

A Reconsideration of the Introduction of Firearms to Japan

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1. Points at Issue

If we peruse a number of typical chronological tables of Japanese history compiled for the general reader, we may find the following references to the “introduction of firearms” (*teppō denrai* 鐵砲傳來), all under entries for the year 1543:

- (1) VIII.25: Portuguese ship is stranded on Tanegashima 種子島 and introduces firearms. (*Concise sekai nenpyō* コンサイス世界年表 [Sanseidō 三省堂, 1976])
- (2) VIII.25: Portuguese merchant ship is stranded on Tanegashima in Ōsumi 大隅 province and introduces firearms (*Nanpo bunshū* 南浦文集). (*Nenpyō Nihon rekishi* 年表日本歴史 3 [Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1981])
- (3) VIII.25: Portuguese merchant ship is stranded on Tanegashima and introduces firearms (*Nanpo bunshū*). (*Nihon bunka sōgō nenpyō* 日本文化總合年表 [Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1990])
- (4) VIII: Portuguese arrive on Tanegashima and introduce firearms. (Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai 歴史學研究會, ed., *Nihonshi nenpyō* 日本史年表 [enl. ed.; Iwanami Shoten, 1993])

The image to be generally gained from these entries is that a ship came all the way from Portugal to Tanegashima and introduced European firearms to Japan. The use of the term “Portuguese (merchant) ship” makes it difficult to visualize anything other than a European ocean-going sailing vessel (*nau*) of the type depicted in the so-called Southern Barbarian screens (*nanban byōbu* 南蠻屏風).¹⁾ Furthermore, this commonsensible image gives rise to a historical picture involving a direct encounter between Japan and Europe on Tanegashima in the mid-sixteenth century without any “Asian” intermediation.

As is indicated in (2) and (3) above, the principal source for the entries in these chronological tables is the “Teppōki” 鐵炮記, or “Account of Firearms,” included in Fascicle 1 of the *Nanpo bunshū*, the collected works of the Zen 禪 monk Bunshi Genshō 文之玄昌 of Satsuma 薩摩. This is a detailed account of

the introduction of firearms written in Keichō 慶長 11 (1606) by the scholar-monk Bunshi (a.k.a. Nanpo 南浦), the chief strategist of Satsuma *han* 藩, in response to a request by Tanegashima Hisatoki 種子島久時, son of Tanegashima Tokitaka 種子島時堯, the island's ruler at the time when firearms – specifically, the harquebus or matchlock musket – were introduced. I will first quote the important sections of Bunshi's account.

Source I. "Teppōki" (*Nanpo bunshū* 1)²⁾

(a) On the cyclic day *hinoto tori* 丁酉, the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month in the autumn of the cyclic year *mizunoto u* 癸卯 in the Tenbun 天文 era (Tenbun 12 = 1543), there was a large ship in the small bay at Nishimura 西村. It was not known from which country it had come. The crew consisted of more than one hundred persons, whose appearance was not like ours and whose speech could not be understood. The locals regarded them with wonder and curiosity. Among them was a Confucian scholar from the Great Ming 大明 called Gohō 五峯 (Wufeng). I do not now know his family name. At that time the headman of Nishimura was a person by the name of Oribe-no-jō 織部丞. He was extremely well-versed in Chinese characters. He happened to meet Gohō and wrote with a stick in the sand as follows: "We do not know from which country the people on the ship are. How strange their appearance is!" Gohō then wrote: "They are traders of Southwest Barbary. They understand to a certain degree the duties of ruler and subject, but they do not realize that propriety is reflected in outward appearance. For this reason, when they drink, they drink with cups and not with *sakazuki*'s, and when they eat, they eat with their hands and not with chopsticks. They know merely to fill their tastes and desires at will, but do not know to convey reasons by written words. They belong to that type of foreign trader who halts for a time when he arrives at a certain place. They simply barter what they have for what they do not have. They are not suspect people."

(b) There were two chiefs of the foreign traders, one called Murashukusha 牟良叔舎 and the other Kirishita Damōta 喜利志多佗孟太. In their hands they carried something that was two or three feet long, straight with a passage inside, and made of a heavy substance. Although the inner passage ran right through it, it was closed at one end, and at its side there was an aperture which was the passageway for fire. Its shape defied comparison with anything else. To use it, a mysterious powder was put into it together with a small lead pellet. A small white target was set up beforehand on a bank, then one of them gripped the object in his hands, composed himself, closed one eye, and discharged fire from the hole, whereupon it immediately hit the target without ever missing. The light it emitted was like lightning and the noise it made was like thunder, and

everyone who heard it covered their ears. The placing of a small white target was similar to the setting up of a small target inside a large target for archers. Were one to discharge this object only once, then mountains of silver would crumble and iron walls would be pierced. Traitors touched by it would immediately lose their souls, and how much more so deer that damage rice seedlings! The uses for it in the world are innumerable. On seeing it, Tokitaka regarded it as a most extraordinary thing.... Disregarding their exorbitantly high price, Tokitaka bought two of the foreign harquebuses and kept them as household treasures. He had his retainer Sasagawa Koshirō 篠川小四郎 instructed in the method of compounding the mysterious powder. Polishing the harquebuses in the morning and cleaning them in the evening, Tokitaka practised unremittingly and became so proficient that he never missed the target.

(c) Carried away by his toying [with the harquebuses], Tokitaka had several blacksmiths carefully examine their shape, and for months they forged and worked the metal in the hope of producing some new ones. But although the shape was very similar [to the originals], they did not know how to close one end. The following year some foreign traders again came to a bay at Kumano 熊野 on our island. The bay is called Kumano in the same way that there are places called Little Lushan 小廬山 or Little India. Among the traders there was fortunately a blacksmith. Tokitaka regarded this as a gift from heaven and had one Kinbyōe-no-jō Kiyosada 金兵衛尉清定 learn how to close the one end. Eventually, after some time, he learnt how to do it, and in a year or so several dozen harquebuses were produced anew.

The content of the above passages will be discussed more fully below, but the attention to minor details to be seen in this account – for example, the reference to closing one eye when taking aim with the harquebus – increases its trustworthiness. For the moment, I wish to highlight the fact that (1) on the large ship which arrived at Tanegashima there was a Chinese by the name of Gohō (Wufeng), which tallies with the alternative name of Wang Zhi 王直, a famous pirate (*wokou/wakō* 倭寇) leader, and (2) the names of the leaders of the “traders of Southwest Barbary” are given as Murashukusha and Kirishita Damōta.

