Courting Beyond the Court: Performing Commensurability in the Early European Trade with Japan, 1609-1641

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Abstracts

I.

Between the years 1609 and 1641, merchants of the English and Dutch East India Companies (EIC and VOC) lived and worked in the port city of Hirado in Tokugawa Japan. The arrival of these companies marks the first time that western Europeans had encountered Japan following the formation of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1603. Lacking the resources and training of royal embassies, and neither desirous nor capable of military intervention, the English and Dutch merchants were required to pursue strategies of social integration in Japan, in order to develop the network of social relations needed for successful trade.

This dissertation examines the mechanisms by which these merchants were able to integrate with the Japanese they encountered during their time at Hirado. It argues that strangership – the ambivalent and potentially hostile relationship between estranged parties – was a significant threat to trade. By locating points of cross-cultural commensurability between their disparate societies, the European merchants were able to develop trust with the local Japanese and overcome, in large part, the challenge of strangership. It suggests that this process was facilitated by the fact that all three countries were being shaped in broadly similar ways by shared 'early modern' forces.

Drawing on written and visual sources from the EIC and VOC factories at Hirado, this study examines the ways in which the European merchants were able to develop cross-cultural commensurability in five central aspects of the Euro-Japanese relationship: the formation of distinct cultural identities, the use of entertainment and socialising as a means of constituting social networks, the impact of space on social relations, the use of formal and informal gift exchanges as a social mediator, and the role of violence in resolving conflicts of honour and status.

II.

In 1609 and 1613, merchants from the Dutch and English East India Companies (VOC and EIC) arrived in Hirado, a small port city on the northwest coast of Kyushu, Japan, with the aim of establishing two trading posts, or 'factories'. From these establishments, the English and Dutch would conduct trade with Tokugawa Japan, living and working alongside the local population for thirty-two years.

These merchant companies were not the first Europeans in Japan, having been preceded by the Portuguese merchants and Catholic missionaries active in Japan since the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, their arrival represents the first time that western Europeans had encountered and opened diplomatic relations with Japan following the formation of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1603. The Hirado factories had only a short existence; the English factory, established in 1613, was closed after ten years of operation due to poor returns, while the Dutch factory, established in 1609, was closed when the VOC was relocated to Nagasaki following the imposition of stricter regulations on maritime trade after the Shimabara Rebellion of 1638-9. Due in part to this brief tenure, the Hirado factories are often touched on only briefly in histories of the EIC and VOC, considered either a failed experiment at trade, or a prelude to the longer-lasting Dutch enterprise at Dejima.

However, the rich body of sources – diaries, letters and account-books – surviving from the early history of Anglo-Dutch trade with Japan provides a valuable means of examining the ways in which Europeans handled the process of encounter with a hitherto-unfamiliar country, particularly one which bore, to many of the merchants, notable similarities to their own. Moreover, it allows for an analysis of how this process was carried out when the Europeans found themselves in a relatively weak diplomatic position, compared to the shogunate. As merchants employed by joint-stock trading companies, the English and

Dutch factors resident at Hirado did not have the formal training or status that would ordinarily be afforded to royal ambassadors. The EIC and VOC, moreover, were neither desirous nor capable of using military force to coerce the Japanese into a favourable trading arrangement, a strategy which would come to characterise European interactions with Asian states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Instead, the English and Dutch merchants at Hirado were required to pursue strategies of social integration with the local Japanese, developing close relations with individuals from across the stratified social hierarchy of Japan – from friends and neighbours in Hirado to members of the Shogun's inner circle at Edo – in order to develop the networks of valuable contacts needed to ensure that trade could be conducted successfully; in other words, to court favour beyond the court.

The ability of European merchants to act as cosmopolitans when travelling beyond Europe, and for merchants to act in a diplomatic capacity when royal embassies were not used has been increasingly recognised in recent scholarship on European overseas expansion. This dissertation examines the structural foundations upon which such social relations could be built, arguing that the cosmopolitan strategy employed by the EIC and VOC in Japan was threatened by the tensions of strangership between the Europeans and Japanese. 'Strangership', a term borrowed from sociology, describes the ambivalent and potentially hostile relationship between strangers, two parties who live close to one another but agree that they are distant from each other in social terms. Since this ambiguous relationship could develop into either friendship or enmity, it placed both parties in a precarious position; the bonds of trust which underpinned cosmopolitan interactions could not be established while strangership existed. It therefore fell to the English and Dutch to identify ways in which the tensions of strangership could be overcome.

In order to overcome strangership, this thesis contends that the English, Dutch, and Japanese were required to locate points of broad similarity between their respective societies;

points of cross-cultural commensurability which could facilitate meaningful dialogue between these parties, either by showing the existence of broadly similar practices and institutions in each country, or by allowing the parties embroiled in the encounter to identify comparable mores and values which underpinned culturally-specific, and thus otherwise inaccessible, social practices. With points of commensurability thus identified, it argues, the English and Dutch were able to more easily manage the apparent differences between themselves and the Japanese, minimising the distance between their disparate societies and enabling strangership to develop into a more productive relationship.

This process, it is argued, was facilitated by the fact that all three countries were being shaped in broadly similar ways by similar forces. In the period upon which this study focuses, England, the Dutch Republic, and Japan had begun to follow comparable trajectories in their respective patterns of state-development. Emerging from periods of conflict into a period of relative stability, each state was subject to increases in population, significant urbanisation, and increasing state centralisation. Attendant on such developments were the rise of a consumerist middle class with time and money to spend on leisure pursuits; the emergence of a widespread popular culture, particularly in literature and the dramatic arts; and concerns with civility – the qualities of politeness and virtue – which were no longer considered the preserve of courtly elites. Developments too were occurring in the way in which individuals in these societies expressed honour; where previously combat prowess had been considered the mark of a man's honour, centralising impulses had resulted in honour being concentrated in a small core of political élites, while those seeking honour competed for their approval and sanction. In European history, and increasingly in global history, these developments have been considered the hallmarks of 'early modernity'. While none of the countries upon which this study focuses displayed identical developments in any of these fields, this dissertation

argues that ‘early modernity’ serves as a valuable heuristic to describe the changes occurring in each of these states.

In order to test this thesis, this dissertation examines the encounter between the English, Dutch and Japanese in five central aspects of the Euro-Japanese relationship. Chapter one focuses on the reception of the English and Dutch by the Japanese, and the ways in which specific national identities were conceptualised and expressed in visual and literary depictions of foreign groups. It argues that the arrival of the English and Dutch in Japan – termed the ‘Protestant irruption’ – represented a refinement of understanding in Japanese cosmological, ethnographic and religious knowledge following the successive arrival of Iberian and northern European groups. Initially identifying the English and Dutch with the previous Europeans they had encountered, Japanese artists and intellectuals were increasingly able to draw on first-hand experience with the northern Europeans and knowledge transmitted by them, and thus to more easily to distinguish between European groups with confidence. This was of particular importance given the shogunate’s concerns about Christianity and its potential to undermine Tokugawa authority. Establishing a firm understanding of the English and Dutch identity, it is argued, was a prerequisite to overcoming strangership.

Chapter two explores the use of entertainment as a means of constituting social networks between the factors and the Japanese. It examines three significant forms of entertainment – communal dining, attending dramatised performances, and bathing for health and leisure – in order to determine how far European and Japanese conceptions of entertainment were commensurate, and how far the Europeans were able to adapt when confronted with unfamiliar forms of leisure activity. English and Dutch entertainment, it argues, shared several features with forms of entertainment available in Japan, and while many of the activities shared by the English, Dutch and Japanese were rooted in universal aspects of human existence, practices such as the adherence to certain standards of table

manners, the attendance of popular performances, and the enjoyment of bathing as a relaxing (rather than ritualistic) activity were more specific early modern forms of entertainment recognisable in each culture. The recognition of commonalities in social practices allowed the English and Dutch to use these forms of entertainment as a common and reliable means of engaging on an informal basis with Japanese from across the social hierarchy of Tokugawa Japan, using shared pleasure to solidify the bonds between those who were entertained together.

Chapter three examines the relationship between Euro-Japanese interactions and the spaces in which these encounters occurred. Arguing that spaces were both constitutive of, and constituted by, the interactions occurring within them, this chapter examines four significant sites of interaction – the English and Dutch factories, Japanese shogunal and domanial mansions, ships and urban neighbourhoods – and examines the ways in which the European factors were able to adapt and appropriate spaces across Japan to ease the tensions inherent in the process of encounter. Space, it is argued, could set apart a place where the factors could maintain connections with far-distant Europe in their own imaginaries, whilst simultaneously reflecting to the Japanese a sense of the exoticism of their wares. The Europeans and Japanese alike were able to use their own experience of familiar spaces – such as the palace – to inform their behaviour in unfamiliar spaces; a stratagem which found particular use when encounters occurred in settings where it was not obvious how best to adhere to the codes of decorum which defined hierarchical interactions. Space, moreover, could help form associative ties with those who share the same space; that the English did and the Dutch did not form close networks with their nearest neighbours was, it is argued, in part a result of the positioning of their factories within the broader urban environment.

Chapter four focuses on the use of formal and informal gift exchanges as social mediators, demonstrating the importance of the gift as a means of winning valuable

friendships and forming networks of obligation across the Japanese social hierarchy. Gifts were given in Japan on a formal and an informal basis to a wide variety of individuals, from neighbours to the nobility, and while not all gifts were of equal diplomatic weight, they nevertheless all had the ability to modify, to some degree, the behaviour of those who received them. Gift-giving in Japan required cautious observation of local norms, and the Europeans were required to observe certain Japanese gift-giving festivals in order to ensure that their gifts were well-received. Failure to understand these norms, it is argued, ultimately played a small but significant role in the decision to close the English factory following poor financial returns in 1623. Gift-exchanges also, it is argued, served to reflect the power imbalance in the Euro-Japanese encounter, with the European factors unable to refuse or return a gift as easily as most Japanese were.

Chapter five examines the role of violence in resolving conflicts of honour and status. England, the Dutch Republic and Japan, it argues, each possessed comparable cultures of honour rooted in martial prowess which, by the seventeenth century, had become increasingly centralised in the hands of the state. The commensurability between European and Japanese uses of violence meant that each group had broadly similar responses to violence as a disruption – and as an expression – of judicial order. Although disagreements over judicial practice did occur, this chapter argues that these were not due to incommensurabilities between conceptions of violence, but rather resulted from misinterpretations of legislation and disagreements between disparate religious beliefs.

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List of Abbreviations

Dagregisters - Tokyo Historiographical Institute, *Diaries Kept by the Heads of the Dutch Factory in Japan* (10 vols, Tokyo, 1974).

Diary - Tokyo Historiographical Institute, *Diary Kept by the Head of the English Factory in Japan: Diary of Richard Cocks, 1615-1622* (3 vols., Tokyo, 1978).

Saris - John Saris, *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613,* ed. Ernest M. Satow (London, 1908).

NA – *Nationaal Archief,* The Hague, the Netherlands

Introduction
The Europeans of Hirado

On 11 June 1613, the English East India Company (EIC) vessel *Clove* came to anchor a half-league from the Japanese port of Hirado after a two-year voyage from England.[1] The leader of the expedition, John Saris, recorded in his account of the event that he ordered the *Clove* to fire a cannon-shot in greeting 'it being the custome, as I am informed by the naturals, so to doe.'[2] Shortly after, the *Clove* and the merchants aboard were met by a flotilla of ships, carrying Matsura Takanobu, the current lord (*daimyo*) of Hirado, his grandfather Matsura Shigenobu, and a host of retainers and followers.[3] After initial introductions were made, Saris invited the two members of the Matsura clan into his cabin, where they were feasted and entertained with 'a good consort of Musicke, which much delighted them'.[4] The Matsura, in turn, welcomed the English 'with promise of kinde and free intertanement,'and received 'with great Joye' a letter from King James VI and I, requesting formal permission for the EIC to establish a trading-post or 'factory' in the country, and thus to conduct trade with Japan.

The arrival of the *Clove* marks the last of several European attempts to establish trade with Tokugawa Japan. The first Europeans in Japan were Portuguese sailors travelling with a Chinese vessel, which had arrived in September 1543.[5] Their arrival was swiftly followed by further waves of merchants, as well as missionaries from the Jesuit Order, for whom Hirado

[1] John Saris, The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613, ed. Ernest M. Satow (London, 1908), p. 79 (11 June 1613). Hereafter, '*Saris*'.
[2] Ibid., p. 79 (11 June 1613).
[3] Japanese names are presented with the family name first (e.g. in the name Matsura Takanobu, 'Matsura' is the family name). Where possible, names have been rendered according to the conventions used by the Tokyo Historiographical Society in their editions of the *Diary of Richard Cocks* and the *Dagregisters* of the VOC; where a Japanese name has not been identified the transliteration given by the factors is used instead. Quotations from source texts have been left unchanged.
[4] *Saris*, p. 80 (11 June 1613).
[5] Olof G. Lidin, *Tanegashima – The Arrival of Europe in Japan* (Copenhagen, 2002), p. 1.

served as a valuable entrepot until 1599.[6] In 1600, the first recorded northern Europeans arrived in Japan when the Dutch vessel *Liefde* (Love) washed up at Sashio, Bungo Province, carrying a host of Dutch merchants and their English pilot, William Adams.[7] Nine years later, the first ships of the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*; VOC) would arrive to establish a factory in Hirado.[8] The English and Dutch remained in Hirado until poor returns and a general financial crisis across the EIC's southward factories in 1623 resulted in English withdrawal from the region, and until changes in the socio-political climate of Tokugawa Japan led to the VOC being removed to the secluded island complex of Dejima, Nagasaki, in 1641.[9]

Hirado had a long history of overseas contact. Emerging from the internecine conflict of the Warring States period (*sengoku-jidai*, 1467-1615) as the successor to the Matsura-tō warrior league in northern Kyushu, the Matsura clan of Hirado bolstered their pre-eminence over their would-be rivals by promoting maritime trade.[10] As Matsura Takanobu (great-grandfather and namesake of the seventeenth-century *daimyo*) consolidated his authority over the region, he welcomed traders from Portugal and China to Hirado, taking advantage of his proximity to Southeast Asia to furnish his territory with new sources of revenue and with imported firearms to secure his rule.[11] Such connections were forged by foreign traders such as Li Dan, known to the English at Hirado as 'Andrea Dittis' or the 'China Captain'. Originally from Quanzhou, he had been the leader of the Chinese community at Manila

[6] Adam Clulow, 'From Global Entrepot to Early Modern Domain: Hirado, 1609-1641', *Monumenta Nipponica* 65 (2010), pp. 1-35, at pp. 5, 20; Derek Massarella, *A World Elsewhere: Europe's Encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New Haven, 1990), p. 30.
[7] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 74.
[8] Eiichi Kato, 'From Pirates to Merchants: The VOC's Trading Policy Towards Japan During the 1620s', in Karl R. Haellquist (ed.) *Asian Trade Routes: Continental and Maritime* (London, 1991), pp. 181-92, at p. 181.
[9] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, pp. 307, 312, 347.
[10] Clulow, 'Global Entrepot', p. 4.
[11] Ibid., p. 5.

before leaving for Japan in 1603.[12] He and his brother Li Huayu ('Whowe' to the English) marshalled a community of several hundred Chinese in Hirado and Nagasaki, trading with the Pescadores, Formosa, Tonkin and Cochinchina, as well as continental South China.[13] In addition to foreign trade, the Matsura also bolstered their revenue with piracy, sponsoring Chinese merchants-cum-pirates such as Wang Zhi who operated in Southeast Asia.[14] These activities formed the backbone of the Hirado economy until the 1610s, when the Tokugawa prohibited piracy and stopped granting trading passes to Kyushu *daimyo* in order to curb their participation in lucrative foreign trade.[15] By the time the English and Dutch arrived, Hirado was a long-established port city which needed to court foreign merchants in order to keep producing profits.

The events of 1609 and 1613, therefore, were neither unprecedented nor entirely unexpected. Japan, and Hirado particularly, desired maritime trade, and the Japanese had had half a century's experience of European countries by the time the northern Europeans arrived. Nevertheless, the foundation of the English and Dutch factories represents the first extended official contact between Tokugawa Japan and Europeans who were neither Iberian nor Catholic, and did not connect mercantilist trade to missionary activity. A study of these factories, therefore, provides a valuable opportunity to study the process of encounter as it occurred when previously unconnected Eurasian states came into contact for the first time.

There are several reasons that make the case-study of Japan particularly useful for a study of this kind. First, Japan was never a victim of European colonisation. The kind of colonial hegemony which would come to define Company Rule in India from 1757 was

[12] Timothy Brook, *Mr. Selden's Map of China: The Spice Trade, a Lost Chart, and the South China Sea* (London, 2013), p. 78; Seiichi Iwao, 'Li Tan, Chief of the Chinese Residents at Hirado, Japan, in the Last Days of the Ming Dynasty', *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 17 (1958), pp. 27-83, at p. 35.
[13] Brook, *Mr. Selden's Map*, p. 78; Iwao, 'Li Tan', pp. 38-9.
[14] Clulow, 'Global Entrepot', p. 11.
[15] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

neither achieved nor sought by either company in this period. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador to Mughal India in 1616, specifically cautioned against colonial enterprise, arguing that the expense and difficulty of maintaining foreign garrisons was responsible for Portugal's inability to impose hegemony over Asia. 'If you will Profitt,' he advised the EIC's directors, 'Seeke it at Sea, and in quiett trade.'[16] Lacking the presidency armies and extensive navies of the eighteenth century, neither the EIC nor the VOC had the means or desire to strongarm the local population into compliance with European demands.

Japan was not colonised; neither was it the recipient of an official English or Dutch embassy. Unlike Roe's embassy to Jahangir's court in 1616 or William Harborne to the Ottoman Sultan Murad III in 1578, the EIC and VOC relied instead on their factors to manage relations with the shogunate and local dignitaries. Guido van Meersbergen has argued that such 'merchant-diplomats' were agile negotiators, possessing greater ability to adapt to foreign cultural climates than royal intermediaries, who were often hindered by their dual responsibility to secure favourable diplomatic outcomes whilst ensuring that their own monarch came to no disgrace.[17] Focusing on the activities of such individuals responds to the challenge set out by proponents of the 'New Diplomatic History', which has called for serious examination of the forms of diplomatic agency possessed and practised by such sub-state actors as merchants, missionaries, translators and artists, through which the boundaries of 'formal' and 'informal' diplomacy become increasingly blurred.[18]

[16] Richmond Barbour, 'A Multinational Corporation: Foreign Labour in the London East India Company' in Jyotsna G. Singh (ed.), *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Age of Expansion* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 129-48, at p. 134.
[17] Guido van Meersbergen, 'The Dutch Merchant-Diplomat in Comparative Perspective: Embassies to the Court of Augangzeb, 1660-1666', in Tracey A. Sowerby and Jan Hennings (eds.), *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World, c.1410-1800* (London, 2017), pp. 147-65, at pp. 148, 160.
[18] Toby Osborne and Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Introduction: Diplomacy and Cultural Translation in the Early Modern World' *Journal of Early Modern History* 20 (2016), pp. 313-330, at pp. 317-19.

Informal interactions comprised the majority of Anglo-Dutch engagements with the Japanese at Hirado. Though annual journeys to the Tokugawa court were critical for ensuring the overall success of the companies' ventures, most of the northern Europeans' interactions with the Japanese occurred at a lower social level; usually within Hirado itself. Such interactions occurred only with the Matsura *daimyo* and their retinue, with whom they liaised frequently on matters of trade, but also with neighbours, employees and friends drawn from Hirado's urban population. A detailed record of these interactions is found in the wide variety of correspondence, accounts and merchants' journals which survive from both the English and Dutch factories. These documents detail a wide variety of daily interactions with Japanese locals, including social gatherings, celebrations, mercantile transactions, religious observances and moments of conflict, in which the English, Dutch and Japanese were required to engage with each other's customs and social mores.

These relations, viewed alongside the EIC and VOC's other factories in Asia, are notable for their cordiality. Other factories, as Richmond Barbour has shown, were usually isolated and underpopulated, and relied upon collusion with local populations in order to stay afloat.[19] His own case-study of Bantam, Java, was a 'small, fearful, dwindling encampment' characterised by violent antagonism between the town's various European and Asian populations, where the factors relied upon loud invocations of English nationality to preserve solidarity and order in the face of turmoil.[20] Where Bantam was populated by a wide variety of communities from across Europe and Asia, Hirado was home to but four – the English, Dutch and Chinese, in addition to the native Japanese – and thus experienced far less internal competition for primacy in trade.[21] The violence of the *sengoku-jidai* was coming to an end,

[19] Richmond Barbour, '"The English Nation at Bantam": Corporate Process in the East India Company's First Factory', *Genre* 48 (2015), pp. 159-92, at p. 175.
[20] Ibid., pp. 160, 170-1, 174.
[21] Clulow, 'Global Entrepot', p. 1.

bringing about a period of relative internal stability.[22] This did not mean that Hirado was free of conflict, since tensions between European Christians and Japanese Buddhists would increase as the seventeenth century continued, but by comparison with Bantam life in Japan was relatively harmonious. The social climate of Hirado was both stable and accommodating to the European factors, and with fewer pressures on their livelihood, they had greater leeway to explore the commonalities between themselves and the Japanese, enabling networks of trust and familiarity with the Japanese to be more easily established.[23]

This ability to network with the Japanese was crucial for the European factors, since the EIC and VOC occupied a relatively weak diplomatic position throughout the period 1609-1641. Although they did not experience the same degree of internal tension as did the factory at Bantam, the Hirado ventures were nevertheless required to weather frustrations which the merchants were powerless to circumvent. In 1616 the initial trading privileges granted by the retired Shogun (*ōgosho*) Tokugawa Ieyasu were curtailed by his son Hidetada, restricting European enterprise, which had once spanned several major Japanese cities, to Hirado and Nagasaki alone. Between 1628 and 1632 Dutch trade was suspended due to a diplomatic incident on Formosa, which had seen the governor, Pieter Nuijts, impound Japanese shipping; trade was resumed when Nuijts was surrendered to the shogunate, but the Dutch would then spend another four years attempting to secure his release.[24]

All the while, Japanese fears about the destabilising influence of Christianity were heightening, resulting in the expulsion of all Japanese Christians from the country (including those who had had children with the European merchants), and culminating in the eventual removal of the VOC to confinement at Nagasaki.[25] In each case, there was little the

[22] Barbour, 'English Nation', p. 174.
[23] Ibid., pp. 170-1.
[24] Grant K. Goodman, *Japan: The Dutch Experience* (London, 1986), pp. 12-13.
[25] Ibid., p. 16.

Europeans could do to protest their treatment: due to the edict of 1616, the English cape-merchant (the chief merchant of the factory) Richard Cocks wrote in 1620, 'we are pend up in Firando and Nangasaq' only, all other places forbidden us… it is in vayne to seeke for remedy.'[26]

Yet this weak bargaining position was not a result of failures on the part of the English and Dutch to integrate into Japanese society. As Guido van Meersbergen has posited, failures of early modern diplomacy tend to stem from the political contexts in which diplomatic agents operated, rather than any inherent cultural incommensurability between disparate customs.[27] The surviving records of the Hirado factories paint a vibrant picture of cross-cultural participation, in which the European factors appear to have immersed themselves fully into the associational life of early Edo-period Japan. An examination of Richard Cocks' diary, kept between 1615 and 1622, reveals an extraordinarily broad web of professional and interpersonal relations enjoyed by both factories, largely devoid of the kinds of incommensurabilities perhaps expected when two unfamiliar peoples apprehended one another for the first time. On what, then, did this commensurability rest, and in what ways was it used by the factors in support of their enterprise in Hirado?

Historiography

Despite the opportunities that they offer as case-studies for cross-cultural commensurability in its global context, the ignominious end to the 'Hirado period' of northern European exchange with Japan has meant that the Hirado factories are often overlooked within histories of the EIC and VOC. Dutch histories focus primarily on interactions at Dejima from 1641, while the decade of English trade with Japan is rarely

[26] Anthony Farrington, *The English Factory in Japan, 1613-1623* (2 vols., London, 1991), i, p. 789 (Richard Cocks to the EIC, 10 March 1620).
[27] Van Meersbergen, 'The Dutch Merchant-Diplomat', p. 161.

mentioned at all within histories of the EIC, except as a footnote to the Company's early expansion into East Asia.[28] Those studies that do discuss Hirado are often limited by a narrow scope. Grant K. Goodman's study of 'the Dutch experience' of Japan devotes only a slim, introductory chapter to Hirado, outlining the initial contact between the Dutch Republic and Japan, before devoting the majority of his study to the factory at Dejima, while Pieter Rietbergen, in *Japan Verwoord,* devotes the first half of his study to the VOC post at Hirado, though his focus is limited to official relations with the shogunate.[29] Scholarship on early English trade in Japan centres often focuses on William Adams, and tends to overstate his importance in Tokugawa politics, usually treating the establishment of the Hirado factory as Adams' last triumph before death. [30]

More recent studies have begun to examine Hirado more closely as a site of cultural interaction. Derek Massarella's *A World Elsewhere* provides a chronological narrative account of the factory's history, closely investigating the interactions between the English merchants and local Japanese authorities. A chapter on 'Living and Surviving in Hirado' offer insights into the everyday experience of the merchants, particularly during the period 1614-1620.[31] This remains the largest and most complete study of the English factory to date, although other scholars have begun to use the factory as a case-study for more focused historical enquiry. Of particular note is James Lewis, whose unpublished doctoral thesis 'Nifon Catange or Japon Fation: A Study of Cultural Interaction in the English Factory in

[28] K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600-1640* (London, 1999), p. 17.
[29] Pieter Rietbergen, *Japan Verwoord: Nihon Door Nederlandse Ogen 1600-1799* (Amsterdam, 2003), pp. 49-54; Goodman, *Japan: The Dutch Experience*, pp. 9-17.
[30] Derek Massarella, 'William Adams/Miura Anjin: Man/Myth', in *William Adams and Early English Enterprise in Japan*, LSE International Studies (London, 2000), pp. 1-24, at pp. 12-13.
[31] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, pp. 217-65.

Japan, 1613-1623' serves as a direct response to Massarella's chapter on cultural interaction, exploring in greater depth the details that Massarella touches upon only lightly.[32]

The scope of Lewis' study is broad, forming two volumes and covering six major themes: English perceptions of the Japanese, linguistic challenges faced by the factors, cultural interactions, relations with women, law and order, and religion. Its aim, Lewis claims, is to 'fill a major gap in the historiography of interactions between Europeans and non-Europeans in the early modern period' by focusing on a case study which does not neatly fit the 'civil/savage' dichotomy found in studies of early English colonialism.[33] In contrast to the more sweeping studies of earlier scholars, Lewis conducts a thorough analysis of the English records from Hirado, teasing out evidence from previously-overlooked letters and journal passages in order to expand the understanding of Euro-Japanese cultural contacts beyond the well-trodden ground of Jesuit records coloured by the religious preoccupations of missionaries.[34] The result is a richly-detailed reconstruction of the English factors' social lives in Japan, augmenting Massarella's more narrative study.

Lewis' survey of the English sources surpasses many others in the detail which it draws out of seemingly unremarkable letters and diary entries, and he deploys this well to show how far the factors did immerse themselves in Japanese culture. At times, however, the reader is left wanting further analysis of their significance. When discussing dining, for instance, Lewis provides a valuable assessment of the English factors' diet and the source of their provisions, and argues convincingly that food was used, as elsewhere in the world, as a form of cultural exchange. However, little is said about the ways in which these exchanges affected the Anglo-Japanese relationship. Likewise, though Lewis provides a very plausible

[32] James Lewis, '"Nifon Catange or Japon Fation": A Study of Cultural Interaction in the English Factory in Japan, 1613-1623' (Ph.D. thesis, Sheffield University, 2004), ii, p. 149.
[33] Ibid., i, pp. 2-3.
[34] Ibid., i, p. 22.

reconstruction of the English factory's appearance as an 'amalgam of British and Japanese architecture', he does not explore the emotional impact of such hybridity on merchants living as foreign agents within Japan, some of whom would not return home for a decade.[35] In throwing these details into relief, his contribution is a welcome and necessary addition to the extant historiography, but nevertheless leaves room for further analysis of cultural relations at Hirado.

Lewis' thesis represents one method of approaching Hirado as a site of analysis; another approach is that taken by Alison Games in her *Web of Empire*. In this study, she uses the example of Richard Cocks to serve as the example *par excellence* of the mercantile European 'cosmopolitan': a cultural middle-man whose willingness to insert himself into foreign cultures facilitated English trade on the global scale throughout the seventeenth century.[36] She argues that, in order to conduct trade in foreign locations, early modern merchants were required to 'ingratiate themselves with their hosts in whatever manner that might require'.[37] These cosmopolitans sought to create 'hybrid worlds' that were neither wholly European, not entirely alien.[38] Her focus is distinctly cultural; through engaging in language-learning, intermarriage, gift-exchange and 'ritual exchanges' including festivals, dining and hosting, she argues, the English merchants at Hirado were able to adapt to the Japanese environment sufficiently to foster a profitable trading relationship.[39]

Games' study provides a valuable first step towards producing an understanding of how European factors might generate commensurability with the Japanese at Hirado. Commensurability, she argues, is a relational quality; the ability of individuals to 'encounter

[35] Lewis, 'Nifon Catange', ii, p. 154.
[36] Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford, 2006), p. 115.
[37] Ibid., p. 83.
[38] Ibid., p. 112.
[39] Ibid., pp. 98, 103, 110-2.

those unlike themselves with enthusiasm and curiosity'.[40] The factors' adoption of cosmopolitan attitudes thus allowed the merchants to establish the relationships needed to develop global networks of human connections, be they with friendly traders, women adopted as wives and consorts, the children born of sexual liaisons abroad, or the acquaintances made in the towns and cities wherever trading posts were established.[41] Her analysis is a useful one, placing emphasis on the kinds of non-courtly interactions which characterised daily life at the European factories. However, for our purposes, her study is limited in two major respects.

First, while she discusses the mechanisms by which English cosmopolitans inserted themselves into distant societies, Games does not examine in great depth the processes by which this cosmopolitanism was cultivated. She emphasises that the English merchants relied upon a broad web of relationships with a diverse group of Japanese citizens to establish their foothold in Japan, but she does not explain *how* these relationships were initially established. In order for meaningful interactions to take place between the English and Japanese, both parties needed a certain amount of common ground to act as a foundation upon which these relationships could be built. Games does not go into detail about the underlying cultural assumptions and recognisable societal features which enabled these relationships to develop.

Secondly, Games' broader thesis aims at examining cosmopolitan attitudes in the nascent British Empire. Like Lewis, her study focuses primarily on the English experience of cosmopolitanism and does not take into account the Japanese or Dutch presence at Hirado, and the ways in which these groups approached the formation of cross-cultural commensurability. She therefore does not examine whether the adoption of cosmopolitan attitudes was a uniquely English, or even European, phenomenon, or whether it might be seen

[40] Games, *Web of Empire*, p. 9.
[41] Ibid., p. 10.

as part of a broader strategy by which people brought into global conjunctures learned to interact with unfamiliar peoples.

One of the aims of the present thesis is to build upon the groundwork laid by both Games' and Lewis' studies of Hirado, integrating the Dutch and Japanese approaches to cosmopolitanism into the account, and exploring the common cultural features which enabled meaningful relationships to be established. Like Lewis' thesis, it favours a close reading of the available sources, which it deploys not simply to reconstruct *what* happened at Hirado, but *why* interactions between the English, Dutch and Japanese took the form that they did. If friendship and familial relations were the end-goal of cosmopolitanism, then we are required to examine their opposite, the starting-point of unfamiliarity, to understand what these relationships were predicated on.

European Experience Abroad

Although the merchants arriving in 1609 and 1613 were unfamiliar with Japan, few arrived devoid of any experience of life in foreign cultures. Richard Cocks had previously worked as a merchant in Bayonne, France, where he had reported to Sir Thomas Wilson on Spanish foreign policy as part of Robert Cecil's intelligence network.[42] His aptitude for languages and cultural learning led Wilson to laud him as 'one of the better sort of merchants residing in those parts',[43] and while the EIC's Court Minutes for 1610-13 are missing, it is possible to speculate that these qualities, which led Wilson to encourage him to apply (unsuccessfully) for the position of English consul for Biscay in 1605, also qualified him for the cape-merchant position in Japan.[44]

[42] Derek Massarella, 'The Early Life of Richard Cocks (1566-1624)', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 20 (Third Series, 1985), pp. 1-46, at pp. 13, 16.
[43] Ibid., p. 15.
[44] Ibid., pp. 24, 45.

Cocks was not alone in such experience. The head of the EIC's Eighth Voyage, John Saris, had previously travelled to Asia on the Second Voyage, where he had worked as a factor at Bantam between 1605 and 1609, spending a year as cape-merchant from 1608.[45] During this period he produced a treatise reporting on trade in Asia for the Company, which Richmond Barbour argues likely won him command of the voyage to Japan.[46] He evidently knew how to win the favour of notable locals, since on his return to Bantam en route to Japan in 1613 he was greeted by several 'Javans of Accompt' who remembered him from his earlier visit and wanted to offer their best wishes.[47] John Osterwick, though new to the EIC, had previously worked in Malaga, and spoke French.[48] Amongst the Dutch, *opperhoofd* (heac merchant) Cornelis van Nijenroode came to Japan in 1619 after twelve years spent working as a factor for the VOC in Siam, where, Leonard Blussé contends, he developed the diplomatic expertise needed to navigate the demands of Japanese politics.[49]

Others who served in Japan had had similar experiences. The VOC employed two men named Willem Janssen in Japan, both of whom had spent time elsewhere in Asia before coming to Hirado. Willem Janssen van Amsterdam, vice-admiral of the Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defence from 1620-3, had worked in Asia since 1603; from 1612-16 he served as governor of Fort Henricus on Solor, Indonesia, and in 1619 served on the Council of the Indies at Jayakarta (later Batavia).[50] Willem Janssen van Amersfoort had a similar history. In 1607-8 he served as a mariner stationed in Bantam; and in 1613 was the skipper of the VOC ship

[45] Barbour, 'English Nation', p. 171.
[46] Ibid., p. 171.
[47] Ibid., p. 179.
[48] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 174.
[49] Leonard Blussé, *Bitter Bonds: A Colonial Divorce Drama of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton, 2002), p. 31.
[50] J.W. Forsyth, 'Willem Janssen', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra, 1967) https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/janssen-willem-2270 (30 March 2021).

Jacatra (Jakarta) operating between Siam and Japan.[51] During this time, he was responsible for bringing the Portuguese ship *San Antonio* (St. Anthony) as prize into Hirado, and as the senior officer of a Dutch vessel it is likely that he gained first-hand experience of Japanese manners when Matsura Takanobu invited the Dutch to dine with him a few months later.[52] Such experiences served him well; in 1628 he was dispatched by the VOC to Japan to negotiate the release of Pieter Nuijts from prison, 'being that he knows best the country and the humours of the Japanese'.[53]

Some factors, however, had limited experience working overseas. Richard Wickham joined the EIC in 1608 as part of the Fourth Voyage; he made it no further than Mombasa before being captured by the Portuguese and returned to Europe following imprisonment in Goa.[54] Richard Hudson, son of the explorer Henry Hudson, joined the EIC in April 1614 to support his family after his father's death; Hirado was his first posting.[55] Little is known about the early life of Jacques Specx, the first *opperhoofd* of the VOC factory, but he can have had only limited experience prior to arriving in Hirado; he left the Dutch Republic for Japan in 1607 aged just twenty-two, employed as a sub-merchant aboard the *Griffioen* (Griffin).[56] The same is true of François Caron, who would eventually become an experienced mediator between the Dutch and the Japanese. He arrived in Japan in 1619 as a cook's mate, aged nineteen; by 1626 he was made a junior clerk and in 1627 was sent as an interpreter to Edo, suggesting that he had spent the intervening years in Japan, developing his linguistic skills.[57] Specx and Caron may have had some experience in foreign ports prior to

[51] P. A. Leupe, 'Willem Jansz. van Amsterdam, Admiraal, en Willem Jansz. van Amersfoort, Vice-Commander der O.I.C. in der Eerste Helft der 17de Eeuw', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 19 (1873), pp. 298-360, at pp. 337-8.
[52] Ibid., p. 338; Diary, i, p. 117 (26 October 1615).
[53] Leupe, 'Willem Jansz.', p. 356. '*wesende hem 't land ten de humeuren der Japanders best bekent*'.
[54] Anthony Farrington, 'Some Other Englishmen in Japan' *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 19 (Third Series, 1984), pp. 1-15, at p. 4.
[55] Ibid., pp. 9-10.
[56] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, ii, p. 1571.
[57] C. R. Boxer (ed.), *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam* (Amsterdam, 1971),p. xvi.

arrival in Japan, but it would not have been the extensive diplomatic or mercantile experience possessed by Cocks and Saris.

The English and Dutch factors, therefore, were required to draw upon disparate sources of knowledge to shape their understanding of life in Japan. Many would have had other experiences in foreign countries which they could draw upon to contextualise Japanese cultural norms, while others would only have been able to draw comparisons with their home countries. The factors and sailors alike, therefore, relied on a combination of knowledge, drawn from experiences in Asia and at home, to help make sense of the world they found themselves in.

Commensurability and Strangership

In examining the unfamiliarity between cultural groups, we are confronted with the question of why it was that encounters between disparate peoples often proved so difficult to navigate. One explanation has been that of 'radical cultural incommensurability', in which two or more cultural systems are deemed to be wholly incomprehensible and inaccessible to one another, preventing meaningful exchange. The term 'incommensurability' is borrowed from Thomas Kuhn's work on scientific paradigms, in which paradigms are unquestioned postulates that form a coherent system guiding thought, and are difficult to escape since they provide the basic 'rules' of scientific enquiry.[58] Incommensurability is used to describe the 'necessary and irreconcilable' differences between successive paradigms which, Kuhn argues, justify 'scientific revolutions.'[59] The concept was then translated into the social sciences, in which context incommensurability between paradigms became incommensurability between cultures.[60] In recent years, however, scholars have criticised the

[58] Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1970), pp. 10-11.
[59] Ibid. p. 103.
[60] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge MA, 2012), pp. 4-5.

notion that no 'rational and universal common ground' exists which could enable disparate cultures to understand one another on a fundamental level. Critics of radical incommensurability have sought more nuanced approaches to cross-cultural contact, which recognises that whilst cultures do possess unique characteristics, their impermeability should not be overstated.[61]

Sanjay Subrahmanyam has sought this common ground in the shared cultural space of Eurasia, arguing that the common linguistic, cultural and religious roots shared by the Mughal, Ottoman, and Safavid empires facilitated significant cultural commensurability.[62] Even outside of the Islamic world, he claims, early modern contemporaries located common ground in the existence of court societies, broadly congruous in form even where local variations existed.[63] 'States and empires', he argues, 'were very rarely ships that passed in the night of incommensurability… Rather, what usually happened was approximation, improvisation and eventually a shift in the relative positions of all concerned'; in short, the creation of commensurability.[64] By contrast, Joan-Pau Rubiés locates common ground in language-games; the (often unconscious) rules of interaction that societies place upon communication.[65] He sees the human capacity for learning unfamiliar languages as evidence that humans can learn different language-games, and thus could learn the 'rules' of a new society even when the societies in question did not share the direct historical connections of the kind examined by Subrahmanyam.[66] He stresses also that commensurability between

[61] Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Political Rationality and Cultural Difference in the European Embassies to Shah Abbas' *Journal of Early Modern History* 20 (2016), pp. 351-389, at p. 358.
[62] Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters,* p. 6.
[63] Ibid., pp. 214-15.
[64] Ibid., p. 29.
[65] Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes* (Cambridge, 2000), p. xiv.
[66] Rubiés, 'Political Rationality', p. 359.

cultures does not require political agreement, but rather the ability to interpret political realities through a commonly-understood framework.[67]

Though Rubiés positions his approach to commensurability as an alternative to Subrahmanyam's model, both reject the notion that cultural systems are rigid, bounded entities coterminous with the state or empire. Moreover, both approaches recognise that commensurability did not emerge, fully-formed, whenever empires encountered one another. Whether by shared cultural heritage or by learning the rules of language-games, commensurability had to be created by agents whose responsibility was seeking out the common ground upon which cultural bridges could be built. It was upon their skill and willingness that cultural distance could be overcome, since the existence of commensurability was in itself no guarantee of diplomatic success.[68]

In concluding his 2011 book *Three Ways to be Alien*, Subrahmanyam links such cultural agents with Georg Simmel's concept of 'the stranger'.[69] Simmel describes the stranger as a permanent resident of a group who has not belonged to it from the beginning, who is connected to the group by circumstance but who is not bound to it by any established connections of kinship or occupation.[70] His example *par excellence* is that of the trader, whose goods are desired by a given community, but who, by his very nature as an interlocutor with the outside world, cannot reside amongst them permanently.[71] For Subrahmanyam, since cultures are neither entirely hermetic (so as to permit no outside influence) nor yet entirely malleable (so as to be a meaningless concept), 'the stranger'

[67] Rubiés, 'Political Rationality', p. 360.
[68] Ibid., p. 389.
[69] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham, 2011), pp. 175-6.
[70] Georg Simmel, 'The Stranger', in Donald N. Levine (ed.), *Georg Simmel: On Individuality and Social Forms* (Chicago, 1971), pp. 143-9, at p. 143.
[71] Ibid., p. 144.

provides a useful term for describing those figures who found ways of living across the cultural divide, physically proximate but socially distant.[72]

Subrahmanyam's understanding of the stranger emphasises Simmel's notion that a stranger may use their proximate yet distant positioning to act as an impartial and objective observer to a foreign culture, affording them a privileged status in internal disputes and an advantage in generating commensurability.[73] However, this optimism overlooks the tension inherent in this ambivalence; when the stranger's social standing is uncertain and their origins unknown, their attachments to others within the group are similarly contestable.[74] As will be explored more fully in chapter three, 'stranger' was a term commonly used in seventeenth-century England to describe foreign communities residing abroad. Stranger communities in England and the Dutch Republic alike were welcomed and yet mistrusted, valued for their technical skills but always suspected as vectors of disease, poverty, and dangerous beliefs that threatened native livelihoods, and were therefore restricted in the rights afforded them.[75] Sociologist Mervyn Horgan has referred to this ambivalent relationship, formed between parties who are neither familiar friends nor recognisable enemies, as 'strangership'.[76] Like any relationship, the dynamic can change if the participants are willing, moving either into enmity or friendship.[77]

Horgan, writing as a modern sociologist, does not consider strangership a 'problem' to be overcome, but a recognisable and even necessary part of life wherever disparate peoples come into contact. However, for European merchants seeking to develop commensurability

[72] Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to be Alien,* pp. 175-6.
[73] Ibid., p. 177.
[74] Mervyn Horgan, 'Strangers and Strangership', *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 33 (2012), pp 607-22, at p. 610.
[75] Lien Bich Luu, 'Assimilation or Segregation: Colonies of Alien Craftsmen in Elizabethan London', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 26 (1995), pp. 160-72, at p. 166.
[76] Horgan, 'Strangers and Strangership', p. 611.
[77] Ibid., p. 620.

for trading purposes, strangership was an impediment to the establishment of cosmopolitan friendship needed to adapt to foreign societies. When disadvantaged diplomatically, and unwilling to use force to impose a favourable outcome, overcoming strangership and establishing friendship was vital to the success of the trading mission.

If strangership, as it occurred in this international context, was predicated on a mutually recognised cultural *in*commensurability between the self and the stranger, then establishing points of commensurability was the first step in the process of altering this relationship. In what, however, might this commensurability be found?

The Early Modern Heuristic

As has been established, different models have been proposed for locating commensurability between disparate cultures. However, not all of these models are entirely useful for examining the encounter between England, the Dutch Republic, and Japan. Although all three countries were, like Subrahmanyam's Islamic-world case studies, part of a broadly connected Eurasian world, they lacked a number of the cultural, linguistic, and religious commonalities that underpinned interactions along the Ottoman-Safavid-Mughal cultural axis. Subrahmanyam's focus on 'court societies' may also not be the most useful for our particular purposes, as courtly encounters do not form the focus of this study. Though Stuart England and Tokugawa Japan both possessed active court circles around the monarch and the shogun, the Dutch Republic had no monarch, and while the States-General presented *stadtholder* Maurice of Orange as the Dutch 'king' in official letters, this was a fiction intended to circumvent perceived incommensurabilities between monarchical and republican states.[78] Further complicating matters was the fact that the factors at Hirado, as merchant-diplomats, were not trained in the etiquette of court as were official ambassadors.

[78] Clulow, *Company and the Shogun*, p. 27.

Perhaps most useful for explaining interactions at Hirado is Rubiés' model of language-games, rooted as it is in aspects of human rationality, and not reliant on pre-existing cultural congruences to explain commensurability. Rubiés acknowledges that cultural change could be driven by misunderstandings occurring when cultures attempted to learn each other's language-games.[79] Like Subrahmanyam, he recognises that 'objective structural analogies' between institutions such as 'kingship' and 'rules of civility' could exist between cultures which did help to facilitate cross-cultural understandings.[80] Such similarities, however, did not need to result from historical connections, but might simply reflect parallel developments in disparate societies.

By raising 'civility' as one possible source of cross-cultural commensurability, Rubiés uses the language of early modernity, raising the well-worn question of how far this concept can address issues on a global scale.[81] 'Early modernity' is a term rooted in European historiography, and has been the subject of significant debates about what precisely it comprises. For Randolph Starn, early modernity is a convenient (if simplistic) way of describing the period of time between the Middle Ages and modernity, which broadens the reach of the Renaissance and Enlightenment beyond literary high culture in Europe, but which results in 'a spate of early modernities' rather than one single periodisation when extended beyond Europe.[82] Jack Goldstone, regarding modernity as the onset of an industrialised society which is sceptical towards religion and entrenched political tradition, argues that early modern societies might be better described as 'advanced organic societies',

[79] Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, p. *x*.
[80] Rubiés, 'Political Rationality', p. 359.
[81] Jerry H. Bentley, 'Early Modern Europe and the Early Modern World', in Charles H. Parker and Jerry H. Bentley (eds.), *Between the Middle Ages and Modernity: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World* (Lanham, 2007), pp. 13-32, at p. 13.
[82] Randolph Starn, 'The Early Modern Muddle', *Journal of Early Modern History* 6 (2002), pp. 296-307, at p. 302.

growing economically but lacking industrial revolutions.[83] Dipesh Chakrabarty has criticised the concept entirely, arguing that the notion of modernity implies value-judgements about societal development: 'if someone is "modern",' he argues, 'then he or she is so with regard to somebody who is not.'[84] The risk, therefore, is of elevating European criteria of advancement towards the industrialised nation-state as the sole means of judging a society's development, and thus reinforcing an artificial division in which Europe emerges as a dynamic historical actor and other regions, including Asia, appear as stagnant monoliths.[85] It is precisely this point that the field of early modernity rebuts by expanding its remit beyond the bounds of Europe.

Whilst early modernity has posed significant challenges for Europeanists seeking to escape the complexities of this periodisation, it has proven fertile ground for historians working in a non-European context, who have recognised its potential to inject new approaches into a field dominated by debates about imperial rise and fall.[86] Its conceptual strength lies in its ability to revise ideas about supposed Asian stagnation prior to the onset of European imperialism and to undermine the notion that European agency may be used to define the world post-1500.[87] Such historians have predicated their definition of early modernity not upon a nascent industrialisation or in contradistinction to earlier European periodisations, but either upon global interconnectivity leading to the unprecedented circulation of ideas, technologies, and biota, or upon a broad range of shared comparable phenomena (including, but not limited to: increased administrative centralisation, the

[83] Jack A. Goldstone, 'The Problem of the "Early Modern" World', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41 (1998), pp. 249-84, at pp. 250, 277.
[84] Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'The Muddle of Modernity', *The American Historical Review* (2011), pp. 663-75, at p. 663.
[85] Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830* (2 vols, Cambridge, 2003, 2009), ii, p. 2.
[86] Alan Strathern, 'Global Early Modernity and the Problem of What Came Before', *Past & Present* 28 (2018), pp. 317-44, at pp. 326-7.
[87] Ibid., pp. 328-9.

development of standing armies, increased urbanisation and the growth of a public sphere) common to early modern societies.[88] In this sense, early modernity may serve as a valuable heuristic for describing a period prior to the modern nation-state, in which societies were developing a diverse range of specific traits which anticipated modern institutions.

The comparative approach to global early modernity is set out most clearly by Victor Lieberman who, in 1997, sought to resolve the question of why attempts to compare Europe and Asia prior to 1800 had always resulted in Asian deficiency.[89] The problem, he claimed, was that the criteria of analysis had been Eurocentric, and that more neutral grounds – increased state integration, demographic shifts, urbanisation, literacy, military technology and interstate competition – were required to sustain a valuable comparison.[90] Lieberman chose as his case-studies six states: Burma, Siam, Vietnam, France, Russia and Japan, since each was located in the rimlands of the Eurasian world (and was thus protected from inner Asian cavalry armies) and varied significantly in demography, expressions of popular culture, religion, and administrative and economic structures.[91] He concluded that each state demonstrated roughly synchronised patterns of administrative development between *c.*1450 and 1830 that were at once linear and cyclic, defined by successive periods of collapse and reintegration, with shorter and more stable interregna between each one.[92] The six states varied in the specific form of these developments, but could, he argued, be taken to represent a capacious early modernity which to a greater or lesser degree encompassed the broader Eurasian region.[93]

[88] Strathern, 'Global Early Modernity', pp. 321-2, 325-6.
[89] Victor Lieberman, 'Transcending East-West Dichotomies: State and Culture Formation in Six Ostensibly Disparate Areas', *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997), pp. 463-546, at pp. 464-5.
[90] Lieberman, 'Transcending East-West Dichotomies', p. 468.
[91] Ibid., pp. 468-9.
[92] Ibid., p. 526.
[93] Ibid., p. 468.

This project is not without its critics. In his provocative essay 'Connected Histories', Sanjay Subrahmanyam levels a number of challenges towards Lieberman's premise of global comparisons. In his estimation, Lieberman's case studies were chosen to bolster his argument (omitting, for instance, cases such as Spain and South Asia), and he sees the 'developmental perspective' supposed by Lieberman's comparative approach as doing little more than identifying 'Who Succeeded and Who Failed on the long road to modern industrial capitalism'.[94] Instead, Subrahmanyam proposes a 'connected history' approach, which focuses on the circulation of ideas and technologies, peoples and goods, between states and their constituent sub-units.[95] In so doing, he argues, the historian avoids approaching history from approaches rooted in area studies which overlook the interconnectedness of those areas and the consequences of those connections. For Subrahmanyam, the notion of 'modernity' should be decoupled 'from a particular European trajectory' in order to represent a multifarious 'global shift, with many different sources and roots.'[96] The risk, however, is not identifying what that shift consisted of, or why the term 'early modern' should be used to describe it.

Lieberman's 1997 paper was a working proposal for a broader study, published in two volumes in 2003 and 2009 under the title *Strange Parallels*, to which Subrahmanyam has never given a proper critical evaluation. Subrahmanyam's criticisms, therefore, address an earlier version of Lieberman's premise and are not particularly useful for assessing the final elaboration. The scope of Lieberman's final project, for instance, is expanded to include two chapters on China and South Asia (areas Subrahmanyam highlights as missing from the 1997 paper) as well as in-depth chapters focusing on detailed analyses of each case-study chosen

[94] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia', *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997), pp. 735-62, at p. 745.
[95] Ibid., p. 760
[96] Ibid., p. 737.

which do not rely on the 'broadest conventional wisdom' in each field. Lieberman acknowledges also that any comparative project must rely upon uniform categories of comparison, and that the ones he selects are those which are 'now part of a universal discourse' present also in Japanese, Chinese and South Asian historiography.[97] Moreover, he emphasises that several of these categories are derived explicitly from Chinese and Burmese historiography, including 'charter polities, administrative cycles, progressively less disruptive interregna' so as to avoid favouring European criteria of development. His aim, he claims, is not to champion a single path to modernisation, but rather to demonstrate that various states across the world were affected by similar forces in similar ways at roughly (but not precisely) the same time. Subrahmanyam's implication that Lieberman, in adopting a developmental perspective, is aiming at explaining modern industrial capitalism is precisely what he avoids doing; instead, he examines early modernity by looking at a range of other shared phenomena, including the development of politicized ethnicity. He chooses to describe these parallels as 'early modern' because they anticipate integrative processes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and because without such developments, 'modernity would be unrecognisable'.[98]

Early Modern Hirado

Unlike Lieberman, the aim of this thesis is not to argue that the three cultures drawn together in Hirado in 1613 were companions on an inexorable path to modernity. It shares Subrahmanyam's concern with connectivity and cultural transfer as it occurred when disparate states encountered one another in a global conjuncture, and takes this as a central theme. However, it also considers comparative approaches such as Lieberman's a necessary prerequisite for understanding the cultural commonalities that made such connections

[97] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, i, p. 82.
[98] Ibid., i, p. 82; ii, pp 76-7.

possible. It thus argues that England, the Dutch Republic, and Japan had each experienced a set of parallel developments which facilitated the generation of commensurability when brought together in the conjuncture of global trade. These developments were not constrained to the political or courtly sphere, but represented fundamental shifts in society at large which enabled merchant-diplomats to engage meaningfully with Japanese citizens from the shogunate in Edo to the streets of Hirado. These parallel developments are broadly analogous to Lieberman's features of early modern states and as such, 'early modernity' provides a convenient heuristic for describing the changes these societies were undergoing.

The argument that Japan underwent early modern developments at roughly the same time as Western Europe predates Lieberman's study. Within Japanese scholarship, Shinzaburō Ōishi identifies early modernity with the period 1568-1868, considering this socio-cultural epoch as distinct from the political periods of Azuchi-Momoyama and Edo, which it encompassed.[99] Eiko Ikegami, by contrast, identifies the 'early modern era' in Japan with the extent of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867), noting its significance as a period in which the cultural standards of 'those aspiring to gentility' were increasingly adopted by large parts of the Japanese population, creating a 'plane of commonality' within an aesthetic realm which had hitherto been monopolised by the gentry.[100] Arano Yasunori has also viewed the period of Japanese unification as the start of a burgeoning 'early modernity', wherein the Japanese state began to define its own national identity against those of neighbouring China and Korea.[101]

[99] Shinzaburō Ōishi, 'The Bakuhan System', in Chie Nakane and Shinzaburō Ōishi (eds), *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan* (trans. Conrad Totman, Tokyo, 1990), pp. 11-37, at p. 11.
[100] Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 5, 9.
[101] Arano Yasunori, 'The Formation of a Japanocentric World Order', *International Journal of Asian Studies* 2, (2005), pp. 185-216, at p. 185.

A number of similarities between English, Dutch and Japanese state-development may be noted for the period surrounding *c.*1600. By the start of the seventeenth century, both Japan and the Dutch Republic had emerged from periods of internal conflict (the *sengoku-jidai* in Japan and the Dutch Revolt in the Low Countries) as newly centralised states under the Tokugawa shogunate and United Provinces respectively. England, meanwhile, had similarly entered a period of peace following a protracted series of military engagements in Europe and Ireland in the 1580s and 1590s.[102] While the English state's ability to extract taxes would be most fully demonstrated in the civil wars of the 1640s, the process of centralisation was well under way by the dawn of the century, and all three states had begun to display similar patterns of growth and centralisation which would develop as the seventeenth century continued.

The final years of the *sengoku-jidai* had seen a process of state centralisation occur in Japan under the successive hegemonies of Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598).[103] In addition to establishing military dominance over central Japan, Nobunaga had encouraged urbanisation, attracting merchants to his castle towns through tax concessions, diminishing the power of local magnates by razing their fortifications, and demanding that landholders presented him with tax records to assess their income.[104] This process would be intensified under Hideyoshi, who initiated an official process of land surveyance and attempted to restrict weapon ownership to the samurai class through his Sword Hunt Edict of 1588, a measure which was publicly to ensure public safety, but served his private end of preventing peasant uprisings.[105] Under Tokugawa Ieyasu this consolidation

[102] Michael Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 192.
[103] Conrad D. Totman, *A History of Japan* (Malden, 2005), p. 203.
[104] Ibid., p. 209.
[105] Totman, *History of Japan*., pp. 215-6.

was continued, enlarging castles in Edo and Miyako[106], asserting dominance over the industries of mining and forestry, and fostering urban commerce within his territories.[107] The formation of mints resulted in a reliable and widely-circulated currency which served to promote internal trade, itself assisted by the construction of highways built using labour from *daimyo* domains.[108]

With these institutions in place, the Tokugawa state must therefore have looked in some ways recognisable to the English and Dutch, as many of these developments had also been instituted back in Europe. Like Japan, England experienced large-scale urban growth, especially in London, which had grown from some 75,000 inhabitants in 1550 to 200,000 in 1600, and would reach a total population of 400,000 by 1650. In Amsterdam the population more than doubled between 1550 and 1600, from 30,000 inhabitants to 65,000; by 1650 the population had increased further to 175,000.[109] By comparison, Miyako grew from 100,000 inhabitants in 1550 to 410,000 in 1634.[110] Edo, a small market town in 1590, exhibited near-identical growth, with 100,000 inhabitants in 1600 and 400,000 by mid-century.[111] The mutual phenomena of urbanisation and infrastructural expansion were contributing factors to the rise of a large, non-elite, metropolitan population. Cities such as London provided opportunities for upward social mobility for those who could find a foothold there, particularly for the literate.[112] Japanese cities, at the dawn of the Edo period, similarly saw the rise of a new middle class of urbanites (*chōnin*), whose theoretical position at the bottom of

[106] The period term for modern-day Kyoto. Neither term is a proper name, however, and simply designates 'the capital'
[107] Conrad Totman, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 51.
[108] Ibid., p. 71-2.
[109] Jeremy Boulton, 'London 1540-1700' in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (3 vols, Cambridge, 2000), ii, pp. 315-46, at p. 316.
[110] Wakita Osamu and James L. McClain, 'The Commerial and Urban Policies of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi' in Kōzō Yamamura, Keiji Nagahara and John Whitney Hall, *Japan Before Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth, 1500-1650* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 224-47, at p. 244.
[111] Gilbert Rozman, 'Edo's Importance in the Changing Tokugawa Society', *Journal of Japanese Studies* 1 (1974), pp. 91-112, at p. 93.
[112] Boulton, 'London 1540-1700', pp. 329-30.

the Tokugawa social hierarchy was contradicted by the repeated reminders issued by moralists that *chōnin* should remember their place and avoid extravagance.[113] With the rise of these new classes came a demand for forms of entertainment which catered to this social stratum, whose tastes were positioned between those of the rural peasantry and courtly elites.

The rise of this 'popular culture' was tied to increased rates of literacy (valued for business in Japan and Europe alike) and was distinguished from court culture by its intermarriage of common and courtly themes. In Japan, as in northern Europe, a print culture was developing; in the early seventeenth century the *chōnin* of Miyako and Edo could expect entertainment from books: Chinese and Japanese classical literature, Buddhist works, and a growing body of popular literature called *kana zōshi*.[114] In England, written songs and stories were distributed by criers and chapmen in the form of broadside ballads; popular narratives printed as a single page and sold to diverse publics, often but not always urban.[115] The Dutch Republic, born from the fires of revolt in the 1580s, turned to printed media for light relief from ongoing conflict with Spain; the most enduring product of this literary culture being, perhaps, *het Wilhelmus*, the acrostic poem which survives today as the Dutch national anthem.[116] Printed pamphlets served to inform Dutch publics of religious arguments, of local news, and to fortify anti-Habsburg sentiment through polemics, dialogues, and rhymes.[117]

Such developments reflect a broader shift in the social character of early modern England, Japan and the Dutch Republic. The growth of the *chōnin* in Japan and the early

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[113] Donald H. Shively, 'Popular Culture', in J. L. McClain (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan* (4 volumes, Cambridge, 1991), iv, pp. 706-70, at p. 765.
[114] Ibid., pp. 727-8. See also Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley, 2006), pp. 28, 30.
[115] Simone Chess, 'Shakespeare's Plays and Broadside Ballads', *Literature Compass* 7 (2010), pp. 773-85, at p. 773. See also Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 5, 260; Joad Raymond, 'Introduction: The Origins of Popular Print Culture' in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 1-14, at p. 1.
[116] Theo Hermans, 'The World of Literature' in Helmer J. Helmers (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 289-307, at p. 292.
[117] Margit Thøfner, 'The Netherlands', in Raymond (ed)., *Cheap Print*, pp. 196-204, at pp. 197-8.

nascence of a 'middling sort' in Europe reflects Norbert Elias' assertion that the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries represent a growth in urban merchant-bourgeois populations in Europe, an integral part of his notion of the 'civilising process'.[118] According to Elias, the growth of these populations served to impoverish previously powerful warrior-nobles, who gravitate away from martial prowess and towards court culture in order to reinforce their rank and income.[119] Attendant on this relocation towards a courtly centre is a requirement for greater restraint and display of 'manners', as social spaces are pacified and court intrigue replaces armed conflict as the space for violence.[120] While Keith Thomas has argued that Elias' assertion that feudal elites were unable to control their 'animalic human activities' misinterprets medieval behavioural codes, he nevertheless agrees that the early modern period saw a shift in the conventions of sociability.[121] In England, he argues, the nobility and gentry responded to the increasing varieties of social interaction available in metropolitan society by developing distinctive codes of manners which set them apart from the commonality.[122] This 'civility', he argues, refers to the qualities of politeness and virtue, which had once been considered part of 'courtesy', the behaviour of the court, but which, by the seventeenth century, had been subsumed into the general practice of 'civility': the behaviour of a good citizen.[123] Deportment, bodily cleanliness and table manners all formed part of this new vocabulary of civility, which expanded to apply to the population at large, as did personal honour, which survived from the Middle Ages in the form of loyal service to the Crown and, when violence was unavoidable, in the codified formal duel.[124]

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[118] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, (Oxford, 1994), pp. 470-1.
[119] Ibid., p. 473.
[120] Ibid., pp. 453, 475.
[121] Keith Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility: Manners and Civilisation in Early Modern England* (Yale, 2018), p. 20.
[122] Ibid., pp. 31-2.
[123] Ibid., pp. 15-16.
[124] Ibid., p. 33.

These early modern developments, affecting each of England, the Dutch Republic, and Japan, therefore provides a basis for the generation of cross-cultural commensurability in the social sphere. As early modern states, each country exhibited a number of social institutions and values which, if they were not identical, were responses to the broadly similar challenges and concerns produced by the factors of European coordination identified by Lieberman. Just as the existence of similar political structures facilitated dialogue between court officials travelling between disparate parts of the world, so too did the similarity of these responses facilitate dialogue between the European factors and their Japanese hosts. By engaging with one another in a variety of similar ways, the Europeans and Japanese were able to locate points of cross-cultural commensurability, easing the tensions of strangership which exist between people encountering one another for the first time, and thus enabling the development of the close interpersonal relationships upon which cosmopolitanism, and thus, European overseas enterprise, rested.

Structure

It is therefore possible to identify several convergences in the cultural composition of England, the Dutch Republic and Japan, occurring in roughly the same 100-year timeframe. These phenomena will be examined through five thematic lenses, each focused on the different methods and arenas through which the northern Europeans and Japanese engaged one another. This thematic approach allows for an examination of disparate interactions from across the Anglo-Dutch encounter with Japan, enabling comparisons across national and temporal boundaries, and highlighting common and enduring threads of experience otherwise obscured by chronological accounts. Each chapter focuses on the ways in which the social interactions in question intersected with the problem of ‘strangership’ and contributed, either beneficially or detrimentally, to the ability of both Europeans and Japanese to handle the challenges of cultural incommensurability.

Chapter one begins by examining how new European contacts were received by the Japanese in the early Edo period, and the conceptual ways in which these groups were made comprehensible in light of traditional cosmographical understandings. Drawing upon Ronald Toby's assessment that the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese in Japan resulted in a radical break from earlier understandings of the world, this chapter examines representations of the English and Dutch in Japanese visual culture as well as ethnographic and religious conceptualisations, in order to determine how the Japanese attempted to overcome the strangership between themselves and the Europeans on their own terms.

Chapter two focuses on entertainment as experienced by the European companies and the Japanese throughout this period. English, Dutch and Japanese individuals alike shared a variety of common social spaces at Hirado, and through proximate living conditions each group was brought into contact with the others' culture as expressed through social acts such as dining, theatregoing and bathing. These activities were part of a developing urban leisure culture which commercialised pleasure and recreation and distributed it vertically across the Japanese social hierarchy. This chapter examines the ways in which the mutual recognition of, and participation in, these forms of entertainment enabled the English, Dutch and Japanese to cultivate relationships with individuals in both samurai and non-samurai classes.

Chapter three focuses on the spaces in which the interactions laid out in chapter one occurred, examining how sites of encounter influenced and affected power dynamics in Japan. This chapter investigates four key arenas of interaction: the space of the court, the space of the factory, public spaces such as streets, wharves and neighbourhoods, and the ambivalent, ambiguous space created when Europeans and Japanese met aboard ships. Central to this chapter are questions about the creation of identity and the balance of power. An examination of the European factories and how far they reflected European and Japanese architectural traditions shows how these spaces were used to reify perceived commonalities

and differences between the Europeans and Japanese. A study of castles and mansions allows for insights into how the Europeans were brought into a system of Japanese fealty through the space of reception, while an analysis of neighbourhood relations in Hirado offers a counterpoint perspective, showing how the Europeans could, and did, integrate into an international community with a shared purpose. Identifying the importance of these spaces and acting correctly within them was crucial to the process of easing strangership between parties with different customs and social practices.

Chapter four focuses on the importance of gift-exchange in Japan as a tool for diplomatic engagement. Recognising the centrality of gifts to international early modern diplomacy, it examines the exchange of gifts across the spectrum of the Japanese social hierarchy, from gifts given to the shogunate to quotidian exchanges with friends and neighbours in Hirado. Using a seventeenth-century categorisation of gifts identified in contemporary Japanese diaries by Andrew E. Goble, it examines how gifts were understood by both Europeans and Japanese, and how this ambivalence allowed each group to overcome the difficulties of generating trust and friendship across cultural boundaries. In addition to examining how gifts could help to establish networks of trust and amity throughout Japan, this chapter also considers the occasions when gift-giving could obstruct the diplomatic process. The problems of bribery and unwanted or insufficient gifts affected both Europeans and Japanese alike, and the control, or lack of control, over when a gift could be returned or rejected reflected the imbalance of power between the shogunate and merchant companies.

Chapter five examines the role of violence as a force both beneficial and detrimental to the generation of trust between the English, Dutch and Japanese. All three groups engaged in violence both within themselves and with the other parties in the forms of brawling, duelling and warfare. The engagement in these forms of conduct led to the construction of assumptions about each other's cultural character, based on lived experiences of violent

incommensurability. At the same time, however, shared participation in quelling unlicensed violence such as street brawls or rebellions could raise the mutual standing of the allied parties. The chapter therefore examines a variety of responses to violence, in the forms of spectating and commentary, discipline and punishment, and retaliation, in order to determine how responding to violence might serve variously to unite the Europeans and Japanese against disturbance and disorder, or else to brew hostility between them. It also cautions against monolithic interpretations of 'European' or 'Japanese' violence, using the examples of Japanese *kabukimono* and European sailors to examine how small subcommunities within each national group could conduct violence that fed into broader stereotypes that each nation made about the others.

Sources

Central to this study of cross-cultural commensurability are the materials produced by the merchants of both the English and Dutch East India Companies. At the forefront of the English materials is the diary kept by cape-merchant Richard Cocks, which provides the most vividly rich account of the English experience in Japan. Cocks' diary spans the years 1615 to 1622, with an additional excerpt from 1613 surviving within John Saris' journal (see below). The diary itself is a personal journal, and the management of trade at the factory is secondary to Cocks' observations on daily life at Hirado. Cocks records his interactions with the Japanese, Dutch and Chinese in great detail, making meticulous note of presents received, visitors he entertained and customs he observed. He was evidently fascinated by the culture of Tokugawa Japan, and many of his entries are devoted to explaining the unfamiliar customs which he encountered there. The manuscript itself is incomplete, breaking off on 14 January 1619 and resuming on 5 December 1620.[125] This gap in the manuscript obscures several

[125] Tokyo Historiographical Institute, *Diary Kept by the Head of the English Factory in Japan: Diary of Richard Cocks, 1615-1622* (3 vols., Tokyo, 1978), iii, p. 3. Hereafter, '*Diary*'.

major events in a pivotal period of the factory's history, which must instead be examined with reference to the surviving correspondence of the English factory.

