

## *I go shopping in Christian Nagasaki:* **Entries from the diary of a Mito Samurai, Ōwada Shigekiyo (1593)**

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### **Abstract**

A serendipitous source for the history of Christian Nagasaki is provided by a few entries in the diary of Ōwada Shigekiyo, a samurai retainer of the Satake family of the Mito domain, who was sent on a shopping trip for foreign products in August of 1593. In this article, the relevant sections of Shigekiyo's diary are translated and analysed, so that the text becomes a source for the developmental stage in which the Christian settlement found itself in the mid-Momoyama period, its accommodation facilities for outsiders, its dominant merchant class, the kinds of things for sale in the town, their prices, and the manner in which they were sold, as well as the limits of the famed Japanese ability to copy western gun technology.

### **Resumo**

*Uma fonte fortuita para a história da Nagasaki cristã pode encontrar-se em algumas entradas no diário de Ōwada Shigekiyo, um criado samurai da família Satake do domínio de Mito, que foi enviado numa viagem para a aquisição de produtos estrangeiros em Agosto de 1593. Neste artigo, as secções relevantes do diário de Shigekiyo foram traduzidas e analisadas, de forma a tornar o texto numa fonte para o estágio de desenvolvimento do povoado cristão em meados do período Momoyama, as suas instalações de acomodação para pessoas de fora, a sua classe mercantil dominante, os tipos de mercadorias para venda, os seus preços e a maneira como eram vendidas, bem como os limites da afamada habilidade japonesa para copiar as tecnologias de fabrico de espingardas ocidentais.*

### **要旨**

水戸藩主佐竹義宣の家臣、文禄二年 [1593] 8月舶来製品取得の為、長崎へ派遣された大和田重清が著した日記の中に、キリシタン街長崎に関する記載が思いがけなく残っている。本稿は、その長崎に関係する箇所を翻訳し、分析する。そうすると、この史料は、桃山時代中期のキリシタン街長崎発展段階の状況、外部から来た人々の宿泊場所、街を取り仕切っている富豪商人達、商品の種類、値段、その販売方法、それから西洋鉄砲生産技術を模造することで名高い日本人能力の限界などについての資料となる。

**Keywords:**

Portuguese trade in Japan; Christian Nagasaki in 1593; diary of Ōwada Shigekiyo; travel in Momoyama Japan; Takashima family; Chinese silk products; matchlock and wheel lock technology.

Comércio português no Japão; Nagasaki cristã em 1593; diário de Ōwada Shigekiyo; viagem no Japão Momoyama; família Takashima; produtos de seda chinesa; tecnologias de fecho de mecha e fecho de roda.

日本におけるポルトガル貿易；1593年のキリシタン街長崎；大和田重清日記；桃山時代の旅日記；中国絹織物；火縄式点火装置とホイールロック式点火装置。

**Introduction: Christian Nagasaki**

Nagasaki 長崎 was founded in 1571 by Jesuit missionaries in order to provide a safe anchorage for the Portuguese traders who had been coming to Japan with Chinese merchandise since the early 1540's.<sup>1</sup> During the first three decades of the Portuguese trade in Japan, the anchorage of the Portuguese vessels had moved from Tanegashima 種子島, to Satsuma 薩摩, to Bungo 豊後, and Hirado 平戸, never finding a spot which combined safety for the crews with a convenient reception for merchants from all over Japan to come and bid for the cargo. Since 1562, the carrack had been coming mainly to different places in the domain of Ōmura Sumitada 大村純忠 (1533-1587),<sup>2</sup> the first local ruler in Japan to receive baptism in 1563, or to that of his brother Arima Yoshisada 有馬義貞 (1521-1577), who was also thought to be inclined to convert.<sup>3</sup>

Nagasaki Bay, which was also located in the Ōmura domain, is Kyushu's prime anchorage: it is deep, stretching three miles inland, and it is protected on both sides by mountain chains. The bay ends at a spot where a third mountain chain divides two river valleys of the Urakami and Nakajima rivers, which both empty their waters into the bay. The forces of erosion have elevated this spot to form a sort of land tongue sticking out into the bay. This was an area that was not particularly fertile or desirable and therefore had remained overgrown and unoccupied. There were, of course, other settlements along the bay, of which Sakurababa 桜馬場, with the stronghold of the Nagasaki House, Tomachi 戸町, and Fukabori 深堀 were the most important. These were all located on along the bay

1 On the founding of Nagasaki, see Pacheco 1970 and Schütte 1971.

2 The first anchorages in Ōmura were Yokoseura 横瀬浦 and Fukuda 福田, both located along the same coast of the Western Sonogi peninsula 西彼杵半島, of which Nagasaki Bay also forms a part.

3 Bourdon 1993, 450. In 1567, the Portuguese carrack under Captain Major Tristão Vaz da Veyga came to Kuchinotsu on the Shimabara peninsula.

side of the “long cape,” from which the whole area takes its name, and which across the mountains faces Tachibana Bay 橘湾.

In close consultation and cooperation with Ōmura Sumitada, the Jesuits under the leadership of the Spanish priest Cosme de Torres (1510-1570) chose the elevated spot at the end of Nagasaki Bay to start a Christian settlement, and in the spring of 1571 the first six streets were laid out by work crews from Ōmura and Arima.<sup>4</sup> Over the 1570's, the town grew to include most of the land tongue. It also weathered several attacks from neighbouring enemies disputing its dominion over the surface of the bay.<sup>5</sup> These attacks, in turn, caused the town to be fortified with a wooden palisade at first, which was later replaced by a stone wall with ramparts and a moat dug through the land tongue on the town's inland side.<sup>6</sup> The city's main characteristic was its Christian character: until 1614 virtually all its permanent inhabitants were baptised members of the town's different parish churches.<sup>7</sup> Although incorporated into the *tenryō* 天領 in 1587 by Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598), who ordered the town's ramparts destroyed, Nagasaki continued to be mainly governed by its Christian elite, which consisted of a number of successful merchant houses.

