In 1549 Francis Xavier disembarked in Japan, beginning yet another mission in the Orient. However, from very early on, the missionaries realised that they were dealing with a new reality. Japan possessed a civilisation with very distinct characteristics and the Japanese mission would thus prove to be very different from all the other missions that had been established until then.

The Japanese mission was the most distant one in existence and was one of the rare missions that had been established outside the dominions of the Portuguese Crown. As opposed to the vast majority of the activities that had been developed by the missionaries until then, the Japanese mission could not count upon a political, institutional and military structure to support it within the territory. The missionaries were there at their own risk and left to their own devices and could only count upon some solidarity on the part of the Portuguese merchants who frequented the Japanese ports. In addition to the fact that they did not have legal representatives of the Portuguese authorities in Japan, their situation was further aggravated by the enormous distance that separated them from the decision making centres of the Church and Crown. The Japanese mission was, in fact, a unique case in the third quarter of the 16th century.

The missionaries initiated their first contacts in a very enthusiastic manner, placing great hopes in the conversion of Japan. However, after getting to know the country better, their impression would be substantially modified. The missionaries’ activities, already hindered by a difficult adaptation to the physical environment and political instability, also encountered difficulties in terms of cultural differences. Japanese civilisation was characterised by codes of honour and rules of conduct, where religion did not play as critical a role as it did in the Old World. It was necessary to gain an awareness and insight of the local environment, in order to try to bring

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1 Fundação Oriente scholarship holder.
Christianity closer to practices that existed in Japan. In this context, the missionaries dedicated themselves to a cultural adaptation, which consisted of an intense study of different aspects of Japanese culture as diverse as the language, customs, behaviour and dress and even included Japanese architecture.³

All these specific characteristics meant that the mission represented an enormous challenge and, in order to overcome this challenge, the mission required correspondingly enormous amounts of funding. Apart from the habitual expenditure required to ensure provisions for the mission, the Japanese mission also incurred several expenses related with these very characteristics of the country. The absence of any Portuguese institutional presence ruled out financial assistance from this source, in contrast to the situation that prevailed in other missions.⁴ The difficulties and slowness of communications, both with external sources of revenues as well as with the co-ordinating centres of the Church also affected the finances of the mission. As the mission grew in size, the creation of a centre to train missionaries became indispensable, in order to make missionary activities more dynamic.⁵

The policy of cultural accommodation also implied greater financial obligations. Money was needed both to proceed with learning activities as well as to respect the ancient Japanese custom of offering gifts. This practice entailed elevated costs as it was always necessary to give presents during visits and even though the missionaries tried to end this custom between Christian daimyō, they did not meet with much success.⁶

1. The internal funding of the mission

Given that the Japanese mission was developed within the scope of the Portuguese padroado, it was the task of the Portuguese Crown to maintain it.


⁴ João Paulo Oliveira e Costa “A crise financeira da missão jesuítica no Japão no início do século XVII” in A Companhia de Jesus e a Missionuação no Oriente, Lisbon, Brotéria - Fundação Oriente, 2000, p. 236.

⁵ A solution would be found with the creation of the Macao College in 1594. Cf. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa “O Colégio de Macau e a missão do Japão” in Portugal e a China: Conferências nos encontros de História Luso-Chinesa, Lisbon, Fundação Oriente, 2001, pp. 61-86.

The first contribution was made in 1554 during the reign of John III, who sanctioned a grant of 500 cruzados to be paid annually at the Malacca Customs House. In 1574, King Sebastian would raise this amount to 1,000 cruzados per year, and the donation was confirmed for perpetuity. These revenues were augmented by Cardinal Henry who, in 1580, donated 1,000 cruzados from the revenues of Salsete for a period of five years. In 1585, Phillip II would confirm this donation and renew it for a further period of five years.

The budget of the Japanese mission also counted on some financial help from the Holy See. The various Popes who accompanied the development of the mission also made some contributions. At the beginning of the 1580s, Pope Gregory XIII would make a contribution of 4,000 ducats in alms, to be paid by the Spanish ecclesiastical tax authorities. The following year, this sum was transformed into an annual allowance over the duration of twenty years. In 1585, Sixtus V would raise the amount to 6,000 cruzados for two years, the payment of which would, however, be suspended a year later. The situation was stabilised once more under Clement VIII, when payments went back to the original amount, given that it was otherwise impossible to pay the total sums involved.

In addition to these contributions, the Jesuits also had other forms of funding. The Society had the possibility of investing in properties in India that provided secure revenues. In 1571, it acquired the revenues from the lands of Caranjá, in 1575 the revenues of Ponvém, three years later the...
revenues of Condotim and in 1585 the revenues of Mulgão. The mission also had the income from two houses in Macao, which rendered 200 cruzados annually.

The Japanese mission would also benefit from donations from some benefactors. Although these were more sporadic by nature, this type of assistance could have proved to be an important factor in terms of balancing their budget. Thus, the Society received 500 cruzados donated by the Archbishop of Évora, as well as 1,000 cruzados offered by Brother Gaspar Viegas. It also received generous contributions donated by some novices at the time of entering the Society. This was the case of Luís de Almeida, who entered the Society in 1556 and Friar Diogo Brandão, who joined in 1609. According to Dauril Alden, another, anonymous, father entered the Society in Japan, providing it with funds used to buy one of the towns in Baçaim. One must also highlight the donation made by the Viceroy D. Duarte de Menezes who, in 1587, gave the Society 2,000 cruzados, along with the promise of providing a further 200 cruzados every month and four Arabian horses.

Despite all the sums made available for its survival, the Japanese mission often scraped the bottom of the barrel in terms of financial stability. Dependent upon external contributions, the mission saw its situation constantly aggravated by the precariousness of payments. The biggest hurdle the mission faced consisted of the difficulties involved in receiving all these sums. In truth, the enormous distance that separated the Japanese mission from the institutional centres greatly contributed towards the budgetary deficit.

Father Pero Gomes complained thus to the General, in a letter dated 25 October 1581: “I will not write to Your Paternity about the necessities...

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14 Bought with the permission of the same king for 4,000 pardaos. Both the lands of the village of Caranjá as well as those of Ponvém and Condotim were acquired “partly with a donation given by a Portuguese who entered into the Society in Japan, partly with a little bit of money that the Goa College owed”. [“parte de huma esmola que deu hum português que entrou em Japão na Companhia, parte de hum pouco de dinheiro que o colégio de Goa lhe devia”], Ibidem, p. 188.