This correspondence is drawn from the Original Correspondence materials contained in the India Office Library and Records (IOR/E/3), collated by Anthony Farrington in his two-volume collection *The English Factory in Japan*. The correspondence is extensive, spanning the entire period 1613-1623, and while it consists primarily of letters sent between the factors when travelling through Japan, it also includes letters sent between Hirado, Bantam, and Siam, as well as some limited correspondence with Dutch, Portuguese and Japanese merchants. Most letters concern matters of business, but many contain brief personal updates which offer insight into the merchants' daily lives. Most revealing, however, are the lengthy annual reports sent to the EIC's directors in London, who lacked the factors' insight into Japan culture and society. In an attempt to keep their employers briefed on the state of their factories, these letters often reflect on the broader narrative and most pressing issues affecting the Hirado venture, rather than individual transactions. They are candid about the factors' disappointments in the Japan trade, and are not always optimistic about the factory's prospects, although they paint at times a more favourable image of the support shown to them by the local population than was perhaps accurate. Cocks in particular writes back frequently about his dealings with the local Chinese captain, Li Dan, and the promise of obtaining trade with the Chinese mainland, a prospect that was never to materialise and for which Cocks was criticised harshly by the Company in 1624.

The journal of John Saris provides a third major strand of source material for the English factory. The original copy of this journal, kept during the EIC's Eighth Voyage, is no longer extant; however, a 'fair copy' version produced by Saris upon his return to England survives in the India Office Records, in addition to two further versions of the journal, both of them substantially identical but divergent in spelling. One is an edited version of the journal,

printed in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* in 1625; the other is a manuscript copy of the journal prepared by Saris for Francis Bacon in 1617. The IOR MS and Purchas edition of the journal have been collated and published by Ernest M. Satow as *The Voyage of John Saris to Japan*, while all three versions have been collated by Otsuka Takanobu as *The First Voyage of the English to Japan*. In the absence of the original journal, it must be remembered that all three versions have been augmented by the opportunity for reflection before publication, and may not necessarily reflect Saris' initial responses to Japanese society. Nevertheless, the journal provides an invaluable insight into the first moment of contact between the EIC and Japan. Saris records several interactions with major figures in Japan, devotes considerable time to describing the cities of Miyako, Edo, and Osaka, and includes descriptions of Japanese social practices, including *kabuki*. Unlike Cocks, Saris was aware that his redrafted journal would have a larger audience than himself, and so his later reflections allow him to expand on his cultural observations with the benefit of hindsight, interspersing his account with information about the types of food eaten in Japan, their religion, and their laws.

As Derek Massarella has noted, the VOC archives 'do not contain… quite the same human element' as those of the EIC.[126] This is due, in part, to the different purposes served by the EIC and VOC documentation; where Cocks' diary was a personal log of his time in Hirado, and Saris' journal was published for cultural curiosity, the Dutch *dagregisters* (factory journals) were a response to an administrative impetus which collected reports on local conditions of trade and directed them back to The Hague.[127] As a result, these accounts were closely focused on trade relations, and could not contain the same discursive observations of day-to-day mundanities as Cocks' diary. Activities not relevant to the trading enterprise were glossed over; *opperhoofd* Nicholaes Couckebacker recorded that, for

[126] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 431.
[127] Leonard Blussé, 'Northern European Empire in Asia: The VOC', in Hamish Scott (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750* (2 vols, Oxford, 2015) pp. 227-51, at pp. 237-8.

instance, 'On the 25th and 26th [September 1633], nothing special happened other than that which was daily occupied in the sale of merchandise.'[128]

The *dagregisters* have been collected and published by the Tokyo Historiographical Institute in 10 volumes, four of which relate to Hirado. The first three were produced by Nicholaes Couckebacker (1633-39) and the fourth was produced by François Caron (1640-41), although all four are interspersed with sections written by other members of the factory in their absence. Both Couckebacker and Caron adhered to the diaries' purpose as business reports, giving little space to activities outside of commercial transactions or meetings with Japanese officials. However, both men did record important social events when their outcome was believed to have an impact on Dutch-Japanese relations.

Unlike Cocks' diary, the *dagregisters* record transcribed conversations with Japanese figures, primarily the *daimyo* of Hirado and the *rōjū* (shogun's chief councillors) in Edo. Couckebacker's translations should be considered approximations rather than accurate expressions of authentic Japanese, as he was reliant upon local translators for communication. As Isabel Tanaka-van Daalen notes, these translators were usually more fluent in Portuguese as the *lingua franca* of European trade in Asia than in Dutch, and thus it cannot be ruled out that some nuance of these conversations may have been lost in the double-translation between Japanese, Portuguese and Dutch.[129] Caron, however, was himself a proficient Japanese speaker, having been the translator in 1627 for Pieter Nuijts' visit to court, and as such his record of reported speech in the *dagregisters* may be considered comparatively accurate.[130] In addition to the factory's journal, Caron also produced a piece of early travel

[128] Tokyo Historiographical Institute, *Diaries Kept by the Heads of the Dutch Factory in Japan* (10 vols, Tokyo, 1974), i, p. 17. (25-6 September 1633. '*Adij 25:26en do niet sonders gepasseerdtt anders als dat dagelijcx besich waeren om de coopmanschappen te benificeeren.*'). Hereafter, '*Dagregisters*'.
[129] Isabel Tanaka-van Daalen, 'The Privileges of Working with the VOC: Supplementary Incomes of the Interpreters in Nagasaki and Canton', *Itinerario* 37 (2013), pp. 116-38, at p. 122.
[130] Boxer, *True Description*, p. xvi.

writing, the *Rechte Beschrijvinge van het Machtigh Koningrijick van Jappan* ('True Description of the Mighty Kingdom of Japan'), which describes in concise but broad-ranging answers various aspects of life in Japan.[131] While much of the *Description* has been curated in response to a series of questions from VOC Governor-General Philips Lucaszoon, and thus offers little insight into Caron's own experiences at Hirado, Caron nevertheless reinforces the veracity of his observations with his own testimony.[132] Whilst not quite the quotidian account of life that may be found in the *dagregisters*, therefore, the *Description of Japan* offers a clearer assessment of Caron's opinions on various aspects of Japanese society.

In addition to the published *dagregisters*, I have also conducted archival research in The Hague, obtaining access to the Dutch correspondence from Hirado (VOC 1.04.21). This correspondence, dating back to 1609, focuses on the conduct of business in Japan, with little space given to personal correspondence between the factors. As with the English letters, discussion between the merchants does offer insight into the factors' perceptions of Japan, and longer missives to the company administration in Batavia are useful for their summative reports on the state of trade. While most space is devoted to the sale of goods, some merchants offer commentary on current affairs in Japan, including a brief eyewitness account of the Siege of Osaka[133], and of the martyrdom of sixteen Christians at Nagasaki in 1634.[134] Unlike the English factory's records, however, a greater quantity of correspondence between the Dutch factors and the Matsura *daimyo* survives, offering insight into the nature of the dialogue between these groups.

[131] Boxer, *True Description*, p. xxxvii.
[132] Ibid., p. 54.
[133] 'Matthijs van ten Broek and Albert Wouteren to Jacques Specx', 11 June 1615, NA, 1.04.21 276, fo. 37.
[134] 'Willem Verstegen to Nicholas Couckebacker', 29 October 164, NA, 1.04.21 277, fo. 110. ('*t'vervolghende uit roijen desselfs gaat hiersterk ende seer strengelijk voortt*').

These European sources, which have been read in the original English and Dutch, are supplemented with a broad range of Japanese sources, which have been read in translation. Parts of *Ikoku Nikki*, the contemporary records of Tokugawa diplomacy, have been excerpted by Adam Clulow in his *The Company and the Shogun*, and used where relevant to reflect upon the Japanese response to the Dutch presence in Japan.[135] In the field of literature, Jan Leuchtenberger and George Elison have produced translations of anti-Christian polemics; the 1610 *Baterenki* ('History of the Padres'), and the 1639 *Kirishitan Monogatari* ('Tale of the *Kirishitan*') respectively. These literary texts present an image of westerners which evolved in relation to religiopolitical developments and the rising tide of anti-Christian sentiment between 1600 and 1640 which is discussed in further detail in chapter one. Chapter four, focusing on gift exchange, owes much to Andrew Edmund Goble's reproduction of several passages from the diary of Miyako physician Yamashina Tokitsune, who commented at length about the various forms of gifts that he received whilst living in Osaka.

Yet it is not only written sources which provide such insight into the reception of, and interaction with, Europeans in Tokugawa Japan. Chapter one in particular examines the visual materials produced by Japanese artists who took as their subjects the westerners living and working in port cities and urban centres. Of particular interest for this analysis is the genre of *nanban* (southern barbarian) art, first produced in the 1590s and in circulation until the mid-seventeenth century, when increased suspicions around Christianity reduced its popularity, and at times led it to face iconoclastic destruction. This study examines in particular the forms of *nanban* art which depict western figures, in order to determine how these representations changed over time, and the extent to which visual depictions of westerners reflect the kinds of interactions attested to in the European accounts.

[135] For instance, Adam Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun: The Dutch Encounter with Tokugawa Japan* (New York, 2014), p. 50.

Through an examination of these sources, read closely and in conjunction with one another, the intention of this thesis is to give greater depth to our understanding of how encounters between cultures were handled in the early modern world. It seeks to dislocate the process of encounter, identifying court diplomacy as but one strand of a broader practice of cosmopolitan accommodation which occurred in a range of settings across Japan, from the European factories to *daimyo* mansions in Edo, from the streets of Osaka and Sakai to ships off the Kyushu coast. In so doing, it also seeks to democratise the practice of commensurability, reading non-courtly actors such as merchants, monks, missionaries and mistresses into the narrative of developing cultural understanding. It looks for the common strand of understanding between disparate cultures not merely in the exceptional abilities of 'cosmopolitans' to form networks on a global scale, but in the comparable cultural developments occurring in different parts of the globe.

Chapter 1: Identity

The Tokugawa shogunate, in the early seventeenth century, was still struggling to consolidate its control over Japan. Having been embroiled since 1467 in the internecine conflict of the *sengoku-jidai*, the shogunate was concerned with establishing itself as the 'Great Public Authority' over the disparate samurai domains.[136] Despite being appointed shogun by Emperor Go-Yōzei in 1603, Tokugawa Ieyasu had still to contend with potential challenges from the surviving members of the Toyotomi clan and their loyalists, who appeared to the Tokugawa to be laying claim to a portion of the shogunate's authority.[137] As David Howell has shown, 'Japan' at this point was not yet a fully integrated state; it lacked fixed borders, with peripheral regions (such as Hokkaido and the Ryukyu Islands) occupying a subordinate but not integrated position, and while the *daimyo* were nominally subordinated to the shogunate's authority, they, and not the shogun, exercised actual power within their own domains.[138] Victor Lieberman has likewise highlighted the ambiguous nature of the terms *kuni*, 'country' and *kokka*, 'state' in seventeenth-century Japan, which referred interchangeably to *daimyo* domains and to Japan *in toto*, and which persisted into the nineteenth century.[139]

Lieberman, however, acknowledges that that Edo-period Japan was beginning to display characteristics which were necessary (if insufficient) prerequisites for the formation of a national consciousness: the development of a 'paramount state institution' and widespread integration into a broader cultural community.[140] It lacked, however, several

[136] Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai: Honorific Individualism and the Making of Modern Japan (Cambridge, MA, 1995)*, p. 151.
[137] Morgan Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation: Material Culture, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and Samurai Sociability*, (Honolulu, 2016), pp. 129-30.
[138] David L. Howell, 'Territoriality and Collective Identity in Tokugawa Japan', *Daedalus* 127 (1998), pp. 105-32, at p. 105.
[139] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, ii, p. 480.
[140] Ibid., ii, p. 488.

'national' components; not least the similarity of political units and widespread political involvement. Although there was a nascent sense amongst the Japanese population that they belonged to the supra-domanial entity 'Japan', Lieberman argues that the associational ties of village, domain, and shogunate were of greater importance to most.[141] In this, the prevailing attitude may be contrasted with that of seventeenth-century England, where the English gentry were constantly and self-consciously reminded that their activities at the local or county level were part of a broader national political culture.[142] In the case of the Low Countries, E. H. Kossmann has argued that while the seventeenth-century Dutch nation 'represents an expansion of the province of Holland' across the Republic in terms of socio-political and cultural standards, those standards were inextricably tied to a broader 'pan-Netherlandish context' which incorporated both the northern provinces and the Spanish Netherlands.[143]

The ambiguity of Japanese identities in this period posed a challenge to the Tokugawa. To affirm their position as supreme authority in Japan, it was necessary to convince the people of the disparate domains, many of whom had opposed the Tokugawa at Sekigahara, to set aside their regional and domanial differences. This meant showing that sufficient common ground existed to justify the development of something akin to a national 'Japanese' identity. The underlying justification of this identity, however, resulted in Japan being drawn in two separate directions with regard to its foreign policy. On the one hand, by encouraging foreign trade the shogunate could assert the identity of 'Japan' as an independent economic polity and an autonomous player in East Asian trade.[144] On the other, the large-

[141] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, ii, p. 489.
[142] Clive Holmes, 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography', *Journal of British Studies* 19 (1980), pp. 54-73, at p. 73.
[143] E. H. Kossmann, 'The Dutch Case: A National or a Regional Culture? The Prothero Lecture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 29 (1979), pp. 155-68, at pp. 156, 162-3.
[144] Yasunori, 'Japanocentric World Order', p. 211.

scale encounter with foreign peoples facilitated by overseas trade provided the shogunate with a variety of Others against which a Japanese national identity could be drawn. As Arano Yasunori has argued, by focusing on the incommensurability between Japan and its various trading contacts, the shogunate could minimise internal differences amongst the inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago. The Christian Europeans made the ideal Other, since their customs and manners were so alien that by comparison, most of Japan appeared to share similar habits.[145]

The divergent desires to promote foreign trade and to identify an incommensurable Other therefore placed the Europeans in Japan in a precarious position *vis-à-vis* their relationship with the Tokugawa state. The reconciliation of these desires is well-rehearsed in academic literature; by 1640 the Catholic Iberians, posing the greatest cultural and political threat to Japan, had been exiled; the English had withdrawn voluntarily; the Protestant Dutch were permitted to remain. Less clear is how the Japanese came to differentiate between these groups. Yasunori recognises that the 'intentions of the Europeans began to become more explicit' during the early seventeenth century, since there were 'fundamental differences in the patterns of behaviour between the Portuguese and Spanish… and the Dutch and English'.[146] He does not, however, discuss how these patterns of behaviour were interpreted by the Japanese, and how these differences affected the ways these disparate groups were treated.

The question of how European identities, particularly northern European ones, came to be understood in Tokugawa Japan has not drawn significant scholarly attention, in contrast with the greater volume of scholarship investigating the availability of knowledge about

[145] Yasunori, 'Japanocentric World Order', p. 205.
[146] Ibid., p. 191.

Japan in Europe prior to Anglo-Dutch contact.[147] Much emphasis is placed on information relayed by European intermediaries such as William Adams, Richard Cocks, Jan Joosten van Lodensteijn and the Jesuits, but how this information was processed and interpreted by Japanese audiences requires further investigation. For example, Derek Massarella has suggested that Jesuit reports that the crew of *de Liefde* were 'Lutheran pirates' would have been received by the Japanese in specific ways: 'Lutheran' would have meant nothing in Japan, but 'pirate' was a damning indictment and a pressing concern for a rising maritime power.[148] How the Japanese interpreted the English and Dutch, therefore, was not always commensurate with the ways in which Europeans envisioned their own identities.

Ronald Toby has examined representations of European group in Japanese literature and visual media to trace the metaphysical impact of what he calls the 'Iberian irruption'. This, he claims, was a transformative historical moment spurred by the arrival of the Portuguese, in which foreign groups, previously represented as a distant Other in Japanese visual or written works, were suddenly recognised as appearing within the Japanese archipelago itself.[149] Toby's argument builds upon a broad corpus of material which argues that the arrival of the Portuguese engendered a deep curiosity with the strange clothes, customs and commercial goods brought to Japan by the Portuguese, manifesting in a 'craze' for all things European.[150] More specifically, it was a craze for all things *nanban*, a term derived from a Chinese word for peoples located south of the Middle Kingdom, which in Japan came to apply to the Portuguese as well.[151] In addition to works of art depicting Portuguese figures, certain Kyushu *daimyo* and wealthy merchants adopted the dress,

[147] See, for instance, Das, 'Encounter as Process', pp. 1346, 1350; Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, pp. 48, 68-9.
[148] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 75.
[149] Ronald P. Toby, 'The "Indianness" of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other' in Stuart B. Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 323–51, at p. 324.
[150] Shin'ichi Tani and Tadashi Sugase, *Namban Art: A Loan Collection from Japanese Collections* (Washington, D.C., 1973), pp. 23.
[151] Ibid., pp. 16-17.

foodstuffs and religion of the Portuguese. So pervasive was the *nanban* craze that the hegemon Toyotomi Hideyoshi himself adopted Portuguese clothing, whilst samurai adapted Portuguese fashions to armour and everyday clothing.[152] As the Jesuit Francisco Pasio wrote in 1594, in addition to bearing rosaries and European handkerchiefs, some Japanese 'have memorised the Our Father and Hail Mary, and recite them as they walk in the streets. This is not done in ridicule of the Christians, but simply to show off their familiarity with the latest fashion.'[153] The Jesuit João Rodrigues thus remarked with wonder on 'how so many things of the Portuguese have come to have such good report' in Japan.[154] The Iberian irruption, Toby contends, began a process of reconceptualising Otherness in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Japan, producing a new conception of the world broader than any known before.[155] For Toby, this shift in the scale of the cosmos was literally era-defining, marking the beginning of Japan's period of early modernity and the nascence of a nation. In his assessment, the Iberian irruption provided the domains of post-*sengoku-jidai* Japan with one of Yasunori's criteria for a proto-national Japanese identity: a panoply of foreign groups which, in their Otherness, formed a unifying force against which a Japanese identity could begin to coalesce.[156]

Having discussed the 'Iberian irruption' and its effects, however, Toby also makes a passing reference to the existence of an equivalent 'Protestant irruption' occurring with the arrival of the English and Dutch.[157] Although he does not explain precisely what this constituted, the idea of a 'Protestant irruption' is persuasive since it implies that, if the Iberian

[152] Toby, 'Indianness of Iberia', p. 332; Ronald P. Toby, *Engaging the Other: Japan and its Alter Egos, 1550-1850* (Leiden, 2019), p. 130.
[153] Marie Conte-Helm, *The Japanese and Europe: Economic and Cultural Encounters* (London, 1996), p. 3.
[154] Yoshitomo Okamoto, *The Namban Art of Japan* trans. Ronald K. Jones, (New York, 1972), p. 72.
[155] Ronald P. Toby, 'Three Realms/Myriad Countries: An "Ethnography" of Other and the Re-Bounding of Japan, 1550-1750', in Kai-Wing Chow, Kevin M. Soak and Poshek Fu, eds., *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia*, (Ann Arbor, 2001), pp. 15-45, at pp. 17-18.
[156] Ibid., p. 17.
[157] Toby, 'Three Realms', p. 35.

irruption led to a reconceptualization of the cosmos at large, the arrival of the northern Europeans demanded a reconceptualization of European Otherness separate to that incited by the Iberians. It implies that the Japanese did not subsume the English and Dutch into a single 'European' identity, but were able to locate points of alterity which distinguished them from the Spanish and Portuguese. If this is the case, then it is possible to examine the cultural assumptions upon which commensurability could be constructed.

Before considering the 'Protestant irruption' further, however, some reservations about the terminology as Toby uses it must be identified. The first is with the use of the term 'Protestant' to refer to the northern European groups. The English and Dutch factors were members of the Protestant Church of England and Dutch Reformed Church. However, while these identities placed them in opposition to the Catholic Iberians, neither the EIC nor VOC were concerned with winning converts in Japan. Moreover, while the English and Dutch did their best to convey their disdain of Catholicism to the Japanese, the extent to which the differences between Protestant and Catholic identities were fully grasped by the Japanese remained limited, even in 1640. The term 'Protestant irruption', therefore, may place undue emphasis on the religious aspect of the encounter with northern European groups.

The second issue which must be taken into consideration is the extent of the irruption. It is important to bear in mind Nandini Das' cautionary argument that encounters are best understood not as individual historical events, but as longer processes of approximation and accumulation of knowledge, collected and collated over time.[158] In considering the Iberian and Protestant 'irruptions', therefore, this chapter will look beyond the specific events of 1609 and 1613 to consider the changing interpretation of European groups across the seventeenth century.

[158] Das, 'Encounter as Process', pp. 1345-6.

Few scholars so far have examined in detail the differences in the ways that disparate European groups were received in Tokugawa Japan. Discussions surrounding European identities in Japan are usually constructed around the description of Europeans as *nanban*, focusing frequently on the depictions of Iberian merchants and missionaries known to modern scholars as *nanban* art. Shin'ichi Tani and Tadashi Sugase, for instance, have gone as far as to suggest that the northern Europeans were simply subsumed into the *nanban* identity, arguing that 'as far as Japan is concerned… "*Namban*" means "foreign countries",' and that it was only later, when the Japanese began to recognise different European facial types (they do not give a specific date), that the Dutch (they do not mention the English) were distinguished with the term *kōmōjin* (red-haired).[159]

The argument that the English and Dutch were indistinguishable from Iberians implies that the Japanese were unconcerned with making the distinction between European groups, and does not reflect the reality of Japan's encounter with Europe. In reality, the Iberians and northern Europeans were at pains to ensure that the Japanese recognised that they were different groups and strong rivals. Thus, when William Adams discovered that the Spanish had been putting out 'ill reports' of the English at Edo, claiming that they 'rob and stayle from all we meete at sea', he was quick to 'enform them the trew occasion thereof' by arguing that the English 'had wars against them and comition to take either Spa. or Port. where we met them, in regard they took us.'[160] The Japanese who dealt with the Europeans, for their part, took these distinctions seriously. Adams was duly informed that 'the Emperour [i.e. the shogun] and them about hym are no frendes of Portingales nor Spa.' and the English were warned 'that we should not com in their company, but rather to reveale them, to the entent they might be punished.'[161] Similar distinctions are found in the Dutch *dagregisters*. In

[159] Tani and Sugase, *Namban Art*, p. 17.
[160] *Diary*, i, pp. 297-8 (4 September 1616).
[161] Ibid., i, p. 298 (4 September 1616).

1634, *opperhoofd* Nicholaes Couckerbacker was asked by the senior *rōjū* Aoyama Yukinari 'very much and broadly about our country and the Spaniard's,' seemingly in an attempt to understand the nature of Dutch-Spanish relations.[162] In 1639, the need to distinguish between the now-banished Portuguese and the still-tolerated Dutch on sight was made attendant on all Japanese; an edict published in 1640 obliged all citizens 'to diligently watch out for the Portuguese vessel, so that an alert of its coming may be issued in a timely manner'.[163]

By examining the ways in which attitudes towards European groups changed over the course of the early Edo period, it is possible to challenge uncritical assumptions about Japanese concerns with European identity which fail to take into account the significant social and political changes occurring in this period. Such changes are central to Toby's initial argument, and therefore underpin our examination of the Protestant, or perhaps northern European, irruption. We must therefore consider what distinguished this encounter from the Iberian irruption. What cultural assumptions, if any, did the Japanese make about the English and Dutch in light of the Portuguese presence in the country, and how were distinctions made between these groups? Moreover, if these irruptions are examined as processes of encounter, how did these assumptions change as the Japanese developed fuller understandings of the English, Dutch and Portuguese, and what factors contributed to these shifting identities?

From Sangoku to Bankoku

The world that the Tokugawa shogunate occupied when the English merchants arrived in Japan was undergoing substantial political change. Since the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, the Tokugawa had been working towards the establishment of *taihei*; a 'great peace'

[162] *Dagregisters*, i, p. 121 (9 & 10 March 1634, '*desen Raeth*^{r} *seer veel ende wijt te vraegen van ons ende der Spanijaerts landen*').
[163] Ibid., iv, p. 251 (5 August 1640, '*sorgvuldichl*^{k} *naer het Portuguese vaertuijch laten uijtsien, opdat de advertentie dier compste tijdelijk mach uijtgeroepen werden*').

wherein the fractious and fragmented domains of *sengoku-jidai* Japan were drawn together under the common banner of the Tokugawa shogunate. Their main rivals, the Toyotomi clan, were still at large; their destruction at the Siege of Osaka was still two years away. Ieyasu had officially retired as Shogun in favour of his son Hidetada, but still ruled from behind the scenes at Sunpu in the post of *ōgosho* (retired shogun) to ensure the continued stability of the fledgling dynasty. Stability, however, was not guaranteed. Only the year before, the *daimyo* of Hinoe Domain, Arima Harunobu, had been found guilty of conspiring against the Tokugawa-appointed Nagasaki *bugyō* Hasegawa Fujihiro Sahyōe. Worse still, Harunobu and his co-conspirator Okamoto Daihachi were Christians, reinforcing old suspicions that Christianity posed a threat to Tokugawa rule.[164] For the first two Tokugawa shoguns, consolidating the position of the young dynasty in the eyes of their people, and of the world, was of critical importance.

Yet it was not just in domestic affairs that the world had changed; beyond the Japanese archipelago, the shape and scale of the known world had expanded in the space of a mere seventy years. Traditionally, the popular Japanese vision of the world consisted of three broad regions: *Wagachō* or 'our country' (Japan), the continental lands of *Kara* (including China and Korea), and *Tenjiku* (the lands beyond Kara; India).[165] Known as *sangoku,* or 'three realms', this model was a conceptual framework for understanding the world, and as such involved a degree of imprecision; as Ronald Toby acknowledges, it elides the various countries of Southeast Asia visited by Japanese merchants and pirates into the *ikoku* ('foreign/strange lands') contained within *Kara*.[166] *Tenjiku,* by comparison, was not simply 'India', but rather represented the parts of the universe that lay beyond *Kara,* incorporating

[164] Yasunori, 'Japanocentric World Order', p. 192.
[165] Toby, 'Three Realms', pp. 18-20.
[166] Ibid., p. 38, n. 12.

the homeland of the Buddha and the 'other worlds' of gods, spirits, buddhas and bodhisattvas.[167]

Within this cosmological model, the Japanese adopted a variety of ways in which foreign groups from *Kara* or *Tenjiku* could be categorised, all of which drew attention to these peoples' Otherness. The range of terms which could apply to foreign groups was broad, and drew upon the regions of *sangoku* thought: ships from China, for instance, were known as *karabune*, while the Portuguese, upon first arrival in Japan, were greeted as *tenjikujin*: 'Indians', or 'inhabitants of *Tenjiku*'.[168] Alternatively, terms could be borrowed from Chinese: *nanban*, as has been said, originated in Chinese conceptions of the Middle Kingdom, and was at this time used by both Chinese and Japanese to describe the various peoples of Southeast Asia, including merchants from Java, Sumatra and the Ryukyu Islands.[169] *Nanban*, therefore, shared similarities with the term *Tōjin*, which literally means 'Tang Chinese' but was used, in Japan, as a genericised term for all foreign groups.[170]

The arrival of Europeans from lands located even beyond *Tenjiku*, posed a challenge to the conventional understanding of the world. Where previously peoples who did not fit the *sangoku* structure were primarily of concern for Japanese merchants in Southeast Asia, their existence could no longer be conveniently overlooked. The competition to attract foreign trade, the widespread adoption of the Iberians' new religion and the development of Nagasaki as a Portuguese enclave had made the foreigners a central concern of many, particularly the citizens of Kyushu. The response, Toby claims, was to reconfigure the conception of the

[167] Toby, 'Three Realms', p. 38, ns.12-13.
[168] Toby, 'The "Indianness" of Iberia', pp. 327-8.
[169] Lidin, *Tanegashima*, p. 26.
[170] Keiko Suzuki, 'The Making of Tōjin: Construction of the Other in Early Modern Japan', *Asian Folklore Studies* 66 (2007), pp. 83-105, at p. 85.

world from one structured around 'three realms' to one which allowed for the existence of *bankoku*: '10,000 lands' or 'myriad realms'.[171]

Grappling with the notion of *bankoku* was central to the Tokugawa strategy of national consolidation in the early seventeenth century. On the one hand, the expanded realms of the world created an opportunity for the shogunate to place Japan at the heart of an overseas tributary trade much as Ming China was, bolstering its diplomatic authority and legitimising its own rule in the eyes of its populace.[172] On the other hand, in these myriad realms the shogunate could locate an Other against which a unified Japanese identity could be constructed, reinforcing the unity of the familiar domains of 'Japan' in opposition to the manifold 'foreigners' that existed beyond the archipelago.[173] The entrenchment of this position relied on distinguishing that which was Japanese from that which was not. Ronald Toby has suggested that this process relied on the Freudian 'narcissism of petty differences' to distinguish the unique features of a Japanese identity.[174] By developing a clear understanding of hitherto-unknown foreign groups, therefore, the shogunate could present a vision of Japan as a consolidated entity rather than a fragmentary union of disparate states.

During the decades following the Iberian irruption, in which *bankoku* thinking was beginning to develop, the Japanese relied upon traditional understandings of foreign peoples in order to make the Europeans intelligible. The Portuguese, upon first arrival, were called *nanbanjin* or *tenjikujin*, drawing upon their origins in the realms of *Kara* and *Tenjiku*. Toby suggests also that the term *tōjin* (Chinese) was used by the Buddhist priest Gien to describe Portuguese fashions worn by Japanese figures at the Miyako *Gion* festival in 1604.[175]

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[171] Ronald P. Toby, 'Imagining and Imaging "Anthropos" in Early-Modern Japan', *Visual Anthropology Review* 14 (1998), pp. 19-44, at p. 20.
[172] Yasunori, 'Japanocentric World Order', p. 206.
[173] Ibid., p. 205.
[174] Toby, 'Three Realms', p. 16.
[175] Toby, 'The "Indianness" of Iberia', pp. 334-5.

Examining the English and Dutch diaries, it is clear that these terms remained in usage throughout the seventeenth century. Travelling through Osaka in October 1613, John Saris recorded being followed by Japanese 'crying, Tosin, Tosin, that is, Chinaes, Chinaes; others calling us Coré, Coré'.[176] The English had been called 'Coré' before, whilst passing through Hakata; Saris interpreted it to mean 'Corean', i.e. Korean.[177] Neither incident was recorded in the original journal, but were added when Saris revised his account for inclusion in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, leading Derek Massarella to doubt the accuracy of the translation.[178] Toby, however, has noted that the Japanese term *Kōrai* referred to the defunct Koryŏ dynasty; its successor, Chŏson, was not popularly recognised in Japan.[179] Since Saris was travelling with William Adams as translator, it is likely that his translation, if not his transliteration, was accurate.[180] Adams himself was also referred to, in official sources, by various markers of foreignness: *tōjin*, Korean, and, in 1634, as *minjin*, 'Ming Chinese'.[181]

A further term used in Japan was *kōmōjin* (red-haired person) usually in reference to the Dutch,[182] but which has also on occasion been interpreted by modern scholarship as a reference the English.[183] When precisely this term came into usage is unclear, but it was likely transmitted by the Chinese, who had referred to the Dutch in this way since first contact in 1601.[184] Red hair was considered part of a supernatural appearance, likely derived from Buddhist paintings of demons, although, as Donald Keene has noted, individual

[176] *Saris*, p. 142 (20 October 1613).
[177] Ibid., p. 121 (7 August 1613).
[178] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 113.
[179] Toby, 'The "Indianness" of Iberia', p. 339.
[180] *Saris*, p. 120 (20 October 1613).
[181] Keiko Suzuki, 'The Tale of Tōjin: Visualising Others in Popular Japanese Art from Edo to Early Meiji' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2006), p. 85.
[182] See, for instance, Thomas Reilly, Stephen Kaufman, and Angela Bodino (eds.), *Racism: A Global Reader* (London 2003), p. 32; C. R. Boxer, *Jan Compagnie in Japan 1600-1850* (The Hague, 1950), p. 44.
[183] Naomichi Ishige, *The History and Culture of Japanese Food* (London, 2001), p. 91.
[184] Zaorong Peng, 'The Image of the "Red-Haired Barbarian" in Chinese Official and Popular Discourse', in Hua Meng and Sukehiro Hirakawa (eds.), *Images of Westerners in Chinese and Japanese Literature* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 17-23, at p. 20.

accounts of Dutch visitors referred to the foreigners as having brown or blonde hair.[185] Taken therefore as an iconographic trope, rather than a naturalistic description, it was a fitting term for figures who had travelled from *Tenjiku*, the land of gods and demons.

Tōjin, *nanban*, *tenjikujin* and *kōmōjin*; all these terms remain bound to traditional cosmological models wherein the Other was linked to the 'strange lands' of *Kara* and *Tenjiku*. The application of several of these names to the disparate European groups suggests that they were intended to be symbolic of their alterity, rather than descriptive of their actual origins. *Kōmōjin*, therefore, is particularly striking since it was used to distinguish the Dutch (and perhaps the northern Europeans more generally) from the Iberians. Whilst it still bore traces of a *sangoku* world model which saw the lands beyond *Kara* as belonging to the supernatural realm, it nevertheless suggested that within this realm there were diverse groups, and that the Dutch and English had an inherently different identity to the Spanish and Portuguese. Whilst not fully realised, in this distinction it is possible to see a new, *bankoku* reading of the older *sangoku* world order.

This terminological distinction makes most sense if we consider the encounter between Japan and Europe not as an event, but as a process. The transition from *sangoku* to *bankoku* was not and could not be instantaneous; Toby acknowledges that the Iberian (and 'Protestant') irruptions disrupted *sangoku* models 'without determining the shape of the new practices that were to form'.[186] This process of formulation may be discerned in the vocabular used to describe European difference; it is also demonstrable through a closer examination of the changing iconography of Europeans in Japanese art.

[185] Donald Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720-1830* (Stanford, 1969), p. 16.
[186] Toby, 'Three Realms', p. 36.

Europeans in Japanese Art

Central to Toby's argument about the *sangoku-bankoku* transition is the claim that the Japanese, confronted with a newly expanded conception of the cosmos' scale, were required to find ways of accounting for and making sense of the myriad new peoples of the world. A crucial part of this process was the depiction in Japanese art of foreigners who were not distant external groups confined to their own lands, as had been the visual style prior to 1550, but who were an irruptive presence found within Japan itself.[187] The development of a new visual style in response to the arrival of the Iberians is well-known, and discussions of '*nanban* art' are ubiquitous in Japanese early modern art history.[188]

Perhaps the most famous images of this type are the painted folding screens, produced between *c.*1593 and *c.*1639, which depict the arrival of Portuguese vessels in the ports of Japan, and the subsequent procession of the merchants through the streets of coastal towns, where they are welcomed by a host of Jesuit missionaries and Japanese neophytes.[189] Such images paid close attention to the figural form of the westerners and, it has been suggested, 'reflected an expectant curiosity for all that was not Chinese, Korean, or Japanese.'[190] As Michael Cooper has noted, these *nanban* screens 'vividly illustrate the impressions that the Japanese formed of the Europeans from the distant and exotic West'.[191]

[187] Toby, 'Three Realms', p. 24.
[188] A complete summary of the literature is not possible here, but see, for instance, Okamoto, *Nanban Art*; Tani and Sugase, *Namban Art*; Maria Helena Mendes Pinto, *Namban Lacquerware in Portugal: The Portuguese Presence in Japan (1543-1639)* (Lisbon, 1990); Michael Cooper, *The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan* (Tokyo, 1971), pp. 147-206; Victoria Weston, 'Unfolding the Screen: Depicting the Foreign in Japanese Nanban Byōbu', in Victoria Weston (ed.), *Portugal, Jesuits and Japan: Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods* (Chestnut Hill, 2013), pp. 79-89; Musées Royaux d'Art et Histoire, *Nambankunst: Portugezen in Japan* (Antwerp, 1989).
[189] Alexandra Curvelo, 'The Disruptive Presence of the Nanban-jin in Early Modern Japan', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55 (2012), pp. 581-602, at p. 584; Tani and Sugase, *Namban Art*, p. 20.
[190] Pinto, *Namban Lacquerware in Portugal*, p. 10.
[191] Cooper, *Southern Barbarians*, p. 150.

If we are to follow Nandini Das in recognising encounter as a process, however, we must be wary of considering *nanban* screens the sole Japanese response to European exoticism. '*Nanban* art', as Yoshitomo Okamoto has noted, is not an etic term; it 'does not signify a particular style or system' recognisable to Japanese contemporaries, but rather refers to any form of art 'which owed its rise to… peoples of the Iberian peninsula'.[192] As such, it collapses under a single umbrella several categories and genres of artwork, including export-market lacquerware, European-style devotional art, domestic-market genre scenes, as well as a panoply of everyday items decorated with western figures, or symbols associated with them, such as the Jesuit IHS Christogram.

Nanban art which relied on western (primarily Italian) painting techniques was principally a product of the *Seminario dos Pintores,* a Jesuit-sponsored institution operated by the Italian painter Giovanni Colla.[193] In the late sixteenth century, the Jesuits had discovered that paintings were a valuable commodity in the frequent gift-exchanges with Japanese notables, and *Visitator* Alessandro Valignano hoped that European-style artwork produced in Japan might provide the Japanese with an education in various aspects of European culture.[194] The response was to establish a Jesuit academy which would train Japanese artists in European painting techniques and produce didactic works drawing upon the students' broader education in theology, literature and Latin.[195] Paintings produced at the Seminary encompassed both Christian and secular themes, and, as Grace Vlam has shown, drew heavily on European models in the form of imported prints, illustrations and tapestries, as well as observation of objects such as imported clocks painted from life.[196] Using these

[192] Okamoto, *Namban Art*, p. 9.
[193] Timon Screech, *The Shogun's Silver Telescope: God, Art and Money in the English Quest for Japan, 1600-1625* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 170-1.
[194] Grace Vlam, 'Kings and Heroes: Western-Style Painting in Momoyama Japan', *Artibus Asiae* 39 (1977), pp. 220-250, at p. 222.
[195] Ibid., p. 223.
[196] Ibid., pp. 235-6.

models, the Seminary painters were encouraged to reproduce European techniques as closely as possible, with little stylistic innovation even where this led to greater verisimilitude.

Whilst a conflation of artworks inspired by and marketed to Europeans is convenient for understanding the scale of the Iberian impact on Japanese art, it obscures the fact that the disparate works within this category represent a variety of responses to the European presence in Japan, and that each was produced in a different social context for a different purpose. Cooper is therefore right to speak of the 'impressions' in the plural, as a closer analysis of '*nanban*' images reveals that the depiction of westerners in Japanese art changed with the social climate of early Edo-period Japan.

The need to consider the changing depiction of westerners is particularly evident when searching for the English and Dutch in Japanese art, since these groups are strikingly absent from the catalogue of images conventionally considered as part of the *nanban* category. Portuguese figures abound in late Azuchi-Momoyama/early Edo-period art, appearing as visual motifs on objects such as food- and medicine-boxes or as the subject of paintings in their own right. *Nanban* screens, which depict westerners in Japan following the Iberian irruption, are similarly dominated by depictions of the Portuguese, even in works produced long after the EIC and VOC had established themselves in Hirado.[197] No equivalent genre portraying the English and Dutch appears during this period; only towards the end of the seventeenth century did the first works of art depicting the Dutch at Dejima begin to emerge.[198]

As has been shown, Tani and Sugase have argued that the figures depicted on *nanban* screens were likely intended to represent all Europeans, but this claim is unconvincing given

[197] Okamoto, *Nanban Art*, p. 116.
[198] Hugh Cortazzi, 'The Foreigner in Japan, Then and Now', in Hugh Cortazzi, *The Collected Writings of Sir Hugh Cortazzi* (London, 2000), pp. 275-87, at p. 279.

that the Azuchi-Momoyama categorisation of foreignness was neither naïve nor uninterested in identifying foreign groups, but rather sought to position disparate foreign types into an all-encompassing framework of identity based on *sangoku* models. When the English and Dutch do appear in Japanese art, moreover, it is in a genre which directly relates to the *bankoku* cosmological model: *bankoku jinbutsu-zu*, or 'pictures of peoples of many nations'.[199] The emergence of English and Dutch figures in later Japanese art, rather than suggesting a conflation of all European phenotypes into one, may therefore be seen as evidence of the development and popularisation of *bankoku* cosmological thought in light of political developments in Japan; in particular, the flourishing of anti-Christian sentiments between 1614-1640. To examine this further, we may compare the depiction of westerners in *nanban* art of the early seventeenth century with their depiction in *bankoku jinbutsu-zu*, and to examine these depictions in relation to the circumstances of their production.

There is not space, within the scope of this study, to focus on all of the various forms of *nanban* art. This chapter will, therefore, limit itself to considering those works of Japanese art which were produced for the domestic market, which took as their subject contemporary western figures, and in which Japanese artists exhibited a significant degree of iconographic control. It will set aside devotional art, direct reproductions of European paintings, and work produced for export to Europe, in favour of examining the changing Japanese depiction of westerners in *nanban* screens and *bankoku jinbutsu-zu*.

Nanban Screens

The earliest, and perhaps best-known, *nanban* screens have been traced by Alexandra Curvelo to *c.*1591, when painters from the artistic centres of Miyako and Osaka, travelling

[199] Elke Papelitzky, 'A Description and Analysis of the Japanese World Map Bankoku Sōzu in Its Version of 1671 and Some Thoughts on the Sources of the Original Bankoku Sōzu', *Journal of Asian History* 48 (2014), pp. 15-59, at p. 15.

through Kyushu to decorate the newly-built Nagoya-jō castle at Karatsu, would have had perhaps the first opportunity since the Portuguese arrival to observe the newcomers first-hand.[200] The result was a corpus of folding screens depicting the Iberian ships in port and their merchants, missionaries, and exotic cargoes on shore. Ninety such screens are known to survive, and have been divided by Mitsuru Sakamoto into three categories based on their content: screens depicting scenes of China and Japan, screens depicting fictionalised foreign countries and Japan, and screens solely depicting merchants within Japan itself.[201] In these images, the iconographic scheme centres on the procession of merchants, led by the Portuguese captain, through the streets of Japan towards a temple representing the Jesuit mission, decorated with crosses and surrounded by missionaries and their Japanese neophytes. A fourth category of image, which depicts foreign merchants without either of these iconographic elements, are referred to as *nanban bōeki-zu* (scenes of *nanban* trade), and are considered separately by Sakamoto.[202]

Within *nanban* screens, Iberian merchants and their spiritual leaders are depicted with a broadly uniform iconographic scheme that was at once naturalistic and stereotypical, exaggerating physical features of the Portuguese merchants whilst accurately depicting their style of dress. Maria Helena Mendez Pinto has identified three distinguishing features of the *nanban* in these works of art: their physiognomy, with prominent, bulbous noses and pointed beards, their clothing, and their dark skin.[203] This stereotyped physiognomy, Curvelo argues, recalled eighth-century *gigaku* drama masks depicting 'barbarian' figures inspired by Silk-Road contacts with Sassanid Persia, and as such symbolised foreignness and the unknown.[204]

[200] Curvelo, 'Disruptive Presence', pp. 585-6.
[201] Kotaro Yamafune, 'Portuguese Ships on Japanese Namban Screens' (M.A. Thesis, Texas A&M University, 2012), p. 10
[202] Ibid., p. 11.
[203] Pinto, *Namban Lacquerware*, p. 10.
[204] Curvelo, 'Disruptive Presence', pp. 589-91.

Yet, at the same time, the *nanban* figures were depicted wearing clothes which accurately represented contemporary Portuguese colonial dress. Typical *nanban* clothing included tall hats with short round brims, brightly-coloured coats edged and buttoned with gold, and large, baggy pantaloons (*bombachas*) which narrow at the ankle, sometimes patterned with stripes or floral designs. Many figures wear gold necklaces bearing crosses, identifying them as adhering to the Catholic faith. As Diego Pacheco has shown, a pair of screens produced by the Kanō School painter Kanō Naizen in 1606 also depicts a pair of missionaries wearing Franciscan habits, in reference to the arrival of the Franciscan Order in Japan in 1593 (Figure 1).[205] Comparing the depiction of the *nanban* in the Kanō Naizen screens to an engraving by the Dutch artist Jan Huygen van Linschoten made in Goa in 1596 (Figure 2), it is clear that the Japanese representation of western fashions was accurate, since Linschoten's engraving likewise depicts Portuguese merchants wearing tall hats, *bombachas*, and in some cases carrying rosaries.

The synthesis of naturalistic costume and stereotyped physiognomy in these images can be attributed to the screens' circumstances of production. As Anna Jackson and Alexandra Curvelo have argued, the *nanban* in these images are intended to depict the Portuguese as a symbol of prosperity. Drawing upon the work of Izumi Mari, they argue that the depiction of *nanban* alongside ships laden with exotica recalls fifteenth-century depictions of Chinese treasure ships, which represented the auspicious foreign trade brought by inclusion in the Ming tributary trade system. [206] Izumi draws on textual references to such screens in diaries, since no fifteenth-century examples of such screens survive today, but Joseph Loh has located examples dating to post-1600 in the Kyushu National Museum and Tōshōgū Shrine collection which resemble later *nanban* screens, and which may indicate the

[205] Diego Pacheco, 'Kano Naizen y el hermano Lorenzo Ryosai. Un famoso pintor para un gran hombre.' *Temas de Estética y Arte* 18 (2004), pp. 159-72, at p. 170.
[206] Curvelo, 'Disruptive Presence', p. 590.

form of the earlier images Izumi references.[207] Since early Edo-period Japan lacked a direct trading relationship with Ming China, the formation of alternative trading partnerships proved vital to the process of establishing Japan's independence from the Chinese tributary trade.[208] By retaining the structural elements of earlier Chinese-trade scenes, *nanban* screens adhered to familiar visual schemes celebrating the profits to be made from foreign trade. The use of iconographies signifying 'foreignness' and 'Portuguese-ness', however, distanced this trade from earlier commercial ties, stressing that the *nanban* were not simply traders from *Kara*, and that Japan was not, therefore, a subordinate partner in the Ming tributary system. Since *nanban* screens were not depicting actual scenes of trade, but rather 'foreign trade' as a concept, they did not need to portray the English and Dutch; the Portuguese already existed as a symbol of foreign wealth.

Bankoku Jinbutsu-zu

The *nanban* figure, as depicted in these screens, reappears again in a mid-seventeenth century genre of image known as *bankoku jinbutsu-zu*. Unlike earlier *nanban* screens, which consisted of genre scenes, *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* took the form of woodblock-print tables depicting male and female figures wearing the national dress of a variety of countries across the world. These images were usually accompanied by an annotated world map (*bankoku sōzu*), allowing viewers to match the foreign peoples with their homelands. As the caption to the 1645 edition from the Shimonoseki Chōfu Museum (Figure 3) professes, its purpose was to 'instantly discriminate the quality of each people in the regions of the world… as an aid to the investigation of things and the accomplishment of knowledge'.[209]

[207] Joseph F. Loh, 'When Worlds Collide – Art, Cartography, and Japanese Nanban World Map Screens' (Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 2013), pp. 64-5. See also 'Nanban/Tōsen Ship Folding Screen, https://collection.kyuhaku.jp/advanced/4520.html (21/4/2021).
[208] Yasunori, 'Japanocentric World Order', p. 210; David C. Kang, *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute* (New York, 2010), pp. 117, 211.
[209] Toby, 'Three Realms', p. 26.

In this respect, *Bankoku jinbutsu-zu* were part of a trend of ethnographic study which could be detected across the early modern world. Early forms of ethnology in Europe, Margaret Hodgen argues, emerged in part from the impulse for collection emergent through the *Wunderkammern* of the sixteenth century, many of which began as collections of exotic curiosities which eventually expanded to include human products from across the world.[210] Texts with similar aims to the *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* also appeared in Europe at this time; in 1520 Johann Boemus published an ethnological treatise, later published in England as *The Fardle of Façions* (1555), which purported to contain 'the aunciente maners, customes, and lawes, of the peoples enhabiting the two partes of the earth, called Affrike and Asie.'[211] As Joan-Pau Rubiés has argued, missionaries were keen ethnographers, given that their proselytising aims rested upon their ability to distinguish apparently secular customs (which could be accommodated) from 'idolatrous' ones (which could not).[212] Charting and recording the myriad peoples of the world was, for Catholic missionaries, a way of tracing the underlying divine framework behind creation and arguing for the possibility of uniting the peoples of the world under a universal Catholic order.[213] The transition from Ming to Qing in China likewise led to ethnographic and cartographical enterprises; the administrative demands of governing an expanding empire led Chinese officials to produce 'Miao albums', illustrated catalogues of the disparate peoples of each province with information on social customs and religious practices.[214]

Such practices were not solely of interest for missionaries. The sixteenth century had seen the popularisation of printed costume-books in Europe; albums which depicted the

[210] Margaret Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 122-3.
[211] Ibid., p. 133.
[212] Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Ethnography and Cultural Translation in the Early Modern Missions', *Studies in Church History* 53 (2017), pp. 272-310, at p. 274.
[213] Ibid., pp. 279-80.
[214] Laura Hostetler, 'Qing Connections to the Early Modern World: Ethnography and Cartography in Eighteenth-Century China', *Modern Asian Studies* 34 (2000), pp. 623-62, at p. 639.

peoples of the world dressed in their 'typical' costumes.[215] As Giorgio Riello has argued, they did so through a process of 'standardisation and specification'; particular costumes were made to represent a society at large whilst simultaneously differentiating between disparate peoples.[216] Costume-books derived authority from repetition of stereotypes, and therefore different books tended to reproduce identical images with only minor variations.[217] Riello denies that costume-books had an ethnographic function, but Valerie Traub, examining the relationship between costume-books and world maps, argues that through semiosis, individual costumes reproduced on world maps (i.e. *cartes-à-figures*) came to stand in for specific regions as a whole.[218] Through such images, she argues, costume came to reflect custom; through clothing, gesture, and colouration, a particular sense of a people's character was adduced.[219] Moreover, such representations were categorised by regions and metrics of civility; people deemed similar were arranged together, encouraging cross-comparison and evaluation of where each society stood in relation to others.[220] If costume-books, as Riello argues, presented a particularly European imagining of the world, then so too did the *cartes-à-figures* which drew upon their ossified images and ranked them.[221] But this proto-ethnography was not solely a tool of othering. In comparing different parts of the world, costume books and *cartes-à-figures* made it possible to imagine cosmopolitan connections between cultures which, whilst undeniably different, nevertheless belonged 'to the same spatial project'.[222] The emergence of *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* thus reflects a Japanese articulation

[215] Giorgio Riello, 'The World in a Book: The Creation of the Global in Sixteenth-Century Costume Books', *Past & Present* 242 (2019), pp. 281-317, at p. 281; Valerie Traub, 'Anatomy, Cartography and the New World Body' in Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan (eds.), *Geographies of Entanglement in Early Modern England* (Oxford 2020), pp. 64-112, at p. 94.
[216] Riello, 'World in a Book', p. 292.
[217] Ibid., pp. 295-6.
[218] Traub, 'New World Body', pp. 96, 100.
[219] Ibid., p. 100-2.
[220] Ibid., p. 111.
[221] Riello, 'World in a Book', p. 285.
[222] Ibid., p. 301; Traub, 'New World Body', pp. 109-10

of the early modern impulse to understand and control knowledge about peoples in a rapidly-expanding world.

Bankoku jinbutsu-zu were rooted firmly in this proto-ethnographic tradition. The first commercially-available images of this type emerged in 1645 following the rise of woodblock printing in the early seventeenth century; the Chōfu image is accepted as the earliest known image of its type.[223] However, earlier examples exist which draw heavily on European models; for instance, a folding screen from *c.* 1600 in the Imperial Household Collection, upon which the Chōfu image was based.[224] This screen in turn drew upon the 1605 world map by Dutch cartographer Willem Janszoon Blaeu (Figure 4) which belongs to the *cartes-à-figures* tradition discussed by Traub; a genre of maps, bordered by representations of figures in supposedly 'national' costume drawn from costume-book models, first produced by Abraham Ortelius in 1570 and which had become commonplace by the seventeenth century.[225]

However, as Ronald Toby has shown, the Chōfu *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* displays significant changes to the depiction of certain figures which suggest a greater Japanese control of the iconography.[226] While the Imperial Household screen depicts the Japanese couple with fictive robes and wavy hair more fitting of European than Asian fashions, the Chōfu image (and its myriad derivatives) depicts them with straight hair, wearing accurate representations of *kimono* and *ō-yoroi* armour.[227] Moreover, the figures representing Portugal (including Macao and Goa) are dressed in *bombachas*, a feature which was not present in the

[223] Papelitzky, '*Bankoku sōzu*', p. 15.
[224] Ibid., p. 46.
[225] Traub, 'New World Body', p. 96.
[226] Toby, 'Three Realms', pp. 29-30.
[227] For one such example of a derivative of the Chōfu image, see a well-preserved version in the collections of the University of British Columbia, also dating to 1645: 'Bankoku Sozu, 1600' https://open.library.ubc.ca/collections/tokugawa/items/1.0213137 (4 November 2020).

Blaeu models, but ubiquitous in *nanban* screens. If such images were a form of knowledge-creation, then these artistic innovations represent a shift in the control of knowledge; they rejected European perceptions of the Japanese and others and amended them in light of local epistemologies. By the time that *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* became commercially available, the world they depicted was one defined by Japanese interpretations.

Much like the Japanese and Portuguese figures, the English and Dutch in the Chōfu images also display evidence of Japanese artistic innovation, although they do not display the hallmarks of *nanban* identity beyond the bearded faces and rounded noses common to all of the European groups depicted in the chart. Direct iconographic models for both northern European groups may be found in Blaeu's 1605 map, but small yet substantial changes have been made to both groups which suggest an element of Japanese control over the depiction of these groups. In Blaeu's map, the male English figure wears a broad-brimmed hat and a cape, and stands with his legs crossed. His female counterpart wears a similar hat, and a skirt with farthingale. The Dutchman stands in a similar pose to the Englishman, while his wife wears a large, gathered skirt and an almost conical bonnet, similar to that depicted in Pieter de Jode's depiction of a 'Dutch Merchant and his Wife' in his *Variarum Gentium Ornatus* costume-book of *c.*1605-10 (Figure 5). In the Chōfu image, however, while the Englishman appears visually similar, his wife has been replaced entirely by Blaeu's Irish woman, who wears a shawl and fur cap. The Dutch do not appear at all as Blaeu depicts them, but instead the caption *Oranta* (Holland) is applied to Blaeu's French couple. It is tempting to assume that these changes were errors on the part of an artist struggling to recognise the difference between European groups. However, the positioning of the English man alongside the Irish woman suggests that this was not simply a case of misattributed captioning, but a deliberate alteration to the visual scheme, as these figures were not depicted as a pair on either the Blaeu map or the Imperial Household screen. Neither of these figures are sufficiently similar in

dress or pose that they could be mistaken for one another during the process of replication. Placing the Irish woman alongside the English man therefore seems to have been a deliberate artistic decision.

As has been argued, juxtaposition was used in *cartes-à-figures* images to suggest association or affiliation, and the positioning of the English and Irish figures in a single cell is striking in light of the political situation in Ireland at this point in the seventeenth century. Under successive Tudor monarchs, Ireland had become, as Pádraig Lenihan notes, an English colony, 'in fact if not in name'.[228] The English monarch claimed also the title of 'King of Ireland', a claim which was upheld, albeit not without stiff resistance from anti-Stuart factions, by the Confederation of Kilkenny, whose founding charter still claimed Charles I as king.[229] Under Stuart rule, Irish society had also become increasingly Anglicised.[230] It is therefore possible that, in placing the English and Irish together in the Chōfu image, the Japanese artist was attempting to more accurately depict a particular vision of the politics of Britain and Ireland, and the relationship between these kingdoms.

Ireland would have been little-known in Japan at this point, but James VI and I's correspondence with Tokugawa Ieyasu included Ireland in his royal style, identifying it as one of the many kingdoms belonging to the English Crown.[231] Japanese artists, and their patrons in government, would also have had the opportunity to learn about British politics from a series of images imported by the EIC in June 1616, when a cargo of 312 'pictures &

[228] Pádraig Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest: Ireland 1603-1727* (Harlow, 2008), p. xii.
[229] Ibid., p. 110. See also Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Conflicting Loyalties, Conflicted Rebels: Political and Religious Allegiance among the Confederate Catholics of Ireland', *English Historical Review* 119 (2004), pp. 851-72; Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Giovanni Battista Rinuccini [Gianbattista] (1592-1653), Archbishop of Fermo and Papal Diplomat', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1093/ref:odnb/23660 (4 November 2020); Ian Campbell, 'Irish Political Thought and Intellectual History' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland* (4 vols, Cambridge, 2018), ii, pp. 506-28, at pp. 521-2.
[230] Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, p. 82.
[231] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 63 (James I to Tokugawa Ieyasu, January 1611).

mapps' arrived in Hirado.[232] Although many of these were spoiled in transit, the range of images was vast, and all but 17 explicitly represented England, English themes, or English institutions. Others, such as a depiction of Diana and a painting of the *Conversion of St. Paul*, may have been intended to evoke the Virgin Queen Elizabeth and the patron saint of London respectively; as Timon Screech notes, St. Paul was the most popular dedicatee of churches in Asia, and would therefore have been both known and respected amongst England's trade partners.[233] A 'mapp of the world', viewed alongside six 'mapps of Brittaine' would have placed James VI and I's kingdoms in context for the Japanese, while the 133 'shire mapps upon cloth' (likely John Speed's county maps of 1611)[234] would have defined the kingdom further, perhaps permitting comparison with Japanese domains. When images were selected for gifts in Edo that year, the majority were likewise Anglocentric in theme: 32 shire maps, three maps of London, three genealogies of the English monarchy, a depiction of the Drake voyage to Cádiz, a depiction of the Spanish Armada, and two images showing the 'English monarchie' and the 'King in Parlament' made up 42 of the 49 pictures selected.[235] Within these images, Ireland would have appeared on the '6 mapps of Brittaine' imported by the English in June 1616, as well as on '2 large mapps of the Kinge's armes', which would have incorporated the Irish harp.[236]

While it is not certain that the Chōfu artist was drawing upon the 1616 images specifically, it is significant that information about the politics of the British Isles, delivered in visual form, was accessible to the Japanese. The Chōfu artist may well have relied upon residual understandings of Anglo-Irish politics conveyed by these pictures when deciding to

[232] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, ii, pp. 1363-4 (Account Book of John Osterwick, 1 September 1615-31 January 1617).
[233] Timon Screech, '"Pictures (The Most Part Bawdy)": The Anglo-Japanese Painting Trade in the Early 1600s', *The Art Bulletin* 87 (New York, 2005), pp. 50-72, at p. 66. See also Screech, *Silver Telescope*, p. 117.
[234] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan* ii., p. 1471, n.3.
[235] Ibid., ii, p. 1384.
[236] Ibid., ii, pp. 1363, 1372.

amalgamate the English and Irish figures in the 1645 print. Since *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* aimed at allowing Japanese citizens to 'instantly discriminate the quality of each people in the regions of the world', such alterations to iconography, which increased the distinction between European groups, would have been of critical importance if these images were to claim didactic authority.

Why, then, the need to 'discriminate the quality' of the peoples of the world? In these images, Ronald Toby sees the desire to impose order on the myriad *bankoku-jin*.[237] I contend that this desire for visual order was not simply a means of categorising an expanded cosmos, but that it was influenced by concerns of social *disorder* surrounding the Europeans in Japan, each of whom brought valuable trade goods but also professed belief in a potentially dangerous religious creed. By 1645, when these images were popularised, Europeans were no longer seen as simply symbolising the lucrative connections of overseas trade as they had some forty years earlier. Over the course of the seventeenth century, successive Tokugawa shoguns had issued edicts against the practice of Christianity, the subversive potential of which had been seen in the Okamoto Daihachi incident of 1612 and in the use of Christianity as an anti-shogunate motif in the 1638-9 Shimabara Rebellion.[238] *Bankoku jinbutsu-zu*, like their *cartes-à-figures* prototypes, did not deny the possibility of cosmopolitan contacts, but they distinguished those Europeans with whom trade was permissible (namely the Dutch) from the Iberians with whom it was not. It is significant that *bankoku jinbutsu-zu*, which depict each national group confined in their own tabular cell for easier observation, emerge at the same time as the Dutch were confined to the Dejima compound. The concerns of the

[237] Toby, 'Three Realms', p. 25.
[238] Yasunori, 'Japanocentric World Order', p. 192; George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA, 1973), p. 217.

shogunate about Christianity meant that it was no longer acceptable for Europeans to move openly in Japan, even in painted form.

By comparing *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* images to *nanban* screens, it can be seen that the depiction of westerners in Japanese art does not represent a static 'curiosity' with all things European, as has been previously suggested. Instead, depictions of westerners were contingent on social and political realities, changing to reflect the concerns of the period in which they were produced. As ethnographical charts, *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* were part of a broader early modern trend of pursuing knowledge of foreign groups, but they also possessed specifically Japanese cultural inflections, informed by local political realities. In the early Edo period, *nanban* screens reflected Tokugawa concerns with overseas diplomacy and mercantile expansion, but by the mid-seventeenth century, fears about the disruptive nature of Christianity led to the development of a closer, more authoritative gaze. The English and Dutch appear in the Japanese visual record as caricature gave way to specificity, and excitement about western goods was replaced by wariness and fear of Christianity. Over the course of the seventeenth century, therefore, it is clear that Japanese perceptions of Europeans were changing, hastened by the development of *bankoku* cosmology and the need to distinguish between the disparate European groups now present in Japan.

Religion

The role of Christianity in achieving significant social change in early Edo-period Japan is well-attested, and much has been written on the reception of the Christian faith in the late sixteenth century and its repudiation in subsequent decades. In particular, Jurgis Elisonas (George Elison) has shown in *Deus Destroyed* how Christianity was accepted as a 'peculiar phenomenon of *Sengoku*' by samurai looking for foreign trade in a period of turmoil, and how it was rejected as a threat to stable unification by the successive Toyotomi and

Tokugawa dynasties once the period of warring states came to a close.[239] It is common, in early modern Japanese scholarship, to describe the period *c.*1549 to *c.*1639 as a 'Christian century' in Japan, whether it is examined as an period of unprecedented European influence, or as an era which would come to define the shape of Japan's foreign policy in the centuries following it.[240] Yet Charles Boxer, whose monograph *The Christian Century in Japan* popularised the use of the term (if it did not quite coin it), also refers to the 'Christian century' as a 'Catholic episode' in Japanese history.[241] In this, and other histories of Christianity in Japan, Catholicism has been the focus of the extant scholarship, with far less written about the role played by Protestant Christianity.

This is perhaps unsurprising considering that Protestants had little official engagement with Japan in the seventeenth century. Unlike the Jesuits before them, the English and Dutch were not interested in winning converts amongst the Japanese, and did not send missionaries to Japan. As Donald Lach and Edwin Van Kley have noted, the disparate and divided Protestant denominations lacked the central organisation of religious orders, and it would not be until 1619 that the Dutch Reformed Church would begin to show interest in the task of 'advanc[ing] the cause of Christianity in the East'.[242] The EIC similarly avoided active proselytising in Asia so as not to disrupt commercial activity.[243] Although ship's chaplain Patrick Copeland took note of the Jesuits' missionary successes in Nagasaki, he saw these as providing a valuable model for use in England's Virginia and Massachusetts Bay colonies rather than for a Protestant counter-mission in Japan.[244] Though Copeland might argue from his 'owne experience, of the willingnesse of the Heathens in gen[e]rall in all the Eastern parts

[239] Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, p. 2.
[240] Ibid., p. 1.
[241] C.R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley, 1951), p. viii.
[242] Donald H. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, (3 vols, Chicago, 1965), p. 271.
[243] Ibid., p. 284.
[244] Massachusetts Historical Society, *Papers of the Winthrop Family* (6 vols., Boston, 1929), http://www.masshist.org/publications/winthrop/index.php/view/PWF04d147 (16 October 2020).

of the world… to receiue the Gospel, if there were but Preachers amongst them that could and would instruct them', this was not the goal of the EIC, and no English or Dutch equivalent existed to the various schools and seminaries established by the Jesuit Order.[245] On the few occasions on which Japanese expressed to the Protestant Europeans a desire to convert to Christianity, these claims were unprompted and met with immediate scepticism. In August 1616, Mikumoya, the English host at Edo, told Richard Cocks that 'he liked our religion so well that he ment to turne Christian'; this assertion having followed a dispute over accounts, Cocks merely commented that Mikumoya was 'a craftie fello' and dismissed this claim.[246]

The significance of Protestantism in Japan, therefore, is usually confined to its role in fuelling tensions between the Iberian and northern European merchants from 1609, and in preserving Dutch trade in 1640, when the Catholic Iberians were ordered to leave the country following the Shimabara Rebellion in 1638-9. Both English and Dutch merchants were deeply troubled by the Catholic presence in Japan and, from the outset, sought to warn the Japanese away from the padres.[247] By 1640, Huibert Paul notes, 'The Japanese knew very well that the Dutch were also Christians, but they were not of the "dangerous" Catholic sort', and were thus permitted to remain in Japan under strict confinement policies.[248]

This assessment of the Dutch situation in 1640 suggests that the Japanese were perhaps more familiar with Protestantism than was actually the case. The English and Dutch were insistent that they were not the same sort of Christian as were the Spanish and Portuguese, and the Japanese, for their part, understood this claim. However, without dedicated preachers working in Japan, the English and Dutch were able to provide only lay

[245] Patrick Copeland, *Virginia's God be Thanked*, (London, 1622), http://downloads.it.ox.ac.uk/ota-public/tcp/Texts-HTML/free/A19/A19313.html (9 October 2020).
[246] Diary, i, p. 293 (31 August 1616).
[247] Huibert Paul, *Nederlanders in Japan, 1600-1854: de VOC op Desjima* (Weesp, 1984), p. 23.
[248] Ibid., p. 36.

explanations of their faith, and while certain individuals (namely Richard Cocks) were curious about the workings of Japanese religion, they lacked the careful studies conducted by the Jesuits which sought to couch Christian theology in terms that the Japanese would be familiar with.[249] As a result, the extent to which the Japanese were truly able to comprehend the nuances of the distinction between Catholicism and Protestantism, let alone the distinctions between the English and Dutch Churches, remains unclear. Yet, as the *nanban* screens and *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* have shown, the trappings of Christianity were integral to the Japanese understanding of the Iberians, but far less so to their understanding of the northern Europeans. In order to determine the role that religion played in the crystallisation of distinct English and Dutch identities, therefore, we must examine the ways in which the English and Dutch practised their faith in Japan, and the extent to which a uniquely Protestant version of Christianity was differentiated from Catholicism.

Protestant Christianity, lacking a missionary drive in Japan, was largely a matter of private devotion. The English and Dutch merchants were intended to hold to the private practice of faith whilst in foreign ports; East Indiamen, both English and Dutch, were furnished with clergy,[250] and the EIC's Eighth Voyage, of which the *Clove* was a part, was provisioned with religious texts. As commander of the voyage, John Saris was provided with a volume of the works of William Perkins and a copy of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, with instructions that the Hirado factors should to 'haue espetiall care to sanctifie the Sabboth daye, and reade vpon those devyne books for the instruccion and comforte of all those that shall be there remayninge.'[251] Richard Cocks owned a copy of Augustine's *City of God*, which he lent to Richard Wickham,[252] and likewise owned a bilingual Latin-Japanese edition

[249] See, for instance, Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, p. 36.
[250] See *Diary*, i, pp. 130 (24 July 1617); ii, 4 (6 December 1620), 124 (6 July 1621).
[251] *Saris*, p. xv.
[252] *Diary*, i, p. 194 (9 March 1616).

of the Catholic Catechism which he gave to Patrick Copeland; Cocks, an avowed critic of Catholicism, likely owned this as a curiosity.[253] The English and Dutch diaries and letters are replete with pious invocations of divine favour for the protection of shipping, friends, and the European trade, but this was standard Christian practice of the period, and thus offers little insight into the merchants' specific religious beliefs. It is likewise unclear, from the factors' accounts, how zealously the English and Dutch kept up their religious practices in Japan. Sermons are only mentioned in the context of burials,[254] and it is perhaps telling that Richard Watts, purser of the EIC ship *Bull*, referred to the English factory as a 'puteree' in the 'sinefull Sodome of Jappon'.[255] The Dutch, as much as the English, enjoyed an evening spent with the *kabuki* players, which almost always entailed extramarital sex, and an English minster serving aboard the VOC vessel *Oude Zon* (Old Sun) confided in Cocks that in his experience, the Dutch 'have littell respect to religion.'[256]

Nevertheless, it should not be assumed that such indiscretions were necessarily a sign of atheistic leanings amongst the factors. The instructions and religious manuals given to Saris in 1611 suggest that the EIC expected religious practice of their merchants, and Cocks, writing to his superiors about the destruction of Jesuit churches in Nagasaki acknowledged that while the Japanese state had soundly rejected Catholicism, this was hardly good news: 'I doe not rejoice herin,' he wrote, 'but wish all Japon were Christians.'[257] In 1641, as the Dutch prepared to leave Hirado for Dejima, Matsura Shigenobu, son of Takanobu, had advised the VOC factors not to keep the Sabbath openly, suggesting that until this point there had been some form of open religious practice by the Dutch.[258] However, Protestantism, unlike

[253] Massachusetts Historical Society, *Papers of the Winthrop Family*, iv, p. 158 (Patrick Copeland to John Winthrop, 4 December 1639), http://www.masshist.org/publications/winthrop/index.php/view/PWF04d147 (Accessed 10/07/2020).
[254] See *Diary*, iii, pp. 4 (6 December 1620); 126 (9 July 1621).
[255] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, ii, p. 843 (Richard Watts to the EIC, 22 September 1621).
[256] *Diary*, ii, p. 130 (24 July 1617).
[257] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 794 (Richard Cocks to the EIC, 10 March 1620).
[258] *Dagregisters*, v, pp. 85-6 (24 June 1641).

