PAPERS COMMUNICATED

93. *A Collection of Documents belonging to the Inquisition Office against the Kirishitans.*

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It is a well known fact that there was an enormous mass of documents and confiscated objects belonging to the Inquisition Office (Shūmon-aratame-yaku) of the Tokugawa Government. While their fate is entirely unrecorded (probably destroyed), a little collection of those documents crept out of the secrecy and was gradually made known to the public.

The first one who got hold of this collection (how and where, entirely unknown) was a Confucianist Ōta and his preface to it is dated 1797. He gave a title to it and called it *Kirishito-ki* (契利斯督記) by which it became generally known,¹⁾ and his equivocal statements in the preface have misled later scholars to regard it as his compilation; but the error of this assumption will be evident from the remarks in the present paper.

The collection is also included in the Sokkyo-hen ("Suppression and Interdiction") compiled by the official historians of Mito in 1860. There it bears the title *Tenmon Batsuroku*, probably intended to signify the "last stage of the Tenmon events," i.e. of the Kirishitan propaganda started in the era of Tenmon. This copy is largely identical with the former but seems not to have been based upon Ōta's copy.

Now, in examining the documents and coordinating them with other materials recently brought to light concerning the inquisition and persecution, we can safely say that they belonged to the Inquisition Office and were compiled as a manual of inquisition, together with the measures taken for excluding foreign intercourse. Let us give the list of the documents contained therein.

1) First made known by Ernest Satow in 1878 (TASJ. vi. 53-62), then by M. Okada in 1890 (Shigaku Zasshi, i.). Printed, for the first time, in the Zokuzoku Gunsho Ruiju (1907), a poor edition. The larger parts edited with comments by Anesaki, in the "Persecution and Survival" (1924).

- I. The oath taken by Yasuda Wakasa-no-Kami, the Commissioner of Public Work (Sakuji Bugyō), on entering the office of Inquisition Commissioner, as an additional post, — dated March 31st, 1662 (Gregorian Calendar).
- II. The oath taken by an unknown (probably Hōjō Awa-no-Kami) on a similar occasion, — dated June 4th, 1658.
- III. The watch stations against foreign vessels along the coasts of Kyūshū, — no date. The number of the stations amounts to twenty three, mostly on the western side of Kyūshū.
- IV. The proscription boards against Kirishitans and concerning foreign trade, six in number, two of which are dated 1640 (probably) and four dated 1658.
- V. The method and procedure of inquisition (*Shūmon sensaku*), — without date, probably compiled during the office of the first Commissioner Inouye.
- VI. The memoirs of the official bidding farewell by the Dutch captains, — one dated April 29th, 1659, and the other April 10th, 1661.
- VII. Cautions to be taken at the inquisition, — without date, but certainly belonging together with the Document V.
- VIII. The lines along which the Kirishitan religion was propagated, — belonging together with the following one.
- IX. A list of the localities where Kirishitans were found, with their respective numbers, — dated July 16th, 1658.
- X. A short sketch of the extermination of Kirishitans, chiefly after the Shimabara insurrection down to 1658, together with the measures taken against foreign ships.
- XI. Some points of argument put against the Baterens (Padres) by the Inquisition Commissioner, Inouye Chikugo-no-Kami, used during his official activity.
- XII. Some confessions made by the Padres (mostly apostates), together with a few documents presented by them, bearing the date of 1658.
- XIII. An outline of Kirishitan teaching, together with a table of Christian names ("names of the Beatos"), male and female, evidently written by an apostate Padre for the Inquisition Commissioner.

The idea underlying the whole collection is the identity of the two causes, the strict vigilance against foreign intercourse and the interdiction of the Kirishitan religion. There seems to be a confusion in the order of arranging the documents, as in the order of the topics stated concerning Kirishitan teachings in Doc. XIII. Yet the purport of the collection is clear, that is to give clues to the Inquisition officers as to the evil nature of the proscribed religion, the psychology of the converts, the ways of exterminating them, and so forth.

Rearranging the materials contained we have the following categories before us :

- I-II. Concerning the tenure of the office.
- III-IV. Concerning foreign ships and trade relations.
- VI. Concerning the control of the Dutch.
- VIII-IX. A general view of the spread of the propaganda and the extent of the prosecuted.
- X. A general survey of the propaganda and prosecution.
- V. The procedure of the prosecution and the cautions to be taken in it.
- XI. The arguments directed against the propagandists.
- XII. Their confessions as the testimony to the falsehood of their religion.
- XIII. The outline of their teaching, for the use of the inquisitors.

Leaving many interesting points in these documents and discussions on them to a fuller treatise now in preparation, one remarkable point is that most of the points stated are related to the events from the end of the Shimabara insurrection (1637-38) down to 1658. This latter date marks the year when Inouye Chikugo, the first Commissioner, retired and was succeeded by Hōjō. Inouye had worked during twenty years for exterminating Kirishitans and seemed nearly to have attained the final aim. He had achieved his task by rather lenient measures than severe ones, which proved in fact more successful than the measures taken before his time, as stated particularly in the document X. But unfortunately toward the end of the preceding year (1657), a "great plot" almost like the Shimabara insurrection was brought to light and was concluded by the capital punishment of 600 men and women. Thus Inouye, who had devoted the best years of his life

to the task, felt now his age and resigned.¹⁾ His successor Hōjō renewed severer measures and the years 1658, 1660-61, 1663-64, 1668, 1673, and lastly 1697 (in a much lesser degree), witnessed the heights of the persecution renewed.

In sum, the documents before us contain the materials and wisdoms collected during the twenty years of Inouye's office tenure, which were left as his legacy to his successors. It was probably these documents which supplied informations concerning the Kirishitan religion to Arai who examined the smuggled missionary Sidotti in 1709-10, when even the officers of the Inquisition Office were becoming ignorant of the objective of their duties.

1) He retired on the 29th of the 4th month (May 31) of 1658, and in the document XII there is one document bearing the date of the 12 of the 5th month, addressed to Inouye and Hōjō. This shows that some of the documents were made while Inouye was giving instructions to his successor.