



## **MRI FORUM 9**

### **Gutenberg comes to East Asia: The Jesuit Mission Press in China & Japan (1590-1620)**

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**L**adies and gentlemen, it's a privilege and honor to address you today at the Macao Ricci Institute. Thank you very much for coming this evening to this lecture.

I promise to do my best to try not to be too boring. Not knowing of course the exact composition of my audience until a few moments ago, I've tried to steer a middle course between a highly-specialized lecture for experts in Chinese-Western or Japanese-Western cultural history on the one hand, and a jargon-free talk for the general educated public on the other.

I apologize in advance both to those who will find me repeating the obvious and to those who might still find that I'm presuming too much specialized knowledge. I do hope, nevertheless, that both groups will find something interesting in this presentation. And let's hope that this computer works till the very end.

I shall begin, first of all, with some general remarks and then I shall introduce some of the missionaries and the religious, cultural and educational activities in Japan between 1573 and 1600. I shall be mainly talking about the high-tech missionary strategy for Japan and how it inextricably was linked to European educational ideas ingeniously adapted to East-Asian cultures in general and Japanese culture in particular.

**O**n the memorable day, in 1543, when the Portuguese were continuing their explorations, here, in the South China Sea, their ship was caught in

a storm that brought them hundreds of miles further north than they expected to travel. Soon their ship had run aground off the southern tip of Kyushu at Tanegashima Island, these “barbarians from the South,” as the Japanese were to soon refer to them, had literally stumbled across the fabled island kingdom of Zipangu or Japan, which Marco Polo had mentioned in his famous travel diaries. Thus a new encounter was born between East and West.

Soon the Portuguese developed a thriving trade in silk and other commodities with the Japanese, having first established a trading post here and in the Chinese port of Macao. They were the first to introduce guns and gunpowder to Japan. We see here the so-called “Black Ship” (*kuro fune*) of the Portuguese, as depicted on a 17th century Japanese screen painting.

And now something about Christianity coming to Japan. Six years after the arrival of the Portuguese in 1549, after having received the blessing of the Pope and the king of Portugal, the most famous missionary in Asia at the time, Francis Xavier, reached the shores of Kagoshima in southern Kyushu, on a Portuguese ship, and began the proclamation of Christianity on Japanese soil.

In today’s presentation, we shall fast forward in time to the second generation of Jesuit missionaries, active in the country from the 1570s until the early 1600s, a group lead by the charismatic, flamboyant, definitely a difficult character, and creative Italian, Alessandro Valignano, whose policies were to define a new way of interacting with the peoples of Japan and China, and whose work is still being meaningfully studied 400 years after his death.

In this folding screen painting, we see the Jesuit missionaries conferring both with the Portuguese and the Japanese. They are typically depicted in long and flowing black robes and capes, exceptionally tall figures with long noses and large eyes. Of course it makes them foreign devils both to the Japanese and to the Chinese.

Most specifically, we shall explore Valignano’s conception of Christianity: what does this mean? And its cultural impact on Warring-States Japan, and also we shall take a short look at his educational strategies, the schools, textbooks and the beginning of a Japanese Christian literature.

That brings us to a central theme also in today’s presentation: an overview of the introduction of European printing in Japan, the great information technology revolution of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

We shall specifically take a close look at Valignano’s two-prong intellectual strategy based on education and the use of the printing press. And finally we shall explore through examples, through images, some samples of famous and rare books which were produced by the so-called Jesuit Mission Press.

So let us first briefly introduce Alessandro Valignano, a key figure in this high-tech approach to missionary activity in Japan. As you probably know, he was an Italian from a noble Norman family, born in Chieti, in the Kingdom of Naples. And his education is important: he was a graduate in Law, both Canon and Civil Law, of the University of Padua in the Republic of Venice. And certainly this background was very important for what he was to do later on.

In 1573, he was appointed by Everard Mercurian, the General Superior of the Society of Jesus, as the so-called Visitor, or the person in charge, of all Jesuit missions in the so-called "East Indies", or *Indias Orientales*, India, China and Japan. He was also the founder of colleges both here in Macao, as you know, in 1594, and in Japan earlier in 1580. He was the mastermind of this new approach for East Asia and we will see a little bit in detail what this meant.

Of course, it would not be right not to mention the fact that he acted as mentor and the superior to Matteo Ricci, in whose Institute we are this evening, whom he entrusted with the mission of learning Chinese and entering into contact with Chinese intellectuals and the Chinese mandarins' class. And in fact Matteo Ricci, in one of his letters, calls Valignano, "the father of the Jesuit Chinese mission." I don't think that was an exaggeration.

Coming back to Japan, let us say that he paid three official visits to Japan. The first was during the time of the War Lord Oda Nobunaga, from 1579 to 1582. The second during the War Lord Toyotomi Hideyoshi, from the 1590 to 1592; and Hideyoshi, as you might recall, invaded Korea and also had great plans of conquering all of China. You could be happy to know that he did not manage to put this into practice. And between 1598 and 1601, he came back to Japan a third time during the reign of the new *Shogun* and the new dynasty, under Tokugawa Ieyasu. So, he really was in Japan during three very particular moments of Japanese history. He also paid numerous visits to Macao on his way from India to Japan and back here to Macao, and sometimes he would also go back to India.

Here I put some of the dates: 1578-1579 before his first visit to Japan, after his first visit to Japan; then two years on his way back from India, and then from 1592 to 1594, once again after his time in Japan of 1597, 1598 and after his last departure from Japan in 1603 until his death in 1606. So, he spent about ten years in Japan and about another ten years here in China.

He was a prolific writer of letters, reports and many different types of treatises: catechetical, descriptive, apologetic, ethnographical; you could say apologetic, specifically against the accusations made by the Franciscans and the Dominicans, and he was also the author of many mission policy

statements. So we have quite a great number of writings of this man, most of which still remain in fact unpublished.

**I**n order to understand the historical context of the Jesuit missionaries' work in Japan, we must briefly mention what was going on in the country during this period. The Jesuits could not have come at a worst time: civil war had broken out in 1467 and the missionaries' time coincided with the tumultuous process of unification of the country initiated by the two brilliant military leaders I mentioned a moment ago, Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and completed by Tokugawa Ieyasu after the final decisive battle of 1600. Of course Valignano was in Japan during the time of this unification.

