.

¹⁸⁶ Achin or Acheh, the Muslim kingdom in North Sumatra.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. J. Bastin, *The Changing Balance of the early Southeast Asian Pepper Trade* (Kuala Lumpur, 1960), for the importance of Bantam in the pepper-trade at this period.

APPENDIX VI

Relacion del socorro de Armada que es necessario para la conservacion de los Estados de su Magestad, en la India Oriental, y Islas Philipinas. — British Museum C 62-i-18(75).

Señor.

Fray Diego Collado de la Orden de Santo Domingo, dize, Que por tener experiencia de muchos años de las cosas de Philipinas, Iapon, y Maluco, y aver visto agora lo que en la India passa, Da quenta a V. Magestad de lo que siente (en Dios y en su conciencia) con zelo solo de la gloria de Dios, y de la conservacion y aumento de los Reales Estados de V. M. cuyo humilde vassallo es.

Lo primero, puede assentar V. Magestad, que no es Rey ni señor de la navegacion de la India Oriental, de las Islas Philipinas, ni de Maluco, ni tiene que esperar V. M. provecho ninguno de todas estas partes, sino se pone el remedio que abaxo diré. Porque demas de aver perdido ya V. M. (por traycion de algunos particulares vassallos) la fortaleza de Ormus que era la primera llave de la India¹³⁸: y correr gran peligro la de Malaca, que es la segunda, si la cerca el Holandes, con ayuda del Rey de Achen, como pretende; y estar tambien los Olandeses con grandes esperanças (no obstante que no les salio bien la primera prueba que hizieron de venir a entrar en Macan el año passado de veinte y dos)¹³⁹ de fortificarse en aquella plaça (con que quedaran destruydas Philipinas, y la India) con solo lo que agora passa, tiene V. M. poco mas del nombre de Rey y señor destas partes, y el provecho y señorío verdadero es de los Olandeses y Ingleses: porque ellos son señores del mar, sin serlo los vasallos de V. M. de navegar, ni de la China a Manila, ni de Manila a Maluco, ni de aqui a la India, ni en la India de unas partes a otras, ni a la China, ni della a Manila, ni Iapon, ni de Malaca a parte ninguna, ni de otra parte a Malaca, sino con notable peligro, que es milagro quando se escapa alguna embarcacion de manos de los dichos Hereges, por ponerse en todos los sitios, passos, estrechos, y embocaderos que ay en estas partes. Y viniendo el Suplicante con otros compañeros de Manila a Malaca, les corrieron doze naos suyas en diferentes lugares y tiempos: y ellos tienen todo el trato y ganancia de ropas, clauo, pimienta, canela, nuez, y massa,

¹³⁸ Cf. Luciano Cordeiro, Como se perdeu Ormuz. Processo inédito do século xvii (Lisboa, 1896); Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa, II (Lisboa, 1962), 274-461.

¹³⁹ Cf. C. R. Boxer, Fidalgos in the Far East. Fact and fancy in the history of Macao, 1550-1770 (The Hague, 1948), pp. 72-92, for the defeat of the Dutch at Macao, on the 24 June, 1622.

pedrería, y drogas de la India, fuera de lo que roban y cogen a los Chinas, y a los Españoles vassallos de V. M. Y como son señores de la mar y lo corren y navegan todo, les es necessario a todos estos moradores de los Reynos circumvezinos, ser amigos de los Holandeses y tener trato con ellos, por ser señores de sus haziendas, y poderse aprovechar dellas, vendiendoselas a los dichos Hereges, y por poder navegar y tener comunicacion por mar con sus vezinos¹⁴⁰: y V. Magestad no tiene nada de trato, ni las Aduanas rinden nada, ni se puede sustentar la India, sino que forçosamente la avran de venir a dexar sus vasallos de V. M. porque no se pueden sustentar sino con el trato, y faltando esse por lo dicho, sin otra guerra, les sera necessario dexarla, y Philipinas, y Maluco se ha de ver en mucho aprieto, Maluco por no tener de donde le venga socorro sino de Manila, y Manila por no poder socorrer a Maluco, ni sustentarse a si sin el trato de China, y comercio con Nueva España, que tambien corre notable peligro, por ponerse los Enemigos al paso por donde vienen las Naos de allà, que si las cogen, todo queda por tierra. Y assi es necesario que se ponga remedio eficaz, y que se les quite este poder a los Enemigos, por ser tan contra la reputation de las armas de V. M. el perder lo que sus antepassados ganaron, y de tanto provecho para el augmento de su Real Corona, el ser verdadero señor de la India, Philipinas, y Islas Malucas, y de lo que destas partes se saca.