## 1. A Japanese Diarist: Ōwada Shigekiyo

Contemporary Japanese materials dealing with the first decades of the existence of Nagasaki are rare. For the year 1593, however, we have a serendipitous source. It sometimes happened that men from Hideyoshi's court in Nagoya 名護屋, in northern Hizen 肥前 about three days travel from Nagasaki, ordered merchandise from Nagasaki. In the diary of one of these shoppers, known as the *Ōwada Shigekiyo nikki* 大和田重清日記, its author describes a quick visit to Nagasaki that he made in late August of that year.<sup>8</sup> Shigekiyo (? - 1619) was a middle-level samurai in the service of Satake Yoshinobu 佐竹義宣 (1570 - 1633), who had succeeded his father in 1589 as the official representative of the Satake House.<sup>9</sup> The Satake, Father Yoshishige 義重 and Son Yoshinobu, were invested by Hideyoshi with the provinces of Hitachi and Shimozuke in 1590, and since 1591 they had made Mito Castle 水

4 These machi were 大村町 Ōmura-machi, 島原町 Shimabara-machi, 平戸町 Hirado-machi, 横瀬浦 Yokoseura-machi, 外浦町 Hokaura-machi, 分地町 Bunchi-machi (cf. Koga 1957, 6-7; Anno 1992, 161).

5 Fróis, *Historia*, vol. 2, 375, 389-96.

6 Although the ramparts and moat have disappeared, parts of the wall can still be seen today in Kabashima-machi 栂島町, Edo-machi 江戸町, and Tsuki-machi 築町, and Nigiwai-machi 賑町.

7 Even after 1614, the town continued to be predominantly Christian for another decade, see: Hesselink 2009.

8 Kobata Atsushi 小葉田淳, ed., “Ōwada Ōmi Shigekiyo nikki” 大和田近江重清日記 *Nihonshi kenkyū*, nos. 44-46, 48, 49, 52 (1959-1961). I am grateful to Professor Emeritus of Nagasaki University Wakaki Taiichi 若木太一, for discussing the Nagasaki entries in this text with me on 2007.5.29 and 2007.5.31.

9 On the discovery of the diary and its author, see Kobata 1957.

戸城 in the northern Kantō plain their stronghold.<sup>10</sup> In the summer of 1593, Yoshinobu was in attendance on Hideyoshi in Nagoya with three thousand soldiers.<sup>11</sup>

While these men were leaving for Korea, the daimyo was informed on 31 July by Hideyoshi's officials that in view of the "happy outcome of the Korean campaign" there was no need any longer for him to go overseas. For this reason, he received permission to return to his domain in eastern Japan. He left Nagoya on 13 September,<sup>12</sup> and Shigekiyo has meticulously recorded for us the route they took back to Mito, where they arrived on 29 October 1593.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, his diary is usually cited for information about road conditions in Japan at the time, the cost of travel, things for sale along the road, and the types of currencies in use. But the diary can also tell us much about the entertainments offered in Nagoya, the games such as chess, *go*, and backgammon, played by the samurai in Hideyoshi's camp, as well as the performances of *noh*, music, linked verse, and tea they organised among themselves. Shigekiyo also recorded the different types of food he ate, such as when he had occasion to eat raccoon, boar, or Southern Barbarian dishes. Fashion and the relations between dress and food also piqued his interest.<sup>14</sup>

Before he left Nagoya, Yoshinobu ordered Shigekiyo on 21 August to go shopping in Nagasaki for some luxuries to take back home.<sup>15</sup> It took Shigekiyo two days before he could get on his way. First, he needed to wrap up his previous jobs and engagements. Next, he had to find and engage four footmen, who had to swear an oath of loyalty, promising to be discreet about what they heard and saw on the trip. On 22 August, Shigekiyo ran around all day to tie up more loose ends. He seems to have been in command of several crews of construction workers, for the Nagoya Castle complex was still in the process of being built.<sup>16</sup>

In his diary, he mentions the names of all the samurai he deals with, but he uses a short-hand, which consists of abbreviating these names by leaving out characters. Therefore, not all people mentioned are traceable.<sup>17</sup> On that same day of 22 August, for example, someone called Izumi-Sama 泉様 gave him eight *momme* five *bu* 良<sup>18</sup>八匁五分 in silver to buy musk. Another man, referred to as No Seisuke 野清介, came to say that he wanted to

10 KDJ vol. 6, 369.

11 KDJ vol. 2, 724.

12 Bunroku 2.08.18.

13 Kobata 1957, 186-8.

14 KDJ vol. 2, 724.

15 Bunroku 2.07.25.

16 Building materials, however, were scarce. When Hideyoshi ordered the destruction of the main Jesuit church in Nagasaki in 1592, he stipulated that Terazawa Hiroataka, Nagasaki's Governor, should send its lumber to Nagoya, where Terazawa also functioned as *fushin bugyō* since 1591.11.25 [Tenshō 19.10.10].

17 As our focus here is on Nagasaki, we will not worry unduly about problematic identifications. All those that I have been able to make are based on a manuscript entitled 近江日記名奇 *Ōmi nikki meiki*, preserved at the Shiryōhensanjo of the University of Tokyo 東京大学史料編纂所.

18 A peculiar habit of this author was to abbreviate the character 銀 in this way.

go to Nagasaki together and proposed they leave the next day. Akazuchi Kanza 赤土勘左 provided Shigekiyo with a letter of introduction to a Nagasaki notable called Jeronimo.

The next day, 23 August 1593, Shigekiyo received his shopping money:

Tōko 東呼 [a physician, senior to Shigekiyo] tells me he is satisfied with the oath sworn by the four footmen. In his presence, I make them sign it with their blood. In front of His Lordship [Satake Yoshinobu], I receive one *kan* and two hundred *me* 老貫貳百目<sup>19</sup> of silver in a leather bag, for which I give a receipt. I take the list of orders he has had prepared. I receive in trust sixty-five *momme* in silver from Yamasei 山正,<sup>20</sup> and also fourteen *momme* in silver from Dairai 大来,<sup>21</sup> they both place their orders. Rai wants a dagger. I borrow a *katana* from Sō no kami 宗守<sup>22</sup> [...].