Catholicism, placed far less emphasis on ritual and ceremony. At its most extreme in England, Puritan reformers sought to discourage the use of clerical vestments, the participation in festive activities, and placed greater emphasis on the sermon in the religious service.[259] John Calvin, likewise, emphasised 'liturgical and decorative propriety', leading Dutch Calvinists to avoid ceremony, although the diversity of confessional groups in the Low Countries meant that most citizens would likely have been familiar with a range of different liturgical practices.[260] Given that the English and Dutch factors were Protestant (if not strictly Puritan), their religious practices, when compared with the overt missionizing of the Catholic orders, would have been harder to discern.

In some cases, this was a deliberate decision on the part of the northern Europeans. In March, 1614, Richard Wickham was travelling to Edo for business when he received a letter from Cocks with an update from Hirado. The cape-merchant warned Wickham that the previous Sunday, the English factors had attempted to raise the flag of St. George as usual, but had been told by Matsura Shigenobu that the display of a cross was now prohibited due to the recent edict from the shogunate proscribing Christianity.[261] 'Yt should seeme these people are generally bent against all Christians', Cocks reported, and warned Wickham that he should therefore not refer to his faith 'over much in speeches herein.' It is clear from this that the English were wary of their reception as Christians in Japan, and that the private practice of their faith was not only a cultural difference, but also a means of self-protection against those who would wish them ill.

Given the private practice of faith at the Hirado factories, it is unlikely that the Japanese who encountered the English and Dutch would have been able easily to differentiate

[259] Susan C. Karant-Nunn, 'Ritual in Early Modern Christianity' in R. Po-chia Hsia, (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (8 vols., Cambridge, 2007), vi, pp. 371-85, at p. 384.
[260] Ibid., pp. 376, 382.
[261] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 138 (Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham, 7 March 1614).

between these groups' religion and that preached by the Portuguese and Spanish. However much liturgical and doctrinal differences divided them, Catholicism and Protestantism were both branches of the Christian faith and as such shared common features, not least of which was the belief in the salvific nature of Christ. Moreover, the Jesuits had been careful to present Christianity to the Japanese as an undivided whole, avoiding the thorny issue of Protestant dissent which might undermine their missionary efforts.[262] As a result, the Japanese were not trained to identify the differences between Catholic and Protestant theology or religious practice. Even when it was crucial to make a distinction (for instance, as the shogunate prepared to issue its edict expelling Catholic missionaries from Japan in September 1616) it is clear that the details of denominational differences eluded even the shogunate. Thus, Richard Cocks was called upon by Yokota Kakuzaemon, secretary to the *rōjū* Doi Toshikatsu, to answer questions which might help explain the nature of the English nation's religion. Reporting on this conversation to his superiors in January 1617, Cocks recorded being asked 'I think above twenty tymes… whether the English nation were Christians or no.'[263] He answered in the affirmative, but Kakuzaemon sought further clarification: 'are not the Jesuites & fryres Christians two?'[264] 'Not such as we were,' Cocks responded, 'the English nation not houlding w'th the Pope nor his doctryne'. Kakuzaemon was satisfied, but warned the English not to 'comunecate, confesse nor baptiz' with the Jesuits, 'for then they should hold us to be all of one sect'. It is clear, from this exchange, that the shogunate accepted the English claim to distinction from the Iberian religion, but still there were lingering doubts, and even the expulsion of the Catholic missionaries did not put an end to the questioning on matters of faith. In 1622, Cocks was again required by the *rōjū* to clarify 'whether there were any difference betwixt our religion and the Spanish'.[265] Once

[262] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 78.
[263] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 554 (Richard Cocks to the EIC, 1 January 1617).
[264] Ibid., i, p. 554.
[265] Ibid., ii, 897 (Richard Cocks to the EIC, 7 September 1622).

again, he insisted that there was, which seemed to be accepted, but this was only temporary amnesty; in 1640, the parity between Catholicism and Protestantism was used as a pretext to place the Dutch in confinement on Dejima. On this occasion, the Dutch were not given the chance to defend themselves. The factors were told by Inspector-General Inoue Masashige that the *rōjū* 'consider the differences between both [Protestantism and Catholicism] to be small; that you are Christians is long known, but we believed this was a different Christ.'[266]

It is not clear if the that the Dutch believed in a 'different Christ' to the Iberians was a Dutch mistranslation of Masashige's words, whether it was a genuine misinterpretation of Christian theology, or whether it was a convenient pretext to excuse the previous toleration of Protestant Christianity up to 1640. The English and Dutch do not record the precise theological matters touched upon in their discussions with the shogunate, making it difficult to determine precisely how clearly the Europeans had communicated the differences between Christian denominations. One potential source of such a misunderstanding, however, comes from the way in which Christianity was introduced to Japan, and suggests that Japanese understandings of Christianity were, even in the mid-seventeenth century, overwhelmingly shaped by Catholicism.

Confronted, in East Asia, by societies that they considered 'rational' by European standards, the Jesuit Order posited that it would be most effective to adapt the Christian message to fit local norms, in an attempt to improve the enthusiasm with which Christianity was received.[267] This strategy, *accommodatio*, accepted that disparate societies could differ vastly in their cultural practices whilst sharing a common 'core' of beliefs, and thus attempted to adapt themselves to the former in order to sway the peoples of China and Japan

[266] *Dagregisters*, iv, p. 299 (9 November 1640. '*De verschillen tusschen beijden achten wij cleijn, dat ghij Christenen sijt, is langh voor desen geweten, doch gemeent eenen anderen Christus was*').
[267] Andrés I. Prieto, 'The Perils of Accommodation: Jesuit Missionary Strategies in the Early Modern World', *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 4 (2017), pp. 395-414, at p. 399.

to the latter.[268] As Andrés I. Prieto notes, the strategy had its origins in the teachings of Ignatius of Loyola, whose missionary strategy had involved the accommodation of the needs of the individual in order to encourage conversion.[269] Francis Xavier, travelling to Japan in 1549, had thus enlisted the help of a Japanese convert from Malacca to better understand the religious climate of Japan. His informant, however, gave a partial and inaccurate description of Japanese theology, in particular the notion unique to Shingon Buddhism that the primordial Buddha Mahāvairocana (known in Japan as *Dainichi*) was a benevolent cosmological totality which underlay all things.[270] This misinformation led Xavier to draw a clumsy equation of the Christian God with *Dainichi*, resulting in a conflation of the two which undermined Jesuit missionary efforts. Although Xavier realised the mistake and sought to correct this erroneous conflation as early as 1551,[271] deliberate comparisons between Christianity and Buddhism continued to be drawn, since, as Alessandro Valignano noted, Christianity had the potential to be dismissed offhand if it did not adopt the familiar outward trappings of local clothing, language and comportment.[272] Without accommodation to Japanese customs, he claimed, Europeans could not live up to Japanese expectations of civility; 'we remain as it were savages… and for them it is impossible to conform themselves to us'.[273] While the Jesuits repudiated Buddhism as a satanic practice, they nevertheless adopted, at a superficial level, the behavioural elements of Buddhist self-presentation, in

[268] Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'The Concept of Cultural Dialogue and the Jesuit Method of Accommodation: Between Idolatry and Civilization', *Archivium Historicum Societatis Iesu* 74 (2005), pp. 237-280, at p. 239.
[269] Prieto, 'The Perils of Accommodation'., pp. 396-7.
[270] Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Real and Imaginary Dialogues in the Jesuit Mission of Sixteenth-Century Japan', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55 (2012), pp. 447-94, at p. 464.
[271] Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, p. 33.
[272] Rubiés, 'Cultural Dialogue', p. 254.
[273] J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (London, 1993), pp. 175-6.

order to enable Christianity to outwardly resemble, and thus compete with, the dominant local religion.[274]

Buddhism, however, was by no means monolithic, but instead divided into various sects which could invite reverence towards different Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Multiple such sects coexisted within the Japanese religious landscape; in addition to Shingon, Richard Cocks records encountering both Pure Land and Zen Buddhism in Japan, and was able to draw a cursory distinction between Amitābha and Shakyamuni Buddhas.[275] Since Buddhism was thus divided amongst disparate sects, it would have made a logical comparison when the English and Dutch insisted that they were Christians, but not as the Iberians were.[276] The Jesuits, after all, had always drawn direct (if superficial) comparisons between Buddhism and Christianity as part of their policy of *accommodatio,* and had moreover sought to conceal the existence of divisions between Catholic orders (let alone Protestant denominations) so as not to jeopardise the efficacy of the mission project.[277] With no clear understanding of the doctrinal differences between Protestant and Catholicism denominations, it was reasonable to suppose that each Christian 'sect' followed its own Christ.

In this process, it is possible see how the Japanese attempted to understand the Protestant European powers, drawing upon what information they already had. The Catholic Iberians, as the only other Europeans known to the Japanese, served as an initial model for interpreting the religious proclivities of the English and Dutch. When these initial assumptions were challenged by the factors' insistence that they were not Catholic, the Japanese attempted to modify their understandings using models of religious difference

[274] Luís Froís, *The First European Description of Japan, 1585*, trans. Richard K. Danford, Robin D. Gill, and Daniel T. Reff (New York, 2014), p. 14.
[275] See *Diary*, ii, p. 376 (24 October 1618), where Cocks makes reference to 'Amida, a greate saint of China, equaled with Shacca' (Shakyamuni).
[276] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 554 (Richard Cocks to the EIC, 1 January 1617).
[277] Rubiés, 'Cultural Dialogue', p. 255.

rooted in empirical evidence; in this case, with reference to the structure of Buddhist sects. There are parallels, in this approach, to the use of pre-existing *sangoku* terminology to interpret the Europeans as 'familiar' foreign groups (*nanbanjin*, *tenjikujin*, *tōjin*) prior to the development of *bankoku* models. Understood in this way, it is therefore possible to see why the Japanese remained wary of Protestantism throughout the seventeenth century. Although the English and Dutch did not bring missionaries to Japan, as a 'sect' of a religion which had, it was never fully believed that they would not do so in future. Thus, when Tokugawa Hidetada issued his edict expelling Jesuit missionaries in 1616, the English and Dutch were simultaneously confined to operating only in the ports of Hirado and Nagasaki, as a means of containing their potential threat.

The religious identity of the merchants was critical to this decision to curtail trade, and was the official justification given to the Europeans; explaining the situation to Jacques Specx in October 1616, William Adams noted that 'All our trouble is wholly to be imputed to the papists'.[278] Richard Cocks likewise appealed to Japanese religious interests when seeking the restoration of the English privileges: 'I aledged they needed not to feare that we had any accoyntance w'th the pristes or padres', he reported, but the shogunate would not budge, leading him to suspect the interference of 'a company of rich userers', i.e. the Japanese *itowappu* merchants, whom he blamed for usurping English and Dutch profits by acting as wholesalers of foreign goods within Japan.[279] Derek Massarella has agreed with Cocks, arguing that economic considerations, namely the growing rivalry between *itowappu* merchants (who set the price of silk in Japan) and *shuinsen* merchants (who were free of the *itowappu* price), led to the *itowappu* merchants attempting to wrest control of the profits made through foreign trade, and which he claims also underpinned the decision to confine the

[278] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, pp. 516-7 (William Adams to Jacques Specx, 14 October 1616. '*dit is de werken van ons groot moeijte, anders als door de papisten &c.*' Farrington's translation.)
[279] Ibid., i, p. 661 (Richard Cocks to the EIC, 15 February 1618).

English and Dutch to Hirado and Nagasaki.[280] While both religious and economic considerations must be taken into account, the *itowappu* oligopoly would not come into full effect until 1641 when the VOC was finally forced to sell at the *itowappu* guild's price, and given that the shogunate benefitted from foreign trade no matter whether the *itowappu* or *shuinsen* merchants dominated, at the governmental level the European religious identity would appear to be the deciding factor in curtailing the English and Dutch privileges.[281]

Yet while the Japanese could never be quite sure that the English and Dutch 'sect' of Christianity was significantly different from the Iberian one on any doctrinal or behavioural grounds, they cannot have been under any illusion that these sects were united, as both groups made no secret of their disdain for one another, a trait which must have been recognisable to the Japanese, as the Nichiren and True Pure Land schools of Buddhism also displayed a similar rivalry. From the arrival of *de Liefde* in 1600, Catholic and Protestant Europeans were hostile towards one another; as William Adams recalled, 'daily more and more the Portugalls incensed the justices and people against us', claiming that the northern Europeans 'were pirats… and not in the way of marchandizing'.[282] In 1615, upon being visited by a samurai of the primarily Christian Ōmura Domain, Richard Cocks suspected his visitor to be a disciple of the Jesuits and so 'gave hym a tast that we had nothing to doe with the Pope, haveing other bushops in England of as much authority as he'.[283] In their diaries, the factors themselves were quick to attribute unfavourable treatment from Japanese public figures to the lasting influence of the Jesuits; complaining about the mistreatment of an Englishman at the hands of the citizens of Omura domain, Cocks complained that 'Their hatred against us… is per meanes of the padrese… who stoked them up against us to make us

[280] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 211.
[281] Ibid., p. 345.
[282] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 53 (William Adams to his wife, c.1605).
[283] *Diary*, i, p. 37 (17 July 1615).

odious to the Japons, for they are all… papisticall Christians in Umbra.'[284] As Catholic and Protestant commentators both approached the shogunate with accusations of the other denomination's perfidy on a regular basis, Christianity must have appeared to the Japanese as a religion whose sects were obsessed with petty differences.

Timon Screech has argued that the Protestant assertion of difference from Catholicism had a profound and lasting impact on Euro-Japanese relations in August-September 1616, in the days leading up to Hidetada's expulsion of the missionaries. He demonstrates that the English factors, in these months, embarked on a campaign against the Jesuits which combined anecdotal and visual evidence to insist that Catholicism, under the influence of the Pope as a supra-national authority figure, had been responsible for regicidal attempts against the English crown, and was likely to try similar tactics against the shogunate. The core of this anti-Catholic strategy were the 312 images imported that June, amongst which were depictions of James VI and I in Parliament, which Screech associates with the Gunpowder Plot a decade earlier, and illustrations of the Spanish Armada and Sir Francis Drake's raid on Cádiz.[285] These images were brought by Adams and Cocks to Edo in August 1616 and given to key members of the Tokugawa inner circle in an attempt to persuade the shogunate of the untrustworthiness of the Jesuit Order.[286] Having delivering these images, he claims, Cocks was visited by Doi Toshikatsu's secretary Kakuzaemon, who questioned him further about the relationship between England and the Catholic faith.[287] Cocks, in this meeting, expounded upon the role of the Jesuits in the 1605 Gunpowder Plot, insinuating that the Japanese would likely suffer something similar if they continued to support the Jesuit Order. The next day, Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada issued his *Instruction Outlawing the Bateren*.

[284] *Diary*, i, p. 240 (5 June 1616).
[285] Screech, 'Pictures (The Most Part Bawdy)', p. 64.
[286] Screech, *Silver Telescope*, pp. 216-7
[287] Ibid., p. 218.

In Screech's estimation, the English actions at court were directly responsible for the issuance of this edict. Once the shogunate 'learned of the theory of religiously-sanctioned "tyrannicide"' through the English paintings, he claims, the shogunate was spurred into action; Screech suggests that Ishin Sūden was likely required 'to stay up all night to prepare legislation for the next day'.[288] It was the reaction the English were hoping for, and it is clear that they believed themselves to have played an instrumental role in this process, for they would later boast about their achievements to Patrick Copeland during the 1620s. Describing the downfall of the Catholic orders in Japan to John Winthrop, Copeland explained that the Jesuits 'by their pragmaticall intermedling with state-matters were banished' from the country, the shogunate 'being informed by our Countryman Capt. Adams… of their treacherous practises in Christendome'.[289]

However, the issuing of the 1616 expulsion edict must be viewed in its wider context, if the impact of Protestant influence on this event is to be accurately assessed. The *Instruction Outlawing the Bateren* was indeed declared the day after Cocks (not Adams) discussed matters of religion with Kakuzaemon, and Sūden may well have written the contents of the edict overnight. However, it was not the first time that Japan had shown concerns about religious 'tyrannicide'. Japanese authors were producing anti-Christian polemical literature as early as 1610, and one such text, the *Baterenki* (History of the Padres), warned its readers of the political threat posed by the Catholic mission; the padres, it claimed, planned in secret to 'become the leaders of the realm'.[290] At the very least, the Okamoto Daihachi incident of 1612 (in which the Christian *daimyo* Arima Harunobu, hoping to expand his domanial

[288] Timon Screech, 'The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period', *Japan Review* 24 (2012), pp. 3-40, at p. 29.
[289] Massachusetts Historical Society, *Papers of the Winthrop Family*, iv, p. 158 (Patrick Copeland to John Winthrop, 4 December 1639), http://www.masshist.org/publications/winthrop/index.php/view/PWF04d147 (Accessed 10/07/2020).
[290] Jan Leuchtenberger, *Conquering Demons: The* "Kirishitan", *Japan, and the World in Early Modern Japanese Literature* (Ann Arbor, 2013), p. 157.

territories, was found to have given bribes to Okamoto, a Japanese convert and secretary to the *rōjū* Honda Masazumi) seemed to show that Christians were willing to work together to place their own interests above the Shogunate.[291] Such concerns led to the issuance of similar edicts to that of 1616, one by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1587 and one by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1614, proscribing missionary activity.[292]

Nor were concerns about the conflict between religious and temporal authority unique to Christianity. As Derek Massarella notes, the Japanese unifiers Ieyasu, Hideyoshi and Oda Nobunaga had already seen that religious organisations, if left unchecked, had the potential to assert political independence and subvert the will of the state.[293] In the late sixteenth century, the claims of Buddhist temple complexes and religious *ikki* leagues to political independence had brought Buddhist sects into conflict with all three successive unifiers, resulting ultimately in the destruction of key temple sites and the subjugation of the remaining monks to government rule.[294] In this respect, concerns about religious groups' potential to undermine temporal authority were nothing new. Cocks' information may well have provided the Japanese with firm evidence that the Jesuits were a potentially disruptive influence, but this simply confirmed what successive Japanese governments had long suspected: that (Catholic) Christianity had designs on political authority, and could not be tolerated by the Tokugawa state.[295]

As Screech records, the English and Dutch were not entirely exempt from this edict; orders were given to confine the northern European trade to Hirado and Nagasaki, where their influence could be monitored and contained. It was, he suggests, a case of Cocks having

[291] Jurgis Elisonas, 'Christianity and the Daimyo' in John Whitney Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan* (6 vols, Cambridge, 1991), iv, pp. 301-372, at pp. 366-7.
[292] Peter Nosco, 'Secrecy and the Transmission of Tradition: Issues in the Study of the "Underground" Christians', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 20 (1993), pp. 3-29, at p. 5.
[293] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 45.
[294] Thomas David DuBois, *Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 68-71.
[295] Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, pp. 117, 132.

'overplayed his hand'.[296] However, the blame should not be laid solely on Cocks, for this outcome was a product of Japanese suspicion of Christianity as a whole, rather than mismanagement on the cape-merchant's part. The northern Europeans' assertions of difference, and their intervention against perceived Catholic usurpation may have tipped Hidetada's hand in accelerating the expulsion of Jesuit missionaries, but they were still Christians, and could not, therefore, be entirely trusted. It is possible to see, in the 1616 edict, how closely Catholic and Protestant identities were bound together in Japan; as François Caron would remark upon the expulsion of the Portuguese from Japan in 1639, 'when it rains on the Portuguese, the [Dutch East India] Company gets splattered too.'[297]

Conclusion

By comparison with the Iberian irruption of the mid-sixteenth century, it is clear that the 'Protestant irruption' was not a radical break from previous understandings of the world. If the Iberian irruption resulted in new models for addressing the shape and scope of the cosmos (the transition from *sangoku* to *bankoku*) such claims cannot be made for the English and Dutch, whose arrival post-dated the inception of this conceptual restructuring.[298] Nevertheless, with the arrival of the northern Europeans in Japan, it is possible to trace a developing process of learning and adjustment to these epistemologies, in which Japanese policymakers came to new understandings of the world beyond the islands of Japan. In this regard, the 'Protestant irruption' represents not a rupture, but a refinement of understanding. It may thus be considered as a process rather than as a singular moment, and as such, we are able to see how the Japanese accumulated and applied knowledge throughout their encounter with northern Europe. In the earliest years of contact with England and the Dutch Republic,

[296] Screech, *Silver Telescope*, p. 220.
[297] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 345.
[298] Toby, 'Three Realms', p. 25.

attempts were made to fit the English and Dutch into existing frameworks of knowledge. This way of handling differences between European groups in Japan reflects the process of overcoming 'strangership'.

Mervyn Horgan assesses the challenge of strangership as being the fact that the stranger's origins and intentions are unknown, which seeds suspicion and doubt amongst the community in which they reside. [299] The English and Dutch, with the exception of the handful of survivors from *de Liefde*, were entirely unknown to the Japanese in 1600. Yet the Tokugawa state was keen to foster foreign trade links, and so some way of making the newcomers comprehensible was necessary. A solution presented itself in the model of the Iberians, since it was known that the English and Dutch came from Europe and were intent on establishing trade, much as the Portuguese had before them. Thus, William Adams was referred to with pre-existing terminology to reflect that he originated in the same 'world' as the Iberians before him. However, it was also known that the English and Dutch were Christians, albeit of a different sort to the Iberians, and without knowing whether this posed a similar threat to Japanese unity as Catholicism did, their true intentions remained uncertain. While for the Christians of Hirado this meant that the newcomers could be welcomed as brethren,[300] for the shogunate the situation was complicated by the Protestant identity. At this early stage, it was not clear whether Protestantism represented a threat to Japan or not, and so they were treated like the Iberian merchants, with restrictions placed on their liberties though they were not expelled outright. By trying to place the northern Europeans into familiar categories from the outset, the Japanese were attempting to diminish the uncertainty inherent in the northern Europeans' strangeness.

[299] Horgan, 'Strangers and Strangership', p. 610.
[300] *Saris*, p. 83 (12 June 1613).

With more time spent interacting with the northern Europeans, however, these initial assumptions could be tempered by experience, representing a more culturally-specific approach to overcoming strangership. Further inquiries into Protestant religious beliefs and practices, reinforced by the insistence of both companies that their form of Christianity was not the same as that followed by the Iberians, reassured the shogunate that Anglo-Dutch religion was in fact different to that which they had previously encountered. This recognition meant that the shogunate was able to target with confidence those sects deemed injurious to Tokugawa authority and uproot them; first in 1614, and again in 1616. In addition, the changing terminology used to describe the English and Dutch (for instance, the appearance of *kōmōjin*) and the development of new iconographies which distinguished the English and Dutch from the Portuguese and Spanish reflect a refinement of the understandings of northern European identities. Thus, the development of *bankoku* cosmologies, the invention of new iconographies to represent the northern Europeans, and the nascent separation of Protestant and Catholic identities show how the Japanese were able to place boundaries around the myriad European groups with which they came into contact in the early seventeenth century. The recognition of a separate identity, however, was only a prerequisite to overcoming strangership with the English and Dutch. To overcome this further, and fit the Europeans into a reliable 'trusted' category, the Japanese were required to locate points of commensurability between themselves and the newcomers.

Chapter 2: Sociability

On 21 March 1621, a group of Japanese merchants from Sakai arrived at the English factory in Hirado.[1] The party was headed by Hiranoya Tōzaemon, a long-standing friend and trusty trade associate of the English. 'He is the man,' Richard Cocks recorded, 'which hath most holpen Richard Wickham in our afiares' at Sakai, adding that 'I have a good opinion of this man'.[2] The identity of the other merchants is not recorded, but the group was welcomed warmly; they stayed for dinner, a hot bath was prepared for them, and as the evening progressed, Cocks sent for the 'dansing beares', the colloquial nickname he gave to the troupe of women who performed *kabuki*.[3] The purpose of the visit was made clear some days later, when Cocks sent the *kabuki* players payment 'due for playing the night when Tozemon Dono and others weare envited for sale of our silke.'[4]

Not all gatherings held at the European factories in Hirado were so extravagant, nor did they have such explicitly sales-minded ends. When the Dutch *opperhoofd* Jacques Specx left Japan in September 1621, the entire English cohort was invited 'to supper' at the Dutch factory for a 'foy or farewell, where we were kindly entertayned'.[5] Nor were such invitations unidirectional. Various Japanese citizens took pleasure in inviting the Europeans to dine with them, including artisans of Hirado, a Buddhist priest at Osaka, leading *bugyō* of Hirado and Hakata, and the *daimyo* Matsura Takanobu himself.[6] As can be seen from this small selection of examples (only a fraction of the visits meticulously recorded by Richard Cocks in his

[1] *Diary*, iii, p. 73 (21 March 1621).
[2] Ibid., i, pp. 335-6 (31 October and 1 November 1616).
[3] Ibid., iii, p. 73 (21 March 1621).
[4] Ibid., iii, p. 76 (26 March 1621).
[5] Ibid., iii, p. 173 (30 September 1621).
[6] Ibid., i, pp. 246 (16 June 1616), 136 (3 December 1615), 334 (30 October 1616), ii, 211-12 (8 December 1617), 347 (29 August 1618).

journal) entertainment of this kind was a frequent occurrence between the Europeans and Japanese.

Comparatively little attention has been devoted to these non-courtly social relationships. Alison Games has highlighted, that English factors, including those in Japan, formed 'hybrid worlds' in which merchants and locals shared presents and festivals with one another in displays of cosmopolitanism.[7] Sociability of this kind was crucial for the English and Dutch in Japan, since much of their livelihood relied upon the generation of networks of collaborators and customers whose support and assistance could be relied upon in various aspects of their business enterprise. Without training in formal diplomatic protocol, and lacking the official status of a royal embassy, the English and Dutch were required to conduct diplomacy through informal means. Communal gatherings with the Japanese were not always aimed at making direct sales, but they were always aimed at fostering a social climate that would encourage trade. The pursuit of profit was never far from the Europeans' minds.

As has already been established, cosmopolitan practices involved in the formation of these 'hybrid worlds' were reliant upon the identification, or construction, of points of commensurability between the cultures coming into contact with one another. Games mentions that the English adopted Japanese dining habits as part of an 'accommodating spirit', but as her aim is to comment broadly upon patterns of accommodation within EIC merchant networks, she does not explore the specific aspects of Japanese culture to which the factors were required to accommodate.[8] The creation of hybrid cultural worlds required European merchants to import their own cultural norms to Japan, and to find ways in which they could connect these to similar phenomena encountered in Hirado and elsewhere. This chapter seeks to build upon Games' study, examining the common cultural underpinnings of

[7] Games, *Web of Empire*, p. 112.
[8] Ibid., p. 112.

Euro-Japanese socialising in order to determine what aspects of each culture allowed these groups to engage meaningfully with one another across cultural borders.

The range of social activities shared by the English, Dutch and Japanese were numerous, and certain elements of these interactions, in particular gift-exchange, which formed a near-daily aspect of Anglo-Dutch interactions with Japanese citizens, will be considered at length in chapter four. This chapter will focus instead on three of the most common forms of social activity through which both companies engaged with *daimyo*, samurai and urbanites alike: communal dining, theatregoing, and bathing. These forms of socialising share a number of commonalities which allow them to be usefully examined in parallel. First, each activity provided a means by which European merchants could come together and interact with citizens from various strata of Tokugawa Japan. English and Dutch factors ate, bathed, and watched theatrical performances with a broad array of individuals who represent a significant cross-section of Japanese society, from samurai elites to *chōnin* urbanites. Secondly, these activities occurred in more or less the same format on multiple occasions throughout the period. Each activity was enjoyed communally throughout the Europeans' time in Japan. Moreover, none of these activities were experienced within official, courtly settings; there were no state dinners or official performances to attend, raising the question of how far such interactions were able to ease communication and thus commerce, either in intent or effect.

Pleasure and Early Modernity

Perhaps most importantly, however, each of these activities were conducted as leisure-time pursuits aimed at producing pleasure. The concept of leisure as regular, structured 'free time' not defined by the festival calendar is one closely bound up with the

emergence of modernity.[9] As Peter Burke notes of early modern Europe, 'leisure' as a term is an etic one, since contemporaries saw the opposite of 'work' not simply as 'leisure', but as a constellation of different terms with different implications, including 'entertainment', 'holiday', 'pastime' and 'recreation'.[10] He connects the rise of leisure in society to the civilising process, arguing that as Western society came under increasing regulation, the hours of free time between work were consequently better-delineated, leading to the development of activities with which to pass that time.[11]

The increasing institutionalisation of society, however, is but one way in which the development of leisure is connected to early modernity. Alessandro Arcangeli has suggested that free time was shaped by the availability of commercial spaces in which refreshments, primarily in the form of drinks, could be purchased and entertainment could be sought by non-elite groups.[12] Such developments suggest the emergence of a social stratum with money to spend and time to spend it; in short, the rise of a fledgling middle class. Burke has associated the rise of a consumer class with increased urbanisation, noting that the seventeenth century saw the emergence of city guides, providing urban consumers with information on the most popular places to spend time and money.[13]

Entertainment in these sites was influenced by the rise of popular cultures, themselves influenced by increasing popular literacy and the mass availability of printed books.[14] The rise of literacy, Burke argues, was a product of religious reform, and the use of this new skill in the field of 'leisure' was an unintended consequence of the belief that literacy would lead

[9] Peter Burke, 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe', *Past & Present* 146 (1995), pp. 136-50, at p. 137.
[10] Ibid., p. 142.
[11] Ibid., pp. 149-50.
[12] Alessandro Arcangeli, 'Work and Leisure' in Bert de Munck and Thomas Max Safley (eds.), *A Cultural History of Work in the Early Modern Age* (London, 2019), pp. 159-73, at p. 163.
[13] Burke, 'Invention of Leisure', p. 147.
[14] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978), pp. 250-1.

the commonality to salvation.[15] The reaction of religious moralists in England and the Dutch Republic to the adoption of secular forms of entertainment that diverted the mind from religious contemplation in favour of the sensory and profane led, Arcangeli argues, to the increased alienation of the secular and spiritual spheres, as secular activities once held in the church and churchyard, such as theatrical performances and drinking at church-ales, were removed to the tavern or to their own venues.[16]

Burke and Arcangeli focus, in their studies, on the rise of leisure in Western Europe, but parallel processes and emergences may also be detected in Japan in this period. At the same time that these forms of recreation emerged in Europe, a new strand of culture was beginning to develop in the urban centres of Tokugawa Japan: one predicated on the engagement with ephemeral sensory pleasure. Known as *ukiyo* (the 'floating world'), it took its name from the Buddhist concept of the mutability and difficulty of human affairs, twisting its interpretation instead to take on hedonistic leanings.[17] In use in this sense from the early seventeenth century,[18] *ukiyo* entailed, as the Japanese writer Asai Ryōi wrote in his 1661 *Ukiyo monogatari*, 'Surrendering to the here and now; singing songs and drinking sake… merrily drifting along without a care for the penury that lurks ahead, your spirits as unsinkable as a gourd riding a stream: this is life in the Floating World.'[19]

The emergence of the 'floating world' in its seventeenth-century sense was subject to similar pressures as the development of leisure activities in Europe. The commercialisation of prostitution and theatrical play alongside food, drink, and musicality points towards the development of a consumer class in Japanese society. Mary Elizabeth Berry has attributed

[15] Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 252.
[16] Arcangeli, 'Work and Leisure', p. 164.
[17] Alfred Haft, *Aesthetic Strategies of the Floating World: Mitate, Yatsushi, and Fūryū in Early Modern Japanese Popular Culture* (Leiden, 2013), p. 15.
[18] Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*, p. 265.
[19] Haft, *Aesthetic Strategies*, p. 15.

this to the pacification of Japan following the *sengoku-jidai*, as a new social stratum of urbanites, *chōnin,* was created from the disenfranchised samurai and venturesome artisans drawn to the castle towns of Japan.[20] In Japan, as in Europe, moralists sought to place limits on the non-productive hedonism of leisure, containing theatres, brothels and taverns within strictly delineated 'pleasure quarters', the first of which, Yoshiwara, emerged in Edo in 1617.[21] However, *ukiyo* could not be so easily contained, and the 'floating world' pervaded Japanese society through the people who visited these spaces of playgoing and prostitution and whose thoughts remained there, even after they had left the pleasure quarters behind.[22]

Much as in Europe, the pleasure quarters of urban Japan were advertised to visitors by printed travel guides.[23] As Berry has argued, print-publishing flourished in seventeenth-century Japan, as presses brought by Jesuit missionaries and as plunder from Korea were put to work producing secular works written in Japanese, including histories, novels and poetry.[24] Between 1593 and 1625 some 500 works were printed in Miyako, the publishing centre of Japan; by 1640, the city boasted more than a hundred publishing houses.[25] The vernacular texts did not remain in Miyako long, however; as Eiko Ikegami has argued in her *Bonds of Civility,* the development of inter-domanial networks in the early Tokugawa period, combined with the commercialisation of popular publications, 'brought beauty closer to the people' by providing channels through which art and cultural produce could flow.[26] The increased flow of cultural materials created what she calls 'aesthetic publics', a 'common spatial/cognitive sphere' in which individuals from different socio-economic groups could

[20] Berry, *Japan in Print*, pp. 27-9.
[21] Shively, 'Popular Culture', p. 742.
[22] Haft, *Aesthetic Strategies*, p. 17.
[23] Shively, 'Popular Culture', p. 741.
[24] Berry, *Japan in Print*, p. 30.
[25] Ibid., p. 31.
[26] Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* p. 11.

temporarily meet and participate in the appreciation and production of art, regardless of class and status.[27]

Traditionally, aesthetic traditions had been the preserve of the court, flowering under the *ritsuryō* society of the Heian period (794-1185). The emergence of this aesthetic elite culture had emerged, Conrad Totman has argued, 'when political consolidation provided the favoured few with enough security, wealth, and time for scholarly, aesthetic, and recreational creativity.'[28] With the end of the *sengoku-jidai*, the rise of *chōnin*, and the increase in free time amongst samurai now without purpose following pacification, the same conditions had been created amongst a broader swathe of the Tokugawa social hierarchy, broadening participation in leisurely traditions. As these developments created a new space for inter-domanial networking based on a common understanding of leisure and pleasure, they simultaneously created a space in which Japanese citizens could engage with foreigners whose cultural traditions were commensurable with their own.

Significant for this discussion is Ikegami's claim that aesthetic publics permitted 'networking across social barriers.'[29] Whilst her study focuses on the role of aesthetic networks permitting dialogue between the disparate domains of post-*sengoku-jidai* Japan, the use of pleasurable entertainment as a form of socialising was significant also for relations with foreign groups. When interacting with Japanese citizens, particularly outside of courtly settings where protocol dictated action and deference, a common strategy deployed by the factors of the EIC and VOC was to engage their hosts over a mutual cultural activity. These activities were broad-ranging, from dining and bathing to watching performances and observing festivals, and were in most cases activities which appealed to the senses. The

[27] Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*, p. 4.
[28] Totman, *History of Japan*, p. 114.
[29] Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*, p. 6.

aesthetic aspects of these activities have been noted by Lee Butler, who sees the Japanese bathhouse as an aesthetic space, in which cultural activities such as flower-arranging and dining might be appreciated by fellow bathers.[30] Ken Albana, likewise, notes that European visitors to Japan, including João Rodrigues, William Adams and François Caron, were fascinated by the aesthetics of Japanese meals, contrasting their hosts' dining habits to what they saw as 'uncouth' practices in Europe.[31] When the European merchants were placed in an unfamiliar environment, in which communication with the local population was initially possible only through translators, the ability to find common ground in the sensory and pleasurable was a vital strategy for overcoming strangership and engaging in meaningful cross-cultural communication.

Dining

On the evening of 13 October 1613, four months after the initial arrival of the English factors in Japan, Richard Cocks was invited by Matsura Shigenobu to attend a dinner at the Dutch factory in Hirado. In attendance were a number of members of the Matsura household, including Shigenobu and his brother Nobuzane. Matsura Takanobu had been invited, but could not attend due to illness; his brothers nevertheless attended without him. Also attendant was the Hirado bugyō Sagawa Nobutoshi, and a number of retainers from the Matsura retinue. Recalling the event in his diary, Cocks writes: 'wee had a very good Dinner… the meate being well drest both after the Iapan and Duch fashion, and serued vpon Tables, but no great drinking'.[32] It was the first occasion upon which English merchants had dined with the Japanese, and Cocks was surprised to see that Hendrik Brouwer, then *opperhoofd* of the Dutch factory, was not seated at the table, but that he and the other Dutch merchants were

[30] Lee Butler, '"Washing off the Dust": Baths and Bathing in Late Medieval Japan', *Monumenta Nipponica* 60, (2005), pp. 1-41.
[31] Ken Albala, 'Japanese Food in the Early Modern European Imagination' in Nancy K. Stalker, 'Devouring Japan: Global Perspectives on Japanese Culinary Identity' (Oxford, 2018), pp. 35-46, at pp. 38-9, 41.
[32] *Saris*, p. 161 (13 October 1613).

waiting upon the Japanese on their knees. Cocks, confused, questioned Brouwer afterwards about this strange practice, and was told that 'it was the fashion of the Country, and if the King himself [i.e. the *daimyo*] made a Feast, hee did the like for the more honour of his ghests.'[33]

The dinner arranged by the Dutch that evening in 1613 was a display of friendship which consciously and deliberately sought to bring together Dutch and Japanese identities in a shared cultural experience. The meal was hosted in the European venue of the Dutch factory, was served according to Japanese custom, and consisted of European and Japanese dishes set alongside one another. Moreover, the purpose of the dinner was, as Brouwer acknowledged, aimed at doing honour to the Matsura household, upon whose good treatment Dutch trade rested. The Dutch, therefore, were using commensality as a means of generating commensurability between themselves and their Japanese hosts.

The term 'commensality' had emerged during the Renaissance, but its origins as a social practice stretch back through human history.[34] Amongst Christian Europeans, the notion of communal eating as a means of fellowship was enshrined in Acts 2:42, in which the breaking of bread amongst believers was symbolic of the foundations of the early Church as a body politic. Irma Thoen has shown that in the Dutch Republic, offering to share a meal with relatives and friends was a common act of hospitality, which could, through networks of association, expand out to mutual friends and relatives of friends; in effect bringing strangers to the table as welcomed guests.[35] As Felicity Heal has argued, in Jacobean England the communal meal served to reinforce notions of order, honour and communal identity in the households of the gentry, to such a degree that proscriptions were placed upon dining alone in

[33] *Saris*., p. 162 (13 October 1613).
[34] David Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 4.
[35] Irma Thoen, *Strategic Affection? Gift Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Amsterdam, 2007), p. 50.

'private offices'.[36] So familiar was the notion of communal dining as a means of generating amity that only a few years before the Dutch landed in Japan, Shakespeare, in *The Merchant of Venice*, could meaningfully subvert the notion of commensurability through commensality. By positioning the diametrically opposed characters of Shylock (a Jew) and Solanio and Salerio (Christians) together at the meal-table, he emphasises the religious and social gulf between them, a juxtaposition which could only make sense in a context which understood communal dining as a means of showing civility and hospitality.[37] Commensality, as David Goldstein argues, is a universal form of community-building, in which the inclusion of others in the act of eating serves to generate and confirm group identity.[38]

Yet Goldstein tempers his discussion of commensality as community-building with its inverse: that in constituting a group identity through the sharing of food and experience, commensality also served as a form of social exclusion.[39] To form a group, he argues, is necessarily to preclude others from participating in it. As Cocks' confusion over the dinner at the Dutch house shows, exclusion was not always a matter of not inviting others to the table. Cocks was himself a welcomed guest, both of the Dutch and the Matsura household, but his unfamiliarity with the Japanese protocols surrounding serving left him a cultural outsider, reliant on the knowledge of the 'in-group' to understand the dynamics of honour and power that were at play behind a seemingly simple communal gathering. When the language of commensality – the rituals of dining, the foodstuffs served, the very forms of the meals – was indecipherable, even welcomed guests could find themselves commensal, but not commensurate.

[36] Felicity Heal, 'Hospitality and Honour in Early Modern England', *Food and Foodways* 1 (1987), pp. 321-350, at pp. 329-30.
[37] Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics*, pp. 77-8.
[38] Ibid., p. 5.
[39] Ibid., p. 5.

The Practice of Dining

The most detailed accounts of commensality performed between the English, Dutch and Japanese are provided by Richard Cocks. Cocks' reports from Japan were criticised by Bantam President George Ball as being 'copiuse but not compendious; large, but stuffed with idell & nedles matter', but they nevertheless provide detailed descriptions of Japanese cultural practice. The same attention to cultural phenomena applies to his diary, which records a wide variety of occasions on which merchants from both European factories dined with their Japanese hosts.[40] This may be contrasted with the Dutch *dagregisters*, which usually omit matters which did not have a direct impact on business affairs. References to socialising in the Dutch sources, therefore, are scant, and we are reliant upon Cocks' records to help provide a clearer picture of the kind of interactions that took place.

The English and Dutch clearly dined with a variety of Japanese during their time in Hirado, including their neighbours, craftsmen from the Kihikida district, as well as Buddhist monks and the landlords across Japan who provided accommodation whilst travelling to and from Edo.[41] On a few occasions, they dined with notable individuals outside of Hirado, such as the admiral Mukai Masatsuna at Uraga,[42] and Hisamatsu Sadakatsu, governor of Kuwana and half-brother of Tokugawa Ieyasu,[43] but most commonly the Europeans dined with members of the higher social echelons of Hirado; the Matsura household and their ministers and retainers. The details of these meals were rarely recorded; Cocks usually mentions the names of the people he ate with, rather than what was eaten and in what manner, but the fact that so many meals were eaten together with samurai offers some insight into the kind of experience that the European merchants may have had when dining in Japan.

[40] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 618 (George Ball to Richard Cocks, 9 June 1617).
[41] *Diary*, i, p. 206 (31 March 1616), 334 (30 October 1616), ii, p. 347 (28 August 1618).
[42] Ibid., i, pp. 312-13 (28 September 1616).
[43] Ibid., ii, p. 358 (22 September 1618).

During the late fourteenth century, a distinctively samurai form of dining had developed known as the *honzen*, or 'main-tray' banqueting style. The *honzen*, Eric Rath has shown, was a complex and ritualistic form of dining which obeyed a strict and extensive set of rules.[44] Its distinguishing feature was that the meal consisted of several trays of food served at once, with protocols dictating what foods could be served on each tray. The number of soups, bowls of rice, side-dishes and snacks served were determined by the number of trays served, and the location of these dishes on the trays themselves followed established conventions; rice, for instance, was always placed in the left corner of the centre-most tray, while soup was always placed to the right.[45] The manner of eating was also governed by convention; according to one sixteenth-century culinary text, diners were required to wet their chopsticks in their soup, before eating from the rice, soup and side-dishes in turn, alternating each new food with a mouthful of rice.[46]

Although Cocks provides little information about the structure or content of the dinner-parties that the English attended, it is likely that the *honzen* form comprised many of the meals eaten when the Europeans and Japanese dined together in Hirado, since it was a formal style of dining suited for entertaining guests. Although originating amongst the samurai in the fourteenth century, Rath argues that *honzen* dining was also practiced by other classes, filtering down from the social elite.[47] Such meals were differentiated by the foods the host could afford to serve and the number of trays present; while commoners might expect to use one or two trays of relatively simple fare, three or four trays of more extravagant food were reserved by sumptuary laws for senior samurai officials, while five or more trays were

[44] Eric Rath, *Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan* (Los Angeles, 2010), p. 61.
[45] Ibid., pp. 61-2.
[46] Ibid., p. 63.
[47] Ibid., p. 60.

the preserve of the court and the shogun.[48] The English and Dutch rarely dined with anyone of higher rank than the *daimyo* of Hirado (the Dutch, on one occasion, dined in the presence of one of the *rōjū*) but in most cases the Europeans were eating alongside *chōnin* or rural Japanese. Nishiyama Matsunosuke has argued that the *chōnin* diet consisted of small, simple meals, and while there was an expectation that guests were to be honoured with better-quality food, it is nonetheless likely that the meals attended by the English and Dutch would also have been relatively modest in scale.[49]

A dinner-party with the Matsura *daimyo* was far less formal than appearing before them as a supplicant, but the structured nature of the *honzen* meant that there were still social expectations in place to which the Europeans had to adapt. When inviting several key members of the Matsura household and retinue for a meal in June 1621, the preparations made by the English were such that 'all our neighbors came unsent for, to assist us in the making ready the dynner'.[50] On 10 March 1634, the Dutch *opperhoofd* Nicholaes Couckebacker was invited to join Matsura Takanobu and the *rōjū* Aoyama Yukinari for a dinner, over which they discussed the artistic merits of a painted screen; an expensive *objet d'art* which reflected the owner's wealth and taste.[51] These interactions suggest that whilst dinner parties might be less formal than official audiences, they were not necessarily casual; rather, they were carefully designed to impress honoured guests. João Rodrigues notes that *honzen* meals were designed 'more as a rite to show honour and regard towards the person of the guest than to enjoy eating tasty dishes'.[52] Cocks' depictions of these meals are more jovial

[48] Eric Rath, 'Honzen Dining: The Poetry of Formal Meals in Late Medieval and Early Modern Japan' in Stephanie Assmann and Eric Rath (eds.), *Japanese Foodways, Past and Present* (Urbana, 2010), pp. 19-41, at p. 27.
[49] Nishiyama Matsunosuke, *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600-1868*, trans. Gerald Groemer (Honolulu, 1997), pp. 159-162.
[50] *Diary*, iii, p. 114 (17 June 1621).
[51] *Dagregisters*, i, p. 121 (10 March 1634).
[52] João Rodrigues, *João Rodrigues's Account of Sixteenth-Century Japan*, trans. Michael Cooper, (London, 2001), pp. 236-7.

than Rodrigues suggests. He notes, with only minimal regret, that 'the drynking was overmuch' at the dinners he attended, whereas Rodrigues emphasises their solemnity; however, Rodrigues does note that the Japanese 'do not consider drunkenness in banquets and revelries as something wrong', suggesting that even at the most formal banquets there was the potential for raucousness.[53]

The English and Dutch were no strangers to festive dining. As Claudia Goldstein has shown, dinner parties were common and popular amongst the mercantile classes of the early modern Dutch Republic; the humanist writer Erasmus had, in 1518, published a dialogue on the hosting of dinners, in which he encouraged hosts to entertain their guests with 'subjects everyone likes to recall and no one hears with displeasure'.[54] In a corporate context, communal dining had been a central guild activity in Europe since the Middle Ages; as Gervase Rosser has shown, guild feasts were social processes in which commensality was used to construct new relationships between participants, even when their social or economic standing differed substantially.[55] Feasts were held for a variety of occasions, including the celebration of saints' days or as obits for the commemoration of prominent benefactors, and were often large-scale events with many hundreds of attendees.[56] A guild with a guildhall might host its dinners there; otherwise, feasting could occur in members' private houses.[57] Whatever the venue, however, feasts were powerful constitutors of community, and were often accompanied by processions and religious services which members were expected to attend in full livery. Failure to attend, and thus to participate in the communal life of the guild, could result in material sanctions. The Guild of St. George in Norwich, for instance,

[53] *Diary*, i, p. 136 (3 December 1615); Rodrigues, *Account of Japan*, p. 211.
[54] Claudia Goldstein, *Pieter Bruegel and the Culture of the Early Modern Dinner Party* (Farnham, 2013), p. 1.
[55] Gervase Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: Guilds in England, 1250-1550* (Oxford, 2015), p. 122.
[56] C. M. Woolgar, *The Culture of Food in England, 1200-1500* (New Haven, 2016), pp. 125-7.
[57] Ibid., p. 125.

required members to donate two pounds' weight of liturgical wax if they were unable to attend a feast.[58] Rosser provides the example of Stratford-upon-Avon's Holy Cross guild feasts, which were used by the Warwickshire gentry as opportunities for networking with one another as well as with prominent merchants.[59] Such events enabled individuals, through performance of civic ritual, to integrate into the greater body politic of the guild.[60]

Civic feasting for the purpose of fostering community continued into the sixteenth century, and as the guilds of London slowly lost their exclusive links to particular trades, they remained a meeting-place for the London elite.[61] The Lord Mayor's Day was a common occasion for London's livery companies to hold feasts, with provisions made for food to be provided for non-members in a display of corporate munificence.[62] By Elizabeth's reign, Ian Archer argues, such feasts had become increasingly exclusive to the livery, with some companies, such as the Haberdashers, eliminating yeomanry dinners altogether.[63] Richard Cocks, as a freeman of the Clothworkers' Company of London may thus have recognised the importance of commensality as a means of fostering positive civic relationships, though how far he had participated in corporate feasting is uncertain.[64]

While not so rigidly structured as a Japanese banquet, a European feast likewise had its own language of commensality, particularly regarding the use of cutlery which was not used in Japan. According to Erasmus, cutlery was to be laid out with cup and knife on the diner's right-hand side, and their bread on the left; this was to be cut cleanly through, and not torn, as this 'is an affected practice which should be left to certain courtiers'.[65] Meat was to

[58] Woolgar, *Culture of Food*., p. 128.
[59] Rosser, *Art of Solidarity*, p. 145.
[60] Ibid., p. 146.
[61] Gabriel Heaton and James Knowles, 'Entertainment Perfect': Ben Jonson and Corporate Hospitality', *The Review of English Studies* 54 (2003), pp. 587-600, at p. 595.
[62] Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 117.
[63] Ibid., p. 118-9.
[64] Massarella, *Early Career*, p. 10.
[65] Desiderius Erasmus, 'On Good Manners' in Erika Rummel (ed.), *The Erasmus Reader*, (Toronto, 1990), p. 111.

be cut into pieces and eaten with bread; eggs and bones were to be picked clean with a knife, and salt was to be taken on a knife-edge and not with the fingers.[66] It was impolite for a diner to take anything but the piece nearest to them from a communal dish unless that portion were 'extremely choice, then you should leave it for someone else and take the next piece.'[67] The Europeans in Hirado do not mention the Japanese showing difficulty with such concepts, but nevertheless the rules of European dining still had to be learned. On 23 July 1617, Takanobu's brother hosted the Dutch for dinner, intending to feast them 'after the Christen fation'.[68] Lacking the accoutrements of dining, however, he sent to the English house to borrow their dining furniture, cutlery, crockery, tablecloths and napkins, as well as a servant who could show him how to prepare the meat in the proper way.

Erasmus' instructions and concern with manners here displays the preoccupation of early modern European societies with politeness and cleanliness. As Keith Thomas has shown, mastery of table-manners was a means of laying claim to social superiority and civility, and these were undergoing a transformation during the seventeenth century, as it became increasingly polite to use cutlery and avoid 'anything that had been near anyone else's lips'.[69] The form these manners took varied from region to region, even within Europe; Thomas provides the example of a Huguenot refugee in England who was appalled by the English tendency to belch at the dinner-table.[70] However, cultural differences were perhaps most starkly observed when Europeans travelled abroad; the Portuguese explorer Fernão Mendes Pinto recorded in 1556 that the Japanese were accustomed to eating with chopsticks, and 'they think it very dirty to eat with the hands as we are wont to do.'[71] Yet despite

[66] Erasmus, 'On Good Manners', p. 114.
[67] Ibid., p. 113.
[68] *Diary*, ii, p. 129 (23 July 1617).
[69] Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility*, pp. 49-51.
[70] Ibid., p. 50.
[71] Boxer, *Christian Century*, p. 29.

incommensurabilities in practice, the underlying concern with hygiene and civility is clear, and these concerns were shared with the Europeans. It is thus notable that Takanobu's brother sent to the English for their spoons and 'silver forkes' in order to host the Dutch; evidently these implements were considered an acceptable alternative to chopsticks when dining according to European fashions, most likely because they kept the hands clean and avoided touching food directly.

Central also to a Japanese meal was drinking. Consuming alcohol was, Rath argues, a performative affair at most banquets, with the *shikisankon* (three ceremonial rounds of drinks) preceding a meal and symbolising friendship and unity amongst drinkers.[72] This was a solemn ritual and involved only small sips of sake, so as to avoid drunkenness; however, the three rounds of nine drinks could be followed by as many as seventeen further rounds of drinks.[73] The ritualistic form of *shikisankon* drinking might have been intended to avoid drunkenness, but the Europeans characterised the Japanese as heavy drinkers: when the Dutch dined with Takanobu's brother the drinking was described as 'lustie';[74] the Japanese poet Itō Shichizaemon was described as 'a good drinker',[75] while at a Japanese housewarming in 1618 'there wanted no drinking, Japons being well seene in that facultie.'[76] Yet if the Europeans enjoyed heavy drinking with the Japanese, they enjoyed it no less amongst themselves; when the English and Dutch dined together on 13 April 1617, there was 'no want of Spanish wyne, with drinking of healths to the Kinges Ma^{tie} and Queen of England, with the Grave Mouris and States.'[77]

[72] Rath, *Food and Fantasy*, p. 66.
[73] Ibid., p. 71.
[74] *Diary*, ii, p. 129 (23 July 1617).
[75] Ibid., iii, p. 114 (17 June 1621).
[76] Ibid., ii, p. 278 (8 April 1618).
[77] Ibid., ii, p. 61 (13 April 1617).

If dining habits differed between England, the Dutch Republic and Japan, there was nevertheless commensurability to be found in the experiential quality of dining, and the underlying concern with displaying appropriate comportment whilst eating. The English and Dutch sources do not mention the ritualistic aspects of eating; the protocols of which dishes could be eaten when, and which were inedible fancies, but it is clear that they nevertheless shared many successful meals with their hosts, where they had, as Cocks so often puts it, 'very good cheare'.[78] Cocks' focus on 'cheer', a convivial atmosphere, suggests a focus on dining as a form of entertainment, where the mark of a good meal was the pleasure it brought those who attended. By focusing on the mutually-intelligible notions of pleasure that came with eating and drinking, and by recognising that both groups had their own language of politeness deployed at the meal-table, both Europeans and Japanese were able to find commensurabilities between their styles of dining.

Sharing Meals in Style and Substance

Japanese audiences brought into contact with the Europeans had long been curious about the strange forms of dining that the merchants brought with them. In Fernão Mendes Pinto's recollections of Japan in the sixteenth century, the Portuguese explorer claims that the *daimyo* of Bungo watched the Europeans eat with mirth: 'seeing us feed so with our hands, gave more delight to the king and Queen, then all the comedies that could have been presented before them'.[79] The veracity of Pinto's account is questionable, but it is clear that in this, at least, he depicted a genuine distinction between Europe and Japan, for João Rodrigues likewise recorded that the Japanese 'are greatly astonished at eating with the hands', although in his experience, 'this causes them both nausea and disgust'.[80] By the seventeenth century, however, what had been a humorous curiosity or nauseating custom had

[78] *Diary*, i, p. 199 (16 March 1616).
[79] Albala, 'Japanese Food', p. 37.
[80] Rodrigues, *Account of Japan*, p. 153.

become part of the wider *nanban* fad for European exotica. As Eric Rath has shown, this century saw the popularisation of western cooking, propagated by the composition of the *Nanban Ryōrisho* (Barbarian's Cookbook), a collection of recipes drawing upon foodstuffs and cooking techniques common in Iberia, but previously unknown in Japanese cooking.[81] The text, which Rath suggests was written but not published during the seventeenth century and likely had only a limited circulation in manuscript form, nevertheless suggests a burgeoning fascination with foreign dishes.[82] As shall be shown, the presence of the English and Dutch factories had a similar impact in popularising foreign cuisine in Hirado.

Cocks' diary does not usually record the food served at banquets attended in this period. However, on occasion he describes eating meals 'after Christion fation'. In his entry of 4 March 1618, when dining with the Japanese Catholic 'Gota Shozamon Dono', this formulation is explained further; it meant 'syting at a hie table with cheares' as opposed to the low trays of *honzen* meals.[83] When Matsura Takanobu's brother hosted the Dutch factors in such a manner in 1617, he likewise sent to the English for 'chears, coshins, spoons, silver forkes, cups, tableclothes, and napkines'.[84] He also requested a servant 'to show them how to order the meate after the Christen fation', whom Cocks sent along with a bottle of Spanish wine and some salad oil. From this entry, it can be seen that dining after the 'Christian fashion' involved adopting an entirely different set of eating practices, necessitated by the European-style dishes that were to be served. Despite the fact that 'Christian' was used here as a synonym for 'European', however, such practices were not limited to Japanese converts. Neither Matsura Shigenobu nor Matsura Takanobu were Christians, and yet both men had

[81] Rath, *Food and Fantasy*, pp. 77-8.
[82] Ibid., p. 78.
[83] *Diary*, ii, p. 260 (4 March 1618).
[84] Ibid., ii, p. 129 (23 July 1617).

clearly enjoyed European cuisine.[85] Shigenobu requested meals of both pork and beef from John Saris, while on multiple occasions Takanobu dined on meat prepared in both the Japanese and European style.[86] Although it was common for him to do so when hosting European guests,[87] it is clear that he enjoyed eating European fare regardless, as both Sagawa Nobutoshi and 'Shosque Dono' sent to the English for English-style food, including sweetmeats, a pie, roast chicken and duck, when hosting the *daimyo*.[88]

The English and Dutch were a ready supply of European cuisine for the Matsura, for when eating amongst themselves, they dined according to European custom. Although Japanese cooks were employed in the English house, in February 1616 the factory took on John Coker, the English cook from the *Hosiander*, who could produce English fare for the factors.[89] The English owned European cutlery, chairs and table-linens, and in an inventory of items requested of the *maki-e* lacquerware merchant Kanzaemon of Miyako, Cocks recorded paying 4 taels silver for '6 macky posset pottes… with covers'.[90] Posset, a drink made from hot curdled milk, was popular in England and the Dutch Republic at this time, and was served in a particular and distinctive pot, shaped like a teapot with two handles.[91] While it is clear that the Europeans were not unwilling to eat Japanese food, they nevertheless continued to eat their own country's cuisine at home.

It was when dining with the Japanese, then, that meals took on a transnational quality, as both Europeans and Japanese sat down together for meals which drew upon each other's culinary traditions. Cocks records two incidents where such hybrid meals occurred, although

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[85] Stephen Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan: A Study of their Development, Beliefs and Rituals to the Present Day* (Richmond, 1998), p. 32.
[86] *Saris*, pp. 160 (11 October 1613), 178 (11 November 1613).
[87] *Diary*, i, p. 97 (2 October 1615), iii, p. 205 (27 November 1621).
[88] Ibid., i, p. 81 (10 September 1615); ii, p. 72 (3 May 1617).
[89] See, for instance, Ibid., i, pp. 23 (22 June 1615), 177 (8 February 1616).
[90] Ibid., iii, p. 156 (6 September 1621).
[91] 'Posset Pot: New Amsterdam Kitchen' https://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/history-and-heritage/digital-exhibitions/new-amsterdam-kitchen/posset-pot/ (9 December 2019)

as he rarely records the foods eaten at such events, it is possible that other communal meals also had hybrid elements. When in 1613 the Dutch served meat 'well drest both after the Iapan and Duch fashion, and serued vpon Tables', it is possible that this means that dishes from both cultures were served for all parties, but it is not inconceivable that this meant that each national group adhered to its own accustomed fare at the same table. The second and more certain incident occurred in 1615, when the English invited Matsura Takanobu and his chief courtiers to their factory, where 'they dyned after the Japan manner, and supped after the English'.[92] While the Japanese were clearly curious about European cuisine, and the Europeans not averse to Japanese cooking, the combination of European and Japanese modes of dining at these events was more than simple curiosity about foreign foods. As has been shown, dining (and particularly feasting) was a highly ritualised event in Japanese society, with strict rules about the order and manner of eating. The *honzen* meal was sufficiently complex that, as it became increasingly fashionable outside the samurai class, guidebooks were published to demystify the protocols for non-elite diners.[93] While the Europeans show some knowledge of dining rituals, therefore, it is likely that this was fragmentary and learned from experience. When dining according to Japanese custom, the Europeans would always be cultural outsiders, the Simmelian strangers within the dining group who were not innately familiar with its practices. By serving food that was familiar to the Europeans, or by dividing the social gatherings such that one meal was served after the Japanese tradition and the other after the European, the tensions caused by the unfamiliarity of dining habits were mitigated as, each group was rendered proficient and inexperienced in equal measure. As such, both Europeans and Japanese could sit, as David Goldstein puts it, 'at the table of power'; no one group held a position of advantage over the other. Through sharing in each other's styles of

[92] *Diary*, i, p. 97 (2 October 1615)
[93] Rath, *Food and Fantasy*, p. 59.

eating both groups were made truly commensal; through this commensality, the strangeness of the Other was handled and made commensurable.

Dining and the Dynamics of Power

David Goldstein's discussion of power and the limits of commensurability when dining necessitates a closer examination of the power dynamics of dining. To eat together, he argues, was a universal means of generating networks of obligation between fellow diners as part of the process of community-making.[94] Amongst European urban merchants and guilds the dinner party was an occasion for reinforcing status through the largesse displayed in hosting and the politeness displayed in attending.[95] This was no less true in Japan; *honzen* dining in particular seated guests according to their rank, and served them according to their social status.[96] Hendrik Brouwer recognised the link between food and honour; his advice to Cocks that the expectation of any host was to wait courteously on his guests to do honour by them shows shrewd recognition that receiving favour also required one to give it; there was, in effect, no such thing as a free lunch.[97]

While it is clear that the Europeans enjoyed their dinners with their Japanese hosts, they recognised that these were not purely social occasions. Rarely is dinnertime conversation mentioned, but it is clear that Cocks was attentive to what was mentioned over meals. On 2 May 1618, the English factors dined at the house of Matsura Gonnosuke Nobutada, the chief *bugyō* of Hirado and one of Matsura Takanobu's closest ministers. Nobutada was insistent on discussing the character of the Dutch and English, and in Cocks' estimation was attempting to glean information for the Matsura.[98] Perhaps as a response to

[94] Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics,* p. 88.
[95] Goldstein, *Pieter Bruegel*, p. 2.
[96] Kaori O'Connor, *The Never-Ending Feast: The Anthropology and Archaeology of Feasting* (London, 2015), p. 179.
[97] *Saris*, p. 162 (13 October 1613)
[98] *Diary*, ii, p. 286 (2 May 1618).

this, Cocks himself used the meal as a means to assess the Europeans' relative positions; he returned home in the conviction that the Matsura 'esteemed much more of our nation then of the Hollanders, esteeming them as theeves and we true men'. Cocks' caution when it came to the significance of dinners was not unfounded. On 3 June 1621, the English factors were joined at their evening supper by an unfamiliar 'Japon gentellman' and his retinue. Recognising the man's status, Cocks invited him to join the merchants 'and take parte of such fare as we had'.[99] Following the meal, he learned that his guest had been Kamata Masamune, a retainer of the Shimazu family of Satsuma whose favour the English had courted several times previously, with the hopes of expanding their trade network beyond Hirado.[100] While no great favour came of this incident, the English still retained some hope of trading with Satsuma in 1621,[101] and failing to do honour to an agent of the Shimazu could potentially jeopardise the positive relationship that the English enjoyed with the *daimyo*. Even when a meal was impromptu, therefore, the stakes of hospitality were still high.

Perhaps the most striking occasion in which dining was put to political use came in November 1621. On 27 November, the Dutch factors hosted the English merchants and the Matsura household at their factory prior to their journey to court. It had been a tense few months in Hirado; the capture of a junk carrying Catholic missionaries had prevented the dispatch of the Europeans to Edo as the English and Dutch negotiated to keep the ship and its cargo as a lawful prize.[102] The shogunate had delegated the investigation of the priests to Matsura Takanobu and Hasegawa Gonroku, the Nagasaki *bugyō,* and insisted that the English and Dutch remain in Hirado until the priests were proven to be Catholics.[103] Despite two months of requests, the English and Dutch were refused permission to leave for Edo, and

[99] *Diary*, iii, p. 108 (3 June 1621).
[100] Ibid., iii, p. 108 (3 June 1621).
[101] Ibid., iii. p. 95 (2 May 1621).
[102] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, pp. 275-6.
[103] Ibid., p. 293.

Cocks was getting increasingly frustrated, complaining to his employers that he suspected Takanobu of conspiring with the Catholics against him.[104] Takanobu, however, was the Europeans' most valuable ally. Both English and Dutch factories perceived that Gonroku was sympathetic to the Catholics;[105] in reality he saw the incident as an opportunity to oust the companies from Hirado and ensure an Iberian trade monopoly at Nagasaki.[106] With Gonroku supporting the missionaries, it was crucial that English and Dutch win the support of Takanobu in order to stand any chance of obtaining the junk and cargo. It was against this backdrop of political machinations that *Opperhoofd* Leonard Camps invited the Matsura to dinner.

From the outset, this was a politically charged meal, and the Dutch had much to gain; while Cocks was ill disposed towards Takanobu, Camps capitalised on the opportunity to win favour with Takanobu by inviting him to dinner.[107] Previous experience had shown that the order in which guests were hosted was a sign of preference, and the Dutch were well aware of it; earlier that year they had snubbed a dinner invitation from Sagawa Nobutoshi because the English had been invited to dinner first.[108] Inviting Takanobu to dinner might make the *daimyo* more favourable to the Dutch in his judgement. The strategic intervention of this invitation is visible in Cocks' annoyance that the Dutch had beaten him to it; he complained in his diary that Camps had 'got the start of us to envite the king [to dinner], leveing us noe tyme to doe the lyke'.[109]

Camps had put the English in a difficult spot. By inviting the Matsura to dinner first, the Dutch had not only presented themselves as the Matsura's most loyal allies, thus

[104] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, ii, p. 858 (Richard Cocks to Sir Thomas Smythe and the EIC, 4 October 1621).
[105] *Diary*, iii, pp. 166-7 (21 September 1621).
[106] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 295.
[107] *Diary*, iii, p. 204 (24 November 1621).
[108] Ibid., iii, p. 110 (7 June 1621).
[109] Ibid., iii, p. 204 (24 November 1621).

potentially giving them the upper hand in the junk proceedings, but they had also given the English very little time to make a similar invitation. Their options were to delay their dispatch even longer while they organised a date to host the *daimyo,* or to cut their losses and give the Dutch the diplomatic advantage.[110] Moreover, Cocks had been formally requested to attend the dinner by Takanobu himself, who said 'he would have my company theare or else he would not come, and so after to morow we might departe towardes Edo.'[111] Cocks was left with little choice. Failing to attend might jeopardise the Dutch dinner, but it would also jeopardise their dispatch towards Edo, and in either case, the English would be at fault, potentially turning Takanobu, already considered a questionable ally, against them. Left with no option, Cocks attended.

Cocks exhibited mixed feelings about the event itself. His diary entries suggest that his attendance was coerced, if not forced, and upon arrival he learned that he was to sit at the right hand of Takanobu, 'whether I would or noe'.[112] In 1616, Cocks had recognised the significance of this position; when inadvertently seated 'on the better hand' of then-Nagasaki *bugyō* Hasegawa Fujihiro Sahyōe, he had moved and apologised for not having known who he was.[113] Cocks seems to show an awareness of Japanese seating etiquette, where the seat of honour (*kamiza*) was reserved for the most honoured guest, and the lowest seat (*shimoza*) was kept for the person whose social rank was furthest from the guest of honour. While not enshrined, as in Christendom, in any sense of 'handedness', as the location of the *kamiza* and *shimoza* was contingent on the shape of the room, nevertheless the Europeans sensed that one's place at the table reflected notions of rank and honour. It is unknown who set the seating for the Dutch dinner, but as the meal appears to have been taken in the European

[110] *Diary*, iii, p. 204 (24 November 1621).
[111] Ibid., iii, p. 205 (26 November 1621).
[112] Ibid., iii, p. 205 (27 November 1621).
[113] Ibid., i, p. 319 (8 October 1616).

manner, the right-hand side of Takanobu was a privileged spot, and Cocks' protestations suggest that *his* position here (as opposed to Camps himself) was designed to embarrass rather than honour. Nevertheless, beyond this embarrassment, the event appears to have proceeded comfortably; the Dutch and English had 'good cheare with musick, after our cuntrey fation, singing and dancing, with ordinance shot off every time the king drunk'.[114]

The efforts of the Dutch and English were largely in vain. Although the priests aboard the junk were proven to be Catholics, and executed in August 1622,[115] the cargo that the Dutch and English so coveted did not return to their hands. The Matsura demanded a cut of the captured goods, which were in any case appropriated by the shogunate that summer.[116] Neither Camps' nor Cocks' attempts to win over the Matsura had had any enduring effect on the reality of trade. Nevertheless, perceptions were key for the Europeans. The dancing, gun salutes, and general 'good cheare' of the dinner was unlike any other given to the Matsura, and since Cocks and Camps were granted their dispatch to Edo the very next day,[117] it is certain that this dinner was a performance aimed at generating goodwill amongst the Matsura and Europeans. Prior to the disappointments of 1622, it had appeared successful. While Cocks' uncharacteristic frustration might have soured the Matsura towards him, merchant William Eaton believed that Takanobu had shown great 'love and frenship' to the English in arguing their corner.[118] It was this 'love and friendship' that Camps' meal was intended to induce.