Here we have two different periods, the first is the Azuchi-Momoyama period from 1573 to 1603 under these two leaders (just to give you an idea of Japanese historiography) and then, of course, the beginning of the Tokugawa period which begins with Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1603 and continues all the way to the 19<sup>th</sup> century until 1867 when the Meiji restoration took place.

**W**hat is this *Christianitas* in Early Modern Japan? Under these circumstances, what sort of missionary work did the Jesuits do and what concept of Christianity – and I used here the Latin term in a very specific way which I will explain. I would like to introduce in fact a broad concept of *Christianitas*, which encompasses not only the Christian faith and doctrine, but also its cultural, its social and its political expression – and this is especially relevant to the Renaissance and the Reformation period in Europe. It was certainly a transmission of the faith, a *propagatio fidei*, and this was part of the missionary side that is a direct preaching of the Gospel to the people. However it also involved an aspect of faith education, a creation of a hybrid European/Japanese – and obviously through the work of Matteo Ricci and others over a longer period of time in China, a hybrid European/Chinese spirituality; and in the case of Japan, a liturgy for Japan, including new rites of Baptism, Funeral Rites, Eucharist and Confession; and (but of course I'm not going to speak about it) much more dramatically in China: the whole Rites Controversy that that engendered as this experiment move forward. Also in Japan, there was an attempt at using the medium of theatre and music as a means of faith education.

Translation work was equally very important: the prayers first of all, like the Lord's Prayer, the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the *Salve Regina* and the *Credo* had to be first translated. Also Scripture for the Liturgy had to be translated, and summaries of Christian doctrine, mainly in dialogue form, which was typical once again of a Renaissance model; also various books in spiritual theology, and treatises later on for the schools, and philosophy, astronomy and theology.

The education or foundation of schools was deemed both possible “and necessary” (this is what Valignano says), and one of his great decisions was to concentrate on the formation of a native clergy. Although he didn’t have much esteem for the culture of India – unfortunately – he still made that rather revolutionary decision to begin the formation of a native clergy. There was a perceived need to educate both the European and native missionaries (so: those entering the Society and the Church in Japan and China) in both Western and Eastern classics. And this is of course what makes his approach so original.

So, during his first visitation in Japan, Valignano established in 1581 schools for boys aged 12 to 18 in Arima, which is in Kyushu, and Azuchi, which is near present day Kyoto. He also established in Kyushu a novitiate for Japanese novices in the small town of Usuki. In that same year, he found a college of higher learning in philosophy and theology, for those who had moved on now and had entered the Society of Jesus, at Funai (and I’m going to show you a map in a moment, so it will help you to look at these places). He also writes these very important “guidelines for the schools” that he calls the *Regimento para os seminários* and here, in this *Regimento*, he mentions that he feels optimistic about being able to print it in both Latin and Japanese (and by this he also means obviously Chinese type — more about this of course in a moment). As with benefactors today — the Ricci Institute also needs its own benefactors—all Jesuit institutions in Japan came under the patronage of powerful and wealthy figures. In this case, it was the *Daimyo* or local Lord, what we would call, if we translated into Chinese: the 大名 *Daming*, so: the man who had the Great Name, who was the War Lord. It was the *Daimyo* or local War Lord who granted the land and permission to build the school and guaranteed its protection in the midst of Civil War.

Here are some drawings that were made in the 16<sup>th</sup> century of what we think might be a design of what these institutions look like. This is Arima under the protection and patronage Arima Harunobu, a local Lord. In Azuchi, near Kyōtō, we have the Great War Lord himself, Oda Nobunaga, who sponsored it, and in Usuki and Funai, we have Ōtomo Yoshishige, who, being a great man of culture himself, had a great influence, through the idea of inculturation and culture adaptation, on Valignano.

Here we have this beautiful 16<sup>th</sup> century map, by Mercator, of Japan —of course, parts of the country are missing: you may notice that Hokkaido of the northern islands was not known at this time and is missing. And here of course, we have the southern island of Kyushu. Now let’s take a look at Kyushu: here we have already a mention of Funai and Usuki, where the college and the novitiate were. And here is the modern map of Kyushu in the Warring Sates period and you can see Funai and Arima and Usuki; Funai is the present day city of Oita, in Japan.

Why this importance of printing in Warring States Japan? Let us hear what Diogo de Mesquita (1553-1614), one Portuguese missionary, has to say. He says: “During these persecutions, especially when priests cannot travel freely through the territories of Christians whose lords are pagans, it is impossible to exaggerate the wonderful results obtained by these books, for they serve as preachers to the Christians. With this help, both the persecuted and non-persecuted are confirmed in their faith and their customs.” He is writing of course once the press has already been active for sometime.

The printing press was supposed to promote a number of purposes. First of all, the educational purpose obviously was didactic: the production of textbooks. But it was to serve a further purpose and that was the creation and divulgation of a new Japanese Christian literature. And so we must finally say something about this revolutionary invention of the printing press and how and why it came to be introduced to Japan.

Let us take a short historical overview. What is this first “IT revolution”? We now return to Europe where the first information technology revolution in the western world began when, in 1450, the German goldsmith Johannes Gutenberg, starting to look for ways to produce books which would not require the time-consuming copying by hand, a traditional technique which had been perfected at monasteries throughout Europe, where monks beautifully illuminated texts with their own drawings and paintings. While their products were beautiful works of art, they were relatively few and accessible only to a very limited audience.

Gutenberg was determined to come up with a new contraption, so to speak, that would make production of books simpler, less expensive, and less time consuming. He both adopted and adapted the concept of the winepress and built a machine with numerous moveable parts, each of which could be adjusted so as to exert the exact amount of pressure needed to impress fade-resistant ink onto paper. He devised an ingenious system of punching the positive shape of individual letters with very hard steel onto a blank copper matrix. The matrix was then placed inside a special mould into which a low-melting alloy containing lead, antimony, and tin was poured. This would produce the so-called type letters, which could thus be cast again and again.

