ARTIGO INÉDITO


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RESUMO

Problemas seguiram o desenvolvimento da missão jesuíta no Japão desde seu início com a chegada Francisco Xavier em 1549. As dificuldades com o idioma, o assédio permanente dos monges budistas, as guerras que consumiam os barões e dificultavam a movimentação dos missionários, a pobreza e a falta de religiosos, etc. Mas poucos parecem ter gerado tanta repercussão, dentro e fora da Ordem, como a questão da acomodação. A oficialização da participação dos jesuítas no comércio da seda entre Macau e Japão contribuiu para tanto. Mas a historiografia, seja ela japonesa ou ocidental, tende a focar em apenas um lado do debate. Em vista do tema da presente conferência, ofereço um estudo crítico baseado em fontes primárias manuscritas que podem lançar nova luz sobre a questão.

Palavras-chave: Comércio de seda, missões Jesuíticas, China, Japão, século XVI

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ABSTRACT
Problems followed the development of the Jesuit mission in Japan since its beginning with the arrival of Francisco Xavier in 1549. The difficulty with the language, the permanent harassment of the Buddhist monks, the wars which consumed the lords and complicating the movement of the missionaries, the poverty and lack of personnel, etc. But few seem to have generated such repercussion, inside and out of the Order, as the accommodation. The formalization of the Jesuit participation in the silk trade between Macau and Japan contributed to that. But the historiography, Japanese or Western, tend to focus on one side of the whole debate. With the theme of this conference in mind, I offer a critical study based in manuscript primary sources which could shed new light on the question.

Key-words: silk trade, Jesuits mission, China, Japan, 16th century

According to the German scholar J. F. Schütte, the famous Italian Asian Visitor, Alessandro Valignano’s (1539-1606) first steps in Japan in 1579 made him feel uneasy concerning the Japanese nature and culture. When still in China, before arriving in the archipelago, he had celebrated the success of the 16th century Jesuit mission with parades and masses because of the positive information sent to India and Europe since the beginning of the enterprise with Francisco Xavier (1506-1552) in 1549.

But this excitement seems to have changed once Valignano arrived, got more familiar with Japan and gathered real information from several different sources about the land.

In some of the first documents that the Visitor wrote during this initial trip, which lasted 3 years (1579-1581), he explained to his superiors that only by the end of the visit he would be able to have a more precise opinion about the
local situation. His first two years in Japan would be dedicated to listening and observing the works and experiences of the missionaries around him. And only after his third year he would feel confident enough to express himself concerning the local situation, the people and their culture.

At first glance this might show a great deal of prudence on the part of the famous missionary. However, it is important to keep in mind a few details when reading his assertions. Valignano did not know any Japanese, therefore could not communicate with the locals to learn things first hand. He was forced to have interpreters with him the entire time. All information was based on documents he read when working in other areas and through interviews and meetings with the Jesuits working in Japan.

Valignano was also one of the missionaries to constantly emphasize how different from everything they knew, in Europe or elsewhere, was the Japanese culture. Therefore, a man who came to such a complex land as a visitor (not very different from a dedicated tourist nowadays, perhaps), who had no knowledge of the native language and who based his analysis mainly on the tales of other Europeans and a few Japanese helpers, could not understand the exact conditions of the mission or of the local culture in its integrity.

Nevertheless, researchers writing the history of that period tend to follow his interpretations and reports without questioning, perhaps due to his high position inside the Society of Jesus as the right arm of the General in those faraway lands. We are dealing with a famous, praised missionary, after all, someone sent to Asia still quite young with enough power and resources to fix whatever he considered wrong in areas from India until Japan.

Thus, it is not only difficult to find faults in his writings if we look at them with contemporary eyes. But it is also a very dangerous task to a fresh researcher when the historiography of the 16th century Japanese mission seems to summarize the entirety of the period, especially the first thirty years, through the Visitor’s eyes.
Nevertheless, it is my belief that a careful study of the original manuscripts left by him and other Jesuits who worked before and during his time in Japan might show us another reality. Whether Valignano was right and the others were wrong is irrelevant here as it would be merely speculation. But it is also important to expose a more experienced opinion concerning the situations analyzed by the Italian priest.