Assentado pues en esto, y que insta la brevedad deste remedio, porque los Enemigos no se fortalezcan mas en las fortalezas que agora tienen, y tomando otras y metiendose en alguna de las que agora son de V. M. y enriqueziendo mas con las pressas de la China, y India, y con los tratos que en essas partes traen: y enflaqueziendo las fuerças de V. M. con los gastos ordinarios que se hazen en procurarse sustentar en las fuerças de V. M. de Maluco y otras, sin entregarlas a los Olandeses, sin otro provecho ninguno.

Lo segundo, suponga V. M. que no ay fuerça en las Philipinas, ni en la India para quitar la que los Olandeses tienen, ni en mar, ni en tierra. Porque dexado que no se juntará el poco poder de la India con el de Manila, sin particular orden y riguroso mandato de V. M. y embiando de aca quien lo junte con poderes suficientes, aun dado que se juntara, es muy poco, no solo para echar los Olandeses de sus fuerças, y del mar (que es como su casa en estas partes) sino aun para defenderse dellos. Porque en la India ay pocos Galeones, y no ay gente de mar, ni artilleros, y los soldados Portugueses, estan tan mal acostumbrados, que ni ay entre ellos obediencia, ni rastro de milicia: aunque esto deve de ser, porque ni les pagan, estiman, ni castigan, ni tienen Capitanes que traten ni les hagan tratar de milicia¹⁴¹. En Manila tampoco ay

¹⁴⁰ Cf. M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofssoon, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian archipelago between 1500 and 1630* (The Hague, 1962), pp. 173-294.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Francisco Rodrigues da Silveira, "Reformação da milicia e governo

Galeones y los artilleros y marineros son pocos, y quando mucho avra para armar quatro o seis Galeones, que sera a lo sumo a que se podra estender el poder de Manila. De suerte que junta la potencia de la India, y Philipinas quando se juntassen, a lo sumo serian diez o doze Galeones, que es nada contra el poder de los Enemigos.

Y asi se ha de resolver V. Magestad, de hazer el gasto de una vez, y emprender echar los Hereges de estas partes, assi de sus fortalezas, como del mar, embiando fuerça de España de Galeones, que por lo menos lleguen a veinte y quatro, nuevos, fuertes, y bien artillados y pertrechados de belame y xarcias dobladas, y de cables y anclas, con doblados artilleros y marineros, y con provision para dos años, y que vayan en ellos General, Capitanes, y soldados diestros, y salgan de España a buen tiempo, y con secreto, de suerte que no se puedan prevenir los Enemigos, sino que si se huviere de yr la Armada de V. M. por la India, que será lo mejor, se vaya derecha a la principal Fortaleza de los Olandeses, que es Iacatra¹⁴², teniendo avisado de antemano al Virrey de la India, que tenga junto su poder para el tiempo en que se pudiere juntar con ella, sin que se sepa para donde es, echando voz que es para otra parte de los Reynos de los Moros, y que haga la mayor provision que pudiere de bastimentos. Y avisando tambien a Manila, que se prevenga de Galeones y galeras, y bastimentos, y espere la orden de V. Magestad. Y si huviere de ir la dicha Armada por el Estrecho de Magallanes, que vaya derecha a Maluco, donde señalando tiempo al Governador de Manila, se juntara con ella, para yr destruyendo por alli al Enemigo. Y teniendo prevenida la potencia de la India, para el tiempo, y lugar en que se ha de juntar con la Armada y fuerça de Manila. Y en todo acontecimiento ha de embiar V. M. un Fator suyo con carta, y algun presente al Rey de Macasar, que es muy amigo de V. M. y su Reyno es muy proveydo¹⁴³; y otro a Iapon, que son las partes de donde puede aver mas provision para socorro de la dicha Armada: y por donde quiera que se comience a perseguir a los Olandeses, se han de procurar assolar por mar y tierra, sinque quede rastro dellos en todo este Oriente, apoderandose V. M. de todas sus fortalezas, y del trato todo de estas partes. Que haziendose assi, quedará V. M. Rey y señor absoluto de todo, y los Reyes de todo este Oriente volverán a ser aliados de V. M. como antes, y ayudaran (por querer mal a los Olandeses, que si agora los siguen, es por la fuerça que tienen, y viendo