The individual letters could then be arranged in any order to create words, sentences, and entire pages of text, and ultimately any book of any length. What resulted was an entire workshop, where expert craftsmen would first carve the steel punches to produce the matrices and cast the type by using the moulds; others would then arrange the type of the text to be printed; another group would place the paper in the press, carefully ink the metal type, and

press the metal type onto the paper, making the impressions which we call the “printed page.”

Gutenberg did not become famous, however, until he embarked on his grand project of producing a multi-colored edition of the entire Latin Bible, known as the Gutenberg or Mazarin or 42-line Bible, which he completed in the German city of Mainz around 1454-1455. Only approximately 180 copies were ever printed, of which 48 partial copies survive today. Not only was it the first modern book ever printed in the West, it was the beginning of a new age in Information Technology, as we refer to it today. And here we see, of course, an example of a page, a beautiful page that was also later hand-colored, of Gutenberg 42-lined Mazarin Bible.

To sum up the importance of this revolutionary invention, which can only be compared in influence to today’s invention of the Information highway of the Internet, we must mention several important defining factors which became possible as a direct result of Gutenberg’s invention: first of all, simple and rapid composition, editing of texts through typesetting, the possibility of printing hundreds or thousands of copies, inexpensive production and distribution of books and, perhaps more importantly, the dissemination and sharing of ideas, of information and of scientific knowledge, plus the creation of new debates through a plurality of ideas, new and old.

This presentation would be incomplete, however, without a brief word about early printing in China. Systematic printing began in China in the late Sui and early Tang periods, when a number of Buddhist texts, including sermons, prayers, and pictures of the Buddha, were printed in large numbers. Each page of the text was carved onto a block of wood, a technique known as “xylography,” which was probably first developed around two thousand years ago.

Moreover, a daily newspaper, known as the 京報 *Jingbao*, was printed beginning in 713. It included reports on Imperial decrees and also referred to both events concerning internal as well as foreign affairs beyond China’s borders. The *Diamond Sutra*, the oldest surviving printed book in China with a clear date indicated, was printed in this way in 868. And here we see the detail from the British Library copy of the *Diamond Sutra*. Two centuries later, during the Northern Sung period, 畢升 Bi Sheng, an alchemist, came up with what was probably the world’s first attempt to use moveable type. An amalgam of clay and glue type carved in relief was placed on an iron plate coated with wax, resin, and paper ash. The plate was then heated and a board was placed on top to create an even surface for printing. And in the early Ming dynasty, this technique was further perfected by 王禎 Wang Zhen, who used a similar technology with moveable wooden type and invented a rotating type-setting plate that allowed a faster and more accurate alignment,

both horizontally and vertically, of the individual type.

These ground-breaking inventions in China notwithstanding, moveable type did not catch on in this country at this time, most probably because of the difficulty of producing such an immense number of individual character types. This is and remains, I think, nevertheless curious, as wood-block carving involved no less effort in producing a whole block of carved Chinese characters for each page of text – which, of course, could not be easily altered after completion. One need only recall the fact that the early printing of Buddhist scriptures in the Tang dynasty required, in fact, the carving of no less than 130,000 separate wooden blocks.

Let us travel back to India and to Japan, and see how Gutenberg's high-tech device of the 15<sup>th</sup> century ever ended up in the East. João Nunes Barreto, the Bishop-Patriarch of Ethiopia, brought a printing press in fact to Goa for the first time, and João Rodrigues (this is not João Rodrigues who was in Japan and here in Macao, but another João Rodrigues) became the master printer at the College of Saint Paul, in Goa, until his death in 1589; so this is the beginning of the first attempt to print. The Jesuit Press in Goa printed the theses in philosophy for students studying at the college, also a famous treatise or colloquies on medicinal drugs by the Portuguese scientist and explorer, Garcia da Orta, and also a compendium about India.

Valignano, in 1577, on his way to Macao, where he would arrive the following year, and in Japan the year after, in 1579, reports in a letter the success with printing of a *Doctrina Christiana*, Christian doctrine, in the Malabar language. And he says, reporting to Rome, that he plans to print a catechism: “*May it please our Lord if we are able to do the same in Japan.*” So it's already before arriving in Japan that he is thinking of this possibility. “*It should deal with the life of Christ and the mysteries of our religion and the virtues, written in good style, so that they may be of profit in Japan by teaching both good Latin and good customs.*” He says in Spanish “*buenas cosas and buenas costumbres.*”

In his “Summary of Things Japanese” – *O Summario del Japon* — in 1583, he has become pessimistic about the possibility of printing Chinese ideographs. It doesn't seem to be as easy as it usually seemed. For the immense number of them, too many characters, perhaps the same reason that the Chinese gave up using moveable type, in fact around the year 1000. Students will thus have to learn Japanese through works printed in Latin transcription and this is a kind of compromised decision.

The Jesuit General Superior in Rome writes to Valignano to inform him that, however, there has been success in China with wood-block printing, something that Valignano at this point was not aware of.

In the letter to Diego (Diogo, I should say) de Mesquita who is on an Embassy with Japanese boys on his way to Europe, Diego is told that he should bring copies of Latin Grammars, especially the famous *Latin Grammar* by Manuel Álvares, which for centuries was used in schools throughout Europe; also, the Latin-Portuguese dictionaries by Jerónimo Cardoso and books in prose and verse, for the school in Japan.

In the letter to Mesquita, he says: *"I do not know whether your Reverence has kept in mind to order matrices of katakana [this is syllabic script in Japanese] and some other characters used by the Japanese when writing in kana. In Flanders [a great center of printing in the 16<sup>th</sup> century] these characters can easily be made if the forms of the characters are sent there. This would be a most valuable thing for Japan, for although one cannot write difficult books in katakana, one can, nevertheless, print in this way many things for women, for children, and for the common people. And this would greatly benefit this Christian community. If your Reverence should have forgotten this matter [so he tells Mesquita: Don't you dare to forget what I have told you], please bear in mind that I greatly desire to have these matrices made in Portugal, so that you can bring them with you upon your return. If it cannot be done there in time, please have them made in Flanders. In this case, you may leave four or five copies of katakana type with a few other characters ordinarily used in kana script. For if this is not done now that your Reverence is there with Brother Jorge de Loyola, I don't know when we will have another opportunity to do so."* This Jorge de Loyola happens to actually be a Japanese student who was given a Portuguese name. Although we give great glory to Portugal, this is not even a Portuguese.