For example, if more researchers decided to analyze the surviving documents written by Cabral before the Visitor’s arrival, they would question why Cabral’s methodology is so criticized by Valignano throughout his stay. Moreover, they would question why such impressions differed so much from the reports written by Cabral himself before the Visitor’s arrival.

The final result of Valignano’s observations of the local situation, the famous *Sumario*, was finished after three years, at the end of his first visit. And despite not being different fro what his predecessor had been writing for years, it was a systematization of the Japanese mission’s methodology. Therefore, the *Sumario* was a plan for administration, something that was lacking during Cabral’s period. To Valignano, that Portuguese and fellow companion did not want to find solutions for the Japanese troubles, which, considering the writings left by Cabral during his ten years of administration, does not seem to be entirely true.

Many points can be selected for a more impartial analysis concerning the matter, but one particular catches the attention here and that is the silk trade, which shook the Japanese mission in its foundations and reverberated on China due to Macau’s position as a trading port with Japan.
Part II – Valignano’s judgement of Cabral’s work:

① *The Silk Kimono episode:*

When Francisco Cabral arrived in 1570 and according to a few of his first letters from Japan, the Jesuits working there had adapted to such extremes to Japanese ways that their behavior was causing gossip among the merchants and, consequently, reaching far and wide. And among the orders Cabral received before he even landed in Japanese soil, there was one particular which forced the missionaries to obey the rule of poverty they had vowed to follow when entering the Society.

According to it, he had to reinforce that notion in the missionaries’ hearts because 7-8 years before, Luis d’Almeida (1525-1583), still a merchant, had donated a great sum of money to the mission. From there on not only their participation in the silk trade between Japan and China started, but the Jesuits also began to have a more comfortable life².

That comfort included walking around Japan in silk, colorful kimonos, living with luxuries and behaving in such a way that it shocked the Portuguese travelers visiting the land. And because the missionaries were already used to that lifestyle when Cabral arrived, he had trouble convincing men spread all
over Japan that they could not and should not live in such pomp.

Luis Fróis and Organtino, working in the capital Miyako, current Kyoto, apparently were the ones arguing the most with him, because they advocated that it was necessary for the development of the mission to wear and live in silk just like some Buddhist sects, and in their possession Cabral found bed sheets and pillows made of the rich material even after the prohibition.

The case gets even more interesting if we keep in mind that Cabral was sent to Japan from Macau with Organtino in 1569 and that the later knew the orders his superior had received beforehand and chose to disobey. In fact, Cabral wrote in a letter sent to his General, Francisco de Borja (1510-1572), from Nagasaki on November 5th 1571, that it surprised him to see Organtino going against the rules so openly when, before reaching Japan, he condemned vehemently this level of adaptation to Japanese ways on the part of his fellow missionaries.3

This is important in two aspects: first that the fight against the use of silk by missionaries was an order that Cabral received from above, not something he decided by himself as some scholars seem to suggest. Both the Provincial in India and the Visitor of the time had written ordering him to act that way. And Cosme de Torres (1510-1570), the superior before him and whom Cabral met before the old missionary passed away a few months after his arrival, was also against the use of silk among the missionaries in Japan.

So it was not an arbitrary decision, on the contrary. It shows obedience to the Order he belonged to and to the orders he received from his superiors, something in total accordance to the vows he took when he became a Jesuit.

And concerning the necessity of wearing silks for the growth of the mission, Cabral and his superiors were proven right at that time. They did not need to adapt to such extent to be well received because Cabral met both Oda
Nobunaga (1534-1582), the strongest lord during the 1570s, and the shogun, Ashikaga Yoshiaki (1537-1597) in his black tunic made of cotton.

Similarly, Ōtomo Sōrin, the lord of Bungo and great admirer of the missionaries and their doctrine ever since Francisco Xavier’s times, informed Cabral after the change that they finally looked like religious men and not merchants⁴.

This lack of respect and obedience by some of the missionaries working under Cabral’s guide also disproves Valignano’s assertions that the Portuguese was able to force his opinions onto them all easily. Because to the Visitor, it was Cabral who made all the missionaries refuse to learn the Japanese culture until his arrival.

But if he could barely make Fróis and Organtino in Miyako abdicate of the silks and abide to an order coming from abroad because of the distance between the capital and Kyushu, where Cabral remained after his trips, how could he force them not to learn the local ways?