It has long been known that in Europe too there exists historical source material relating to the arrival of Portuguese on Tanegashima. This is, namely, the following passage in the *Tratado dos diversos e desvayrados caminhos* (1563) by António Galvão. Until 1540 the Portuguese Galvão had been governor of the Moluccas, stationed on the island of Ternate in the Spice Islands, and it is to be surmised that because he afterwards returned to Lisbon, information originating with Diogo de Freytas would have reached him indirectly.

*Source II. Tratado dos diversos e desvayrados caminhos*³⁾

In the year 1542 when Diogo de Freytas was Captain of a ship in the Kingdom of Siam and the town of Dodra [=Ayutthaya], three Portuguese deserted him in a junk which left for China. Their names were Antonio da Mota, Francisco Zeimoto and Antonio Pexoto. While steering their course to seek harbour in the town of Liampo, which is situated on somewhat more than 30 degrees latitude, they were overtaken by such a violent storm from astern that they drifted from land, and after some days sailing towards the east they saw an island on 32 degrees which is called Japoës and which seems to be the Sipangas islands, about which the writings have so much to say and also of their wealth.

Later, in Chapter 4 of João Rodrigues's *Historia da Igreja do Japão*, written in the 1620s, this account of the Portuguese "discovery" of Japan (Sipangas) was linked to the introduction of firearms to Tanegashima, and thereafter the view that the Portuguese "discovered" Japan in 1542 and introduced firearms took root in Europe. At any rate, from Galvão's above account we can ascertain the following three points: (1) the Portuguese had set out from Siam and their original destination had been Liampo (Shuangxu 雙嶼); (2) their ship was a Chinese junk; and (3) among the names of the Portuguese, da Mota and Francisco tally phonetically with Damōta and Murashukusha mentioned in the "Teppōki."

As regards the discrepancy of one year between the Japanese and European sources, the European sources have subsequently been reinterpreted and, as will be seen below, it has become generally accepted that the year of the introduction of firearms was 1543. Meanwhile, in recent Japanese research on firearms there is a tendency to emphasize "Asian elements," and it is being fervently argued, for example, that it was pirates such as Wang Zhi who introduced firearms or that Tanegashima was not the sole point of entry and other routes should be considered as well.⁴⁾ But while casting doubt on the value of the "Teppōki" as a historical source, the advocates of these views do not make it clear whether or not Gohō (Wufeng) corresponds to Wang Zhi, and there has also been no detailed consideration of the inconsistencies that arise when Wufeng is equated with Wang Zhi – for example, the fact that hitherto Wang Zhi's first visit to Japan has, on the basis of the *Riben yijian* 日本一鑑, been deemed to have taken place in the cyclic year *yisi* 乙巳 (1545).

Thus, currently research has come to a standstill, with the 1543 thesis having become unshakeable on the one hand, while on the other hand "Asian elements" have been given undue emphasis without any adequate unravelling of the inconsistencies existing among the basic historical sources. What is perhaps needed at the present point in time is to carefully compare the Japanese sources starting with the "Teppōki," the Chinese sources such as the *Riben yijian*, and

the European sources of Galvão and others,⁵⁾ and to reconstruct the historical facts on a more reliable basis of source material. It is for this reason that this article has been given the title “A Reconsideration of the Introduction of Firearms to Japan.”

2. The Later Pirate Bands and Shuangxu Anchorage

Let us begin by comparing the Wufeng mentioned in the “Teppōki” with Wang Zhi and his activities as recorded in Chinese sources. I will first quote some relevant passages from the *Chouhai tubian* 籌海圖編 (1562) by Zheng Ruozeng 鄭若會 and the *Riben yijian* (1565) by Zheng Shungong 鄭舜功.

Source III. *Riben yijian*, “Qionghé huahai” 窮河話海 6: “Haishi” 海市

(a) Illicit trading along the Zhejiang 浙江 seaboard began with Deng Liao 鄧獠 of Fujian 福建. Initially he had been held in the prison of the Surveillance Commission (*ancha si* 按察司) on account of some crime. In the cyclic year *bingxu* 丙戌 of the Jiajing 嘉靖 era (1526) he escaped from prison, fled to sea, and induced barbarians to trade illicitly at Shuangxu anchorage on the coast of Zhejiang. He joined Lu Huangsi 盧黃四 and others from Hezhou 合州 and Macao and engaged in illicit trading.

(b) Then in the cyclic year *gengzi* 庚子 of the Jiajing era (1540) the Xu 許 brothers (Xu Song 許松, Xu Nan 許楠, Xu Dong 許棟, and Xu Zi 許梓) lured the barbarians from the land of the Franks (i.e., Portuguese) <— *these barbarians had come to Guangdong 廣東 to trade during the Zhengde 正德 era (1506–21), but because they did not respect the laws, they were expelled by the coastal assistant commissioner (haidao fushi 海道副使) Wang Hong 王鋹; later they occupied Malacca and settled there, and it was in Malacca that the Xu brothers eventually invited them to come [to China]* >, and they came in a continuous stream to the Zhejiang seaboard. They also traded at the anchorages of Shuangxu, Damao 大茅, and so on. It was around this time that the troubles in the southeast began.... [Here and below passages in italics within angle brackets <like this> are explanatory interpolations in the original (where they appear as half-sized, two-column text).]

(c) Their associate Wang Zhi 王直 <real name is Cheng 鏗, i.e. Wufeng> went to trade in Japan in the cyclic year *yisi* 乙巳 (1545), and for the first time he induced three Japanese from Hakata 博多, including Sukezaimon 助才門, to come to trade at Shuangxu. The following year (1546) he again went and influenced there. The troubles with pirates in Zhejiang arose for the first time.

Source IV. “Kouzhong fenhe shimo tupu” 寇踪分合始末圖譜 (Chouhai tubian 8)

(a) Xu Dong: used Shuangxu anchorage as a base (joined forces with Li Guangtou 李光頭 in the twenty-second year [of the Jiajing era (1543)]) – division of his forces in Fujian and Zhejiang (dispatched his followers frequently remaining at his base) – flight (on account of the destruction of Shuangxu in the fourth month of the twenty-seventh year [of the Jiajing era (1548)]) – arrest (in the sixth month together with his younger brother Shewu 社武 by the commander [Zhihui 指揮] Wuchuan 吳川)

This was the start of the troubles in Zhejiang and Chiangsu. [Xu Dong] was Wang Zhi’s former master. Initially he only induced western barbarians to trade. In the twenty-third year [of the Jiajing era (1544)] he had contact with Japan for the first time. This was the start of the troubles between the barbarians and China. It was only after Xu Dong’s defeat that Wang Zhi began to prosper.