15 Donated in 1584 with the money of the donation offered by Pope Gregory XIII in 1583, Ibidem, p. 188.


that plague Japan as I shall leave that to what the Father Visitor will write or recount to Your Paternity in person. And given that in India there are some alms revenues for Japan, if all of this is not sent, Japan will suffer a lot as it has suffered until now, and I am an eyewitness to this, after arriving in India”.  

Alessandro Valignano, Visitor to the Mission, also presented his complaints about the slowness of the payments and about the fact that the revenue of Malacca was entirely spent in that city itself. In 1595 he would repeat these complaints to the General, and estimated that approximately 30,000 ducats in funds had not reached Japan during the past few years.

It is also important to mention that these difficulties in receiving payments were also linked with obstacles in communications as, “In the first place, as this money always goes from Portugal to Japan by sea, it runs very great risks, and thus in the year 1584 a junk was lost on its way to Japan, in which more or less eight thousand cruzados were lost”.  

In fact, the funds were very often detained for years owing to a lack of means of transport, pirate attacks and adverse climatic conditions, in addition to the sums that were lost in shipwrecks. If one were to add the costs of the voyage between Portugal and Japan and the deductions made with the exchange rates to all these factors, one can easily understand the delicate financial situation in which the Jesuit missionaries found themselves. In the budget drawn up for the year 1582 these difficulties were already being felt, however, four years later, the state of the mission’s finances was even more serious. We can verify this situation by means of Table 1.

21 "Las necesidades que Japón padece no escrivo a V.P. porque me remito a lo que el Pe Visitador escriverá o de palabra contará a V.P. E puesto que en la India tiene alguna esmola de renda de Japón, se no que la mandem toda, porque a no aver esto Japón [pa]decerá mucho como até agora a padecido, y soy testigo de vista desto, después que llegué a la India”, letter dated 25 October 1581 from Pero Gomes to the General, MHJ, p. 118.


23 Cf. Ibidem, p. 239.

24 "Primeiramente, como este dinheiro vai de Portugal a Japão sempre por mar, corre muy grandes perigos, e assi no anno de 84 se perdeo hum junco que hia pera Japão, no qual perdérao pouco mais ou menos de oito mil crusados”, “Sumário…”, MHJ, pp. 189-190. The same source also refers to the loss of the vessel S. Tiago in the year 1585, by which the Society lost 3,125 pardaos from the papal donation which were being transported in cash and more than 1,500 pardaos in the form of various other items.


26 According to Boxer, they lost approximately 30% on the payments from the revenues of Malacca, as the money was remitted via China, The Christian Century,.., p. 117.

27 The mission’s expenses were calculated to be 12,020 ducats (4.808$000). Cf. «Catálogo de las casa de japon e delo cada año han mnester. (February 1582)», MHJ, pp. 142-145.
### TABLE 1 – The Budget of the Japanese Mission for 1586

#### I – INCOME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of income</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Income obtained from outside Japan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Donations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Sebastian - 1574</td>
<td>344$000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardinal Henry - 1580</td>
<td>400$000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papal Donations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory XIII - 1583</td>
<td>1,600$000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixtus V - 1585</td>
<td>800$000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenues from land holdings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue of Caranjá - 1571</td>
<td>150$000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue of Ponvém - 1575</td>
<td>84$000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue of Condotim - 1578</td>
<td>144$000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue of Mulgão - 1585</td>
<td>150$000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income from property</td>
<td>Houses in Macao</td>
<td>80$000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total: 3,752$000</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Income obtained within Japan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profits from investments in the silk trade</td>
<td>1,200$000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port charges from the port of Nagasaki</td>
<td>400$000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total: 1,600$000</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Total revenues</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income obtained from outside Japan</td>
<td>3,752$000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income obtained within Japan</td>
<td>1,600$000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,352$000</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### II – EXPENSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of Expense</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Expenses incurred outside Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenses incurred in Portugal on books, items and other extraordinary expenditure</td>
<td>200$000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenses incurred in India from the ordinary extra tax given for the Province’s expenses</td>
<td>120$000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenses incurred on account of provisions for the mission (wine, olive oil and other ordinary items)</td>
<td>120$000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenses incurred in provisioning the ships</td>
<td>60$000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expenses incurred in the administration of the Northern villages            300$000  
Expenses incurred with the decoration of churches                       100$000  
Expenses incurred on the missionaries’ travel to Japan and stay in Macao and providing presents  300$000  
Expenses incurred on freight and duties on the route between China and Japan  144$000

Sub total: 1,074$000

b) Expenses incurred within Japan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Kind of Expense</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ximo</td>
<td>Expenses incurred with 5 houses, 5 residences and 1 seminary</td>
<td>1,204$000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bungo</td>
<td>Expenses incurred with 1 college, 1 noviciate, 1 seminary and 3 residences</td>
<td>1,356$000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miyako</td>
<td>Expenses incurred with 4 houses / colleges, 1 seminary, 2 residences</td>
<td>1,320$000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expenses incurred with the General Superiors and Vice Provincial</td>
<td>640$000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sub total: 4,520$000

c) Total expenditure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expenses incurred outside Japan</td>
<td>1,074$000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenses incurred within Japan</td>
<td>4,520$000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extraordinary expenditure</td>
<td>760$000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 6,354$000

Despite the total ordinary revenues that were received from outside and from the Jesuits’ participation in the silk trade, the everyday functioning of the mission continued to show a deficit. And if the mission already presented a negative balance as early as 1586, its situation would be aggravated in subsequent years, keeping in mind that the voyage of the trade ship on the Macao-Japan route did not take place four times during the following fourteen years till the end of the century.  

The dawn of the 17th century did not bring any hopes for an improvement in the situation. In a deliberation held in 1603 it was observed that the papal revenues had not been paid from 1597 onwards, by which the Society

had already lost about 50,000 cruzados. In addition to this, the voyage of the “Great Ship” continued be realised infrequently and did not take place every year, a fact that hindered the acquisition of profits and the consequent revenues that were attributed to the mission. The impact of the absence of the ship is plainly evident in the lamentation of João Coelho who, in 1609, mentioned that, "If a vessel is lost, or if the voyage from China to Japan does not take place in any year, or if business and the payments are not sent, one cannot help but see the Society in Japan being in dire straits owing to a lack of necessities, as has been happening these years, in which there were no voyages, due to which the Society has currently incurred debts of more than twenty thousand cruzados".