I go to Tō 東 to take my leave,<sup>23</sup> we have sake. I send a messenger to Nobukiyo 延清. In his reply, he tells me that he has suddenly been ordered today to go to Kyoto and so has to postpone [his visit to Nagasaki]. Nogami Uma 野上右馬 has suddenly been ordered to go along. Just like me he has been given four men to go with him, for there are few palanquins available he says [...]. I'm accompanied by two soldiers Yaichi 弥一 and Magoshirō 孫四郎, as well as Jingorō 甚五郎 and Sanshichi 三七, both laborers.

On the day of his departure, Shigekiyo met with his lord Yoshinobu and some of his most exalted relations and retainers. On this occasion, he received 1200 *momme* for his expenses, a sizeable amount of silver that may be roughly compared to about two and a half million yen or twenty-five thousand dollars today. Two others of Yoshizumi's entourage, Yamagata Sumikiyo and Izumi Dairai, gave him some more money for further purchases for themselves. The daimyo of Tsushima, Sō Yoshitomo, was also present on this occasion. Later that same morning, Shigekiyo went to take his leave from another member of the Satake family present in Nagoya.

At the last moment, just when Shigekiyo was ready to go, he heard that Nobukiyo would not be coming with him to Nagasaki. Another samurai, by name of Nogami, however, would be joining him on the trip with four footmen of his own. While in Nagasaki, Shigekiyo mentions this man only once more, when he borrowed some cash from him. He likely was a retainer of another daimyo on fairly good terms with Shigekiyo. The latter's own footmen were divided into two pairs: Yaichi and Magoshirō represented Shigekiyo's muscle along the way and would be standing guard when he needed it, while Jingorō and Sanshichi would carry his luggage.

19 I.e. 1200 *momme* or 24 *ryō* 両.

20 山県正左衛門宣澄 Yamagata Seizaemon Sumikiyo.

21 馬場和泉守政直 Baba Izumi no kami Masanao.

22 宗義智 Sō Yoshitomo (1568-1615).

23 佐竹中務大輔義久 Satake Nakatsukasa Taifu Yoshihisa.

## 2. August 23 and 24: Shigekiyo travels to Nagasaki

We go on board without having eaten. Until we board, we are accompanied by Ono U 小野右 and Azuchi 安土.<sup>24</sup> We sail at 11 o'clock in the morning and arrive in Hirado 平戸 at three in the afternoon. We lodge in an inn managed by a man called Shimizu Hikosa 清水彦左.<sup>25</sup> A traveler from Osaka by name of Ishidaya Shinbei 大坂ノ石田屋新兵 is also staying in the same inn. We meet people from China and from Southern Barbary. Lodging for one night costs me forty *mon*. I tip the female servant ten *mon* in advance.

As the first day's boat trip only lasted about four hours, the location where they arrived in the afternoon, Hirado, is not likely have been the island off Kyushu's northwestern shore that bears that name today, but rather present-day Matsuura City, on Kyushu's north coast, which was part of the Hirado domain at the time. Here, the group of ten men from Nagoya may have stopped to spend the night in order to take a regular boat service to Nagasaki early the next morning.

The tip Shigekiyo paid to the female servant of his lodgings is suspiciously high, no less than twenty-five percent of the price of one night's stay for himself and his four footmen. It is possible that the servant was comely, and that Shigekiyo expected from her an additional service, such as the female servants of Japanese inns were supposed to provide. Here, then, we see what a poor samurai might want as soon as he was out of sight of his liege lord.

Female servants in Japanese inns went by different names indicating their sexual availability. Here, Shigekiyo calls the servant attending him *gejo* 下女, or 'low woman,' indicating that she was, without ado, sexually available to the guests. Another term he might have used was *mero* 女郎,<sup>26</sup> but this was a word with an even more pejorative connotation, someone who might be in attendance while the guest took a bath and had some casual sex in mind. *Chisōnin* 馳走人 were servants,<sup>27</sup> often older women, who were in attendance during mealtimes. *Omnago-shimobe* 女子下部,<sup>28</sup> also, were usually considered too young for such service. In principle, however, every female in an innkeeper's household could be called upon to provide sexual services. The mistress and daughters of the house were, of course, off-limits to most of the *teishu*'s 亭主<sup>29</sup> (owner's) customers, but even they could be called upon to perform in case the head of the household saw there was no other way to steer clear from trouble in case he refused. This was all part of the staff's dedication to make their inn into a place known and popular as an *aishiraidokoro* 会积ひ所, or a place where a guest is treated well.<sup>30</sup>

24 小野右衛門義継 Ono Uemon Yoshitsugu; Azuchi is unidentifiable.

25 清水彦左衛門 Shimizu Hikozaemon.

26 *Vocabulario* 1603, 157r.

27 *Ibid.*, Supplemento 1604, [unnumbered].

28 *Vocabulario*, 302r.

29 *Vocabulario* 1603, 253v.

30 *Ibid.*, 6v.

[1593.08.24:] Ishi[daya] Shinbei has a stomach ache and I send him some medicine. His brother has the same and he wants some elixir too. We leave at nine in the morning. It is thirty-five *ri* 里 [137.65 km] to Nagasaki. When dark falls, we spend the night halfway where we are.

Obviously, Shigekiyo had been quick to make friends. He may have drunk the night before with the Osaka merchant and his brother, pumping them for information about customs and prices in Nagasaki. He must have been a stronger drinker too, or at least someone better prepared to deal with hangovers. The next day, they spent sailing along the coast of the Western Sonogi peninsula. As Shigekiyo does not mention the name of the place where they spent the night, his party is not likely to have gone ashore. They may have spent the night at Seto 瀬戸, the usual stop-over station between Hirado and Nagasaki, or a little further south at Egawa 江川 or Kurosaki 黒崎.