(b) Wang Zhi: arrived at Shuangxu anchorage (joined Xu Dong’s group in the twenty-third year [of the Jiajing era (1544)] and became treasurer) – visited Japan (became the commander of Xu Dong’s patrol horses and boats, accompanied a tribute embassy to Japan, and engaged in trade) – shifted his base to Liebiao 列表 (in the twenty-seventh year [of the Jiajing era (1548)] Xu Dong was defeated by the censor-in-chief [du yushi 都御史] Zhu Wan 朱紈, and Wang Zhi took the remnants of Xu Dong’s band and made himself captain)....

At first Japan did not come to trade if it did not come bearing tribute. Illicit trading started in the twenty-third year [of the Jiajing era (1544)]. At that time Xu Dong only sent merchandise to Japan and had not yet induced its people to come. After the defeat of Xu Dong, Wang Zhi first employed the Japanese as his helpers. He destroyed [the county of] Changguo 昌國, whereupon the greed of the Japanese was greatly enflamed. There was a continuous stream of people becoming pirates....

Source V. “Qinhuo Wang Zhi” 擒獲王直 (Chouhai tubian 9, “Da jiekao” 大捷考)

(a) Wang Zhi was a native of She 歙 (She county, Huizhou 徽州, Anhui 安徽 province). Reduced to poverty at a young age, he had the manner of a gallant. As a young man he was very resourceful and also generous, and consequently people trusted him. Contemporary scoundrels such as Ye Zongman 葉宗滿, Xu Weixue 徐惟學, Xie He 謝和, and Fang Tingzhu 方廷助 all enjoyed his company. They secretly plotted together, saying, “The regulations in China are strict and it is easy to infringe the interdictions. Why don’t we go overseas?”

(b) In Jiajing 19 (1540) the maritime interdictions were relaxed. Wang

Zhi went to Guangdong together with Ye Zongman and others, where they built a large ship, loaded it with contraband goods such as saltpetre, sulphur, raw silk, and cotton, and visited the lands of Japan, Siam, and the Western Ocean. They plied back and forth, trading for five or six years, and he became immeasurably wealthy. The barbarians had great confidence in him and called him Captain Wufeng. He also gathered together exiles such as Xu Hai 徐海, Chen Dong 陳東, and Ye Ming 葉明, making them his lieutenants, and using his resources, he lured the Japanese Montarō 門多郎, Jirō 次郎, Shisuke 四助, and Shirō 四郎 and formed a band. There were also his nephew Wang Ruxian 王汝賢 and his adopted son Wang Ao 王激, and with these as his confidants he colluded with the barbarians from the Gotō 五島 [Islands] and created trouble.

In order to probe the activities of Wang Zhi and his points of contact with Japanese and Portuguese, it is necessary to have some knowledge of Shuangxu *gang* 雙嶼港, or Double-Island anchorage, the largest smuggling base along the Zhejiang seaboard.⁶⁾ Shuangxu was an anchorage on the eastern side of the island of Liuhengshan 六橫山 in the southern Zhoushan 舟山 Islands, separated by a strait from the island of Fodushan 佛肚山, and it was named after two small islands in the strait. From around 1526 Deng Liao, a pirate who had escaped from prison in Fujian, “induced barbarians to trade” and made it his base for smuggling operations in the south (IIIa). Then in 1540 the Xu brothers, renowned pirate leaders prior to Wang Zhi, betook themselves to Malacca and lured large numbers of “barbarians from the land of the Franks” (i.e., Portuguese) to the Zhejiang seaboard (IIIb). It would appear that Xu Dong turned up in Shuangxu in 1543, the year when he joined forces with Li Guangtou (IVa), and it was probably around this time that the Portuguese also settled at Shuangxu. The eastward advance of the Portuguese came to pass only because they were lured by Chinese smugglers and availed themselves of the smuggling routes which the Chinese had developed.

In 1544 Wang Zhi arrived at Shuangxu and joined the Xu brothers' band, becoming their treasurer (IVb). The following year he “became the commander of Xu Dong's patrol horses and boats, accompanied a tribute embassy to Japan, and engaged in trade” (IIIc, IVb).⁷⁾ In the same year (1545) he reached Hakata, where he persuaded three Japanese, including one Sukezaimon, to return with him to Shuangxu (IIIc). In 1546 he again visited Japan and returned with more Japanese (IIIc). As is indicated by expressions such as “this was the start of the troubles between the barbarians and China” and “the troubles with pirates in Zhejiang arose for the first time,” this heralded the start of a fresh wave of piracy during the Jiajing era. Then in 1548 Shuangxu was attacked by government forces led by Zhu Wan, and Xu Dong was captured (IVa), whereupon Wang Zhi gathered together the remnants of Xu Dong's band, moved to

Ligang 瀝港 (Liebiao), and became the leader of the pirate forces (IVb).

Meanwhile, according to the biographical material in V, Wang Zhi was born in She county, Huizhou (Anhui), and from an early age he associated with groups of gallants and was well-liked. He then plotted with "scoundrels" such as Ye Zongman and, flouting the ban on overseas travel and trade, set out for foreign climes. First in 1540 he went with Ye Zongman and others to Guangdong, where they built a large ship, loaded it with contraband goods such as saltpetre, sulphur, raw silk, and cotton, and set out for "the lands of Japan, Siam, and the Western Ocean." There Wang Zhi engaged in illicit trading for five or six years and amassed a huge fortune. It seems that around this time he came to be known as "Captain Wufeng."

A literal reading of the sources would suggest that Wang Zhi travelled back and forth between Japan, Siam, and the Western Ocean from 1540 to 1544-45 (Vb), and he turned up at Shuangxu towards the end of this period in 1544 (IVb). In the past some scholars have been under the impression that Wang Zhi's first visit to Japan must have taken place after his arrival at Shuangxu, and consequently the reference to Japan in Vb has been interpreted as an interpolation based on subsequent information, and the identification of Gohō (Wufeng) in the "Teppōki" (Ia) with Wang Zhi has also been queried since Wang Zhi's first visit to Japan would then have taken place in 1543.⁸⁾ But if one assumes that Wang Zhi had contact with Portuguese in Siam *before* his arrival at Shuangxu and brought them to Japan, there are then no inconsistencies whatsoever between Ia, IVb and Vb. This also tallies with the statement in the Portuguese account (II) that in 1542 several Portuguese set out from Siam on a junk (although there does of course remain a difference of one year between Ia and II). The general view, based on the statement in IIIc that "Wang Zhi went to trade in Japan in the cyclic year *yisi* (1545), and for the first time he induced three Japanese from Hakata, including Sukezaimon, to come to trade at Shuangxu," is that Wang Zhi first visited Japan in 1545, but this statement refers only to his first visit to Hakata, which should be considered to have been at least his second visit to Japan.