Valignano, in 1586, informs the General, Claudio Acquaviva, from Goa, as Provincial of India — as he is now stationed in India for several years — of the initial attempt, here in Macao in 1585, to print an alphabet (*abecedario*) in Latin and Chinese type. He says: *"I am sending you a sample of an Abecedario that I had printed in China in order to see whether we could print books there in Latin type for use in Japan, since to have books sent all the time from Portugal is impossible and extremely expensive. They also printed a folio in the Chinese language, which seemed interesting and which I am sure you and perhaps His Holiness [that is the Pope] will be happy to receive."* So at this point, he is beginning to change his mind about the possibility in fact of printing in Chinese characters.

Some time between January and April 1586, having received Valignano's orders, Mesquita does succeed in acquiring a printing press, a Gutenberg hand press, in Lisbon. And Valignano sends his new shopping list from Cochin; he says, he wants to request the printing in Europe of a compendium of philosophy and theology to be composed for the college in Japan, and if the Europeans do not oblige and do not compose this compendium for them, it will be later composed in Japan itself but not in Europe. He also requests books in the humanities, in prose and in verse; and he says he is sending an

annotated copy, a copy he annotated himself, of Lactantius — the fourth century, we could say, Christian Cicero — for printing in Antwerp, Portugal, or Rome; and he says: “*I want 600 to 800 copies of this book.*” He also wants the newly promulgated *Roman Catechism*, that is the Catechism promulgated by the Council of Trent, at least 400 to 500 copies, and he wants his own Catechism, mainly for Japan, printed in Lisbon, and in fact the Catechism for Japan was successfully printed in Lisbon. He also reports that 15 to 16 letters of St. Jerome were printed in Goa for use in Japan, but he says the results have been extremely inadequate and very poor. He believes that the Chinese catechism of Michele Ruggieri — the *Tianzhu Shilu Zhengwen* — should also be of use among the learned bonzes of Japan. So here we already have, in Valignano, this idea of using some of the texts written in classical Chinese also among learned Buddhist scholars in Japan, who of course would be able to read the classical Chinese.

The embassy of the four boys with Diogo de Mesquita returns to Goa with a fully functional Gutenberg printing press, to Valignano’s delight. And one of the four boys, Martinho Hara, delivers a Latin oration, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April, for Valignano, which is the first work to be printed on this printing press. And João Rodrigues, as all Jesuits who were working with the old previous press, spent eight months teaching Giovanni Battista Pesce, a young Italian, the art of printing. And there are these two Japanese, who we only know through their Portuguese names, Jorge de Loyola and Constantino Dourado, they also put their type-cutting skills to work in trying to create the first metal type of Japanese characters. Here I am going to show you now some of these books: this is the first book that came off from Gutenberg press.

Speaking of rhetoric, at the beginning of his grand oration, Martinho Hara, comparing Valignano, his mentor, to the great Macedonian military leader, effusively exclaims: *O Alexander! You have won over and subdued all of India, not with the force of weapons, but with the yet more powerful arms of Christ.* This is Renaissance rhetoric at its best!

Back in Japan, the following year, in a letter Luís Frois stresses the need for a press and for printers (and of course they are still waiting for the arrival of the Embassy from Goa), and he says: “*Because copying takes too long and having them printed in Europe is too expensive,*” so he is basically repeating Valignano’s arguments; and he makes further requests for missals, breviaries, liturgical calendars, hymnals, spiritual books, and the book of Ignatian *Exercises*. So, the shopping list gets longer and longer.

Before the printing press arrives in Japan, young Japanese Jesuits practiced reproducing by hand important parts of Sacred Scripture or of liturgical books, such as these two leaves from the *Roman Missal*, which were copied at the boys’ school in Arima between 1580 and 1590. Here you see the *Gloria*, so

this was probably a sheet on Japanese paper that was put on the altar for the use of the priest in the liturgy. This unique manuscript was acquired by Sophia University in Tōkyō where I was teaching until last year. And it is just one folio. Here you have on one side the *Gloria* and on the other side you have the *Credo*. And you can see that they are already trying to do something, which in fact imitates printing, and it was a great practice for them in Latin.

The Embassy and Valignano finally arrive in Macao on July 28, 1588; it must have been very hot. Unfortunately, because of political unrest and the fact that Toyotomi Hideyoshi has officially banned the missionaries, they cannot sail to Japan until 1590. In fact Valignano will have to enter Japan as an official ambassador of the Vice Roy in Goa, so as an official Portuguese ambassador; he is no longer allowed to enter into the country simply as a missionary. And in Macao, they publish Juan Bonifacio's book on Christian education, which was a very popular book in 16<sup>th</sup> century Jesuit's schools, and the dialogue in Latin about the Envoy's journey to Europe. So this printing press is unpacked one more time and is put to use. And clear wishes are expressed to have letters translated into Japanese by Jorge de Loyola, the young Japanese Jesuit, as soon as possible.

Let us take a little bit of look at this. Unfortunately I do not have a color image but here we see the *Christiani Pueri Institutio* and here we see that it is published *apud Sinas in portu Macaensi in domo Societatis Iesu* in the year of 1588. The famous book on Christian education or, I should say, on good morals, is a book on good education for young students. And here of course, Alessandro Valignano has his name printed rather largely on the first page.

Here we have the famous *De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam* in dialogue form, a book about the four boys' adventures, you could say, throughout their eight-year travel, between 1582 and 1590, to and from Europe, and again published here in Macao. The whole book is done in dialogue format.