### 3. 25 August 1593: Shigekiyo's First Day in Nagasaki

They left again the following morning at around six o'clock:

At dawn we start again and we arrive in Nagasaki at eleven o'clock in the morning. I deliver a letter from Hirado to the place of Arishandei. The master is not in. I make the tour of the city until dark. The owner of my inn is called Rinsu [Luis?] and his older brother is called Jakaube [Jacobe], who brings a pair of bells and three loaves of Southern Barbarian food called *pan*. When I go to make a courtesy call, I take a small sword and fan, but nobody is at home. Later the innkeeper comes and pays me a visit and to calm him down I serve him a meal of wheat and sugar. I hire him to deal with the Southern Barbarians. I buy two rolls of damask ドンス<sup>31</sup> for 110 *momme*, and half a *kin* 斤 [300 grams] of musk チヤカウ<sup>32</sup> also for 110 *momme*, but this includes Izumi Rai's share. The receptacle to put it in costs one *momme*, five *bu*. I buy three jars, one for eight *momme*. I give my landlord two fans and one dagger.

Once in Nagasaki, it was as if Shigekiyo was in a foreign land. People had foreign names and he had a hard time recording them. Arishandei possibly stands for Alessandro, but it is unclear who this may have been. Alessandro Valignano had left the city for Macao in the fall of the year before,<sup>33</sup> but there may have been any number of Nagasaki citizens with that name. Even in his diary, Shigekiyo remains discreet. He does not say who had given him the letter in Hirado to be delivered in Nagasaki. The simplest solution, of course, is that the Osaka merchants he had been drinking with the night before had given

31 段子.

32 麝香.

33 Schütte 1968, 57.

it to him. In that case, the man must simply have been a useful contact in Nagasaki. He walked around the city that evening until around seven o'clock.

By this time, Nagasaki consisted of about twenty-five different streets, with quite a few having started to appear outside the walls of the old citadel. In fact, the city was already getting the shape it would have for the next two centuries when it was divided into four distinct parts. At the center was Uchimachi 内町, the city inside the old walls,<sup>34</sup> flanked on its north-western side by the oldest machi outside the walls.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, on the south-eastern side, both banks of the Nakajima river also steadily became more populated and were becoming known as Sotomachi 外町.<sup>36</sup> Generally, poor newcomers were forced to settle in these lowlands, which in rough weather periodically flooded with the water of a raging river, which damaged or swept away housing until it was finally eviscerated by the Nishiyama dam 西山ダム built upstream in the second half of the twentieth century. This area was still administered by officials from Ōmura, since the Sakurababa stronghold of the original lord of the lower end of Nagasaki Bay, Nagasaki Jinzaemon 長崎甚左衛門 (baptised Bernardo, 1548?-1621), had been destroyed by orders of Hideyoshi in 1587.<sup>37</sup>

Shigekiyo is not likely to have chosen to stay inside the old town, still ruled behind the scenes by the Jesuits.<sup>38</sup> More likely, he found his lodgings in either Funazu or Gotō-machi on

34 Takeno 1976, 59 conjectures that the following machi were built between 1572 and 1597: Funazu-machi 船津町, Kabashima-machi 栴島町, Moto Gotō-machi 本五島町, Ura Gotō-machi 浦五島町, Hori-machi 堀町, Moto Hakata-machi 本博多町, Moto Kōzen-machi 本興善町, Ushiro Kōzen-machi 後興善町, Kanaya-machi 金屋町, Shin-machi 新町, Bungo-machi 豊後町, Uchi Naka-machi 内中町, Sakura-machi 桜町, Edo-machi 江戸町, Ogawa-machi 小川町, Uchi Shita-machi 内下町, Tsuki-machi 築町, and Hikichi-machi 引地町. It should be noted, however, that Funazu-machi is likely to predate the founding of the city, and that Sakura-machi, originally the location of the cemetery of the old citadel, was known as Cruz-machi from the 1580's until well into the Kan'ei period (1623-1642). It is also doubtful that Edo-machi was known by that name in Christian Nagasaki, when it was usually referred to as "the beach" (e.g. Fróis, *Historia*, vol. 5, 418). According to Etchū 1978, frontispiece, Ogawa-machi (also: Kogawa-machi) was not part of Uchimachi. Where Shita-machi, Tsuki-machi, and Hikichi-machi are concerned, moreover, these *machi* were all built on reclaimed land, and so it may be doubted whether they were already established in the 1590's.

35 It is unclear which of the later *machi* in this area were already in existence in the early 1590's: Ogawa-machi 小川町, Yaoya-machi 八百屋町, Higashi Naka-machi 東中町, Nishi Naka-machi 西中町, Higashi Uwa-machi 東上町, Nishi Uwa-machi 西上町, Kami Chikugo-machi 上筑後町, Shimo Chikugo-machi 下筑後町, Daikoku-machi 大黒町, and Ebisu-machi 恵美須町.

36 On the right bank of the river, we may be quite sure that Uonomachi 魚の町, the fish market, and Ima Hakata-machi 今博多町, a brothel quarter, were already in existence in 1593. Other machi, like Zaimoku-machi 材木町, may also have been started by this time. On the left bank, Furukawa-machi 古川町 already housed the Kawata カワタ community of Nagasaki, which at this very time was receiving reinforcements from all over Kyushu to fill all the orders for leather products demanded by Hideyoshi's Korean invasion force (Fujiwara 1990, 66).

37 Shimizu 2001, 336.

38 In 1593, the Jesuits in Nagasaki were divided over two residences. In the Casa da Misericórdia, next to the Misericórdia church in Moto Hakata-machi, resided the padres Antonio Lopes, Rector, João de Crasto, the Society's Procurator, Damião Marim, and Antonio Cordeiro, as well as the Portuguese brother Ambrosio Fernandes and the Japanese brothers Sugi Gomes and Yoho Paulo. In the Casa of Todos os Santos at Sakurababa resided the Viceprovincial Pedro Gomez, and the padres Francisco Pasio, Pero da Cruz, Pero Paulo, the Portuguese brothers João Rodrigues, Mateo de Couros, and Gaspar de Paiva, as well as Japanese brother Miki Paulo (Schütte 1975, 286-7, 328).

the shore of Nagasaki Bay or in Kabashima-machi, just under the city wall near the landing pier of Ōhato 大波止 with its steps leading into water.<sup>39</sup> These were the *machi* known for their accommodations for visitors of the city from other parts of Japan. The innkeeper and his brother both were Christians and introduced themselves to their guest by their Christian given names, Luis and Jacob. After “checking in,” Shigekiyo went out through the dark to make a courtesy call, taking a small sword and a fan as presents. He found no one at home, however. Again, he does not tell us where he went, but as he went after dark, it is likely that he preferred not to be seen entering the gate of the person he went to visit, so it must have been some notable Nagasaki Christian, whose residence in Uchimachi Shigekiyo may have checked out on his walk through the town while it was still light. We remember that, while still at Nagoya, Shigekiyo was given a letter of introduction by Akazuchi Kanza to a man called Jeronimo.