On the basis of the above observations, Wang Zhi's activities during the first half of the 1540s can be understood to have taken the following course: in 1540 he set out to sea from Guangdong;⁹⁾ in 1543 (or 1542) he arrived from Siam at Tanegashima together with some Portuguese; in 1544 he turned up at Shuangxu, where he joined forces with Xu Dong and became his treasurer; and in 1545 he revisited Japan and returned to Shuangxu with some merchants from Hakata. This train of events has been set out in a simplified form in Chronological Table 1.

Chronological Table 1 (Months and days follow Japanese and Chinese calendars)

1526	Deng Liao escapes from prison and engages in illicit trading in Shuangxu (IIIa)
1540	Xu Dong guides Portuguese from Malacca to the Zhejiang seaboard (IIIb) Wang Zhi goes to Guangdong and builds a large ship (Vb)
1540~44/45	Wang Zhi trades in contraband goods with Japan, Siam, and the Western Ocean for 5-6 years (Vb)
1542	Portuguese travel by junk from Siam to Sipangas (II)*
1543	Xu Dong makes Shuangxu his base (IVa)
1543.8.25	Wang Zhi arrives at Tanegashima with Portuguese (Ia)*
1544	Wang Zhi appears at Shuangxu and becomes Xu Dong's treasurer (IVb)
1545	Wang Zhi accompanies Japanese embassy back to Japan, engages in trade, and leads Japanese from Hakata to Shuangxu (IIIc, IVb)
1546	Wang Zhi again visits Japan: "the troubles with pirates in Zhejiang arose for the first time" (IIIc); "he colluded with the barbarians from the Gotō [Islands] and created trouble" (Vb)
1548	Shuangxu falls to government forces, Xu Dong is captured, and Wang Zhi moves to Ligang (Liebiao) (IVab)

*Indicates references to possibly identical events.

3. The "Three Large Ships with New Tribute"

At about the same time as Wang Zhi was visiting Japan, some "tribute ships" fitted out on Tanegashima entered the port of Ningbo 寧波 in 1544. The question that arises here is whether or not these ships were in any way connected with Wang Zhi's activities or the introduction of firearms to Japan. Let us first consider the relevant sources.

Source I. "Teppōki" (*Nanpo bunshū* 1)

(d) People studied [the harquebus] not only in Kinai 畿内 and Kansai 關西, but also in Kantō 關東. I once heard the following from an elder. According to him, around the cyclic years *mizunoe tora* 壬寅 and *mizunoto u* 癸卯 in the Tenbun era (Tenbun 11-12 = 1542-43) three large ships with new tribute were about to set out for the kingdom of the Great Ming in the south. In the region from Kinai to the west, there were almost one thousand sons of wealthy families who chose to become merchants and several hundred helmsmen and boatmen who were marvellously skilled in handling ships, and they prepared the ships on our small island (i.e., Tanegashima). Having waited for a providential opportunity, they cast off their moorings, readied the oars, and set out into the ocean. Unfortunately

raging winds roiled the sea, surging waves whipped up snow, and the very axis of the earth seemed about to break apart. Alas! The mast of the first tribute ship leaned over, the rudder broke, and the ship vanished. The second tribute ship eventually reached Ningbo prefecture in the kingdom of the Great Ming. The third tribute ship could not proceed and returned to our small island. The following year (1544) they set sail once again, accomplished their objective of travelling south, and were about to return home, heavily laden with overseas goods and strange treasures, when a dark wind suddenly rose in the middle of the ocean and they lost all sense of direction. The ship drifted and finally reached Izu 伊豆 province in Tōkaidō 東海道. The locals seized the goods and the merchants lost their possessions. On board the ship there was a retainer of ours, called Matsushita Gorōsaburō 松下五郎三郎. Holding a harquebus in his hands, he fired it and never once missed his target. The locals regarded this with wonder, and many people learnt how to do it by watching and imitating. Thereafter it spread to the eight provinces of Kantō and to beaches throughout the land, and with its transmission there was no one who did not learn it.

Source VI. Tanegashima kafu 種子島家譜 2, “Shigetoki” 惠時

Tenbun 13 (1544), cyclic year *kinoe tatsu* 甲辰... On the fourteenth day of the fourth month a ship bound for China <called *nigōsen* 二合船> set sail. Tenbun 14 (1545), cyclic year *kinoto mi* 乙巳: On the fourteenth day of the sixth month the *nigōsen* returned home.

Source VII. Ming Shizong shilu 明世宗實錄

(a) [Jiajing 23 (1544), eighth month,] cyclic day *mouchen* 戊辰: Earlier in Jiajing 18 (1539) the kingdom of Japan had brought a tribute, and in [Jiajing] 20 (1541) they had returned home. Now the foreign envoy Shi Shouguang 釋壽光 (Shaku Jukō) and others came again, saying they had brought tribute. The Ministry of Rites (*libu* 禮部) said, “It is customary for Japan to bring tribute once in ten years. This tribute is premature, and there is no memorial. It is difficult to believe that it is an official embassy. In accordance with customary practice, they should be stopped and sent back, while the [tribute] goods should be stored and kept for the next tribute rites. Send a communication to their country, informing them of the situation.”...

(b) [Jiajing 24 (1545), fourth month,] cyclic day *xinyou* 辛酉: The kingdom of Japan had brought tribute in the cyclic year *jihai* 己亥 (1539) and returned in the cyclic year *xinchou* 辛丑 (1541), and in the cyclic year *jiachen* 甲辰 (1544) an embassy again came with tribute even though only three

years had passed. Because the time had not yet come, they were not permitted [to engage in tribute trade] and were urged to return home. But the foreigners were partial to Chinese goods and engaged in trade, extending their stay for more than a year without leaving....

First, the “second tribute ship” (*nikōsen* 二貢船) mentioned in Id and the *nigōsen* 二合船 mentioned in VI were probably the same ship. The statement in Id that “the second tribute ship eventually reached Ningbo prefecture in the kingdom of the Great Ming” makes it almost certain that it was on this ship that the “envoy Shaku Jukō” figuring in VIIa travelled. If Jukō had been on board the “third tribute ship” mentioned in Id, the second tribute ship would have had to arrive at Ningbo earlier than the date given in VIIa, but there is no reference to any such arrival in the *Ming shilu* 明實錄. It is evident from VII that the Ming government was concerned about the length of time that had elapsed since the last tribute from Japan (i.e., the eighteenth embassy to the Ming led by Koshin Sekitei 湖心碩鼎 and others which had arrived in 1539), and therefore if the “second tribute ship” had entered Ningbo prior to the date given in VIIa, it is most unlikely that it would not have been recorded and it would also have been mentioned in VII. In view of this, it can also be assumed that the “third tribute ship” entered a harbour other than Ningbo (probably Shuangxu).