In this manner, the Society was forced to take out loans in order to make their presence in Japan feasible. In 1602, Valignano asked for a loan of 4,000 cruzados that were to be paid when the ship arrived. In the following year, owing to the fact that Gonçalo Rodrigues de Sousa’s ship had been captured, the mission faced serious financial difficulties. When he came to know of this, Tokugawa Ieyasu would offer the Jesuits 350 taels and, at the same time, also made them a loan of 5,000 taels. In 1610, the shipwreck of the vessel commanded by André Pessoa resulted in an even greater gap in the finances of the Jesuits, with the loss of 30,000 cruzados, which signified a debt of some 22,000 cruzados.

In the face of these grave financial difficulties the members of the Society were forced to find alternative means to balance their budgets. One of the options they chose seems to have been a participation in commerce. The relationship between the missionaries and merchants began at the same time in which the mission in Japan was founded and functioned on the basis of co-operation. The Portuguese ships were the means of transport utilised by

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32 ‘Perdendo-se alguma nao, ou deixando-se de fazer viagem da China pera Jappão algum anno, ou deixando de se mandar o emprego e ordenado, não pode deixar de se ver a Companhia de Jappão em grande aperto por falta do necessário, como aconteceo estes annos, em que não ouve viagens, pelo que a Companhia esta endividada de prezente em mais de vinte mil cruzados”, “Narração Breve do numero das casas, da gente, da renta, e gastos da companhia de Jappão [12 November 1609]”, MHJ, p. 539.
35 Cf. Michael Cooper, Rodrigues…, pp. 272-273. According to this author, in 1611 the mission owed 40,000 pesos in Portugal and, in 1615, 14,000 taels in Japan and 6,000 in Macao, cf. p. 257
the Jesuits not just for their journeys but also to provide necessary materials to the mission. The merchants, in their turn, availed of a permanent means of local support, given that the missionaries had established themselves in the territory. In addition to this, the Jesuits also received some financial assistance from the merchants as, according to Fróis, “at that time, the Fathers did not have anything else apart from the alms that the Portuguese would give them when they arrived in Japan with their ships”.  

These ties forged between the merchants and missionaries would be strengthened when Luís de Almeida entered the Society. His fortune, which amounted to about 3,000 cruzados, was invested in the silk trade at the time, as a result of which approximately 90 picos of the cargo of the ship that plied the Japanese route came to belong to the Society. This operation was the cause of considerable controversy as the missionaries were prohibited from participating in trade, both by civil legislation as well as by canonical laws.  

To soothe ruffled feathers in the wake of the controversy that had been generated it became necessary to find a conciliatory solution that would put an end to the apprehensions of the authorities and that, at the same time, would ensure a stable source of revenue for the Society. They finally reached an agreement that involved a reduction in their share of cargo down to about half (40 picos) but, in return, offered very favourable conditions for the Jesuits that included the priority sale of the Society’s picos, the concession of surpluses, a fixed income and the option of being able to sell another 50 picos when the Great Ship was not in Japan.

The agreement was accepted, as it was the only way of ensuring the survival of such a flourishing mission. And in fact, if on the one hand this


37 The prohibition on ecclesiastics participating in commercial activities had already been defined as early as Pope Honorius III (1216-1227), while the Portuguese Crown would establish the same prohibition by the Ordenações Manuelinas, Book IV, Title XXXII. Cf. Ordenações Manuelinas, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984, pp. 78-80 (facsimile edition of the 1797 Coimbra edition).


was, on occasion, abused by members of the Society, on the other hand, it was very often not easy to escape the entanglements of commerce. The Jesuits would frequently serve as intermediaries between the *daimyō* and the merchants, a fact that placed them in a delicate position. In order to maintain good relations with the Japanese lords it was necessary to dedicate themselves to this role, and in the case of the Christian *daimyō* the situation was even more complicated. If the Jesuits were to refuse to play the role of intermediaries, the *daimyō* could interpret this refusal as an act of ingratitude, given that they risked their own fiefdoms to adhere to Christianity.

2. The mission’s internal funding

In 1586, Alessandro Valignano stated that the Japanese Christians did not have the capacity to sustain the Church. His justification was simple: “because they can do no more: because the kings, notwithstanding the fact that they have large populations, have little revenue, because Japan is a land that by its nature is poor and they do not avail of the rights and tributes that the kings of Europe have”. The majority of the *daimyō* were poor as their main source of wealth – rice – was divided up amongst their innumerable dependants. Valignano further added that, given that Christianity in Japan was new and still relatively small, it was not easy for the Christian lords to sustain it as they were often persecuted and incurred many expenses on account of wars.

This incapacity of the Japanese Church to be self-sufficient placed the Society in a position of dependence with regard to external assistance. And, as we have already observed, the mission presented a negative balance and even their efforts to find alternative means did not appear to be sufficient to bridge this deficit. The very survival of the mission appeared to be at stake and the Jesuits presented frequent complaints to the concerned authorities. Alessandro Valignano expressed his preoccupation with regard to the lack of funding. In a letter dated 17 November 1583 he informed the Archbishop of Évora that he had sent Father Nuno Rodrigues to Rome in the role of procurator in order to “discuss a solution for the situation with His Majesty, and with His Holiness” and also stated that he hoped that “His Holiness, and

41 “Porque não podem mais: assi porque os reis, posto que sejão grandes de gente, têm pouca renda, por ser Jappão terra pobre de seu natural e não usarem elles dos tributos e direitos que têm os reis da Europa”, “Sumário...”, *MHJ*, p. 199.
His Majesty would provide for the mission, but as the expenses mount up every day, nothing is sufficient for Japan, and because of this any donations of alms that Your Lordship may see fit to grant it, especially in these times, when the mission is so poor, would be very well spent”.  

Valignano also spoke about the mission in the same letter, mentioning that "in truth, the harvest that we have been reaping there is very large [...] and we already have close to two hundred Churches in different Provinces and Kingdoms, with more than a hundred and fifty thousand Christians, a number which increases every day as our law is already held in great credit”. In fact, despite the enormous financial difficulties the mission continued to expand, which leads us to believe that perhaps the official budgets of the Society omitted to mention another fact and that the incapacity of the Japanese Church to sustain Christianity was not as great as it might have appeared.

