

共同研究・日本とマカオを結ぶザビエル巡礼路

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ここに発表する論文は、1998年5月9日マカオ大学で開催された、第四回マカオ大学日本・マカオ研究国際シンポジウムにおいて口頭発表した研究の英文原稿に、加筆し完成したものである。同時にこの研究は、鹿児島県育英財団の平成10年度研究助成による共同研究、「観光政策から見たフランシスコ・ザビエルの研究 — ザビエル巡礼地図・ガイドブックの作製 —」（村上光信・門田明代表）の一つの果実であり、同財団にたいしここに謝意を表したい。

鹿児島県育英財団の研究は、副題のザビエル巡礼地図が、研究成果を生かし「ザビエル歴史街道」の表題で観光かごしま大キャンペーン推進協議会の手で作製された（門田明監修）。また、ガイドブックは村上光信著・門田明監修『ザビエル巡礼ガイド・鹿児島編』として99年4月ドンボスコ社から出版された。

しかし、これらは全て一般読者に対するもので、その土台となった理論の成果は上記口頭発表以外なく、活字による記録が必要であった。

マカオ大シンポジウムに際しては、育英財団助成共同研究の村上、門田の他に、更に旅行研究家である七枝敏洋氏の参加を要請した。それは、育英財団研究を更に拡大し、国際的視野のもとに考察する必要が生じたためである。

なお、各項目に明示のとおり、洋学史研究専門の門田が史的総論を、観光学専門の村上がザビエル巡礼の観光価値を、旅行研究家の七枝が現実的な路線・交通手段などを取り上げた。今後、南の玄関口鹿児島の国際的観光政策立案の参考になればと考える。なお、序にかえて以下拙論の日本語・英文による梗概を付した。ご参考頂ければ幸いである。

梗 概

日本とマカオを結ぶザビエル巡礼路

観光学は、地理、歴史、経済、政治などの諸分野に関係する、きわめて総合性の高い学問分野である。ザビエル巡礼路について、観光学的分析を試みるに当たって、共同研究の形を選んだのは、担当者各自の研究分野の特性を生かすことによって、より現実を正確に把握する、具体性のある分析が可能となると考えたからである。門田は薩摩洋学史研究家としての立場から問題を歴史的に、七枝は旅

行研究家としての立場から旅行業の現実の立場から日程表の立案を、村上是観光学者として全体を有機的に総括する立場から、特に宗教観光学の見地から、一般理論的に問題を解析した。

フランシスコ・ザビエルは、周知の世界的なキリスト教の聖者であるが、その行動範囲がヨーロッパ、インド、日本、中国におよび、各地でいまなお深い尊崇の対象となり、彼を記念する施設や逸話なども多い。1506年イベリア半島のバスク地方のナバラ王国に生まれ、十九歳の時パリに出てパリ大学の聖バルバラ学院に入学して哲学を学び、1530年修士の学位を得てアリストテレスの講義を始め、学者の道を歩き始めた。一方高位聖職者になろうという志を持ち、神学の勉強も始めた。しかし大学の寮友イグナチオ・ロヨラの説く真の完徳の道に次第に共感を抱くようになり、ついに1534年イグナチオを盟主とする数人の友人と同志の会を結成し、現在のイエズス会の基礎を創った。1541年ポルトガル王の要請を受けインドのゴアにおもむき、司牧と宣教活動に携わるが、たまたまマラッカで、鹿児島の人ヤジロウの訪問を受け、日本に対する強い関心を持つに至った。1549年ついにヤジロウの案内で鹿児島に上陸、領主島津貴久から宣教許可を受け、宣教を始めた。翌年には京都にまで足を延ばし、全国宣教を考えたが、戦乱の中で雄図を果たすことなく、山口、大分、種子島を経由してゴアに帰着した。1552年、日本宣教の教訓から、中国宣教の必要を感じ、中国本土を望む上川島で機会を窺ううち、熱病にかかり、同年12月3日この島に没した。享年46歳であった。遺体はその後ゴアに移され、現在も10年に一度一般巡礼者に開示される。また右腕は、ローマのボンジェス教会に、左腕はマカオに保存されている。

以上略述した彼の生涯でも断片的に触れたが、彼の軌跡は、現在のスペイン国ナバラを起点として、パリ、ベネチア、ローマ、リスボン、ゴア、マラッカ、日本、中国に及んでいる。そのうち、パリのセーヌ河岸、ベネチアとその潟、ローマ歴史地区、バチカン市国、ゴアの教会と修道院、古都京都と周辺大津・宇治などは世界文化遺産として登録され、きわめて観光価値の高い地域である。また、大航海時代を象徴するリスボン港ベレンの塔、マラッカの聖母教会、鹿児島の桜島なども、文化遺産、自然遺産としての価値の高い観光資源である。