Among the great merchants of Nagasaki, there was one whose Christian name was Jeronimo and whose Japanese name was Takashima Shirōbei Shigeharu Ryōetsu 高島四郎兵衛茂春良悦 (1558-1622). The Takashima were descended from the Sasaki branch of the Ōmi Genji 近江源氏. They had originally been owners of the Takashima estate 高島荘 in Ōmi, the area around Lake Biwa. After Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) had defeated their overlord Asai Nagamasa 浅井長政 (1545-1573) in 1573, they lost their holdings and fled to Kyushu, where they first settled in the Fujitsu 藤津 district of Hizen.<sup>40</sup>

The next year, Takashima Hachirōbei 八郎兵衛 and his son Shirōbei came to Nagasaki. Considering their illustrious pedigree as well as the fact that they were able to settle in Ōmura-machi of the old citadel, it is likely that they had an important patron. No one but Ōmura Sumitada had the influence to introduce outsiders into the elite of Nagasaki. Shirōbei was baptised, and under his Christian name he later joined Takagi Luis, Gotō Thomé, and Machida João as the *tōnin* 頭人 or headmen of Nagasaki.

These men were the town’s most powerful Christian merchants, closely allied to the Jesuits, who used them as a front for their influence in the city’s government. By 1593, these men seem to have been recognised by Hideyoshi as the town’s *machidoshiyori* 町年寄 or “mayors.”<sup>41</sup> It may have been prudence, on Shigekiyo’s part, to avoid a daytime visit to such a figure. Anyway, it seems that Jeronimo was out of town, and thus the letter of introduction did not serve its purpose of having someone from a *machidoshiyori* household broker the purchases Shigekiyo was going to make for his lord in Nagasaki. It must have been a disappointment and setback for Shigekiyo.

However, the identification of the Jeronimo of this entry in Shigekiyo’s diary with Takashima Shirōbei allows us a rare opportunity to pinpoint Shigekiyo’s destination on this summer night of 1593. The Takashima residence was exceptionally large. It covered 1024 *tsubo* (or almost one whole acre) in Ōmura-machi, the center of the Old Citadel, which

39 For a contemporary depiction of these steps, see Sakamoto 2008, 2 and 4.

40 *Takashimake yuishogaki*, quoted in Nagasakishi kyōiku iinkai 1992, 16. The district was occupied in 1575 by the troops of the Ryūzōji (Toyama 1981, 189), and so may have already been in danger when the Takashima decided to leave.

the family held tax free.<sup>42</sup> Jeronimo was married to a daughter of Itayama Geki 板山外記, an Arima retainer.<sup>43</sup> As *machidoshiyori*, Jeronimo Takashima was one of the representatives of the city of Nagasaki, responsible for the collection of taxes and the administration of justice.<sup>44</sup> Like other cities, such as Sakai, Nagasaki was granted a high degree of autonomy by the country's military rulers.<sup>45</sup> Takashima and his colleagues were vastly richer than Hideyoshi's samurai representatives in the city, who were charged with no more than taking care of the ruler's personal share in the foreign trade, the imposition of his taxes, and the implementation of his foreign policy.<sup>46</sup>

That night, after he had returned to his inn, his landlord came to make a courtesy visit. The man's attitude was so deferential as to make Shigekiyo feel he needed to put him at ease by offering him some food. To eat together was a friendly gesture, and, as we have just seen, Shigekiyo needed a friend in Nagasaki fast. The long and the short of it was that Shigekiyo hired Rinsu as his agent to do his shopping in Nagasaki, a service such innkeepers often provided for their guests. It was better to have a local person do your shopping in Nagasaki, otherwise one might end up paying far more than necessary.

As a measure of goodwill, Shigekiyo bought from his landlord two rolls of high quality silk and 300 grams of musk, each for 110 *momme*. The damask had been imported and sold wholesale possibly for as much as 300 *taels* per *picul* (60 kilograms).<sup>47</sup> If one roll of silk weighed a kilogram, each roll would have cost about five *taels* or fifty *momme* (one *tael* = ten *momme*). Two selling for 110 *momme*, then, represented possibly only a modest mark-up of ten percent for the innkeeper.

41 The office of *machidoshiyori* seems to have been established in 1592 (Nagasaki shiyakusho 1926, 581).

42 *Nagasaki meika ryakufu*, 599. By the Shōtoku period (1711-1715), this had shrunk to 416 *tsubo* at the disposal of the 6<sup>th</sup> generation of the Takashima family, represented by Takashima Sakubei (Nagasakishi kyōiku iinkai 1992, 16).

43 They had eight children, the oldest of whom, Shōsabarō, became a drummer and pupil of the Noh expert Kanze Matajirō. He ended his life punished for unfilial behavior in Hamanomachi, a lower class street on partially reclaimed land near the mouth of the Nakajima River. His fourth child Shigesada married a daughter of the Suetsugu overseas trading family and succeeded Jeronimo after his death in 1622 (NPL *Takashimake keifu*). His fifth child, a daughter, became the wife of Machida Sukezaemon, a son of João Machida, after whose death she remarried with Matsuoka Hanzaemon (NPL *Takashimake keifu*). His sixth child, also a daughter, married Yokose Shichibei, another member of a prominent Nagasaki Christian family (Yūki 1984b, 5). His seventh child, a boy, was adopted into the Funamoto family as Funamoto Yazaemon, son of Funamoto Yashichirō. Funamoto Yashichirō Gentei 船本弥七郎顯定 took over the family business from his father Yaheiji around 1598. In contrast to the Suetsugu, the Funamoto boarded their own ships and were known personally in the countries with which they traded (Peri 1923, 60). For his numerous *shuinjō*, see Kawashima 1921, 75, and *Tsūkō Ichiran*, IV, 173, 506. The Funamoto were one of the most important trading houses of Nagasaki, specialising in the route to Cochin China and Annam (present-day Vietnam). Finally, Jeronimo's grandson Shirōbei Shigesato would later marry a daughter of Pedro Takagi (NPL *Takashimake keifu*). Even if we do not know much about Jeronimo's own career, the marriage alliances he made through his children alone show how influential he was among the citizens of Nagasaki.