The Japanese population rendered assistance, in many different ways, to the mission from its very foundation and greatly contributed towards its survival. It is difficult to determine the importance of this kind of help because in the vast majority of cases we do not have information about the value of the contributions. Be that as it may, for a mission that faced such great difficulties, it seems to us that any kind of help at all would have been welcome.

Another aspect also leads us to ponder upon Valignano’s words. In their letters, the missionaries frequently referred to the requests for fathers made by some of the Japanese lords, who wanted to have a priest present in their territories. Father Francisco Cabral wrote in 1571 that a lord "recently sent me a message requesting, with great insistence, that someone be sent to his lands to divulge the evangelical law, offering land for a Church, and..."
an income for whosoever resided in it, with great favours and promises that there would be many converts to the faith of JESUS CHRIST”.

These requests to send Fathers and Brothers made by lords or by Japanese communities continued to occur and were always accompanied with an offer of land for the construction of houses and churches, as well as an income for the sustenance of the Fathers. Sometimes, these requests had to be refused as “even though he [Tonocama] keeps insisting, one cannot owing to a lack of fathers and also due to the expenses, which are great”. Keeping in mind João Coelho’s words, we can observe that this incapacity continued to prevail in 1609: “Besides these Colleges, Houses and Residences that we have in Japan, we could have many more, as many lords offer us land to build them. But as we do not possess the wherewithal to maintain those that we already have, we do not dare to open other new ones”. It thus appears that the Society did not have sufficient personnel to satisfy the requests, despite the fact that these offers always mentioned the lord’s desire to maintain the missionaries at his expense.

There are still further indications that the aforementioned statements made by Alessandro Valignano were perhaps a little wide off the mark. In some cases, the Christian community did, in fact, prove to have the capacity to sustain their priests. A prime example of this is the city of Hakata, which Luís de Almeida mentions as having been one of the most difficult cities “in taking the faith”, although he also subsequently stated that the Christians of Hakata were the best in all of Japan. The Hakata Christians helped out so much with the construction of the Church and the sustenance of the Father that “we do not have any expenses, even for food, because of their own accord they give us our everyday necessities very clean and well arranged,

46 "Me mandou estes dias um recado pedindome com instancia alguém que as suas terras fosse denunciar a lei evangélica, oferecendo chão para huma Igreja, e renda para quem nella residisse, com grandes favores e promessas de se converterem muitos à fé de IESU CHRISTO”, Francisco Cabral, Kuchinotsu, 29.09.1571, CE, I, p. 311.

47 We come across some examples of requests for Fathers in the year 1561 (letter from Luís de Almeida, Bungo, 01.10.1561, CE, I, fl. 84. Request for a priest for Hacata, made by local Christians), 1580 (letter from Lourenço Mexia, Bungo, 20.10.1580, CE, I, fl. 473v. Request for a priest for Quiota, made by Quitandono), 1582 (Gaspar Coelho, Nagasaki, 15.02.1582, CE, II, fls. 34v-35) and 1600 (Annual letter of 1600, Ajuda Library, 49-IV-59, fl. 27v. Request for a priest made by Jorge Yafengidono).

48 "Posto que elle [Tonocama] faça muita instancia por falta de padres se não pode efectuar e também por respeito dos gastos, que são grandes", Gaspar Coelho, Nagasaki, 15.02.1582, CE, II, fl. 35.

49 "Afora neste Collegios, Casas e Resedencias, que temos em Japão podermos ter muito mais, por nos oferecerem muitos senhores sitios para as fazer. Mas como não temos posse pera conservar as que temos abraçado, não nos atrevemos a abrir outras de novo", "Narração Breve…", MHJ, p. 535.
and very often this happens with seven or eight people and sometimes even more, and if we mention to them that they should receive some form of reparation from us, it is the greatest possible insult that one can say to them.\(^{50}\)

In 1600, one can also observe this process of local Christians providing sustenance to the missionaries. In a mission made to the kingdom of Chikugo one witnessed the "particular providence of God Our Lord that in all those parts that the Father went to he placed some Christians as the heads and pillars of the others as they were firm men, and constant in their faith, and of great formation and regarded to be such even by the heathens and in the majority well-to-do and with sufficient wealth to sustain the fathers even though they keep them many days in their houses with many rooms in order to say Mass in them, and that the Christians can hear it."\(^{51}\)

This Christian community also proved to be important during some moments in which the very existence of the Society, in some way or another, was at stake. The mission weathered some critical periods from a financial point of view but even in these moments the Jesuits could count upon the support of their flock and, sometimes, even upon the support of non-Christians. During the early days of the mission, in moments of difficulty, the missionaries were able to count upon the help of the Portuguese,\(^{52}\) however, as their activities developed, much of the assistance they received came from their new converts.

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50 "Ja gasto não o temos, até no comer porque por sua parte nos vem o quotidiano muito limpo e concertado, e isto muitas vezes acontece a sete ou oito pessoas e as vezes a mais, e se lhe falamos em averem de receber de nós alguma maneira de satisfação, he a maior injuria que se lhes pode dizer", Luís de Almeida, Yokoseura, 25.10.1562, CE, I, fls. 108-109v.

51 "Particular providencia de Deos Nosso Senhor que em todas aquellas partes que o Padre correio tem posto alguns Christãos como cabeças e colunas dos mais por serem homens firmes, e constantes na fé, e de grande edificaçam e tidos dos tais ainda dos gentios e pela mayor parte abastados e com posse para sostentar os Padres ainda que em suas cazas se detenham muitos dias com bastantes apozentos para se dizer nelles Missa, e os Christãos a poderem ouvir", Annual letter of 1600, Ajuda Library, 49-IV-59, fls. 38v-40. Also mentioned in Relação, I, p. 112.