本論文は、ヨーロッパとアジア、日本を結び、同時にこれらの文化遺産、自然遺産をたどる巡礼旅行の実際につき究明した。

先ず、観光学者であり、神学者でもある、村上が、キリスト教の立場からの巡礼と観光を論究し、聖書神学に見られる、旅人としての神、旅人としての人間、の概念を分析し、神と人との接点としての巡礼を説き、観光概念と巡礼概念の調和点を模索することから出発する。門田がこの総合理論の基礎に立って、歴史事実としてのザビエルの生涯を展開し、七枝が、経済性、参加者の疲労度、訪問地の観光価値などを計量し、もっとも実際的かつ価値ある巡礼旅行の日程表を作成している。以上、各部分の専門的独立性を損なうことなく、同時に調和ある全体を構築した、独創的な論考と自負するものである。

XAVIER'S PILGRIMAGE ROUTE THROUGH KAGOSHIMA AND MACAU

Macau and Kagoshima are joined by two pilgrimage routes. One is that commemorating Francisco Xavier, and the other commemorates the 59 remains of Japanese Christians in the 16th and 17th century.

Xavier was born on 7 April, 1506 at Xavier Castle in the Kingdom of Navarra. When he was 19 years old he left Navarra for Paris to study philosophy. In 1530 he started his career as a

scholar at the University of Paris, but under the influence of Ignatius of Loyola, he became a member of a religious group which would later be called the Jesuits.

In 1541, appointed apostolic delegate for Asia, and responding to a request of the King of Portugal, he left Lisbon for Goa, India, which was a Portuguese colony in those days. He settled there and performed religious duties for the Portuguese, spreading Christianity to the native people living in the surrounding countries.

Xavier was very interested in the island country of Japan. On 7 December, 1547, he met a Japanese named Anjiro, who supplied Xavier with much information about Japan. Xavier, upon hearing Anjiro's report, thought he could reap a good harvest of Christian conversions there.

After a dangerous voyage he landed in Kagoshima on 15 August 1549, was given permission to propagate Christianity there, and stayed there for about one year. Then he went to Kyoto, capital of Japan in those days, to spread Christianity all over Japan, but met no success. He returned to west Japan again, and visited Yamaguchi and Oita, where he was successful in his propagation of Christianity.

After this series of successes he went back to Goa. He wanted to go to China to propagate Christianity, left Goa in April 1552, came to Sancian Island but died in an epidemic there on 3 December.

The number of Christians had been increasing especially in the west Japan, till the persecution period began. The Daimyo, Toyotomi-Hideyoshi, who united Japan, suspected that the foreign priests ambitioned to conquer Japan. He expelled all the foreign missionaries from Japan in 1587. Persecution became more and more severe. In 1597 twenty six Christians were crucified in Nagasaki, the first Christian martyrs in Japan. Many Christians hid themselves in isolated islands or at the farther end of Kyushu or, it is said, fled even as far as to Macau or Manila.

Some gathered in Eguchi, Kagoshima, and made a small village in the early 17th century. Jacobo Chuujiro Konishi was among them. He later moved to Macau and his remains, as one of the fifty-nine Japanese, is now in Macau.



A pilgrimage route remembering Xavier's life has been established when Japanese travel around the world. Macau is one station on this route, because it is located on the way from Kagoshima to Sancian Island and Xavier's left arm is kept in Seminario de San Jose there.

Another pilgrimage route from Kagoshima to Macau is being planned to commemorate the Japanese Christian Martyrs. One wants to explain one's respect to those who fled from their loving home to far foreign lands and kept their faith strongly. One also wants to explain one's thanks for the kindness of those countrymen who warmly protected these refugees.

Murakami is dealing with the subject from the sightseeing-science aspect; Nanaeda from the actual traveling agent aspect; Kadota from the aspect of the future development of the Kagoshima-Macau pilgrimage route.