**H**ow does this Gutenberg press come to China and Japan? So, as we said, it left Lisbon in 1586, traveling down below the Cape of Good Hope to Mozambique. From there of course, the Japanese Embassy made its long journey and its first stop, and after waiting several months for the right winds, they made the crossing to Goa in the early Spring. As they wait for the monsoon, in order to continue to be able, in fact, to continue their journey, they from there continued their journey to Malacca. And from there it was another month to the port of Macao, on the southern shores of China. And again, as I mentioned, having waited for authorization to enter Japan, they made the relatively short 27-day journey by ship from Macao, before landing in Nagasaki in 1590.

So, Valignano and the Embassy are now back in Japan in 1590. The printing press is first sent to Katsusa, a small town in Kyushu where the Jesuits discussed the improvement of Japanese types, which Father Visitor brought with him to Japan, so the first types that were carved by Jorge de Loyola and Constantino Dourado. That is one theory, but another theory is that it may be a reference to wood-block types that had been made earlier, here in Macao, and were not sure which types they are referring to in this particular case.

When they have their missionary consultations in 1590, Valignano says that to have an accurate Latin-Japanese dictionary compiled, and then printed, for the study of Latin and Japanese, is absolutely essential; and to attempt to print books in Japanese characters, including those that have already been translated into Japanese, is also a key priority. So the consult concludes that the Christians suffer for the lack of books in Japanese on the faith and that a Latin grammar, with explanatory notes in Japanese, should be printed for the benefit of the schools (a reference to Manuel Álvares's *Latin Grammar*). As a result, in the early period of printing, in Latin, we have the dialogues of Cicero (probably printed, no copies survive), the *De Institutione Grammatica* of Manuel Álvares and the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola (these two exist).

Here we have an example printed in Japan in 1594, in Namakusa (this is near Nagasaki, for reference), of the *De Institutione Grammatica with Conjugationibus successit interpretatio japonica* : there is here an explanation in Japanese of the Latin conjugations. This is quite an interesting edition. And in fact here you can see various comments referring to how these things should be translated into Japanese. This is a unique book.

And in Japanese as well, however in Latin type, these are books that have been previously translated. Here we see an abridged translation of the famous *Flos Sanctorum* or "The Lives of the Saints", in two parts (with two titles), the first book ever published with moveable type in the Japanese language, albeit at this early stage with Roman type only. There are only two copies of this book that are known to exist, one in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University and the other in the Library of Saint Mark in Venice.

Here is the famous "Tale of Heike", the medieval Japanese history also composed in an abridged format for the benefit of missionaries studying the Japanese language and is in Latin type, as you can see here. This copy here is in the British library.

Here is Aesop's "Fables," which was thought to be a book that would help in fact good education and good classical education, printed once again in Japanese translation in Latin type in 1593. This book is the British Library.

Here is a very interesting book; it was called the *Qincuxǔ* or the *Jinjuji* and it is

basically a repository of short sayings taken from the Four Books and the Seven Books of Chinese Classics. And it was thought that this would be a good book to use in Japan for both the education of the missionaries and also for the education of young Japanese students. We will come back to why this was done. This *Christian Doctrine*, very interestingly, includes what is typical in fact of Renaissance style, which is to present doctrine through a dialogue of questions and answers, but the text is in Japanese.

Here is the famous dictionary *Latino-Lusitanicum ac Iaponicum*, an incredible work Latin, Portuguese, Japanese dictionary, and this was published also in Japan in Amacusa – an enormous work.

So we have seen some of the books that were printed. Here is of course another classic, the Thomas a Kempis' *Imitatio Christi* which was published under the title of *Contemptus Mundi*, and again the literary quality of the translation has been established by notable scholars in Japan as very, very high and also the adaptations that were made. It is not a simple literary translation: it is a translation made on the basis of certain adaptations necessary for Japanese culture and the comprehension of Japanese Christians not familiar with the Christian faith.

Here is another page I don't have a second color image.

So, what is happening in the meanwhile? Toyotomi Hideyoshi, as I mentioned, promulgates an Expulsion Decree in 1587, and this basically forces the Jesuits to move around Kyushu, moving this printing press from place to place, avoiding to be caught by Hideyoshi, who happens to know that the Jesuits are in fact there, but pretends not to know: as long as he does not see them, he pretends not to know. So, the press goes from Katsusa to another small area, Kawachinoura; these are all small villages on Amakusa Island (and Amakusa Island is near Nagasaki, for reference); and then it goes to *Todos os Santos* residence in Nagasaki itself, later on, after Hideyoshi's death. And from there, it goes to another area of Nagasaki.

But the press needs to be improved. Valignano requests italic type from Acquaviva, from Rome, in 1589, as they only had *Antigua* or *Rodonda* square types. He renewed this request in 1592 with a further request for square type, which they had but which was now being used so often that it was in fact ruined and was no longer printing properly. Acquaviva responds that a full set of type has been ordered in Venice. However these types were shipped but they sank and were lost on their way to Japan in 1595. Interestingly, in this whole endeavor, Valignano, the shrewd politician that he was, managed in 1595 to get a Papal exemption from the Goan Inquisition, so that it did not have to give approval for the Chinese and Japanese translations that were made. This was very shrewd on his part; and of course, he said, they cannot

read the text anyways, so what are they going to censor?

Back in Japan, the cursive italic type was produced by skilled Japanese, working for the Jesuits, in 1594, and initial printing in Japanese character was attempted in 1590 with *kaisho* or square Japanese type, however with very, very poor results. New wooden *sōsho*, or cursive types, were used as early as 1591, and I am going to give you an example. This is very probably the very first text that was printed, the *Salve Regina*, and it's very, very poor. Here you see *katakana* type, and here you see examples of Chinese ideographs, which however are not much to look at.

How this happened? We don't know. But a year later, an enormous improvement was made. Here we see the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Angelus* and the *Creed*, published in much more beautiful flowing type. In fact, there is only one copy, printed on Japanese paper, the only one extant copy which is at Sophia University. Here you can see Chinese characters in flowing cursive style, quite sophisticated. And here you see several *hiragana* syllabic script types printed in cursive style, probably carved to two or three character, carved down to the same piece of type. So a numerous improvement was made around 1591. The improved characters basically came as a result of the first casting of metal types for Japanese and Chinese ideographs, using the cursive type that I mentioned.