52 In 1555, Baltasar Gago wrote about the mission’s problems, stating that "As in this land we are not provisioned sometimes for periods ranging from a year to even three or four, it oft happens that due to the storms they do not ply this coast, because in six years only one message of the Goa College reached us here and also due to a lack of vessels: however despite all this we were not wanting in means, because in all the time that Duarte da Gama sailed in these parts in one of his ships, that was during a period of six years, he was of precious help during this time when he plied the ship. He brought us food and alms and provided us with all that we needed." ['comoquer esta terra se não prove de hum anno pera tres e quatro, sucede polos tempos não se tomar esta costa, porque em seis annos hum so recado do Collegio de Goa ouve ca e também por falta de embarcação: mas com tudo não nos faltou o remédio, porque em todo o tempo que Duarte da Gama andou nestas partes, que foi espao de seis annos, em huma nao sua, que se prezou mais neste tempo e de que teve a seu cargo. Foy de nos trazer comidades e esmolas e provernos deaquilo que nos era necessario."], Baltasar Gago, Hirado, 22.09.1555, CE, I, fl. 42.
In 1603, owing to the absence of the Great Ship, the mission had to reduce some expenses, cutting back on clothing, provisions and apprentices and "in the Seminary that is the source of this they say that everything would have been over had Dom João Arimandono, with the zeal that he has always shown to the service of God, not given us three hundred *taels* in alms, that are equivalent to four hundred and fifty *cruzados*, so that we could sustain his students this year". The same source also mentions that, in addition, another hundred *taels* also came from Arima, along with a further hundred from Miyako, as Ômuradono also assisted. Some of their vassals also followed the example of these lords and thus we observe that, "this year, albeit with difficulty, one managed to sustain the Residences of which many, if not all, would have been disbanded were it not for this little bit of help". In this moment of great pressure, the Society was also able to count upon the assistance of the Shogun Ieyasu himself who, in addition to a donation, also made them a loan, as we have already mentioned before.

But the Jesuits also received help from the local Christian community during another kind of difficulty – at the time of the persecutions. When measures were taken against Christianity the missionaries suffered great losses and hardship. The majority of the Churches were destroyed or taken over and the city of Nagasaki was totally controlled by the central authorities, which implied the loss of the revenues that the missionaries held there. In these troubled times, the missionaries were able to count upon diverse forms of assistance that included food, shelter and donations.
Apart from this assistance during specific moments, the local Christians’ charity was also visible in the everyday functioning of the mission. We can thus classify the assistance rendered to the Jesuits, both by Christians as well as by non-Christians, into two types: infrastructure and material support.

In order to establish their mission, the Jesuits needed some auxiliary infrastructure to enable them to proceed with their activities. The first step consisted of acquiring a house for their lodgings and liturgical practices. Initially, the missionaries began by installing themselves in rented houses however, over time, they managed to acquire some properties by means of donations. They frequently received donations of plots of land and many of these gifts were made by Japanese who had not converted to Christianity. A prime example of this is the donation made by Ouchi Yoshinaga 大内義長 (?-1557) who, “in addition, ordered that the Father be given a very large and suitable site in a part of the city, where the Father constructed his church and the houses in which they were lodged.” Along with donations of plots of land, one of the more frequent occurrences consisted of purchases of land that, in cases where these plots were bought by laymen, very often gave rise to donations made to the Church.

58 “He would house them for four or five days, and no longer […] and thus he lodged them behind his houses, in a tiny and very narrow floor that was low, dirty and old, where he kept straw and old rubbish.” “Por quatro ou sinco dias os agazalhava, e não por mais tempo […] e assim os agazalhou detráz das suas cazas, em hum sobradozinho muito estreito, baxo, sujo e velho, aonde tinha palha a despejos velhos.” HJ, I, p. 153; “And as they could not find any other suitable solution they rented another hovel in a neighbourhood that is called Xijúcarasuma-runnocho.” “E por não acharem mais acomodado remedio alugarão outro pardieiro em hum bairro que se chama Xijúcarasumarunnocho” HJ, I, p. 190.

59 The Lord of Yamaguchi gave them permission to preach and “gave them a temple in which he and his companions could be lodged.” “deu-lhes huma varela em que se reco-lhessem elle com seus companheiros” HJ, I, p. 40; “Once they arrived in Bungo, the king made them a grant of some of his houses.” “chegados a Bungo, el-rey lhes fez mercê de humas cazas suas” HJ, I, p. 101.

60 “Mandou mais dar ao Padre em huma parte da cidade hum sitio mui grande e bem acomodado, aonde o Padre fez sua igreja e cazas onde se agazalhavão”, cf. Fróis, HJ, I, p. 48; “In Bungo, which is another kingdom, that is located 45 leagues south of Yamánguchi [Yamaguchi], and the same distance from Firándo [Hirado], the lord of this land gave us a plot, where we made a house and chapel”, “Em Bungo, que he outro reino, que esta para a parte do sul 45 legoas de Yamánguchi [Yamaguchi], & outras tantas de Firándo [Hirado], nos deu o senhor desta terra hum campo, onde fizemos huma casa & capela” letter from Baltasar Gago, Hirado, 23.09.1555, CE, I, fl. 39; “Apart from the revenue, and land […] that the king of Bungo gave to the Fathers, to build churches in Facáta [Hakata] and Bungo, he gave them another in the city of Yamanguche [Yamaguchi] fifty leagues from Bungo”, “Alem da renda, & campos […] que deu elrei de Bungo aos Padres, pera no Facáta [Hakata] & Bungo fazerem igrejas lhes deu outro na cidade de Yamanguche [Yamaguchi] cincoenta leguas de Bungo”, Gaspar Vilela, Hirado, 29.10.1557, CE, I, fl. 61.

61 In Miyako, the church was small and poor, and for this reason, the Christians decided amongst themselves to buy a plot of land to build a better church. Cf. Luís Fróis, Usuki,
Likewise, the missionaries were also able to count upon the solidarity of their flock for the construction of their churches. These Churches could be the result of spontaneous actions of local Christians, such as in the case of Dario Takayama Hidanokami 仿山藤守 (?-1595), or from alms collected for this purpose, as was the case with the expansion of the Church of Nagasaki. Very often, local Christians did not just limit themselves to giving donations and contributed with other kinds of assistance, such as labour or donations of wood.

62 "Of which one of them [the Christians] has built a very beautiful church at his own expense". ["dos quaes hum delles [dos cristãos] tem feito huma igreja a sua custa mui fermosa"], Cosme de Torres, Bungo, 08.10.1561, CE, I, fl. 75v; “In the city of Facata [Hakata] a Christian by the name of Cosme built a new church at his own expense, that must have cost three hundred cruzados.” ["Na cidade de Facata [Hakata] fez hum Christaõ por nome Cosme à sua custa huma igreja nova, que poderia custar trezentos cruzados."] Baltazar Gago, Goa, 10.12.1562, CE, I, fl. 97v; “In Cutami [Kutami], which is a county nine leagues distant from Bungo, another Christian, by the name of Lucas, built another church at his own expense, a very large and good one” ["Em Cutami [Kutami], que he hum condado nove legoas de Bungo, fez outro Christaõ, por nome Lucas, outra igreja á sua custa, muito boa & grande"], Baltazar Gago, Goa, 10.12.1562, CE, I, fl. 98.