To avoid similar problems in the future, still in 1571 the priest wrote in answer to Diogo Mirão in the Jesuit College in Rome, suggesting one solution: to build colleges in Japan, where missionaries and brothers would be living together and watching over one another, making sure everybody was following the rules of the Order they belonged to, including those of poverty and obedience. To reinforce this as well as their vows, the superior would not have a house, but should be traveling to all areas once a year⁵.

And here we are able to unearth the origins of the famous decisions concerning the administration of the mission written down by Alessandro Valignano in his famous Regimento.
Part II – Rules to the Japanese Superior: Valignano’s *Regimento*:

Alessandro Valignano’s famous regiment to the Japanese superior was written in June the 24th 1580, after less than one year since he first arrived in Japan\(^6\). It seems to be a reaction against what he thought was Francisco Cabral’s bad administration. However, to those familiar with the Portuguese priest’s documents, the *Regimento* merely settled ideas that Cabral already had in mind for the well-being of the Japanese mission, but lacked the power and the resources to put into practice during his time as superior.

Nevertheless, Valignano’s is the one praised for these ideas throughout the centuries; his text should be followed closely by the new superiors and they were not authorized to change anything before consulting the General of the Order, the Visitor, the Provincial in India and the other three local superiors in Japan.

To that Italian Visitor it was necessary for the new administrators of the Japanese mission to keep always in mind the biggest goals of their work: the maintenance and growth of the Christendom in Japan. These two points depended on all the decisions they took, so they had to systematize everything carefully. This had to be done also because of the uncertain local situation in Japan, in constant civil war and in the process of unification, and because the methods the Society was using there were completely different from those in other areas.

This regiment is divided in two main parts:

1) the maintenance and growth of the missionaries;
2) the maintenance and growth of the native Christians;
The first resolution was to build schools in the three main regions of the mission: Shimo, Bungo and Miyako. But because the political situation in Japan did not allow the missionaries to be permanently in one place to study everything there, each of these schools would have different functions. Bungo’s, for example, would be a kind of house of probation because it was situated in the middle of the other two areas and thus it could receive people from both sides.

Shimo’ school, on the other hand, would be the place to learn Japanese for the missionaries coming from India, and it would also be the region where they would have instructions on the rudiments of the local culture because it was in Shimo that the ships coming from abroad anchored. These men would eventually end up working in other regions of Japan, including the capital, therefore it was necessary for them to at least learn the basics before moving to other areas.

Here it is important to point out that before this regiment was written, Cabral believed that not only foreigners should learn Japanese, but also the natives should have a better knowledge of their own language in order to talk and preach to members of the higher classes.

Lastly, in Miyako and after learning the basics in Shimo, the missionaries should learn Latin.
Each of these three regions should have its own local superior and they all would be subjected to one main superior who would be responsible for the entirety of the mission. An idea that Francisco Cabral also defended before Valignano’s arrival. This general administrator should visit all the areas with mission every three years and the other three local ones should visit their own regions every year.

This decision was made so that the local problems could be solved faster. And here it is important to remember that Cabral was the first responsible for the Japanese mission to travel around the country, visiting the christian villages and reinforcing the Catholic precepts in the minds of those already converted.

To keep the mission alive it was fundamental to receive aid, not only financial, but of personal as well. Thus, the *dojiko*, local helpers, and brothers who were living in the houses and schools should be contented and emotionally attached to the Church and to the other members of the mission. In fact, there should be union between the European missionaries and the native helpers. Without this, according to Valignano, the problems would only grow and eventually the mission could be destroyed from the inside out.

The Japanese helpers should be treated with gentleness and hope, understanding that the foreigners thought highly of them. The goal was to make the Japanese care for the European priests and the Society as a whole a lot more. And by doing it, the Japanese would comment in positive terms about their work with their families and relatives and this could bring more people to the mission. They should understand that when they were treated with severity it was for their own good and the well-being of the whole, not out of prejudice.

This seems to be another direct criticism of the methodology used by Cabral, even though, as explained there, I still could not find any evidence in the Portuguese superior’s letters stating that Japanese and Europeans lived in such bad terms before the arrival of the Visitor.