And these various books: the *Rakuyōshū*, which is basically a Chinese/Japanese dictionary, the *Salvator Mundi*, the *Guia do Pecador* in Japanese translation, a Christian doctrine, again a collection of Japanese and Chinese poetry and literature, and a summary of the faith, all of these things were printed with these new types between 1598 and 1611.

Here we see the Japanese dictionary of Chinese characters, again the only extant copy of which is preserved in the British library. And here is the inside title page, unfortunately I cannot show you many other pages, but they are printed in Chinese and Japanese characters.

Here is the famous "Guide of the Sinner," a very popular devotional work by a Dominican who was a very good friend of Valignano and the Jesuits (not all the Jesuits and Dominicans hated each other all the time). He was a very good friend, very popular in Europe, and his work was printed and in fact was one of the most important works, in terms of European devotional works, ever printed in translation. Here we see the beautiful printing on Japanese paper of the work, including also script in Latin for various quotations from Scripture. And you can see here a combination of cursive *katakana* and Chinese ideographs, truly beautifully combined in a very harmonious way.

Here is the collection of Japanese and Chinese poetry, again printed in rather

sophisticated type.

And here is Luís de Granada's "Compilation of the Faith," and what is important to know about this rare printing of the translation of Granada's work on Christian doctrine, is that it was printed by Thomas Goto, a Japanese Christian layman, active in Nagasaki in the early years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Jesuits had decided to hand over the day-to-day running of the press to him in order to have more time for preparing new translations of works for the press. And here it says: "Nagasaki and officina of Goto Tomé," so you have this new print shop run by this Japanese Christian. And here you have another page of Granada's "Compilation of the Faith" on Christian doctrine.

**N**ow, what about the later period? Korean copper types became known following the Japanese invasion of Korea 1592. So this was now some technology which independently became known in Japan. However the first non-Jesuit metal-type printing in Japan did not take place earlier than 1615. Tokugawa Ieyasu had an entire collection of Chinese metal copper type from Korea brought over to Japan in the first decade of the 1600. It was then first put to use, as far as we know, in the 1615. So, the Jesuits were the first to employ moveable type to print with Japanese and Chinese characters.

Here is the famous *Arte da Lingua de Japam*, the famous grammar of Japanese by João Rodrigues (this is the missionary in Japan and who was also here in China; this is not the old Rodrigues from Goa). This book was published in 1604 in Nagasaki. And of course the famous *Vocabulário da Lingua de Iapam*, the Japanese-Portuguese dictionary published the previous year in Nagasaki in 1603; again there is a copy of this book in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

So, for printing Japanese characters, we have *katakana* on the one hand, *hiragana* (these are syllabic scripts in Japanese that were used), and also certain sounds, for example, the difference between CA and GA, are indicated with these two lines. This was introduced in fact for the first time by the Jesuits in printing these first books. When it comes to printing of *han zi* or *kanji*, again a new technology, which is still used today, was introduced, that *furigana* or writing the pronunciation of the Chinese characters – a little bit like in Taiwan the *bo, po, mo, fo*: you write the *furigana* or the syllabic script next to the Chinese characters. And again this was first introduced by the Jesuits using the press.

So, what was the Jesuits' contribution to Japanese printing? Well, the first book printed with moveable type, as we said; the first Japanese metal-types, probably also with an addition of gold, which makes it easier to re-melt and remold the type, that was probably used somewhere between 1591 and 1598, I should say; the first printing of cursive *hiragana* and ideographs; the first printing of two to three characters on a single block of type; the first to

introduce *kana* alongside ideographs, so the pronunciation alongside the Chinese ideographs; the first to use these lines to indicate differences of pronunciation, called *handokuon*; and the first to print in two colours, black and red (I show you that in a moment); and the first to use copper cuts and vignettes as ornamentation in the various books.

**N**ow, very quickly, how does this fit into the whole strategy of education? Eloquence and wisdom were the ideals of Jesuit education, taken of course from the Renaissance, together with piety and genuine doctrine, and finally, good customs or what we would really call “virtuous conduct.” This was the ideal that was developed at the Roman College in Rome by the *Ratio Studiorum*. So, how does this fit in with what was printed? This is what I am interested in, to see how these books follow a certain educational strategy.

As you know, the medieval Liberal Arts consisted of the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*. Then, we have philosophy and scholastic theology, which was the theology of Thomas Aquinas. Then we have so-called “positive theology,” which included Sacred Scripture and the Doctors of the Church. And finally we had the study of the Humanities, the Renaissance curriculum, and we will say something about this in a moment.

How does the study of the Humanities fit into this strategy of printing and of education? It consisted of a certain number of subjects: grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history and moral philosophy. This was supposed to be a more practical and less abstract use of the medieval Liberal Arts.

When it comes to erudition and wisdom, Valignano’s idea was to combine a Western erudition with an Eastern erudition. So to include Roman and Greek literature on the one hand, but Japanese and Chinese literature, history and poetry on the other hand, patristic texts on the one hand but Japanese historical works on the other.

When we look at the question of printing, if we say: what about grammar? These books, which I mentioned earlier, were printed because the need to study grammar was considered of course to be one of the most important element of education.

How about the study of rhetoric? We see the *oratio* by Martinho Hara in 1588, the dialogue of the four boys, the dialogues of Cicero (which we know were printed but we do not have any extant copy of), the various short texts taken from the Chinese classics, the Four Books and the Seven Books, various short aphorisms taken from the Fathers of the Church and other Christian authors; and when it comes to poetry, the collection of Japanese and Chinese poems, and, with history, the “Tale of the Heike” in 1592, and the *Taiheiki*, the “Tale of Great Peace”, printed between 1600 to 1614; and finally, moral philosophy,

the “Book of virtuous conduct for Christian youth” by Juan Bonifacio, the Fables of Esop, and once again we can put into this category the short aphorisms taken from the Four and Seven books, and the aphorisms taken from the Western classics, and also the various short aphorisms and stories of the *Flosculi*, the examples of the lives of the saints of Manuel Barreto. That is eloquence and wisdom.