63 "He built a large church in wood that cost him more than three hundred cruzados." ["edificou uma igreja de madeira grande que lhe custou mais de trezentos cruzados."] HJ, II, p. 416.

64 “It was decided that the greatest and most beautiful church of all the churches that there are in Japan until now should be built here (Nagasaki), and for this they contributed close to two thousand cruzados in donations”. ["Se determinou que se fizesse aqui (Nagasaki) a maior, e mais fermosa igreja de quantas até agora ha em Iapão, e pera isso se derão de esmola perto de dois mil cruzados."], Fróis, Nagasaki, 01.10.1585, CE, II, fl. 129v.

65 “I left from this island for a community of Christians, that is called Xyxi [Shishi], with instructions, apart from visiting them with the word of God, to arrange a chapel there in a new church that the Christians just finished constructing: and for this construction, from Yquiceuquy [Ikitsuki] they offered seven carpenters and other necessary assistance”["Desta ilha me parti pera hum lugar de Christaõs, que se chama Xyxi [Shishi], com determinação de alem de os visitar com a palavra de Deos, ordenar ali huma capella em huma igreja nova que os Christaõs acabavaõ de fazer: & pera esta obra ofereceráõ os de Yquiceuquy [Ikitsuki], sete carpinteiros, & outras ajudas necessarias"], Luís de Almeida, Bungo 01.10.1561, CE, I, fl. 86; "When I had already been in this place of Ocura [Okura] for a few days, the Christians of Vocçura [Otsura] came to know that a church was being built here and that people were required to arrange the floor, 24 [Christians] came on horseback with more than one hundred workers along with their instruments and tools”["Havendo já alguns dias que estava neste logar de Ocura [Okura], sabendo os christãos de Vocçura [Otsura], que aqui se ordenava igreja e que era necessario gente para concertar o chão, vierão 24 de cavalo com mais de cem trabalhadores com seus instrumentos e aparelhos"], HJ, II, p. 141.

66 “As the houses are of wood and are all closed they can be moved to wherever desired, and thus he gave all the wood necessary for the church and ordered it to be brought to the plot for the church at his [the Lord of Shimbara’s] cost, and in this manner he ordered that the entire plot be prepared for the church foundations, in which task two hundred men were engaged every day during twenty days as there were many large rocks” ["As casas serem de madeira,
In addition to the houses and churches the missionaries also created another kind of infrastructure that enabled them to render assistance to the Japanese. The mission’s hospital provided medical assistance both to ordinary patients as well as to individuals afflicted by leprosy, of which there were a large number to be found in Japan.\(^67\) In 1559, Luís de Almeida mentioned that, “The hospital is witnessing much growth, and in the same way, the donations for the hospital with which it sustains itself. This past year we received three hundred cruzados. With these donations, many poor people will be cared for, and in the same way as it is spent, the Lord multiplies it, because it never wants for anything”.\(^68\) The hospital was maintained with donations from the local Christian community and from some Portuguese. The lord of Bungo had also granted it an income that “when the situation stabilises, will be worth three hundred cruzados every year”.\(^69\) In addition, there was “a charity box and brothers of the Misericórdia who collect the donations that they give, and each Sunday, after the Mass, it is opened, and one does accounts of what has been spent and adds what one finds in it to our income”.\(^70\)

\(^67\) "The Work of the hospital is no small help for this entire land of Japan, as such an institution of charity is sorely lacking in these lands [...]. The numbers of the sick were continuously increasing, and are going to increase even more, for which reason it was necessary to make a large house, with its rooms for the sick and for clean people: which was built with donations for the hospital, and it will cost one hundred and thirty cruzados when it is finished." ["A Obra do esprital he huma fino nam pequeno pera toda essa terra de Iapão, como carecem em suas terras de tal obra de Misericórdia [...]. Foram os doentes em tanto crescimento, e vão, que foi necessário fazerse huma casa grande, com suas camaras pera os doentes esta pera gente limpa: a qual se fez de esmolas do esprital, & custaria cento & trinta cruzados acabada."], Luís de Almeida, Bungo, 1559, CE, I, fls. 62-62v.

\(^68\) "O esprital vay em muito crescimento, e assi as esmolas do esprital com que se sostenta. Este anno passado se deram trezentos cruzados. Com estas esmolas se remediarão muitos pobres, e asi como se gasta, o Senhor o multiplique, porque nunca lhe falte nada", Luís de Almeida, Bungo, 20.11.1559, CE, I, fl. 62v.

\(^69\) "Apaziguada a terra valerá cada anno trezentos cruzados", Baltasar Gago, Bungo, 01.11.1559, CE, I, fl. 64v.

\(^70\) "Huma caixa e irmãos da Misericórdia que recolhiam as esmolas que dão, e cada Domingo depois da missa se abre, e se dá conta do gasto e se lança em receita o que se acha", Idem, Ibidem.
By analysing all these references one can verify that the help rendered to the missionaries for obtaining this infrastructure was, in reality, quite significant, despite the fact that it was not quantified. The material support that the missionaries received also enabled them to reduce their expenses by a fair amount. This assistance consisted of various types of help, of which I shall attempt a brief analysis in the following pages.

In the first place, in order to carry out their tasks in the best possible manner, the missionaries had to undertake various missions, and were thus obliged to travel throughout the country. These journeys implied, as was inevitable, diverse expenses. It was necessary to have a place to stay, transport and, of course, food. However, in much the same way as in the case of their houses, the Jesuits managed to reduce their expenses on this account as well. One can find proof of the assistance they received in the following words by Luís de Almeida: “Thus, dear brethren, when wandering around here amongst the Christians, there is no necessity for saddle bags, because wherever you go you are housed better than if you were the king himself: because you never want for anything, not even ships, and horses and men who will accompany you if you so require, and if you do not allow them to provide you with your necessities, they [feel] they are not amongst the ranks of charitable Christians, and feel greatly affronted”. 71

The missionaries also received various revenues with which they sustained the Churches and Colleges. One of the most well known examples of this was the donation made by Ômura Sumitada 大村純忠 (1533-1587) to the Society of Jesus 72 of the port of Nagasaki, along with all the port charges paid by the vessels docking there. However, there exist many other instances of such donations, which were made both by Christians as well as by non-Christians.