[114] Diary, iii, p. 205 (27 November 1621).
[115] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 296.
[116] Ibid., p. 298.
[117] Diary, iii, p. 206 (28 November 1621).
[118] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, ii, p. 875 (William Eaton to Richard Fursland, 2 & 8 February 1622).

Theatricality

European banquets, Claudia Goldstein argues, were not simply occasions to dine communally, but opportunities for both host and guest to entertain and display their position and wealth through materiality.[119] In sixteenth-century Antwerp, she claims, a merchant *burgher*'s dining room was the place to display his finery in the form of pottery, linens, silver and paintings,[120] much like the screens discussed over dinner in 1634. The wealth and taste of the host could also be given expression in the form of theatrical performance; the Dutch *Tafelspel* was a play, usually comical, designed to be performed at dinner: literally, a 'table-play'.[121] Richmond Barbour and Bernhard Klein have shown that food and theatricality were juxtaposed in the context of other English EIC voyages; on 10 June 1610, during the Company's sixth voyage, the mariners of the *Peppercorn* (which would itself visit Hirado in 1621) were entertained with 'a great feast and a play play'd'.[122] João Rodrigues points to a similarity in Japanese dining; he mentions that banquets were frequently accompanied by 'entertainments of instrumental music, plays and other things'.[123] This corresponds with the experience of the English and Dutch; not only was there 'good cheare with musick' at the dinner in November 1621, but on 28 separate occasions Richard Cocks records that *kabuki* players were in attendance to entertain during and after a communal meal. The English and Dutch were both keen patrons of this form of entertainment, and used these performances to engage with the Japanese of Hirado and Edo alike.

[119] Goldstein, *Pieter Bruegel*, p. 2.
[120] Ibid., p. 125.
[121] Ibid., pp. 76-7.
[122] Richmond Barbour and Bernhard Klein, 'Drama at Sea: A New Look at Shakespeare on the *Dragon, 1607-8*', in Claire Jowitt (ed.), *Travel and Drama in Early Modern England: The Journeying Play* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 150-68, at p. 156.
[123] Rodrigues, *Account of Japan*, p. 237.

Kabuki at Hirado

Kabuki was a new form of entertainment of the seventeenth century which had spread rapidly throughout the provinces of Japan. In this period it was not the dramatic art that might be experienced today, a male-dominated theatrical tradition with a strong narrative component; rather, it comprised a series of dramatic skits, usually (but not always) staged by women, in which dance and acrobatics were central components.[124] The traditional account of *kabuki*'s origins claims that in 1603 a shrine maiden named Okuni began performing comedic dances and skits for the entertainment of passers-by on the banks of the Kamo River in Miyako.[125] These theatrical performances were renowned for their bawdy nature (amongst Okuni's repertoire was a skit in which she played the part of a dandy visiting a brothel)[126] and became popular amongst the *chōnin*, as well as the samurai elite.[127] By 1617, small *kabuki* stages had been rigged up on the dry riverbed in Miyako's Shijō-gawara district, and the performers themselves had become minor celebrities, whose affections were literally fought for by enamoured audiences.[128] Following this first flourishing of success, *kabuki* was targeted by moralising shogunal edicts and ultimately women were banned from performing in 1629.[129]

This traditional account of *kabuki*'s development has been revised in recent years by scholars including Satoko Shimazaki, who has argued that this narrative results from a lack of documentary evidence, and that the development of early *kabuki* was in fact more piecemeal than has previously been suggested.[130] *Kabuki* was devised in response to *noh* drama, the

[124] Satoko Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki in Transition: From the Worlds of the Samurai to the Vengeful Female Ghost* (New York, 2016), p. 46.
[125] Shively, 'Popular Culture', p. 749.
[126] Ibid., p. 749.
[127] Yoko Takakuwa, 'Performing Marginality: The Place of the Player and of "Woman" in Early Modern Japanese Culture', *New Literary History* 27 (1996), pp. 213-25, at p. 214.
[128] Shively, 'Popular Culture', p. 751.
[129] Takakuwa, 'Performing Marginality', p. 215
[130] Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki*, pp. 45-7.

traditional theatrical form which had dominated literary culture before the seventeenth century and formed an integral part of the samurai education.[131] Where *noh* was highly conceptualised, centred around the principle of *yūgen* (the beauty of gentle gracefulness),[132] *kabuki* was bright and energetic, emphasising materiality and worldly pleasure.[133] However, it was not yet the non-elite form of entertainment described by most traditional accounts. As Shimazaki argues, in early seventeenth-century Edo the largest audience to patronise *kabuki* troupes was made up of samurai who had come to the city to fill bureaucratic roles in the new shogunal capital.[134] Samurai (including *daimyo*) and wealthy merchants would host *kabuki* performers at their urban residences, where they would perform private shows, often to mark public and private celebrations.[135] These 'residential *kabuki*' performances would be watched alongside food and drink, and constituted a half to a full day's entertainment.

These performances, resembling a revue in structure, comprised several skits which derived their entertainment value from their subversive intermingling of traditional *noh* forms with gestures, dances, and costumes that appealed to the sensual and the comedic.[136] In addition to the aforementioned brothel scene, other skits included the return of a man from the underworld; a trope drawn from earlier *noh* plays but revitalised with the performer playing the role of a Buddhist priest who entertains the ghost with an eroticised version of a traditional prayer dance.[137] The sensuality of these performances was critical, as *kabuki* served in large part as advertisement for sexual services.[138] Theatricality and sex work were,

[131] Andrew Gerstle, 'The Culture of Play: Kabuki and the Production of Texts', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 66 (2003), pp. 358-79, at p. 360.
[132] Andrew Tsubaki, 'The Performing Arts of Sixteenth-Century Japan: A Prelude to Kabuki', *Educational Theatre Journal* 29 (1977), p. 299-309, at p. 300.
[133] Takakuwa, 'Performing Marginality', p. 214.
[134] Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki*, pp. 56-8.
[135] Ibid., p. 59.
[136] Katherine Mezur, *Beautiful Boys/Outlaw Bodies* (New York, 2005), pp. 55-6.
[137] Tsubaki, 'Performing Arts', p. 308.
[138] Jacob Raz, *Audience and Actors: A Study of Their Interaction in the Japanese Traditional Theatre* (Leiden, 1983), p. 147.

Jacob Raz argues, closely interlinked in the early Edo period; theatres were connected with brothels, and the performances they hosted were usually intended to attract potential patrons.[139] Raz goes as far as to suggest that the *kabuki* performance was itself the 'side show' to the sexual services the players would provide, and that sex work was their primary trade.[140]

This image of *kabuki* as a practice linked closely to the sale of sexual services, which comprised skits, dances, and acrobatic feats, performed primarily (but not solely) by women bears close resemblance to the experience of *kabuki* recorded in the English and Dutch sources. The first reference to *kabuki* occurs in John Saris' journal in 1613. Reflecting on the incident for his contribution to Samual Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, Saris recollects that on 21 June, Matsura Shigenobu brought some women aboard the *Clove* 'to be frollyke'; these were, he notes, itinerant 'Actors of Comedies'.[141] That their performances were linked closely to sexual services was evident; he refers to the women as working for 'Panders' or procurers, and claims that their services might be bought by a wealthy patron to 'fill their drinke at Table… or otherwise to have the vse of them.'[142] The term *kabuki*, however, does not appear until 8 September 1616, when Richard Cocks records in his diary that that a merchant of Edo named Neyemon Dono entertained the English with 'caboques, or women plears, who dansed and songe; and when we retorned home, he sent eavery one to lye w'th.'[143] Struck by the novelty, and keen to impress, Cocks invited Neyemon Dono to supper a few days later, 'and had the cabickes as they had'.[144] This would begin a fascination with *kabuki* which would last throughout the Europeans' time in Japan.

[139] Raz, *Audience and Actors*, p. 142.
[140] Ibid., p. 149.
[141] *Saris*, pp. 90-1 (21 June 1613).
[142] Ibid., p. 90.
[143] *Diary*, i, p. 300 (8 September 1616).
[144] Ibid., i, pp. 304-5 (17 September 1616).

Strikingly little is said by either the English or the Dutch about the content of *kabuki* performances, giving credence to the claim that the performances were secondary in importance to sexual services. Saris noted that the women played 'Comedies… of Warre, Loue, and such like', giving only the most general impression of their repertoire.[145] Cocks refers to the players as 'dansing beares' on several occasions; a mocking term which may nevertheless mask a comment on the performances themselves.[146] Dancing animals, including bears, were common entertainment in Elizabethan London, and Cocks' nickname for the players may suggest a comparison between their exaggerated gestures and the staggering dancing of tame beasts.[147] Neither Cocks nor Saris were particularly complimentary about the musical elements of *kabuki*, describing Japanese music as 'harsh to our hearings',[148] and 'not at all pleasant'.[149]

Cocks, like Saris, was not reticent about the association of *kabuki* and sex. His diary often conflates the roles of actress and sex worker, referring to the women as 'Japon players (or whores)'.[150] He was less candid about the English factors' specific involvement with the players, frequently using vague and euphemistic phrases when referring to *kabuki*, with formulations such as 'we hadd the caboques after dinner'.[151] Yet as the entry of September 1616 quoted above shows, the English did sleep with the *kabuki* players. So too did the Dutch, according to Cocks' diary, though their own accounts contain scant references to *kabuki*. [152] This may be in part because the *dagregisters* were kept from 1634 onwards, postdating the shogunate's prescriptions on women in *kabuki*, but may also be because their

[145] *Saris*, p. 90. (21 June 1613).
[146] *Diary*, ii, p. 357 (19 September 1618).
[147] Linda Kalof, *Looking at Animals in Human History* (London, 2007), p. 115.
[148] *Saris*, p. 181 (18 November 1613).
[149] Ibid., p. 170 (31 October 1613).
[150] *Diary*., ii, p. 79 (21 May 1617).
[151] Ibid., iii, p. 154 (1 September 1621).
[152] For instance, see Ibid., iii, p. 66 (10 March 1621).

records, unlike Cocks' diary, were business documents and would be read by the factors' superiors. Nicholas Couckebacker thus records dinner-parties with the Japanese without mentioning any element of theatricality, but it is unclear whether this meant that no *kabuki* players (male or female) were present, or whether Couckebacker was simply omitting needless details from the official trade journal. Nevertheless, one revealing reference appears in an entry by the Dutch merchant Hendrick Hagenaer; he euphemistically records sending for 'the female pastime' (*der vrouwen passetems*) to while away a day in Edo in 1636.[153] Whether this was a reference to *kabuki* or simply to other sexual services, it would appear that that the promise of sex was central to the Dutch enjoyment of *kabuki* as well.

European Drama

How far removed were these experiences of *kabuki* from the theatrical traditions with which the English and Dutch were familiar? The lack of commentary from either group on the content of *kabuki* performances means that it is difficult to reconstruct with precision the ways in which *kabuki* was understood. Writing in 1614, John Saris reflected upon the itinerant nature of the players, who 'passe… from Iland to Iland to play, as our Players doe here [i.e., England] from Towne to Towne'.[154] It is clear that he saw in *kabuki* some parallels with the itinerant nature of theatre troupes in Europe, such as the Rhetoricians in the Dutch Republic, and the English Comedians, who had toured England as part of the Admirals' Men in the 1580s, and set out for continental Europe alone in the 1590s.[155]

Whether Saris or his contemporaries saw parallels between *kabuki* skits and professional theatre, however, is less clear. Later scholars have drawn these parallels more explicitly; Leonard Pronko in particular has argued that *kabuki* and Elizabethan drama shared

[153] *Dagregisters*, ii, p. 305 (6 January 1636).
[154] *Saris*, p. 90 (21 June 1613).
[155] George Oppitz-Trotman, *Stages of Loss: The English Comedians and their Reception* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 37-8.

thematic interests in sex, violence, and vengeance, as well as similar staging techniques, in which gesture, movement, costume and colour were used to suggest not only character but also class and emotion. [156] Parallels might also be found in moralists' responses to the theatre; just as Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan lamented that *kabuki* was dominated by transvestism and the shattering of hierarchy, as women 'wear men's clothing, cut their hair and wear a man's topknot' as well as carry the twin swords of the samurai elite,[157] so too did Dutch theologian Gysbertus Voetius criticise Dutch theatre for its displays of transvestism and the mingling of the sexes.[158]

Yet there was a fundamental difference between the professionalisation of English and Dutch theatre in this period, and *kabuki*, intended as it was to advertise sexual transactions. William Ingram has described professional acting as being that which was done to earn regular income from admission fees to theatrical performances.[159] This may be contrasted with *kabuki*, since Satoko Shimazaki has argued that only in the late seventeenth century did theatre revenues provide *kabuki* performers with a stable income.[160] Comparisons with European theatre, therefore, are most apt for *kabuki* as performed in the Genroku period (1688-1704),[161] when the nature of performances had changed, moving away from woman-led skits intended to sell sex and towards licensed all-male productions.[162] Such differences suggest that comparisons with European theatre may only have gone so far in helping the English and Dutch approach pre-Genroku *kabuki*.

[156] Leonard Pronko, '16th Century: Kabuki and the Elizabethan Theatre', *Educational Theatre Journal* 19 (1967), pp. 9-16, at pp. 11-12.
[157] Shively, 'Popular Culture', p. 750.
[158] Brandt and Hogendoorn, *German and Dutch Theatre*, p. 398.
[159] William Ingram, *The Business of Playing: The Beginnings of the Adult Professional Theatre in Elizabethan London* (Ithaca, 1992), p. 13.
[160] Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki*, p. 59.
[161] Pronko, 'Kabuki and the Elizabethan Theatre', p. 10
[162] Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki*, p. 46.

An alternative point of comparison, however, derives from the fact that both English and Dutch diaries refer to *kabuki* skits as 'comedies'.[163] This term, when triangulated with the performance of short, comedic skits performed by itinerant performers who were often engaged in sexual transactions, has clear parallels with another contemporary form of European entertainment: *commedia dell'arte*, which emerged in Italy during the late sixteenth century and spread, in the seventeenth century, to the rest of Europe.[164]

As a form of theatre, *commedia dell'arte* is defined by a number of distinct characteristics, each of which have their parallels in early, pre-Genroku *kabuki*. Just as *kabuki* relied upon stock skits and characters which could be inserted into almost any performance, *commedia dell'arte* was constructed around stock characters performing well-established scenarios, often drawn from printed plays just as *kabuki* drew from *noh* tropes.[165] The same set of characters recurred across productions: two pairs of lovers, the comic fathers *Dottore* and *Pantalone*, comic male servants or *Zanni*, an arrogant *Capitano* and, increasingly after 1600, a female servant.[166] These characters were defined by their gestures, their costumes, their masks, and their language, allowing them to be inserted into a wide variety of plots since their 'character' was more important than narrative consistency between plays.[167] Plays themselves would be outlined in a document called the *scenario*, and a nominal script provided, but the performances were strikingly extempore; actors would supply the words that best suited their character from their own repertoire of memorised lines, speeches and dialogues.[168] This contrasts with the heavily-scripted works of Elizabethan theatre, but

[163] See, for instance, *Saris*, p. 90; *Diary*, i, p. 332 (26 October 1616); *Dagregisters*, i, p. 119 (28 February 1634).
[164] Ferdinando Taviani, 'Knots and Doubleness: The Engine of the *Commedia dell'arte*', in Christopher B. Balme, Piermario Vescovo and Daniele Vianello (eds.), *Commedia dell'Arte in Context* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 17-33, at p. 18.
[165] Richard Andrews, 'The Italian *Comici* and *Commedia dell'arte*', in Michele Marrapodi (ed.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Anglo-Italian Renaissance Literature and Culture* (Abingdon, 2019), pp. 177-91, at p. 184.
[166] Ibid., pp. 179-180.
[167] Ibid., p. 183.
[168] Ibid., p. 184.

greatly resembles the pre-Genroku *kabuki* practice where players would improvise a plot drawn from character archetypes and pre-established plot elements.[169]

Another parallel with *kabuki* is that female roles, unlike those in Elizabethan drama, would be performed by women rather than men. The first Italian actresses were likely high-class courtesans, who used musical performance and the improvisation of verse to entertain their clients.[170] In this respect, they might be compared to *kabuki* players, whose professions combined sexual transactions with performance and song, and who were patronised by the upper echelons of samurai society.[171] Moreover, the Swiss traveller Thomas Platter noted that mountebanks in Avignon in 1598 were using the stock characters of *commedia dell'arte* to sell ointments; accompanying them onstage were actresses who 'added a little note to the tin [of medicine], detailing where they could be met, and at what hour, and thus many such practices are combined on the side.'[172] As with *kabuki*, actresses could use the stage to sell sexual transactions; a fruitful means of earning money when unmarried women lacked public status.[173]

Platter's account reflects a growing interest in *commedia dell'arte* in France at the turn of the seventeenth century. From 1571, Italian troupes performed repeatedly at the courts of Charles IX and Henri III, and in 1603 the actress Isabella Andreini performed at the court of Henri IV; so popular was she that upon her death in 1604 she was buried with full ceremony, despite the low status of actresses at the time.[174] At the same moment, Richard Cocks was also in France, working as a merchant and intelligencer at Bayonne.[175] Though he

[169] Paul Kuritz, *The Making of Theatre History* (Englewood Cliffs, 1988), p. 114.
[170] Ibid., p. 179
[171] Raz, *Audience and Actors*, p. 148.
[172] M. A. Katritzky, 'Was *Commedia dell'arte* Performed by Mountebanks? *Album amicorum* Illustrations and Thomas Platter's Description of 1598', *Theatre Research International* 23 (1998), pp. 104-25, at p. 114.
[173] Rosalind Kerr, 'The Italian Actress and the Foundations of Early Modern European Theatre: Performing Female Sexual Identities on the Commedia dell'Arte Stage', *Early Theatre* 11 (2002), pp. 181-97, at p. 186.
[174] Virginia Scott, 'France', in Balme, Vescovo and Vianello, *Commedia dell'Arte*, pp. 76-88, at pp. 76-8.
[175] Massarella, 'Early Career', p. 10.

himself does not mention it explicitly, it is likely that he had encountered *commedia dell'arte* in this period and had it in mind when referring to *kabuki* performances as 'comedies' since, as Virginia Scott notes, Italian comedies were well-known in Guyenne and Gascony at this point: the *commedia dell'arte* luminary Valleran Le Conte had performed 'many tragedies and farces' in Bordeaux in 1592, appearing alongside an actress, although the chronicle in which this appears insists that this woman 'never played a farce character'.[176]

While we cannot prove that Cocks himself had seen *commedia dell'arte* first-hand, Robert Henke has shown that it was certainly present in the northern European cultural consciousness. In Thomas Middleton and William Rowley's *The Spanish Gypsy*, a character preparing to act in a play-within-the-play is advised to perform 'not like a Pantaloone', a line which required the audience to be familiar with the masks and gestures of *commedia dell'arte*.[177] Italian troupes had performed skits and acrobatics in England since the 1540s, causing consternation for moralists who criticised the 'unchaste' behaviour of the actresses.[178] In 1592, the traveller Fynes Moryson reported that Italian comedies 'were of amorous matters, never of historyes, much lesse of tragedies', a description which anticipates Saris' comment that *kabuki* performances were of 'Warre, Loue, and such like', and Cocks' differentiation of comedies and tragedies when attending a festival at Kuwana in 1616.[179]

Commedia dell'arte, therefore, may have provided a valuable lens through which the English and Dutch could attempt to understand *kabuki*. As Ann Rosalind Jones has argued, Renaissance Italy was seen in England as 'a country of others… through which writers and their audiences explored what was forbidden in their own culture.'[180] Explicit parallels

[176] Virginia Scott, *Women on the Stage in Early Modern France: 1540-1750* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 78.
[177] Robert Henke, 'England', in Balme, Vescovo and Vianello, *Commedia dell'Arte,* pp. 115-22, at p. 118.
[178] Ibid., p. 117.
[179] Kathleen M. Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy: A Study in the Commedia dell'Arte, 1560-1620* (2 vols., Oxford, 1934), ii, p. 343; *Saris*, p. 90 (21 June 1613); *Diary*, i, p. 332 (26 October 1616).
[180] Ann Rosalind Jones, 'Italians and Others: Venice and the Irish in *Coryats' Crudities* and *The White Devil*', *Renaissance Drama* 18 (1987), pp. 101-19, at p. 101.

between Italian and Japanese performances may not have been drawn by the factors, but their familiarity with an extempore form of dramatised entertainment, which relied upon stock skits and characters with defining gestures and costumes, in which women took central roles on stage, and which was often imbricated with the advertisement of paid sexual services, meant that *kabuki* could be seen as a familiar form of 'otherness' known to the English and Dutch through the Italian lens. This familiarity may well have underpinned the readiness with which the English and Dutch were prepared to adopt *kabuki* as entertainment; through familiarity with *commedia dell'arte,* they had some sense of what such performances signified, and how they might be used.

The Use of Plays

With similarities noted between European and Japanese performances, the shared participation in a cultural activity was a means by which the English, Dutch and Japanese could engage with one another. Cocks' diary is riddled with references to this form of socialising; *kabuki* was popular, and did not always accompany dining. On 39 occasions Cocks mentions that the English or Dutch spent time with *kabuki* players, though unqualified references to gifts and payments to actresses throughout the diary suggest that this may be a low estimate. Hendrick Hagenaer's casual reference to 'the female pastime' in 1636 suggests that the Dutch, no less than the English, enjoyed the company of Japanese women, and that the silence of the *dagregisters* conceals the extent to which such liaisons were enjoyed on days when 'nothing noteworthy happened'. If Cocks' diary is accurate, *kabuki* likely featured no less heavily in Dutch socialising than in that of the English. Examining only the occasions where Cocks explicitly refers to encountering the *kabuki* players, only eight incidents were recorded in which the English and Dutch invited the actresses for their own private pleasure; the remaining 31 were communal events.

Unlike dining, where the Europeans most commonly socialised with members of the Hirado elite, *kabuki* was primarily watched in the company of middle-class friends. Only on five recorded occasions did the English watch *kabuki* with elites: twice with Matsura Takanobu; once with Ryūzaki Shichirozaemon, Takanobu's *bugyō*; once with the secretary of Takanobu's brother Matsura Nobukiyo, and once, at Edo, with Takanobu's secretary Momono Tarōzaemon and Yokota Kakuzaemon, who was secretary to Doi Toshikatsu and an elite official in the shogunal government.[181] The remaining occasions were attended with merchants, sailors or local *bugyō*, as well as two occasions where the English and Dutch entertained each other with *kabuki*.

Amongst these figures, three names recur throughout the diaries: the merchant Neyemon Dono; Kuemon, the English host at Osaka, and Li Dan, the head of Hirado's Chinese community. Each of these figues played roles in the mercantile operations of the English trade in Japan, whether vending English goods in the Japanese capital, providing lodgings when doing business in Osaka and travelling to Edo, or, in the case of Li Dan, promising lucrative trade with China. *Kabuki* entertainment was a useful means of maintaining good relations with these figures, particularly Neyemon and Kuemon, who provided continuing markets for English goods in the cities of Honshu even after the shogunate had restricted European trade to Hirado and Nagasaki. It is notable that Neyemon Dono, is at first simply referred to as 'a merchant'[182], but one month later, after he had invited the English to a *kabuki* performance and they had returned the favour in kind, he was referred to as 'our frend'.[183] Friendship of this kind was not cheap; a night with the *kabuki* players cost approximately two or three taels;[184] approximately 15 shillings, which was three times

[181] See *Diary*, ii, p. 378 (27 October 1618); iii, pp. 226 (9 January 1622), 241 (19 February 1622).
[182] Ibid., i, p. 300 (8 September 1616).
[183] Ibid., i, p. 331 (24 October 1616).
[184] Ibid., ii, p. 351 (7 September 1618).

the amount paid by the English for the yearly rent of a vegetable garden,[185] three times the salary of the factory's porter,[186] and was equal to the yearly rent of a house in Hirado.[187] Hosting Japanese friends with *kabuki*, therefore, was an expensive sign of amity, in keeping with Hendrik Brouwer's assertion that good hospitality displayed honour and respect.[188]

Much as with dining, the use of *kabuki* in a social setting provided the English and Dutch with a mutually intelligible means of entertainment by which amity could be generated across cultural lines. Not only did *kabuki* display similarities with European theatre of the period (if not with English and Dutch professional theatre), the financial costs of hiring a *kabuki* troupe meant that both Japanese and Europeans had an appreciation of the honour meant by entertaining in this manner. *Kabuki*, in this respect, forms a prime example of aesthetic sociability. By entertaining and honouring one another in this way, both groups were able to develop networks which went beyond transactional mercantilism and towards genuine amity.

Bathing

On 7 January 1621, the English merchants in Hirado invited a group of neighbours and local craftsmen 'which provided thinges for our shipping' to their factory for supper.[189] In his entry for the evening itself, Cocks records that the invited neighbours were treated to dinner and 'a play of caboques', and that the English also 'had the fro heated'.[190] The 'fro', as Cocks transcribes it, was a *furo*, a term emerging in the thirteenth century to describe a steam bath, although by the fifteenth century it might also describe a heated tub where groups of

[185] *Diary*., i, p. 23 (22 June 1615).
[186] Ibid., i, p. 205 (29 March 1616).
[187] Ibid., ii, p. 67 (22 April 1617).
[188] *Saris*, p. 162 (13 October 1613).
[189] *Diary*, ii, p. 26 (7 January 1621).
[190] Ibid, ii, p. 27 (9 January 1621).

people could immerse themselves communally.[191] The association of the *furo* with other pleasurable activities, including dining and theatrical viewing, would suggest that communal bathing was another means by which the Europeans and Japanese could socialise with one another in a relaxed environment.

Initial European reactions to Japanese bathing habits were usually ones of curiosity and surprise. The Portuguese explorer Jorge Álvares, writing in the sixteenth century, noted how hot springs were used 'morning or afternoon, dawn or dusk' by those who wished to bathe[192], though he was critical of those, particularly women, who wash 'very immodestly, in the presence of other people'.[193] João Rodrigues recorded the social aspects of Japanese bathing, noting that 'it is a general custom… to wash the body at least once or twice a day'; he was less critical than Álvares in his assessment of communal bathing, noting that fellow bathers observed 'great courtesies and compliments towards each other'.[194] Such responses to Japanese bathing reflect the common assumption that European notions of bodily hygiene were radically different to those found in Asia in this period. As Keith Thomas notes, Western Europeans were regarded as 'unwashed dogs' amongst the Ottomans, due in no small part to the fact that many of the European lower classes lacked the time and means to wash regularly; one English proverb, Thomas notes, claimed that one should 'Wash thy hands often, thy feet seldom, but thy head never.'[195] In the Low Countries, Simon Schama has argued, the Dutch had a reputation for a devotion to hygiene derived from the equation of physical and spiritual purity; in the Calvinist consciousness, cleanliness truly was next to

[191] Butler, 'Washing off the Dust', pp. 7, 25.
[192] Clive Willis, 'Captain Jorge Álvares and Father Luís Fróis S.J.: Two Early Portuguese Descriptions of Japan and the Japanese', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 22 (2012), pp. 391-438, at p. 394.
[193] Ibid., p. 399.
[194] Rodrigues, *Account of Japan*, pp. 103-4.
[195] Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility*, pp. 101, 263.

godliness.[196] Yet the examples he provides focus on the cleanliness of the house and street, rather than of personal hygiene.

Despite this reputation for filthiness, however, the English and Dutch at Hirado adapted readily to their hosts' bathing habits. Dutch *Opperhoofd* François Caron considered the Japanese use of hot springs to be 'proper for the curing of many Diseases, and successfully used for that purpose.'[197] The English do not comment so explicitly on bathing, but it is clear that they appreciated it; William Eaton was a devoted bather, particularly for medical reasons; he travelled frequently to the hot springs on nearby Iki island when he found himself 'ill at ease'.[198] Unlike the Iberians, neither Richard Cocks nor Caron offer criticisms of bathing on the grounds of morality. Where Jesuit missionaries struggled with the perceived sensuality of Asian bathing practices, the English and Dutch merchants were, as has been demonstrated by their patronage of *kabuki*, no strangers to bodily pleasures.[199] Undeterred by the seemingly lax Japanese attitude towards nudity, they incorporated not just the practice, but also the understandings of bathing into their daily routines.

It is worth noting here the difference between 'washing' and 'bathing'. Washing implies an emphasis on bodily hygiene, on the removal of pollutants and the cleansing of the skin. Bathing too, by definition, incorporates aspects of washing, but greater emphasis is instead placed upon the act of rest and relaxation.[200] Even in modern Japan, a distinction is made between the two practices; it is commonplace, in most Japanese homes, to shower before entering the *furo* bathtub. Throughout Japan's history, bathing was not merely a case

[196] Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London, 1988), pp. 378-9.
[197] François Caron, and Joost Schouten, *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam*, trans. Roger Manley (London, 1671), p. 87.
[198] *Diary*, ii, p. 46 (17 March 1617).
[199] J.S. Cummins (ed.), *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete, 1618-1686* (2 vols, Farnham, 2010), ii, p. 59, note 1.
[200] Butler, 'Washing off the Dust', p. 13.

of washing dirt from the skin; it was a multivalent activity which also encompassed aspects of ritual purification, medicinal healing, social bonding and conspicuous consumption. However, it was also an activity which, by the early seventeenth century, had undergone a process of secularisation and commercialisation, making it readily accessible to a wider swathe of the population.

Bathing in Europe and Japan

Bathing had been an important part of Japanese culture for centuries; the Chinese *Wei Zhi* Chronicle of *c.*AD 297 records that in Japan, ritual cleansing for the sake of purification was undertaken by those who had come into contact with the dead.[201] This association of ablution with purification persisted through much of Japan's medieval history; Buddhist priests, emperors, and courtiers all undertook ritual bathing as a preparation for religious ceremonies and auspicious festivals.[202] The origins of the Japanese public bathhouse may therefore be found in the communal baths founded at Buddhist temples by wealthy patrons; the sponsoring of a public bath might better one's eternal status.[203] Over time, however, the process of bathing was secularised and popularised by Japan's social elite, until, by the dawn of the fifteenth century, bathing in Japan had undergone a series of social and cultural transformations, being secularised by social elites and appropriated for the recreational pleasure that bodily immersion could bring.[204] Urbanites in Japan's cities had been able to bath in public bathhouses since the eleventh century,[205] and four centuries later these institutions had begun to spread to smaller cities, extending the availability of baths to non-elite citizens for the first time.[206]

[201] Scott Clark, *Japan: A View from the Bath* (Honolulu 1994), p. 19.
[202] Butler, 'Washing off the Dust', p. 2.
[203] Ibid., pp. 3-4; Peter Grilli and Dana Levy, *Furo: The Japanese Bath* (Tokyo, 1985), p. 54.
[204] Butler, 'Washing off the Dust', p. 2.
[205] Clark, *A View from the Bath*, p. 25.
[206] Butler, 'Washing off the Dust', p. 8.

Beyond simple recreation, however, the newly secularised pleasure of bathing had become a means of entertaining. Amongst the samurai, baths were appreciated as spaces for social gatherings and recreational activity, and new, private bathhouses were constructed on samurai estates to facilitate these kinds of gatherings.[207] In 1407, Yamashina Noritoki, a long-time bather in Miyako's public and temple baths, added a bathhouse to his family's residence; once completed, more than ten members of the Yamashina family's friends and relatives were invited to join in the 'first firing of the new *furo*'.[208] From the fifteenth century, the bath was increasingly seen as a site where aesthetic forms of sociability might take place; samurai elites in particular engaged in a form of bathing known as the *fūryūburo* or 'stylish bath', an elite form of communal bathing where a bath was accompanied by the serving of sake and fruit, the viewing of flower arrangements, dining, calligraphy, and sculpture.[209] Bathing could accompany or follow such activities, the physically relaxing qualities of the water contrasting with the mental stimulation of composition.[210]

Such engagements with the luxurious and sensuous were not limited to private baths. Public baths were available for those who had the money to spend on the pleasure of bathing but could not afford their own personal *furo*, and here they could expect to be attended to by *yuna*, female bath attendants whose services ranged from assistance with bathing to providing entertainment in the form of singing and dancing and, increasingly, the provision of sex.[211] *Yunaburo*, as these baths became known, were eventually proscribed by the shogunate and restricted to the urban pleasure quarters in 1658.[212] Their confinement to these districts,

[207] Butler, 'Washing off the Dust'., p. 8.
[208] Ibid., p. 17.
[209] Ibid., p. 25.
[210] Ibid., p. 26.
[211] Clark, *A View from the Bath*, p. 31.
[212] Ibid., p. 32.

which were the birthplace of the aestheticized and hedonistic *ukiyo* culture, is reflective of the close associations made between bathing, pleasure, and aesthetic forms of culture.

In Europe, bathing occupied an ambivalent position in society, having undergone a transformation since the medieval period. Medieval European bathing culture, Virginia Smith has argued, was in practical and cultural terms comparable to that of Japan; a communal practice without notions of shame, linked closely to entertainment.[213] Baths served as venues for hosting social functions, such as prenuptial feasts, as well as for general socialising; in the spa town of Baden in 1416, the mixed-sex patrons of a public bathhouse were said to 'amuse themselves with singing, drinking, and dancing' multiple times a day.[214] Public baths, which once flourished under the Romans, saw a new lease of life following the Crusades, when Europeans encountered first-hand Ottoman and Byzantine baths.[215] By the mid-sixteenth century, even as concerns about syphilis were beginning to close the public baths in northern Europe, bathing remained a popular experience for the wealthy; Elizabeth I, Smith argues, enjoyed the use of a hot room containing a bathtub and ceramic stove at the Palace of Whitehall which had been inherited from Henry VIII.[216] Adjoining this was a room containing an organ, positioning bathing and entertainment closely together. Nor were such facilities constrained to royal houses; in 1648, when Dr. Peter Chamberlen petitioned Parliament for the right to open 'Publick Artificiall Baths and Bath-Stoves' in London, he was informed by the College of Physicians that there were 'divers Cradles, Tubbs, Boxes, Chairs, Baths and bath-stoves' in private houses already, suggesting that even if bathing was no longer as public a practice in the seventeenth century, it had by no means disappeared.[217]

[213] Virginia Smith, *Clean: A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity* (Oxford, 2008), p. 168.
[214] Ibid., pp. 172-3.
[215] Kathleen M. Brown, *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America* (New Haven, 2009), pp. 17, 19.
[216] Smith, *Clean*, p. 190.
[217] Ibid., p. 206; J. J. Keevil, 'The Bagnio in London, 1648-1725', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 7 (1952), pp. 250-7, at p. 252.

Notably, Chamberlen's response to the College included a reference to 'bawdy-house bathes', suggesting a cultural association of bathing with sex work which has parallels in the Japanese *yunaburo*.[218]

In addition to a small but thriving tradition of public bathing, the seventeenth century began to see a revived interest in medicinal waters in Europe. Of these, Spa, in the Low Countries, was the most popular, but its position in the Spanish Netherlands made it inaccessible.[219] In England, five different baths were developed at Bath during Elizabeth's reign, and their curative properties were extolled by physicians throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century.[220] Dr John Jones, in his 1572 treatise *The Bathes of Bathes Ayde* offered instructions for those taking the waters; he advised that bathers both drink the water and immerse themselves, making sure to cover the afflicted region. If bathers desired, they could also play sports, including bowling and tennis, and were permitted to dance, but were to avoid sexual encounters.[221] Jones also promoted the baths at Buxton, claiming that the waters of this spring 'cureth most greuous Sicknesses.'[222] Similar claims were made in the Dutch Republic, where physician Jan Baptist van Helmont argued that the waters of certain springs were 'healers like unto sharp things', and which aid the body 'by defending of health, and propagating of the vital Powers, that they seem to have ascended as it were unto the top of Medicine.'[223] Helmont, however, considered spa waters most efficacious when drunk, rather than bathed in.[224]

[218] Peter Chamberlen, *A Vindication of Publick Artificiall Bathes and Bath-Stoves* (London, 1648), p. 5.
[219] Jean Dietz Moss, 'The Promotion of Bath Waters by Physicians in the Renaissance', in Stephen Pender and Nancy S. Struever, *Rhetoric and Medicine in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 61-82, at p. 62.
[220] Ibid., p. 63.
[221] Moss, 'Bath Waters', p. 69.
[222] Thomas Willard, 'Testing the Waters: Early Modern Studies', in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature: Explorations of Textual Presentations of Filth and Water* (Berlin, 2017), pp. 568-98, at pp. 575, 577.
[223] Jan Baptist van Helmont, *Van Helmont's Works,* trans. John Chandler (London, 1664), p. 694.
[224] Ibid., pp. 697, 699.

Bathing for social and medicinal purposes, therefore, may not have been so unfamiliar to the English and Dutch after all. While it cannot be said that a culture of bathing existed in Europe in the same way as it did in Japan, the existence of urban bathhouses and rural spas would likely have made the Japanese predilection for bathing appear less outlandish, and may have contributed to the rapid adoption of Japanese bathing habits by both factories. In June 1614, a little under a year after the English arrived in Hirado, Cocks wrote to William Adams to say that he had recently been 'much tormented with an ague' which he feared would cripple him, and so planned to visit the baths at Iki for relief.[225] The Dutch adopted the practice of bathing with similar alacrity and had become so accustomed to it that in 1613 they added a bath of their own to their factory; Cocks refers to the building as a 'Hot-house', suggesting that the room was built according to Japanese custom.[226]

The English, like their Japanese hosts, appear to have separated the notions of 'bathing' and 'washing'. In November 1621, Cocks notes that he paid the cooper in Hirado 3 mace for '2 tubbs to wash bodies in',[227] yet his diary also refers frequently to visitors coming to the English 'fro', or *furo*. Edward Maunde Thompson suggests that the term 'fro' was used by the English to refer to their dwelling-house, but two entries in particular draw a distinction between the English 'house' and the English 'fro'.[228] On 12 February 1617, Cocks noted that he intended to 'make clean the *fro*' in preparation for a visit by Shimazu Iehisa of Satsuma, who intended to 'vizet our English howse' (i.e. the factory)[229], while on 19 April 1617, Cocks notes that a monk from Karatsu 'invited hymselfe to our fro' after coming 'to see the English house'.[230] Read together, the distinction made between the *furo* and the 'house' in these

[225] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, pp. 177-8 (Richard Cocks at Hirado to William Adams at Edo or elsewhere, 5 June 1614).
[226] *Saris*, p. 159 (8 October 1613).
[227] *Diary*, iii, p. 193 (6 November 1621).
[228] Edward Maunde Thompson, *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622* (2 vols, London, 1883), i, p. 44, note 1.
[229] *Diary*, ii, p. 29 (12 February 1617)
[230] Ibid,, ii, p. 66 (19 April 1617).

entries implies that the two were separate, reinforced by Cocks' reference to 'heating the fro' for guests.[231] It is possible that he refers literally to heating the living space (he had been given a 'fire harth', perhaps referring to a *hibachi* brazier, in 1616)[232] but this need not preclude the role of a bath, since bathing would warm the body in the colder months, a function also performed by steam baths in the colder parts of Europe.[233] Given that '*furo*' traditionally referred to a steam bath, and that the English *furo* was considered a distinct space which could be cleaned and heated, as well as the fact that the Dutch also had precisely this type of bath which they used for social entertainment, it is therefore most likely that the English themselves had some form of 'hot-house' on the factory's premises, separate to their own methods of washing for the sake of hygiene.

The existence of tubs for washing and a *furo* for bathing would suggest that, unlike the Japanese, the English were not drawn to the steam-bath due to new, early modern concerns with hygiene and bodily comportment. As copious references from the diaries suggest, the English and Dutch alike saw the *furo* as a convivial space for relaxation, socialising, entertainment and enjoyment of the pleasures of the senses, rather than for personal ablutions. Much like dining and theatregoing, the adoption of these practices by the Europeans suggests an integration into Japanese culture which permitted the merchants to use bathing as a tool for establishing closer relations with their fellow bathers.

Companions in Nudity: The Uses of Bathing in Japan

As João Rodrigues noted, communal bathing was a significant facet of Japanese social life. A wealthy host might be expected to provide bathing facilities for his guests, and the bathers themselves would show no shame at sharing their bath with others. Rodrigues'

[231] *Diary*, iii, p. 73 (21 March 1621).
[232] Ibid., i, p. 356 (23 November 1616)
[233] Smith, *Clean*, p. 170.

recognition that fellow bathers took this opportunity to offer 'great courtesies and compliments towards each other'[234] is reflective of a social phenomenon which persists to the present day, referred to by the idiom '*hadaka no tsukiai*' or 'companions in nudity'.[235] According to Peter Grilli and Dana Levy, to be 'companions in nudity' is to establish personal bonds with other bathers, an act which strengthens communal ties.[236] That the Japanese did not consider nudity shameful is recorded by Luís Froís, who remarked that 'in Japan, men, women, and *bonzes* (monks) use public baths or bathe at night by their doorstep.'[237]

Although Jorge Álvares was concerned with the 'immodest' practice of public bathing in Japan, particularly when carried out by women, this does not seem to have particularly concerned the English and Dutch, who were willing to add *furo* to their factories and to entertain guests in these spaces without comment on the immorality or even strangeness of baring one's naked body to others. Much like the Japanese, it would appear that the English and Dutch did not consider nudity shameful, particularly since there were few concerns with propriety: the only women present were the *kabuki* players whose sexual services precluded the need for shame. When the merchants were not worried about the moral concerns of the unclothed form, therefore, bathing could become a valuable means of means of socialising with the local Japanese.

While bathing in the Japanese manner was not widespread in Europe, it was not without precedent, and common understanding could be reached over the aesthetic qualities of warm water, music, and attractive bath attendants, even if their form differed slightly between cultures. Between 1615 and 1621 the English factors hosted a range of guests at their

[234] Rodrigues, *Account of Japan*, pp. 103-4.
[235] Grilli and Levy, *Furo*, p. 34.
[236] Ibid., p. 34.
[237] Froís, *The First European Description of Japan,* p. 54.

furo, including friends and neighbours from Hirado's artisanal community[238] as well as Buddhist monks[239] and *daimyo* including Terazawa Hirotaka of Karatsu[240] and Shimazu Iehisa of Satsuma.[241] This was a broad cross-section of Japanese society, including political and religious leaders who, under other circumstances, were owed a greater deal of respect than common craftsmen. Nevertheless, the fact that the English offered each group the same form of entertainment suggests that there was a universality to the experience of bathing; a notion of pleasure which could transcend class boundaries, and which was therefore expedient to adopt in order to expand the factors' network of potential assistants in Hirado. As has been shown, baths in Japan had been taking on qualities of relaxation and pleasure in both elite and non-elite circles from at least the eleventh century, when public baths had begun to proliferate in urban centres. Divorced from earlier notions of ritual purification, baths amongst both classes had become refocused around sensory pleasure, whether this was in the form of music and dance at a public *yunaburo* or poetry and flower-viewing at a private samurai *fūryūburo*. Pleasure was therefore a language spoken across the social hierarchy of Japan.

As with *kabuki* and commensality, the generation of these bonds was not always a disinterested display of hospitality. By developing a sense of cultural commensurability through the adoption of Japanese bathing habits, the Europeans at Hirado believed that they might tip the scales of patronage to their favour. This was at its most obvious when persons of note came to the European bathhouses; when Nagasaki *bugyō* Hasegawa Fujihiro Sahyōe, a figure central to the granting of *shuinjō* (red-seal trading passes),[242] came to Hirado in 1613,

[238] *Diary*, ii, p. 27 (9 January 1621).
[239] Ibid., ii, p. 66 (19 April 1617).
[240] Ibid., i, pp. 97-8 (2-3 October 1615).
[241] Ibid., ii, p. 29 (12 February 1617).
[242] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 133.

the Dutch factors were quick to entertain him in their *furo*.[243] However, it was not simply *daimyo* who received this treatment. In April 1621, a figure from Hakata by the name of 'Soka Dono' was invited to the English *furo* because he had offered the English a loan of 20-30,000 *taels*.[244] The bath on 9 January 1621 saw the invitation of those smiths, gunfounders and carpenters whose efforts had supported English shipping, and was intended to reward the craftsmen for their efforts in ensuring the continued success of English trade, and to ensure that they would be amenable to offering their services when the English needed them again.[245] As was mentioned at the start of this chapter, Hiranoya Tōzaemon and other merchants were invited on 21 March 1621 in order to sell silk; he was so integral to the sale of English merchandise in Sakai that Cocks noted that 'we can do nothing w'thout hym.'[246] This was certainly the perception after 1616, when trade outside of Hirado and Nagasaki was forbidden, and indirect sales through friendly Japanese merchants were the only way to continue trading in other cities. It was therefore imperative that close allies and potential middle-men, such as Tōzaemon, were treated well.

Cocks' diary does not provide full descriptions of the visits to the *furo*, merely noting who was in attendance. This suggests that the attendees were, for the English, the most important part of these gatherings, where useful connections might be cultivated. However, such short descriptions often obscure the extravagance of a communal bath and thus the efforts that the Europeans went to in order to win over the Japanese they bathed with. The *kabuki* performance at the bath held for friends and neighbours on 9 January 1621 cost the English 8 taels and 6 mas, approximately four times the usual fee.[247] It is not clear if this extraordinary sum was due to the quality of performance or the sheer number of guests to be

[243] Saris, p. 159 (8 October 1613).
[244] *Diary*, iii, p. 91 (26 April 1621).
[245] Ibid., iii, p. 26 (7 January 1621).
[246] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 200.
[247] *Diary*, iii, p. 27 (9 January 1621).

entertained, nor is it clear if this sum was indicative of other gatherings of this kind. Nevertheless, it does give some indication of the amount of money that the English were prepared to put towards winning the favour of potential allies.

Bathing, like dining and the watching of *kabuki*, was therefore a strand of aesthetic sociability which might serve political ends. Understood separately from practices of cleanliness, it was used by the English and Dutch alike as a form of socialising which could be deployed in interactions with a broad spectrum of Japanese figures, upon whose favour and assistance the European factors relied. Not only was it a means of fostering good relations with those who attended the baths, it was also a space of negotiation, where those relationships could be reinforced and promised, tacitly, as rewards for future services rendered.

Conclusion

These three forms of social gathering were key components in the practice of socialising adopted by the English and Dutch at Hirado. In each, the Europeans and Japanese were brought together in common experiences, bound up with notions of pleasure, that were immediately accessible and intelligible by both parties. Much like Eiko Ikegami's 'aesthetic publics', these social gatherings permitted horizontalizing engagements across social boundaries, allowing the English and Dutch merchants to cross the boundary of cultural difference and engage with the Japanese using a vocabulary that both parties could understand.

Engaging with the Japanese in this manner necessarily required the Europeans to adjust to social customs which were unfamiliar to them. The *honzen* meal, *furo* bath and *kabuki* performance were forms of entertainment specific to Tokugawa Japan, and did appear strange and confusing at first. However, while the practices of socialising might differ in their

outward appearance, the values and social concerns to which they responded were broadly similar across England, the Dutch Republic and Japan. As this chapter has shown, the socioeconomic conditions of early modernity – the emergence of a new social stratum emerged between the traditional peasant and noble strata, which had money to spend and the desire and time to spend it – led to the development of similar types of pleasurable consumption as entertainment in each country. Since the demands of the urban middle classes were broadly similar (seeking entertainment which emulated, on a more modest scale, the practices of the social elite) the forms of entertainment which emerged were likewise commensurate. Thus *kabuki* could find its mirror in the itinerant performances of the *commedia dell'arte*, while a nascent interest in the English spa town resembled in prototypical form the long-established Japanese practice of bathing at hot springs for health and pleasure.

Even when no direct analogue existed between European and Japanese practices such as the *shikisankon* sake ritual, it was nevertheless possible for these groups to adapt to these forms of socialising by recognising that some things were done for the sake of politeness or civility, even if the practices themselves were unfamiliar. While the Japanese considered the European habit of eating with their hands to be uncouth, they could recognise that eating with knives and forks was the European equivalent to their own chopsticks, and adapted to this habit willingly when dining in the 'Christen fation'. The Dutch, likewise, understood that to serve dinner-guests in person rather than joining them at table was a matter of politeness, done to honour the guest in the same way that one might be seated in a position of privilege at the European table. It was, after all, recognised that different countries had different ways of showing politeness; Erasmus advised that 'it shall be in the wyl of eche one, either to use

the maners of the country, or to cleve to the maners of strangers', for 'in lyke thinges diversitie hath no repugnance against honestie.'[248]

The recognition of common means of socialising amongst the English, Dutch and Japanese, therefore, enabled these forms of entertainment to be deployed on multiple occasions as a strategy of informal diplomacy, where good treatment in the social sphere might make influential Japanese more amenable to assisting the Europeans' endeavours. Dining, bathing and theatregoing occurred in non-courtly settings; usually in private homes, be they the residence of the Matsura *daimyo*, the houses of friendly merchants in Osaka and Miyako, or the Europeans' own factories in Hirado. These activities were often impromptu, suggested at most a few days in advance, and frequently capitalised on the spontaneous availability of the guests, whether it was a visit from a passing *daimyo* or the Europeans happening to be in town on their way to Edo. Nevertheless, all three were perceived by the European factors as methods for influencing the actions of Japanese individuals from across the social hierarchy of the country. Each was put to multifarious uses: a bath might be offered to persuade merchants to purchase the Europeans' silk; an evening spent watching a *kabuki* performance might break the ice with a new supplier of goods; a well-timed meal might tip the hand of a powerful benefactor in the dispute over a captured junk. Common to each, however, was the underlying notion that by sharing in a common pleasurable experience, the English and Dutch might generate the trust and amity with their Japanese hosts needed to overcome the challenges of strangership.

[248] Desiderius Erasmus, *The Civilitie of Childehode*, trans. Thomas Paynell (London, 1560) p. 25.

Chapter 3: Space

The emblematic image of early modern trade with Japan is that of Dejima, the artificial island constructed in Nagasaki harbour to which the merchants of the VOC were required to move in 1641 following the imposition of *kaikin* 'maritime restrictions.' During the eighteenth century, Dejima served as the focal point for interactions between the Dutch and Japanese. Only shogunate officials and sex workers were permitted to enter the Dutch compound, and the Dutch themselves were permitted to leave only when travelling to Edo, in order to receive audiences with the shogun.[1] The unfamiliar social practices which took place within the compound were of fascination to the Japanese, resulting in the development of woodblock prints depicting scenes from Dejima for those curious about life inside.[2] The Dutch factory at Nagasaki was a space set apart from the Japanese mainland, where foreign practices were tolerated under controlled conditions, and interactions between Europeans and Japanese were heavily moderated through official channels.

One century earlier, the situation was vastly different. Merchants from across Europe, serving under the flags of England, the Dutch Republic, and Portugal, lived and worked alongside the Japanese within the port cities of Hirado and Nagasaki, and while they conducted business from behind the walls of their factories, these were not nearly as confined as would be the case at Dejima. Prior to 1616, when shogunal edict restricted the Europeans' activities to the ports of Kyushu, the EIC operated a string of subfactories in Osaka, Sakai, Miyako and Edo, and travel between them was frequent if not constant. As has been seen in the previous chapter, the European factories were hubs of social interaction, where Europeans and Japanese entertained and were entertained alike, managing social interactions with a

[1] Goodman, *Japan: The Dutch Experience*, p. 21.
[2] Chris Uhlenbeck and Teatske Kramer, *Netsuke: Dutchmen in Miniature from the Coen Hille Collection* (Leiden, 2013), p. 15.

variety of individuals from disparate social strata. In comparison with the situation in *c.*1700, the English, Dutch and Japanese had the opportunity to encounter one another in a wider variety of spaces, and thus in a multiplicity of social contexts.

The interaction between space and social practice is significant for considering the ways in which the process of encounter both shaped and was shaped by the spaces in which it occurred. Mary Louise Pratt has referred to the spaces of encounter as 'contact zones' where disparate cultures could undertake the task of attempting to comprehend one another.[3] She sees such spaces as being the sites of 'coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict' as asymmetrical power dynamics assert themselves between the parties in contact.[4] Pratt's assessment of such contact zones presents a rather more pessimistic vision of spaces of contact than is shown by Hirado, but nevertheless it serves as a useful reminder of Henri Lefebvre's assertion that that space, both as a physical location and as a concept, is a human creation. It is produced by societies and must therefore be both political and ideological.[5] To this claim, David Postles has added the consideration that space is dynamic and contestable and can be altered by human action.[6] This claim is contested by Leif Jerram, who has argued that spaces, in their materiality, have a power independent of social meanings, which allows them to 'configure the user' into certain behavioural patterns.[7] Jerram argues that space, 'once produced… is breathtakingly hard to change', requiring resources including money, power, technical skill and force which are not always easily available.[8]

[3] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 2008), p. 7.
[4] Ibid., p. 8.
[5] Henri Lefebvre, 'Reflections on the Politics of Space', in Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden (eds.), *Henri Lefebvre: State, Space, World: Selected Essays* (Minneapolis, 2009), pp. 167-84, at p. 171.
[6] David Postles, 'The Market Place as Space in Early Modern England', *Social History* 29 (2004), pp. 41-58, at p. 55.
[7] Leif Jerram, 'Space: A Useless Category For Historical Analysis?', *History and Theory* 52 (2013), pp. 400-19, at pp. 414-15.
[8] Ibid., p. 415.

Yet the challenges that might be faced when changing a space did not mean that that such changes to the built environment were impossible, nor does the fixity of spatial environments circumscribe the use of those spaces to quite the extent that Jerram suggests. While materiality did, at times, reinforce the social meanings inscribed onto spaces, the case of Hirado shows that there were still myriad possibilities for creativity and adaptation in the use of those spaces, particularly when groups were brought into contact who did not always share a common understanding of how spaces were to be used. In the Anglo-Dutch encounter with Tokugawa Japan, extant spaces were interpreted and reinterpreted in different ways: as sites of comfort and familiarity, as spaces of exchange and negotiation, and as self-conscious expressions of exoticism and luxury. Any historical analysis of space must, I contend, be a discussion of social practice, and space itself is meaningful insofar as it constitutes, and is constituted by, the social relations occurring within.

As such, an analysis of the ways in which the English, Dutch and Japanese used and interpreted the spaces of encounter may help us to understand the extent to which these societies were shaped by common concerns and values in this period. The ability to agree upon the use of spaces – the purposes to which spaces could be put, the correct ways of behaving in a variety of different spaces, and the significance attached to ritual, ceremonial, and sacred spaces – demonstrates the existence of commensurabilities between these groups' social practices. Moreover, where such commensurabilities did not exist, the adaptation to new meanings of space, or the tensions caused by disagreements over the 'correct' ways of using space, offers insight into how the northern Europeans and Japanese were able to approach one another and overcome the challenges of strangership.

Yet, as Paul Stock has argued, space is not simply culturally constituted; it is historically contingent as well.[9] Understandings of space are generated by the concerns, values and philosophies of particular groups within a given period, and it is therefore possible to use the interpretation of spaces to examine how far spatial concerns at Hirado reflected early modern preoccupations. The desire to separate public and private affairs, the necessity of showing politeness towards one's peers and superiors, and, particularly for the shogunate, the need to maintain control over a culturally fragmented population in the face of potential religious dissent all had an impact on the ways in which the spaces of encounter were used in this period.

This chapter, therefore, examines a range of locations in which the English and Dutch came into contact with the Japanese, and where these groups engaged with one another in both professional and leisurely capacities. Some locations, such as the court and street, had better-defined conventions which informed behaviour within them, and more stringent sanctions which could be enacted when those conventions were broken. Other spaces, particularly that of the factory and ship, were less codified and more contested, with different conventions affecting behaviour depending on how the space was interpreted. These spaces are examined for the concerns which shaped them, the ways in which they were used, and the ways in which spaces and behaviour in space were adapted when different interpretations of spatial usage came into contact. In so doing, it seeks to determine how far common social pressures influenced these groups' use of space, and the extent to which these pressures might be related to a burgeoning early modern identity.

[9] Paul Stock, 'History and the Uses of Space' in Paul Stock (ed.), *The Uses of Space in Early Modern History* (Basingstoke, 2015), pp. 1-18, at pp. 5-6.

Factory Space: Space and Identity

Although northern European interactions with the Japanese occurred in a wide range of settings across Japan, nowhere did the English and Dutch have more control over the space available to them than in their factories at Hirado. According to the *shuinjō* passes which granted the northern Europeans the right to trade, the English and Dutch were to be given land where 'they may erect houses and reside and trade'.[10] Legally speaking, this was not a grant of extraterritoriality.[11] Although the *shuinjō* granted the Europeans a limited number of protections under Japanese law, these privileges were not themselves attached to the grant of land. The factories had not been granted as a 'free donation for always' to the English and Dutch as Nagasaki had been to the Jesuits in 1580; unlike the Portuguese, they did not possess capital jurisdiction over their plots of land in Hirado.[12]

Nevertheless, it is clear that the factories were seen by both Europeans and Japanese as unique spaces which were shaped in both geography and custom by the foreign cultures that resided within them. Consisting of the merchants' lodgings, their warehouses, and a variety of outbuildings, the factory was central to the lives of the merchants in Japan, being not just a centre for commerce but also a physical 'home' where they ate, slept and lived, often for several years at a time. The limits of the factories were separated from Hirado proper by retaining walls, and, in the case of the Dutch, by the use of European architectural styles. The intramural space, previously indistinguishable from the rest of Hirado, was transformed as the Europeans shaped it to their own specifications, erecting buildings which served both to bolster their trade and to provide a degree of familiarity in an alien environment. These were spaces, in short, in which the merchants could assert their own

[10] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 88 (Privileges granted to the EIC by Tokugawa Ieyasu, 2 October 1613).
[11] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 115-16.
[12] Jurgis Elisonas, 'Nagasaki: The Early Years of an Early Modern Japanese City', in Liam Matthew Brockey (ed.), *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World* (Farnham, 2016), pp. 63-102, at p. 72

national identity and live according to their own familiar customs. Gaston Bachelard makes the phenomenological argument that 'our house is our corner of the world', shaped by experiential qualities and a place of familiar comforts.[13] For the Europeans in Japan, the 'English house' or 'Dutch house', as the factories were often known, served as 'little Europes'; corners of the world belonging to the Europeans, dominated by European faces and comforts, and subject to European ways of life.[14]

Reconstructing the physical geography of the European factories in Hirado is a challenge, as there is a paucity of information about both sites. Nothing today remains of the English factory beyond a plaque marking its general location. The Dutch factory is better-preserved, due to the survival of architectural plans amongst the factory records, and in 2011 a reconstruction of one of the warehouses was opened as a museum to Hirado's history of trade. Beyond this, however, the spaces occupied by the European factories in Hirado are discernible only through fragmentary references to the buildings in the English and Dutch diaries. Any picture of the factory space reconstructed from these records will necessarily be incomplete; however, by analysing the references that do exist, it is possible to go some way to offering an interpretation of the space that the English and Dutch occupied in Hirado, and consequently examining how the use and manipulation of this space reflected the self-identity of the factors living within it.

In their earliest form, the European factories at Hirado would have appeared largely Japanese in style, as both companies found their initial lodgings through hiring buildings from the local population. 'It has been found in order,' a Dutch resolution of 20 September 1609 states, 'first to rent a house; a fireproof house for the protection of the trade-goods…

[13] Gaston Bachelard, 'Poetics of Space', in Neil Leach (ed.), *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural History* (London, 1997), pp. 81-93, at p. 82.
[14] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 88 (Privileges granted to the East India Company by Tokugawa Ieyasu, 2 October 1613).

until such time as circumstances and requirements will force the Council in this country to decide otherwise.'[15] The English made the same decision. On 12 June 1613, John Saris, commander of the initial voyage to Japan conferred with Matsura Takanobu, *daimyo* of Hirado, 'to have a convenyent howse ashoare, which he willingly granted', and eventually settled on one owned by Li Dan, the head of Hirado's Chinese community.[16] By 25 November 1614, the English had emulated the Dutch in fire-proofing their house, an endeavour which cost the factory £300.[17] According to a Dutch map of 1621 (Figure 6.), the English factory (marked by the flag of St. George) appears to have been settled a little way back from the shoreline at the mouth of the Kagamigawa river, a location which is corroborated by W.Z. Mulder.[18] The Dutch factory, by contrast, was located on the edge of the harbour, marked by a tricolour flag.[19]

As the factories developed and expanded, however, the character of these facilities was changed to reflect the needs and desires of their European inhabitants. The main building of the Dutch compound was built in a traditionally Dutch architectural style; Albertus Montanus, in his *Atlas Japannensis* of 1669, provides a retrospective woodcut of the VOC factory, depicting a collection of buildings with traditional crow-stepped gables (Figure 7). Although this image was produced nearly thirty years after the Hirado factory had been torn down, a description of the factory by Hendrick Haegenaer in 1637 suggests that it was at least partially accurate: the buildings, he claims, were 'built from pine and with plastered walls, whitewashed', and covered in shingles to resist cold weather.[20] The English, by contrast, retained their Japanese dwelling, furnished with *tatami* mats according to 'the fashion of the

[15] W. Z. Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado 1597-1641* (Haarlem, 1985), p. 6.
[16] *Saris*, pp. 84. (12 June 1613), 168. (30 October 1613).
[17] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 226 (Richard Cocks at Hirado to the EIC in London, 25 November 1614).
[18] Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 120.
[19] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 138 (Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham, 7 March 1614).
[20] Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 8.

Counterye' throughout the period 1613-23.[21] Nevertheless, both buildings were surrounded by outbuildings with a distinctly European character. By 1618, the Dutch had constructed a dovecote, a gunpowder magazine, a new wharf, an infirmary, and a stone wall with gatehouse.[22] Similar developments occurred also at the English house, where an orchard, a dovecote, a wharf, and a gunpowder magazine had all been built by 1621.[23] Externally, therefore, both European factories displayed their exoticism through the unfamiliar buildings added to the Hirado skyline, and through the English and Dutch flags which were flown above the factories on Sundays.[24]

The unfamiliarity of the European factories made something of a spectacle, and the complexes attracted curious visitors from across the country, including such disparate locations as Karatsu, Edo, and Satsuma, who made occasional visits to the factories whilst passing through Hirado.[25] Cocks claims that such visitors came 'to see our English howse' rather than to buy wares, suggesting that these were touristic visits for a novelty, rather than business trips. While the outbuildings of the English house would have appeared unusual to the Japanese, the Dutch house, with its stepped gables and shingled walls, must have appeared strikingly different, and its unusual appearance was commented upon on multiple occasions. Following the construction of the new warehouse and residence in 1613, Hendrick Brouwer wrote to Governor-General Pieter Both that 'because we have now such a suitable house over here, the community is favourably disposed towards us, and the support of the local lord has been acquired at certain expenses…'[26] The Dutch clearly believed that their

[21] *Saris*, p. 88. (16 June 1613).
[22] *Diary*, ii, p. 303 (17 June 1618).
[23] Ibid., i, p. 192 (4 March 1616); ii., p. 38 (5 March 1617); iii, 43 (2 February 1621), 168 (23 September 1621).
[24] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 138 (Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham, 7 March 1614).
[25] *Diary*, i, pp. 67 (24 August 1615), 160 (14 January 1616), 185 (24 February 1616).
[26] Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 7.

new buildings were a source of favour amongst the Japanese, and that this construction was responsible for their good treatment in Hirado.

The outward appearances of the European factories, therefore, were clear demonstrations of the non-Japanese identities of their inhabitants, and perhaps served to reflect the exotic wares which could be purchased within. Inside, however, Japanese visitors would have found themselves in somewhat more familiar environments. While descriptions of the interior spaces of the factories are scant and fragmentary, it is nevertheless possible to determine that both factories displayed a degree of Euro-Japanese syncretism in their construction and décor. This was not simply a matter of convenience. As Alison Games has argued, European factors living abroad were subject to competing pressures; standards of conduct informed by their own native social conventions, and new cultural mores necessitated by the host society.[27] Although she does not elaborate on this point, it is significant that she chooses to link her discussion of the flexibility of the merchants with the factories in which they lived, as the physical space of the factory was often a field in which these competing pressures were expressed and explored. As has been examined in the previous chapter, the factory was a space for entertaining and socialising, often in pursuit of profit. As foreigners in Hirado, the Europeans' profitability relied upon their ability to present their wares as exotica which would encourage demand on the Japanese market. At the same time, in order to make sales, they had to appear trustworthy to their Japanese customers. The exterior and interior spaces of the factory could therefore be deployed by the English and Dutch to present themselves as outwardly foreign, but internally accepting of Japanese mores.

Having been built, originally, to a Japanese floorplan, the English factory would have appeared most familiar to the Japanese. The precise layout of the complex is uncertain, but

[27] Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 84.

the English accounts from early 1615 record the purchase of 'five old houses and their backsides, opposite the English house' which were converted into 'a showroom for our merchandize and other necessary buildings'.[28] It is possible, given that the English were living in a tradespersons' quarter, that the main factory building was an *omote-dana* ('front-shop') house, consisting of an anterior business area with private residences, surrounded by a retaining wall, to which were added a number of smaller *uradana* ('rear-shop') rowhouses, located behind the main buildings.[29] Since Saris notes that the building was originally laid with *tatami* mats, it is clear that the factory's floorplan would have included a familiar arrangement of rooms. The Dutch house, by contrast, was built to a European ground plan; Cocks records that it possessed 'a new hall' (presumably for dining) and 'divers fayre chambers for merchants'.[30]

Within these spaces, European and Japanese furnishings and décor sat alongside one another; Cocks refers to European chairs and cushions used in the English dining-space.[31] Similarly revealing is the reference in a letter by Cocks to a key used for locking one of the merchants' rooms, implying that the English house had interior locks, a feature not common to Japanese architecture of the period. [32] These elements sat alongside elements of Japanese origin: in January 1616, 'Sugen Dono' of Karatsu borrowed from the English a pair of folding screens for a dinner with Matsura Takanobu.[33] Whether these were bought by the English or had come with the house is unclear, but the English put them to use; a posthumous inventory of Richard Wickham's goods from 1618 records his ownership of a *hibachi* brazier, while Cocks records receiving a lacquered 'cubo (or womans box)' (according to the Tokyo

[28] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, ii, p. 1275 (Extracts from 'Firando Ledger B', January 1614-August 1615).
[29] Kazuya Inaba and Shigenobu Nakayama, *Japanese Homes and Lifestyles: An Illustrated Journey through History* (Tokyo 1983), p. 77-80.
[30] *Diary*, ii, p. 303 (17 June 1618).
[31] Ibid., ii, pp. 204 (27 November 1617), 129 (23 July 1617)
[32] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 242 (Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham, 2 December 1614).
[33] *Diary*, i, p. 154 (6 January 1616).

Historiographical Society, the word was *kodōgu* or *chōdo*) from the *maki-e* merchant Kanzaemon in Miyako.[34] Wickham had taken his brazier to Bantam on his way back to England, suggesting that this had not been adopted for convenience's sake in Japan, but that he had had good use out of it up to his death.

Although the Dutch house lacked a Japanese floorplan, it too incorporated Japanese design elements into the architecture; Haegenaer's description reveals that on the interior of the main building, 'the wooden partitions were draped with woven mats as is customary in Japan'.[35] It is possible that Haegenaer here refers to *fusuma*, the sliding doors commonly used as movable partitions in Japanese houses, particularly those with latticed openwork in the lintel area, which would have created the impression of a partition draped with cloth.[36] As has been discussed in the previous chapter, both English and Dutch houses possessed bathhouses, which could only have been built according to Japanese architectural traditions. Such features suggest that the Dutch found such elements either beautiful or useful enough to incorporate into their lodgings. Yet there was no escaping the fact that the Dutch house, with its crow-stepped gables and whitewashed walls, must have looked distinctly European despite possessing certain features borrowed from Japanese architecture.

The English and Dutch factories would thus have appeared as hybrid spaces, borrowing from both European and Japanese architectural traditions to different measures. Both main buildings were surrounded by a panoply of European-style buildings which reflected the foreign and exotic nature of the merchants and their wares within. However, these buildings were substantially different in each factory; the Dutch house outwardly displayed a European architectural style, while the English house, which was not built to

[34] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, pp. 729-36 (Inventory of Richard Wickham's goods at Bantam, November 1618); *Diary*, ii, p. 403 (19 December 1618).
[35] Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 8.
[36] William Alex, *Japanese Architecture* (New York, 1968), p. 34.

purpose, retained its Japanese appearance. The former was an expression of exoticism, familiar to the Europeans but reflective, to the Japanese, of the foreign goods which the Dutch brought with them. The latter, with Japanese-style storefronts and interior décor, would have felt more immediately familiar to the Japanese who came to the factory to purchase English wares. As will later be seen, these architectural distinctions may well have contributed to shaping relationships with the local Japanese, creating visual cues which could distinguish the Europeans from their neighbours, or else could facilitate their incorporation into pre-existing neighbourhood associations.