But the interesting point here is the indirect manipulation that Valignano
wanted to exert over the Japanese helpers’ impressions to achieve his goal of expanding the mission, something that he will also do with the embassy of boys organized to send to Europe a few years later. With this in mind, it is possible that the Visitor also wanted to manipulate the way his superiors in Europe and India saw Francisco Cabral and his administration of the Japanese mission in order to have his own methodology approved.

But of course, this is mere speculation.

Nevertheless, this becomes particularly evident when we consider that Cabral always wrote positively about the Japanese members of the enterprise in Japan, particularly about his companion and interpreter, João de Torres, and never gave any evidence in his missives from 1570 until 1584 that he was imposing to other missionaries a poor treatment of the natives out of prejudice. During that period, it is important to stress, the Portuguese priest never referred to the Japanese as niggers, as it is so often attributed to him by researchers. Valignano was the one writing the expression when condemning Cabral’s attitude, including in this Regimento⁷.

To the Visitor, harsh words should be avoided at all costs because the Japanese naturally hid their feelings and it was very hard reading their hearts. Therefore, it was the duty of the Japanese superiors from that point on to avoid misunderstandings and displeasure among the natives. They should also avoid governing according to their own will and even those natives who deserved a firmer hand should be led with gentleness and not severely punished. Valignano remembered in his text that the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus advocated severity when necessary, but it was important to let the Japanese know that such severity was out of love and to the well-being of the mission as a whole.

Anything contrary to that was inspiration of the devil to jeopardize their work.

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However, still according to Valignano, the Japanese helpers should also be stripped from everything in their culture that went against the Catholic Church’s ways. They should also adapt as much as possible to the religious life and those who persisted in their mistakes should be sent to India for reformation.

In fact, those who entered the mission in Japan should spend some time in a novitiate in order to be “cleaned” (sic.) from the parts of their culture that went against the Order’s premises. They should all learn Latin and the sciences because then they would preach to other natives with a deeper knowledge. Latin should particularly be taught to the children in the seminaries. With proper Education, these future men would eventually feel more pleasure into being part of the Society and would consequently work better as well.

And for the Japanese to feel like that, wrote the Visitor, equality in treatment between natives and European brothers, and natives and European helpers should include food, clothes and manners. And the superior would be the one making sure everybody was following the rules. He should have in mind that things seen as courteous in Europe were sometimes regarded as great discourtesy in Japan, but in those circumstances, the Japanese culture should prevail and the foreigners should adapt to the local ways right after arriving from India.

The superior should also observe priests and brothers closely so that he could decide who should live with whom in order to form a good relationship.

For all this to be put into practice, it was necessary to open seminars in Japan to form boys, exactly like the Society of Jesus prescribed since the very beginning. The Visitor was careful to remember that Francisco Xavier thought of opening some even in India, but he did not mention that Cabral thought the same for Japan right at the beginning of his period as superior, as previously stated.

These men were not only to become workers for the mission; they would actually lead the way in the future and relieve the Society from its great charge. With that in mind, apart from the seminar in the Shimo region, others should be
erected, one in Bungo and another in Miyako, but also wherever else they judged necessary.

These places should be clean, well made and comfortable, and order, as well as the rules of the Society, should be kept at all costs. The children would also be very clean and well-treated and while learning about the Christian doctrine and the sciences, they should also be educated in the best of the Japanese culture.

Converting more souls to Christianity was as important as conserving those already made. But at that time, because of the lack of workers, Valignano decided that they should give priority to keep focusing on the work already done, fortifying and cultivating the good Christians. New enterprises should only be taken if they would benefit the mission and if they did not bring any more difficulty to the local situation.

Workers for all the Christian regions should be divided well, but always giving priority to regions where they expected to achieve better results, including those places belonging to great lords, where missionaries properly raised and taught in Japan should be sent to work. In this sense, the superiors should focus on keeping excellent relations with these danmiyō, offering gifts and helping them according to their necessities because of the local custom of always doing something in exchange of a benefit.

And even if, by the end, these lords did not help them as much, at least they would not be a problem either.

Concerning this point, I find it interesting that researchers, and through them Valignano, condemned Cabral for not keeping good relations with the local lords in Japan when, not only that Portuguese priest’s letters, but Luis Fróis’ accounts of his period of administration prove that it was exactly the opposite. Cabral kept very good relations with all the lords he met, including Nobunaga8.
He was also very careful when dealing with those that were not in friendly terms with the Christians, such as the son of Dom André, lord of Arima, which turned against them right after his father’s passing away.