On the basis of the above, let us now retrace the course taken by this “second tribute ship” (or *nigōsen*). In 1543 it set sail from Tanegashima (Id), but returned to the island because of a storm (as the third tribute ship probably also did) and left again in the fourth month of the following year (VI), arriving at Ningbo in the eighth month (VIIa), where permission to engage in tribute trade was sought but not granted, and some time after the fourth month of 1545 (VIIb) the ship left China and arrived back at Tanegashima in the sixth month (VI). After having been refused permission to trade at Ningbo, the Japanese party probably left Ningbo during 1544, and at the time alluded to in VIIb (fourth month of 1545) they would have gone to some other port (probably Shuangxu) and there engaged in illicit trade.¹⁰ According to the *Chouhai tubian*, Xu Dong “had contact with Japan for the first time in Jiajing 23 (1544)” (IVa) and “illicit trading [with Japan] started in Jiajing 23” (IVb), and this presumably refers to the fact that in 1544 Jukō and his party came into contact with Xu Dong’s forces. Furthermore, according to IVb, after Wang Zhi joined forces with Xu Dong at Shuangxu in 1544, he accompanied a tribute embassy to Japan, and therefore the ship used by Wang Zhi when he visited Japan in 1545 (IIIc) was probably the second tribute ship of Jukō and his associates. If this was indeed so, it means that Wang Zhi went to Hakata via Tanegashima.

It should also be noted that, according to Id, the third tribute ship succeeded in reaching China in 1544 and set out for the return voyage laden with goods, but encountered a storm in the middle of the ocean and ended up in

Izu. Moreover, a retainer of the Tanegashima family by the name of Matsushita Gorōsaborō, who was on board this ship, had a arquebus with him, and this was the start of the spread of firearms to the Kantō region. (The results of the above observations are summarized in Chronological Table 2.)

The incident involving these “tribute ships” from Tanegashima may thus be seen in the context of a shift in the axis of Japan-Ming intercourse from tribute trade through Ningbo to illicit trade based at Shuangxu, and the key person in this shift was Wang Zhi. Who, then, was it that sent these ships to the Ming in the first place?

According to Id, “In the region from Kinai to the west, there were almost one thousand sons of wealthy families who chose to become merchants and several hundred helmsmen and boatmen who were marvellously skilled in handling ships, and they prepared the ships on our small island (i.e., Tanegashima).” Although the numbers have of course been exaggerated, it would nonetheless have been impossible for the Tanegashima family to organize a group of trading ships on such a scale. In this connection, the following passage by the Portuguese Fernão Mendes Pinto is instructive (*Peregrinaçam*, Chap. 135):¹¹⁾

We had been now three and twenty days in the Island of *Tanixumaa*, where very contentedly we past away the time,..., when as a vessel belonging to the King of *Bungo* arriving in that port, in the which were divers men of quality, and certain merchants.... [The *Nautaquim* (Naotoki 直時 =Tokitaka's former name)] called us unto him, and commanded the truchman that was thereby, to use these words unto us, *My good friends, I intreat you that you will hear this letter read, which is sent me from my lord and uncle, and then I will let you know what I desire of you.*

Chronological Table 2 (Months and days follow Japanese and Chinese calendars)

1542/43	Three tribute ships leave Tanegashima; the first is lost in a storm and the third returns to Tanegashima (Id)
1544.4.14	Second tribute ship (<i>nigōsen</i>) sets sail from Tanegashima (VI)
1544	Third tribute ship again leaves Tanegashima and reaches China (Id)
1544.8.2	Jukō, the envoy on the second tribute ship, arrives at Ningbo (Id, VIIa) and then possibly goes to Shuangxu
1544/45	Third tribute ship encounters a storm on its way back to Japan and makes landfall in Izu (Id)
1545.4.29	Jukō remains in China (Shuangxu?) (VIIb) and possibly leaves shortly afterwards
1545.6.14	Second tribute ship (<i>nigōsen</i>) returns to Tanegashima from Shuangxu together with Wang Zhi (VI, IVb)

Although Pinto writes as if he was one of the Portuguese who witnessed the introduction of firearms, this is scarcely credible. But it would seem true that he visited Tanegashima not very long after the first visit by Portuguese, and he also obtained information about the tribute ships with which we are here concerned and incorporated it into the story of the introduction of firearms, from which the above quotation is taken.¹²⁾ If that is so, then the “King of *Bungo*” — that is, Ōtomo Yoshiaki 大友義鑑 — must have been the person behind the sending of the tribute ships. However, although Pinto refers to the “King of *Bungo*” as Tokitaka’s uncle (and elsewhere as “the brother of [his] mother”), in the *Tanegashima kafu* 3 Tokitaka’s mother is identified as the daughter of Shimazu Tadaoki 島津忠興, governor of Satsuma.

4. A Reexamination of the Date of the Introduction of Firearms

Let us now recapitulate the information provided by the “Teppōki” (Iab). On the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month of the cyclic year *mizunoto u* 癸卯 in the Tenbun era (1543), a large ship carrying a complement of more than one hundred men arrived at Tanegashima. Among the people on board was “Gohō (Wufeng), a Confucian scholar of the Great Ming,” and he conveyed in writing that the passengers were “foreign traders from Southwest Barbary” whose objective was trade. The leaders of the traders were called Murashukusha and Kirishita Damōta, and they fired their harquebuses in the presence of Tanegashima Tokitaka, the island’s ruler, who, deeply impressed by their display, bought the harquebuses for a large sum of money.

Next, the gist of Galvão’s account (II) is that in 1542 three Portuguese under Diogo de Freytas (Antonio da Mota, Francisco Zeimoto, and Antonio Pexoto) fled from Siam on a junk bound for Liampo, but encountered a storm en route and landed on the Sipangas islands lying at 32 degrees.

Kōda Shigetomo cites information regarding two visits to the Ryūkyūs 琉球 (Lequios) by Portuguese about which the Spanish trader Garcia de Escalante Alvarado was apprised by Freytas on Tidore in the Spice Islands, and Kōda points out that the first of these visits tallies with Galvão’s account (II).¹³⁾ Escalante had accompanied a fleet under Ruy López de Villalobos which had been sent to Asia in 1542 by the viceroy of Mexico, and in the second month of the following year the fleet arrived in Mindanao, but it was unsuccessful in its attempt to return to Mexico and surrendered to the Portuguese on Tidore in the eleventh month of 1545. During this time, in the twelfth month of 1544, Freytas held talks with Villalobos, and because it was presumably around this same time that Escalante obtained his information about the Ryūkyūs, this information would be highly reliable. After Villalobos’s party had been sent back to Lisbon, the information was included in a report drawn up by Escalante in 1548 and now preserved in the Indias Archives in Seville.¹⁴⁾

Source VIII. Relación de la expedición de Ruy López de Villalobos

It further happened that two of the Portuguese, who were with him there, while they were on a voyage in a junk to carry on trade on the coast of China, had been driven by storm to one of the Lequios islands where they were well received by the King of these islands through the agency of the friends they had made in Siam. After they had procured provisions they left the islands. Attracted by the kindly reception they had received and the wealth they had witnessed, other Portuguese merchants undertook the voyage in Chinese junks. Sailing from the coast of China in an easterly direction they reached the same island, but this time they were not allowed to go ashore. They were ordered to hand over a list of the goods they carried, and the price of their purchase, upon which they should immediately be paid. This they did and received full payment in silver. Upon their being supplied with necessary provisions they received orders to leave.