What about piety? Another idea of Jesuit education: we have the “Lives of the Saints”, as I mentioned to you, the first book ever published in Japanese on the printing press, in Latin; the *Spiritual Exercises and Meditations*, the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Contemptus Mundi* of Thomas a Kempis, the *Compendium* of spiritual doctrine, the “Guide of the Sinner” by Luis de Granada, and the spiritual, you could call it almost “struggle” (it would be a good translation) of *Spiritual Xuguio* or training, which is a term taken from Buddhism, a book composed by Pedro Gómez.

When it comes to the liturgy and prayers, we have again a number of books. I would like to especially mention Cerqueira – this is not Luis Sequeira, the Director here of the Institute; this is Cerqueira, who was a bishop (Sequeira has not become a bishop yet), the *Manuale ad Sacramenta Ecclesiae Ministranda*. What is interesting about this Portuguese bishop is that he adapted some of the rites, in this liturgical book, to, in fact, Japanese circumstances, a book which was not completely orthodox in terms of what the Council of Trent had said, but its author felt that it was necessary to make certain adaptations which were very original and which we are still studying today.

Here is the *Manuale ad Sacramenta Ecclesiae Ministranda*, the first book published in two colors in 1605, in Nagasaki. You see here the Sophia University copy of the Kristan Bunko in Japan, in Tōkyo, and here is the title page, in slightly better condition, of the Bodleian Library copy at Oxford University. Now, if we open this beautiful book, we see a liturgical chant, on just one page, which has to do with procession for funeral rites. And although this looks like very much similar to a simple Western book in Latin, in fact, there are a number of changes that were made, especially when it comes to funeral rites, to add some Japanese rituals into the rite itself. That is “piety.”

What about genuine doctrine? As we said before, a number of things were published: Valignano’s *Catechism*, which is in a way a polemic with Buddhism, was published in Lisbon in 1586, and there are interesting leaders; only two copies are known to exist of this *Catechism* and both of them are in Lisbon; it didn’t get very far: one of them is in the National Library and the other is in a high school, the Liceu Pásus Manuel, in Lisbon. Also a *Christian Doctrine* obviously was published, and this is part of it.

How about theology, philosophy and positive theology? Pedro Gómez

composed three *compendia* for the students studying at the college at Funai: the *De Anima*, which was based on Aristotle's treatise, translated into Japanese and adapted; the *De Sphera*, which was an astronomical treatise based on John Hollywood or Jeroni Sacroboscus treatise; and a very original *compendium* of Catholic faith, which is a completely adapted version into Japanese with new sections explaining things that would be of particular interest to a Japanese public; so, it is an adaptation of the *Roman Catechism* of the Council of Trent, translated by a team of foreign missionaries and Japanese, especially Japanese who had converted from Buddhism and who had a very high knowledge of Japanese and Chinese literature and Buddhism, into Japanese. So, here is theology and philosophy.

And finally virtuous conduct. As we said, again we have a number of books, which would fall into this category, including things on Japanese customs, such as the *Regimento para os Seminarios*, which I mentioned, and Valignano's rather original attempt to try to adapt the living customs of Jesuits to a Buddhist monastery, the *Advertimentos e Avisos acerca os Catangues* or (this is the word *catagi*), *do Japão*. This was, in a way, a rather far-fetched attempt which Rome was not very happy about, because Rome did not like the idea of making the Jesuits living according to the rules of a Buddhist monastery. This kind of Valignano's great flights of enthusiasm in fact went perhaps too far from Rome's taste.

Let us now very briefly wrap up what I was saying.

**W**hat is this *Christianitas* in Early-Modern Japan? It's a broad conception of faith and culture, which is both traditional, European and fluid, on the one hand, constantly being influenced by and adapted to the local circumstances of Warring States Japan; and an example for this is the subsequent emphasis on a good life as a preparation for possible martyrdom and for possible death. It is interesting to see how the Jesuits composed also theatrical works, which had to do with giving one's life for the faith, etc.

So, this *Christianitas*, thus conceived, is not exclusively a propagation of the faith but also a carefully planned program of faith education at several different levels: first of all, an educational program through the foundation of schools or *seminarios*, and don't get this word wrong: this word *seminario* does not mean a place for training of seminarians to the priesthood, it was a school for boys from the age of 12 to 18, different from a *collegio*, which was a place of higher learning, and a *collegio* or *collejo* for the formation of a native clergy. So, the *Ratio Studiorum* said that one should combine eloquence and wisdom and piety and genuine doctrine and proper customs of virtuous conduct together with a proper study of the Humanities. And this is what Valignano, for better or worst, tried to do with his attempt of using the printing press. For his ultimate goal was the creation of a Japanese Christian literature

through translation and through printing, for use at the schools and at the Jesuit College. So, it had a didactic and scholarly purpose, and for the general Japanese populace: aids to understanding Christian doctrine, prayer and liturgy for local Japanese Christian leaders. Don't forget that first quotation I mentioned, that "books act as preachers," take the place of preachers: this is a very interesting concept.

And on this note, I would like to conclude my presentation of how, if not Gutenberg himself, but certainly his invention, for which he is famous, did in fact come to Japan through China, and more specifically through Macao, and how it transformed the entire Jesuit enterprise. Faith education meant having good preachers, and good preachers meant having good books. For printing, this new information technology was part of the concerted and planned effort in strategy to bring *Christianitas* to Japan, whilst ensuring that it was both accessible and comprehensible to the Japanese, whether they be young Jesuits, Christians, or member of other faiths. The creative use in the sixteenth century of this new and exciting tool in education, and the promotion of a Japanese Christian culture and literature was the ultimate aim of Valignano and of his companions.

Thank you very much.

◆ Thank you very much, Antoni, for this brilliant, highly documented, erudite presentation, which is also rich of challenges for us who work in this place. I know that you did your best on this presentation and everybody here has been fascinated by the way you have used your documentation, your knowledge and your insights. Now, not to be too long in my own comments, I would like to offer the opportunity for everyone to ask any question he or she wants. We shall go on for a short period of time, so that we could also continue our conversation when enjoying some refreshments in the yard close by. So, please...