The Francis Xavier's Memorial Pilgrimage Route Joining Japan to Macau

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Pilgrimage and Journey: Tourism Science Aspect(Murakami)

Many scholars recognize that historically a journey has been often a pilgrimage. Professor Junichi Mizuno, the author of "Kanko-gaku Genron" (General Theory of Tourism Science), consulting 'A Dictionary of Chinese Characters' published by Gakushu-Kenkyu-Sha Company, explains that the meaning of 'travel' in the Chinese character is etymologically 'Formation under the same flag'. Dr. Mizuno is a Christian and he understands the flag in the definition is a symbolization of God (or gods). The flag symbolized God. God is essentially fond of traveling. God in the Old Testament presented Himself to Abraham in the features of a traveler. Abraham himself had left Ur, his home, following God's command for an unknown destination as a traveler, when he met God, a traveler. Professor Mizuno explains the meaning of a travel, quoting the gospel of St. John and saying "In the beginning was the Journey, and the Journey was with God, and the Journey was God."

In this thesis of mine on 'Francis Xavier's Memorial Pilgrimage Route Joining Macau to Japan', first I am dealing with the ideas of journey in the Bible, then pursuing the subject of 'Sightseeing and Pilgrimage' and explaining in the two aspects; one is the religious meaning of pilgrimage, that is the original meaning; the other is not essential but an unexpected joy developed from the original meaning, the meaning of sightseeing. I am trying to propose 'a religious sightseeing' for 'not religious people'.

1. Journey in the Bible

Neither "Kirisutokyo Daijiten (An Encyclopedia of Christianity)" nor "Nave's Topical Bible" have the head of 'tabi' or 'travel'. Both the dictionaries deal with the item 'journey' under the word of 'dendo' or 'mission'.

(1) God is seeking man

"And he spoke this parable unto them, saying, What man of you, having an hundred

sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it?" (Luke 15:3)

When we go on pilgrimage, we might think we are seeking God, or that we will meet God again, but now we understand that in the beginning God is traveling to seek us.

(2) Ambassadors of Christ

"Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us." (II Corinthians 5:20)

This Bible passage convinces us that in the age of the Bible the travel is that for mission, and it means to be sent as an ambassador of Christ.

(3) Going for places

"And he said unto me, Depart: for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles." (Acts 22:21)

Thus here the fact that He sends us "far unto the Gentiles" is clearly stated. The travel obviously equals that for mission.

(4) Go, then, to all peoples everywhere

"Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: " (Matthew 28:19, 20)

Here the travel is that of an ambassador of Christ, it is that for mission, which is developed into a world travel. Paul, the disciple, realized this work first, and the work of this world mission journey is successively followed by many missionaries till today.

(5) St. Paul's mission journey (the Great Mission Journey)

* The first mission journey (Act 13:4 — 14:28)

Antioch — Cyprus — Asia Minor — Lystra — Attalia — Antioch

* The second mission journey (Act 15:40 — 18:22)

Antioch — Asia Minor — Aegean Sea — Europe — Philippi — Jerusalem — Antioch

* The third mission journey (Act 18:23 — 21:41)

Antioch — Asia Minor — Ephesus — Europe — Macedonia — Jerusalem

These mission journeys by Paul show us a good possibility for planning "present day pilgrimages". Some will go on pilgrimage to Ephesus, being captivated by the epistle of Paul the apostle to the Ephesians. Some will go to Philippi, and others to Thessalonica. A similar reason can drive one to Macau on pilgrimage. The possibilities for pilgrimage to

Macau will be dealt later.

(6) Pilgrimage; a travel to meet God

At the last stage of dealing with the concept of traveling in the Bible, the pilgrimage as a travel to meet God is being looked into. Abraham, in Genesis (12th Chapter), knowing nothing about the destination, started on his journey only to obey God's command. Israel's travel shown in Exodus is surely that of going to Canaan, the Promised Land, but it was a travel to discover God as well. It was a travel for Israel to gain faith and to discover God through experiencing many hardships and disasters. We can see our own situation when we see that unfaithful Israel often lost the way to God during the hardships of their 40 years' wandering and fell into idol worship. For a faithful person pilgrimage to discover God, or again to find God, or somehow to experience God, the Father, and God, the Holy Spirit is very meaningful and something like a necessity. If one understands what the sin against Christian faith is, pilgrimage as observed by Christians in such a case will be a "pilgrimage for redemption," just as it was in the Middle Ages in Europe.

2. Religious aspect of pilgrimage

Pilgrimage is fundamentally a religious action of human beings which has existed in many kinds of religion, with a timeless quality, in every stage of history. Pilgrimage is an action of leaving one's own daily trifles and entering into a dimension free from time and space. One could meet not only the saint one respects, but also his age, and circumstances, so to speak in one's soul, which form the root of the pilgrimage.