In view of the fact that Escalante had contact with Freytas towards the end of 1544, Kōda considers it most reasonable to assume that the first visit by the Portuguese to Lequios took place in 1542 and the second in 1543. Tokoro Sōkichi, having accepted this supposition, then put forward the view that in 1542 the Portuguese landed on Tanegashima, but did not introduce firearms on this occasion, and they were introduced during the second Portuguese visit in the following year.¹⁵⁾ The names of the Portuguese given in the "Teppōki" (Ib) and Galvão's account (II) tally only in part — Murashukusha and Damōta may be assumed to correspond to Francisco Zeimoto and Antonio da Mota respectively, but there is no name corresponding to Antonio Pexoto in Ib, while Kirishita appearing in Ib is unaccounted for in II — but Tokoro finds his way through this difficulty by suggesting that it was only Francisco Zeimoto (Murashukusha) from among the three Portuguese who had made the 1542 visit that took part in the second visit as a guide. The fact that Galvão's account (II) makes no mention of firearms also works in Tokoro's favour, and it was only from the appearance of the *Historia da Igreja do Japão* onwards that Galvão's account came to be linked to the introduction of firearms.

Georg Schurhammer, a German Jesuit and well-known researcher of Xavier, also dates the first of the Portuguese visits to Lequios to 1542 and the second to 1543, but giving greater credence to Escalante's account than to Galvão's, he believes that they went only as far as the Ryūkyūs on their first voyage and, following the account given in the "Teppōki," considers that they finally reached Tanegashima on their second voyage.¹⁶⁾ "One of the Lequios islands" mentioned by Escalante is equated with Tanegashima by Tokoro and with Ryūkyū by Schurhammer, but the latter's thesis is problematic in that, whereas Escalante states that they arrived at the *same* island on the second voy-

age too, Schurhammer identifies it with Tanegashima.¹⁷⁾ Likewise Tokoro, basing himself on Galvão's reference to an island on 32 degrees, subsequently emended the place of landfall on the first voyage to Akune 阿久根 in Satsuma,¹⁸⁾ and as a result his thesis too falls into the same inconsistency.

In all this there is one fact that has hitherto been overlooked. That is to say, the fact that the Portuguese made two visits in successive years is also recorded in the "Teppōki." It is stated, namely, that in the year following their first visit "foreign traders" again appeared at Kumano bay on Tanegashima, and so Tanegashima Tokitaka had one of his retainers receive instructions from a blacksmith on board this vessel on how to close the end of the barrel and "in a year or so" succeeded in producing several dozen arquebuses (Ic). In other words, according to European sources (VIII) the Portuguese visits took place in 1542 and 1543, while according to the "Teppōki" (I) they occurred in 1543 and 1544. If the references to the 1543 visits in these two accounts both refer to the same event, this would mean that there were visits by the Portuguese in three successive years (1542, 1543 and 1544). But would it not perhaps be more reasonable to adjust either one of these two accounts by one year so that they coincide and to assume that they both refer to the same two visits in successive years?

The Taiwanese historian Li Xianzhang, having subjected the "Teppōki" to a careful reading, has made the following points.¹⁹⁾ If the second visit to Tanegashima by the Portuguese occurred in 1544, then the successful manufacture of arquebuses on the island would have taken place at the earliest in 1545 since it is said to have taken "a year or so" for Tokitaka's retainer to master the technique of closing one end of the barrel and so produce the Tanegashima arquebus (Ic), but this conflicts with the statement in Id that Matsushita Gorōsaborō, who went to China in 1544 on the third tribute ship, had a arquebus with him. But if the first visit by the Portuguese is corrected to 1542 and the second to 1543, then the technique for closing one end of the barrel would have been mastered by 1544 and it would have been quite possible for Matsushita to take with him one of the several dozen arquebuses produced in the same year when he boarded the third tribute ship, thereby resolving any inconsistencies. In addition, the discrepancies with European sources also disappear.

I believe that it is this view, put forward more than thirty-five years ago,²⁰⁾ that correctly hits the mark. In other words, the "Teppōki" itself contains temporal inconsistencies. It may seem somewhat arbitrary to bring forward by one year only sections Ia-c while allowing Id to stand as it is, but since Id is based on a separate source in the form of hearsay from a village elder, it can be separated from Ia-c and dealt with separately. If this interpretation is accepted, then the aforementioned date of Wang Zhi's first visit to Japan must also be brought forward by one year, but this does not result in any inconsistencies with the Chinese sources (cf. Chronological Table 1), and it could in fact be surmised

that the Portuguese visited Tanegashima for a second time in 1543 under the guidance of Wang Zhi.

In this case, the train of events from the first visit to Tanegashima by the Portuguese to the appearance of Wang Zhi at Shuangxu may be reconstructed as follows. In 1542 some Portuguese who arrived on Tanegashima from Siam on board Wang Zhi's ship introduced firearms to the island. They returned by the same ship to Siam, and in the following year they again came to Tanegashima on Wang Zhi's ship and taught the islanders how to close one end of the arquebus's barrel. The "Teppōki" does not specify the time of year when the Portuguese appeared for the second time, but since it was customary for them to utilize the seasonal winds from the southwest in the seventh and eighth months of the solar calendar when heading for Japan and to leave Japan with the seasonal winds from the northeast in the tenth and eleventh months,²¹ it would have been the end of the same year or some time after the start of the following year (1544) before they returned to Siam with news of their second voyage to Lequios. This news would naturally have come to the notice of Freytas and was then conveyed by him to Escalante towards the end of 1544. Wang Zhi, meanwhile, travelled in the same year with the winds from the southwest to his original objective of Shuangxu and joined Xu Dong's band. Then, in 1545 Wang Zhi, now one of Xu Dong's subordinates, accompanied the tribute envoy Jukō and again visited Tanegashima.