44 This would be true until 1715, when the Bakufu assigned this duty to the Nagasaki *bugyō* (Shimizu 1984, 407).

45 For Sakai, see Morris 1970, 1977, 1981.

46 Shimizu 1984, 408.

Musk was a perfume much in demand. The Italian slave trader Francesco Carletti, who visited Nagasaki with his father a few years after Shigekiyo writes in his famous travelogue:

Many authors are mistaken about the way it is prepared, and for that reason I have brought your Highness the whole skin of an adult animal, including the bladder, which is nothing other than the navel of the animal, that hangs down under the body and is filled with its famous perfume.<sup>48</sup> In size and shape, the animal is like one of our smaller foxes, and it has this sack-shaped bladder filled with musk, which grows naturally in it. The Chinese thin the musk down adding other mixtures, so that with the contents of one navel pocket they make three or four others, using the skin of the animal to make more bladders. They sell these fake navel pockets to the Indians living there and sell the real ones to the Portuguese, but the contents of these have also been diluted.

It is a fact that one can only be sure to buy real, undiluted musk, when the navel pocket is still attached to the skin. For this reason, the Chinese give a carat rating to the musk, just like we do with gold. The best musk is twelve carats, and these carats are called *mattes*. But nobody gets to see the musk in this form, and it is not for sale, just like twenty-four carat gold is not for sale. Musk of nine or ten *mattes* is considered very good merchandise, but often the musk is so diluted that with additions that it barely has six or seven *mattes*. These kinds of inferior quality musk, however, never make it all the way to Europe, because they are used by the Japanese, the Siamese, the Cambodians, the Sumatrans, and many other places in the Indies.<sup>49</sup>

#### 4. 26 August 1593: Shigekiyo's Second Day in Nagasaki

I go and see the black ship 黒舟. I also see the white ships 白舟. I pay a call to Arishandei and we drink sake. I treat the two captains to *pan*. We drink sake. I buy three *kin* [1350 grams]<sup>50</sup> of gin チン for forty-five *momme* and three jars, one for eight *momme*, [one roll of] scarlet damask ヒドンス<sup>51</sup> for sixty-eight *momme*. I pay three *momme* to the go-between, but this is in official silver.<sup>52</sup> I divide up the musk. I buy another 336 *momme* of gin [1250 grams] for thirty-two *momme* nine *bu* [in silver], so altogether I can bring His Lordship 720 *momme* [2600 grams] while still retaining ten *momme* four *bu* [39 grams] for myself. I buy a cape カツハ for 104 *me*, and [a roll of] damask for fifty *me*. I buy a roll of patterned silk 段子 壺巻 for twenty *momme*. This will be for Yamasei, [I buy] also a hem of cotton brocade 金ら

47 Archivo General de Indias (Seville, Spain), Patronato 46, ramo 31; Shiryōhensanjo 7519-29-2, ff. 85-94.

48 Actually a small gland near the testicles of a species of small deer from Central Asia.

49 Carletti 1966, 182-3. Carletti was in Nagasaki from June 1597 until March of 1598.

50 These are so-called “water-transport” *kin*, usually calculated at 25% less than the regular ones which are calculated at 600 grams.

51 緋段子.

52 公儀良.

んノハシ<sup>53</sup> for five *momme* five *bu*. Also, for twenty-two *momme* one rol of satin ムリヤウ,<sup>54</sup> and a golden sake cup for one *momme* two *bu*, the latter two [items] for myself. I buy two *to* 斗 of rice [a little over 36 liters] for two *momme*. The two footmen go to change the silver. I am shown a small gun that does not need a fuse 火繩不入ノ小鉄 and eat some Southern Barbarian pickles as well as some white sugar. At night my landlord brings out the sake and I listen to someone playing the *shamisen*. For lunch we had a wheat dish.

In 1593, the *nao* of Gaspar Pinto da Roca was lying at anchor in Nagasaki Bay,<sup>55</sup> as were several Chinese junks from Fujian. Somehow Shigekiyo's landlord had known how to arrange a visit to the Portuguese ship, known as the Black Ship in Japan. The upper deck and hull of these carracks used to be painted "in dark colour known as *roxo-terra*, which went on substituted by yellow, black and red in the later years,"<sup>56</sup> just like these ships are depicted on the *nanban* screens.

In contrast, the Chinese ships are called the white ships in the Japanese text of the diary, for instead of the black hull of the Portuguese vessels, their hulls were painted white above the waterline with a round eye on both sides of their bow to ward off the evil forces of the ocean.<sup>57</sup> It is unclear whether these Chinese junks had come to Nagasaki for their own account, or whether they were just craft accompanying the *nao*, filled with merchandise belonging to the merchants from Macao. Because of Hideyoshi's recent [1592] invasion of Korea, 1593 must have been a difficult year for those Chinese ships that did reach Japan, while between 1594 and 1600 very few Chinese traders dared to cross the China Sea.<sup>58</sup>

Once more, Shigekiyo paid a call to the man called Alexandre, who as we have seen may have been introduced to him by the Osaka merchants he had met in Hirado. Thus, he probably also served as an agent for Shigekiyo's purchases in Nagasaki. Before any purchases could be made, however, a relationship needed to be established through drinking and eating together. Alexandre offered *sake*, while Shigekiyo offered bread to the captains. It is unclear who these may have been. Possibly, they were the captains of two Chinese junks in the bay, staying in the same inn as Shigekiyo.