The Lord of Shimabara donated an area of land to the Society, whose tenants were to pay ground-rents for the construction of the Church, 73 while Ōtomo Sōrin 大友宗麟 (1530-1587), in 1578, donated “the revenues of

71 "Assi carissimos, que pera peregrinar de ca entre os Christãos, não hé necessario alforges, porque onde quer que chegaís sois milhor agasalhado que se for a o mesmo rei: porque de nenhuma causa tendes necessidade, nem ainda de embarcações, e cavallos e homens que vos acompanhem se he necessario, e se isto de que tendes necessidade lhes não concedeis, háo que são lançados dos livros dos Christãos misericordiosos, e fazemlhe nisso afronta", Luís de Almeida, Bungo, 01.19.1561, CE, I, fls. 84v-85.
73 Cf. Luís de Almeida, Yokoseura, 17.11.1563, CE, I, fl. 125; HI, I, p. 315.
two temples, with which at the moment, one could easily maintain 20 people at the mission".  

Another type of assistance that proved to be of great importance for balancing the mission’s budget consisted of donations. As we have already mentioned, in moments of crisis the missionaries were often assisted with generous contributions, however, in addition, this kind of funding also had a more regular nature. Donations could be given in kind,\(^7^5\) in money,\(^7^6\) in silver\(^7^7\) or in bales of rice\(^7^8\) and this assistance was not given only by Christians. An example of this was the participation of some non-Christian friends of local Christians in the construction of the new church of Miyako, where they provided much help and, “one of them ordered that it be written in the book in which the major-domo received the donations, and brought a large bar of silver as a donation for the construction works. From this individual I have always received so much help and so many favours in Miyako, that it is as though he were a Christian”.\(^7^9\)

The missionaries also benefited from donations of another kind, albeit more indirectly. The missionaries had the task of providing the local Christian community with both spiritual as well as material help. The missionaries helped in whatever manner they could, sharing whatever they had,

\(^7^4\) "A renda de duas varellas, com a qual por então se poderião bem sostentar 20 pessoas da companhia", \textit{HJ}, III, p. 39.
\(^7^5\) The lady fed the poor during four days and, in addition, gave alms to the house with which one shall make much furniture, and also gave a silk dress that is worth three or four thousand boxes, that are equal to eighteen or twenty \emph{pardaos}. ["A mulher deu de comer aos pobres quatro dias deu mais de esmola à casa que se ha de fazer muitas alfaias, e mais deu huma roupa de seda que val tres ou quatro mil caixas, que são dezoito ou vinte pardaus."] Sumário de algumas cartas de Cosme de Torres, Yamaguchi, \textit{CE}, I, fl. 44.
\(^7^6\) “However, not even all of this is enough to get them [the Christians of Ōmura] to stop giving their donations, so much so that this year they gave me, in silver alone, \textit{47 taeis} and \textit{in caixas}, which is a copper coin, \textit{forty thousand}” [“Todavia nem tudo isto hé bastanta para deixarem [os cristãos de Ōmura] de fazer suas esmolas, de maneira que este anno me derão, em prata, somente, \textit{47 taeis} e em caixas, que hé moeda de cobre, quarenta mil”], \textit{HJ}, V, p. 464.
\(^7^7\) “And she [Ágata] normally sent so many presents for the boys of the seminary and for the Fathers, without even having seen them up to now, that it left everyone astonished, and at the very outset she sent two ingots of silver” [“e eram tantos os prezentes que ordinariamente mandava [Ágata] aos meninos do seminário e aos Padres, sem nunca os ter athé agora visto, que a todos punha em admiração, e logo no princípio mandou duas barras de prata.”], \textit{HJ}, IV, p. 493.
\(^7^8\) “He [D. Agostinho] sent a donation of one thousand six hundred bales of rice to be distributed amongst the Fathers” [“Mandou [D. Agostinho] de esmola mil e seiscentos fardos de arroz para se repartirem pelos Padres”], \textit{Relação}, I, p. 68.
\(^7^9\) “Hum deles se mandou escrever no livro em que os mordomos recebião as esmolas, e trouxe de esmola huma grande barra de prata pera as obras. Deste recebi sempre tantos favores e ajudas no Miaco como se elle fora Christião”, Luís Fróis, Usuki, 09.09.1557, \textit{CE}, I, fl. 389.
such as, for example, during the times of turmoil in the city of Miyako. Both their tasks as well as their budgets were made a little easier with the help provided by Christians or by fraternities. The alms given to Christians and the poor which were not necessarily made by the members of the Society were very often made on the occasion of deaths or funeral rites such as, for example, as happened at the time of the death of D. Miguel de Amakusa or during the more important celebrations of the Church’s calendar. The Misericórdias and fraternities also constituted an important support structure for the mission’s activities, owing to the assistance that they provided to the sick and poor. The Misericórdia of Nagasaki, based on the Portuguese model, became an important centre of assistance for the poor, widows, orphans and the sick. One can find references to other Misericórdias as well: in Miyako, Hirado, Hakata and Arima. However, these kinds of Misericórdias had a different manner of functioning to the one at Nagasaki.

In addition to helping the poor, these associations were also a means of attaining spiritual improvement. One could also experience this improvement by means of religious practices. Perhaps for this very reason the festi-

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80 The inhabitants of Miyako were obliged to pay a tax, for which they did not have the necessary means. In this manner, “a donation of fifteen or twenty taels, which Your Reverence [Francisco Cabral] ordered be given to the poor more than five or six months ago, was utilised to remedy this and the other great necessities that the poor Christians underwent in this universal destruction.” [“aproveitou-se muito remédio desta e outras necessidades grandes que os christãos pobres sobreviveram nesta universal destruição, huma esmola de quinze ou vinte taes, que V.R. [Francisco Cabral] ha ja mais de cinco ou seis meses, ordenou que se desse aos pobres.”], Luís Fróis, Miyako, 27.05.1573, CE, I, fl. 348v.
81 “On the day of Our Lady, D. Grácia ordered that a funeral procession be held, and on that day fed more than one thousand poor people and made many other donations, and his son and heir, Dom João, did the same” [“Dia de Nossa Senhora lhes mandou D. Grácia fazer um saimento, e deo naquelle dia de comer a passante de mil pobres e fez outras muitas esmolas, e o mesmo fez seu filho herdeiro Dom João.”], HJ, III, p. 308.
82 In Higo, during the celebrations of the Holy Week, the Christians gave some alms as “even though they are poor and in debt owing to the war of Corai and other expenses they have had, nevertheless, they did not cease to assist at their own pace with their alms and by doing many pious works” [“Ainda que ficaram pobres e individados por causa da guerra do Corai e por outros gastos que tiveram contudo, não deixaram de acudir a seu tempo com suas esmolas e fazer muitas obras pias”], Relação, I, p. 96.
84 Cf. HJ, IV, p. 333.
85 Cf. HJ, II, p. 84.
86 Cf. HJ, V, p. 465.
87 Cf. HJ, V, p. 219.
vals held at the mission sought to dazzle the local Christian community. These festivities were almost always connecting with the Holy Week and Christmas and proved to be occasions where people were in a very charitable frame of mind. Sancho Sangandonō was one of these charitable Christians as, “his house is like religion itself. Over the course of fifteen years the festivals of Easter and Christmas have been held in his church in Sanga, with no little expenditure and outlay on his part, in liberally providing food to all the Christians who would come there from diverse lands and kingdoms, to attend these solemn festivities”.