Wang Zhi's above movements are summarized as follows in the *Chouhai tubian* (Vb): "They built a large ship, loaded it with contraband goods such as saltpetre, sulphur, raw silk, and cotton, and visited the lands of Japan, Siam, and the Western Ocean. They plied back and forth, trading for five or six years." And as is indicated by the statement in the *Riben yijian* that "hand guns" "first originated in the land of the Franks, whose traders first taught the barbarians of Tanegashima how to make them" ("Qionghe huahai" 2: "Wohao" 倭好), the introduction of firearms to Japan represented nothing other than one more incident in the course of Wang Zhi's trading activities.

5. Remaining Questions

My own interpretation of events is as outlined above, but I do not of course believe that all the outstanding problems have hereby been resolved. In closing, I wish to list for future consideration a number of points about which I myself still have doubts.

(1) There are discrepancies between Ia and II with regard to the number and names of the Portuguese. This information is used as corroborative evidence by Tokoro and Schurhammer, who date the former to 1543 and the latter to 1542, but if particular importance is attached to the fact that I and VIII, which is based on the same source as II (i.e., information from Freytas), tally

with respect to the fact that there were two visits in successive years, then one has to assume that Ia and II refer to the same event. What is perhaps rather more surprising is that in the information contained in Ia and II, which were written at completely different times, in completely different places, and in completely different circumstances, there should be any overlapping details at all (Murashukusha = Francisco, Damōta = da Mota).

(2) Even if one accepts the above point, what happens if one emends II to 1543 instead of bringing the date of Ia forward by one year? In this case, the dates of the two voyages to Lequios mentioned in VIII would need to be emended to 1543 and 1544, and the margin of time necessary for the information to reach Escalante by the end of 1544 would be severely restricted (although not necessarily so restricted as to be beyond the bounds of possibility). But in the final analysis, the question of whether to emend Ia or II becomes a question of the comparative value of a source dating from more than sixty years after the introduction of firearms and a source composed about twenty years after the event.

(3) The circumstances of the arrival of the Portuguese as described in Ia do not suggest that they were cast ashore by a storm as stated in II and VIII. In this connection, one must take into account the fact that II and VIII are records left by people who had actually experienced storms at sea while Ia is an account from the perspective of people who witnessed the arrival of the ship from the land. Even though the ship may have been blown off course by a storm, this does not necessarily mean that it appeared before the islanders as a drifting vessel in derelict condition.

(4) The second visit by the Portuguese to Tanegashima (Lequios) was, according to Ic, welcomed by the islanders, but in VIII it is stated that they were not allowed to go ashore and were ordered to leave. But since VIII also makes it clear that trade took place and the ship safely set sail on its return voyage, the Portuguese presumably remained on the island for a certain period of time. It may be assumed that they had sufficient time to teach the finer points of manufacturing firearms.

(5) Just how reliable is the account of the spread of firearms to Kantō recorded in Id? If one believes this account, it means that the Tanegashima harquebus, together with its method of manufacture, had reached Izu already in 1545 at a speed that compares favourably with its introduction to Kyūshū 九州 and Kinai. However, when one actually traces the use of firearms in the relevant literature, one finds that they entered the Kantō region far later than Kyūshū and Kinai, being first used there in the 1560s, and even subsequent to this the Kantō region was unable to overcome its backwardness in this regard.²²⁾ Furthermore, no person by the name of Matsushita Gorōsaburō, alluded to in Id, appears in any other sources, and "it would seem doubtful whether he was in fact a real person."²³⁾ It is this point about which I have the greatest

misgivings, for if this cannot be resolved, then the very foundations of Li's thesis based on the temporal inconsistencies inherent in the "Teppōki" collapse and the need to emend the date given in Ia diminishes, although there remains the external imperative of ensuring consistency with VIII (cf. (1) above). Internally speaking too, there is no particular need to question the movements of the "tribute ships" described in Id since there is related material in VI, VII and IVb, and so it is perhaps true that the "third tribute ship" encountered a storm on its homeward voyage and made landfall in Kantō. Of course, even if this were the case, it does not add to the credibility of the assertion that Matsushita was on board the third tribute ship with a harquebus in his possession.

Notes

- 1) It is worth noting, however, that (4) has "Portuguese" rather than "Portuguese (merchant) ship," and this is presumably because the compilers took into account the fact that, as is discussed below, the ship was a Chinese junk.
- 2) An abridged translation of Ia-c can be found in James Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. 2 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1925), p. 42.
- 3) The English translation is by E.W. Dahlgren in "A Contribution to the History of the Discovery of Japan," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society London* 11 (1912-13), p. 247. See also the translation by Richard Hakluyt (1601), reprinted in *Galvano's Discoveries of the World* (Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, First Series, No. 30 [1862]), pp. 229-230.
- 4) A representative advocate of this view is Udagawa Takehisa; 宇田川武久; see his *Teppō denrai—heiki ga kataru kinsei no tanjō* 鐵炮傳來—兵器が語る近世の誕生 (The introduction of firearms: The birth of the early modern period as related by weapons; Chūō Kōron Sha 中央公論社 [Chūkō Shinsho 中公新書], 1990) and *Higashi Ajia heiki kōryūshi no kenkyū—jūgo~jūnana seiki ni okeru heiki no juyō to denpa* 東アジア兵器交流史の研究—十五~十七世紀における兵器の受容と傳播 (A study of the history of weapons exchange in East Asia: The reception and dissemination of weapons in the 15th to 17th centuries; Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1993). In no way do I reject the emphasis of "Asian elements," and I regard the present article as part of an attempt to provide a proper assessment of these elements.
- 5) Udagawa stresses the need to utilize the references to firearms found in the Korean *Chōson wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 in the study of the introduction of firearms to Japan. But his uncritical equating of the characters 火炮 appearing in the *Sillok* with the harquebus (鐵砲) (*Teppō denrai*, p. 13; *Higashi Ajia heiki kōryūshi no kenkyū*, p. 141), for instance, is highly problematical. Among the various firearms mentioned in the *Sillok*, those corresponding to the harquebus (Port. *espingarda*) should probably be limited to 鳥銃 and 鳥嘴銃, and the first appearance of the former in Korean sources is deemed to be the following passage in the *Chingbilok* 懲毖錄: in 1589 Toyotomi Hideyoshi's 豊臣秀吉 envoy Sō Yoshitoshi 宗義智 and others "presented two peacocks and articles such as harquebuses, spears and swords. The peacocks were ordered to be released on the island of Namyanghaedo 南陽海島 and the harquebus-

es were given to the Armoury. *This was the start of harquebuses in our country.*" (Cf. Arima Seiho 有馬成甫, *Kahō no kigen to sono denryū* 火砲の起源とその傳流 [The origins of guns and their dissemination; Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962], p. 695.) The harquebus is mentioned frequently in passages in the *Sillok* dealing with events from the 1592 Japanese invasion onwards, and it is evident that the Koreans regarded it as a major military threat. Therefore, although Korean historical sources such as the *Sillok* may indeed be a valuable source of information on the use of firearms in Asia and the spread of the harquebus among Japanese soldiers, they cannot serve as an object of investigation when seeking source material on the introduction of firearms to Japan.