Next, Shigekiyo succeeded in buying some strong liquor, called gin, for 45 *momme* (90,000 yen), which was divided over three jars, each costing the modern equivalent of 16,000 yen, quite apart from the cost of the liquor itself! He paid sixty-eight *momme* for a roll of scarlet damask, or eighteen *momme* more than he had paid his landlord the night before. That way, indeed, one's money disappeared quickly in Nagasaki. The go-between

53 金欄の端.

54 六糸緞.

55 Boxer 1963, 57-8; Hesselink 2012, 41.

56 Matthew 1988, 297-8.

57 For a contemporary depiction of these white painted hulls, see Sakamoto 2008, 278-9.

58 Chang 1970, 60.

(a Portuguese resident of Nagasaki?<sup>59</sup>) received three *momme* for his services, but in the more expensive, officially minted silver.

It seems that Shigekiyo next returned to his lodgings where he divided up the musk he had bought from his landlord the day before. Then, he made more purchases, presumably with his landlord as the intermediary. He bought more gin and a Portuguese cape, the sign of the *casado* or married man (but at a cost of no less than the equivalent of 208,000 yen!). We are reminded of the Portuguese fashions at Hideyoshi's court.<sup>60</sup> Next, he bought more rolls of silk, and a hem of brocade. For himself, he bought a roll of the thinner and cheaper *murō* silk (satin) and a golden sake cup. Finally, he bought a sizeable amount of rice. Next, he sent his two footmen to go and change some of his lord's silver for him. This probably means that it was changed into strings of copper coins, which could be used for making smaller purchases the next day.

Altogether, Shigekiyo spent 377 *momme*, 6 *bu* on this day, or about 755,000 yen in today's money. 237 *momme*, 6 *bu* (or roughly 475,000 yen) he is likely to have spent through the intermediary of his innkeeper. No wonder that, that night, a happy innkeeper brought out *sake*, music, and girls to serve his guest.

## 5. 27 August 1593: Shigekiyo's Third Day in Nagasaki

I buy twenty *kin* [9 kilograms] of purple dye スハウ<sup>61</sup> for eleven *momme*, which I will share with Yamasei. I also buy ten *kin* [4.5 kilograms] of petrol ツチ<sup>62</sup> for five *momme* two *bu* including two boxes. I will give eight *kin* to Yamasei. I buy a handgun 手火矢<sup>63</sup> for 120 *me* two *bu*, including gunpowder. I buy half a roll of damask for twenty-two *momme*, and nine gold-colored teapots for nine *momme*. I buy a scale ねいてんく<sup>64</sup> for four *bu* five *rin*, a writing box for one *momme* seven *bu*, twenty-five hairpins かミとめ for one *momme*. In Nagasaki two *to* of rice costs two *momme*. From Jacobe arrives some wine. I send a fan to Arishandei. I buy two bundles of 3000 needles for five *momme* two *bu*. I borrow two *momme* six *bu* from Uma 右馬 and buy another writing box for one *momme* seven *bu*. A messenger arrives from Nagoya, who brings a letter from Hanehiko 羽彦.<sup>65</sup> I exchange two *momme* of silver with the captain. For lunch, we had rice in hot water.

27 August was again exclusively a shopping day. First, Shigekiyo bought a considerable quantity of *suō*, a red or purple dye made from sappan wood imported from Malaysia

59 Kobata 1957, 189.

60 Cooper 1974, 104.

61 蘇方.

62 土[の油].

63 *Vocabulario* 1603, 252v.

64 釐等具.

65 羽田彦左衛門 Haneda Hikozaemon?

or Cambodia, and also mentioned by Carletti.<sup>66</sup> It is interesting to see that “earth oil” or petrol was already being sold in Japan. It was unrefined of course and occurred naturally in Persia or elsewhere in the Middle East.

Shigekiyo writes that he bought a handgun on this day for the modern equivalent of 240,000 yen or more than two thousand dollars. In his diary entry for the day before, Shigekiyo had already informed us that he was shown a small gun that “did not need a fuse,” likely a reference to the wheel lock pistol. In contrast, guns manufactured in Japan at that time were all matchlocks and would remain so until the nineteenth century.<sup>67</sup> Clearly, the shopping list he had received on the day of his departure from his lord Satake Yoshizumi had included this gadget. Its high price, however, had made him hesitate before buying.

Next, Shigekiyo bought half a roll more of damask and nine gold-colored teapots, the latter also a result of the fashions at Hideyoshi’s court, where a lavish use of gold was the hallmark of the daimyo tea ceremony at the time.<sup>68</sup> Some smaller and less expensive items were next: a scale, a writing box, hairpins, two bundles of needles. It is likely that these items were bought without any intermediaries in some of Nagasaki’s shops.<sup>69</sup>

Shigekiyo may not have had enough copper cash on him and therefore had to borrow some from his companion Nogami Uma. This is the only time, while in Nagasaki, that Shigekiyo mentions this man who, it may be remembered, had left with him from Nagoya to Nagasaki on the same day. It indicates that they had been together all this time and that they generally were on good terms. Obviously, only sometimes they went out shopping together.

Having come home again, Shigekiyo sent Alessandro a fan and received (a bottle of?) wine from Jacob, the innkeeper’s brother, who may have been thanking Shigekiyo for having made some purchases via him. Then, a messenger arrived bringing a letter from Nagoya from a certain Hanehiko. Again, Shigekiyo changed some silver into copper coins, this time with one of the (Chinese) captains, who, always hungry for pure silver, may have stayed in the same inn. All in all, Shigekiyo spent 167 *momme*, 4 *bu*, 5 *rin* or the equivalent of about 376,000 yen on this day.

## 6. 28 August 1593: Shigekiyo’s Last Day in Nagasaki

Southern barbarian writing. I buy *muryō* ムリヤウ silk for Yamasei for twenty *momme* and damask for forty-five *momme*, two [pieces of] soap シヤボン for five *momme*, nine *momme* [4050 grams?] of dragon brain 龍ノフ<sup>70</sup> for forty-five *momme* two *bu*, and a jar for three

66 Carletti 1966, 165.

67 The wheel lock was in use in Europe since the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Hall 1997, 191-2).

68 Varley and Elison 1981, 218-9.

69 The metal items may have been bought in Kanaya-machi.

70 龍腦.