It is true that a pilgrimage once had a meaning of redemption in the human history. Instead of imprisonment a prisoner made a pilgrimage and at the place of destination he or she engaged in labor to complete his or her restitution. This old custom has given pilgrimage the meaning of a journey seeking for forgiveness of one's sins. But in the present-day pilgrimage rather has the symbolic meaning of training or ascetic practice for freedom of soul. It has added a meaning of experience of sanctification by standing in a holy land.

In Japan the word 'pilgrimage' has its origin in a Buddhist book written in about 800 A.D. In Europe, from Latin 'peregrinatio' English has 'pilgrimage' and German 'Pilgerfahrt', from the original meaning of "a passer-by or an alien". The etymological meaning shows us that to go on pilgrimage originally is to go to a distant holyland. From this original meaning it would not be called 'pilgrimage' for a person to visit a nearby

church or a near holy place.

A pilgrim who walks along Xavier's Memorial Pilgrimage Route might experience the old days when Xavier himself walked along the same route, remembering the saint walked and prayed there. The experience differs from that of a sight-seeing tour. Even if the pilgrimage gives the pilgrim some hardship, he or she may review that the saint had similar hardship and might have joy in the copied and purified experience, as his or her mind travels over the events of the past.

During a pilgrimage pilgrims thank God and have delight in worship, and are given satisfaction by the pilgrimage itself. Tatsuya Moriyasu introduces the definition of pilgrimage proposed by Dupront, who analyses pilgrimage into four fundamental elements. Those are (1) motivation: leaving daily routines (2) process: pilgrimage route (3) purpose: meeting holy reality (4) festival and traditional practice. Certainly all the religious meanings of pilgrimage are found in these four elements.

3 . Pilgrimage and tourism

Last but not least, pilgrimage could be observed from a tourism aspect. In this case it would be important to understand that pilgrimage is a cultural heritage. The cultural heritage of Xavier's pilgrimage is that of 'Nan-ban-bunka', literally 'Southern barbarian's culture', which means 'Spanish and Portuguese culture introduced to Japan in the 16th century'. Xavier and the missionaries who followed him and came to Japan gave a great influence to Japanese culture. Daimyo Lord Shimadzu-Takahisa of Satsuma, Matsuura-Takanobu of Hirado, Nagasaki, and Otomo-Sorin of Fudai (present-day Oita) had a great interest in such a European culture which was carried into Japan by Portuguese trade ships. The 'Nan-ban culture' formed in Japan by Christian missionaries included medicine, literature, education, science, fine arts, publishing, etc. Oita prefecture has made brochures and is making an advertising campaign on these points.

Francis Xavier sent some detailed reports about Japan to Jesuits' headquarters during his stay there, which have been being preserved till today and are very important introduction of those day Japan from academic points of view, too. From a religious view point pilgrims for Francis Xavier are mainly Christian. But if it could be observed from the point of a cultural heritage, or sightseeing tour, the tourists who have some interest in the route are also many unspecified persons other than Christians. Just as any people could appreciate Christian art, one could travel through the places having some associations with Xavier as a

place of cultural heritages. Pilgrimage in this case changes the nature into a tour seeking for intellectual interests.

Xavier was the apostolic herald of the Japan mission, and many missionaries closely followed him. Among them there were two important in joining Japan to Macau.

Alessandro Valignano made his preparations for his mission journey to Japan in Macau. His first landing in Japan was in 1579. This happened 30 years after Xavier had come to Japan. His second visit to Japan was in 1591. After he had returned to Europe with the Japanese boys' delegates to Rome, he dropped at Macau on his way back to Japan with the boys and was let know that Toyotomi-Hideyoshi had promulgated a law to drive foreign missionaries out of Japan. Then he came back to Japan with a title of Vice-king of India, successfully getting the allowance to enter Japan. His third visit was in 1598, when one year later Japanese political power was moved from Hideyoshi to Tokugawa-Ieyasu because of Hideyoshi's death. Valignano devoted himself to the propagation of Christianity in Japan till in 1603, and returned to Macau to write "The History of Japan". After the first volume of this work was completed, he died at his age of 67 in Macau in 1606.

Another important person is Joao Rodrigues, who was a historian, too. He came to Japan in 1577 when he was 18 years old. He was well versed in Japanese, Japanese literature, and philosophy. He taught Latin language at the seminary, worked as an interpreter for Valignano, and became an important mediator for Ieyasu and Portuguese. When he was expelled from Japan to Macau, he began writing "Christian Churches in Japan" in which we can find details about what was Japanese food, clothing and housing in those days, as well as detailed observation of the daily lives Japanese people led then. It is the finest, and most exhaustive study about those days in Japan. It is an excellent work of Japanese history.