- 6) Li Xianzhang 李獻璋, "Kasei nenkan ni okeru Sekkai no shishō oyobi hakushu Ō Choku gyōseki kō 嘉靖年間における浙海の私商及び舶主王直行蹟考 (A study of illicit trade along the Zhejiang seaboard and the exploits of Captain Wang Zhi during the Jiajing era), 1 & 2, *Shigaku* 史學 34, nos. 1 & 2 (1961). See especially Part 1, pp. 54-56.
- 7) There are three passages that would seem to shed light on the date of Wang Zhi's visit to Japan – "Wang Zhi went to trade in Japan in the cyclic year *yisi* (1545)" (IIIc); "In the twenty-third year [of the Jiajing era (1544)] he had contact with Japan for the first time" (IVa); and "Illicit trading started in the twenty-third year [of the Jiajing era (1544)]" (IVb) – but there is a discrepancy of one year. Since, as is noted below, he would appear to have accompanied the party of the Japanese tribute envoy Jukō on the latter's return to Japan some time after the fourth month of Jiajing 24 (1545), it is to be surmised that the year 1545 given in III is the correct date of Wang Zhi's visit to Japan. As regards the two passages in IV, a different interpretation is possible (see p. 15 below).
- 8) Li, *op. cit.*, Part 2, pp. 47, 50-52.
- 9) Wang Zhi hailed from the inland province of Anhui, and he probably made his way to the sea via Guangdong without passing through Zhejiang or Fujian, and it was presumably for this reason that he made such a belated appearance at Shuangxu.
- 10) Source VIIb could possibly also be taken to mean that Jukō and his party were at this point in time (fourth month of 1545) still in Ningbo. But since it is clear that prior to this the Ming authorities had not allowed them to engage in tribute trade and had urged them to return home, it may be assumed that the statement that they were "partial to Chinese goods and engaged in trade" refers to illicit trade conducted elsewhere. Therefore, the fact that "they extended their stay for more than a year without leaving" does not mean that they refused to leave Ningbo, but refers to their departure from China. In this regard, Tanaka Takeo 田中健夫 writes as follows (*Wakō – umi no rekishi* 倭寇一海の歴史 [Japanese pirates: The history of the sea; Kyōikusha 教育社 (Kyōikusha Rekishi Shinsho 教育社歴史新書), 1982], p. 133): "[Wang Zhi] accompanied the Japanese tribute embassy and headed towards Japan. It would appear that this tribute embassy was the party of the monk Jukō, which had gone to the Ming in the previous year but had not been allowed to trade and had been ordered to return home. Not having been permitted to conduct official trade, Jukō probably engaged in illicit trade somewhere in the vicinity of Ningbo and so established relations with Wang Zhi."

- 11) The English translation is by Henry Cogan (1663), reprinted in *The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, the Portuguese* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1897), pp. 265–266.
- 12) According to the explanatory remarks appended to the Japanese translation of the *Peregrinaçam* by Okamura Takiko 岡村多希子 (*Tōyō henreki ki* 東洋遍歴記 [Heibonsha 平凡社 (Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫)], Vol. 3 [1980], p. 304), Georg Schurhammer has shown that Pinto first visited Japan in 1544, which corresponds to the year in which the *nigōsen* set sail from Tanegashima for China (VI).
- 13) Kōda Shigetomo 幸田成友, *Nichiō tsūkō shi* 日歐通交史 (The history of contacts between Japan and Europe), *Kōda Shigetomo chosakushū* 幸田成友著作集 (Collected works of Kōda Shigetomo), Vol. 3 (Chūō Kōron Sha, 1971 [first published 1942]), pp. 11–12.
- 14) Kishino Hisashi 岸野久, *Seiōjin no Nihon hakken – Zabieru rainichizen Nihon jōhō no kenkyū* 西歐人の日本発見—ザビエル来日前日本情報の研究 (The discovery of Japan by Europeans: A study of information about Japan prior to Xavier's arrival in Japan; Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1989), pp. 26–27. The following English translation is by Dahlgren (*op. cit.*, pp. 243–244).
- 15) Tokoro Sōkichi 所莊吉, “Teppō denrai ronkō” 鐵砲傳來論攷 (A study of the introduction of firearms), *Teppōshi Kenkyū* 鐵砲史研究 63–64 (1974); *id.*, “Teppō denrai o megutte – sono tadashii rikai no tame ni” 鐵砲傳來をめぐって—その正しい理解のために (On the introduction of firearms: Towards an accurate understanding), in Tanegashima Kaihatsu Sōgō Sentā 種子島開發總合センター, ed., *Teppō denrai zengo – Tanegashima o meguru gijutsu to bunka* 鐵砲傳來前後—種子島をめぐる技術と文化 (Before and after the introduction of firearms: Technology and culture relating to Tanegashima 有斐閣, 1986). That Lequios (Ryūkyū) mentioned in VIII is considered to include Tanegashima could be regarded as questionable, but it is hardly likely that Europeans and Chinese of the sixteenth century would have had such a precise understanding of the boundary between the Ryūkyūs and Japan, and they probably referred vaguely to the entire chain of islands to the southwest of Kyūshū as Lequios.
- 16) Georg Schurhammer, “O descobrimento do Japão pelos Portugueses no ano de 1543,” *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 2^a ser. Vol. 1 (1946). I have relied on the summary in Kishino, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–32.
- 17) Hora Tomio 洞富雄, *Teppō – denrai to sono eikyō* 鐵砲—傳來とその影響 (Firearms: Their introduction and influence; Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 1991), p. 300.
- 18) Tokoro Sōkichi, “Nihon teppōshi” 日本鐵砲史 (The history of firearms in Japan) 5, *Teppōshi Kenkyū* 208 (1989).
- 19) Li, *op. cit.*, Part 2, p. 51.
- 20) Hora (*op. cit.*, pp. 290–292), commenting on Li's thesis, writes, “I regard this critique of the historical sources as an outstanding view that merits our attention,” but he finds it difficult to place complete trust in the content of Id and concludes: “For the time being, I will regard the date of the introduction of firearms as having taken place some time around 1543 (Tenbun 12).”
- 21) Kōda, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
- 22) Udagawa, *Higashi Ajia heiki kōryūshi no kenkyū*, p. 177ff.
- 23) Hora, *op. cit.*, p. 145.