do Estado da India Oriental", MS. of 1634 (British Museum, Additional MSS. 25419), copious extracts from which were published by A. de S. S. Costa Lobo, *Memorias de um soldado da India* (Lisboa, 1877), and which confirms Fr. Diego Collado's allegations.

¹⁴² Batavia, as the Dutch called Jacarta after their capture of it in 1619.

¹⁴³ For the relations of Macassar with the Iberians and the Dutch at this period, cf., M. A. Meilink-Roelofssoon, *Asian Trade and European Influence, 1500-1630*, pp. 163-64.

que los Españoles no tienen ninguna) a echarlos de sus Reynos, como ellos mismos lo dizen.

A esto me ha obligado el zelo del servicio de Dios y de V. M. que nuestro Señor nos guarde.

APPENDIX VII

Letter of fray Francisco Morales O.P., to the Provincial Chapter in Manila written from Japan on 24 March 1604. Juan López, O.P., Quinta parte de la historia de Santo Domingo y de su orden de predicadores, Valladolid, 1621, ff. 268 verso-269 verso.

“ Para esta tierra lo que es menester nos negocien Vuestras Reverencias por allá, es algun dinero para podernos sustentar y hazer casas, y yglesias, y vestirnos pobrementemente conforme al estilo de la provincia. Querriamos hazer un hospital para pobres, dandoles de comer y curandolos y ayudando a los que piden limosna a nuestras puertas (que de ordinario es esta gente pobrissima) y para caminos; que la variedad de casos desta tierra nos obliga a hazer muchos viajes a Nangasaqui, y a Meaco, y otras partes; que aunque se hazen las jornadas a pie y con muy poco gasto, es menester para ellas algun socorro, y para sustentar algunos niños à quien enseñamos Gramatica, conque a su tiempos puedan ayudar. Esta es la cosa mas importante; porque es imposible passar nosotros, ni hazer el fruto que desseamos, sin ayuda de los naturales. Esto no podra ser, si no los criamos desde niños conforme a la doctrina de santo Tomás que tanto importa introducir la en todos los Reynos donde entrare la Fè, y mas en estos del Iapon, que están muy dispuestos para recibir heregias¹⁴⁴; porque algunas sectas de los Gentiles parece que se ajustan con algunas cosas de nuestra Fè; y para conocer quan diferente es la una doctrina de la otra, y la una luz de la otra, es menester lengua y doctrina. La lengua aprenden a los pechos de sus madres. La buena doctrina la han de enseñar los frayles. Para estos gastos es menester dineros. Quando no se pudiere proveer, no por esso se ha de alçar mano de la labor. Toda la dificultad está en los principios, que con el tiempo fiamos en el Señor que las cosas tomaran otro assiento mejor; porque adelante los Christianos acudiran al remedio de nuestras necesidades, y de los naturales de Stiuma [*sic*; *i. e.* Satsuma]. No

¹⁴⁴ This is obviously a reference to the Jesuits' teaching of Probabilism, for a little later in the letter Morales complains that “ en Manila, y en otras partes han comenzado a enseñarse doctrinas nuevas, y han corrido las mares; lo que pocos años atras se predicó y escrivio en los Reynos de Castilla, y en toda España, calificando las confesiones hechas por escrito, en que el santo Padre Clemente Octavio dio ya su censura; y otras doctrinas, que por acá no se tienen por muy acertadas. De todo esto dio muy larga cuenta el Padre fray Juan de Ormaça en una carta que llegó a Valladolid, fecha en Manila, diziendo el cuydado con que la Orden avia salido a contradiezir las nuevas doctrinas ” (López, f. 269). The introduction of this new theory, still disputed in Europe, into a mission as complex as that of China and Japan, could not fail to cause dismay among the friars.