*bu*. For myself, I buy more than three *kin* [1350 grams?] of *asen*-medicine アセンヤク<sup>71</sup> for three *momme* eight *bu*. I prepare six bags of needles, five as presents for people and one as a mid-summer present for my lord. I buy for ten *momme* eight *bu* a set of *shippōruri* シツホウ<sup>72</sup> plates including small plates, also a glass vase for two *momme* and fifty rings for nine *bu*, the latter two both for myself. I pay for three nights lodging two *momme* five *bu* and tip the servants four *bu*. At sunset we go on board and travel for about two *ri*.<sup>73</sup>

This was the last day of Shigekiyo's stay in Nagasaki, and so after this day his diary is no longer of direct concern to us. Before leaving the city in the late afternoon, he went out in the morning for some last minute shopping. Somewhere along the way, he saw some *nanban kotobagaki* ナンバン言ハ書, or alphabetic writing. It is unclear whether he saw someone in the act of writing, or whether he saw something written or printed on a piece of paper, but the image of lines written horizontally was novel enough to him to warrant this short notice in his diary. Next, he bought some more rolls of satin and damask, two pieces of soap, a little over four kilograms of "dragon brain" and a jar to put it in so that it would not lose its potency.

This latter product is the resin of a tall-growing hardwood tree from Borneo and Sumatra that was used as a high quality camphor, insect repellent, and air freshener. For himself, Shigekiyo bought the crystallised extract of the madder plant, used as a dye and called *cacho* by the Portuguese,<sup>74</sup> the main effective component of which is catechin with its anti-oxydant and anti-bacterial properties. Shigekiyo seems to have had a personal interest in exotic medicines.

Next, he divided the needles he had bought the day before, preparing six bags to give away, each presumably with one thousand needles. He went shopping once more and bought for his lord a set of the colourful, often gold-rimmed pottery, known as *shippōruri* or *shippōyaki*, which is still famous today as the type of porcelain used for lavish Nagasaki-style banquets or *shippoku ryōri* 卓袱料理. For himself, he bought a glass vase and fifty rings. Again, it is not clear what kind of rings these were and what purpose they may have served. He paid his bill to the innkeeper, this time giving only four *bu*, or a little over sixteen percent of his bill, to the *genin-domo* (servants) of the inn, using the plural *domo* emphatically, so the reader may know they all had to share in this reward, meager if compared to what the female in Matsuura on Shigekiyo's first night away from Nagoya had received. The day's expenses were 135 *momme*, 9 *bu* or about 272,000 yen.

Altogether, Shigekiyo spent during his three-day stay in Nagasaki 750 *momme*, 9 *bu* and 5 *rin*, of which, as far as I can determine, 45 *momme* 5 *bu* was for the friend called Yamasei, 14 *momme* for Izumi Rai, and 40 *momme* 6 *bu* for himself. Of the 1200 *momme* he had received from his lord on the day of his departure from Nagoya, therefore, he had

71 阿仙薬.

72 七宝瑠離.

73 Total spent in Nagasaki: 1593.08.25: 245*m*, 5*b* + 1593.08.26: 377*m*, 6*b* + 1593.08.27: 172*m*, 5*r* + 1593.08.28: 135*m*, 9*b* = 1131*m*, 5*r*.

74 *Vocabulario* 1603, 16*r*.

spent just over one half, or about 650 *momme*. Of the total amount he spent in Nagasaki, a little more than half (342.5 *momme*) was used to buy silk products: Shigekiyo bought rolls of different damask every single day he was in Nagasaki. Clearly, superior Chinese silk products were the items most desired by the upper-class in Japan.

Of the other things Shigekiyo bought in Nagasaki, only the Portuguese cape and the handgun were imports from Europe, and even the cape may have been sewn in Nagasaki from imported Portuguese cloth. The other articles were all of a durable kind. Interestingly, we don't find him buying the articles mentioned by the *renga* poet Matsunaga Teitoku 松永貞徳 (1571-1653), i.e. the well-known *Nagasaki-miyage* 長崎土産 (souvenirs from Nagasaki) of the time, such as "a tub of eggs hardened in sugar, and ginger preserved in honey in a pot," both imports from China as well.<sup>75</sup>

Although but a short text, Shigekiyo's entries on his visit to Nagasaki form a valuable and little-known source in Japanese on the early history of the city, essentially corroborating what we know from contemporary Portuguese and Spanish accounts about the city's function as the entry port for products from China, Southeast Asia, and Europe. We get some glimpses of things we did not know before: that, for example, petrol could be bought there, as well as wheel lock pistols, albeit at a forbiddingly high price.

It is likely that the wheel lock mechanism underwent the same scrutiny from Japanese craftsmen as the matchlocks had received ever since these had first been brought to Tanegashima by the Portuguese in 1543.<sup>76</sup> The fact that no record has been preserved about a wheel lock produced in Japan would suggest that its replication proved too challenging without assistance from a European expert craftsman. The wheel lock mechanism, using some of the same elements developed for clocks in Europe, was of a complexity that defied simple copying.<sup>77</sup> Here, then, we have another piece of the puzzle that lies at the very core of the debate on the European military revolution of the last two decades.<sup>78</sup> That is: in how far was European technology really in advance over its Asian counterpart to give it the advantages crucial to the European "expansion."<sup>79</sup>

75 Cf. *Teitoku bunshū* 貞徳文集, quoted in Adachi 1969, 209.

76 Cf. Lidin 2002.

77 Hall 1997, 191.

78 For a recent summary of the debate see Andrade 2011, 6-18.

79 I have already said the same about the technology of mortar casting and, especially their methods of firing and aiming which used the principles of trigonometry. These were studied in vain by some Japanese officials in the 1630's and 1640's, see Hesselink 2002, 148, 161-2.

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