Continuing with Valignano’s document, because Japanese people were very fond of cults and ceremonies, the superiors of the mission should sponsor great Churches, such as the Nagasaki one, and they also should be kept clean and well organized. Priests coming from abroad should learn very well the ceremonies, so that they could do signing masses, processions, burials and baptisms properly.

Lastly, Christians, lords or simpletons alike, who were suffering with persecutions since embracing the new faith, should receive full support from the mission, but not only out of charity, but mainly because not helping them would be a great scandal and many would think twice before converting if they could not see that the Church they followed was willing to help them in case of necessity.

This help was also financial, but the superior should be careful not to go over the total amount of the expenditure for the year, especially when they had just received the ports of Nagasaki and Mogi (1580) as donation and spent a significant amount of money fortifying them.

**Part III - Cabral’s comments on making the participation in the silk trade official:**

All these rules of administration, previously envisioned but not imposed, had to be put into practice immediately in Japan. But the official Jesuit participation on the silk trade with Macau was one of the most heatedly discussed in the documents that survived. But most scholars make the use of published letters to recreate it, such as the Documenta Indica. And as much as
they are excellent sources, these are edited letters, some written years after Cabral left his position as superior of the Japanese mission.

Far more important are the manuscript missives written from Macau right after he left Japan, when Cabral was still the superior of the Chinese college. One of them is a long, detailed letter dating of October the 5th 1583 to the General Claudio Aquaviva (1553-1615) in Rome\textsuperscript{10}.

Cabral started the document using grateful words for being allowed to leave his work as superior of the Japanese mission. His constant pleads dating from around 1578 to leave the post had been finally heard, an information which contradicts the notion that he was dismissed by Alessandro Valignano.

But the main point of the letter is exactly to discuss the official role of the Jesuits in Japan on the silk commerce. According to Cabral, Rome was then offering 4000 ducats to that far away mission and if they were able to get a little more support, the open participation of the missionaries in the trade could be avoided. Cabral’s main concern was the scandal it was causing to the Society of Jesus in Asia and Europe.

To that Portuguese priest, Valignano’s decision did nothing but to increase the grandeur of the missionaries in Japan. A silk mania which had caused great trouble in the early 1570s and had been controlled with much effort from his part. For during his time in Japan and following the orders of the previous Visitor, as previously explained, Cabral kept the trade alive, but with merchants as intermediaries. Now that missionaries there were directly responsible for the trade, the whole activity was shameful for priests in Macau, especially after Valignano’s arrange gave more profit to Japan than before.

Cabral’s greatest fear, as a well-known enthusiastic member of the Order, was that corruption would take part inside the Japanese mission, so he insisted that the next Asian Visitor should be more rational and attentive, otherwise the
whole enterprise could be jeopardized.

According to him, the mission could survive perfectly well with the 4000 ducats. All extra activities would cost only 6 or 7 taels, so he was not against the trade per se; he was against the Society of Jesus’ procurator getting involved with the trade between Macau and Japan. And since the Chinese mission was still small, trying to gain approval from the local governors to expand (Matteo Ricci was diligently studying the local language and culture), that place quickly became a type of inn or roadhouse to Jesuits in the Far East.

To prove his point, the missionary gave a detailed report on all the expenses of the Japanese mission according to the areas of administration divided by Alessandro Valignano in his Regimento and his own knowledge after more than a decade in Japan.

They spent 950 taels in Shimo region, which was comprised of Amakusa, Omura, Kuchinotsu, Arima and Nagasaki. In Bungo they spent 1145 taels, including the Funai school. In Miyako they spent 1000 taels and still would have around 1000 left for extra expenses. Apart from that and despite uncertain due to bad administration, they had invested in Goa and Malacca some money, comprised of lands, which summed up 2000 taels, and although small, they still had some meager help from Japanese lords.

Things just had to be better organized.

Thus, Cabral criticized Valignano discreetly for deciding on the systematization of the silk trade after a very short time in that land and without much practical or theoretical knowledge on the matter.

**Final considerations**

As Peter Burke explained, in a situation such as this, when two parties stress different things about a determined fact in historical documents, it is difficult – if not impossible – for a Historian to know who is telling the truth. What can be done, which is what I am trying to do, is to expose the other side of
the tale, giving voice to the character that was silenced because of the fame and power of his antagonist – if antagonist he truly was.