estamos tan desamparados, que no nos ayan dado en vezes mas de cien pesos en dinero, y mas de sesenta fardos de arroz. De un pueblo ha mandado el Rey señalar diez hombres que vengan a servirnos al uso de la tierra. Lo que importa sobre todo es, que nos embien religiosos de buen espiritu, que con esto todas las cosas tendrán buen sucesso. ... No se puede encarecer lo mucho que importa que el rigor de nuestra provincia y el buen exemplo se vaya continuando en estas partes: que en esto está librado todo buen sucesso en materia de conversiones; y faltando esto, faltarà todo lo que la Orden pretende, en cumplimiento de lo que avemos professado. Aqui procuramos guardar las constituciones de la Orden, y dessa santa provincia¹⁴⁶; pero en casos, con las circunstancias que aqui diré, sujetandolas a la censura de Vs. Reverencias. El dormir en tabla, no se ha hecho hasta agora; que aun para esso no hay comodidad. Dormimos en unas esteras de pajas que acá se usan¹⁴⁶; que por ser dobladas, es mas blando que tablas. Ahi va la muestra dellas. Vean Vs. Reverencias si las podremos usar en lugar de tablas, y en avisandonos, lo que ordenaren se hará con mucha puntualidad. En lo que es no comer, ni beber entre día, no se puede aquí guardar tan puntualmente la constitucion, por ser uso desta tierra, en viniendo o yendo a visitar, dar de beber un poco de agua cozida con una yerva que llaman Cha, y se beve tomando un bocadillo, que es como conserva del tamaño de una avellana. Assi lo avemos hecho hasta agora, porque es mas cerimonia que otra cosa¹⁴⁷. Con todo esso vean V. Reverencias si merece correccion, y nos la embien. Lo que es andar a pie, se guarda, aunque con mucho trabajo, por ser tierra fragosissima. En las yglesias no puede aver la diferencia de ornamentos que dize nuestro Ordinario, que la pobreza no da lugar a esso. Tenemos necesidad de una sobrepelliz, y una sobremesa en que poner el recaudo del baptismo; que por los caminos no ay pilas para bautizar, y sino se haze con alguna decencia, lo tienen en poco. Embiennos Rosarios, Agnus, Reliquias bien adereçadas, que hazen por acà mucho al caso para acariciar y aficionar a los recién bautizados. Es menester que los que aqui vinieren, se acomoden con el estilo de los naturales, en todo lo que no parare perjuzio a nuestro modo de vivir: y que los que vinieren, sean habiles, que puedan aprender las lenguas: porque esta es dificultosissima. Que sean letrados. Sobre todo es menester que traygan gran paciencia: no piensen que

¹⁴⁶ These were printed shortly after Morales wrote this letter, under the title of *Ordinationes Generales provinciae Sanctissimi Rosarii (Binondoc, per Ioannem de Vera chinã Christianum. Cum licentia, 1604)*, the permission for publication being signed at Manila on the 24 June, 1604, by Fr. Miguel Martín de San Jacinto, prior-provincial of the Dominican Province of the Philippines.

¹⁴⁶ tatami in Japanese.

¹⁴⁷ The Jesuits took the same line. Cf. G. Schütte, S.J. (ed.), *Il Cerimoniale per i missionari del Giappone. "Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumes e catanques de Jappão"* di Alexandro Valignano, S.J., *Importante documento circa i methodi di adattamento nella Missione giapponese del secolo xvi* (Roma, 1946).

porque se dize (y con razon) que está ya la mies blanqueando, que no ay mas que llegar y coger. Es aqui el trato de los ministros con personas de muy diferente natural, y al fin gentiles que no han de quebrar en la costumbre en que se han criado, sino es con mucha dificultad y contradicciones que ofrece su conversion de sus Bonços. Es el demonio el que con todas fuerças procura impedir la conversion de las almas. Aqui dizen vino primero el santo Francisco Xavier y despues dos o tres vezes Padres de la Compañía que vista la obstinacion y dureza desta gente los han dexado. A la potencia de Dios y a su divino braço no ay resistencia; y la perseverancia todo lo alcança...