However much the English and Dutch factories reflected European architectural traditions in their exteriority, the usage of the spaces had to be carefully mediated to comply with Japanese expectations. As Luke Roberts has shown, central to Japanese understandings of space were the concepts of *omote* (surface, interface), and *uchi* (inside).[37] These terms, which Roberts examines as political metaphors, nevertheless reflected concurrent concerns with material spaces; samurai houses, Roberts notes, were divided between anterior *omote* spaces, in which interactions with strangers were to take place, and interior *uchi* rooms, where only the household and trusted friends were permitted.[38] Different codes of behaviour were expected in these material spaces, and failure to comply was deserving of punishment; allowing a stranger into the *uchi* space of a house, for instance, was a criminal offence.[39] This had already been observed by the Jesuits; Luís Froís observed that samurai homes were 'divided into the outer part reserved for guests, and the inner part where the lord usually has his quarters', and Alessandro Valignano insisted that the Jesuits observe similar principles in the ordering of their houses.[40]

[37] Luke Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace: Political Space and Open Secrets in Tokugawa Japan* (Honolulu, 2012), pp. 6-7.
[38] Ibid., p. 30.
[39] Ibid., pp. 30-1.
[40] Rodrigues, *Account of Japan*, pp. 143-4, 144 n. 1.

The English and Dutch do not appear to have shown the same awareness of this principle, although their factories were also subject to *uchi/omote* divisions. To some degree, early modern concerns with privacy resembled the demands of *uchi* spaces. European books of manners were preoccupied with what was forbidden in public and what, by tacit contrast, was permitted in private. The Dutch philosopher Desiderius Erasmus, whose book of manners for children, *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium*, was readily available in both England and the Dutch Republic as a behavioural primer, devotes sections of this text to behaviour in various public and private settings. He advises 'silence, shamefastness and simplicitie' in the bedchamber, avoiding 'crying out, evyl noyses and pratling', especially when sharing the space with a companion.[41] Bodily functions, such as blowing one's nose, sneezing, spitting and breaking wind, should all be made private by turning away, 'if there be any honest men there'.[42] Such strictures of civil behaviour recall Lena Cowen Orlin's assertion that privacy in early modern England was 'less a material condition than a consensual act', governed by social convention and adjudicated when necessary by civic institutions.[43]

Notions of privacy and of *uchi* were not always commensurate. It was accepted, for instance, that the Europeans could practice their religion privately within their factories; what happened behind closed doors was within the *uchi* sphere of private activity. However, outward displays of religiosity on the factories' grounds were met with sanctions. In March 1614, Matsura Shigenobu ordered the English to take down their flag, as the cross of St. George was considered an outward expression of Christianity.[44] Although Cocks protested, claiming that the flag was not a religious symbol but "a badge or token" of the English nation, Shigenobu would not be swayed, and the flag was removed.

[41] Erasmus, *The Civilitie of Childehode*, p. 69.
[42] Ibid., pp. 9-11, 16, 22.
[43] Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (New York, 2007), pp. 173-4.
[44] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 138 (Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham, 7 March 1614).

On 9 November 1640, the Dutch would face a similar, but more serious prohibition. François Caron was informed by the shogunate's inquisitor, Inoue Masashige, that the shogunate was displeased with the fact that dates *anno domini* were inscribed on the Dutch buildings; this was considered an excessive display of religiosity, and they were to demolish all newly-erected buildings thus marked.[45] The reality was that the Dutch had unwittingly made a claim to extraterritoriality. The setting of calendars and era names was, in East Asia, the prerogative of the government; to accept another country's calendar was to grant them authority. Thus, when Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu was granted trading rights with China in 1402, it was under the proviso that he would also accept Ming suzerainty and the Chinese calendar system.[46] By so prominently displaying a date using a foreign nation's calendar system, the Dutch were seen as staking a claim to authority beyond their means.

The complaint, in both cases, was that the Europeans were breaching the *uchi* sphere of the factory. The English flag was considered unacceptable since it made a Christian symbol visible; 'we might put out any other mark we wold,' Cocks was informed, 'a crose only excepted'.[47] Likewise, Masashige's complaint about the foreign date was that it was done 'in the sight and eyes of our whole land's nation'.[48] In both cases, the issue was that the Europeans' religious and administrative privileges were escaping the *uchi* sphere of private practice and moving into the *omote* public sphere, and thus transgressing the bounds of acceptability. In this respect, the factories were not simply a space where the Europeans could enjoy free practise of their habits and customs; they placed a physical limit on behaviours which Japanese authorities felt were anathema to their own society.

[45] *Dagregisters*, iv, p. 299 (9 November 1640).
[46] Charlotte von Verschuer, 'Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's Foreign Policy 1398 to 1408 AD: A Translation from Zenrin Kokuhōki, the Cambridge Manuscript', *Monumenta Nipponica* 62 (2007), pp. 261-97, at pp. 265-6.
[47] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 138 (Cocks to Wickham, 7 March 1614).
[48] *Dagregisters*, iv, p. 299 (9 November 1640. '*in't gesicht ende oogen onses heele lants natie'*).

The English and Dutch factories, therefore, reflected the multifaceted identities assumed by the European factors living in Japan. While the types of building constructed on the factories' grounds were shaped by the practical concerns of trade, the presence of uniquely European buildings suggests that these spaces created spaces in which the factors could feel 'at home'. However, the amalgamation of such features with Japanese buildings such as the English house or the *furo* bathhouses demonstrate that these were not purely 'European' spaces. Subject to Japanese laws and shaped by Japanese customs, the European factories, like the factors who inhabited them, were caught between worlds, neither wholly foreign, nor entirely naturalised.

Burial Spaces: Space and Authority

Related to the factories, although not located on the same grounds, were the English and Dutch cemeteries. Although living Europeans could be sequestered in their factory spaces, dead Europeans also needed to occupy space, and the Hirado factories saw a large number of deaths over their thirty-year tenure. The procurement of a burial space was linked to notions of religious identity, which, as has been seen in chapter one, were mutable and changed steadily across the early seventeenth century, as the shogunate began to tighten the restrictions on Christian practices. The changing form of these burial sites, and the disputes which occurred over them, reflect in material terms the process of negotiation that occurred over religious practice. While there was certainly discomfort over the existence of these spaces and of the practices that took place within them, they were nevertheless sites which endured through most of the social tensions between Europeans and Japanese in this period.

The first burial sites used by the English and Dutch in Japan were located in Hirado proper. Their precise location is uncertain, but W. Z. Mulder suggests that the Dutch

graveyard was located near the Dutch house on Tōmi Hill.[49] The English clearly had a burial site as well; in 1613, when seeking a spot to bury William Pauling, the late master's mate of the *Clove*, Richard Cocks asked Matsura Shigenobu if he might procure 'a burial place for him among the Christians, which he graunted me.'[50] It is not entirely clear if this spot was the same as the Dutch graveyard, but since Pauling was carried by the Dutch House on his way to be interred, it is likely that these burial spaces were at least situated close together. One plot on Tōmi Hill, excavated in 2017, may be the burial site of William Adams; DNA analysis confirmed that the remains were northern European in origin, and while the evidence 'is not unequivocal', it 'does not disprove the notion that the skeletal remains' belong to Adams.[51] The fact that the site has 'for centuries' been protected as the grave of a nobleman would suggest that this was Adams' resting place, and that the English and Dutch gravesites were located together on Tōmi Hill, but the possibility that this may be a mislabelled Dutch grave should not be discounted either.

From the outset, these spaces were contested on religious grounds. Pauling's body, when it was transported for burial, had to be transported across the harbour by boat, 'because the Bose (or Priests) would not suffer us to pass through the streets (with the dead corpse) before their Pagod or Temple.'[52] This may have been a result of Buddhist concerns with purity and a belief in the lingering presence of the soul; Nam-Lin Hur has suggested that the rite of 'removing the coffin from the house', or *shukkan*, varied from region to region, but in each case was intended to handle the concern that the restless soul of the deceased might return to the house where it had died.[53] Such rites are related to the notion that death

[49] Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 13.
[50] *Saris*, p. 152. (27 September 1613).
[51] Fuzuki Mizuno, Koji Ishia, Masami Matsushida et al, 'A Biomolecular Anthropological Investigation of William Adams, the First Samurai from England', *Scientific Reports* 10 (2020), https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-020-78723-2 (accessed 14/4/2021).
[52] *Saris*, p. 152. (27 September 1613).
[53] Nam-Lin Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan: Buddhism, Anti-Christianity, and the Danka System* (Cambridge, MA, 2007), p. 163.

generates pollution, which had to be cleansed through rituals intended to purify the space of death, such as the hanging of blinds over a house's entrances in order to protect the space from the pollution of death.[54] Bodies, he notes, were brought to temples for funeral ceremonies, but these were Buddhist bodies which had been through ritual purifications, and not Christian bodies which had not, by Japanese standards, been adequately secured against the vengeful return of the spirit.[55] Moreover, the Japanese themselves did not wish to create the spaces in which a Christian body would be interred: 'we had much adoe to get any one of these country people to make the grave that a Christian was to be buried in', Cocks reports.[56] This too may suggest concerns about the polluting nature of an improperly-purified body, since the implements used in grave-digging would be destroyed so as to prevent the continued pollution in the mortal realm.[57] For this reason, the task of gravedigging was often allocated to *hinin* outcastes, who were themselves deemed to be polluted.[58] Hirado still had a Christian community in 1613 who should theoretically have been able to dig the graves, but it is possible that, so close to the Okamoto Daihachi incident of 1612 and the wave of anti-Christian sentiment that followed, few Christians were inclined to identify themselves; those who encountered Saris aboard the *Clove* in June of that year had done so in private to avoid drawing unwanted attention.[59]

The Christian burials were not only a concern to the Japanese because the bodies had not been adequately purified, however. For the Tokugawa state, the European gravesites were amongst the last remaining sites consecrated to the western religion which contrasted with Japan's status as *shinkoku*, the Shinto-Buddhist 'land of the gods'. The Christian churches of

[54] Hur, *Death and Social Order*, p. 147.
[55] Ibid., p. 154.
[56] *Saris*, p. 152. (27 September 1613).
[57] Hur, *Death and Social Order*, p. 164.
[58] Walter L. Ames, *Police and Community in Japan* (Berkeley, 1981), p. 100.
[59] *Saris*, p. 83 (12 June 1613).

Nagasaki had been destroyed in 1614, but there were still concerns that graveyards would become gathering-sites for Japanese Christians in lieu of a physical church, and the citizens of Nagasaki were forbidden 'to hold prayer sessions in the graveyards or on the sites of the razed churches', on pain of death.[60] The same concern would be voiced by Inoue Masashige in 1652, when he informed the Dutch living at Dejima that all future burials were to be conducted at sea to prevent Japanese Christians from exhuming bodies in search of relics.[61] The shogunate viewed graveyards, in their function as meeting-places for Christians, as potential sites for dissidence, and as it pursued its policy of anti-Christian persecution across the early seventeenth century, it is clear that events at Nagasaki were the first step in a broader programme to remove Christian sites from Japan.

In September 1638, only a few months after the anti-governmental Shimabara Rebellion had been quelled, Nicholas Couckebacker records that a Dutch merchant, Daniel Reijnierzoon, passed away, 'and was buried with due honour on the Company's island'.[62] Mulder has identified 'the Company's island' as Kurokojima, an islet in the bay of Hirado, although the maritime archaeologist Leon Derksen has suggested that this was Yokoshima, which had been used by the VOC as a rope-making station since 1616.[63] Prior to 1638, burials had occurred on the Hirado mainland, but from this point on, the dead would be buried on 'the Company's island' until the Dutch were relocated to Dejima in 1641, after which point the Dutch graveyard in Hirado was destroyed.[64] Viewed in the context of the preceding and succeeding events at Nagasaki, it would appear that the removal of the Dutch

[60] Reinier Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki: World Trade and the Clash of Cultures, 1560-1640* (Jefferson, 2016), pp. 157-61, 177.
[61] Michael S. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony* (Amherst, 2011), p. 172.
[62] *Dagregisters*, iii, p. 296 (2 September 1638. '*Een weijnich nae middernacht is den Ondercoop^{n} Daniel Reiniersz. alh^{r} in de Logie deser werelt comen t' overlijden, en^{de} vandaghe met behoor^{lk} eere op 's Comp^{es} eijlant begraven.*')
[63] Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 15; Leon Derksen, 'Tracing Remnants of Dutch-Japanese Affairs in the Maritime Cultural Landscape of Japan' (M.A. thesis, University of Groningen, 2014), p. 79.
[64] James Murdoch, *A History of Japan* (3 vols. London, 1926), iii, p. 271.

burials offshore fits into a broader pattern of the destruction of Christian spaces in Japan, beginning with the demolition of the Nagasaki churches and graveyards in 1614, continuing with the removal of the graveyards offshore in 1638, and culminating in the destruction of the Dutch warehouses for displaying *anno domini* dates in 1640. As Christianity was increasingly proscribed by the shogunate, the spaces in which Christian practice was tolerated were made increasingly marginal.

In the European factories at Hirado, therefore, it is possible to see the tension between two separate identities finding expression in spatial terms. The English and Dutch factories created in Hirado a 'little Europe' to act as a home for the merchants during their time in Japan. However, the factories were simultaneously affected by the persecution of Christianity, the 'heretical doctrine' against which the early modern Tokugawa state aimed to construct an integrated Japanese identity. The changing shape of the factories over this period reflects the European factors' attempts to balance the pressure to conform to Japanese social expectations and the pressure to retain their own identity. While in the first few decades this could be achieved by taking down signs of religious identity which transgressed the *omote*/*uchi* boundary and by constructing Japanese-style bathhouses, as time went on and persecutions become more rigorous more drastic expressions of conformity, such as demolishing warehouses and relocating cemeteries, were required to show obeisance to the shogunate.

Elite Spaces: Space and Hierarchy

If the English and Dutch factories provided the primary arena in which cross-cultural contact between the northern Europeans and Japanese occurred, of no lesser importance were the mansions belonging to Japanese officials such as the shogun, his councillors, and the *daimyo*, which served as the arena for formal interactions vital to the continuation of

European trade. Each year, the merchants of the EIC and VOC were required to make an annual journey to Edo in order to renew their trading privileges, where they would appear before the shogun to pay homage and present gifts to chief members of the shogunate. This was nothing new to the European merchants; honour was due to monarchs across the world, and it was a universal principle that code-switching to a more formal, deferential register was necessary when interacting with figures of status in hierarchical settings. However, the patterns of behaviour required in these courtly spaces were not immediately obvious, even to merchants from hierarchical (if not, in the case of the Dutch, monarchical) societies, and required the Europeans to carefully observe and adapt their behaviour to the particular local norms in order to navigate these encounters successfully. Examining how the European factors interpreted the physical and social boundaries placed on their behaviour within the courtly space provides some insight into the degree to which European and Japanese expectations of behaviour in hierarchical settings were commensurate in this period.

When seeking an audience with the shogun or *daimyo*, the English and Dutch merchants would be entertained in the castle complex, in a mansion house (*yashiki*). The location of such mansions delineated from the outset the proximity between European guest and Japanese host in spatial terms. Most such mansions were located within castles, bounded by walls which were subdivided into a series of baileys and internal courtyards.[65] However, this was not always the case; at Edo, the *daimyo* residing in the city maintained urban mansions which were contained within the city walls but not within a castle,[66] while at Hirado, the mansion house was not associated with a castle at all, since the Matsura castle

[65] Stephen Turnbull, *Japanese Castles, 1540-1640* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 21-2.
[66] William H. Coaldrake, 'Edo Architecture and Tokugawa Law', *Monumenta Nipponica* 1 (1981), pp. 235-84, at p. 248.

had been burned to the ground in a display of fealty towards Tokugawa Ieyasu, an event recorded by Richard Cocks while John Saris was at court.[67]

Once inside, the European merchants were confronted with a network of interconnecting rooms which gradually provided access to the mansion's owner, be he the shogun or a *daimyo*. These rooms were arranged in a hierarchical structure, leading from the most public and formal spaces nearest the entrance to the most private and informal ones behind. Beginning with the *tozamurai*, where visitors would wait for their audience, guests would be ushered in through the *shikidai*, where formal greetings between the *daimyo* and members of the *rōjū* would be made.[68] Following these chambers, guests would be received by the shogun in one of two audience chambers; either the visually-intimidating ōhiroma (for *tozama daimyo* and foreign visitors), or the smaller, more intimate *kohiroma* (for the shogun's hereditary vassals, the *fudai daimyo*).[69] Finally, the shogun could retire to his private quarters, the *shiroshoin,* which lay behind the other buildings.[70] As William Coaldrake has argued, most mansions were built around a similar hierarchy of rooms; Nijō, the focus of his study, was a grander elaboration of a 'basic *shoin* pattern' found in samurai homes throughout Japan.[71] For the English and Dutch, this meant that the behaviours learned in one such environment could be applied broadly to all others in order to navigate the interactions within more successfully.

The hierarchical ordering of chambers around increasing degrees of intimacy and familiarity with the mansion's owner would have been familiar to the English and Dutch, since a similar logic also applied to the layout of elite houses and palaces in Europe. As Lena Cowen Orlin has argued, the houses of the Tudor elite were likewise derived from 'the idea

[67] Saris, p. 154 (2 October 1613).
[68] Willam H. Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London, 1996), p. 145.
[69] Ibid., pp. 149, 152.
[70] Ibid., p. 155.
[71] Ibid., pp. 141, 145, 160.

of the castle' where the heart of the building was the great hall.[72] This, she argues, retained its relevance from the medieval to the early modern period since it could spatialise the social hierarchy by presenting a variety of antechambers between the front portal of the house and the elongated, rectilinear space of the hall, at the end of which was a raised dais where the lord of the manor would traditionally dine and receive guests.[73] The hierarchical nature of such spaces, Audrey Thorstad has suggested, involves the integration of social ranks with the early modern desire for privacy, born from the shift towards manners and politeness as a means of personal distinction. From gatehouse to great chamber to bedchamber, she argues, spaces exhibited varying degrees of privacy, and an individual's ability to access private spaces was related to their social status.[74] An account for the re-matting of the queen's apartment at Whitehall Palace in 1614 suggests the division of this space; in addition to a bedchamber, the account also lists a withdrawing chamber connected by a passage to the queen's cabinet, as well as a privy gallery; all spaces designed, as their names suggest, to compartmentalise the apartment into smaller, more private areas.[75] In the Dutch Republic, elite houses displayed similar architectural features. Hanneke Ronnes has argued that the Dutch great hall lasted, much as it did in England, through the sixteenth century, and by the seventeenth century the lord and lady of the manor had withdrawn into similarly private back rooms.[76] Much as in England, Dutch palaces sported sequentially-organised 'apartments' of rooms which enabled the owner to regulate access to certain spaces, with the closet forming the most private space at the furthest point from the entrance. As Ronnes notes, the apartments of Middachten Castle at De Steeg possessed a leather-panelled closet, intended to

[72] Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p. 78.
[73] Ibid., pp. 79-81.
[74] Audrey M. Thorstad, *The Culture of Castles in Tudor England and Wales* (Woodbridge, 2019), p. 155.
[75] Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240-1698* (New Haven, 1999), p. 76.
[76] Hanneke Ronnes, *Architecture and Elite Culture in the United Provinces, England, and Ireland, 1500-1700* (Amsterdam, 2006), p. 24.

muffle private activity, separating it still further from the more public audience spaces outside.[77]

In this respect, the ordering of space in the Japanese mansion, from the public to the private through a hierarchy of increasingly intimate audience chambers, was subject to the same social pressures as the early modern European manor house. The parallels were noted by contemporaries; in describing his visit to the shogun's residence at Sunpu castle in 1613, John Saris describes being brought 'into the Chamber of Presence, where was the Emperours [i.e. the shogun's] Chaire of state'.[78] In this description, Saris reads the spaces expected of European palace architecture onto the Japanese mansion house, equating the European presence chamber and the *ōhiroma* audience chamber.

However, recognition of equivalent spaces within the Japanese and European mansion houses could only serve the Europeans so far, since the specific rituals of court which were to occur within were not always culturally commensurate, and therefore did not adhere to universal expectations of behaviour. Particularly striking is the disparity between the accounts of the first English meeting with Tokugawa Ieyasu, as given by the newly-arrived John Saris, and William Adams, who had spent the last thirteen years at the Tokugawa court. In his own account of events, Saris implies that the audience went without issue: he 'deliuered our Kings Letter vnto his Maiestie, who tooke it in his hand, and put it vp towards his fore-head' and bade the English welcome.[79] From this account, Saris presents himself as the model ambassador, deftly navigating his audience with a foreign monarch. Adams' account suggests otherwise. Saris, according to Adams, insisted that 'he would deliver the King's Mag'ti letter w'th his own handes' which, he was informed by Ieyasu's secretary, was

[77] Ronnes, *Architecture and Elite Culture*, p. 134.
[78] *Saris*, p. 130 (6 September 1613).
[79] Ibid., p. 130 (8 September 1613).

'no coustoum in this countri'.[80] Saris, displeased with this response, threatened to return to his lodgings if he could not give the letter himself, while the secretary chided Adams 'that I did not tell [Saris] the coustomes of this land and instruk him therin'.[81] Ultimately local practice won out, and the secretary presented the letter to Ieyasu.

To have presented the letter to Ieyasu as he hoped to do (and as he implied that he had done), Saris would have had to cross a spatial boundary within the *ōhiroma* chamber. The *ōhiroma* was divided into two conjoining rooms: the *kami no ma*, a room elevated by a small step, in which the shogun or *daimyo* sat, and the *tsugi no ma*, the lower 'adjoining room' in which the interviewee sat.[82] In the terminology of the *shoin-zukuri* architectural style, these rooms were also known as the *jōdan* (upper chamber) and *gedan* (lower chamber).[83] Richard Cocks refers to these spaces as 'a place somthing rising with 1 step', occupied by the shogun, and 'a rum somthing lower' in which attendants and other officials sat, while Nicholas Couckebacker describes the *jōdan* as 'a raised place… some 8 to 10 fathoms' away from where the Dutch supplicants kneeled.[84] When receiving an audience with the shogun, *daimyo* were expected to be seated in order of rank, and the higher one's status in the social hierarchy, the closer one sat to the *jōdan*.[85] Crossing the boundary from *jōdan* to *gedan*, especially without invitation was an act of transgression. During his 1616 audience with Hidetada, Cocks was invited 'once or twise to enter into the rowme where he sat', but, being cautious, and having observed the *rōjū* Honda Masazumi's refusal to enter, Cocks declined, which, he learned later, 'was well esteemed of'.[86]

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[80] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 111 (William Adams at Hirado to Thomas Best at Bantam, 1 December 1613).
[81] Ibid., p. 111.
[82] Turnbull, *Japanese Castles*, p. 42.
[83] Russell Sturgis and Francis A. Davis, *Sturgis' Illustrated Dictionary of Architecture and Building: An Unabridged Reprint of the 1901-2 Edition (3 vols, New York, 1989)*, pp. 643-4.
[84] *Diary*, i, p. 294 (1 September 1616); *Dagregisters*, i, p. 125 (15 March 1634).
[85] Mark Ravina, *Land and Lordship in Early Modern Japan*, (Stanford, 1999), p. 18; Kiroshi Hirai, *Feudal Architecture of Japan*, trans. Hiroaki Sato and Jeannine Ciliotta (New York, 1973), p. 70.
[86] Diary, i, p. 294 (1 September 1616).

The use of space to divide social superiors from inferiors was not a uniquely Japanese phenomenon. As has been mentioned, the dais in the late-medieval European hall was intended to elevate the manorial lord above all others, while royal court settings were traditionally laid out in a hierarchical pattern of status centred on the monarch.[87] However, the ways in which it was permissible to interact with and in that space differed significantly between Europe and Japan. Saris' offence at being prevented from handing over the letter personally, and his threat to return to his lodgings if this was not permitted, suggests that he believed that he held some authority within this space as the representative of the English monarch. In Europe ambassadors might be permitted to enter into close proximity with the monarch; according to Claude Dodieu, the secretary of the 1527 French embassy to England, Henry VIII 'embraced' the ambassadors, who sat in close proximity to his throne during their audience, before attending mass with them in the Chapel Royal and feasting them alongside key courtiers.[88] While Saris may not have expected such familiar treatment from a first diplomatic mission, nevertheless it is clear that he expected the kind of personal access to the shogun in the court space that an ambassador might expect in Europe. It is highly unlikely that he was aware that his reception in the *ōhiroma* and not the *kohiroma* meant that he was not being received within the most intimate audience-chamber of the shogunate, or even that a more intimate space existed.

By contrast, space in Tokugawa court rituals was carefully deployed to distance the supplicant from the shogun, and to affirm the shogunate's authority. By receiving foreign guests within the *ōhiroma*, the space reserved for *tozama* vassals, Ieyasu was placing the foreign merchants on the same level as his least trusted *daimyo*. This was not an insult –

[87] Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, p. 79; John H. Astington, 'The Jacobean Banqueting House as a Performance Space', in Sophie Chiari and John M. Mucciolo (eds.), *Performances at Court in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 203-20, at p. 206.
[88] Kent Rawlinson, 'Hall's Chronicle and the Greenwich Triumphs of 1527', in Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 402-28, at p. 404.

Ieyasu was particularly keen to court foreign trade – but rather a necessary display of Tokugawa supremacy.[89] While displays of power were necessary for any head of state, they were critical for the Tokugawa. As Arano Yasunori has argued, the aim of the shogunate was to remove itself from the ambit of Ming Chinese influence and establish itself as its own international diplomatic centre, since the successful handling of foreign relations was a critical element in proving their legitimate possession of the title of *shogun*.[90] As a result, neighbouring countries, including Japan's trading partners in Europe, needed to be presented as subordinate to Tokugawa authority. To grant them an audience in the same space as the shogun's own vassals thus enabled the shogunate to welcome its visitors with honour, whilst ensuring that their own superior status remained unquestionable.

While the understanding that courtly spaces were stratified by rank and degree of intimacy with the figure of authority was universal to all three societies, therefore, there nevertheless existed particularities of behaviour which mean that the expectations of practice obtained in Europe could not be transplanted wholesale to Japan. The existence of commensurabilities between European and Japanese practices might prove to be false friends, obscuring local particularities which could precipitate diplomatic tensions if they were not observed. In order to overcome such tensions, the English and Dutch were required to learn the particular practices expected in Japanese courtly spaces, and modify their behaviour accordingly. This could be achieved through the close observation of Japanese practice and through following the advice given by local courtiers; in 1634, for instance, Nicholas Couckebacker records that the Dutch 'were told to kneel right in front [of the shogun's seat] and so to do reverence' in order to prove that their gifts were to honour the shogun, leaving

[89] Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun*, pp. 50-1.
[90] Yasunori, 'Japanocentric World Order', pp. 206, 211.

no ambiguity about the way they were to comport themselves in his presence.[91] By drawing upon their own understanding of how to behave at court, and supplementing it with information gleaned from architectural cues and instruction by local officials, the European factors were able to improvise, and thus navigate the difficulties of conducting diplomacy with a foreign prince without any formal training.

Not every visit to a Japanese mansion was as formal and as ritualised as the Europeans' visits to the shogun's court, however. This is most clearly observed in the English and Dutch factors' visits to the homes of the Matsura in Edo and Hirado. It was to these mansions that the European factors would go to seek redress of grievances and to present the *daimyo* with gifts, and Nicholas Couckebacker records such interactions occurring 'in the high yard of the house of the young lord of Hirado.'[92] The reference to a 'high yard' suggests a certain amount of formality, and it is likely, if uncertain, that this was a reference to the *ōhiroma* audience chamber. However, the Matsura mansion was also used for informal socialising. Russell Sturgis has observed that the multifunctional quality of rooms in Japanese buildings meant that the *jōdan* and *gedan* of a *daimyo*'s mansion also served as dining space and parlour,[93] and William Coaldrake has noted that the mansion houses of *daimyo* and shogun alike were often equipped with a stage facing the *ōhiroma* for theatrical productions.[94] The English and Dutch do not describe clearly where their informal meetings with the Matsura were held, but it is likely to have been the *ōhiroma*, acting as both formal audience chamber and informal entertainment venue. To enter the *ōhiroma* as a dinner guest was to impose on the space an entirely different set of behavioural expectations than if one

[91] *Dagregisters*, i, p. 125 (15 March 1634. *'wij gewesen werden recht voor te gaen knielen, ende soo de reverentie te doen*').
[92] Ibid., i, pp. 229 (21 April 1635. '*in het hooge Erff ten huijsen van de Jongen H^r van Firando*'). A second gift was given in the 'yard of the lord of Hirado' later that week, p. 231 (23 April 1635. '*in't Erff van de H^r van Firando*').
[93] Sturgis and Davis, *Illustrated Dictionary*, ii, p. 644.
[94] Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority*, p. 157.

entered as a supplicant seeking a meeting with the *daimyo*. Cocks' diary records clearly that the evenings spent dining and watching *kabuki* with the Matsura were relaxed affairs. By his account, they could even be quite boisterous, with copious drinking, singing, dancing and the ever-present temptation of the *kabuki* players offering the promise of sexual gratification.

However, the English and Dutch were well-prepared to code-switch in such interactions, drawing upon their experiences from Europe. As Audrey Thorstad has argued, administrative spaces in Tudor estates were traditionally multifunctional spaces which also served as sites for entertainment and hospitable hosting.[95] While such spaces were in decline in this period, gradually being replaced by smaller, more specialised rooms such as the 'great chamber' used to entertain especially close guests, this multifunctionality had not disappeared entirely by the seventeenth century.[96] The use of the *ōhiroma* as audience-chamber and as entertainment venue would therefore have been unsurprising, if somewhat outmoded compared to European practices. The English and Dutch diaries do not describe in detail the space used or manner of entertainment on such evenings, but João Rodrigues notes that when dining at a *daimyo*'s residence, 'usually the guests are never seated in the middle of the upper part of the room… but generally they sit on the left of the upper part of the room' according to their rank.[97] This would suggest that on such occasions, the Europeans would have been welcomed into the *jōdan*, reducing to a degree the spatially-reinforced boundaries between superior and inferior, and mirroring the way in which honoured guests would be seated at the high table in a European manor house.[98]

Although the English and Dutch faced challenges in interpreting the specific practices of court protocol as was expected in Japan, whether this was in the correct way to deliver a

[95] Thorstad, *The Culture of Castles*, p. 46.
[96] Ibid., p. 128.
[97] Rodrigues, *Account of Japan*, p. 233.
[98] Thorstad, *The Culture of Castles*, pp. 130-1.

missive to the shogun at Edo, or the correct way to dine when eating with the Matsura, nevertheless the gulf between European and Japanese practices was not sufficiently broad as not to be navigable by cautious observation and emulation of local practices. In spatial terms, Japanese mansions presented the English and Dutch factors with spaces which, whilst not identical, were broadly analogous to those expected in elite houses in Europe. The Europeans were thus able to bring their own expectations of behaviour to these interactions and read into the spaces used the status they occupied in the encounter. Such presumptions could not guarantee successful handling of these encounters (as Saris' *faux pas* at Sunpu shows, expectations of how to display politeness differed between Europe and Japan) but they could provide a valuable framework around which a more nuanced understanding of Japanese practice could be constructed.

Shipboard Spaces: Applying Spatial Knowledge

The mansions of Edo and Hirado were not the only spaces which might take on different characteristics depending on the circumstances of their usage. The tandem official and unofficial functions of the mansion space, both demanding different modes of social conduct, allowed the English, Dutch and Japanese to impose informal practices on courtly spaces. A similar dual usage of space is visible when European merchants encountered *daimyo* outside of the walls of their mansions. When the strictures of courtly behaviour were not so easily followed nor permitted by the space of encounter, the Europeans and Japanese were required to find ways of resolving the tensions of impropriety that such occasions caused.

To some extent, this challenge could be overcome with reference to shared principles of honour and politeness. Erasmus provided general advice for meeting 'with anye man in thy waye the whiche for his age is venerable, or reverend for his holinesse or grave for his

dignitye', which was to turn, doff one's cap, and bow.[99] This respect, he claimed, was even due unto foreigners not of one's religion: 'if the Turke had dominion over us… we should syn yf we should refuse the honour that is due to suche dignitie.' Such advice served as a general guide to polite conduct when the space of encounter made it unclear how one should behave, but other situations called for more specific regulations; for instance, when staging a formal visit to a *daimyo* aboard a ship at sea.[100]

Since Hirado was an island which served as an entrepot for maritime trade, many of the encounters occurring between Europeans and Japanese in this location occurred aboard ships moored at the city's wharves or in the nearby Kawachi roadstead. When a *daimyo* passed Hirado on their way to court, it was considered polite to visit them with a gift and courteous greetings; when the Dutch failed to visit the *daimyo* of Satsuma, Shimazu Iehisa, aboard his ship in 1616, it was recorded by the English that his estimation of the Dutch had fallen.[101] These meetings were more than the chance encounters that Erasmus had in mind, therefore; they were formal audiences staged in ambiguous locations, which demanded performances of honour usually facilitated by hierarchically-organised spaces. On such occasions, courtly practices had to be transposed onto non-courtly arenas.

To some extent, ships were the ideal locations for handling such tensions, as they were embroiled in the process of diplomatic interaction. The early modern ship as a means of 'mediation', that is, as a literal vehicle of intermediary transmission between disparate parties, has been usefully examined by Claudia Swan.[102] Ships were mediators of difference,

[99] Erasmus, *Civilitie of Childehode*, pp. 57-8.
[100] Although there were a multitude of vessels operational in the East Indies at this time, including Asian junks, Dutch *jachts* and Portuguese *nao*, we will use the term 'ship' as a blanket term covering all water-borne vessels, referring to specific kinds of vessel as necessary.
[101] Diary, ii, p. 361 (6 December 1617).
[102] Claudia Swan, 'Fortunes at Sea: Mediated Goods and Dutch Trade circa 1600', in Susanna Burghartz, Lucas Burkart, and Christine Göttler (eds), *Sites of Mediation: Connected histories of places, processes, and objects in Europe and Beyond 1450-1650* (Leiden, 2016), pp. 373-405, at p. 383.

particularly geographic difference, that reconciled distant places, enabled the meeting of envoys, and generated the processes of interaction which led to trade agreements, diplomatic encounters and in some cases warfare.[103] However, Swan's focus on the ship as a means of mediation overlooks the possibility that the ship itself could also be a *space* of mediation. The journals of both Richard Cocks and John Saris both reveal that physical shipboard spaces were important diplomatic locations in Japan: the first meeting between the Matsura and the EIC merchants took place aboard the *Clove*, while the English and Dutch alike held important discussions regarding trade into Satsuma province with the Shimazu *daimyo* aboard their vessels. These interactions require examination for the insight they provide into the interaction between space and diplomacy.

The ship's importance as a space for socio-diplomatic interaction was born from the itinerant nature of both Europeans and Japanese in the early Edo period. Upon arriving in Japan, the EIC and VOC merchants were little more than travelling petitioners seeking permission to establish trading links; until more permanent lodgings were secured, they had no space on shore in which to host guests and notable persons during negotiations. The ship, therefore, was the only space which could fulfil this role, and which could be truly considered their own. At the same time, the Japanese *daimyo* were required to make journeys to visit the shogun and pay him their respects as loyal vassals, and for coastal domains such as Satsuma, travel by ship was the most convenient means of transportation. Removed from their usual sites of interaction by the necessity of travel, both merchants and *daimyo* alike were required to use their ships as makeshift spaces in which diplomatic interactions could be played out according to familiar practices. Used as a meeting-spot for merchants and nobles, as a place

[103] Swan, 'Fortunes at Sea', pp. 383-4.

where guests were entertained and gifts were given, these shipboard spaces came to resemble, in both function and form, courtly spaces on land.

The English diaries provide a valuable indication of the social activities that took place aboard ships during this period. The Matsura first met the English off the coast of Hirado.[104] It is unknown if the first meeting with Shimazu Iehisa in 1615 occurred on a boat, but given that subsequent meetings in 1616 and 1617 did,[105] and since the Satsuma *daimyo* was reported to be bringing '500 barks full of souldiers' with him,[106] it is reasonable to assume that the meeting was held aboard his vessel. Encounters such as these were occasions for gift-giving; Saris notes that 'euery man of worth brought his present with him,' when greeting the English in 1613,[107] while the English and Dutch brought gifts of cloth for the Shimazu in 1615, 1616 and 1617.[108] The protocols of courtly gift-giving will be discussed at length in chapter four, but it is worth noting that even on a ship, gift-exchange was a formality expected to follow the social hierarchy, and the English and Dutch argued openly over whose rank and status permitted them to take precedence in receiving their audience.[109] Finally, the ship could serve as a site of entertainment; the Matsura brought musicians who 'sang diuerse songs' and played the shamisen for the EIC merchants, who in return 'feasted them'.[110] Similar interactions took place at Shimabara in February 1638, when the Dutch, 'having done due respect', entertained the Tokugawa field commander Matsudaira Nobutsuna, alongside various members of the Matsura household, aboard *de Rijp* (Hoarfrost) with a variety of wines and confections, following an audience concerning Dutch involvement at the siege of Hara castle.[111] Being interactions between Europeans and the

[104] *Saris*, pp. 79-80 (11 June 1613).
[105] *Diary*, i, pp. 203-4 (29 March 1616), ii, 63 (16 April 1617).
[106] Ibid., i. p. 9. (4 June 1615)
[107] *Saris*, p. 81 (11 June 1613).
[108] *Diary*, i, pp. 9 (4 June 1615), 204 (29 March 1616), ii, 63 (16 April 1617).
[109] Ibid., i, p. 204 (29 March 1616).
[110] *Saris*, p. 84 (12 June 1613).
[111] *Dagregisters*, iii, p. 113-14 (25 February 1638. '*Naer gedaene behoorlijcke eerbiedicht'*).

daimyo, where gifts and entertainment were given according to hierarchical protocol, the activities which took place aboard ships near Hirado closely resemble those which occurred at court.

Likewise, the decisions made when Europeans and Japanese met aboard ships had no less influence on social and political realities than those made in the *ōhiroma*. Whilst dining aboard the *Clove*, the Matsura promised the English 'free and kind intertainment' in Hirado,[112] and also agreed to provide them with a house ashore in which to conduct business.[113] The house was purchased within the week, and while relations with the Matsura would fluctuate with the changing situation in Japan, it is clear that the Matsura were attempting to keep their European patrons content. The audiences with Shimazu Iehisa resulted in the English factors being offered 'favorable entertainment yf we came to traffick in his domynions'.[114] The sincerity of this offer is evident in is repetition; it was made again when the English visited Iehisa aboard his ship in March 1616 and May 1621.[115] These offers never came to fruition, however; the revised privileges of September 1616 bound the English to trade in Hirado and Nagasaki alone, and while Cocks briefly considered relocating the factory to Satsuma Domain in 1617, it is unlikely, as Derek Massarella has argued, that the Matsura would have allowed such a transfer to occur.[116] Although ships were unfixed, liminal spaces, it is clear that the decisions made aboard them were not considered to have a similar lack of fixity.

Contributing to the interpretation of the ship as a site of official business was the structure of the space aboard the ship and its replication of sites of administration on land. Although European and Japanese vessels of this period were built to significantly different

[112] *Saris*, p. 80 (11 June 1613).
[113] Ibid., p. 84 (12 June 1613).
[114] *Diary*, i, p. 9 (4 June 1615).
[115] Ibid., i, pp. 205-6 (30 March 1616), iii, 95 (2 May 1621).
[116] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 261.

models, they both possessed spaces of authority set apart from the main bulk of the ship, which belonged to and reflected the status of the captain or the *daimyo*. The cabin of a European ship and the *yakata* of a Japanese vessel were both used for formal and informal audiences with figures of note, and replicated, in microcosm, the physical geography of the court.

Most European merchant ships of the period were three-mast vessels, with a forecastle at the prow and a half-deck at the stern where the master's cabin would be located.[117] As Derek Massarella has noted, the *Clove* was probably of average size for an EIC merchantman of the time, based on its tonnage and crew complement.[118] By contrast, the ships used by *daimyo* such as the Matsura and Shimazu were most likely *gozabune* (honourable-seat ships) which carried the *daimyo* of maritime provinces to Edo.[119] Designed to demonstrate a *daimyo*'s strength in a period when military might was proscribed, these ships were highly ornamented, with a tatami room on board for the *daimyo*'s pleasure whilst travelling.[120] One such craft, the *Tenchi Maru* (Heaven and Earth), was built in the 1630s by Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu and operated for about 230 years.[121] In a late Edo-period scroll of ships owned by the shogunate it appears as a barge-like ship with a large rectangular building, or *yakata*, running from prow to stern.[122] Although the English do not describe the Japanese ships in detail, the noble rank of the *daimyo* and the fact that the Matsura's ships were referred to as 'galleys', as opposed to the more common 'junks', suggest that these were

[117] Ian Friel, 'Elizabethan Merchant Ships and Shipbuilding', (paper delivered 29 September 2009, Museum of London) https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/elizabethan-merchant-ships-and-shipbuilding (16 October 2020).
[118] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 89.
[119] William E. Deal, *Handbook to Life in Medieval and Early Modern Japan* (Oxford, 2006), p. 336.
[120] Michelle M. Damian, 'Archaeology Through Art: Japanese Vernacular Craft in Late Edo-Period Woodblock Prints'. (Ph.D. thesis, East Carolina University, 2010), p. 18.
[121] Deal, *Handbook*, p. 336.
[122] 'Ships Owned by the Edo Bakufu Scroll (Detail)' https://digitalmuseum.rekibun.or.jp/app/selected/edo-tokyo?no=201510&lang=en&curno=0 (4 November 2020)

probably *gozabune* since these coastal and river-going vessels were usually rowed rather than sailed.[123]

Neither model of ship was visibly similar to the other, and while it is clear that deference was still owed to the *daimyo* when aboard a ship, the protocols by which this was done were somewhat ambiguous, particularly when the ship was the site of first encounter. However, one fruitful method of handling the unfamiliarity of the shipboard space was to interpret it through the lens of the court, where protocol was clearer. For the Europeans in particular, this was a useful way of finding commensurability with the Japanese, as the *yakata*, with its raised dais for the *daimyo* and its tatami flooring, would immediately have recalled similar features in the interior of a *daimyo*'s mansion. Since the first meetings aboard *gozabune* occurred after the Europeans had already experienced Japanese mansions, such spatial features provided a familiar environment in which to meet the *daimyo*, where his majesty would not be compromised by being removed from his static seat of power. The familiarity of the *yakata* enabled and encouraged those within to act in accordance with the protocols of court. When meeting Shimazu Iehisa aboard his vessel, therefore, it is unsurprising that the Matsura, English and Dutch all brought gifts and jockeyed for primacy in presenting them; the space made such interactions intuitive.

More noteworthy, perhaps, is the application of similar protocols to the *Clove*, which unlike the *gozabune* model, was not designed to host royal audiences. While no direct parallel to *yakata* existed aboard European ships, the master of an East Indiaman nevertheless had his own private cabin, which served as a mark of authority on a vessel where living conditions were otherwise cramped and uncomfortable. As Friel notes, the cabin was usually spatially separated from the rest of the ship, positioned behind the mainmast (thus away from the

[123] Deal, *Handbook,* p. 336.

common sailors) and directly below the highest point of the ship's superstructure.[124] As a place to meet guests in private, either to discuss business or to entertain them, the cabin could be compared to the enclosed space of the *yakata*, and thus also the audience chambers of the landbound mansion. These parallels enabled the cabin space to be treated with the same reverence and comportment as the *yakata* or *ōhiroma*. Thus, when the Matsura visited Saris aboard the *Clove*, they bowed upon entry, as was done upon entering the *ōhiroma*, and forbade their retainers from entering the cabin, forming discrete spaces that performed the function of audience hall and antechamber.[125] The rigid protocols surrounding behaviour in the *ōhiroma* set the expectations for the treatment of space aboard the *gozabune*, where the internal geographies were similar, if not identical. This in turn set the expectations for European vessels, where the internal geographies bore only partial resemblance to the Japanese model, but the division of space into public and private remained. The performance of courtly civility in the cabin thus transformed this space from a living chamber to a place of political business, where letters from monarchs could be exchanged, and promises of free trade made, with just as much authority as they were on land.

Although central to early modern maritime encounters, ships were spaces which had the potential to threaten the hierarchical protocols of interaction, particularly when the form of the ship was unfamiliar to the participants involved. In Japan, where adherence to the social hierarchy was at the heart of what was considered civil society, the stakes of these interactions were high. By adhering to conventions of courtly behaviour in formal meetings aboard ships, the Europeans and Japanese were able to find ways of navigating encounters even when the space of encounter was unfamiliar and lacked a clearly defined protocol. By recognising the spatial distinctions aboard ships, and transposing onto them the expectations

[124] Friel, 'Elizabethan Merchant Ships', p. 8.
[125] *Saris*, pp. 79-80 (11 June 1613).

of courtly behaviour, both parties were able to transform an unfamiliar space into a recognisable one, and thus alleviate the tensions of meeting outside of the hierarchically bounded court. In so doing, the English, Dutch and Japanese were able to use their commensurable practices of courtly reverence to handle the uncertainty of an unfamiliar site of encounter.

Urban Space: Space as Social Constitutor

The analysis of space has so far focused on discrete, self-contained locations in Japan: the space of the factory, of the court, and of individual ships. In each of these spaces, European merchants met and interacted with small groups of Japanese in controlled and usually premeditated interactions. Although many interactions did take place in privacy, behind the closed doors of the factories or mansions of the *daimyo*, the Europeans inevitably had a prominent public presence in Japan as well. Both English and Dutch merchants became, during their time in Japan, members of the diverse international community that had been formed in Hirado, and could be seen engaging and interacting with the local Japanese not only in the business context of the factory or warehouse, but also in more informal public urban spaces. As residents of Hirado, the English and Dutch were incorporated into the social fabric of the neighbourhood, where adherence to rules and customs could generate amity and friendship, and bring societal benefits.

As Riita Laitinen and Thomas Cohen have argued, the street is a liminal space, bordering spaces that were public (such as marketplaces and public plazas) and private (such as yards, stairwells, and interiors of buildings).[126] Responding to Spiro Kostof's claim that streets are spaces constituted by the mutual assent of a community, they question the identity of the community that defines the street and the boundaries that separate personal and

[126] Riita Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen, 'Cultural History of Early Modern Streets – An Introduction', in Laitinen and Cohen, *Cultural History of Early Modern Streets* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 1-10, at pp. 1-2.

communal spaces.[127] Such considerations are of importance for Tokugawa Japan, since streets, both as elements of physical geography and markers of social identity, formed the organising principle of Japanese urban space. In Japan, the street was the basic unit around which the neighbourhood, known alternatively as the *machi* or the *chō*, was built.[128] Japanese cities of the seventeenth century were divided into quarters based on social rank; within this system, merchants and artisans were grouped together in districts.[129] These districts were divided by streets into blocks, which were further subdivided into *chō* centred on individual streets, where physical access was controlled by gates.[130] In larger cities, such as Edo, these *chō* frequently housed artisans and merchants of a single type, leading to the development of specialised trade 'quarters'.[131] As Katō Takashi has described them, the *chō* of early seventeenth-century Japan were 'territorial and occupational collectives' which formed the basic unit of urban administration.[132] Within a single *chō*, he argues, urban citizens of different status lived alongside one another; the wealthier merchants lived and worked in street-facing shops, whilst smaller artisans and labourers resided in houses that faced onto back alleys. Nevertheless, all members of these residential blocks shared a number of communal facilities, including a central well, a toilet, and a pit for waste; features which bound all members of the *chō* into close associational bonds based on their common usage of, and responsibility for, common areas.[133] At the neighbourhood level, shared space was a constituting factor in the formation of social relations.

[127] Laitinen and Cohen, 'Early Modern Streets', p. 6.
[128] Henry D. Smith, 'Tokyo and London: Comparative Conceptions of the City', in Albert M. Craig (ed.), *Japan: A Comparative View* (Princeton, 1979), pp. 49-99, at pp. 78-9.
[129] Ibid., p. 53.
[130] Ibid., p. 79.
[131] Katō Takashi, 'Edo in the Seventeenth Century: Aspects of Urban Development in a Segregated Society', *Urban History* 27 (2000), pp. 189-210, at pp. 193-4.
[132] Ibid., p. 201
[133] Katō Takashi, 'Governing Edo' in James L. McClain, John M. Merriman and Ugawa Kaoru (eds.), *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era* (Ithaca, 1994), pp. 41-67, at p. 49.

In this respect, *chō* were more than simply a means of dividing urban space. Belonging to a *chō* conferred rights and responsibilities, bringing a degree of political representation under the local neighbourhood association, but requiring adherence to mutual principles of collective responsibility.[134] Takehiro Kobayashi has examined the neighbourhood regulations, or *chō shikimoku*, of early seventeenth-century Miyako to identify the kind of responsibilities agreed upon by *chōnin*.[135] Such codes, he argues, likely predate the formal written agreements of the early 1600s, and cover a variety of behavioural standards, including the allocation of civic duties such as firefighting and street-cleaning, the prohibition of gambling, the selection of neighbourhood elders and methods for resolving disputes amongst residents.[136] Further legislation offers advice on governing neighbourhood relations with other *chō* and with a variety of external parties, including potential troublemakers such as entertainers, masterless *rōnin*, outcastes and Christians.[137] As these latter regulations imply, living within the *chō* conferred a sense of neighbourhood identity, and Carola Hein has traced the development of the *chō* from premodernity to the current day, arguing that these neighbourhoods function as a centre for community engagement, around which a local identity can be constructed, and in which festivals can assist in unifying a diverse social group.[138]

As has been argued when considering the factory space in Hirado, the English factory, unlike the largely hermetic Dutch compound, was founded within Hirado's Kihikida neighbourhood. The relationship between the factors and their immediate surrounds, therefore, demands further exploration in light of the sense of community and civic

[134] Smith, 'Tokyo and London', p. 79.
[135] Takehiro Kobayashi, 'Local Governance in Kyoto: From the Edo Period to the Present' *Zinbun* 47 (2017), pp. 129-45, at p. 131.
[136] Ibid., pp. 131-3.
[137] Ibid., pp. 133-4.
[138] Carola Hein, 'Machi: Neighborhood and Small Town – The Foundation for Urban Transformation in Japan', *Journal of Urban History* 35 (2008), pp. 75-107, at p. 76.

responsibility which accompanied residence in the *chō*. In England, as in Japan, households were incorporated into networks of neighbourhood relationships, where neighbours, brought together by the proximity of their dwellings, were closely involved in one another's lives.[139] Similar institutions existed in the neighbourhood associations of the Dutch Republic, locally-organised co-operatives for the purpose of 'mutual aid, social surveillance and sociability'.[140] It was this physical closeness, Vanessa Harding argues, which drew neighbours into social networks with one another, and it may go some way to explaining why the English diaries refer frequently to 'our neighbours' while the Dutch *dagregisters* refer sporadically and dispassionately to the '*burgherij*' (citizenry) of Hirado.

Crucial for interpreting these neighbourhood relationships were attitudes towards stranger communities; foreign groups living outside of their country of birth in England and the Dutch Republic. Both countries hosted significant immigrant communities, usually comprising Protestant refugees from France and the Spanish Netherlands.[141] In England, most refugees settled in London, where they formed a minority of the population; in 1593, 7,113 'strangers' were recorded living in the City and its suburbs, a mere 3% of a total population of almost 200,000 people.[142] In the Dutch Republic, Geert Janssen estimates that by 1600 one-third of the populations of Leiden, Haarlem and Amsterdam comprised Flemish and Brabant refugees.[143] Examining how these groups were received by their hosts, and the expectations which were placed upon them, offers valuable insight into the ways in which the English and Dutch merchants might have expected to act when living in Hirado.

[139] Vanessa Harding, 'Families and Households in Early Modern London, c.1550-1640' in Malcolm Smuts (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 596-615, at p. 596, 615.
[140] Remeig Aerts, 'Civil Society or Democracy? A Dutch Paradox', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 125 (2010), pp. 209-36, at p. 215.
[141] Laura Hunt Yungblud, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us* (London 1996), p. 11.
[142] Jacob Selwood, *Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London*, (Farnham, 2010), p. 2.
[143] Geert H. Janssen, 'The Republic of the Refugees: Early Modern Migrations and the Dutch Experience', *The Historical Journal* 60 (2017), pp. 233-52, at p. 240.

Accepting refugees was, in both England and the Dutch Republic, a matter of religious charity. Both countries saw it as their duty as Protestant states to offer aid to their persecuted brethren; to become, as Sir Walter Raleigh described England, 'the Refuge of the distressed Nations'.[144] Yet, at the same time, the arrival of strangers generated concerns about the conduct of these groups; in particular, their capacity to undermine English and Dutch interests both spiritually and financially. While Protestant refugees were welcomed to London from the sixteenth century, therefore, rumours abounded that Catholics and Anabaptists, as well as thieves and anti-English conspirators, were concealed amongst the arrivals.[145] In the Dutch Republic, meanwhile, the influx of Calvinist refugees fuelled anxieties that the strangers' zealotry would undermine attempts to form a pluralistic Protestant church.[146] Compounding religious anxieties were beliefs that immigrants were responsible for a multitude of social ills, including increased rents, inflation, scarcity of jobs, and the spread of disease.[147] In order to curb these perceived threats, stranger communities were subject to a variety of social restrictions intended to control their behaviour.

As Jacob Selwood has argued, there was no consensus about what precisely made strangers problematic other than that they were 'other'.[148] Difference was contextual and contingent on individual prejudice; there was no one way of living that would satisfy all parties.[149] Yet it is possible to identify patterns in the treatment of strangers, from which certain common expectations can be deduced. Strangers were expected to follow the rules set for them, dictating amongst other things where they could work and live.[150] Violation of these laws, or acting in a way that *appeared* to violate them, provoked suspicion and hostility; in

[144] Janssen, 'Republic of the Refugees', p. 246; Yungblud, *Strangers*, pp. 31-2.
[145] Luu, Assimilation or Segregation', p. 166.
[146] Janssen, 'Republic of the Refugees', p. 241.
[147] Luu, 'Assimilation or Segregation', p. 162..
[148] Selwood, *Diversity and Difference*, p. 15.
[149] Ibid., p. 18.
[150] Ibid., p. 70.

the 1570s, the Flemish community at Colchester was criticised for its contravention of statutes regulating commercial activity, even though, as Laura Yungblud has argued, these were of ambiguous legal standing.[151] Strangers were also expected to show that they supported their host state; particularly in light of fears that immigrants were leeching jobs and trade secrets from their hosts and, in the wake of the Ridolfi Plot of 1571, that they were conspiring to overthrow the political order.[152] Such suspicions were ameliorated, she argues, when Dutch and French churches in London were required to contribute troops towards military levies in 1587, thus demonstrating these communities' loyalty to England.[153] Concerns about conspiracy and nepotism were compounded when stranger communities remained insular, and complaints about the clannishness of these groups suggest that strangers might be more willingly accepted when they did not, 'keepe themselves severed… in church, in government, in trade, in language and marriage.'[154] Since some of this insularity came from an increased population size restricting acquaintance more generally, London's small stranger communities were expected to be proactive in making attempts to integrate, so as to overcome demographic impediment and appear not to be clannish.[155]

Comparing such expectations to those placed on the English and Dutch at Hirado by the *chō shikimoku*, integration into the neighbourhood at Hirado appears to have been far easier in Japan than in Europe. Where strangers in London were subject to hostility and suspicion, the English and Dutch at Hirado suffered (as will be explored in chapter five) very little xenophobic abuse at the hands of the Japanese. This may have been due, in part, to a significant difference between European and Japanese attitudes towards strangers. Selwood

[151] Yungblud, *Strangers*, p. 37.
[152] Ibid., p. 63; Selwood, *Diversity and Difference*, p. 65.
[153] Yungblud, *Strangers*, pp. 66-7.
[154] Lien Bich Luu, '"Taking the Bread out of Our Mouths": Xenophobia in Early Modern London', *Immigrants and Minorities* 19 (2000), pp. 1-22, at p. 3.
[155] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

argues that in Elizabethan England, the Crown tended to view cultural heterogeneity as an opportunity for economic growth, while the City of London tended to view it as a threat.[156] In Japan, however, the opposite was true; the shogunate saw Europeans as a potential vector for Catholicism to enter the country and undermine its authority, whereas the English and Dutch were welcomed to Hirado for the benefits they could bring to the domain's coffers.[157] Without a pervasive undercurrent of xenophobia in Hirado's civic life, relations between the Europeans and their Japanese neighbours were far less tense.

Nevertheless, as with strangers in Europe, there were rules that had to be followed, and the English were subject to the demands of the *chō shikimoku*, just as strangers in London were to City housing regulations. Both the resolution of disputes and the regulation of festival participation were governed by *chō shikimoku*.[158] Thus, in March 1617, William Adams was summoned before representatives from the *jūningumi*, an administrative group of ten houses which governed the *chō*, to resolve a dispute over some wood owed to a Japanese captain,[159] while in 1613 Taffio Dono, one of the English factors' neighbours, brought the English a pair of pine branches with which to decorate their door for the festival of *Shōgatsu*.[160] However, the most prominent example of English *chō* obligation was involvement in fire-fighting. In Japanese cities, where wooden structures predominated, firefighting duties were a communal responsibility which were carried out with regularity.[161] *Chō* maintained watchtowers and nightly guards to prevent arson, and members were required by *chō shikimoku* to participate in firefighting duties when necessary.[162] Cocks

[156] Selwood, *Diversity and Difference*, p. 16.
[157] Clulow, *Global Entrepot*, p. 10.
[158] Kobayashi, 'Local Governance in Kyoto', pp. 133.
[159] Kurt Steiner, *Local Government in Japan*, (Stanford, 1965), p. 12; *Diary*, ii, pp. 46-7 (19 March 1617).
[160] Ibid., ii, p. 235 (15 January 1618).
[161] Jordan Sand and Steven Wills, 'Governance, Arson and Firefighting in Edo, 1600-1868', in Uwe Lübken, Greg Bankoff and Jordan Sand (eds.), *Flammable Cities: Urban Conflagration and the Making of the Modern World* (Madison, 2012), pp. 45-62, at p. 45.
[162] Ibid., p. 46; Kobayashi, 'Local Governance in Kyoto', pp. 132-3.

suggests that the *jūningumi* may even have organised fire drills 'giuen of purpose to see how euery one would be found in a readinesse.'[163] Such organised responses would have been unfamiliar to the English; while Susan Kuretsky acknowledges the role of local communities in fighting fires prior to 1666, she has argued that in London, 'organised fire brigades were nonexistent, water sources were inadequate or inaccessible, and equipment for battling blazes [was] ineffective.'[164]

Whilst firefighting duties were a responsibility of *chō* membership, it is not clear how far English involvement was a direct result of the *chō shikimoku*. The English were present during a fire on the night of 2 February 1616, where they assisted in fighting the conflagration and helped to store the goods of concerned *chōnin* in their factory, and such actions suggest a sense of communal spirit with others in the neighbourhood.[165] However, Cocks notes that the Dutch, who seem not to have been so firmly incorporated into the *chō* structure, were also present on this occasion, and likewise helped extinguish a blaze at Kawachi in 1621.[166] On these occasions, the English and Dutch were able to use their status as outsiders to their advantage, since Japanese legislation issued between 1616 and 1632 prohibited samurai servants from fighting fires in commoner districts of Edo, lest tensions between mingling status groups break out into violence.[167] For such reasons Japanese firefighting remained a largely devolved enterprise, restricted by the boundaries of the *chō*. The English and Dutch, however, were not bound by these restrictions, allowing them to offer assistance beyond their immediate surrounds. This may explain why, in 1616, Cocks

[163] *Saris*, p. 73 (2 November 1616)
[164] Susan F. Kuretsky, 'Jan van der Heyden and the Origins of Modern Firefighting: Art and Technology in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam', in Lübken, Bankoff and Sand, *Flammable Cities*, pp. 23-43, at p. 27.
[165] *Diary*, i, p. 173 (3 February 1616).
[166] See ibid., i, p. 173 (3 February 1616) and iii, p. 190 (1 November 1621).
[167] William W. Kelly, 'Incendiary Actions' in McClain, Merriman and Kaoru, *Edo and Paris*, pp. 310-331, at p. 315.

noted that ‘had it not byn for the English and Duch, most of the towne had byn burned. For each one [of the Japanese] stood gazing… and did nothing’.[168]

Neighbourhood relationships defined by *chō* boundaries thus provided a means of organising and mobilising a community to action, but as an administrative unit of the Tokugawa social hierarchy, they were also restrictive, reflecting the central government’s concern with social order above all else. However, the English and Dutch, who interacted with individuals from across the Japanese social hierarchy, who lived amongst tradesmen yet had audiences with the shogun, appear to have been able to cross these boundaries and assist with fires that lay beyond their own areas of Hirado. Just as the Dutch came to fight the fire in central Hirado in 1616, so too did the English assist in fighting a conflagration that erupted in the eastern part of Hirado in 1617.[169] While their geographical positioning in relation to the *chō* of Hirado thus helped to define the social relations with the inhabitants of these spaces, the Europeans were not entirely constrained by them, and could operate outside of them when they felt the situation demanded it.

Despite the legislative restrictions placed on members of the *chō*, neighbourhood life was not entirely about restriction and obligation. Living within the *chō* had its responsibilities, but establishing good communal relationships also developed a sense of allegiance from the neighbours. This was clearly true in Hirado, where the English fostered close relations with many of the members of Kihikida-*chō*. On 31 March 1616, Cocks reports that ‘our neighbours came to dyner, 24 persons’, namely ‘the 10 of the two wardes [likely the *jūningumi*], and principall men’.[170] In June 1621, the English hosted another dinner party, inviting ‘neighbors and frendes’.[171] This time, Cocks provides a list of attendees; they

[168] *Diary*, i, p. 173 (3 February 1616).
[169] Ibid, ii, p. 34 (25 February 1617).
[170] Ibid., i, p. 206 (30-31 March 1616).
[171] Ibid., iii, p. 115 (19 June 1621).

numbered 26, excluding the English themselves. The physical proximity of these neighbours is suggested by the attendance of 'Cuze Dono', described in a diary entry of November 1621 as 'our next neighbour', and 'Zazabra Dono', who was most likely 'Zanzabea Dono, our next neighbour on the north', whose house had been purchased by the English on 10 April 1615.[172]

These relationships, however, were not simply casual social relationships. By tracing the names of the attendees through the diaries, we can see that most of these neighbours were craftsmen whose services the English were reliant upon. 'Taffio Dono', for instance, was listed as one of the English 'money changers' in January 1618.[173] 'Tobio Dono' was likely 'Tobioye Dono', 'garden bongew',[174] most probably the man from whom Cocks had rented garden space in June 1615.[175] 'Yayemon Dono, carpenter' may have been the Yohei, who provided the English with sappan wood in August 1616, and 'Jenquero Dono', brother of 'Cuze Dono', was likely the 'glover or shoemaker, Jenchero Dono', who would make an order of garters, shoes and gloves for the English in November 1621.[176] Neither were these fleeting or superficial relationships, since in June 1621, when a number of the Hirado elite came to the English house for dinner, Cocks records that 'all our neighbours came unsent for', to help prepare the meal.[177] That the neighbours readily volunteered to assist these preparations suggests that there was a sense of communality among the multinational residents of Kihikida-*chō*. When houses were reared, neighbours came to 'heat the house' with drinking and singing,[178] and festivals were shared; Taffio Dono's pine branches were

[172] *Diary*, iii, p. 208 (29 November 1621); Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, ii, p. 1286 (Extracts from 'Firando Ledger B', January 1614-August 1615).
[173] *Diary*, ii, p. 235 (16 January 1618)
[174] Ibid., iii, p. 53 (15 February 1621).
[175] Ibid., i, p. 115 (19 June 1615).
[176] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 459 (Bill of lading for sappan wood by Yohei at Hirado, 10 August 1616); *Diary*, iii, p. 192 (6 November 1621).
[177] *Diary*, iii, p. 114 (17 June 1621).
[178] Ibid., ii, p. 294 (26 May 1618).

encouragement for the English to participate at least nominally in Japanese festivals, such as Shōgatsu,[179] while the Japanese were themselves content to make merry in celebration of Easter.[180] Moreover, when a dispute over the Dutch capture of English mariners came to a head in 1620, Cocks recorded in a letter to the Clothworkers' Company in London, of which he was a freeman, that violence was prevented by the intervention of 'the Japoneses, our neighb'rs, taking our partes.'[181] By participating in the social life of the *chō* and adhering, at least in part, to the neighbourhood regulations, the English were able to avoid the xenophobic suspicions which fell upon stranger communities in London, and thus gain a number of social benefits, ranging from support in craftsmanship to physical protection from would-be assaults. The English and their neighbours were bound together in a network that was simultaneously social and instrumental. Mutual residency in the *chō* had brought them together, increasing the frequency of their interactions and facilitating the formation of a network of interdependence.

The experiences of the English may be contrasted with the Dutch, whose factory was constructed at the entrance to Hirado Bay, on the northernmost side of the harbour, far removed from the centre of the town and sequestered behind a gated retaining wall.[182] Geoffrey Gunn is led by Arnold Montanus' 1660 account of Japan to believe that the VOC factory comprised forty buildings; while this number may have been inflated by Montanus' retrospective account, Richard Cocks records that in 1618 the Dutch factory comprised a central building, at least two warehouses, a dovecote, gunpowder magazine, and 'many lodgings for sick folkes and for other uses'.[183] While it may not have been as large as

[179] *Diary*, ii, p. 235 (15 January 1618).
[180] Ibid., i, p. 206 (30 and 31 March 1616).
[181] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 776 (Richard Cocks at Nagasaki to the Governor and Company of Clothworkers of London, 10 March 1620).
[182] Geoffrey C. Gunn, *World Trade Systems of the East and West: Nagasaki and the Asian Bullion Trade Networks* (Leiden, 2018), p. 102.
[183] *Diary*, ii, p. 303 (17 June 1618).

Montanus suggests, it is not inconceivable that the factory had a sizeable footprint which further hindered integration into the *chō* by setting it apart as a neighbourhood unto itself, in contrast to the more centrally-located English factory, which was built to a Japanese floorplan and incorporated neighbouring buildings, thus growing into the space of the chō organically.

Nevertheless, the Dutch rely upon similar aid from the citizenry in times of crisis. In 1640, following increased scrutiny in light of intensifying anti-Christian sentiment, the VOC factors were ordered to demolish their newest buildings, beginning with their most recently-constructed warehouse.[184] On the evening that the proclamation was delivered, the Dutch were informed by Matsura Shigenobu that the commission had threatened to execute a number of the factors if the demolition of the warehouse was not done any faster.[185] The Dutch responded with alacrity, recruiting the assistance of some 200 sailors from their ships, plus 'the citizenry and merchants' from Hirado, who 'worked together the whole night' to move the Dutch merchandise into the factory's other buildings and, in some cases, the warehouses of some sympathetic locals.[186] While such extraordinary assistance was neither expected nor mandated by *chō* affiliation, nevertheless the Dutch were able to rely on local aid in times of crisis. The ability of the Dutch to recruit local aid for this herculean feat of demolition at such short notice may attest to a sense of solidarity existing between the Dutch and Japanese not as members of the same neighbourhood, but of the same urban space.

Conclusion

The English and Dutch, in their encounters with the Japanese, engaged with their hosts in a variety of locations, from the enclosed and secluded mansions of Edo to the open streets of Hirado. The geography in which social relations were conducted was varied, and

[184] *Dagregisters*, iv, p. 299 (9 November 1640).
[185] Ibid., iv, p. 301 (9 November 1640).
[186] Ibid., iv, p. 301. (9 November 1640. '*mitsgaders van de burgerij ende cooplieden (die portie in de sijde genieten) hulpe versoeken… Met welker assistentie gesamentl*[k] *den heelen nacht arbeijdende'*).

required the English and Dutch to develop various strategies of social engagement tailored to specific locations. Doing so necessitated recognition of the behavioural expectations that each space demanded. Through careful observation of local practice, judicious application of European norms to foreign contexts, and cautious improvisation in ill-defined and contested spaces, the factors were able to navigate the challenges of comporting themselves correctly in an unfamiliar social environment.

In many situations, commensurabilities between the treatment of space in both Europe and Japan allowed the English and Dutch to adapt quickly to unfamiliar environments. While the space of the *ōhiroma* was designed to intimidate those who entered, it was possible for the factors to rely on their knowledge of hierarchically-organised spaces in Europe in order to approach audiences at court with a degree of confidence, despite lacking formal training in diplomatic ceremonial. Within their own factories, the spatial dimension of concerns with comportment and politeness meant that European expectations of privacy resonated with Japanese conceptions of inward-looking *uchi* spaces. Neighbourhood associations were common to each of the three countries under consideration, leading the English factors to integrate quickly into the community of Kihikida-chō and the Dutch factors to participate in urban firefighting despite their otherwise separated physical location. If, as Sanjay Subrahmanyam has argued, court societies brought together in global conjunctures were able to recognise one another as 'courtly', thus facilitating exchange and discussion, then the recognition of spatial typologies as the universal categories of courtly and non-courtly, urban and rural, or the more specifically early modern categories of public and private, must also have helped the merchants to behave in ways that would facilitate meaningful dialogue.[187]

[187] Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters*, p. 215.