Another, although often only occasional, source of assistance consisted of presents. These were offered on more limited occasions and were often received as reciprocal gifts, according to the traditional customs of Japan. Fróis, for example, mentions how Vatandono “On the festival of Xogvachi [Shogatsu], that is the first moon of the year, greatly celebrated by the Japanese, always used to send me through one of his pages […] a new dress of silk”. These presents could also be in the form of foodstuffs, as was offered to Luís de Almeida in recognition of the medical assistance he had provided, in the form of objects, such as the wooden box offered by a certain D. Isabel, or even in silver.

And, lastly, we can observe another source of funding that, of all these sources, is perhaps the least referred to and probably the least usual. These consisted of bequests in wills, utilised to leave one last bit of assistance to the mission. At least one Christian, by the name of Diogo, thought in this manner and “knowing of the necessities that this Church of Japan suffers, for this reason left them seven hundred cruzados as a donation in his will”.

89 “A sua caza era como uma religião. As festas da Pascoa e do Natal por espaços de quinze anos alli se fazia em Sanga na sua Igreja, com não pequeno gasto e despeza sua, em dar de comer liberalmente a todos os cristãos que alli concorrião de diversas partes e reinos, para se acharem às festas solenes”, Cf. HJ, I, p. 260.
90 Pela festa de Xogvachi [Shogatsu], que hé a primeira lua do ano, muito celebrada dos Japões, me mandava sempre por hum pagem seo […] huma roupa de seda nova”, cf. HJ, II, p. 347.
92 Cf. HJ, III, p. 185.
93 During the mission to Edo, the Father paid a visit to Tokugawa Ieyasu and his son, who proved to be very attentive, “in which the son, particularly, took great pains, giving the Father, Brother some ingots of silver as a present” ["no que particularmente se esmerou o filho dando ao Padre, Irmão algumas barras de prata de presente."], Ajuda Library, 49-IV-59, fl. 296.
94 For the period 1585-1609, we find only two references.
95 “Sabendo as necessidades que padece esta Igreja de Japão, e por isso lhes deixou hum seu testamento setecentos cruzados de esmola”, Fróis, Annual letter of 1585, Nagasaki, 01.10.1585, CE, II, fl. 129v.
Likewise, a Portuguese sailor, who used to frequent the port of Fukahori, wished to bequeath some assistance to the mission, leaving the missionaries “a legacy of one hundred réis to assist in building Churches in Fucafori”.

When we examine the official budgets of the Japanese mission the fact that one never finds mention of internal sources of funding may appear to be rather strange, however, the truth is that these sources did exist. The letters and accounts penned by the missionaries in Japan are replete with references to help provided by the local Christian community. What has been presented in this study merely represents a small fraction of this assistance. These internal sources of funding could not have been very stable, as the majority of cases were of an occasional nature, but they enabled the Jesuits to save on a series of expenses and contributed towards reducing their budgetary deficit. In my opinion, they should not be undervalued, as they were also a demonstration of the internal strength of the Japanese Christian community, which helps one to better understand the harshness of the Tokugawa persecution.

96 “Por legado cem réis pera ajuda de se fazerem Igrejas em Fucafori”, Annual letter of 1600, Ajuda Library, 49-IV-59, fl.10v.
Abstract

In 1586, Alessandro Valignano, the Jesuit Visitor stated that the Japanese Christian community was incapable of sustaining the Church. However, if we carefully examine the documents that the missionaries have left us, we can observe that this was not quite the case.

The different types of assistance rendered by the Japanese (both Christian and non-Christian) appear to contradict Valignano’s words. Both during key moments in the mission’s history as well as in its day to day functioning, this Japanese help was a constant feature. Despite the fact that most of the cases were not very stable sources of funding, these internal revenues contributed, to a greater or lesser degree, towards meeting the substantial expenses that the mission entailed. For a mission that faced so many difficulties, any kind of help would have been welcome.

Resumo

Em 1586, Alexandre Valignano, Visitador da Companhia de Jesus, afirmava que a Comunidade Cristã Japonesa era incapaz de sustentar a Igreja. Contudo, se olharmos com atenção para os escritos deixados pelos missionários, verificamos que talvez essa incapacidade fosse apenas aparente.

Os diferentes tipos de ajudas prestados pelos Japoneses (cristãos e gentios) parecem contrariar as palavras de Valignano. Tanto em momentos-chave da missão como na sua vida quotidiana o auxílio japonês foi sempre uma presença constante. Apesar da maioria dos casos não serem fontes de financiamento muito estáveis, estes rendimentos internos contribuíram, de maior ou de menor forma, para avaliar os pesados gastos que a missão tinha de fazer face. Para uma missão que apresentava tantas dificuldades qualquer tipo de ajuda seria bem vindo.

要約

1586年、イエス会巡回師ヴァリーヌーは日本のキリスト共同体が教会を維持できないと明言した。しかし、宣教師が遺した文書を慎重に考察すればその断言は事実と必ずしも一致しない。日本人による（キリスト教信者もそうではない人も）いろいろ教会への助力はヴァリーヌーのことを否定する。日本教会の画期的なときも平凡なときにも、日本人の協力が常にあった。安定的な資金源ではなかったが、この教会内の収入はある程度日本での宣教活動にかかる多大な費用の一部を補っていた。苦難の多い宣教地域にはいかなる援助でも歓迎される状況であった。