**Question 1:** I am not familiar with Japanese history or anything intellectual or academic, but through your presentation, I understand the efforts of the Jesuits to get through, during so many years, in order to have a kind of revolution in the printing process. How does this high-tech Jesuit missionary endeavor is placed in Japanese history?

**Antoni Üçerler:** How they are placed in Japanese history? Certainly there has been a number of studies of the press in Japan by Japanese and Western scholars as well. But interestingly enough, I mean, I think you ask an fascinating question because, in fact, the press and how it was used as part of a strategy, was not or has not been really studied as much as it should. So, in fact we find that many scholars have concentrated their study mainly on, let's

say, certain linguistic aspects of how certain books were printed (obviously important studies), how certain things were translated, but how is it part of the more general, educational framework: this has not been studied. What I proposed to you, I think, is this use of the press as a means of preaching and reaching out to communities, not only to the college but also reaching out to Christian leaders who can read Japanese and Chinese script but who don't have access to a priest. This idea hasn't been studied very much, neither has the educational strategy based on a Renaissance model of education; and why certain books were printed, that also has not been studied very much. In fact, I hope to write something in the near future precisely about how the press fits into a more general framework of education.

So, yes, there have been some studies and Japanese historians who have looked at this, but they looked at it from a very narrow point of view, mainly of how certain things were translated, and sometimes simply how this short period of the use of the press fits into the history of Japanese printing; and of course it was not a short period because the missionaries were initially exiled in 1617, so this press was packed up and brought back to Macao. But for some strange reasons, the press was put into a box and there, somewhere not far away in a walking distance from here to the college of St. Paul, it was kept in this box for three years. Why? We're not sure. Yet it was taken out of the box again to print the second version of Rodrigues' Japanese grammar in 1620. And after that, all news about this printing press disappears. There are no more reports that I am aware of, of what happened to the press.

Let me just say one last thing. I have found something very interesting, and I think that this would be interesting to a Chinese audience. You can say: why didn't they use the press here, in Macao? I think the answer to that question is that wood-block printing was so far established in China that it met most of the needs of what the missionaries were trying to do. In fact, as you know, Ricci's works very often printed by his friends with wood-block printing. So wood-block printing was so well established in China, that perhaps, despite Bi Sheng's and Wang Zhen's attempts in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and again in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, there was not this felt need to do this. But still, it remains a bit of mystery to me. Why they didn't do it? Hopes that helps a little.

**Question 2:** Dr. Antoni, were the books that were published in Japan, subsequently systemically destroyed after the expulsion of the Jesuits?

**Antoni Üçerler:** This is another important point. There were about 100 different works published on the so-called Japanese Jesuit mission press. And all those around 40 or 41 exist still today; so we still have copies of at least 41 of this books, or I should say, 41 works, since some are in multiple copies. Once Japan closed her doors to the West in 1640 definitively, although the destruction of books began earlier (certainly already in the 1620s or 1630s),

but after 1640, there was a very systematic destruction of these books. That is why most of the books, which exist and still survive, are in western libraries, in Europe, and those which are in Japan were purchased in Europe by Japanese universities or libraries and brought back to Japan. Some of these books, interestingly several copies, survived buried deep in the archives of some Buddhist temples, and some of those copies remained in those Buddhist temples to this very day. But since the Tokugawa regime did not think of ransacking Buddhist temples, they didn't suspect any Christian materials would be found there. So very few copies survived in Buddhist temples in Japan throughout the entire period. Sometimes, but very, very rarely, in private families; but the regime was so strict on this point: there was a system that came into effect in the late 17<sup>th</sup>, early 18<sup>th</sup> century, which was the five family system: all neighbors had to spy on each other, and if any Christian was found, all five families would be executed. That was enough for one Christian or one missionary to be hiding in one of the five houses, everyone would be killed; and so this did not leave much room for people to have private libraries and private archives. Because the discovery of any Christian artefact or book would result to immediate death and therefore the destruction of these books has been very, very significant.

**Question 3:** I just wonder about the press not being used in China. I am just speculating. Do you think it had anything to do with the literacy rate? Because to read books, you have to be literate, and to be literate in Chinese, in comparison with Japanese, is probably a lot more difficult. I know by reading Jonathan Spence's book, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, that, because it was very difficult for Ricci to access Chinese society, he would actually have to use mathematics to arouse intellectuals' interest. So, I just wonder, perhaps books would not be a very good way to access the masses in China.

**Antoni Üçerler:** There are other specialists on Christianity in China here, who perhaps would be able to speculate, certainly, as you said, more fruitfully than I would. Yet I don't think that would be true in terms of Ricci's intellectual strategy: he was certainly one, and others after him, to use science and, certainly as you said, to use texts to reach out towards Chinese intellectuals. So I don't think that would be the reason, perhaps with Ricci. First of all, Ricci was working alone for a good part of his time; I mean, he certainly didn't have, once he left Macao, the access to a college or a large group of fellow missionaries, and so he certainly would not have been able to set up a press by himself. So, that would not be possible, that would be one reason I would not speculate. A second reason would be, as I said, Ricci's intellectual friends were the mandarins and the literati. They had their own means of publishing, if and when they wished to do so: wood-blocks could be ordered and would be produced; it was not that China did not know what to do when they wanted to print something; they had a long tradition of

printing; and, I mean, when you think of 130,000 blocks, which were carved in order to print the Buddhist scriptures. To print a few pages is not a big issue for the Chinese, and I don't think they felt this was a major problem or the fact that the missionaries were really not able to establish themselves so easily perhaps. Nothing was easy in Japan, but there were elements as well. Why they didn't? Why Valignano didn't have another press brought to the college here in Macao and put to use here in Macao? I sincerely don't know. Maybe, reading his voluminous correspondence, I will find the reference one day. So, why he didn't do, it's a question, being here in Macao, that I ask myself also. Why not? Here they could have done it. Here there was a community, there were people, there were means of doing it, and certainly the college here of St. Paul was much better established than the college in Japan, which had to move around because of the persecution. Here was a base, which is why Valignano used this base for people to come; Japanese came to study here in Macao, because it was stable, it was certain, it was financially stable, it was politically stable, why he didn't use the press here? That's the question that I'm pre-empting; so, please, don't ask me.