However, despite certain commensurabilities between European and Japanese spaces, the patterns of behaviour expected within those spaces were not directly comparable. Although early modern concerns with privacy resonated with the concept of *uchi* spaces, the two were not identical, leading to tensions when the English and Japanese disagreed on whether the display of a flag bearing a religious symbol was a public or private matter. While the structure of the shogunal mansion used the same spatial cues as European palaces to encourage visitors to perform due reverence to the shogun, visitors could not expect the same proximity to the monarch as they might in Europe. The spaces of encounter experienced by the English and Dutch in Japan assisted with the development of cross-cultural social relations, enabling the Europeans to improvise when precise knowledge of local practice was absent, but the factors were nevertheless required to develop particular understandings of local practices in order to avoid embarrassment when it transpired that spaces were not used in the same ways.

In this respect, the spaces of encounter were, as LeFebvre has argued, socially constituted, and their usage contingent upon social relations. Thus, space could also serve as a marker of the degree by which the Europeans and Japanese were able to break down the boundary of transnational strangership. By behaving correctly in the spaces of encounter, the Europeans were able to forge the connections with Japanese communities that granted access to different kinds of spaces. The formation of close social connections to the Matsura *daimyo* enabled the English and Dutch alike to access the *ōhiroma* in a different way, transforming the physical space of rigidly hierarchical diplomatic ceremonial into a more informal (if no less hierarchical) space of entertainment and socialising. Adhering to the rules of the *chō shikimoku* altered the relationship between the English and Japanese community of Kihikida-chō, who were willing to rally around the English as part of their own community in times of danger, even against other members of Hirado's multinational population. In each interaction,

the English and Dutch were incorporated into Japanese spaces as friends, if not necessarily equals.

Finally, space was also a marker of identity and social difference. Confronted with life in a foreign country on the other side of the world, the creation of a European factory space replete with familiar buildings and furnishings provided the English and Dutch with a corner of Japan to call their own; an escape from alien customs which often seemed confusing and strange. Yet, as has been seen, the walls surrounding the English and Dutch compounds were always slightly porous. The presence of Japanese features in the European factories are similarly suggestive of the cross-cultural integration that was occurring between the factors and the local population of Hirado. This traffic, of course, was not unidirectional, and there were those amongst the Japanese authorities who were concerned that ceding spaces to the Europeans and their practices, might threaten the stability of the Tokugawa regime. The increasing restrictions placed upon European spaces in Japan across the seventeenth century demonstrate the extent to which it was possible to be accepted into Japanese society at the communal, *chō* level, and yet remain inexorably foreign and threatening to the shogunate's policy of social integration.

Space, therefore, played an important role in the process of encounter. As a marker of identity, a means of locating points of commensurability, and measure of the relationship between interacting parties, it serves as a useful lens through which to view early modern global encounters. Moreover, the diversity of spaces in which such encounters occurred provides a reminder that it is important to look beyond the sites of official diplomacy when considering societies brought together in global conjunctures. As the case of Hirado shows, the ability of early modern merchants to adapt to a variety of spaces, both formal and informal, enabled those spaces to become sites of meaningful interactions across cultural boundaries.

Chapter 4: The Gift

From the first arrival of European ships in Hirado, the process of gift-exchange formed a central and vital part of the relationship between the merchants of English and Dutch factories and the many Japanese citizens with whom they interacted. The EIC vessel *Clove* had barely reached the mouth of the Hirado bay in 1613 when the merchants were swamped with gifts from Matsura Takanobu and his retainers. John Saris wrote that '…Diuers eatable presents weare sent me by the king and his nobility, Tubbes of the Counterye wyne, fish, hogs, pigges and such like'.[188] In return, Saris, along with Richard Cocks and the other factors, settled upon a suitable welcome gift for the *daimyo*, comprising a package of various coloured cloths, valued at 340 reals of eight, and gifts of coarse cotton fabric for the messengers.[189] This incident served as the English factors' introduction to the world of gift-exchange at Hirado, a constant and ongoing process which dominated daily life in Japan throughout the thirty-year period of Anglo-Dutch trade. Three years earlier, Jacques Specx had reached the same conclusion, remarking that 'there is no country under the sun where one has to make as many presentations as one does here.'[190]

Integral to the diplomatic process and vital to the formation of serviceable friendships, the Europeans understood the importance of a well-placed gift, and presents of many kinds were exchanged widely between the merchants and their prospective hosts. The intentions behind these gift-exchanges, the role and status of the participating parties, and the impact that these interactions had on shaping the European experience of early Edo-period Japan places the act of giving at the heart of cross-cultural commensurability at Hirado.

[188] *Saris*, p. 83. (12 June 1613).
[189] Ibid., p. 85. (13 June 1613).
[190] Cynthia Viallé, 'In Aid of Trade: Dutch Gift-Giving in Tokugawa Japan', *Tokyo Daigaku Shiryo Hensan-jo Kenkyu Kiyo* 16 (2006), pp. 57-78, at p. 61.

In England, the Dutch Republic, and Japan, the gift was recognised as a valuable tool in the sphere of diplomacy. Munificence was linked to the generation of social capital: in royal exchanges in Europe, Felicity Heal argues, the exchange of equally-valuable gifts was key to demonstrating that a ruler was of good standing, of honourable disposition, and had equal status to his peers.[191] More recently, Tracey Sowerby and Jan Hennings have examined the role played by material gifts in diplomatic exchanges, arguing that such objects were important for 'creating bonds of obligation and constructing notions of reciprocity and friendship' across the globe.[192] When monarchs exchanged gifts across great distances, as was the case in relations with Japan, gifts were the language 'through which sovereigns spoke to one another', particularly in situations where language barriers prevented spoken exchanges.[193] The adherence to strict practices of giving (such as giving gifts of hospitality and toasting-cups alongside ambassadorial gifts in England,[194] or giving gifts to the *daimyo*'s entourage in Japan[195]) ensured that all parties maintained face in the exchange, smoothing the diplomatic process in the hopes of a favourable outcome for all involved. Thus, when the *Clove* departed for the East Indies in 1611, it was expected that John Saris would confer with William Adams about appropriate gifts to be given to the shogun and any others who might require them.[196]

However, gift-exchange as a social practice was not limited to the courts of Japan's *daimyo* and shogun; it was a common occurrence in the daily experience of the European factors. Gifts were given widely by Japanese and Europeans on an almost-daily basis, to

[191] Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014), p. 150.
[192] Tracey A. Sowerby and Jan Hennings, 'Introduction: Practices of Diplomacy' in Tracey A. Sowerby and Jan Hennings (eds), *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c. 1410-1800* (Abingdon, 2017), pp. 1-21, at p. 14.
[193] Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, p. 155.
[194] Maija Jansson, 'Measured Reciprocity: English Ambassadorial Gift Exchange in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Journal of Early Modern History* 9 (2005), pp. 348-70, at p. 357.
[195] *Saris*, p. 86. (14 June 1613).
[196] Ibid., p. xiii.

friends and neighbours as often as to officials and patrons. Such exchanges were not unfamiliar in Europe; in analysing the 1624 diary of David Beck, a burgher from the Hague, Irma Thoen has determined that on average, Beck exchanged gifts with at least two people each day.[197] Gifts were part of the common vernacular in England; proverbial wisdom extolled the virtues of gift-giving, while preachers and moralists alike criticised those gifts given with self-interest in mind, although none were actually ever disinterested.[198] For the English and Dutch, who were seeking an entrance into Japanese society, even the quotidian gift given as a civil courtesy took on a diplomatic quality. Harry Liebersohn, writing about nineteenth-century colonial engagements in general, argues that European powers 'could not rule, they could not trade, they could not begin to have social relations of any kind without entering into a gift economy.'[199] Reading this concept back into the seventeenth century, it is clear that while Japan was not a 'gift economy' in the full sense of the term, engagement in gift-exchange was a necessary part of cosmopolitanism, and a prerequisite for meaningful social relations with their Japanese hosts.

A broad literature on gift-giving has emerged since Marcel Mauss' 1925 essay on *The Gift*. Focusing on Indigenous communities in the American Northwest, Polynesia, and Melanesia, Mauss suggests that gifts, whilst theoretically given voluntarily, are in reality part of a tripartite social obligation: to give gifts, to accept them, and to reciprocate them.[200] While gifts may appear, he argues, to be disinterested, none ever are, even if this is not clear to all involved, since gifts are part of a 'system of total services' in which the act of giving is to be reciprocated by an act of giving in return; if not with material objects, then with intangible

[197] Thoen, *Strategic Affection*, p. 49.
[198] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, pp. 10-12.
[199] Harry Liebersohn, *The Return of the Gift: European History of a Global Idea* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 5-6.
[200] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls (London, 1990) pp. 16-17.

means of support, such as alliance or military support.[201] The aim, he claims, is to establish hierarchy; to do a service to others in order to gain benefit at some future point.[202] Mauss' study focuses on what he refers to as 'archaic' societies; those which rely upon exchange and barter economies rather than on money, but the same principles can, he argues, be found across the world.[203]

Mauss' essay on *The Gift* has been influential on all subsequent studies of gift-exchange, and has inspired a rich body of scholarship building upon his work. Gadi Algazi has argued that, instead of a single model of 'the gift' applicable to all contexts, gifts are 'contested constructions of social transactions', whose meanings are negotiated both by historical actors and modern scholars, from an emic and etic perspective respectively.[204] He thus challenges the idea that participants in a gift-exchange necessarily adhered to the same frameworks of giving, even when gifts were recognised as being gifts, as opposed to tributes, rents, or bribes.[205] Instead, gifts must be 'negotiated'; they must be identified (for instance, as a bribe, a subsidy, a tribute, a donation) and interpreted before being acted upon, but these interpretations, and the required responses, may not be identical across societies. Algazi thus places emphasis upon the 'management of meaning'; the process by which historical actors attempted to come to understandings of what was being done with a gift in any given exchange, whether they were the giver or the recipient.[206] Felicity Heal has similarly shown that gifts could be ambiguous; a gift that lacked an appropriate level of prestige, or that was given with ill intent, could be considered an insult rather than an honour.[207] Likewise, she

[201] Mauss, *The Gift*., pp. 6-7.
[202] Ibid., p. 8.
[203] Ibid., pp. 5, 9.
[204] Gadi Algazi, 'Introduction: Doing Things with Gifts' in Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner and Bernhard Jussen (eds.), *Negotiating the Gift: Premodern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 9-27, at p. 10.
[205] Ibid., p. 12.
[206] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
[207] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, pp. 180-1.

sees the line between 'gifts' and 'bribes' or 'rewards' as inherently blurred.[208] Martha Chaiklin has addressed this ambiguity in the specific context of Tokugawa Japan, noting that a gift's meaning might be understood differently by different participants and observers of the exchange.[209] In Tokugawa Japan, gifts were a necessary part of life which carried and created social obligations, but in their variety and specificity of forms, they nevertheless elude an essentialist definition.[210]

By combining Mauss' conclusion that the gift functioned as a social binding agent which entangled giver and recipient in a mutual network of obligation with Algazi's argument that the precise meanings of gifts were negotiated by those embroiled in the exchange, it is possible to develop a fuller understanding of the ways in which gifts helped establish cross-cultural social relations at Hirado. Gift-giving, as Mauss has shown, was a universal means of reaching accord and achieving harmony when disparate groups came into contact with one another, but the English, Dutch and Japanese each had their own customs of gift-giving which did not always translate easily from one context to another. As shall be seen, although each group possessed broadly commensurable modes of gift-giving, the practices which comprised these exchanges and gave them meaning were culturally-specific and had to be learned. The Europeans could give gifts to mediate the tensions of strangership at Hirado, with displays of munificence serving to indicate that they were approaching the encounter in good faith, but these interactions nevertheless had to adapt to the specifically Japanese methods of gift-giving in order to be accepted.

In this respect, Algazi's concept of the 'management of meaning' may prove useful to understanding how an accord could be reached. He argues that the multifarious

[208] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 184.
[209] Martha Chaiklin, 'Introduction', in Martha Chaiklin (ed.), *Mediated by Gifts: Politics and Society in Japan, 1350-1850* (Leiden, 2016), pp. 1-23, at p. 5.
[210] Ibid., p. 6.

interpretations of what a gift might signify meant that premodern Europeans embroiled in gift-exchanges were required to rely on their own cultural understandings of gift-exchange in order to interpret, and adapt to, the ways in which others were deploying gifts.[211] Thus, in Tokugawa Japan, the English and Dutch were required to evaluate each of the gift-exchanges in which they participated, in order to determine how gifts were being used and what kind of response was required for successful reciprocation. By locating in Japanese gift-exchanges points of commensurability with their own practices of giving, the English and Dutch were able to more confidently navigate the melange of bribes, tributes, greetings and tokens of affection which comprised Japanese gift-exchange. The first step in this process, however, was to identify what constituted 'the gift' in its Japanese context.

The Gift: Definitions and Understandings

Defining 'the gift' is by no means straightforward. Martha Chaiklin has noted that the act of giving could involve a variety of interactions, from giving physical objects to offering intangible benefits such as charity or hospitality.[212] In the case of Tokugawa Japan, this duality was exemplified by gifts known as *mimai*; this term signified both a gift to, or the act of visiting, someone who was unwell.[213] While many gifts in Japan were physical objects, there was also scope, within the seventeenth-century understanding, to interpret well-wishes and payments as gifts.[214] In this, the English and Dutch might find a practice commensurate with their own, since European gifts in this period likewise exhibited a certain amount of flexibility. As Felicity Heal has argued, the extension of an offer of hospitality was a common form of gifting as practised by England's 'ordinary citizens'.[215] Likewise, amongst

[211] Chaiklin, 'Introduction'., p. 13.
[212] Ibid., p. 5.
[213] Ibid., p. 10.
[214] Andrew E. Goble, 'Physician Yamashina Tokitsune's Healing Gifts', in Chaiklin (ed.) *Mediated by Gifts*, pp. 82-115, at p. 87.
[215] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 28.

the literate, the gift of words in the form of dedicated poems, advice spiritual and temporal, and personal remembrances was becoming increasingly common.[216] In the Dutch Republic, Irma Thoen notes, the offering of material gifts was unusual, and would be offered only at rites of passage such as christenings or weddings.[217] Even then, it was possible to offer hospitality or well-wishes as a gift; in 1624, the Dutch *burgher* David Beck offered a letter of words 'sweet and poetic' to a pair of newlywed friends in lieu of a physical object.[218] In Europe, as in Japan, gifts might therefore encompass a range of 'givings' which extended beyond the material.

Thoen's study is perhaps the most prominent study of Dutch gift-giving as a form of individual exchange, focusing primarily on autobiographical 'egodocuments' from Dutch urban centres and excluding institutional forms of giving; most notably gifts given as part of diplomatic exchanges.[219] Claudia Swan, examining Dutch diplomatic gifts in their global context, has demonstrated that when operating on the international level, Dutch practices of giving tended to focus on material gifts. She examines how luxury objects, or 'rarities' featured prominently in such exchanges, intended to endear the Republic to other states on the world stage throughout the seventeenth century. The Dutch, she claims, 'saw and represented themselves as merchants in exotic, foreign, curious and rare goods par excellence', and the presentation of such rarities to foreign dignitaries was a means of self-representation as a lucrative trading partner.[220] This too was the norm for diplomatic gifts in England, where luxury objects of high value were given to demonstrate the status of the giver.[221] This was particularly the case for exchanges initiated when England sought to

[216] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, pp. 43, 48-9.
[217] Thoen, *Strategic Affection*, p. 82.
[218] Ibid., p. 75.
[219] Ibid., p. 25.
[220] Claudia Swan, 'Dutch Diplomacy and Trade in *Rariteyten*', in Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (eds.), *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 171-97, at p. 196.
[221] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 150.

establish new trading relationships; in such cases extravagant gift-exchange was a form of 'bait' intended to foster common dialogue and munificence between distant trade partners.[222]

While hospitality, well-wishes and charitable giving were all performed by the northern Europeans at Hirado, the vast majority of gifts given by the merchants were physical objects. To take 1616 as an exemplary year from Richard Cocks' diary, physical objects were exchanged between the English and Japanese 165 times, with the most commonly-exchanged gifts being food (68 times), clothes (usually light *kimono* or sandals, 23 times) and money (20 times). Less frequently recorded are 'words of complemento', given a mere six times: five times by the Japanese, and only once by the English. The fact that such verbal compliments were recorded as separate to gifts (the usual formulation was that gifts were given 'with many complementall wordes') suggests that only the material objects themselves were understood as gifts.[223] In Cocks' diary, the only things that were openly described as 'presentes' or 'giftes' were material objects, or on occasion small amounts of money.

The Dutch *dagregisters* do not give such a detailed picture of gift-exchange as Cocks' diary does; unlike the English cape-merchant's assiduous recording of gifts given and received, the main gifts recorded by the Dutch are those given to the shogunate as part of the yearly court visit. References to other gifts given are sparse, but suggest a similar kind of gift-exchange to that practiced by the English; on 16 January 1638 Nicholaes Couckebacker records sending 'a small letter, some confitures and distilled water' to Itakura Shigemasa,[224] while François Caron, on 1 October 1640, visited the newly-appointed Nagasaki *bugyō* Tsuge Masatoki with a present of cloth.[225] The terminology used by the Dutch for their gift-giving is also comparable to that used by Cocks; the Dutch *dagregisters* primarily use the term

[222] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 162.
[223] See, for instance, *Diary*, p. 256 (26 February 1618).
[224] *Dagregisters*, iii, p. 96 (16 January 1638).
[225] Ibid., iv, p. 276 (1 October 1640).

'*schenkagie*' to refer to gifts given; but on occasion also refer to '*geschenken ofte presenten'* (gifts or presents').[226] Caron, in his visit to Masatoki, records how his gift was received with 'complementos of thanks' (*complementos van danksegging*), suggesting that the Dutch also distinguished 'complemental words' from material gifts. In Japan, therefore, the factors seem to have been engaged in a primarily material form of gift-exchange.

This deviation from European social norms of the period may well have been a conscious attempt to follow the protocols set for them by the Japanese. The Japanese rarely came to the European factories without gifts in hand, a phenomenon which had been observed previously by Portuguese Jesuit João Rodrigues. In his *Account of Sixteenth-Century Japan*, the chapters on gift-exchange follow those on visiting and hospitality, and it is, he claims, 'the usual and ordinary custom for the person paying the visit to take with him a gift', i.e. a material object.[227] The materiality of the object is emphasised by the fact that Rodrigues notes how, even during the relative poverty of the *sengoku-jidai* when luxuries were hard to come by, material gifts were still given as part of the established social custom, even if they were of little economic value.[228] Since the exchange of gifts was, as Andrew E. Goble has argued, a means of reinforcing the social ties between people, the English and Dutch appear to have been engaging with a tradition of gift-giving set out for them by the Japanese upon first arrival.

How then, was the gift understood by Japanese citizens in the early Edo period? For this, we may turn to the diary of Yamashina Tokitsune, a physician from Miyako, who kept his journal between 1576-1608. As Goble has argued, Tokitsune's diary sorts gifts into four key categories: *suzu* (small gifts or treats), *miyage* (travel souvenirs), *onshin* or 'tidings'

[226] *Dagregisters*, i, p. 31 (7 November 1633).
[227] Rodrigues, *Account of Japan*, p. 189.
[228] Ibid., p. 206.

(news from afar, or material gifts sent to reaffirm friendship at a distance), and *rei*.[229] *Rei,* literally meaning 'respects' or 'appreciation', encompassed a variety of overlapping expressions of gratitude and well-wishing, including payment for services rendered (with or without a connotation of indebtedness) and payment of respects to another, without the need for any particular occasion. It might include the exchange of material gifts, but could also be as intangible as a passing greeting or a visit.[230] While one did not need an occasion to express *rei*, it was commonly done at New Year when people were first meeting or as a way of starting the year with a clean slate.[231] Critically, however, *rei* had to be reciprocated by *rei-gaeshi*, a 'gift in return', within a short timeframe.[232] As Jun Ohashi has argued, *rei* is a 'way of thanking', usually formulated in Japanese as a verb: to do or say *rei*.[233]

This list of gift contexts is not exhaustive; Tokitsune does not include certain specificities, such as the custom of always providing light food (*sakana*) when giving a gift of alcohol, as noted by João Rodrigues,[234] or the formalised process of giving gifts as part of the diplomatic exchange with the Tokugawa shoguns and other officials. Nor does it include concepts such as *toshidama*, a New Year's gift, *iwai*, a gift of congratulations, or *senbetsu*, a gift to a person about to take a trip, as outlined by Martha Chaiklin.[235] Nevertheless, Tokitsune's schema gives a useful insight into how the urban citizens of Japan, with whom the Europeans were working and trading on a daily basis, conceived of gift-exchanges in their everyday lives. Gifts were usually (but not always) material objects, and in giving a gift there was an insinuation that reciprocation (either with a gift in return or an act of service, in the Maussian sense) was expected. This schema of gift-exchange provides a baseline, therefore,

[229] Goble, 'Physician Yamashina Tokitsune's Healing Gifts', p. 87.
[230] Ibid., p. 87.
[231] Ibid., pp. 88-9.
[232] Ibid., p. 87.
[233] Jun Ohashi, 'Linguistic rituals for thanking in Japanese: Balancing obligations', *Journal of Pragmatics* 40 (2008, pp. 2150-74, at p. 2152.
[234] Rodrigues, *Account of Japan*, p. 206.
[235] Chaiklin, 'Introduction', p. 10.

for judging and understanding how far the English and Dutch merchants' patterns of gift-giving were commensurate with Edo-period expectations of gift-giving.

Motivations for Gifting

The wide variety of contexts in which gift-giving occurred at Hirado complicates the picture of this form of social exchange. The network of overlapping meanings attributed to gifts meant that a single present might be interpreted in a number of different ways. In 1622, Richard Cocks and the Dutch *Opperhoofd* Leonard Camps went to visit Momono Tarōzaemon, the new secretary to Matsura Takanobu, and brought him a present. Though they do not mention what the gift was, they were at pains to explain that 'we did not present it for a present, but for a custom of the new yeare, not to goe emptie handed to a man of his qualletye and our espetiall frend.'[236] Six years earlier, the English, who were expecting Takanobu to settle a debt with them, had made the decision to present their New Year's gift to the *daimyo* before the bill could be paid, "otherwais yt might be thought it was sent in respect he paid the money."[237] The same gift, therefore, might be interpreted as a show of amity, a social convention, a means of encouraging action or, if interpreted less charitably, an act of bribery. In practice, it might have served a combination of these purposes.

Some gifts given in Japan held reasonably straightforward motivations, and the more formal the gift, the fewer alternate motivations it tended to carry. We may take, for instance, the gift to the emperor or, in the context of the European factories, the shogun. Merchants from both factories made a yearly visit to the shogun, whereupon they would offer the shogun and his chief ministers a gift, usually comprising a selection of each factory's finest cloth as well as an assortment of rarities of some worth. In 1613, the English gift included a gilt ewer and basin, a burning-glass of 'verye faire' quality, and a silver-gilt 'prospectiue glass' or

[236] *Diary*, iii, p. 238 (11 February 1622).
[237] Ibid., i, p. 158 (11 January 1616).

early telescope, as well as various kinds of fine cloth, totalling 349 reals of eight or 1% of the factory's stock in goods.[238] The Dutch gifts were even more extravagant; 4% of the annual import goods was set aside for the shogun.[239] These often included gifts of the coveted luxury silk: the 1636 gift included silk products including *rasetten* twill, Chinese silk clothing, velvet, *gielem* silk, bombazine, and *bariga* silk.[240]

The purpose of this gift was never ambiguous; it was aimed to win the Europeans favour at court, in the hope of obtaining continued trade deals and favourable treatment. The 1636 gift, which also contained a brass chandelier and luxurious novelties including two Persian carpets and twelve pistols, was aimed at winning the freedom of the disgraced governor of Formosa, Pieter Nuijts, who had been incarcerated by the shogunate for imprisoning the crews of two Japanese junks in 1628.[241] Such gifts attempted to appeal to the Japanese using two kinds of luxury; the Persian carpets recalled the long-standing practice of using luxuries from across Asia to win the favour of Asian potentates, while the copper chandelier was a conspicuous display of European craft. The combination of these forms of giving in the 1636 gift is indicative of the Dutch desire to impress by whatever means necessary; unsurprising given that previous embassies to secure Nuijts' freedom had been unsuccessful.[242] It was a successful gambit; the chandelier, which impressed Matsura Takanobu enough to hang it in his mansion (where it was 'seen with wonder by everyone'),[243] was sufficiently impressive for Tokugawa Iemitsu to release Nuijts one month later, after three years of unsuccessful petitioning.[244]

[238] *Saris*, p. 113 (3 August 1613); Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 93.
[239] Viallé, 'In Aid of Trade', p. 62.
[240] *Dagregisters*, ii, p. 18-22 (21 March 1636).
[241] Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun*, pp. 185-6.
[242] Ibid., p. 246.
[243] *Dagregisters*, ii, p. 22. (22 March 1636. '*van een ijgelijk met verwonderinghe gesien wert'*).
[244] Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun*, p. 202.

The diplomatic importance of these courtly gifts meant that they were firmly enshrined in rituals which were not always comprehensible to the European powers. It is perhaps this which resulted in courtly gifts being among the best-described of the period, not only in their contents but in the manner in which they were given. As has been explored in chapter three, such gifts were presented in the visually-intimidating *ōhiroma* space, divided into the elevated *kami no ma* where the shogun or *daimyo* sat, and the *tsugi no ma*, where supplicants would come to do reverence. It was a space dominated by ritual, an illustration of which is provided by François Caron, who records his presentation of gifts to Tokugawa Iemitsu in 1634. Caron records how, before his audience, he was summoned to the house of Sakai Tadayuki to prepare the gifts, which were laid out on presentation tables.[245] The gifts, at this point, were curated by the *rōjū*, who removed several 'unnecessary' items (on this occasion, a still-life painting and three military manuals), and arranged the tables appropriately.[246] It is possible that the gifts were also placed under ornamental cloths, *fukusa*, designed to reflect the taste of the giver, but as Caron does not mention cloths, if these were added it is likely that they would have been handled by the Japanese rather than the Dutch themselves.[247] During the audience itself, he recalls how these tables were laid out 'in sight of his Majesty', and that the Dutch were required to kneel before them, 'and thus to do reverence'.[248] Similar reverence had to be shown to several key *rōjū*, including Tadayuki's father Sakai Tadayo, Doi Toshikatsu and Sakai Tadakatsu, before the Dutch were signalled to stand, turn, and depart. As with all interactions in this space, the ritualised practices of

[245] *Dagregisters*, i, p. 123 (14 March 1634).
[246] Ibid., pp. 125-6 (14 March 1634).
[247] Mary V. Hays and Ralph E. Hays, *Fukusa: The Shojiro Nomura Fukusa Collection* (Oakland, 1983), pp. 11-12.
[248] *Dagregisters*, i, p. 125. (14 March 1634. '*onse presenten waeren aen't eijnde der zeal in't oogh van sijne Maij^t^ geseth, alwaer wij gewesen warden recht voor te gaen knielen, ende soo de reverentie te doen'*).

bowing and doing reverence, as directed by Japanese assistants, were intended to humble the giver before the shogun and reinforce the imbalance of power between giver and recipient.

The desire for courtly favour also lay behind gifts to the shogun's ministers. In October 1615 the English presented a servant of Tokugawa Tadateru, the sixth son of Ieyasu, with 'a fireloct petrenell for a present', 'in respect [he] may doe us good above [i.e. at court] hereafter'.[249] Similarly, following Tokugawa Hidetada's restriction of European trade privileges in 1616, the English brought a gift to Itakura Katsushige, the Miyako *Shoshidai* (mistakenly believed to be the 'Lord Cheefe Justice of Japon'), when he came to discuss the new ruling.[250] Richard Cocks did not disclose the precise motivation behind this gift, but Itakura's claim that 'he could do us small pleasure in the matter [of restoring the old set of privileges]… yet… would doe his best'[251] suggests that the gift was, in part, intended to encourage Katsushige to help them at court. A similar response was given when Cocks visited the Japanese admiral Mukai Shōgen Tadakatsu with a gift of '3 gilt Syam skins and a tigers skyn'; Tadakatsu offered Cocks 'to do for our nation what he could' upon receipt of the gift.[252] Cocks does not appear to have approached Tadakatsu with a specific request on this occasion; however, he notes offhand that Tadakatsu and his father are 'the trustiest frendes we have in these partes', suggesting that the luxuries given were intended to ensure their continued benefaction. These exchanges point to the instrumentality of the courtly gift; such presents had one purpose, which was to encourage favourable treatment from figures of power in the Japanese government.

A further motivation for the giving of certain gifts to the *rōjū* and shogun may also have been the self-presentation of the Europeans as potentially-valuable purveyors of foreign

[249] *Diary*, i, p. 120 (31 October 1615).
[250] Ibid., i, p. 317 (7 October 1616).
[251] Ibid., i, p. 318 (7 October 1616).
[252] Ibid., i, p. 306 (19 September 1616).

technologies, particularly those with martial purpose. As has been seen, several of the gifts discussed so far fall into this category; particularly the Dutch military manuals, and the pistols and petronels given by both companies. Such presents reflect the fact that, in the waning years of the *sengoku-jidai*, European technology was valued in Japan and sold well. Derek Massarella has suggested that the survivors of *de Liefde* were kept in Japan in 1600 because Ieyasu saw them as valuable for developing the Japanese shipbuilding industry, and C. R. Boxer has asserted that the ship's cannons and muskets had been used by the Tokugawa at Sekigahara later that year.[253] The Tokugawa likewise purchased ordinance from the English in June 1614, prior to the siege of Osaka in 1615, while the Dutch found that ordinance was so desired by the Japanese that a foundry was established at the Dutch factory in 1615, lasting until 1619 when Dutch cannon-founding commenced at Batavia.[254] When given as gifts, such technologies were evidently intended to encourage future sales. In April 1636, Matsura Takanobu advised the Dutch that a gift of cannons intended for Sakai Tadakatsu would not be accepted unless it was couched as a sale, and thus to sell them for a negligible sum so as to avoid the appearance of a bribe.[255] *Opperhoofd* Nicholaes Couckebacker, however, argued that it was preferable to give them as a gift, since selling them cheaply would depreciate the value of all other cannons sold in Japan.[256] Gifts as a 'sample' of the potential benefits that the northern Europeans could bring to Japanese military technology also likely underlay the gift, given to Tokugawa Iemitsu in May 1635 of a 'model of an assembled European army, consisting of seven tables', designed by David de Solemn, quartermaster at Batavia.[257] According to Adam Clulow, this was a model of the 1629 Siege of 's-Hertogenbosch, a prominent Dutch victory over the Spanish Netherlands,

[253] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 79; Boxer, *Jan Compagnie in Japan*, p. 26.
[254] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 187 (Richard Wickham to Richard Cocks, 24 June 1614).
[255] *Dagregisters*, ii, p. 39 (1 April 1636).
[256] Ibid., p. 40 (1 April 1636).
[257] Ibid., i, p. 215 (6 April 1635. '*modellen van een geformeert Europische leeger bestaende in seven taeffelen*'.)

and consisted of hundreds of lead soldiers.[258] De Solemne had also given 'models of the Prince of Orange's camp' to Charles I of England in 1628, shortly after the English monarch's disastrous expeditions to Cádiz in 1625 and Saint-Martin-de-Ré in 1627; at a moment, in short, where Dutch assistance might have been well-received.[259] It would appear that the VOC had decided to put de Solemne's models to similar purpose in Japan.

Of these items, only the heavy ordnance was highly valued by the Japanese. De Solemne's gift of a model army resulted in no change to Japanese purchasing habits, likely because there was little that the Dutch model could offer the Japanese. As Matthew Stavros has shown, the Japanese had fielded musket regiments as early as 1549, and Oda Nobunaga had deployed volley-fire in combat in 1575, more than a decade before it emerged in European warfare.[260] It is likely for this reason that the *rōjū* removed the military manuals from the 1634 gift; according to Couckebacker, two of the books focused on the use of firearms and horses in combat (two skills the Japanese already possessed) while the third, a 'treatise on fortified buildings' may also have told the Japanese little more than they already knew; as Adam Clulow argues, by 1643 the Japanese were in possession of highly detailed maps of the Spanish fortifications at Manila, surpassing any such charts possessed by the Dutch, who asked the shogunate for copies.[261] Cannons, however, were a highly-valued gift, since Japanese cannons remained inferior to European artillery.[262] While the northern Europeans attempted to use gift-giving as a means of presenting themselves as providers of

[258] Adam Clulow, 'Finding the Balance: European Military Power in Early Modern Asia', *History Compass* 13 (2015), pp. 148-57, at p. 152.
[259] Sir Nicholas Harris, *History of the Orders of Knighthood of the British Empire, of the Order of the Guelphs of Hannover, and of the Medals, Clasps and Crosses Conferred for Naval and Military Services* (4 vols, London, 1842), iv, p. 4, n.1; Mark Charles Fissell, *English Warfare, 1511-1642* (London, 2001), p. 269.
[260] Matthew Stavros, 'Military Revolution in Early Modern Japan', *Japanese Studies* 33 (2013), pp. 243-61, at pp. 246, 250-1.
[261] *Dagregisters*, i, p. 34 (11 November 1633. '*een trackteren*^{de} *van fortification gebouwen*'); see also Clulow, 'Finding the Balance', p. 153.
[262] Clulow, 'Finding the Balance', p. 151.

valuable new technologies, therefore, in reality only a select number of these gifts achieved this purpose.

The silver-gilt telescope given to Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1613 by the EIC was another gift which would also have demonstrated the technological capabilities of the northern Europeans to the Tokugawa. Timon Screech, however, has recently demonstrated that this particular gift possessed a significance beyond its role as an expensive novelty, although the telescope *was* certainly both expensive and novel, being made from silver-gilt and having first been patented in 1608.[263] It was, Screech argues, part of an English scheme to undermine the Jesuit influence in Japan, functioning as a symbol of the scientific advancement of Protestant England versus the persistent magical thinking espoused by the Jesuits.[264] It was a scientifically-grounded alternative to the 'magic mirror' of antique and medieval thought; legendary far-seeing objects which had come to be closely associated with the Jesuit order thanks to a text written by a former Jesuit, Johannes Cambilhorn, who claimed that Henri IV of France had been given such a mirror by the Jesuits and was using its omniscient gaze to scry on and undermine rival governments.[265] The telescope symbolised a repudiation of such practices. Moreover, it was also an instrumental tool in disproving the model of heliocentricity propounded by the Catholic Church and taught by Jesuit missionaries in Japan.[266] The telescope was a rich curiosity and a scientific marvel, of interest to Japanese astronomy, but more significantly, it was a gift which stood in contradistinction to the teachings and alleged practices of the Jesuit Order.[267] Unlike the treatises on fortification given two decades later, the English telescope made a lasting impression in Japan; the eighteenth-century *Nanban-ji monogatari* (Tale of the Southern Barbarian Temple) records,

[263] Screech, *Silver Telescope*, pp. 9, 69.
[264] Ibid., p. 72.
[265] Ibid., pp. 70-1.
[266] Ibid., pp. 73, 177-8.
[267] Ibid., p. 72.

imprecisely, how a telescope was brought to Japan by a monk named 'Buraten', a name which Screech argues is 'surely derived from Britain'.[268]

Although gifts to the *rōjū* were usually given in their mansion house, comparable in form to the palaces owned by the shogun, such gift-exchanges were not as ritualised as the presentation of gifts to the shogun. Whereas Caron was required to leave Iemitsu's presence without a word in 1634, his visit to Sakai Tadayo the next day was comparatively casual; Tadayo 'treated us very kindly'[269] and gave the Dutch his assurance that their gifts the day before had been received well.[270] Richard Cocks once noted that he attempted to deliver presents to the *rōjū* in Edo when they 'were at leasure' but was told that they were busy, suggesting that his visit was somewhat impromptu.[271] Such visits, however, were no less important for their comparative informality; since the social stakes were lower and less performativity was required of the Europeans, it was easier to catch the ear of men of influence, and, if nothing else, to learn how well the shogun had thought of their gift.

Similarly unceremonious were the presentation of gifts to officials in Hirado itself, made possible by the fact that the Matsura and their retainers were well-known to the Europeans, and vice versa. Unlike the public formality of audiences with the shogun, audiences with the Matsura were small and private; when Cornelis van Nijenrode visited Matsura Takanobu in 1624, there were 'no others present than his secretary and his and our interpreter'.[272] When Cocks visited Takanobu in January 1618 with a gift for the Japanese New Year, the *daimyo* thanked him 'with many complementall words', and drank a health to the English in Cocks' presence.[273] Nevertheless, it is clear that the informality of these

[268] Screech, *Silver Telescope*, p. 242.
[269] The original word, *vrundelijk*, may also be translated as 'friendly'.
[270] *Dagregisters*, i, p. 128. (15 March 1634).
[271] *Diary*, i, p. 296 (2 September 1616).
[272] Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, p. 125.
[273] *Diary*, ii, p. 238 (20 January 1618).

meetings was not merely a show of congeniality. In September 1615, the English sought to construct new warehouses to expand their factory. Cocks therefore sought out the Hirado officials Matsura Shigetada and Sagawa Nobutoshi, to present them with gifts, and thus win their support.[274] The aim of these gifts was to 'get Taccamon Dono [Shigetada] and Semi Dono [Nobutoshi] to frendes'; a course of action advised by Matsura Takanobu's secretary, who warned the English 'not to geve giftes to any one but the kinge' once their aims were complete – advice which was likely aimed at curtailing accusations of bribery, but which was in practice almost impossible to heed.[275] Friendship, therefore, might well have an instrumental purpose, and gifts to win favour were clearly an expected and recognised part of the negotiating process.

It should not be assumed that gifts were an unknown quantity to the recipient; as Cynthia Viallé has shown, specific types of gift were frequently requested by Japanese elites.[276] The VOC produced lists of requested gifts called *eisen*, and while these were most common in the 1630s, Vialle notes that Japanese elites, such as Matsura Takanobu, were making requests for gifts from at least 1620.[277] It was imperative that such gift-requests be fulfilled carefully, since those who made them usually had some influence over Japanese-Dutch trade, if not directly.[278] As will be examined, failure to present requested gifts, or to provide gifts of sufficient quality, might lead to the Europeans being rebuffed, or worse, losing valuable allies in the shogun's inner circle.

This multivalent understanding of the gift as a token of friendship and a means to an end perhaps most clearly characterises the exchange of gifts between the European factors and the friends, neighbours, and other townspeople with whom gifts were exchanged on a

[274] *Diary*., i, p. 87 (17 September 1615).
[275] Ibid., i, p. 88 (17 September 1615).
[276] Vialle, 'In Aid of Trade', p. 65.
[277] Ibid., p. 66.
[278] Ibid., p. 68.

regular basis. Such gifts were often given with apparently friendly aims; gifts of *rei*, *senbetsu* and *miyage* were frequently exchanged with the people of Hirado, as were gifts which served to reinforce the bonds of friendship between the Europeans and their neighbours. When the English factors established an orchard in Hirado in 1616, many of their neighbours presented them with gifts of trees. 'Sugian Dono', a friend from Ōmura, sent three pine trees; 'Ushanusque Dono', a local *bugyō*, sent a grapevine; the Portuguese trader Jorge Durois at Nagasaki furnished the English with quince, orange and pear trees; Li Dan gave them orange, peach and pear trees; Jacques Specx sent two fig trees, and a Buddhist monk in Hirado sent them fifteen trees of various kinds.[279] At Shōgatsu, Cocks records, 'divers neighbours' came to bring the Europeans gifts of fans,[280] while the English and Dutch sent gifts to neighbours including their Japanese servants, members of the Matsura's retinue, and minor officials such as the 'garden bugyō' with whom they dealt on a daily basis. At other times, gifts were given without occasion or comment; for instance, when the wife of one of the English interpreters brought fruit as a gift in 1615,[281] or when the father of 'Palle', a local monk, brought fish to the factory in 1618.[282] There was a reciprocal sense of community fostered in these exchanges; on 7 April 1618, the English factors' neighbour 'Cushcron Dono' built a new house, and Cocks sent a gift of sake and fish, 'as he did to us at our building'.[283] At other times, gifts were given as thanks; when William Nealson's mistress refused payment for tailoring a set of shirts for Cocks, he gave her a silk kimono instead.[284] These gifts, which were not ritualised nor formal in their presentation or content, bespeak a growing familiarity between the Europeans and the Japanese.

[279] *Diary*, i, pp. 191 (2 March 1616), 200 (20 March 1616), 201 (23 March 1616), 202 (26 March 1616), 203 (28 March 1616).
[280] Ibid., ii, p. 238 (20 January 1618).
[281] Ibid., i, p. 17 (15 June 1615).
[282] Ibid., ii, p. 269 (19 March 1618).
[283] Ibid., ii, p. 277 (7 April 1618).
[284] Ibid., ii, p. 301 (14 June 1618).

Nevertheless, Cocks was aware that instrumental notions lay behind many of these exchanges as well. When the English lodged at Miyako in November 1616, they were visited by two Japanese friends, who brought the English gifts. Where other presents that week had been accepted without comment,[285] Cocks writes that he was not keen to receive these gifts 'for, as the ould saying is, the[y] bring a sprat and look for a herring.'[286] Nor was this the only time that he noted, with some resentment, that a gift was serving an instrumental purpose. In February 1618, a samurai of Osaka sent a gift of food and sake, offered as thanks 'because I made hym colation thother day'[287]. Cocks, however, was cynical, believing that the gift was in reality 'a preparative to borow money'. In practice, the English and Dutch engaged in similar exchanges themselves. Although the tradesmen, merchants and low-ranking samurai of Japan had little influence which could win the Europeans better trading privileges or more favourable treatment at court, they were nevertheless useful to the Europeans, and a well-placed gift might win useful friendship. Writing to Richard Wickham at Edo in January 1614, Cocks advised his colleague to take up lodgings in the house of a Japanese merchant, and to 'make much of frends when yow have them… for fayre words will doe much.'[288] In 1616, William Eaton's host at Nagasaki was given an offer of money for his help in liberating Eaton from jail at Akuno-ura, but also because he was believed to have contacts in Cochinchina, where the English had lost two of their merchants in an attack in 1614, and Cocks hoped to use him to settle the unsolved matter.[289] Giving gifts to the commonality of Japan, therefore, was useful not for the specific purpose of gaining access to court or to winning privileges, but rather for establishing a positive environment in which the merchants

[285] *Diary*., i, p. 339 (3 November 1616).
[286] Ibid., i, p. 341 (5 November 1616).
[287] Ibid., ii, p. 250 (14 February 1618).
[288] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 124 (Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham at Edo, January 1614).
[289] *Diary*, i, p. 241 (7 June 1616).

could work and trade, and a reliable set of contacts on whom the Europeans could rely for useful favours.

For Marcel Mauss, the process of gift-giving is inherently bound up with the creation of social bonds and obligations; he describes the process of gifting as being a 'bond of alliance' and couches a failed gift in the language of conflict.[290] Such terminology allows us to consider that gifts given outside of the strictures of the courtly setting might also have functioned in the name of diplomacy. This kind of informal diplomacy, where gifts were used to win friends and influence people without the need to adhere to the formal structures of direct petitioning, was crucial for the European factors not only in their interactions at the highest levels of government, but also at the local, civic level. A closer examination of the European sources' accounts of gift-exchanges across the various levels of society will provide a useful insight into how the factors interpreted, understood, and deployed gifts to forge the necessary formal and informal bonds needed to thrive in Japanese society.

Interpreting the Gift

It cannot, and should not, be assumed that the gift-object carried the same nuances for all people at all times. Since Mauss has argued that the gift embodies an aspect of the giver, the relationship between the giver and receiver necessarily defines part of the nature of the gift. On 14 June 1615, Richard Cocks received gifts from the Japanese interpreter 'John Japan' and the boatswain of the junk *Sea Adventure*.[291] Both gifts were uncommon and generous novelties; the boatswain gave him a pair of brushes and a box of cinnamon, while John Japan offered a length of Ryukyuan cloth. Where Cocks was grateful for the boatswain's gift, calling the cinnamon he gave 'the best that ever I saw in my life', he had little time for John Japan's gift, and took the opportunity to fire the interpreter for his recent

[290] Mauss, *The Gift*, p. 17.
[291] *Diary*, i, pp. 16-17 (14 June 1615).

string of unwarranted absences. Both men had given gifts of a similar quality, but to Cocks, the value of the gift was determined by his relationship to the giver, and John Japan's gift meant little when examined against the perceived disservice he had done to the EIC.

Similarly, as Martha Chaiklin has identified, certain gifts held a different value at different times of the year. She provides as an example the fact that the first bonito fish of the year, given usually in the late spring or early summer was considered a present of greater value than a bonito given at other times of the year.[292] It is perhaps for this reason that Matsura Nobesane offered the English 'many faire words' when Cocks brought him a gift of dried bonita on 1 July 1615.[293] Likewise, the English received gifts of *mochi* cakes throughout the year, usually in boxes of ten or twenty. However, during the months of January and February, around the date of the Japanese New Year, they would be given only two at a time, by figures as diverse as their neighbour 'Cushcron Dono', the Hirado official Naizennoshō, and William Adams' brother- and sister-in-law.[294] These pairs of *mochi*, which could be 'as bigg as cheeses'[295], fit the description of *kagami mochi*, a stack of two *mochi* traditionally produced to celebrate the New Year, with connotations of good fortune which would not have been shared by *mochi* given at any other time of year.[296] The gift, therefore, was not only given its character by the relationship between giver and recipient, but also by the circumstances and temporal site of giving.

Cocks does not appear to have given any significance to the difference between *kagami mochi* and normal *mochi* beyond marvelling at the size of the former, which raises a further point to be considered when discussing the gift – gifts could be interpreted differently by the giver and recipient. Gadi Algazi has pointed out that written accounts obscure

[292] Chaiklin, 'Introduction', pp. 8-9.
[293] *Diary*, i, p. 28 (1 July 1615).
[294] Ibid., i, p. 175 (5 February 1616); ii, p. 23 (2 February 1617); iii, pp. 241-2 (19 February 1622).
[295] Ibid., iii, p. 242 (19 February 1622).
[296] Robert Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion* (New York, 1985), p. 222.

divergent perspectives on the gift, since only one interpretation is recorded, and that therefore studies of gift-exchange should focus on the 'management of meaning' rather than what gifts 'really were'.[297] This process, he explains, relies on the understanding of how specific cultures perceived, discussed, and put into practice the institution of gift-exchange. The divergence between European and Japanese interpretations of gift-exchange may be summed up with a case study.

On 27 August 1616, a delegation of merchants from the English factory arrived in the city of Edo with a gift of cloth, mirrors, and other expensive trinkets to present to Tokugawa Hidetada as part of the annual gift.[298] On 30 August, William Adams was sent for by the *rōjū* Honda Masazumi, who informed the English that while they were free to present their gifts at any time, the first day of the next month was 'accompted a happie day' (a festival) and the shogun had agreed that this would therefore be a good day to do so.[299] The merchants thus presented their gift two days later, on 1 September.[300] It was a busy day, and Cocks recorded vast numbers of *daimyo* presenting gifts at court; amongst them Kuroda Nagamasa, the disgraced Christian *daimyo* of Fukuoka.[301] After a considerable wait, the English delegation was finally permitted to see Hidetada. Cocks notes how 'non, no not Codgkin Dono [Honda Masazumi] nor his secretary might not enter into the rowme where [Hidetada] sat'.[302] For Cocks, the meeting was one of diplomatic importance, and he was keen to impress; he notes how he was called to approach the shogun but refused out of deference to the ruler, noting proudly that this decision 'as I understood afterward, was well esteemed of.'[303]

[297] Algazi, 'Doing Things with Gifts', p. 12.
[298] *Diary*, i, pp. 290-1 (27 August 1616).
[299] Ibid., i, p. 292 (30 August 1616).
[300] Ibid., i, pp. 294-5 (1 September 1616).
[301] Ibid., i, p. 294 (1 September 1616). For Nagamasa's disgrace, see José Miguel Pinto dos Santos, 'The "Kuroda Plot" and the Legacy of Jesuit Scientific Influence in Seventeenth-Century Japan', *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 10-11 (2005), pp. 97-191, at p. 132.
[302] *Diary*, i, p. 294 (1 September 1616).
[303] Ibid., i, p. 294 (1 September 1616).

Cocks' concern with performing well stemmed from the diplomatic function of the gift, an interpretation that the EIC knew well. In presenting Hidetada with a gift at court, Cocks was acting as a diplomatic envoy; not just for the EIC, but for his country and for his monarch, in whose name the merchants were permitted to trade. The stakes were high, and any sign he had performed his role well was a welcome one. Moreover, the fact that the gift was given on a feast day, when 'all the nobles' were present, would have been considered a point of company pride. As Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin has argued, the London guilds (such as the Clothworkers' Company, to which Cocks belonged) considered gift-giving a performative event. Giving on a feast day increased the chances of one's generosity being seen by one's peers; and the more people present to witness the act of giving, the greater the giver's largesse appeared to be.[304] Thus by giving on a 'happie day' alongside the powerful regional lords of Japan, the English would have felt that they were being afforded a special privilege and status by the shogunate.

However, if Cocks saw himself as performing the role of a reputed diplomatic envoy, he was seen quite differently by the Japanese. The month of September corresponded, at this time, with the eighth lunar month, suggesting that the 'happie day' that Masazumi mentioned was the festival of *Hassaku*, a nationwide day of gift-exchange on which the shogun's vassals, including the *daimyo* Cocks had seen, were required to present tribute.[305] These displays of fealty were vital for the political standing of the Tokugawa shogunate which was, in this period, still a young dynasty establishing itself after the turmoil of civil war. With Toyotomi sympathisers still at large, demanding tributary gifts was a useful way of ensuring loyalty from the *daimyo*; their status as subordinates was established, and the requirement of gifts deprived any would-be usurpers of the capital needed to mount a rebellion. Moreover,

[304] Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin, 'Gifting Cultures and Artisanal Guilds in Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth-Century London', *Historical Journal* (2017), pp. 1-23, at p. 18.
[305] Chaiklin, 'Introduction', p. 7.

such presentations were highly visible, public affairs; their conspicuous nature is highlighted by the fact that both English and Dutch records are riddled with complaints that the merchants were unable to gain an audience with the shogun due to the sheer number of noble visitors the shogun had visiting with gifts at any one time.[306] As an adjunct to the system of *sankin-kōtai* (where the *daimyo* were required to spend alternating years residing in Edo and their own provinces) made compulsory in 1635, its aim was to create a panoptical system whereby the shogunate could effectively monitor all of its vassals.[307]

It is therefore significant that the request for the English gifts to be given on *Hassaku* came, in part, from Hidetada. By requiring that the English presented their gifts on *Hassaku*, the shogun was ensuring that they, like the other *daimyo* present, were seen by all present to be loyal to the shogunate. This was of paramount importance since, only seven days later, all Catholic missionaries would be expelled from Japan by shogunal edict.[308] The presence of Kuroda Nagamasa, a high-profile Christian *daimyo*, would suggest that Hidetada was particularly interested in ensuring the loyalty of potential Christian dissidents in an increasingly anti-Catholic milieu. Including the Europeans in the act of tribute was thus a way of reifying Hidetada's authority, since the English were being assessed for their loyalty to the shogunate. The English visit coincided with *Hassaku* purely by chance, but it was nevertheless capitalised upon to augment the perceived political authority of the Tokugawa line. It is unlikely that the English were considered foreign subjects of the shogunate in

[306] See, for instance, *Diary*, ii, pp. 170-1 (20 September 1617).
[307] This may be contrasted with the proclamations given by James VI and I, intensifying in urgency from 1615 onwards, requiring the English gentry to spend 'at lest nine months of the yeere' in residence in their own localities in order to remedy what he saw as the gentry's dereliction of duty as regional administrators and peacekeepers in favour of 'a more private and delicate course of life… in Cities and Townes'. Where the English monarchy saw the proximity of their gentry as a potential cause of provincial unrest, the proximity and visibility of Japanese *daimyo* in Edo was intended to impose order on the unruly warlord nobility. See James IV and I, *Proclamation requiring the Residencie of Noble-men, Gentlemen and Iustices of Peace, vpon their chiefe Mansions in the Countrey* (London, 1615), and Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990), p. 119.
[308] Screech, 'Control of Christianity', p. 29.

reality – the merchants did not notice any changes in their political status that could be directly related to this festival, and the observation of *Hassaku* was never required of the English again – but for the shogunate, their presence on the national day of tribute was a means of ensuring that the Tokugawa had were in control of the potential Christian menace.

To focus on what this exchange 'really was' would require it to be read as a moment of diplomatic and cultural incommensurability, in which the English and Japanese were talking at cross-purposes. If the English merchants perceived the exchange as a diplomatic audience with a monarch, in which they operated as supplicatory, but crucially independent, agents, then the Japanese *daimyo* saw it instead as a moment of subjugation where a foreign vassal recognised the legitimacy of the Tokugawa as the supreme power in Japan. It would be expected, therefore, that this discrepancy would cause tensions between the English and Japanese over their relative sovereignty. This, however, does not appear to have been the case. Instead, this interaction highlights the ambivalence of the gift-exchange; the ability of two parties to approach the same interaction with different, yet nevertheless legitimate, understandings. Although the English and Japanese had incommensurate beliefs about the nature of the interaction, the fulcrum around which both interpretations hinged was the presentation and reception of gifts. The 'real' motivation behind the gift was, in this case, immaterial. It did not matter that the shogunate was demanding admission of Tokugawa supremacy, or that the English saw themselves as independent agents negotiating a trade deal with an independent power, since the act of giving and receiving gifts resulted in both parties achieving their aims. In this way, the gift could act as a powerful tool for smoothing over the fault lines that existed between European and Japanese understandings of their relative positions in the political hierarchy.

Understanding the Gift

While the gift proved valuable in its ability to bring two incommensurate worldviews together, the European merchants in Japan were not working entirely independently of Japanese gift-giving customs; nor were these customs always in tension with one another. Although certain specific displays of generosity, such as the gift at *Hassaku*, show how moments of incommensurability could be handled by the presentation of a gift, the majority of gift-giving interactions documented in the European diaries suggest that gift-exchange was a field in which the Europeans and the Japanese understood each other reasonably well. At Hirado, gifts were given almost daily, under a variety of circumstances, to a wide range of recipients, and these interactions were rarely tense or charged with incommensurate meaning. In order to investigate this further, it is possible to use the diaries and correspondence of the Europeans in Hirado to gauge the extent to which the factors understood the practices of gift-giving in which they took part, and the extent to which this was reciprocated by their Japanese hosts.

As has been previously established, the patterns of gift-giving highlighted by contemporary writer Yamashina Tokitsune (*suzu*, *onshin*, *miyage* and *rei*) may be located in the records of the English and Dutch factories in Hirado. That the Europeans so frequently and routinely gave gifts which corresponded to Japanese social norms, on occasions when they would have been expected by their Japanese hosts, suggests that the Europeans had developed an understanding of the situations in which their friends, colleagues and superiors expected to receive gifts, and were prepared to engage with these traditions. Moreover, the manner in which the Europeans discuss these presents suggest that they recognised that they were adhering to Japanese norms when presenting gifts in these ways. On 2 July 1615, a party of Dutchmen comprising Jacques Specx, Jan Joosten van Lodensteijn, Jacob Swager and Matias van den Broeck visited the English factory for dinner and entertainment. The next

day, the Dutch sent Richard Cocks their thanks 'nifon catange'.[309] *Nifon catange*, or 'Nihon katachi', meaning 'in the Japanese manner', suggests that both English and Dutch were aware that the mode of giving that the Dutch were engaging in was a specifically Japanese phenomenon. It suggests that the English were not expecting a gift for their hospitality, and that choosing to present one was an adherence to *rei*, in its form as thanks for service rendered.[310]

It is crucial to note, in this instance, that the Dutch gave thanks 'nifon catange' even though no Japanese were present, suggesting that the factors had begun to assimilate this practice into their daily routines. To an extent, this may show that the Dutch had internalised some of the customs they had learned in Japan; however, given that the English were their rivals in commerce, it might also be that the deliberate transcultural adoption of Japanese customs acted as a culturally neutral means of effecting sociability when dealing with competitors. Given that the English and Dutch would go on to clash over incommensurate beliefs in their own primacy, giving a gift according to foreign tradition may have helped avoid implications of submission or indebtedness towards the other party.

The English also engaged in this Japanese form of giving; in 1616, after receiving *rei* as a greeting from Matsura Nobusane and Honda Masazumi upon the merchants' arrival at Edo, an interpreter was sent to reciprocate the gift with thanks, 'nifon catange'.[311] Like the Dutch, they partook in the giving of Japanese-style gifts outside of their dealings with the Japanese; in 1617, when the *Advice* set sail from Hirado, Richard Wickham was given a present of wine and hens by his fellow Englishman William Adams, 'nifon catange'.[312] That this gift was given 'nifon catange' suggests that Cocks was engaging with the practice of *rei*

[309] *Diary*, i, p. 30 (3 July 1615).
[310] Goble, 'Physician Yamashina Tokitsune's Healing Gifts', p. 87.
[311] *Diary*, i, p. 291 (28 August 1616).
[312] Ibid., ii, p. 21 (31 January 1617).

or *senbetsu*, recognised as a Japanese custom. Although there is no sign that concepts such as *rei*, *senbetsu* or *miyage* were known by name, the fact that the Europeans referred to particular expressions of giving as a foreign custom, and chose to employ them not only to interact with the local population but with one another, adopting them fully into their own social vocabulary, suggests that the factors had understood the principles underlying these forms of giving, to the extent that they were prepared to adopt them themselves.

Familiarity with Japanese norms extended also to the occasions on which gifts were given. As has been mentioned, the English observed the festival of *Hassaku* in 1616, and recognised it as a 'happie day' for gift-giving, although they were unaware of its importance beforehand and had to be encouraged by Honda Masazumi to participate. Nevertheless, an examination of the Japanese gift-giving calendar reveals that the Europeans were by no means ignorant of the importance of a well-timed gift in winning favour and respect. Andrew Goble has shown that amongst the myriad occasions for gift-giving in Japan at this time, four occasions stand out as important: the beginning of the year; *Hassaku*, *Obon* (the festival of the dead), *Seibo* (the end of the year), and *Shōgatsu* (New Year).[313] Of these, *Shōgatsu* was the most commonly observed by the English and Dutch. During this period, Goble explains, it was customary to give gifts to friends and neighbours to provide good fortune for the year ahead.[314] Cocks' diary frequently mentions giving gifts to friends and neighbours around the New Year. As with the concept of '*nifon catange*', it is clear that the English distinguished the European New Year's celebration (held on 1 January)[315] from the 'new yeare of Japon', held variously in January or February depending on the lunar year.[316] Since gift-giving

[313] Goble, 'Physician Yamashina Tokitsune's Healing Gifts', p. 88.
[314] Ibid., p. 88.
[315] *Diary*, ii, p. 229 (1 January 1618).
[316] Ibid., ii, p. 17 (26 January 1617).

marked English celebrations of the New Year at both courtly and common levels,[317] it is not always obvious whether the English were intending to mark the European New Year, *Seibo*, or *Shōgatsu* with their gifts, if these gifts were intended to mark a festival at all. However, since the majority of the New Years' gifts that Cocks records were given between the dates of 15 January and 13 February, it is clear that the English were observing the Japanese festival with these gifts, and had been doing so from 1616 at the latest.[318] The same is true of the Dutch, who are recorded as having presented Matsura Takanobu with New Years' gifts around the same period.[319]

For both the English and Dutch, this would have been a familiar ritual. Though the date was different, the practice was familiar, since New Year was the most significant and widespread occasion for giving gifts in early modern England.[320] At New Year, as contemporary English writer Edward Thornes wrote, gifts were to be given between people of all classes 'for increase of Loue and Amitie'.[321] Moreover, the international dimension of the gift-giving occasion was widely known, as Thornes noted that gift-exchange at New Year was 'an ancient custom, not onely with us, but also with forraine Nations'.[322] Felicity Heal is suspicious of the concept of 'love and amity' in giving such gifts; they were, she argues, tied closely to the concepts of rent-payment and feudal service, and therefore not quite as disinterested as Thornes portrays.[323] She therefore reinforces the point made by Mauss that the distinction between sincerity and instrumentality in the act of giving is 'only a polite fiction', the true nature of which is concealed by gestures of generosity.[324] While the apparent

[317] Sophie Cope, 'Marking the New Year: Dated Objects and the Materiality of Time in Early Modern England', *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 6 (2017), pp. 89-111, at p. 91.
[318] *Diary*, i, p. 175, (5 February 1616).
[319] See, for instance, ibid., ii, p. 237 (20 January 1618).
[320] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 69.
[321] Ibid.., p. 70.
[322] Ibid., p. 69.
[323] Ibid., p. 71.
[324] Mauss, *The Gift*, p. 4.

generosity of the New Year's Gift is therefore suspect, its function was the same as in Japan: to restate and reinforce the bonds between people.[325]

The importance in English culture of gift-giving at New Year is signified by the fact that one of the EIC vessels that arrived in Bantam in 1615, carrying paintings which would later be transported to Japan, was named the *New Year's Gift*.[326] The Dutch too were familiar with New Year as a festival for gift-exchange, though unlike England, this was not the central festival for giving; *Vastelavond* (Carnival) Irma Thoen argues, was more important in the Dutch calendar as a day of generosity.[327] Nevertheless, gifts were given in the Dutch Republic at New Year; Thoen notes the Dutch tradition of social elites providing small gifts of money known as *Nieuwe Jaer* (New Year) to their inferiors, as well as examining the account of the Dutch burgher David Beck, who records his son visiting family with letters of well-wishes and his own visit to a noble patron with a gift of printed poems.[328] With both nations' festivals using the act of giving as a means to strengthen the bonds between peers, the English and Dutch would have had little difficulty in adjusting to the Japanese festival, as is evident in their ready provision of gifts for *Shōgatsu*.

Clearly, therefore, the Europeans were prepared to adopt the observation of Japanese gift-giving festivals in order to build positive social relations with their hosts and neighbours. However, this was not an entirely one-way process. The Japanese were, to an extent, prepared to observe European festivals too. Much as the English merchants marked the *Shōgatsu* festival by sending gifts to the Japanese, the Japanese also sent gifts to the Europeans to mark Christmas. On 25 December 1615, Richard Cocks notes that the English factory received a number of gifts 'per reason of Chrismas' from a variety of people.[329] Matsura Shigetada sent

[325] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 71.
[326] Screech, *Silver Telescope*, p. 109.
[327] Thoen, *Strategic Affection*, p. 58.
[328] Ibid., p. 59.
[329] *Diary*, i, p. 146 (25 December 1615).

two barrels of sake and two fish, Matsura Takanobu sent two pieces of whale meat, Li Dan sent a jar of 'China wine', and 'other neighbours [sent] other trifles', a shorthand construction used by Cocks when receiving gifts from various Japanese figures whose rank was not particularly noteworthy.[330] Although this date fell within the rough time period of *Seibo*, when gifts to settle debts before the new year were routinely exchanged in Japan, the number of people who gave the English gifts on this particular day suggests strongly that Cocks was correct in believing them to be Christmas presents. The demographics of this gift-giving group are noteworthy, since not all of those who gave gifts were Christians themselves. Hirado did have a Christian community in this period, having hosted a Jesuit mission for nearly five decades. However, it is clear that by 1600 many of the town's converts practised their faith in secret, such as the Japanese who approached John Saris in 1613, who would only reveal in private that they were Christians, so 'that some of their owne companions, which were not so, might not heare'.[331] Certainly the Matsura family was not Christian; Matsura Takanobu had been baptised and raised in the Christian tradition, but he had apostatised before the arrival of the English and Dutch, and would go on to execute 38 devotees from Hirado and nearby Ikitsuki island in 1624, as a show of fealty to the shogunate.[332] It may be presumed, under such circumstances, that his kinsman Matsura Shigetada would not have been Christian either.

After 1615, gifts were not given on Christmas Day again. In September 1616 Tokugawa Hidetada issued his edict expelling the missionaries from Japan. Since the Matsura were former Christians and had, historically, opposed Tokugawa hegemony, it is probable that they would have been under particular scrutiny for any Christian sympathies which might threaten Tokugawa rule. Nevertheless, the absence of gifts on Christmas Day following

[330] Compare, for instance, *Diary*., iii, p. 49 (11 February 1621).
[331] *Saris*, p. 83 (12 June 1613).
[332] Turnbull, *Kakure Kirishitan*, p. 38.

1615 suggests that the Japanese had intended their gifts as Christmas presents rather than as tokens for *Seibo*. It is striking that this is the case, given that not all of the gift-givers were Christian, and that Christianity itself was rapidly becoming anathema in Japan. It appears that the Matsura had appropriated Christmas as a gift-giving occasion, engaging in a specifically European mode of exchange in order to endear themselves to the English and Dutch as welcoming hosts. The Matsura clan were, after all, interested in the profits that foreign trade brought to their lands, and showing that Hirado was a welcoming port for Christians was one way in which European traders might be enticed to keep coming back to their port. They were therefore prepared to make a show of their munificence which relied on understanding and adopting foreign cultural traditions, much as the English and Dutch were prepared to observe *Shōgatsu*. Although the exchange of gifts as a means of winning favour was a universal activity in this period, it is clear that both Europeans and Japanese were, willing to adapt to each other's specific cultural traditions of gift-giving as a means of securing continued trust, aid, and patronage.

Understanding when and why a gift should be given was not simply a measure of politeness, nor a shrewd tactic for courting the favour of influential figures, however. For the European factors particularly, the giving of gifts had a financial and material cost which had to be considered when approaching any gift-exchange. The diplomatic role of gifts meant that such transactions could not simply be ignored, but neither did the merchants have the ability to be endlessly munificent. A constant surprise for both English and Dutch factors was the sheer number of individuals who expected gifts from the Europeans. On 14 June 1613, John Saris learned that 'there weare other great men [in Hirado] whoe expected presents' beyond just the Matsura, resulting in a hasty consultation with the other factors to select fitting gifts. The next day, he learned 'vpone advise of 5 more which expected presents', necessitating yet

another bout of gift-giving.[333] In January 1622, the English and Dutch agreed to give a gift to Matsura Takanobu's wife, but not to his father-in-law, for if such a gift was given, 'it must allwais contynew hereafter… nether to say the truth we have geaven away all allready, that nothing of worth restes to geve.'[334] Even as late as 1634, Takanobu presented the Dutch with a list of presents which they needed to give to various people at Edo, 'at which we were astonished… at all these gifts which were never previously given, nor could the goods we had brought with us stretch so far'.[335] As these accounts suggest, gifts were usually drawn from the factories' stock of otherwise saleable goods. Failure to account for all the occasions of gift-giving, or to prepare adequately for the scale of those exchanges, had the potential to drain a factory's resources.

The English factory was a victim of such a failure. Upon arrival in Japan, the factors were offered the choice of two potential sites in which to found their factory: Hirado, where they had landed, or Uraga, a government-owned fief located in modern-day Kanagawa, near to Edo. Uraga was considered by contemporaries to be a superior location to Hirado. William Adams had recommended the town in a letter to the EIC factors at Bantam, noting that 'about this esterly part of the land thear be the best harbors… It is good also for the sale of marchandis and security for ships', which he attested to personally; he had not only sailed that part of the coast in the shogun's service, but was also the owner of an estate at nearby Hemi. [336] Hirado, by contrast, was deemed 'a very bade place for sall of goodes', and Adams advised avoiding it.[337] These claims were corroborated by Saris in 1613, who observed that Uraga was 'a very good harbour for shipping, where ships may ride as safely as in the Riuer

[333] *Saris*, pp. 86-7 (14-15 June 1613).
[334] *Diary*, iii, pp. 230-1 (20 January 1622).
[335] *Dagregisters*, i, pp. 135-6 (17 March 1634. '*de Ed: H^r Generael zal mede niet min v^er wondertt wesen, over alle dese (voor desen) noijt gedaene schenckagien, oock en connen onse mede gebrachte goederen niet wel soo verde strecken'*).
[336] Farrington, *English Factory*, i, p. 78. (W. Adams to A. Spaulding, 12 January 1613).
[337] Ibid., pp. 77-8.

of Thames', and moreover was 'distant from Edoo… but fourteene or fifteene leagues'.[338] He noted that the town was not as well-supplied as Hirado, but was 'for all other matters to be preferred before Firando'. He does not mention the significant distance between Uraga and the other European settlements in Kyushu, but the relative proximity of the shogun's court in Edo would have provided the English with the edge over their other European competition.[339]

Despite these advantages, however, Saris selected Hirado rather than Uraga. Multiple considerations factored into this decision: Derek Massarella has highlighted in particular the influential presence of the Matsura, whose desire for the wealth and prestige brought by international trade had led them to establish good relations with both the English and Dutch from an early date.[340] Hirado was also more convenient for ships arriving from and departing to Bantam, and would allow the English to keep a close eye on the Dutch. However, a hitherto overlooked but no less vital consideration was John Saris' mistaken belief that Hirado would require fewer expensive gifts from the English than Uraga.