In the specific case of this paper, a single negative aspects attributed to Francisco Cabral by Alessandro Valignano can be rebutted by missives that Portuguese priest wrote many years before the arrival of the Visitor in 1579. They seem particularly significant because they were not written at the time of the heated encounter, unlike Valignano’s missives, and might show a greater level of impartiality.

Besides, a proper study of these documents tell us that Valignano’s famous project for the development of the Japanese mission was not as unique as Historians seem to insist because it had been envisioned by someone else before him, written down and sent to Europe and India for approval, even if not properly systematized.

And if with time some of Cabral’s opinions seem to have changed, such as the acceptance or not of natives in the seminars to become priests and full members of his Order, they should always be read having in mind what he wrote before and while working in Japan and China. For if Cabral was against it in the future, as expressed in missives he wrote from Macau in the 1580s, I believe it was not out of distaste for the culture and the race he had left.

But because his experience advocated that the mission was still weak, poor and therefore could not prepare well enough men born without any Christian principles to become good priests just yet.

In the missives Cabral wrote while in Japan, there isn’t much evidence of the general negative behavior attributed to him. He never referred to the Japanese helpers and brothers in a derogatory way, even though – and not unlike other missionaries, including Xavier and Valignano himself – he had trouble with the Japanese character and the well-known custom of hiding their feelings.

There also isn’t any evidence that he forbade natives to learn foreigner
languages, that they were treated differently and often mistreated, or that they were forced to live and behave according to European standards. There isn’t a clear evidence to support the idea that nobody liked the Portuguese priest either, quite on the contrary. So it is necessary for Historians to take Valignano’s writings and opinions about the superior according to what they truly are: the opinions of a single person and not necessarily the truth.

Take one opinion and disregard the other is to ignore the experience of a man sent to Japan by his antecessor and who worked there for over a decade, developing the mission as much as possible considering the meager means that they had\textsuperscript{11}. If Valignano nurtured a particular grudge against the Portuguese missionary, like Organtino, it should not have influenced his judgement of his work. Besides, the Visitor’s letter exposed here, dating from October 1580, was written in the epitome of his distaste for Francisco Cabral’s arguments against some of the (precipitated, perhaps) solutions that he envisioned for Japan.

Valignano had the power and the resources coming from Europe supporting him, while Cabral had his position and a long experience only in Japan to support his views. It should not have been easy for either to have the other interfering in their work. But the differences in their views might have been made bigger than they actually were by personal conflicts in the case of the priests and lack of impartiality in the case of many researchers studying the Visitor’s documents.

The open participation of the Jesuits in the silk trade between Macau and Japan and the quarrels concerning the level of adaptation that followed is one of many aspects of the 1570s’ administration which can be better understood with a proper analysis of the manuscript documents available in Rome and in Japan.
Notes:

(1) Master and PhD researcher in Japanese History in the Humanities department of Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan, under the guidance of Professor Shinzo Kawamura, S.J. (PhD). The present article is part of my Doctorate thesis’ researches.

(2) ARSI Jap. Sin. 7I 20-22v.

(3) Idem.

(4) ARSI Jap. Sin. 7I 24-24v.

(5) Idem.

(6) ARSI Jap. Sin. 8Ib 259-263.

(7) Idem.

(8) Francisco Cabral was received by Oda Nobunaga twice, in 1571 and 1574. He took part in banquets offered by the raising lord and first political unifier of Japan. About the theatrical aspect of these occasions according to Japanese culture and details about the food, see RATH, Eric C. Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan. California: University of California Press, 2010.


(10) ARSI Jap. Sin. 9II 167-169v.

(11) For example, all the money that would maintain the houses and churches in Japan during 1573 was lost when the ship that brought the first Asian Visitor, Gonçalo Alvarex, his 5 companions and other 500 souls sank near the coast of Japan.

Graphics:

(Figure 1) Detail of a 16th century folding screen depicting a bespectacled, middle-aged Jesuit and his young Japanese companion which can represent Francisco Cabral and his helper Joâo de Torres. Folding screen can be found at 大阪南蛮文化館. (page 3)

(Figure 2) Map of the Japanese mission by the end of the 16th century. Edited by Wilson Freitas. (page 8)
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