Saris' reasoning was not stated at the time, but from a letter to the EIC's governors in October 1614, it is clear that the requirement to give gifts to the local nobility, believed to be a less costly practice at Hirado, was a major component in the decision. He notified his superiors that, having set up at Hirado, they would 'not need to send any letter to the Emperor, onely to the Kinge of Ferando and his sonne, whom you may include in one' with 'some small present'.[341] Though his language downplays the nature of such a gift, Saris was aware that such presents were not trifles. Only the year before, the Company's factors in the Sultanate of Patani had discovered that, in addition to the 600 reals of eight given to Sultana Ratu Hijau upon arrival, they would also have to give regular gifts to 'the gentilitie and

[338] *Saris*, p. 136. (29 September 1613).
[339] William Corr, *Adams the Pilot* (Folkestone, 1995), p. 7.
[340] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, pp. 120-1.
[341] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 212 (John Saris aboard the Clove at Plymouth to the EIC in London, 17 October 1614).

certayne officers', totalled at '4000 R8, being 1/6 of our whole stocke or capitall'.[342] Saris was keen to avoid a similar fate for Hirado. He had overseen the presentation of gifts to the various members of the Matsura clan, and to the shogunate, and determined that the gift to the Matsura, valued at 340 reals of eight, was approximately half the cost of the present for the shogun and *rōjū*.[343] Having by this point obtained a *shuinjō* pass from Ieyasu, he believed that he had satisfied the need for diplomatic gifts to the shogun, and that future gifts would only need to be given to the Matsura. Hirado may have had a worse harbour than Uraga, but the lower cost of gifts would make it cheaper to maintain a factory there.

He had, however, miscalculated. In December 1614, Cocks wrote a letter informing him that, contrary to his belief that a single present would suffice: 'I find it to be otherwise… every ship which commeth in must carry a present to the Emperour as a custome.'[344] This was the shogun's gift, and was required whether or not the English traded in Tokugawa lands. Had the English settled at Uraga, it would have been the only gift required. However, by opting to trade at Hirado, which was not under the shogun's direct authority, the gift to the shogun had also to be accompanied by gifts to the Matsura. It was a costly mistake. In 1615, the merchant Ralph Coppendale complained about the costliness of gift-giving, stating that it 'much surmounteth an indifferent custom, espetially when a shipp cometh w'th a small capitall'.[345] Without better goods to offset the losses it incurred, he argued, this excessive largesse would be the downfall of the Hirado factory. Given that the EIC would close the Pattani and Ayutthaya factories at the same time as Hirado, 'they being both places of great

[342] Anthony Farrington, *The English Factory in Siam, 1612-1685 (2 vols, London, 2006)*, i, pp. 78, (26 June 1612), 80-1 (3 July 1612).
[343] *Saris*, pp. 85. (13 June 1613), pp. 113-5. (3 August 1613).
[344] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, pp. 253-4. (Richard Cocks at Hirado to John Saris in England, 10 December 1614).
[345] Ibid., i, p. 343 (Ralph Coppendale at Hirado to Robert Larkin and Adam Denton at Pattani, 5 December 1615).

Chardg and noe way profittable', it is certain that the costs of gift-giving in Hirado did in fact contribute to the apparent unprofitability of the Japan venture, and its selection for closure.[346]

Understanding the occasions on which gifts were to be given were one way in which the English, Dutch and Japanese were able to adapt to each other's practices of giving. Some occasions, such as New Year, were broadly commensurate, even if the festival date differed between calendars. Others, such as Christmas or *Hassaku*, had to be learned, but it was clear that such festivals could be recognised as 'happie days' even if their spiritual or cultural significance was unclear. In either case, however, it was important to recognise when and why a gift was needed, since failure to understand the local culture of gift-giving had real financial risks for the European factories.

Taking and Mis-Taking Gifts

The discussion of gifts so far has centred around the processes of gift-exchange successfully carried out by the English, Dutch, and Japanese as a means of communication across cultural boundaries. It has recognised that gift-giving was a universal practice in both Europe and Japan, and suggested that while the specific forms of gift-exchange differed between these regions, there were sufficient commensurabilities to allow the factors and Japanese to come to mutual understandings of each other's customs of gifting. However, gift-exchange in Japan was not always so straightforward. Presents could be refused on the grounds that they were insufficient or unwanted, or conversely, could be coerced out of unwilling participants. Gifts given to gain favour at court were often indistinguishable from bribes, and threatened to undermine the integrity of official institutions. Felicity Heal has collectively referred to instances where gifts were 'corrupted' in this way as 'mis-taken

[346] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 313.

gifts'.[347] In all of these cases, the mis-taken gift serves as a reflector of power dynamics between the exchanging parties, and no less so for Tokugawa Japan.

The way of mis-taking a gift which was of greatest concern to each of the English, Dutch and Japanese was bribery; in part because it was difficult to identify where the boundary between a 'gift' and a 'bribe' lay.[348] As Mauss has demonstrated, gifts serve to bind giver and recipient into a web of obligation; all gifts, therefore, possess some instrumental capacity. However, all three groups engaging in gift-exchanges at Hirado made a distinction between legitimate gifts, given as a useful (even necessary) part of the diplomatic process, and illegitimate gifts, which were seen as a 'corruption' of the supposedly disinterested gift. 'Gift' and 'bribe' serve as general terms which allow a distinction to be drawn between these types of gift; yet, as Heal has argued, the language of bribery was largely indistinguishable from the language of legitimate gift-giving. [349] While gifts and bribes were increasingly distinguished in their modern sense from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, the language of bribery was always imbricated with the language of gift-giving, such that the English theologian Thomas Gataker might still, in 1620, decry those judges who were 'seduced and led aside by favour, or corrupted with gifts'.[350] Rather than asking when a gift might have been a bribe, therefore, it is perhaps easier to answer the question of when (and why) a gift was *not* considered a bribe.

The basic premise underlying European and Japanese concerns with bribery was that individuals in positions of power (such as magistrates and judges) could be impelled to make certain judgements in exchange for a well-placed gift.[351] In England, Sir Edward Coke admonished judges at the Norwich Assizes in 1606 that 'A judge that will bee Partiall, will

[347] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 181.
[348] Ibid., pp. 183-4.
[349] Ibid., p. 188.
[350] Ibid., p. 187.
[351] Ibid., pp. 183-4.

receive a Bribe, and such an one cannot by any meanes be just, in his manner of Judging.'[352] In the Dutch Republic, J. L. Price has argued, wealth was a prerequisite for membership of the town officiates, since it was optimistically believed that the possession of wealth would disincentivise the abuse of office for material gain.[353] In actuality, he notes, the use of bribery might be conceived of as 'compensation' for poorly-paid obligations. Similar concerns existed in Japan; in 1642 a group of Edo merchants who had been found bribing shogunate officials were punished with exile and the execution of their children.[354]

English, Dutch and Japanese anxieties about bribery were, therefore, broadly commensurate. Each group was concerned with the ability of gifts to sway the course of justice and governance, but each struggled to discern where the boundary between an acceptable 'gift' and an unacceptable 'bribe' fell. These attitudes towards bribery were of significance for the European trade in Hirado, where gift-giving was a central part of the Euro-Japanese relationship. A well-placed gift could, as the Europeans discovered, ease administrative processes and win the support of local officials, but only when such gifts were not construed as bribes.

Context, in some cases, helped to distinguish legitimate gifts from bribes. Gifts, as Felicity Heal has argued, were a necessary aspect of early modern political relationships.[355] In Japan, they were given directly and explicitly for securing trade deals, and could prove efficacious (we may take as the example *par excellence* the role of the Dutch chandelier in the freeing of Pieter Nuijts). However, some gifts were more likely to be considered bribes than others, and these tended to be gifts given with a specific and immediate objective in mind. When the English factors sought access to the lucrative Satsuma trade network in 1616,

[352] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 186.
[353] J. L. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Politics of Particularism* (Oxford, 1994), p. 49.
[354] Richard H. Mitchell, *Political Bribery in Japan* (Honolulu, 1996) p. 8.
[355] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 194.

gifts of pottery, mirrors, and fine cloth were sent to a number of the Shimazu *daimyo*'s retinue, 'understanding they are kyn to the king' and thus deserving of good treatment.[356] The noblemen were pleased with their gift; they informed William Eaton that they felt 'bownd' to the English by the quality of gifts that they received, and that if the English ever needed assistance in their dealings with the Shimazu, then they were 'men that could doe something' in Satsuma.[357]

This transaction was carried out smoothly, and the Satsuma samurai do not appear to have considered this a bribe. The nobles accepted the present 'in good part'; they reciprocated with their own tokens of thanks 'after Japon fation', and all was considered well.[358] This incident may be contrasted with the New Year's gift presented to Matsura Takanobu earlier in 1616, where the English were at pains to stress that their gift was *not* a bribe given to encourage him to pay outstanding debts.[359] Although the gift to the Matsura was intended to be a token of friendship, the existence of an identifiable potential 'objective' (i.e. the repayment of debts) meant that it was more likely to be seen as a bribe than the gift to the Satsuma samurai, where the objective was the less quantifiable goal of obtaining good treatment. These contrasting examples support Heal's suggestion that interpretation was paramount: a gift was a gift until it was accused of corrupting the procedure of justice or government.[360]

The words 'bribe' or 'bribery' do not appear in Cocks' diary, although it is clear that he was acutely aware of the concept. His silence may well have been a reflection of the widespread concern with bribery and corruption in Japan in this period. Only the year before the English arrived in Japan, the *daimyo* Arima Harunobu had been discovered paying money

[356] Diary, i, p. 255 (1 July 1616).
[357] Ibid., i. p. 256 (1 July 1616).
[358] Ibid., i. p. 256 (1 July 1616).
[359] Ibid., *i*, p. 158 (11 January 1616).
[360] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 194.

to Okamoto Daihachi, the Christian aide of Honda Masazumi, in the hopes of obtaining fiefs from the shogunate.[361] Since the Tokugawa used the gift of fiefdoms to reward loyal followers and increase their own power base, such actions threatened to undermine the authority of the Tokugawa regime. This incident was so serious that Harunobu was executed, and Christianity was outlawed in shogunal domains, a decision which would in 1614 lead to the edict calling for the expulsion of missionaries from Japan.[362] In the wake of this scandal, there was a need for caution surrounding gifts. Thus, when Cocks went to the Hirado justice Matsura Shigetada in March 1617, bringing a gift of sake and *sakana*, 'nifon catange' and seeking restitution for an act of theft by one of the Japanese in his employ, his gift was refused, 'for that no present was to be accepted when men came to crave justice'.[363] In this, Shigetada was adhering to the standards set by the New Law Code (*Shin Shikimoku)* of Miyako, which banned the giving of gifts to magistrates and other officials in an attempt to curtail administrative bribery.[364] Not all the factors, however, were as discreet as Cocks. When Edmund Sayer, trading between Hirado and Siam earlier that year, gave a similar gift to the Siamese minister of foreign affairs, he had no qualms about referring to such a gift as a 'bribe'.[365]

Yet despite his avoidance of the term 'bribe' Cocks was not himself opposed to using gifts to influence the decisions of men of status. In 1616, when the European privileges were curtailed by the shogunate, the English factors presented gifts to the contacts they hoped could help them reverse the decision, including Itakura Katsushige, Yokota Kakuzaemon (secretary to Doi Toshikatsu) and Shimada Naotoki, governor of Osaka.[366] The recipients of

[361] Elisonas, 'Christianity and the Daimyo', p. 366.
[362] Ibid., p. 367.
[363] *Diary, ii*, p. 43-4 (13 March 1617).
[364] Goble, 'Yamashina Tokitsune's Healing Gifts', p. 99.
[365] Farrington, *English Factory in Siam*, i, p. 177 (Edmund Sayer's Journal, 5 February 1616).
[366] *Diary, i*, pp. 317 (6 October 1616), 325-6 (16 October 1616), 346 (14 November 1616).

these gifts were high-ranking members of the shogunate – Katsushige was himself responsible for writing the New Law Code – and although only four years had passed since the Okamoto Daihachi incident, none of the figures rejected the gifts given to them. Cocks' intentions with these gifts were clear; given that the English were, at this point, facing an unprecedented blow to their free trade in Japan, and that they possessed very little influence in Edo, these gifts were intended to win the support of influential officials whose voice might carry more weight than their own.

Why these gifts, consisting of imported cloth and pottery, were accepted while the more customary sake and *sakana* given to Matsura Shigetada was not is uncertain. It is possible that the gifts of cloth were more desirable (being more expensive) than the foodstuffs, and so were accepted as 'gifts', as was, Richard H. Mitchell has argued, a common practice amongst shogunate officials seeking to justify the acceptance of bribes.[367] However, since Katsushige and Kakuzaemon both stated that there was little they could do about repealing the restrictions, they may also have been at greater liberty to accept the gift as a pleasantry regardless of the English factors' intent, knowing that it could not meaningfully affect their own actions. Though Cocks had intended the gift as a bribe, the knowledge that it would not pervert the course of justice meant that the Japanese officials could strip it of all negative connotations and accept it without concern for their reputation.

That bribery was, in most cases, a matter of interpretation is evident by the fact that, while both English and Dutch factors engaged in bribery with a clear conscience, they looked unfavourably on attempts at bribery made by other groups in Japan. The Edo merchant Mikumoya, attempting to settle a dispute of accounts between himself and the English merchants, attempted to win Cocks' favour by bringing a gift of sake, grapes and 'waffar

[367] Mitchell, *Political Bribery*, p. 9.

cakes' (perhaps *monaka*, a type of wafer cake associated with financial prosperity) and even expressed an interest in converting to Christianity.[368] Cocks accepted the gift, but was unconvinced, calling him 'a craftie fello and very ruch'; the implication being that Mikumoya was attempting to bribe his way into the merchants' favour. An attempt to blow up the English gunpowder stores in Hirado was blamed on the Spanish and Portuguese having 'sett on' some local men to do the job.[369] In November 1617, Cocks noted that the Dutch factors presented Hirado *bugyō* Sagawa Nobutoshi, 'a suttell man, and one that ruleth more then the king', with a gift worth 200 taels. [370] His observation of the gift, read alongside his comments about Nobutoshi's influence in Hirado, suggests that he suspected the Dutch of using gifts to angle for the *bugyō*'s favour. In each of these cases, Cocks condemns the actions of each group for using money or gifts to influence the actions of others. However, at no point does he state outright that bribery had occurred, perhaps because this would shed light on his own use of bribery; after all, he was aware of the Dutch gift to Nobutoshi because he was there to present the *bugyō* with a gift of his own.

The Europeans' reticence openly to address corruption, or to complain about corrupt practices at court, highlights the power dynamics inherent in these transnational gift-exchanges. Bribes to the Japanese were always aimed at men of status, and were always attempts to enlarge the status of the Europeans in Japan. As Christians and foreigners, English and Dutch merchants needed powerful allies in the shogunate and *daimyo*'s courts who would vouch for their honour and take their part in disputes; bribes (or persuasive gifts when they were not challenged) were a valuable means by which promises of assistance might be won. While the acceptance of a bribe by a Japanese official was a sign of political corruption, it was corruption that was potentially to the favour of the Europeans, and there

[368] *Diary*, i, p. 293 (31 August 1616).
[369] Ibid., iii, p. 168 (23 September 1621).
[370] Ibid., ii, p. 204 (26 November 1617).

was little incentive to report it, lest they should lose a potentially useful ally. Thus, while Cocks might view the interaction between the Dutch merchants and Nobutosi with suspicion, the English could not use this as an opportunity to undercut the Dutch, since they too were reliant on his willingness to take bribes. As the weaker partners in the Euro-Japanese relationship, the English and Dutch were in no place to complain about bribery; it was an institution too valuable to dismantle.

Although bribery was perhaps the most injurious way that a gift could be mis-taken, it was by no means the only one, nor was it the only one which displayed the power disparity between the Europeans and Japanese. Both English and Dutch diaries record how the Japanese could and did return gifts that were deemed insufficient for their tastes. In February 1634, the Dutch merchants presented the *rōjū* Sakai Tadayo with shagreens which Tadayo had requested, apologising in advance that 'no good shagreens were obtained this year', but that they had sought out '30 pieces of the best' for him nevertheless.[371] The present was received, but the next day the Dutch were informed that 'the shagreens were not worthy to show his Highness [Tadayo]', and that 'the best thereof was not worthy of a tael'.[372] The English had similar issues. On 3 August 1617, Cocks sent Matsura Nobutoki, brother of Takanobu, a parrot which was bought from the carpenter of the EIC vessel *Advice*.[373] The bird lasted a week in Nobutoki's care before it was returned, with the complaint that the parrot was unwell. Cocks, however, was sceptical, suggesting that Nobutoki's motive was 'to have a better present sent in place, for the parrot is well.'[374] This incident served as a valuable a reminder of the elevated status of the Japanese relative to Europeans. Reciprocation may

[371] *Dagregisters*, i, p. 112 (20 February 1634. '*van dit jaer geen goede rochevellen te becomen geweest waeren, doch hadden evenwel tot een teecken van dat sijn Hoogheijts bevoelen last niet en vergeeten 30: stx: van*^{de} *beste uitgesoch*^{tt}*, ende mede gebrachtt'*).
[372] Ibid., i, p. 113 (21 May 1634. '*de rochevellen niet waerdich waeren sijn Hoogheijt te vertoonen, also de beste daer van geen taijll waerdich was*').
[373] Diary, *ii*, p. 140 (3 August 1617).
[374] Ibid., *ii*, p. 145 (10 August 1617).

have been part of the gift-exchange process, but that did not mean that these exchanges were necessarily equal.

The refusal of a gift might have many motivations, however, and these could also overlap. On 10 December 1614, Cocks wrote letters to John Saris in England, John Jourdain in Bantam and the late Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, in London, recounting that the Dutch gift to the shogun had been refused that year, and had failed to impress Hidetada so much that he had refused to even grant the VOC merchants an audience.[375] In the letter to Cecil, he speculated as to the reason for the refusal to acknowledge the Dutch gift. Some, he claimed, believed that the shogun had been insulted by the fact that those who came to present the gift were not 'men of accompt'; others claimed that the gift was deemed to be of little worth to the shogun.[376] He noted also that there was a superstitious reason for rejecting the gift: it had included two young tigers, imported from Siam, which had been taken as an ill omen presaging the death of Tokugawa Ieyasu, who had been born in the Year of the Tiger. Each of these reasons could have been true; as has been shown, the Japanese were known to reject gifts based on quality or if they were deemed to be ill omens. However, Cocks believed that there was a political reason for Hidetada's refusal of the gift, ascribing the rejection to his displeasure at the VOC's activities in plundering valuable Chinese shipping, since the shogun was still profiting from the presence of the Chinese merchants who 'quietlie…trade in Japan'.[377] The confusion over the true reason behind Hidetada's rejection of the Dutch gift shows that the Europeans were working with limited knowledge in the field of cultural comprehension, and were required to piece together social clues in order fully to understand

[375] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, pp. 247-8 (Richard Cocks at Hirado to John Jourdain at Bantam, 10 December 1614); 253 (Cocks to John Saris in England); 258 (Cocks to Lord Salisbury in London).
[376] Ibid., i, p. 258 (Richard Cocks at Hirado to Lord Salisbury in London, 10 December 1614).
[377] Ibid., i, p. 258. (Cocks to Salisbury, 10 December 1614).

how and why their gifts were being returned. As with learning how to give gifts in Japan, the Europeans were also required to learn why a gift might not be accepted.

It is notable that, on the occasions that European gifts were returned for reasons of dissatisfaction, the English and Dutch merchants had only limited ability to complain of their situation, as is illustrated by an incident in March 1634, when Doi Toshikatsu refused to accept a gift from the Dutch. On 15 March, following his audience with Tokugawa Hidetada, François Caron went to visit the shogun's chief ministers with gifts. The gifts to Sakai Tadayo and his father were received well, but Toshikatsu would not grant the *opperhoofd* an audience, forcing Caron to leave the gift with a servant.[378] Later that day, a servant of Toshikatsu's called upon the Dutch, telling them that his master wanted them to take their present back. The Dutch sent a translator and begged the *rōjū* to keep the gift, but in the end he would not. 'Which suffices to show how far Oijedonne's [Toshikatsu's] affections for the Company reach', Caron observed, 'for it is a custom in Japan, that when a person who usually receives a present from someone refuses it, he refuses their friendship.'[379] Unhappy about this slight, the Dutch made complaint to Matsura Takanobu, who 'was amazed at the doings of Oijedonne', and after consultation with Toshikatsu's secretary, Yokota Kakuzaemon, Takanobu wrote to Toshikatsu on behalf of the Dutch, asking what the matter was and if restitution could be made.[380] Toshikatsu, however, would not relent, saying 'that he had not wanted to accept the gift, and that we would have to be content with that'.[381] Kakuzaemon advised the Dutch not to press the matter further, and the issue was quietly dropped.

[378] *Dagregisters*, i, p. 129 (15 March 1634).
[379] Ibid., i, p. 130 (15 March 1634. '*waer uijt genouchsaem blijckt hoe Oijedonnes genegentheijtt tot de Generaele Compa is streckende, want dit is een gebruijk in Japan, da teen persoon die gewent is schenckagie van imant te genieten ende daer near deselve weijgertt, die weijgert hem zijn vruntschap*').
[380] Ibid., i, p. 132 (16 March 1634. '*hij was over't doen van Oijedonne verwondert'*).
[381] Ibid., i, p. 140 (19 March 1634. '*de schenckagie niet en gelieffde t'accepteeren, ende dat wij daermede te vreden mosten sijn*').

The fact that neither English nor Dutch merchants outwardly protested their ill-treatment in gift-giving reflects the influence of status and hierarchy that pervaded the act of giving in Japan. Morgan Pitelka has examined this phenomenon in light of a cycle of gift-giving between Tokugawa Ieyasu and Toyotomi Hideyori in 1611; as he has shown, both parties used the exchange as a form of one-upmanship, in which breaking the cycle of giving was tantamount to accepting the other party's dominance.[382] Though the English and Dutch never faced such overtly hostile displays of authority, it is clear that gift-exchange likewise served to demonstrate the status disparity between the Europeans and Japanese. Takanobu's letter to Doi Toshikatsu stressed that his refusal of the Dutch gift had been a disappointment, 'even though they are strangers', a clause which emphasised that it was the foreignness of the Dutch which enabled such an act of disrespect.[383] This was reinforced by the comparatively high status of those who could refuse or otherwise fail to reciprocate gifts; all those who did so were figures of high status in Japanese society – shogun Tokugawa Hidetada, *rōjū* Sakai Tadayo, and *daimyo* Matsura Nobutoki. There are no accounts of figures below the level of *daimyo* refusing such gifts, suggesting that a gift was more likely to be returned if the recipient was higher up in the social hierarchy. This is corroborated by the fact that Tadayo's complaints about the Dutch shagreens was that they were 'unworthy' of the *rōjū*, suggesting that there was an expectation of quality linked to social status. The Dutch were evidently aware of this. They had already apologised to Tadayo's secretary about the poor quality of the shagreens,[384] and had, when presenting a meagre gift of locally-bought trinkets to Ieyasu in 1609, promised that the shogun would receive better gifts in future.[385] It is clear, therefore,

[382] Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation*, pp. 65-66.
[383] *Dagregisters*, i, p. 132 (16 March 1634, '*alsoo sij vreemdelinge zijn*').
[384] Ibid., i, p. 112 (20 February 1634).
[385] Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun*, p. 47.

that the Dutch were concerned that their gifts might not be accepted if they were not of sufficient quality or quantity.

Moreover, the inverse is true; the Europeans did not return gifts given to them by the Japanese, although there were occasions when they were dissatisfied with their treatment. Richard Cocks, for instance, recorded how he considered a gift of food and sake from a 'cavalero of Osakay' (the formulation used by Cocks to refer to samurai) to be disingenuous, believing it not be magnanimous but rather 'a preparative to borow money' – or to take money, as 'I fynd many borrowers but non that make repayment'.[386] Similarly, on 6 November 1616, Cocks received from two Japanese some lacquered furniture; a small trunk and a writing-desk. In his diary, however, Cocks recorded his dissatisfaction with the gifts, suggesting that the Japanese would seek only greater favours from him in return.[387] These were not men of high standing; one was a former landlord, the other a lacquerware merchant. Nevertheless, Cocks' complaint shows that he still felt obliged to accept the unwanted gifts out of politeness, despite the relatively low standing of the givers. In the example given above of Mikumoya, Cocks may have been unconvinced by the sincerity of his gift, but it was nevertheless accepted. While it is perhaps unsurprising that lowly foreign merchants could not refuse a gift from the *daimyo* or shogun even if they had so desired, the sense of obligation to accept unwanted gifts from peers suggests that the position occupied by the Europeans in Japan was one which was relatively weak in comparison with their local hosts. Only one gift from a Japanese citizen was refused by the Europeans (the cloth presented to Cocks by John Japan in 1615) and this was given by a Japanese employee of the English

[386] *Diary*, *ii*, p. 250 (14 February 1618).
[387] Ibid., *i*, p. 341 (6 November 1616).

factory, one of the few Japanese over whom the Europeans possessed sufficient authority to refuse a gift.[388]

These interactions reflect the complexity of the refusal of a gift suggested by Mauss in *The Gift*. He argues that to refuse a gift is 'to reject the bond of alliance and commonality', a notion reflected in Caron's observation that the refusal of a gift in Japan was the refusal of friendship, but notes that in some societies, those figures who occupy prominent positions in the social hierarchy may refuse a gift without injury if they are presenting themselves as superior to the giver.[389] This was the case in Japan, where Japanese officials might reject gifts for a variety of reasons (including perceived lack of quality, complaints about the social status of the giver, and inauspicious omens surrounding the gifts given) without complaint, whereas the Europeans were required to accept all gifts that were given to them, no matter how unwanted. The Europeans could offer no challenge to the Japanese (when Caron tried, with Doi Toshikatsu, the *rōjū* dismissed his complaints) and since the Europeans were more desirous of trade than the Japanese, the Japanese were able to come out of these failed exchanged without repercussion. In this, and their inability to express any open negativity towards the gifts that they received, the English and Dutch were constrained by their status as outsiders reliant on the continued support of their hosts in the wider community.

Conclusions

John Saris' assessment of gift-giving at Hirado as an occasional present at the EIC's pleasure, comprising the kinds of trinkets and novelties that would intrigue and please royalty, suggests that at the outset of their venture in Japan, the English believed that gift-giving was a diplomatic formality, a familiar, ritualised interaction which would serve to content the local authorities and ensure that they remained 'very louing vnto our nation' and

[388] *Diary*, i, pp. 16-17 (14 June 1615).
[389] Mauss, *The Gift*, pp. 17, 52.

hostile towards the Iberian merchants and missionaries.[390] It is true that gifts to provide satisfaction to the shogunate, *daimyo* and civic administrators were a central part of the Europeans' experience of giving, being a significant factor in determining how trading privileges were won and disputes were solved. However, the reality of these exchanges was far from the occasional moments of giving that Saris appears to have anticipated. The institutionalised forms of gift-exchange in Japan, as expressed in the contemporary diary of Yamashina Tokitsune, meant that the Europeans had to engage with a broad catalogue of gifts to be given on specific days, at specific times of year, to specific people and for specific purposes, all of which complicated the process of gift-exchange far beyond the simplistic understanding that Saris conveyed to his superiors in London.

Nevertheless, an analysis of the English and Dutch diaries and correspondence from Hirado shows the sophistication and willingness with which the merchant groups engaged with this complex landscape of giving, receiving and reciprocating. Although fundamental misunderstandings such as Saris' did occur in the early days of the factories, nevertheless it is clear that the English and Dutch quickly acclimatised to the idea of giving 'nifon catange'. Not only did they refer to their acts of giving as being done 'in the Japon fation', but their diaries reveal descriptions of exchanges which fit the Japanese models of gifting; giving gifts at the departure of the Matsura to the court at Edo, adhering to the dates of *Shōgatsu*, and sending *onshin* to their friends and business partners in the distant towns of Osaka and Miyako. The speed at which they learned to do so is perhaps most notable in their adherence to the custom of giving *sakana*; having heard about the practice only a few months after arriving in Japan, the English would very rarely contravene the custom throughout their ten-year stay. Not only does this rapid adoption of non-European gift-giving forms bespeak an appreciation of Japanese social conventions, it indicates respect for local tradition, a

[390] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 212 (John Saris to the EIC, 17 October 1614).

realisation of the benefits that this could bring, and a willingness to engage with it on more than a merely ephemeral level.

While the act of giving was broadly commensurate between the European countries and Japan (the concept behind the New Year's gift, for instance, remained the same no matter what the calendar) there were nevertheless occasions where the European and Japanese interpretations of the gift's significance were at odds with each other. Differences in expectations led the Europeans to see their court visits as diplomatic exchanges, while the setting, date, and delayed reciprocation of the gift clearly casts the Tokugawa interpretation of the visit as a form of displaying loyalty. Misunderstandings about the expected extent of gift-giving were a constant detriment to English profits and a source of discontent for both companies. Further frustrations were felt in moments when it was clear that the exchanges were not equal; when expected gifts were delayed by a week, when gifts were returned or were not accepted at all, or when it was felt that an 'innocent' gift would soon be followed by disproportionate demands in return. Unlike their Japanese hosts, the English and Dutch could not easily refuse or return a gift which did not please them, and on the few occasions where they sought restitution for such demands, they were dismissed and instructed not to press the matter further, but simply to do their best to satisfy the expectations of their social superiors. While some such incommensurabilities could be overcome through the protracted process of observation and adjustment to foreign custom, others, such as viewing the gift to the shogun as tribute or as a diplomatic gift, could not be so easily reconciled. Perhaps most crucial for achieving continued commensurability in these situations was the ability of the gift to act as a social mediator, allowing both sides to project their own interpretations onto the gift-object. By so doing, it was possible to smooth over the tensions that could arise from these incommensurabilities, allowing both groups to see the gift in a manner which reflected their own designs and desires.

Gift-exchange was a frequent phenomenon at Hirado, with gifts given in greeting, celebration, parting and remembrance. Although there were challenges of interpretation at times, nevertheless, gift-giving remained central to the European encounter with Japan. Both European and Japanese shared an appreciation for the gift as a tool of mediation, and while neither group ever approached gift-exchanges without some sense that a gift given would have to be reciprocated in material goods or other forms of aid, only on occasion were these exchanges ever truly mis-taken. Despite the unfamiliar forms of giving encountered in Japan, it is clear that by adhering to these social customs, and employing them in exchanges amongst themselves, the Europeans were trying to enter into an unfamiliar social world and to make it a part of their own.

Chapter 5: Violence and Justice

In Hirado, the merchants of the EIC and VOC were frequently confronted with a social environment that was riven with conflict. The impact of *sengoku* warfare had not escaped Kyushu, and the European diaries and letters attest to the uncertainty of life in this period of reconstruction and pacification. They illuminate how violence occurred within the town of Hirado itself, as rival factions and individual tensions erupted into physical altercations which often led to injury, death, and execution. The merchants were not always central to these conflicts; on many occasions, they were observers, recording in their letters and journals the incidents they had witnessed on the streets of Japan. At other times, they found themselves embroiled in conflict, either with the local Japanese community, or with each other, as the rivalry between opposing factories bubbled over into open hostilities. Whether in the form of open warfare or personal quarrel, violence was a reality for the English, Dutch and Japanese alike.

Violence rarely occurred between the European powers and the Tokugawa state. With the exception of the Shimabara Rebellion of 1638-9, when the VOC was instructed to assist shogunate troops in putting down an anti-governmental uprising, conflict tended to be constrained to the local and individual level; interpersonal disputes coming to blows, or physical punishments exacted against those who had transgressed social and legal bounds. Violence was in large part a tool deployed by authority figures, including the European chief merchants and the Japanese *bugyō,* to maintain positive relations between these groups when individual squabbles threatened the peace.

While violence does represent a rupture in the social relations between the combatants, it does not necessarily presume the existence of incommensurability. Whether personal quarrels or formal justice, violent interactions needed to be intelligible if the causes

of conflict were to be redressed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam has provided a valuable case-study in an examination of the execution of sixty-one envoys from Portuguese Macao by the Tokugawa shogunate in 1640.[1] The envoys had been sent to Japan, in direct contravention of the expulsion edict of 1639, in hopes of negotiating the reopening of trade. Upon their arrival, the envoys were seized, imprisoned and executed, with just thirteen left alive to relay the news back to Macao. What appeared, Subrahmanyam argues, to be a 'radical breakdown of the diplomatic process', in fact relied upon the ability of the Portuguese to interpret this act of violence as a rejection of Portugal's attempts at diplomatic engagement.[2] Violence might represent disagreement in various social spheres, but it rarely represented a failure of the Europeans and Japanese to understand one another.

For the English, Dutch and Japanese to understand how each group used violence, both as an unsanctioned means of addressing personal grievances and as an officially sanctioned means of disciplinary justice, each party needed to identify commensurabilities in their respective methods of practising violence. Two key factors played an important role in this process: the association of violence with the expression and defence of personal honour, and the recourse to legal processes, rather than vengeance or vendetta, in the search for restitution. These shared concerns were influenced by each country's pattern of early modern development, and as such played an important role in allowing the northern Europeans and Japanese to navigate situations in which violent conflict arose.

The Legal Context of Violence

Any study of violence must necessarily examine the legality of the acts in question, since violent acts are performed either to uphold or contravene the law, and may therefore be either legally sanctioned or unsanctioned. While this boundary is not always clear-cut, as

[1] Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters*, p. 15.
[2] Ibid., p. 16.

Natalie Zemon Davis has demonstrated with reference to sixteenth-century France, nevertheless there exists a division between violence which was carried out legally in the name of political or juridical authorities and that which was not.[3] As states such as England, the Dutch Republic, and Japan underwent the social shifts now considered part of early modern developments, greater distinctions were drawn between sanctioned and unsanctioned violence, since the authority of centralising governments rests upon a monopoly of the legitimate use of violence within its own territory. The ability to claim that monopoly over a broader physical space defines, according to the Weberian formulation, the territorial extent of the state.[4]

In Tokugawa Japan, the monopoly on the legitimate use of force was exemplified by the *taihei*, or 'Great Peace', the pacification of the Japanese domains under the Tokugawa shogunate following the *sengoku-jidai*.[5] The *taihei* was founded upon the obedience of provincial *daimyo* to the central authority of the Tokugawa clan. Eiko Ikegami has thus described early Edo-period Japan as possessing an 'integrated yet decentralised' political structure, in which domains, villages and other organising units were allowed to retain a degree of autonomy as long as they complied with and supported the central state.[6] This structure applied also to the field of justice, meaning that Tokugawa Japan did not possess, unlike England and the Dutch Republic, a uniform set of laws which prescribed modes of crime and punishment across the country. Instead, each domain was permitted to exact justice from criminals according to their own statutes, including both corporal and capital punishment, provided that those statutes did not violate the edicts enacted by the shogunate.[7]

[3] Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France', *Past & Present* 59 (1973), pp. 51-91, at p. 52.
[4] Max Weber, 'Politics as a Vocation', in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (Abingdon, 2009), pp. 77-128, at p. 78.
[5] Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, p. 3.
[6] Ikegami, *Taming*, pp. 165-6.
[7] Carl Steenstrup, *A History of Law in Japan until 1868* (Leiden, 1991), p. 121.

Similar rules applied to village corporations and the *jūningumi* household groupings which managed urban neighbourhoods, who possessed their own authority beneath their local *daimyo*.[8] Underpinning this system was the principle of *naibun*; the 'portion of competence' granted by a superior to an inferior in a hierarchical relationship.[9]

Within this system, the English and Dutch occupied a unique legal niche. The Matsura *daimyo* were considered to possess authority over the Europeans when arbitrating disputes, but the legal privileges possessed by the English and Dutch derived from the shogunate itself. The legal position of the Europeans was set out in the regulatory documents known as *shuinjō* ('red-seal passes') which were issued by the shogun, and granted the foreigners trading privileges in Japan. These privileges were broad and capacious, and were permissive rather than prescriptive. According to the 1613 *shuinjō* granted to the EIC, the English were exempted from customs duties (article one), were 'free to visit any port in Japan' (article three), were to be granted a residence in Edo where they may 'reside and trade' (article four), and, on the occasion that an Englishman died in Japan, his possessions would be returned to the English 'without fail' (article five).[10] The remaining three articles placed limits on English activity in Japan: article two required the English to submit all cargo manifests to the shogunate for requisitioning, while articles six and seven focused on crime and punishment. Article six of the English *shuinjō* stated that 'Forced sales of cargoes, or violence, shall not take place', while article seven asserted that 'if one of the English should commit an offence, he shall be sentenced by the English General according to the gravity of the offence.' Similar privileges were granted to the Dutch, although their *shuinjō* was a terse document, simply granting the VOC the right to come and go freely, and to put into whatever

[8] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, ii, p. 447.
[9] Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, p. 7.
[10] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 88 (Privileges granted to the EIC by Tokugawa Ieyasu, 2 October 1613).

harbour was convenient; more in keeping with a ship's *shuinjō* than a trading charter.[11] The details of their privileges were instead outlined in a letter from Ieyasu to Maurice of Orange in 1609, but this did not explicitly mention how crime or punishment was to be handled.[12] Derek Massarella has suggested that the Dutch were subject to similar legal provisions as were the English, since in 1617 and 1618 both factories were reminded that they were required to observe Japanese laws surrounding the proscription of Christianity in Japan.[13]

As this reminder suggests, the shogunate expected the English and Dutch to adhere to Japanese laws.[14] However, the *shuinjō* had to be flexible, as early Edo-period Japan did not have a unified law code, and thus judicial practices would differ from port to port. As such, the provision that the Europeans were to be sentenced 'according to the gravity of the offence', meant that they were to be judged on a case-by-case basis, in accordance with the local laws of each domain. Delegating this duty to the cape-merchant was not a grant of extraterritoriality, which the English would come to believe it was, but a means by which the shogunate could maintain control over the Europeans without expending resources on policing their activity in each region.[15] The Europeans remained within the *naibun* of the shogunate, as did all who resided in Japan, but the merchants themselves belonged to the *naibun* of the European factories. In essence, the *shuinjō* granted the Europeans a share of the shogunate's authority in punishing those who broke the law. In this respect, the Europeans were subject to the principles of *omote* and *uchi* used elsewhere in Japanese law, i.e. that disputes could be settled internally, so long as they did not break into the public sphere and shatter the illusion of the 'Great Peace'.

[11] Oskar Nachod, *Die Beziehungen der Niederländisch Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan im 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1897), p. xvii (Appendix 6).
[12] Ibid., pp. xv-xvii (Appendix 5).
[13] Derek Massarella and Izumi K. Tytler, 'The Japonian Charters: The English and Dutch Shuinjō', *Monumenta Nipponica* 45 (1990), pp. 189-205, at pp. 200-1.
[14] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 116.
[15] Ibid., p. 116.

However, while the English and Dutch were prohibited from conducting acts of violence on paper, the reality was that sanctioned and unsanctioned violence was part of the everyday experience of life in Japan. While relations between the Europeans and Japanese were not often strained to the point where disputes came to blows, nevertheless brawls, duels, discipline and even open conflict did occur between 1609 and 1640. Since these incidents could not always be avoided, it was necessary for the Europeans and Japanese to be able to navigate violent interactions in ways that were mutually intelligible, in order to reach resolution. By examining the nature, shape and reaction to violence at Hirado in light of English, Dutch and Japanese cultural norms, it is possible to go some way towards determining how these apparent moments of radical incommensurability could be navigated.

Honour and Violence

Central to the development of mutual understandings of conflict was the common understanding that acts of violence were closely related to the assertion, or defence, of an individual's honour. In both the northern European and Japanese context, the recourse to violence was, as Alexandra Shepard has argued, a 'prop of patriarchy', which informed masculine identities and regulated relationships not only amongst men, but between men and women.[16] Violence was a means of control, employed in a judicial as well as a domestic capacity to ensure conformity to patriarchal hierarchies of gender, age and status.[17] Men (for it was primarily men who monopolised the use of violence) saw violence as being closely interrelated with expressions of honour; it was a means by which a man could assert the quality of his character when his reputation was impugned.[18] Insults, assaults, threats and

[16] Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2010), p. 128.
[17] Ibid., p. 139.
[18] Markku Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 39.

disagreements all posed a challenge to the honour of the victim; to leave them unaddressed was to threaten the victim's reputation and standing in their community.[19]

Examining the interrelation of honour and violence in the context of early modern Europe, Markku Peltonen has emphasised the reflexive quality of honour. In Europe, a man who possessed honour was owed a degree of civil courtesy by his peers and inferiors: 'honor those vnto whom yee doe Reuerence,' wrote the English moralist James Cleland in 1607, 'and by consequence yee shal bee honoured your selues'.[20] When honour was impugned, he argues, a man had to demonstrate publicly that his reputation, and the virtues upon which it was constructed, were beyond reproach.[21] Since such a challenge implied that a man's word could not be trusted, the clearest way of demonstrating that his honour was intact was through a display of martial ability.[22] As Joseph Swetnam asserted in 1617, 'hee which hath tried his manhood, afterwards the world will judge and say that he is a man of his hands, and that he dare fight upon a good occasion'.[23] A man's honour, therefore, was acknowledged by the assent of others in the honour-community, and proven, when challenged, through violent means.

In Japan, a similar concept may be found in the concern with social reputation within the samurai community at large.[24] Traditionally, a samurai's honour was an index of his power and status, derived from the military might of his clan and expressed through martial prowess, in contradistinction to the scholarly court society of Heian-era Miyako.[25] However, within samurai honour-culture a duality of honorific expression was at play. Loyal military service to one's master was demanded at the same time as one aspired to individualistic

[19] Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 76, 122-3.
[20] Peltonen, *The Duel*, p. 38.
[21] Ibid., pp. 41.
[22] Ibid., p. 44.
[23] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 141.
[24] Ikegami, *Taming*, pp. 18, 91-2.
[25] Ibid., p. 50.

autonomy through combat.[26] The adjudicator of what actions were considered honourable was the samurai community, which as Eiko Ikegami has shown, 'regulated and prescribed Japanese moral behaviour both internally and externally.'[27] As such, it was crucial for a samurai to display his military prowess publicly; to express courage and respect for his opponent, to value achievements in battle and to understand that there were rules to fighting honourably, and to know when it was *more* honourable to break those rules in pursuit of individual martial brilliance.[28] Through such displays, the samurai community would be aware of the samurai's martial skill and judge his honorific standing accordingly. In Japan, as in Europe, proving one's ability in combat was considered a means of gaining the approval of other members of the honour-community.

During the *sengoku-jidai*, the desire to claim honour by attaining individualistic autonomy had led ambitious samurai to prove themselves by rising up against their masters and supplanting them in a phenomenon called *gekokujō,* 'the lower dominating the upper'.[29] Through military superiority and tactical cunning, samurai could overturn established political hierarchies, increasing their individual rank and their honour in the process. The Tokugawa clan came to power through *gekokujō*, taking advantage of the power vacuum formed in the wake of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's death and his son Hideyori's regency in order to establish the shogunate. Emperor Go-Yōzei had granted Ieysu the shogunate, giving his rule legitimacy, but the legacy of *gekokujō* meant that insurrection with the aim of overthrowing the shogunate was still considered a distinct policy, and this could no longer be tolerated. The Tokugawa thus set out to monopolise the legitimate use of violence, reshaping acceptable uses of force such that only loyal military service could be accepted as truly

[26] Ikegami, *Taming*, p. 86.
[27] Ibid., p. 92.
[28] Ibid., pp. 72-7
[29] Ibid., p. 135.

honorific.[30] Hideyoshi had already achieved the disarmament of much of the non-samurai population via his Sword Hunt Edict of 1588, concentrating the possession of honour in the hands of the samurai to curtail armed uprisings such as those of the *ikki* self-defence leagues of the late-sixteenth century.[31] Under the Tokugawa, the samurai likewise became a target of military proscription; domanial military capabilities were curtailed by imposing financially draining levies, including mandatory corvée labour, expensive public works projects, and the redistribution of land between domains, such that regional *daimyo* could no longer afford to raise armies against the central government.[32] Under this new system, honour stemmed from and was dispensed by the shogun, whose monopoly on the legitimate use of violence both embodied and justified his supremacy.[33]

Similar policies, which likewise limited traditional sources of individual martial honour and placed its distribution in the hands of central authorities, were being enacted at the same time in Europe. In the Dutch Republic, the *Landsknechte* (mercenary bands who had previously enjoyed significant amounts of self-determination during the Dutch Revolt) were confined to urban garrisons; like the samurai, bouts of infighting over an impugned sense of honour were curtailed by strict punitive regulations.[34] In England, the accession of James VI and I to the throne had seen an end to the Anglo-Spanish war and English intervention in the Dutch Revolt with the signing of the 1604 Treaty of London. Three years earlier, the failure of the Earl of Essex's Rebellion against the court favourites he perceived as 'base upstarts' and unworthy of honour had marked the transition away from a culture of individual honour

[30] Ikegami, *Taming*, p. 152.
[31] Ibid., pp. 153-5.
[32] Ibid., p. 153; see also Constantine Nomikos Vaporis, *Tour of Duty: Samurai, Military Service in Edo, and the Culture of Early Modern Japan* (Honolulu, 2008), p. 14.
[33] Ikegami, *Taming*, p. 159.
[34] Erik Swart, 'From "*Landsknecht"* to "Soldier": The Low German Foot Soldiers of the Low Countries in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', *International Review of Social History* 51 (2006), pp. 75-92, at p. 91; Olaf van Nimwegen, 'The Transformation of Army Organisation in Early-Modern Western Europe, c. 1500-1789', in Frank Tallett and D. J. B. Trim (eds.), *European Warfare, 1350-1750* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 159-180, at p. 164.

enshrined in military bravado and towards one where political manoeuvring and intrigue by the peerage as a collective took precedence.[35] Essex had hoped to rely upon his reputation and popularity amongst the people of London to bolster his cause, but found that rugged individual action had little purchase in a state where honour had become increasingly centralised in the figure of the monarch.[36]

Through such regulations, the governments of all three countries had drawn a division between violence that was sanctioned by the state, which served to enhance the authority of the central government, and unsanctioned violence, which posed a challenge to the regime by placing power in the hands of individuals. Yet in this social climate individuals still sought ways of demonstrating and defending their reputation when it was slighted. While some alternative channels of honorific expression were opened up as a result of these regulations, primarily competition and intrigue at court, these were scarce, and the reflexive, demonstrative nature of violence meant that combat, even if unsanctioned, remained the preferred means by which many sought to prove their honour.

As such, new countercultural forms of honorific violence began to emerge, caused by the dissatisfaction of those whose claims to honour had been curtailed. In Japan, as Gary Leupp has argued, the Tokugawa monopoly on legitimate uses of violence stripped the samurai of their traditional means of expressing honour; they were faced with financial losses, confined to the castle-towns of their *daimyo*, and subject to a growing sense of redundancy without a war to fight.[37] *Kabuki* emerged partly in response to this dissatisfaction, drawing upon the tropes and tales of Japan's samurai of earlier eras and

[35] M. E. James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 422-3, 464-5.
[36] Ibid., p. 459.
[37] Gary P. Leupp, 'The Five Men of Naniwa: Gang Violence and Popular Culture in Genroku Osaka', in James L. McClain and Wakita Osamu, *Osaka: The Merchants' Capital of Early Modern Japan*, (Ithaca, 1999), pp. 125-57, at p. 127.

transplanting them into the present, instilling in the audience a sense that this bygone era was still readily present.[38] Parallel to the development of this theatrical genre was the emergence of violent bands on the streets of Japan's cities made up of *kabukimono*: literally, a 'person who leans' or 'one who runs wild'.[39] These groups of deprived samurai and *rōnin,* whose opportunity for upward social mobility had been deprived by the shogunate's edicts restricting violence, turned their skill on the battlefield to displays of martial prowess on the city streets, engaging in feats of bravado to prove to the samurai community that they were still *otokodate*, 'tough and chivalrous' men.[40]

Much as the *kabukimono* rose from the ashes of combat to find alternative, unsanctioned means of displaying martial honour, so too did similar practices arise in England and the Dutch Republic. If Japan had begun to look wistfully back to the samurai heyday, England was no less nostalgic for the days of battlefield glory. Dissatisfied with James VI and I's apparent pacifism, early Stuart writers began to romanticise the notion of an age of valour under Elizabeth I. In his *Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney*, the poet, dramatist and statesman Fulke Greville asserts his own approval of what he portrayed, *ex post facto,* as Elizabeth's martial predilections.[41] Greville's protagonist, Sidney, is an unabashedly military man, valorised for his role in battle ('no man thought he marched under the true banner of Mars that had not obtained Sir Philip Sidney's approbation')[42] and the author despairs that the 'ancient wisdom of righting enemies', the imagined martial spirit of the Elizabethan era, was 'utterly worn out of date in our modern discipline'[43]. Amongst the gentry, who had traditionally had recourse to combat as a means of proving their honour, a

[38] Shimazaki, Edo Kabuki, pp. 41, 61.
[39] David A. Eason, 'The Culture of Disputes in Early Modern Japan, 1550-1700' (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2009), p. 198.
[40] Ikegami, *Taming*, p. 205; Leupp, 'The Five Men of Naniwa', p. 127; Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki*, p. 62.
[41] Fulke Greville, 'A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney' in John Gouws (ed.) *The Prose Works of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke* (Oxford, 1986), p. 47-8.
[42] Ibid., p. 21.
[43] Ibid., p. 13.

new outlet for martial honour was found in the practice of duelling, an import from the courts of Renaissance Italy.[44] The anonymous *Booke of Honor and Armes*, published in 1590, noted that 'publique Combats are in this age either rarely or neuer granted', but suggested that the private duel between individuals could take their place.[45] Indeed, duels were a popular countercultural trend. While they had critics in the Jacobean court,[46] even these found themselves equivocating, acknowledging that while duelling was an odious habit, the loss of honour that they sought to restore was, arguably, worse.[47]

However, honorific fighting in Europe was not confined to the duel, and, as Pieter Spierenburg has argued, the formal duel never found purchase in the Dutch Republic, having been broadly condemned by Calvinist moralists, who encouraged secular courts to punish killers with execution.[48] However, Spierenburg does note that the 'popular duel', characterised by the engagement of two lower-class combatants, remained common in the Dutch Republic.[49] Julius Ruff has shown how such knife-fights in seventeenth-century Amsterdam were governed by a loose set of rules, in which combatants would fight to defend their honour; theoretically to first blood, but often to the death.[50] In such conflicts, honourable practice distinguished the respectable commoner from the vulgar,[51] although this distinction was less marked in the early seventeenth century; only after 1630, Spierenburg argues, did members of the 'respectable' Reformed Church refrain from knife-fighting.[52] In Japan, as Nishiyama Matsunosuke has demonstrated, many of the newly-developed *chōnin*

[44] Peltonen, *The Duel*, p. 8.
[45] Ibid., p. 50.
[46] Ibid., p. 89.
[47] Ibid., p. 57.
[48] Pieter Spierenburg, *Violence and Punishment: Civilising the Body Through Time* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 44 See also Pieter Spierenburg, 'Protestant Attitudes to Violence: The Early Dutch Republic' *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés* 10 (2006), pp. 5-31, at p. 26.
[49] Spierenburg, *Violence and Punishment*, p. 43
[50] Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 123-4.
[51] Pieter Spierenburg, 'Knife Fighting and Popular Codes of Honour in Early Modern Amsterdam', in Pieter Spierenburg *Men and Violence: Gender, Honour and Rituals in Modern Europe and America* (Columbus, 1998), pp. 103-127, at p. 107.
[52] Ibid., p. 119.

urbanite class were former samurai, newly employed as merchants and craftsmen. These individuals brought their desire to be seen as *otokodate* to their new non-elite status, resulting in honorific fights including the so-called 'scabbard-brushings', fights that resulted from romantic rivalries.[53] 'Social justice in Edo', Matsunosuke notes, 'usually meant violence.'[54]

Such pressures were exacerbated by the increased urbanisation of early modern states. As Johnathan Israel has calculated, by the late fourteenth century, the Spanish Netherlands alone boasted ten towns with a population of more than 10,000 inhabitants, a number rivalled only by the city-states of northern Italy.[55] With the swelling population of the Dutch cities came an increase in urban violence, reflected in a Dutch proverb which noted 'one hundred Netherlanders, one hundred knives'.[56] The *kabukimono* of Japan were likewise an urban phenomenon, a product of the enforced residency of samurai in castle towns post-1600. In staging pitched battles on city streets, they sought to assert their samurai identity and distinguish themselves by violent means from the rest of the urban throng.[57] From the mid-sixteenth century, Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson have argued, English towns became a hotbed of popular disturbances and communal violence, with concerns about the violent potential of 'masterless men' who, like the *kabukimono,* lacked the social ties that bound them to state-sanctioned codes of conduct.[58] Alexandra Shepard has drawn attention to violent rivalries in early modern Cambridge, in which bands of young men, aligned with either the University or the town, clashed in conflicts over control of urban spaces.[59]

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[53] Nishiyama Matsunosuke, *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600-1868,* trans. Gerald Groemer (Honolulu, 1997), pp. 38-9.
[54] Ibid., p. 38.
[55] Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1998), p. 12.
[56] Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe,* p. 14.
[57] Ikegami, *Taming,* p. 205-6.
[58] Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, 'Introduction' in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 1-40, at p. 38; Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London, 1972), p. 33.
[59] Alexandra Shepard, 'Student Violence in Early Modern Cambridge', in L.W.B. Brockliss and Heather Montgomery (eds.), *Childhood and Violence in the Western Tradition* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 233-41, at p. 235.

The practice of honorific violence in England, Japan, and the Dutch Republic was therefore changing in relation to the development of these three countries as early modern states. Increased urbanisation, the armament of the populace, and the tensions of proximate living all contributed to a violent urban subculture in each of the three countries, finding expression in brawling and knife-fighting in defence of honour. In all three cultures, violence and honour were closely intertwined, as individuals (mostly young men) fought to defend and expand their honour against those who would impugn it. Such expressions of honour through interpersonal violence were increasingly proscribed by central governments seeking to consolidate control over their territories, leading to the development of violent countercultures aimed at finding new channels through which honour could be asserted. These violent cultures, different in their expression but with a number of identifying principles, provide the background against which the English, Dutch and Japanese interacted at Hirado. By examining the violent interactions of the English, Dutch and Japanese, it is possible to examine how far conflict and justice in Japan were also subject to these early modern impulses.

Warfare in Japan

Although the *sengoku-jidai* had all but come to an end by the arrival of the English and Dutch in Japan, the legacy of a century and a half of warfare remained part of the lived experience of many Japanese citizens. The greatest concern for both the shogunate and the citizenry of Tokugawa Japan was the possibility of violent uprising against the shogunate which threatened to plunge the country back into fractious infighting. In 1613, John Saris encountered a large junk moored at Shimonoseki, which the locals informed him was to act as a troop transport, 'if rebellion or warre should happen'.[60] An insurgency of Toyotomi

[60] *Saris*, p. 122 (7 August 1613).

loyalists was always considered a possibility, and rumours of this nature abounded. On 28 May 1615, the Dutch merchant Matthijs van ten Broeck, stationed in Osaka, had written to Hirado to alert the factory of the rumours spreading there: although Ieyasu still held Miyako and Hidetada held Fushimi, van ten Broeck reported that 'strange things are said here about the greater power that Fiderij samma [Toyotomi Hideyori] would have with him; they say he has more than 150 thousand men with him, so that it is reckoned more likely that they would come to an agreement.'[61] Within a few days Tokugawa forces met the last retainers of the Toyotomi in the Siege of Osaka. Van ten Broeck and Albert Wouteren were located in nearby Sakai for the battle, and reported on the conflict to Jacques Specx; in Hirado, the Dutch, English and Japanese awaited news with bated breath.[62]

Hideyori was defeated, but rumours of his escape persisted throughout 1615 and 1616; 'the common report,' Richard Cocks noted on 13 August 1615 'is that Fidaia Samme [Hideyori] is yet living, with 5 or 6 principall men, and thought to be in Shashma'.[63] In 1617, Cocks recorded in his diary that 'Here is flying reportes geven out that wars are like to ensue in Japon, but' (he adds) 'what will com of it God he knoweth'.[64] In 1618, the sighting of a comet over Hirado was taken as an omen of war,[65] and as late as 1622, Cocks records rumours that a dispute in the Tokugawa household was likely to result in wars 'betwixt themperour and his uncle'.[66] From these accounts it is clear that while the Tokugawa shogunate was keen to establish its reputation as the 'Great Public Authority', with claims to authority across the domains of Japan reinforced with a monopoly on the use of warfare,[67] the

[61] 'Matthijs van ten Brock to Jacques Specx', 28 May 1615, NA, 1.04.21 276, fo.31. ('*hier wordt heel vreemt ghesprooken van de grooter macht die Fiderij Samma bij hem soude hebben, wandt seggen over de 150 duijsent man bij hem heft, soo datter geacht wert, eerder tot een accoort andermael sullen commen*.')
[62] 'Matthijs van ten Broek and Albert Wouteren to Jacques Specx', 11 June 1615, NA, 1.04.21 276, fo. 37.
[63] *Diary*, i, p. 60 (13 August 1615).
[64] Ibid., ii, p. 52 (26 March 1617).
[65] Ibid., ii, p. 384 (8 November 1618).
[66] Ibid., iii, p. 246 (6 March 1622).
[67] Ikegami, *Taming*, p. 151.

reality in the first few decades of the seventeenth century was that this was still largely aspirational.

When an anti-shogunate insurrection did arise, it came not from Toyotomi loyalists but from disaffected peasants on the Shimabara peninsula. The onset of famine and high taxes led the peasantry of Shimabara and Amakusa domains to rise up in revolt against their *daimyo* in December 1637, aided by *rōnin* and former retainers of the Arima clan. Shimabara had historically been a centre of Christianity within Kyushu, and the rebellion soon adopted Christian iconography as a symbol of anti-shogunate sentiment, which, as Conrad Totman notes, recalled the *ikkō* tradition of the late-sixteenth century.[68] Such actions challenged not only the shogunate's monopoly on the legitimate use of violence, but their hegemony over the domains of Japan, and Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu responded with force, deploying troops from across Kyushu to Shimabara to drive the rebels back to their palisade in the ruins of Hara castle. To assist him in this endeavour, Iemitsu called upon the VOC to send ships to bombard the stockade from the sea.

The Dutch had been following the progress of the rebellion since December 1637, and were aware of the predicament this request put them in.[69] Involvement at Shimabara was an undesirable state of affairs, since it would require the use of ships that could otherwise be used for commerce.[70] However, as Adam Clulow has shown, the Dutch were in no position to deny Iemitsu's request. In 1630, the former Hirado *opperhoofd* Jacques Specx had been appointed Governor-General of the VOC, and had instituted a new diplomatic policy for engaging with Japan; namely that 'the Netherlanders shall display such faithful service to his Majesty [the shogun]… as his Majesty expects from the Japanese that are his own vassals'.[71]

[68] Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, p. 115.
[69] Cornelis Geerts, 'The Arima Rebellion and the Conduct of Koeckebacker', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (1883), pp. 51-117, at p. 61. (Couckebacker to van Diemen at Batavia, 10 January 1638).
[70] Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun*, p. 127.
[71] Ibid., p. 99.

Left with little choice but to adhere to protocol, the then-*opperhoofd* Nicholaes Couckebacker promised his support to the shogunate's campaign.[72] On 17 January 1638, Couckebacker wrote a missive to Itakura Shigemasa, commander of the shogunate forces, in which he offered 'if anything should arise that is within our power, please command us; we remain ready to serve faithfully'.[73]

When the shogunate requested gunpowder from the Dutch in January 1638, therefore, Couckebacker was doubtless relieved to report that, due to the departure of the larger Dutch ships shortly before, the factory was only able to spare six barrels of powder.[74] François Caron, representing the VOC in Nagasaki, was told by Nagasaki *daikan* Suetsugu Shigefusa, that he had promised the shogunate that 'the Hollanders would not neglect to offer their artillery, cannonballs, gunpowder and what else was in their power to the service of his Imperial Majesty [Iemitsu].'[75] By 15 February the Dutch had conceded to further demands, supplying the shogunate with 'the largest and most uniform guns' that they possessed.[76] The shogunate did not back down, demanding assurances of the Dutch factory's loyalty in the form of a personal display of fealty to Iemitsu.[77] At the same meeting, Shigefusa requested that a Dutch vessel be kept ready for dispatch at any time; when Caron argued that this might prevent travel to Batavia, he was reminded that 'it was far more to our interest to please [the shogunate] than to think always of our own affairs', and Shigefusa threatened to curtail the Dutch trade if they continued to disobey the shogunate.[78]

[72] Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun*, p. 126.
[73] 'Nicholaes Couckebacker to Itakura Shigemasa', 17 January 1638, NA 1.04.21 483, fo.372. ('*Ingevalle ijets voorvaldt dat in ons vermogen is, gelieft ons te gebieden, wij blijven bereijt getrouwelijk te dienen'*)
[74] Geerts, 'Conduct of Koeckebacker', p. 73. (Couckebacker to Phesodonno at Nagasaki, 27 January 1638).
[75] *Dagregisters*, iii, p. 101 (9 February 1638. '*d'Hollanders niet souden nalatich wesen haer geschut, coegels, cruijt, ende wat voorders in haer vermogen was, ten dienste van sijne Keijser^{lk} Maj^{t} aen te bieden'*).
[76] Geerts, 'Conduct of Koeckebacker', p. 75. (Couckebacker to Phesodonno at Nagasaki, 15 February 1638).
[77] Ibid., p. 77 (Couckebacker to van Diemen at Batavia, 17 February 1638).
[78] Ibid., p. 81 (Couckebacker to van Diemen, 17 February 1638).

It was clear from this that the balance of power remained in the hands of the shogunate, and the Dutch were compelled to obey. Although Clulow rightly acknowledges that the Dutch were proactive in offering their assistance to the shogunate, they were evidently not eager allies, as may be ascertained from Couckebacker's attempts to ameliorate the shogunate whilst also keeping distant from the conflict. When, on 19 February, he was ordered by Matsura Takanobu to send both of his ships to Arima to suppress the rebellion, contradicting earlier permissions to sail for Batavia, Couckebacker advised Caron to sail immediately for Java, 'avoiding by any means the coast near Nagasaki', so as to retain plausible deniability.[79] Couckebacker himself sailed for Arima, arriving at Shimabara on 24 February. It was quickly realised, however, that the Dutch guns would be of little importance in the battle, as the rebels' fortifications were weak and did not require an artillery presence.[80] Couckebacker expressed frustration at the situation, arguing that it was 'needless for us to come hither with our ship and do nothing'[81]. Yet the Dutch were reliant upon the shogun's favour for their trading privileges, and refusal to obey was liable to cause the Dutch to lose their trade in Japan altogether.

The shogunate was not so much desirous of Dutch guns as it was of Dutch loyalty. Upon arrival at Shimabara the Japanese commanders were courteous and grateful for the VOC's presence despite the limited impact that the Dutch artillery had on the battle, and repeatedly assured Couckebacker that his responsiveness was pleasing to Iemitsu. His presence must also have been reassuring. Fears of Christian insurrection against the government had become one of the greatest concerns for the shogunate, and the Shimabara rebellion appeared to be just that. The extent to which Christian ideology was, in fact, a cause

[79] Geerts, 'Conduct of Koeckebacker', p. 87 (Couckebacker to Francois Caron, aboard the *Petten* at Cochi, 19 February 1638).
[80] Ibid., p. 93 (Couckebacker to Johan van der Burch at Formosa, 25 March 1638).
[81] Ibid., p. 91 (Couckebacker to Jan van Elserack at Hirado, 1 March 1638).

of the rebellion remains a matter of some debate,[82] but in either case the adoption of Christological symbols as a mark of anti-shogunate sentiment led the shogunate to see the rebellion in these terms.[83] This placed the Christian Europeans in a position of suspicion. The Catholic Iberians were identified as 'the instigators of this revolt' and would be expelled from Japan in 1639 in response.[84] The Dutch, who had always professed animosity towards Catholicism, were known to be Christians of a sort, and thus of uncertain allegiance. Clulow is critical of the traditional argument advanced by Grant Goodman that the Dutch were requested to send ships to Shimabara as an exercise of trust; he argues that such a test was unlikely to have been conducted by the shogunate whilst they were preoccupied with a major military emergency.[85] Nevertheless, in appearing at Shimabara and offering military support, the Dutch must have provided some measure of satisfaction to Iemitsu, who could rest easy that the Protestant Dutch did not pose an immediate threat to the dominance of the shogunate.

For their part, the political and religious significance of the violence at Shimabara was a cause of consternation for the Dutch factors. The Dutch Republic had itself emerged from popular rebellion against overtaxation and the centralising impulses of the House of Habsburg, and it is of small wonder that Couckebacker, upon first learning of the revolt, referred to the local *daimyo*, Matsukura Katsuie, as a 'vindictive lord, or rather a tyrant'.[86] At this stage Couckebacker appeared sympathetic towards the rebels; he offered little critique of the uprising, but detailed fully the abuses reportedly laid upon the peasantry by Katsuie, including his practice of setting the mantles of disobedient peasants alight.[87] These initial sympathies would soon change, however, as the rebellion took on religious inflections.

[82] Gunn, *World Trade Systems*, pp. 135-8.
[83] Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, p. 115.
[84] Gunn, *World Trade Systems*, p. 138-9
[85] Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun*, p. 121.
[86] *Dagregisters*, iii, p. 86 (17 December 1637, '*Desen wraekgierigen H^r ofte wel een tijran genoempt'*).
[87] Ibid., pp. 85-6 (17 December 1637).

Having initially referred to the rebels as 'farmers' (*lantbouwers*), on 27 December 1637 Couckebacker reported that they had been joined by 'Christians of Arima' (*Arimasche Christenen*).[88] These Christians were explicitly presented as Catholics, and thus the mortal enemies of the Dutch; it was claimed that they had put Japanese temples to the torch and erected statues to Christ and the Virgin. Moreover, Couckebacker claimed the rebels used the battlecry 'Saint Iago', the patron saint of Spain, which he claims was done in an attempt to rally aid from Portugal.[89]

How far this was intended to justify Dutch involvement in suppressing the rebellion is uncertain. Couckebacker's portrayal of the rebels as Catholics (and thus enemies) occurred just as VOC involvement in the conflict was becoming a possibility; such parallels would have justified Dutch intervention. However, one recent study has shown that references to explicitly Christian rebels at Shimabara disappear from the *dagregister* at almost the same time as the Dutch pledge their support to the shogunate; a linguistic shift, it is suggested, which was intended to obscure the fact that the VOC merchants in Japan were supporting a conflict against other Christians.[90] Yet the Dutch were not hesitant to attack Christians on other occasions; the English and Dutch had engaged in a protracted conflict over the Moluccas throughout the 1610s and 1620s, culminating in the Amboyna Massacre of 1623, where ten Englishmen and a Bengali-Portuguese were killed in the wake of a suspected conspiracy.[91] Three years later, the VOC would wrest Malacca from Portuguese control.[92] Given Couckebacker's reticence to provide ships for the siege, and his complaint that his presence was not truly necessary, it is likely that he had mixed feelings about Dutch

[88] *Dagregisters*, p. 87 (27 December 1637).
[89] Ibid., p. 92 (8 January 1638).
[90] Aart Jan Hogeweg, 'The VOC during the Shimabara Rebellion' (M.A. thesis, Leiden University, 2019), p. 30.
[91] Alison Games, *Inventing the English Massacre: Amboyna in History and Memory* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 1, 22-5.
[92] Adam Clulow, *Amboina, 1623: Fear and Conspiracy on the Edge of Empire* (New York, 2019), p. 20.

intervention himself, perhaps influenced by the parallels between the Shimabara Rebellion and the Dutch Revolt, at this point in its second phase following the end of the Twelve Years' Truce. Whatever his reservations, his hands were tied by company policy; the Dutch were obliged to act 'as faithful subjects' of the shogunate, who were able to offer 'proofs of [their] willingness to serve Japan'.[93]

In this respect, the involvement of the Dutch in quelling the Shimabara rebellion was intertwined with the Tokugawa shogunate's concerns with preserving their hegemony over the provinces of Japan. The actions of the shogunate stemmed from its desire to monopolise the use of legitimate violence, and the Dutch were required to comply with its demands in order to preserve their trading privileges. The parallels between the Shimabara rebellion and the Dutch Revolt cannot have been lost upon the VOC's factors, but they possessed little ability to protest the treatment of the rebels as long as they relied on the patronage of the government. Nevertheless, they were keen to avoid involvement in battle, only taking part when it was made clear that noncompliance would result in loss of privileges, and even then reducing their involvement as much as was permissible without losing face. War was not good for commerce, and it was only the weak negotiating position of the Europeans which embroiled them in this form of violence.

Interpersonal Violence

As dramatic as warfare was when it unfolded, military combat was uncommon during the English and Dutch factors' time in Japan. Far more common was violence of a quotidian nature, bound up with the demonstration and preservation of honour between individuals. Outbreaks of unsanctioned conflict were a regular occurrence at Hirado, though the specific details are not always easily discerned, as the factors – in particular Cocks, whose diary

[93] Geerts, 'Conduct of Koeckebacker', p. 77 (Couckebacker to van Diemen at Batavia, 17 February 1638).

contains the most vivid descriptions of interpersonal violence – were not always precise in their terminology when describing violent outbursts. A common formulation is that two parties 'fell to blowes'[94] or 'fell together per the ears'[95], which indicates some form of mutual conflict but with little insight into exactly how these fights occurred. On other occasions, Cocks refers to 'quarrels', a term which was variously used to describe verbal arguments as well as use of physical force; in its latter usage, it was used to describe a brawl between sailors at Akuno-ura, in which two Japanese died,[96] and also in 1618 to describe a fight between three soldiers in the Matsura's retinue, in which all three were killed.[97]

This ambiguous use of the term 'quarrel' was in line with the shifting lexicality surrounding popular violence in both Europe and Japan in the early modern period. In England, definitions of popular violence were capacious; under common law, words could be as violent as blows, and various expressions of popular violence were grouped under the banner of 'riot', a term which could encompass widespread uprising as well as small-scale breaches of the peace.[98] In Japan, as Mary Elizabeth Berry has argued, the sixteenth-century Japanese word for 'battle', *kassen*, might just as commonly refer to an altercation between townspeople on the streets of the city as it might a pitched battle between opposing armies.[99] Yet these terms were not immutable. As David Eason has demonstrated, by the end of the century *kassen* was falling out of use in Japan. Toyotomi Hideyoshi, in his attempt to unify the fractious provinces of Japan, had begun to develop a policy called '*sōbuji*', an 'all-encompassing peace' which prohibited displays of violence that might threaten his own authority.[100] Under *sōbuji,* peasant *kassen*, 'battles' were reclassified as *kenka*, 'fights', since

[94] *Diary*, ii, p. 239 (Jan 21 1618), 256 (Feb 26 1618); Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 785 (Cocks to the EIC, Mar 10 1619).
[95] Ibid., i, pp. 62 (Aug 16 1615), 342 (Nov 8 1616); ii, 413 (Jan 10 1619).
[96] Ibid., i, p. 233 (25 May 1616).
[97] Ibid., ii, p. 271 (25 March 1618).
[98] Andy Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 40-1.
[99] Mary Elizabeth Berry, *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto* (Los Angeles, 1994), p. 6.
[100] Eason, 'Culture of Disputes', pp. 123-4.

battles were considered a sanctioned form of warfare and thus the sole preserve of the shogunate, while fights were unauthorised, violent outbreaks which threatened the new social order.[101] Japanese law codes had begun to list 'fights and quarrels' (*kenka kōron*) together, binding the notion of quarrelling together with fighting as prohibited acts of unauthorised violence that threatened the stability of the regime.[102] In England, similarly, magistrates used a variety of criteria to classify riotous offences, including numbers of people involved, intent and longevity of disturbance, and the severity of the threat that their actions posed, in order to distinguish larger uprisings from minor misdemeanours and private disputes.[103] As in Japan, the aim was to distinguish legitimate forms of violence from civil unrest, thus allowing the government to focus its resources on quelling those disturbances which actually posed a threat to the regime.[104]

Under Japanese definitions, the interpersonal violence occurring at the European factories in Hirado would have fallen under the category of '*kenka*'; they were unauthorised incidents, usually intended to achieve the redress of grievances and the restoration of slighted honour. Amongst the English and Dutch, the ways in which honour was impugned were multifarious, but in keeping with European understandings of honour. Visiting Satsuma Domain in February 1618, William Eaton became embroiled in a brawl with a group of Portuguese merchants because he refused to doff his hat to them; Cocks' opinion was that neither party owed either any such show of respect.[105] William Nealson too was a man who would get violent when he was not afforded the respect he felt entitled to; on 16 January 1618 he was in 'fustion fumes', and assaulted interpreter Coe John in the street, 'because he came

[101] Eason, 'Culture of Disputes', p. 153.
[102] Ibid., p. 169.
[103] Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics*, pp. 41-2.
[104] Eason, 'Culture of Disputes', p. 42.
[105] *Diary*, ii, p. 256 (26 February 1618).

not to hym at his first calle'.[106] In May of that year, Nealson complained to John Osterwick that he felt his honour had been impugned by Cocks treating his merchants 'as slaves and not as merchantes', and that the Japanese should have met him with gifts of food, a sign of respect, despite it being early morning.[107] Attempting to make peace with the insulted and intoxicated Nealson, Cocks presented him with his dagger and rapier, which had been taken from him, but less than an hour later Nealson had cursed his countrymen, saying that 'yf they used him in such sort, he would speed som of them'.[108] Similarly, affronted honour lay behind Osterwick's challenge to Specx in late 1618, when he believed the Dutch *Opperhoofd* to be the mastermind behind a series of slights towards the English merchants. Tied up with this threat was an insult to Specx' honour: the challenge was made to Specx and his second, 'or any other the prowdest Hollanders he would appoint, yf he durst not do it hym selfe', implying that Specx was too cowardly to do his own dirty work. Moreover, Osterwick attacked the character of the Dutch, calling them 'base people in respect of thenglish, and [Cocks] a better man then hym selfe or any Hollander in these partes.'[109]

Despite this challenge, however, duels of the kind Osterwick proposed were rare in Japan. Only on two occasions, once in 1613 and in 1618, as above, did fights expressly classified as 'duels' threaten the peace at Hirado, and only in 1616 were blows actually exchanged. On 1 July 1613, as the English began transferring their belongings ashore, Wickham and Harnando Ximenes, a Spanish servant in the EIC's employ, fell into a disagreement; Wickham, Saris reports, 'challenged [Ximenes] the felde'[110], i.e. the field of honour. Following European custom, the two parties took up their places in the street,

[106] Ibid., ii, p. 235 (16 January 1618). Coe John's name, also rendered Co. Jn^{o}, is unknown; Farrington suggests Kōjirō or Kojūrō; see *English Factory in Japan*, ii, p. 1552.
[107] *Diary*, ii, p. 286 (2 May 1618).
[108] Ibid., ii, p. 312 (1 July 1618).
[109] *Diary*, ii, p. 413 (10 January 1619).
[110] *Saris*, p. 94 (1 July 1613).

attracting much attention from the Japanese, 'for the people flocked about the howse in great aboundance'. Saris brought both parties to him aboard the *Clove*, and defused the situation, separating both men until Wickham, whose 'portingall humour' was deemed to be the cause of the quarrel, had cooled off. The duel was thus ended without bloodshed, a mercy for which Saris was grateful, for 'had they drawne it might haue brought boath ourselues, shipp and goods in danger.'[111] It is perhaps for this reason that Saris characterises Wickham's temperament as 'portingall'; an appeal to purity which implies (or perhaps expresses hope) that such behaviour was not conscionable by level-headed Englishmen, and that it was unlikely to be repeated and further jeopardise trade. Wickham had previously been captured by the Portuguese in Zanzibar in 1608, being imprisoned in Goa and Lisbon before escaping to England, and it is perhaps to this time abroad that Saris refers.[112]

As shall be seen, Japanese law was strict in its punishment of unauthorised violence, and it is likely an awareness of this which led Specx, in 1618, to excuse himself from Osterwick's challenge, claiming ignorance of any grievances. A Calvinist, Specx was already likely to have shared the Dutch disdain for duelling noted by Pieter Spierenburg, but he had also served as *Opperhoofd* for a total of ten years, and would by this point have been well aware of the dangers that duelling could bring upon the factories. Deference to Japanese law was a matter of expediency, and the consequences of failing to do so potentially lethal.

Slights to personal honour were often a result of overindulgence in drink, particularly amongst the mariners of the English and Dutch companies. In the absence of fresh water, alcohol was a staple of the early modern sailor's diet, and as Cheryl Fury has noted, the ready access to drink could exacerbate rivalries and heighten tempers.[113] In Japan, where the

[111] Ibid., p. 95 (1 July 1613).
[112] Farrington, 'Some Other Englishmen', p. 4.
[113] Cheryl Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men: The Social History of Elizabethan Seamen, 1580-1603* (Westport, 2002), p. 167.

standard greeting-gift was food and alcohol, and where evenings were frequently spent drinking with the neighbours, the Europeans were never in short supply of drink to quicken their tempers and loosen their tongues. Amongst the factors, William Nealson frequently charged with drunken brawling; between 1613 and his death in 1619, he was involved in four fights and nine major arguments. Three of the fights, and four of the arguments, were fuelled by alcohol, but since Nealson was said to 'abuze all men' on a daily basis, the actual number of incidents may have been much higher.[114] The Dutch were much the same; Cocks on multiple occasions records the drunken violence of Dutchmen in Hirado, 'stagring drunk up and downe the streetes, slashing and cutting ofe each other with their knyves, lyke mad men.'[115] An altercation between John Portus, Edmund Sayer and a group of Dutchmen in late 1618 broke out when a group of Dutchmen threw 'a cup of wyne' at the English, the affront of which caused them to 'fall together per the eares' in the street.[116] Neither was alcohol-related violence the preserve of the Europeans. Japanese citizens were similarly prone to drinking, and Arthur Hatch's impression was that 'being moved to anger… in the heate of their drinke, you may soon as perswade tygres to patience and quietnesse as them'.[117] Although few cases are recorded in the diaries (as will be seen, the punishment for fighting was strict, which likely stayed the hand of many) on one occasion Cocks notes that three Matsura soldiers were engaged in a squabble in which one was killed, and two were wounded; common rumour held that alcohol was the cause, although Cocks would later note that the drink had merely quickened a jealous dispute over a woman.[118]

Women were seldom perpetrators of violence at Hirado, but were frequently the motivation for, or victims of, violent conduct, particularly amongst the European sailors. This

[114] *Diary*, ii, p. 312 (1 July 1618).
[115] *Diary*., ii, p. 113 (6 July 1617).
[116] Ibid., ii, p. 413 (10 January 1619).
[117] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, ii, p. 948 (Hatch to Purchas, 25 November 1623).
[118] *Diary*, ii, p. 270 (24 March 1618).

had always been a problem for the Europeans; on 21 July 1616 a Dutch mariner had drunkenly stabbed a woman who refused to let him into her house,[119] while on 17 June 1617 Harry Shank, reportedly a 'quarrelsome, drunken fello', slept with a woman, 'threw her out at a windoe in an upper loft and put her away in bad sort', then proceeded to verbally abuse her father and stab him with a dagger.[120] These abuses scandalised the neighbourhood 'so that all the street was in an upror', but, as Derek Massarella has argued, the situation was only worsened by the scale of indiscipline seen with the arrival of the joint fleet.[121] In September 1621, two English sailors were imprisoned by the Japanese at Kawachi; one of them had abused a Japanese woman such that she suffered a miscarriage.[122] Cocks retrieved them and punished them aboard the *Moon*, but a week later another sailor, William Barker, was whipped for having attempted to sexually assault a woman, stolen her jewellery, and then beaten another whilst drinking at a carpenter's house.[123]

Yet in these altercations, there is little suggestion that the honour of the women in question was ever at stake. In Europe, female honour and reputation was associated indelibly with her practice of chastity.[124] In premodern Japan, however, virginity was a requirement only for marriage into the imperial household; sexual relations did not result in lost 'honour or social value in terms of marriageability'.[125] As Hitomi Tonomura has shown, medieval Japanese law codes considered women to be the property of their male relatives, and in cases of rape, adultery, or abduction, the legal concern was with 'the husband's exclusive

[119] Ibid., i, p. 271 (21 July 1616).
[120] Ibid., ii, p. 91 (17 June 1617).
[121] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 280.
[122] *Diary*, iii, p. 155 (5 September 1621).
[123] Ibid., iii, pp. 163-4 (16 September 1621).
[124] Alexandra Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England, c. 1580-1640)', *Past & Present* 167 (2000), pp. 75-106, at p. 76.
[125] Hitomi Tonomura, 'Sexual Violence against Women: Legal and Extralegal Treatment in Premodern Warrior Societies', in Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall and Wakita Haruko (eds.), *Women and Class in Japanese History* (Ann Arbor, 1999), pp. 135-52, at p. 147.

proprietary claim to the wife's sexual being', and the associated threat to social order.[126] The ability of adultery to subvert patriarchal power structures made it a particular concern for samurai households, and in such cases, violence against women was not only possible, but often mandated: the Tokugawa shogunate sanctioned the cuckolded samurai to murder his wife and her lover in an honour-restoring vendetta.[127] Although the practice was primarily a samurai phenomenon, Amy Stanley notes that prior to the late seventeenth century, Edo *chōnin* were permitted to pursue such vendettas too.[128] Of greatest concern when a European sailor assaulted a Japanese woman was not, therefore, the affront to her reputation, but the infringement of another man's property rights.

It is notable that the character of interpersonal violence in Japan, while it was frequently caused by perceived slights to honour, tended to remain within homogeneous ethnic communities. Rarely were the Europeans the target of Japanese violence, and vice versa; the exception being when sailors came into conflict with the Japanese. Cocks records how Dutch mariners, being drunk, 'did ride over children in the streetes, and slasht and cut Japons'[129]; likewise, shortly after the arrival of the Fleet of Defence on June 29, an English sailor drunkenly attempted to attack some Japanese.[130] As has been seen, the violent conduct of European mariners was associated with alcohol and the desire for sexual fulfilment, but while many in the factories' administration were quick to blame the unruliness of the 'comon saylor' for these disturbances,[131] Cheryl Fury has argued that such rhetoric presents a reductive and inaccurate stereotype.[132] Instead, she contends that sailors, usually young and

[126] Ibid., pp. 139-40.
[127] Amy Stanley, 'Adultery, Punishment and Reconciliation in Tokugawa Japan', *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 33 (2007), pp. 309-35, at p. 315.
[128] Ibid., p. 316.
[129] *Diary*, iii, p. 131 (24 July 1621).
[130] Ibid., iii, p. 124 (5 July 1621).
[131] See, for instance, Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, ii, p. 843. (Richard Watts to Sir Thomas Smythe and the EIC, 22 September 1621).
[132] Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, pp. 45-7.

unmarried, lacked the familial or marital ties to bind them culturally and psychologically to a community on shore, making them more likely to display of violence which pushed them to the fringes of society.[133] At Hirado, sailors from both English and Dutch vessels remained in port for only a short time between voyages. Proscriptions against sailors 'goe[ing] ashore with weopens', issued jointly by the English and Dutch factories, suggests that mariners primarily resided aboard their ships when at anchor.[134] Their encounters with the local community would therefore have consisted of brief forays into Hirado for a few hours of shore leave between voyages that could last for months at a time. Such trips were not conducive to learning the social niceties of Japan; nor were the mariners' careers contingent on the formation of networks of trust, being tied to a ship and not a factory. They would, therefore, have had far less reason to develop nuanced understandings of the behaviour expected of them when in Japan than the factors, whose permanent residence in Hirado meant that avoiding conflict with locals was critical. The result was the formation of two distinct European cultures in Hirado: a mercantile one, which strove to avoid conflicts, and a maritime one, which saw little need to prevent them.

With this notable exception, however, the Japanese appear to have been content with the European presence; since Hirado had previously hosted a Portuguese community, and still played host to a sizeable Chinese population, it is likely that the presence of strangers was neither new nor discomforting to most of its citizens. Moreover, an attack on the guests of the Matsura would likely have been met with strict discipline, if not death. The English and Dutch merchants, therefore, rarely report violent quarrels with their neighbours. That is not to say that some attacks did not have xenophobic motivations. In 1613, John Saris records that Japanese citizens threw stones at the English; Saris' assertion that this was accompanied by

[133] Cheryl Fury, 'The Elizabethan Maritime Community', in Cheryl Fury (ed.) *The Social History of English Seamen* 1485-1649 (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 117-140, at p. 128.
[134] *Diary*, iii, p. 122 (1 July 1621).

chants identifying the party as Koreans implies that there was a racial underpinning to this show of violence, likely inspired by lasting resentment of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's failed invasion of Korea.[135] However, if attacks on the Europeans, who lived under the protection of the Matsura, were uncommon, the Japanese in their employ made for easier targets.

In such bouts of violence, contested honour was once again at the forefront. On 2 August 1615, Cocks recorded an altercation between a group of *kabukimono* and his interpreter, Gorezano. Cocks had received 'word 3 or 4 tymes' that the gang were targeting Gorezano, and would break [his] boanes, yf he came to his owne howse'.[136] The interpreter did not heed the warning, and found himself confronted by the gang, who attacked him in the street, 'and had he not by good fortune gotten into a howse, they had slayne him.' The leader of this gang of *kabukimono* was a man known to the English as 'Yasimon Dono', alias 'Zanzibar' (possibly Zenzaburō). These men, it would appear, were samurai; in a letter of 12 May 1614, Cocks refers to Zanzibar and 'other caveleros', using the Portuguese term *cavalleiro,* which meant 'gentleman', but had martial connotations.[137] Cocks used the term to denote men of samurai rank. It is likely, therefore, that notions of honour and status underpinned some of their actions; participation in honorific displays of violence would have reinforced the gang's perception as *otokodate* (tough and chivalrous) within the samurai community of Hirado, despite the prevailing peace. Cocks notes that Gorezano had 'a fowle tong and falleth out with all men', so it is possible that he had slighted Zanzibar's honour, requiring the latter to defend himself. [138]

Yet reflexive honour was not the sole motivation for such an attack. Zanzibar's attack fits with a broader trend of violence against Japanese workers in the service of, or associated

[135] *Saris*, p. 121 (7 August 1613).
[136] *Diary*, i, p. 49 (2 August 1615).
[137] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, pp. 177 (Richard Cocks to William Adams, 5 June 1614), 155 (Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham, 12 May 1614).
[138] *Diary*, i, p. 89 (18 September 1615)

with, the European factories. In January 1618, a Japanese servant, passing William Adams in the street, knocked the lantern from Adams' servant's hand unprovoked.[139] The English had similar difficulties with individuals showing hostility to their Japanese workers during their travels to and from the shogun's court; crossing a river en route to Edo in 1618, Cocks notes that 'the boatmen misused our servantes and would not let our horses passe, but gave them blowes.'[140] A similar experience was noted on the return journey, when a number of porters 'fell a quarelling' with the English palanquin-bearers, 'som of the townsmen taking their partes'.[141] In all of these cases, the violence was aimed at Japanese persons in the employ of the English factory, suggesting that the cause of these incidents was their links with the Europeans. In all of these cases, the English were a secondary target; the ferrymen and porters in 1618 offered the merchants merely verbal abuse, compared with the blows offered their servants. Violence against servants appears to have been a convenient means for xenophobic expression, allowing disaffected Japanese citizens to target the Europeans without incurring punishment.

These acts of violence against those deemed to be 'collaborating' with foreign powers may have had xenophobic motivations. Rotem Kowner and Walter Demel have argued that Tokugawa Japan displayed a sense of ethnocentric xenophobia in 1636, when shogunal edict called for the expulsion from the country of all offspring born to the Iberians, as well as their Japanese mothers, women who had cohabited with the Portuguese and Spanish, and Japanese who had adopted children born to Iberian parents.[142] The Dutch, Gary Leupp has shown, were not affected until 1639, when the shogunate called for the expulsion of all children born

[139] Ibid., ii, p. 232 (7 January 1618).
[140] Ibid., ii, p. 361 (25 September 1618)
[141] *Diary*, ii, p. 362 (27 November 1618)
[142] Rotem Kowner and Walter Demel, 'Modern East Asia and the Rise of Racial Thought: Possible Links, Unique Features and Unsettled Issues', in Rotem Kowner and Walter Demel (eds.), *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia: Western and Eastern Constructions* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 1-38, at pp. 18-19.

to foreign parents and their mothers, including the remaining children and consorts of the English factors.[143] The relation of these edicts to Christianity cannot be overlooked, but Kowner and Demel have argued that in targeting women who had been intimate with the Europeans, these edicts were more than simply political expulsions; they were reflections of the theory of telegony, the notion that idea that future children will be affected by the influence of a precious sexual partner.[144] Leupp goes further, considering the edicts a form of anti-European 'ethnic cleansing'.[145] These policies were, of course, mandated by the shogunate, but it is nevertheless possible that the violence against Japanese servants in the employ of the EIC may also reflect latent xenophobic sentiments amongst the general population which would, in later decades, become enshrined in shogunal edict. Since xenophobic violence could not easily be directed towards the factors while they were the honoured guests of the Matsura and the shogun, it may have been easier to target instead their servants; ethnic Japanese who were not protected by the shogunate's privileges, and who had chosen to serve a foreign master.

The notion that the Japanese servants of the EIC and VOC were serving foreign masters may also have played into the violence levied against them. Concerns about the disloyalty of Christian converts, whose loyalties were torn between the *shogun* and the pope, were central to the shogunate's edicts proscribing Christianity, and many of the European servants were Christians, bearing names such as 'Mathias', 'Anthony', 'Peter' and 'Miguell'.[146] It is not certain that concerns about disloyalty, whether religious or ethnic, were ever a large part of the violence offered to the servants of the Europeans, but the association

[143] Gary P. Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan: Western Men and Japanese Women, 1543-1900* (London, 2003), pp. 65-6.
[144] Kowner and Demel, 'Rise of Racial Thought', p. 18.
[145] Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy*, p. 65.
[146] Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, p. 3.

with the European 'other' may have been sufficient to drive some to direct their distaste for the English and Dutch towards those in their employ.

Violence, whether it was caused by alcohol, slights against honour, racial tensions, sexual frustrations or the interrelation of the above, was thus a reality for the Europeans at Hirado. In these interwoven causes, the violence perpetrated by the English, Dutch and Japanese displayed a significant amount of commensurability. No motivation was alien to any of these groups; while private quarrels (such as Gorezano's dispute with Zanzibar) remained unexplained, it was clear to all sides when a fight had been started by a merchant in his cups or by the provocation of a belligerent sailor. However, while the transnational expression and understanding of violence was commensurate, it could not be allowed to remain unchecked. John Saris was quick to realise that violent behaviour by his factors could have endangered 'ourselues, shipp and goods'.[147] For trade to continue unimpeded in Japan, it was clear that violent action would have to be proactively kept in check.

Violence and Justice

When violent altercations broke out in Hirado, it became necessary to respond swiftly to those actions in order to achieve justice for the aggrieved parties and to quell potential social disruption. The failure to maintain order within one's own *naibun* was known in Japan as 'failure to manage the house', and was a punishable offence for samurai and *daimyo* households.[148] Maintaining order within the *naibun* was therefore of paramount importance. When an authority needed to administer justice in Japan, they had at their disposal a range of legally sanctioned punitive measures, many of which were themselves violent in nature. As Daniel Botsman has argued, retributive violence as a means of punishment was a common tool in the Tokugawa arsenal of justice administration; execution and mutilation of ears,

[147] *Saris*, p. 95 (1 July 1613).
[148] Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, p. 29.

noses and fingers were commonly used as punishments for offenders in the early decades of the Edo period.[149] Corporal and capital punishments, including pillorying, flogging, crucifixion and beheading were used by the *daimyo* to punish lawbreakers,[150] and Carl Steenstrup has suggested that physical punishments were prevalent in the early years of the seventeenth century, as a result of the continued influence of *sengoku-jidai* penal practices.[151]

The European factors in Hirado were active commentators on Japanese forms of justice. This was largely a practical concern for them, since observation of Japanese judicial practices offered insight into the kinds of treatment that they themselves might receive when disputes broke out. In July 1613, John Saris observed that 'the custome heare is that whoe ever drawes a weapone in Anger, albeit he doe no hurt therewith, is presentlye cutt in peeces'; an attempt to understand the Japanese policy of *kenka ryōseibai*, whereby all parties to a conflict were to be punished regardless of who had started it.[152] 'And yf it be thus with them,' Saris noted, 'it is not good for strangers hauing no priueledge to presume over much.' Saris appears to have been cognisant of the dangers of open displays of violence, and realised that hostility might only provoke the Japanese into retaliation. His fears were confirmed in November 1613, when he received word from Matsura Shigenobu that the *daimyo* had heard enough reports of English violence that he was prepared to punish them himself if any more cases occurred.[153]

Richard Cocks, as much as Saris, kept a close eye on Japanese forms of violence. In November 1615 he recorded how Matsura Takanobu had issued banishments for a brawl between a mariner and a samurai, and how 'a yong yewth was cut in peeces for theft'.[154] He

[149] Daniel V. Botsman, *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan*, (Princeton, 2005), pp. 14-15.
[150] Ibid., pp. 18, 27.
[151] Steenstrup, *Law in Japan*, pp. 151-2. See also Botsman, *Punishment and Power*, p. 15.
[152] Ikegami, *Taming*, p. 142; *Saris*, p. 95 (1 July 1613).
[153] *Saris*, p. 177 (9 November 1613).
[154] *Diary*, i, p. 121 (3 November 1615).

likewise noted that the mistress of Matsura Nobumasa, Takanobu's uncle, was executed for infidelity, and that punishment was also dealt to her lover's family: the paramour himself was executed and his brother's *chon-mage* queue was cut off.[155] He shows likewise an awareness that *seppuku* was used as a punishment, recording that 'Shosque Dono, the King of Firandos secretary, was made to cut his belly' for trading privately with the Dutch; however, he shows little awareness that this was an honourable punishment reserved for the samurai elite.[156] Execution, above all, caught the Europeans' attention: François Caron claimed that 'every crime, how small soever, is punished with death',[157] John Saris, on the road to Suruga in 1613, commented on the display of severed heads and crucified bodies seen on the road, noting that 'crucifying is here an ordinarie punishment for most Malefactors'.[158] The Reverend Arthur Hatch, reflecting later on his time in Japan, recalled of the Japanese that 'their lawes are very strict and full of severitie, affoording no other kinde of punishment but either death or banishment'.[159]

While the Europeans might claim that Japanese laws were 'full of severitie', however, this should not be taken to suggest that the Europeans were themselves less inclined to violent punishment than the Japanese. A variety of punishments were used by the Europeans to punish their own men, most of which involved corporal punishment, usually floggings, or public humiliation, such as time spent in the stocks or the bilboes.[160] Such practices were common in Europe, and were intended to inflict shame upon the sentenced, affecting their bodies with marks of disgrace in the short-term, and in the long term to damage their honour standing.[161] For the most serious crimes, usually murder or desertion, individuals might be

[155] Ibid., i, p. 273 (24 July 1616).
[156] Ibid., ii, p. 210-11 (7 December 1617). See also Botsman, *Punishment and Power*, p. 71.
[157] Caron and Schouten, *True Description*, p. 54.
[158] *Saris*, p. 128 (6 September 1613).
[159] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, ii, p. 948 (Arthur Hatch to Samuel Purchas, 25 November 1623).
[160] *Diary*, i, p. 162 (18 January 1616).
[161] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 133.

hanged as an example to others. On 9 July 1621, John Roan, an English mariner, was hanged at the yardarm for killing a Dutchman.[162] A similar fate befell 'Jno. Johnson van Hamborg', a German employee of the VOC, condemned by the English for killing one of their sailors, despite the entreaties of Jan Joosten van Lodenstein.[163] He was beheaded at the Dutch factory the next day. Recourse to physical violence, therefore, was not purely the preserve of the Japanese, but nevertheless the Anglo-Dutch response to seeing such methods used by their hosts was to unanimously decry the severity of Japanese punishment.

It does not appear that this was a simple case of Orientalist othering. Patricia Palmer, investigating the practice of beheading in early modern Ireland, has shown how English writers depicted the display of severed heads as a symbol of Irish savagery, while beheadings committed by the English were simply considered 'due process'.[164] In Japan, however, Saris recognised that the crucifixions and displayed heads he saw on the roadside were 'punishments for Malefactors', and not, as in Ireland, the grim spoils of war.[165] The European commentators level greater criticisms at the degree of severity in Japanese punishments, rather than the methods themselves, suggesting that what was at stake was an incommensurability of philosophy rather than practice.

For the Europeans, the prevalence of capital punishment in Japanese justice contributed significantly to their sense that Japanese law was 'full of severitie'. In England, the death penalty was reserved for a range of offenses which were, at the time, considered the most serious; it was intended to make an example of the executed and deter others from committing similar crimes.[166] When John Roan was hanged at Hirado, it was for the drunken

[162] *Diary*, iii, p. 126 (9 July 1621).
[163] Ibid., iii, p. 138 (5 August 1621).
[164] Patricia Palmer, *The Severed Head and the Grafted Tongue: Literature, Translation and Violence in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 20.
[165] *Saris*, p. 129 (6 September 1613).
[166] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 132.

murder of a Dutch sailor, and the condemned exhorted 'all the shipps company to take example by hym' that they would not make the mistakes he did.[167] In Japan, by contrast, execution had more than just a didactic function. While Daniel Botsman has suggested that the public display of corpses following execution was likewise certainly intended to reinforce the authority of the shogunate through the terror of capital punishment, and thus deter would-be criminals, he has also suggested that execution served a secondary function which related to Buddhist beliefs around reincarnation.[168] As the contemporary Zen monk Suzuki Shōsan argued, execution could be considered a 'compassionate' punishment which preserved the karmic status of the condemned. Rather than risking the criminal's return to evil, which would jeopardise their karmic standing in the cycle of reincarnation, a swift execution would 'cut off his evil at the root', and minimise their chance to sink into further depravity, thus giving them a stronger chance at a better next life.[169] Such a philosophy was incomprehensible to the Protestant English, who believed that a dying individual was predestined to salvation or damnation.[170] A swift and honourable death would do nothing for the individual's status in the eyes of the Almighty.

It should also be noted that the conditions of the *sengoku-jidai* likewise contributed to the use of severe punishments for perceived disloyalties. The policy of *gekokujō* offered opportunities for lower-ranking samurai to climb the social ladder, but those whose status might be challenged by such treachery needed to protect themselves from the disloyal actions of ambitious retainers. The 1556 house code for the Yūki clan stated that 'those who are disloyal to the Yūki will be executed along with their families. They will also have their

[167] *Diary*, iii, p. 126 (9 July 1621).
[168] Botsman, *Punishment and Power*, pp. 19, 43.
[169] Botsman, *Punishment and Power*, p. 43.
[170] Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford, 1998), p. 154.

names revoked and their lands confiscated'.[171] Such punishments for treachery continued into the Edo period; Botsman notes that Tokugawa officials 'made no secret' of the harsh retribution which would result from challenges to their authority, since 'visible punishments… offered vital support for the shogunate's claim to be the legitimate "overseer of public affairs."'[172] In this, Japanese punishment was comparable to punishments for treason in England and the Dutch Republic; the conspirators in the 1605 Gunpowder Plot against James VI and I were hanged, drawn and quartered, while in 1619, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt was hanged for his role in raising troops loyal to the province of Holland, and not to the Dutch States-General.[173]

European and Japanese practices of judicial violence, therefore, display a broad degree of commensurability, even though European commentators themselves considered Japanese punishments to be harsher than their own. The incommensurability between these systems thus lay in the differences between Buddhist and Christian beliefs which made the Japanese recourse to execution seem disproportionate with the crime committed. Yet while the Europeans considered Japanese justice to be particularly severe, it was nevertheless necessary to comply with it for the sake of trade. Failure to do so, as John Saris noted, would be 'to the vtter ouerthrow of our Voyage, and [would] deceiue the Honourable Companie that had put their trust in vs.'[174] As such, there was little that the Europeans could do about their distaste for Japanese justice, other than to appeal to the clemency of the executioners, usually the Matsura, in the hopes of commuting the sentence of the accused.

[171] William Theodore de Bary (ed.), *Sources of East Asian Tradition* (2 vols, New York, 2008), i, p. 838 (The Yūki House Code).
[172] Ibid., i, p. 839.
[173] For the execution of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators, see J. A. Sharpe, *Remember, Remember: A Cultural History of Guy Fawkes Day* (London, 2006), p. 73. For Oldenbarnevelt, see Kimberley J. Hackett, 'The English Reception of Oldenbarnevelt's Fall', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 77 (2014), pp. 157-76, at pp. 158-60.
[174] *Saris*, p. 177 (9 November 1613).

Appeals to Authority

While the methods of punishing criminal transgressions were broadly similar in England, the Dutch Republic and Japan, however, the process of seeking justice differed substantially. Alan MacFarlane has compared the practice of law in early modern Japan to similar developments in England, noting that where the English legal system tended to concentrate litigation within a centralised court system, Japan rejected the early modern centralising impulse in favour of delegating litigation to the domanial level.[175] This was part of the Tokugawa system of decentralised integration, whereby a wide variety of mid-level administrative bodies were allocated a degree of autonomy within the paternalistic Tokugawa state system.[176] Arbitration was therefore expected to be carried out at the village or neighbourhood level, but when this was not possible, justice would be carried out by a hierarchy of mediating bodies: the *daimyo* of the domain, the *Hyōjōsho* ('Chamber of Decisions') comprising the *rōjū* and several leading *bugyō* of towns, temples and finance, and ultimately the shogunate's Council of State.[177] Each body thus possessed its own *naibun*, with villages having jurisdiction over their citizens, *daimyo* over their villages, and the shogunate over the *daimyo*. This hierarchical structure, in which each self-governing stratum was subject to the oversight of a higher body, allowed legal matters to be dealt with effectively, without unnecessarily expending the resources of the shogunate on minor disputes.

In this respect, the decentralised legal system of Tokugawa Japan was substantially different to that of England and the Dutch Republic in this period, which relied upon royal common-law courts in the former case and the widespread application of Roman law in the

[175] Alan MacFarlane, 'Law and Custom in Japan: Some Comparative Reflections', *Continuity and Change* 10 (1995), pp. 369-90, at p. 383.
[176] Ikegami, *Taming*, p. 170.
[177] Harold G. Wren, 'The Legal System of Pre-Western Japan', *Hastings Law Journal* 20 (1968), pp. 217-44, at pp. 228-9, 233.

latter.[178] While MacFarlane has shown that the practice of justice itself bore similarities to English common law in its reliance on precedent as a means of litigation, the lack of a legal authority centred in the monarch (or rather, the shogun), whose influence could be detected at all social levels, distinguished Japanese law from parallel early modern European developments.[179] In Japan, this duty was divided between the bodies discussed above. It is clear from European practices at Hirado that this distinction was not well understood, in turn leading to a growing sense of dissatisfaction with Japanese justice in responding to violence. This was particularly true in the case of the English factors, whose approach to seeking restitution for violent acts committed against them was based on the assumption that the shogun, like the English monarch, was an accessible source of justice. In England, James VI and I had proclaimed in 1607 that, 'in any case wherein the Law is thought not to be clear… *Rex est Judex* [the king is judge]… and is to supply the Law.'[180] This philosophy may be seen in the English merchants' attempts to engage with, or to evade, Japanese legal bodies.

As has been shown, the English derived their privileges in Japan from their *shuinjō*, granted by the shogun in 1613. The English recognised that this document obtained its authority from the shogun, and treated it much as a royal license; in a scuffle with Zanzibar's *kabukimono* in 1617, William Adams produced the *shuinjō*, 'kissing it and houlding it up over his head, meanyng to protest and take witness of the violence they offered hym.'[181] Cocks made near-constant appeals to the *shuinjō*, or the 'privileges' of the English, particularly when the English factors faced violence from other groups such as the Dutch or Japanese; he claimed that he 'was under the protection of Ogosho Samme the Emperour, and had it under his ferme, that no justice in Japan might meddell with me nor no servant in my

[178] MacFarlane, 'Law and Custom', p. 383.
[179] Ibid., pp. 379-82.
[180] Ken MacMillan, 'English Law and its Expansion' in Heikki Pihlajamäki, Markus D. Dubber, and Mark Godfrey (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of European Legal History* (Oxford 2018), pp. 830-54, at p. 832.
[181] *Diary*, ii, p. 49 (22 March 1617).

howse, but per the Emperours permition'.[182] This was an overstatement of the English position. The *shuinjō* dictated that the English 'may carry on all kinds of trade without hindrance', that 'violence shall not take place' and that the English had the right to sentence their own men 'according to the gravity of the offence' on the occasion that one of them should commit a crime.[183] As Derek Massarella has shown, the intention was that the English would 'administer justice in conformity with the laws of Japan'.[184] However, the privileges, when translated into English, were phrased to claim that Japanese laws would 'take no hould either of there persons or goods'.[185] Massarella has suggested that the rephrasing was Saris' invention, aimed at augmenting the success of his voyage in the eyes of his superiors.[186] Cocks, it seems, based his understanding of the *shuinjō* on this translation, leading him to believe that the privileges were a royal dispensation granting the English extraterritoriality whilst in Japan.

This in itself should not have caused a significant disruption since, as Luke Roberts has shown, Japanese social practice meant that it was possible for an inferior to disobey the orders of his superior within the space of his own *naibun*, as long as he appeared to be in compliance outwardly, i.e. in the realm of *omote*.[187] Problems arose, however, when the English attempted to claim extraterritoriality outside of their own factory and thus broke this outward show of compliance. Violence was the prime example; as has been argued, unsanctioned violence was unacceptable in Japan since it undermined the authority of the Tokugawa's monopoly on force. Matsura Shigenobu had made this clear to John Saris in November 1613. Fighting, he noted, was 'contrary to his Lawes', and 'he would not suffer

[182] Ibid., i, p. 45 (30 July 1615).
[183] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 88 (Privileges granted to the EIC by Tokugawa Ieyasu, 2 October 1613).
[184] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 116.
[185] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 89 (English version of the privileges granted to the EIC by Tokugawa Ieyasu).
[186] Massarella and Tytler, 'The Japonian Charters', p. 193.
[187] Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, p. 7.

strangers to haue more Priuiledge in that matter then his own Subiects.'[188] Since public fights in Hirado would reflect poorly on the Matsura clan's ability to govern their own territory, and since the English factory fell within their own *naibun*, it was their prerogative to punish any Englishmen found fighting in Hirado. Cocks' failure to understand this led to his horrified response when European citizens, English or Dutch, were punished by the Hirado officials. On one such occasion, in 1619, Cocks complained to Matsura Takanobu about the perceived Japanese legal overreach, 'thinking to have hadd justice', but while he insisted that such actions were in contravention of the shogun's privileges, Takanobu would not listen, and 'would not heare me speak any ferther in this matter'. [189] When a pair of Dutch mariners were executed by the Japanese for brawling in 1621, Cocks informed the EIC that 'the change of our good usage is soe altered of late that it maketh us amased… out of dowbt the abuse is greate.'[190]

When the supposed privileges granted by the *shuinjō* were breached, the English factors' usual recourse was to appeal directly to the shogun to seek restitution. This is what happened in 1619 following a series of assaults on the English by members of the Dutch factory; dissatisfied with Matsura Takanobu's attempts to arbitrate, Cocks travelled to Edo 'to make their doings knowne unto His Ma'tie [Tokugawa Hidetada] and to demand justice'.[191] Cocks was here putting into practice the notion that '*Rex est Judex*', and certainly in England institutions existed to facilitate appeals to the king's justice when local government was unable to intervene; the court of Star Chamber served this function in particular.[192] However, in the decentralised legal system of early Edo-period Japan such

[188] *Saris*, p. 177 (9 November 1613).
[189] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 787 (Cocks to the EIC, 10 March 1620).
[190] Ibid., ii, p. 853 (Richard Cocks to Sir Thomas Smythe and the EIC, 30 September 1621).
[191] Ibid., i, p. 787 (Cocks to the EIC, 10 March 1620).
[192] Richard Cust, 'Honour and Politics in Early Stuart England: The Case of Beaumont v. Hastings', *Past & Present* 149 (1995), pp. 57-94, at p. 77.

demands for justice fell more directly under the *naibun* of the local *daimyo*; local disputes between merchants were not the concern of the shogunate unless the peace of the realm was threatened. Thus, Cocks was told in 1619 by the 'previe councell', likely the Council of State or the *Hyōjōsho*, that Takanobu, as *daimyo* of Hirado, would arbitrate his dispute with the Dutch, since the conflict between the English and Dutch fell within his portion of competence. 'Yet from that tyme,' Cocks complained, 'there is nothing donne, although I have divers tymes very instantly desired it'.[193]

The failure to understand the functionality of the Japanese legal system caused the English, at times, to resent the Japanese handling of justice even when it was conducted in their favour. In May 1616, the English merchant William Eaton was imprisoned at Akuno-ura, Ōmura Domain, for his involvement in a brawl between some Hirado Japanese in the employ of the English and some Japanese from Higo Domain, in which a man from Higo was accidentally killed.[194] It was a complex legal matter to resolve, requiring the *daimyo* of Hirado, Higo and Ōmura to come to a resolution, and matters were not helped when a *bugyō* from Ōmura executed Eaton's servant, a boy from Hirado, 'for that he began the brute'. [195] Despite this, however, Eaton himself was never in severe danger; he had been imprisoned in part as a formality, and in part for his own protection against potential acts of vengeance from the Higo Japanese.[196] This much the English were informed by Minami Sōemon, the *bugyō* at Hirado, who assured Cocks that the concern was greater for those of Hirado than the English.[197] In the end, Eaton was released twelve days later, with no sentence given by the Japanese.

[193] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 787 (Cocks to the EIC, 10 March 1620).
[194] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, pp. 415-6 (William Eaton to William Nealson, 22 May 1616).
[195] *Diary*, i, p. 233 (25 May 1616).
[196] Ibid., i, p, 230 (20 May 1616).
[197] Ibid., i, p. 230 (20 May 1616).

During this period, however, the English factors were highly concerned about their status in Japan. Eaton signed his letters from prison as 'your pore destressed frind',[198] though William Nealson, visiting him in prison, determined that he was perhaps 'more soruowful then he had cause'.[199] Cocks considered the incident an outrage, and immediately appealed to the *shuinjō*, dispatching letters to Ōmura 'to have hym [Eaton] set at liberty and retorned to me, as our priveleges geven per the Emperour spesefied'.[200] He 'marveled them of Umbra used…Eaton so hardly', and asserted (as was his usual accusation in the face of injustice) that the whole affair was an anti-English plot stirred up by the Jesuits at Nagasaki, and hoped 'in tyme to use the lyke frenship to them as they have donne now to us.'[201] This was tantamount to a statement of enmity towards the Japanese of Ōmura, and in a letter to Eaton he expressed that he hoped 'to make some of them repent that w'ch they have donne'. [202] Yet the Japanese had not committed any abuse of justice towards the English; the only possible breach of protocol was the execution of Eaton's servant, and even this, Nealson reported, was not looked on favourably within Ōmura.[203]

The English, therefore, were prepared to work within the constraints of the Japanese legal system in order to achieve justice when disputes arose. However, while they recognised the punishments that were used in Japan, the workings of the justice system itself did not adhere to their expectations. This led to frustrations and a resentment of Japanese justice when their attempts to work within Japanese legal structures failed, making it appear as though local justices were unwilling to help them. Although Cocks in particular was vocal about these frustrations, his complaints were ultimately of little avail. As had been proven,

[198] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 416. (Eaton to Nealson, 22 May 1616).
[199] Ibid., i, p. 423 (Nealson to Cocks, 31 May 1616).
[200] *Diary*, i, p. 227 (16 May 1616).
[201] *Diary*, i, pp. 230 (20 May 1616), 239 (5 June 1616).
[202] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 427 (Richard Cocks to William Eaton or William Nealson, 2 June 1616).
[203] Ibid., i, p. 423 (Nealson to Cocks, 31 May 1616).

the Europeans had little authority beyond their own *naibun*, and no means of effecting meaningful change once a ruling had been made, short of an appeal to the shogunate. In legal matters, Eaton himself had the more realistic outlook. Once the matter had been handed to a higher authority, there was 'noe remedey but patience'; the English could only await a ruling and hope that it was to their benefit.[204]

Violence and Social Standing

From this examination we are able to get a sense of the shape of violence as it occurred in and around Hirado. Each of the English, Dutch and Japanese were implicated in violence; all three nations had a history which associated violence with honour and martial prowess, which fed into the understanding of conflict as it was expressed on the streets and in the houses of Hirado. The three parties engaged both in internecine violence (as can be identified from the internal quarrels between factors, sailors and Japanese citizens) and international violence, as quarrels broke out amongst the factories and their hosts. These fights were rarely organised, but consisted rather of assaults and impromptu brawls as parties demanded satisfaction of one another in the heat of the moment. Alcohol was a common catalyst for most of these fights, but other common factors included xenophobia, factional conflict, and a perceived threat to personal honour or the safety of friends and kinsmen. Fights were met with cautious observation, discipline from above, or retaliation, when discipline via official channels was not forthcoming.

In this respect, while conflict highlighted moments of tension between the English, Dutch, and Japanese, there was little incommensurability in the practice of violence itself. The differences between Christian and Buddhist philosophies of eternal punishment, as well as incommensurabilities between European and Japanese legal systems, may have made

[204] Ibid., i, p. 416 (Eaton to Nealson, 22 May 1616).

Japanese justice seem ‘severe’, but similarities between disciplinary practices meant that severe punishments were nevertheless recognised as a form of justice rather than as wanton cruelty. Violent conduct did not necessarily suggest that parties were failing to communicate; rather, it was a radical means of communication that avoided the ambiguity of meaning introduced by linguistic difference.[205] Understanding how unfamiliar parties fought, how they responded to and dealt with violence, and (in the case of the Dutch) how willing they were to serve when called to battle, enabled the Europeans and Japanese to communicate meaningfully when conflict broke out. In the context of strangership, the ability to recognise common understandings of warfare, juridical and interpersonal violence contributed to the process of moving the ambiguous and unpredictable stranger into the more comfortable category of ‘friend’ or ‘foe’.

Both Cocks and Saris believed that failure to curtail violent actions in Hirado had the potential to place the English firmly into the category of ‘foe’. Saris’ fears that the Matsura would reject English trade on the back of their violent disposition led him to initiate a policy of cooperation with the Japanese, inviting the Matsura to send officials aboard the *Clove* to ensure that his men understood the severity of the situation.[206] However, while the precarious status of the Matsura in the Japanese political hierarchy meant that violence could not be tolerated, leading to disagreements in the 1620s, in practice their protestations had little impact beyond inconveniencing the Europeans. As Pieter Nuijts would note in 1628, the Matsura had much to gain from the European trade: both economic profit and prestige at Edo.[207] Although their guests were rambunctious and violent, it is unlikely that they would have been willing to lose this valuable source of income.

[205] Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters*, pp. 15-16.
[206] *Saris*, pp. 177 (9 November 1613), 179 (12 November 1613).
[207] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 295.

The shogunate, however, was under no such limitation, and in 1628 they showed that violence could, and would, be the undoing of the Europeans if they did not control themselves. The confrontation between the VOC and Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu over the conduct of Pieter Nuijts on the island of Formosa is a well-known incident in the history of Dutch-Japanese relations, and has been expertly examined by Adam Clulow. In April 1628, Nuijts provoked the ire of the shogunate by responding to the arrival of two Japanese ships in Formosa with hostility. Responding to VOC concerns that the Japanese were attempting to seize the island by force,[208] Nuijts attempted to pre-empt the invasion by forcibly seizing the ships, including their commander, Hamada Yahyōe, who was imprisoned at Fort Zeelandia.[209] As Clulow argues, however, little evidence suggests that any invasion was planned; and moreover, Hamada's ship carried a *shuinjō* offering the Japanese the protection of the shogun.[210] Nuijts' actions were taken as an affront to the shogunate's power, and while Dutch hostages were brought back to Japan from Formosa, all trade with the VOC at Hirado was suspended, and the merchants themselves placed under house arrest.[211] It was only in 1633, after the VOC relinquished Nuijts to Iemitsu for punishment, that the shogunate would allow trade to resume.[212] While violence at the local level might be tolerated in exchange for the profits of international trade, violence which posed a threat to the Tokugawa state would not.

On a macro-level, therefore, the response to violence shows that the European factors were, as in most of their dealings in Japan, ultimately at the mercy of the shogunate. It was the shogunate who would determine how they were to be treated in Japan, and who would decide if their trade would be welcomed or denied. It seems that the Europeans were to an

[208] Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun*, p. 226
[209] Ibid., p. 227.
[210] Ibid., p. 228.
[211] Ibid., p. 229.
[212] Ibid., p. 242.

extent aware of this, as their invocation of the *shuinjō* privileges in times of conflict rested on the fact that they had been granted by the Tokugawa and, when the situation demanded, they were prepared to make the long and arduous journey to Edo to seek restitution from the shogun for perceived injustices. At the local level, however, greater flexibility was afforded the Europeans in their ability to respond to violent activity. Their *shuinjō* had made the English and Dutch responsible for punishing their own factors, and while they failed to do so in accordance with Japanese law, it was only in 1620, when violence began to spill out into the street, that local justices saw fit to intervene. Such flexibility was in keeping with the notion of a realm of public presentation, *omote*.[213] Just as the Tokugawa were willing to overlook certain forms of violence in their vassals' domains as long as it did not spill into the public eye, so too were the Matsura largely unconcerned with how the Europeans punished violence until it could no longer keep conflict in check. Only once violence spread into the Matsura's *omote*, did it prove a threat to their own authority, making them liable for reprimand by the Tokugawa, and thus requiring swift action to quell.

Rather than seeing violence as a sign of the inevitable incommensurability between disparate cultures in the early modern world, therefore, it is possible to see significant commensurability between the English, Dutch and Japanese in terms of the causes of conflict, the social mores that underpinned violent action, and the acceptable ways of being violent. Failure to understand the acceptable limits of violence might jeopardise the encounter between strangers, but when the parties in question placed similar boundaries around the accepted and proscribed uses of violence, it was possible for them to understand, if not always accept, the occasions when violent actions were called for. Similar notions of honour and restitution in each of the three cultures meant that Europeans were quick to adapt to Japanese policies surrounding violence, and while they placed undue emphasis on their own

[213] Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, p. 29.

supposed exemption from those policies, there remained an understanding of their own subordination to the ‘great public authority’ of the Tokugawa. Acknowledgement of this, and the choice to act accordingly, enabled the factors to form the lasting bonds of trust which paid dividends in the form of local alliances and acts of solidarity from within the Hirado community.

Conclusion

On 24 June 1641, the doors of the VOC's factory in Hirado closed for the final time. The then-*opperhoofd* Maximiliaan le Maire appeared before the Matsura *daimyo* for one last audience, 'thanking him, on behalf of our masters, for all honour, favour and good counsel' that they had been shown at Hirado, with the hope that 'we would henceforth remain friends.'[1] Matsura Shigenobu, son of the late *daimyo* Takanobu, responded with 'polite words' and one last piece of advice: that when they reached Nagasaki, they were not to slaughter cattle, or to celebrate the Sabbath openly, 'or do anything that would appear to resemble Christianity or the customs of the Portuguese'.[2] It was, he claimed, not forbidden by the shogun, but was strongly recommended by Inoue Masashige, the shogunate's commissioner for the VOC, and the advice was given 'by their lord, for the benefit of the Dutch.'

This final advice from the Matsura, to suppress all signs of cultural nonconformity, was an indication of how far times had changed from the early Anglo-Dutch encounter with Japan. Sanjay Subrahmanyam has argued that when states were brought together by the connective forces of early modernity, 'what usually happened was approximation, improvisation, and eventually a shift in the relative positions of all concerned.'[3] In Japan, however, it was a shift away from commensurability. Ninety-eight years of contact with Europe had led the shogunate to conclude that the differences between Europe and Japan were so dangerous that only the Dutch were permitted to remain in the country, under strict surveillance at Dejima. Gone were the days when Shigenobu's great-grandfather had developed a taste for salted beef, and when his uncle had made efforts to host the Dutch 'after

[1] *Dagregisters*, v, pp. 85-6 (24 June 1641).
[2] Ibid., p. 86.
[3] Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters*, p. 29.

the Christen fation', even seeking assistance from the English factors to ensure that his hospitality would conform to expectations.[4] European customs, inextricably linked to those of Portugal and the Catholic menace, were now considered wholly incommensurate to Japanese practices; if the Dutch were to survive in Nagasaki, it was to their advantage to adapt to local norms. Shigenobu acknowledged that the VOC had made headway on this conformity of practice already, saying that the Dutch 'would find ourselves in great peace of mind if we proceeded as we had already begun.'[5]

Conforming, at least in part, to Japanese social conventions had always been part of the strategy employed by the northern Europeans. From ascertaining the types of gift that had to be given on particular occasions, to determining what forms of entertainment were most appropriate for visitors, to learning how to navigate unfamiliar spaces at court and in the street, the European factors had realised the importance of adapting to the strange country in which they found themselves. Doing so was part of the strategy of partial indigenisation, allowing them to establish close social networks with various Japanese figures who possessed some amount of influence; officials who might have the ear of the *daimyo* or shogun, landlords who might offer them lodgings or warehouses in the merchant centres of Osaka, Sakai, and Miyako, or neighbours who might come to their aid in times of crisis. The Hirado factories, after all, were not the sprawling proto-colonial settlements of Bantam, Batavia, Madras or Formosa, where exchanges with local populations were more firmly weighted on the side of the Europeans.[6] Nor did the European merchants possess the same legitimacy as a royal embassy, such as that of Sir Thomas Roe to the Mughal court in 1616. In Japan, as they were often reminded, their enterprise survived on the sufferance of the shogunate, and as

[4] *Saris*, p. 178 (11 November 1613), *Diary*, ii, p. 129 (23 July 1617).
[5] *Dagregisters*, v, p. 86 (24 June 1641).
[6] See, for instance, Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht, 1986), Philip Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford, 2011).

Nicholaes Couckebacker was told in 1638, it could be terminated if the government felt that they had outlived their usefulness.[7] Ensuring that they remained in favour by adhering to local custom was therefore of paramount importance to the Europeans.

Yet in contrast to the situation in 1641, this need for conformity on the part of the Europeans had never been predicated on an inherent incommensurability between English, Dutch and Japanese customs. It was not a zero-sum game. The Europeans had previously been able to practice their own customs alongside the Japanese in reasonable harmony, and while there had certainly been times when the two did not obviously align with one another, the differences were never irreconcilable. On the contrary, coexistence led to cross-pollination, as the English and Dutch were able to adapt their own experiences to the Japanese context. In the unfamiliar customs of Tokugawa Japan, they were able to locate sufficient parallels to their own practices to understand how to engage with Japanese society as participants, not as outside observers or would-be colonisers. 'Profit, not grandeur' was the *modus operandi* of the seventeenth-century English East India Company, and the realm of sociability was never far from the pursuit of profit.[8] Though no English or Dutch equivalent exists to Luis Froís' systematic comparison of European and Japanese customs, nevertheless the factors were able to locate points of cross-cultural commensurability which served as entry-points into this unfamiliar culture, and the foundation of these social networks.

This was easier in some cases than others. To pursue commensality, to exchange gifts, to seek an end to the disruption of conflict when it arose; such things were universal aspects of human interaction, and needed little interpretation, since they might be expected anywhere that disparate people gathered together. Other practices were entirely alien; no widespread

[7] Geerts, 'Conduct of Koeckebacker', p. 81 (Nicholaes Couckebacker to Anthony van Diemen, 17 February 1638).
[8] Charles Fawcett, *The English Factories in India,* (4 vols., Oxford, 1955), iii, p. 237.

European analogue existed for the Japanese practice of social or medicinal bathing, for instance. Between these two poles of universality and particularity existed those practices which on the one hand were recognisable to the Europeans, but which also which displayed culturally specific inflections that made them appear outwardly incommensurate to European norms. As John Saris learned in 1613, while the mansion at Sunpu might contain similar spaces to those at Whitehall, within them one could not expect to interact with the monarch in quite the same way. Such incommensurabilities of convention, if not of practice, extended beyond the court environment; the Europeans and Japanese could both enjoy *kabuki*, but as a dramatic form it remained quite different to that known in England and the Dutch Republic.

Apparent incommensurabilities in custom, however, did not stand in the way of dialogue between the northern Europeans and Japanese. The fact that England, the Dutch Republic, and Japan were each being shaped by broadly early modern forces may have assisted some forms of mutual intelligibility, since each group was responding to the same kinds of social, economic, and political stimuli. At the turn of the seventeenth century, each country was looking across the sea for new connections that would bring them profit and prestige. The encounter between these states was not, as it had been for the Portuguese in 1543, between an integrated empire and a fragmentary host of petty kingdoms, but between states with broadly similar social structures: a growing middle class, an increasingly literate population, incipient popular cultures diffused by expanding print and travel infrastructures, and greater homogenisation of cultural norms across the newly-integrated state. Although to some extent some of these early modern dimensions had developed on a domanial level in the sixteenth century, by the seventeenth century these processes were occurring on the level of 'Japan'. Each, in its own manner, had developed concerns with comportment, civility and honour, and while the ways in which these concerns were expressed differed between each country, the recognition of these commonalities made it clear to the factors that the Japanese

were subject to similar social concerns and mores to their own. Here was a moment in which three states subject to early modern forces encountered one another for the first time, and found that despite their outward differences, the similarities between them on the cultural level abounded. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that both English and Dutch factors refer to Japanese customs as things done *nihon katachi*. The things they refer to (dining, gift-giving, paying courtesies) were not perceived as fundamentally strange practices, no matter how alien they might appear. Rather, they were inherently commensurate practices done 'in the Japanese style'.

There were, of course, limits to what the recognition of commonalities could achieve. The shogunate, as the companies would learn, could not be swayed further than it was willing to be swayed, and Anglo-Dutch petitions at court were entertained only when they aligned with the shogunate's own goals. But by recognising the commensurabilities between themselves and the Japanese, the European merchants were able to ease the tensions of strangership which otherwise impeded their ability to integrate into the local population. In so doing, they were able to more easily form the social networks which assisted their trading enterprises in Japan. There was much, then, to Richard Cocks' oft-repeated adage that his merchants should 'make much of frendes when yow have them, and use these cuntrey people kyndly… for fayre wordes will doe much and as sowne are spoaken as fowle'.[9] Founded upon ties of friendship, hospitality and benevolence, such networks formed informal diplomatic channels by which the Europeans were able to court local favour beyond the court.

The case of Hirado is but one example in which European travellers were required to act as merchant-diplomats in foreign lands, adjusting to the norms and customs of an

[9] Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, i, p. 124 (Richard Cocks' instructions for Richard Wickham, January 1614).

unfamiliar society. Where commensurability did not exist, Sanjay Subrahmanyam has argued, it had to be produced in order for culture to be mediated, and thus the focus of our study must be 'the acts that produced commensurability'.[10] By examining interactions at Hirado, this study has posited that such acts were not – could not be – produced in a vacuum, but that they were shaped by concurrent shifts in the cultural, political and economic forces influencing the relative development of the participating countries by moving them in similar, if not identical, directions. In the Japanese context, the production of commensurability was shaped, although not caused, by the positioning of these countries in an early modern global conjuncture. In this and similar cases, when Europeans came into contact with countries and cultures which displayed similar trajectories of development to their own, cross-cultural commensurability proved a valuable means of achieving mutual intelligibility.

As a case-study, Hirado thus provides a framework by which it is possible to examine the ways in which early modern states mediated interactions with one another when brought into contact by overseas expansions. It is possible to test this hypothesis further, by comparing Hirado to other global encounters in this period. One potentially fruitful avenue of study would be to examine the practices deployed when early modern states came into contact, and attempted to perform diplomacy, with groups which do not so easily fit the 'early modern' definition. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Hudson's Bay Company sought, like its East Indian counterpart, to establish trading relations with the Cree, Ojibwe and Assiniboine peoples of northern Canada. Here, as in Hirado, English factors were required to engage in cultural exchanges with the local population as a prerequisite for trade, in particular participation in ritualistic gift-giving as a means of strengthening social bonds between Indigenous nations and Europeans.[11] Yet these gift-exchanges were soon co-opted

[10] Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters*, p. 209.
[11] Ann M. Carlos and Frank D. Lewis, 'Marketing in the Land of Hudson Bay: Indian Consumers and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1770', *Enterprise & Society* 3 (2002), pp. 285-317, at p. 314; Arthur J. Ray,

by the Company, transforming them from gestures of goodwill to competitive arenas in which favouritism would be shown towards those indigenous traders who brought ever-larger cargoes of fur for exchange.[12] No equivalent practice took place in Japan, where the English and Dutch factors were always restricted by the gift demands of the shogunate. To what extent did this manipulation of local practice for the ends of profit rest upon the English factors' dismissal of the Indigenous population as lacking the hallmarks of 'early modernity' expected in Europe, and identified, in some comparable form, in East Asia?

Another potentially valuable case-study emerges from the entangled administrative structures of the EIC and its sister ventures, the Virginia and Massachusetts Bay companies. Several key figures occupied positions in multiple of these companies; Sir Thomas Smythe was simultaneously the governor of the EIC and treasurer of the Virginia Company,[13] while Sir Dudley Digges, who had helped prepare the 1613 gift to Ieyasu, was also an investor in Virginia.[14] Patrick Copeland, as has been mentioned, used the example of Jesuit Nagasaki as a model for conversion projects in the New World, and his model of conversion through institutions aimed at the local population appears to have been mirrored in the foundation of 'praying towns' in New England from 1650.[15] Yet despite these connections, the development of cross-cultural social relations in the North American colonies and Asian settlements took strikingly different trajectories. To what extent might these developments, like those in Northern Canada, be attributed to the perceived lack of 'early modern'

'The Hudson's Bay Company Fur Trade in the Eighteenth Century: A Comparative Economic Study', in James R. Gibson (ed.), *European Settlement and Development in North America* (Toronto, 1978), pp. 116-35, at p. 118.

[12] Ray, 'Fur Trade', p. 127.

[13] Basil Morgan, 'Smythe [Smith], Sir Thomas (c.1558-1625), Merchant', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1093/ref:odnb/25908 (4 November 2020).

[14] Screech, *Silver Telescope*, pp. 74, 147.

[15] J. Frederick Fausz, 'Eliot, John [called the Apostle to the Indians], (1604-1690)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1093/ref:odnb/8631 (4 November 2020).

characteristics amongst the indigenous peoples? What role, if any, was played by the cultural and confessional homogeneity and self-sufficiency of the Virginian and New England settlements, compared to the reliance of the Asian factories on local networks and transcultural alliances?

Such questions must be the scope of further enquiry. However, the example of Hirado shows that the existence of such parallel cultural patterns went some way towards facilitating cultural exchanges and transnational understanding when three early modern states encountered one another for the first time in a new, global conjuncture.

Illustrations



Figure 1. *Nanban-jin Boat at Shore*, Kanō Naizen. Ink and gold on paper. *c.*1606. Kobe City Museum, Kobe. Photo: Kobe City Museum. (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Namban_byobu_R.jpg, accessed 4 November 2020).

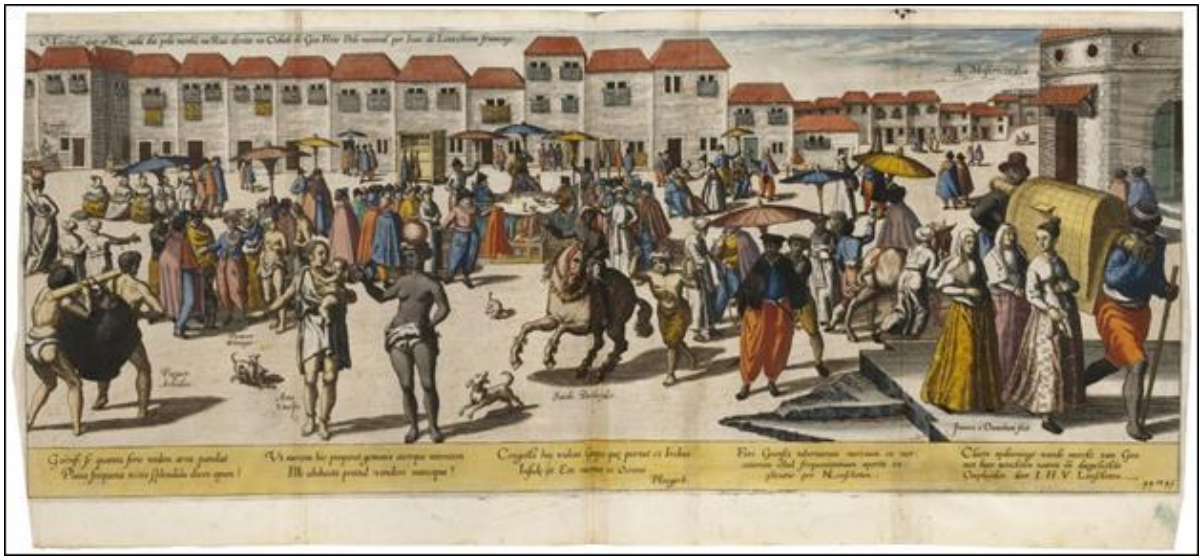


Figure 2. *View of the Market in Goa*. Copy after Jan Huygen van Linschoten. Coloured engraving on paper. *c.*1596. 30 x 65 cm. National Library of the Netherlands. Photo: National Library of the Netherlands. (http://www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/en/View-market-Goa.6598, accessed 4 November 2020).

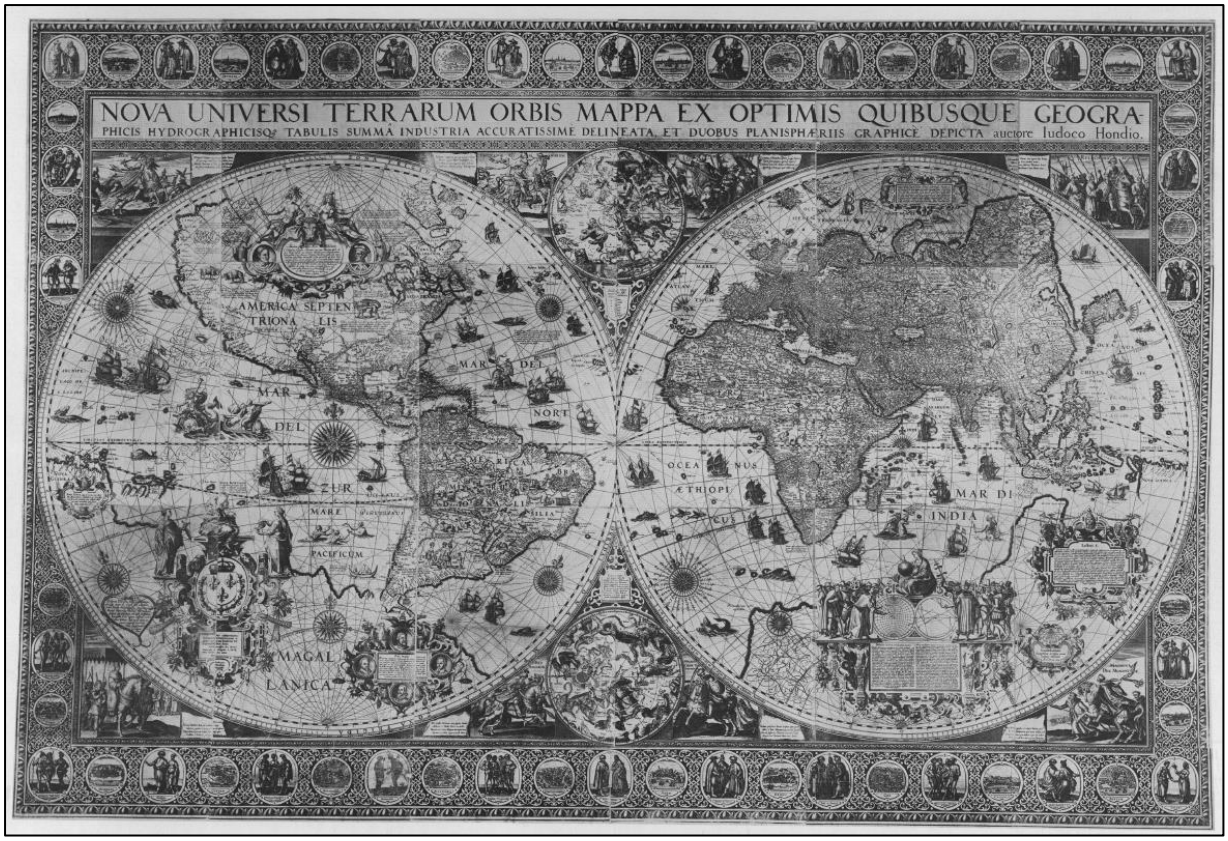


Figure 3. *Nova Universi Terrarum Orbis Mappa*. Willem Jansz. Blaeu. 1605. Hispanic Society of America, New York. In Günter Schilder, *The World Map of 1624 by Willem Jansz. Blaeu and Jocodus Hondius* (Amsterdam, 1977).



Figure 4. *Bankoku Sōzu.* Anon. Ink on paper. 1645. Shimonoseki City Chōfu Museum, Shimonoseki. In Joseph F. Loh, 'When Worlds Collide – Art, Cartography, and Japanese Nanban World Map Screens' (Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 2013).



Figure 5. *Variarum Gentium Ornatus. Paar, gekleed volgens de Vlaamse mode.* Pieter de Jode, after Sebastiaan Vrancx. Ink on paper. 1605-1610. 22.5 cm x 15.2 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Photo: Rijksmuseum. (http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.129547. Accessed 4 November 2020).



Figure 6. Map of Firando (Hirado). Anon. 1621. Nationaal Archief, The Hague. Photo: Nationaal Archief. (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_the_bay_of_Hirado.jpg, accessed 13 May 2020).



Figure 7. *De Logie op Firando.* Arnold Montanus. *Gedenkwaerdige Gesantschappen der Oostindische Maatschappij in't Vereenigde Nederland aan de Kaisaren van Japan*, 1669. (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:HiradoVOCfactory(montanus-1669).jpg, accessed 13 May 2020).

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