These two missionaries stayed in Macau during the period of the Japanese isolation and anti-Christian policy, having completed big studies on Japan. That fact shows us not only the short geographical distance but the close cultural relationship between these two regions also. When these histories are reconfirmed, a new mutual future of Macau and Japan could be imagined successfully. Francis Xavier's Memorial Pilgrimage would feature in this historical background.

Francis Xavier's Footprint (Kadota)

1 . From Navarra to Kagoshima

One biography of Francis Xavier is a comprehensive work by Georg Schurhammer titled *Franz Xaver: Sein Leben und Sein Zeit* (*Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*). A Japanese biography written by Suminori Kono will be also referred to. Differences between texts will be also considered.

Francis Xavier was born at the Xavier Castle in the Kingdom of Navara on 7 April 1506.

In the summer of 1525, when he was 19 years old, he went to Paris to study at the University of Paris. There he entered St. Barbara Institute and studied first Latin then philosophy. In 1530 he received qualifications to be a teacher of philosophy and started his lectures on Aristotle. On the other hand he began to have the hope to be a high ranking churchman. But after he was converted under the influence of Ignatius of Loyola, he joined the group which later would be the Association of Jesuits in 1534. Seven members gathered in a small chapel at the foot of the hill of Montmartre, and made a vow to observe poverty, chastity, and to make pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

In 1536 Xavier began to study theology at Sorbonne Institute of the University of Paris and the first step of the career to be a high ranking churchman really started, but his wish to work with those seven sworn friends was stronger. Thus in 1537 when he was ordained as a priest, he and his friends organized the Association of Jesuits and devoted themselves to charitable activities. It was an age of the reformation of the Christian church which through the 1,000 years of the Middle Ages of aristocracy had become a gigantic bureaucratic system far from the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The Protestant churches had broken away from the Roman Church to realize their reformation, while the Jesuits were a group dedicated to reformation within the Roman Church. They so strictly prohibited the desire for power and luxury, that some first considered their movement heretic, but gradually understanding of their movement spread in the Roman Catholic Church.

The King of Portugal had been a good supporter of the Jesuits and asked Ignatius of Loyola to send one of the Jesuits to Goa, a Portuguese colony in India. One Jesuit was decided upon, but because of his sudden illness Xavier was sent instead. Xavier left Lisboa in April, 1541, propagating Christianity on his way, and arrived at Goa in May, the following year. On his arrival he began performing religious duties for the Portugese, spreading Christianity to the native people living in surrounding countries. On one such

journey he met Anjiro, a Japanese from Kagoshima, at Malacca 7th December 1547.

It is thought that Anjiro was a samurai and oversea trader in Kagoshima. But nothing more is exactly known about him. His baptized name was Paul of the Holy Faith (Paulo de Santa Fe) but some Japanese historians have an opinion that his Japanese name was Yajiro. (The problem of his name won't be dealt with here.)

Anjiro killed a person for some reason and planned to escape to a foreign land with his two attendants. The captain of the ship he boarded was a friend of Xavier's. He advised Anjiro to see Xavier to confess and to have forgiveness from God. Anjiro accepted his advice and saw Xavier in Malacca.

Xavier had had some knowledge about Japan before he met Anjiro, but got further very detailed information from this Japanese. As Anjiro was a learned person who had some ability at speaking Portuguese, Xavier expected to get a good result if he would go to Japan to propagate Christianity. Anjiro and his two attendants were baptized at Goa. Xavier had Anjiro study about Christian religion in the seminary of Goa for the propagation in Japan.

2. In Kagoshima

Xavier landed in Kagoshima on 15 August 1549, the feast of the Assumption and the fifteenth anniversary of his vows at Montmartre small chapel. There are several opinions about the Xavier's first footprinting place in presentday Kagoshima prefecture; Nishinoomote, Yamagawa, and Onejime, etc. But all are merely circumstantial without any evidence of actual historical materials. As Xavier himself says in his letter, "...not calling at any other place in Japan, we came to Kagoshima, the home of Paul of the Holy Faith," the majority take the opinion of Xavier's direct arrival at Kagoshima.

In the 16th century the place named Kagoshima was limited to rather a narrow area of the northeast part of presentday Kagoshima City. The landing point is not strictly decided on today, but imagined to be Tobashira Port at the mouth of the Inari River.

On 29 September, the day of Michaelmas, Xavier met Daimyo Lord Shimadzu-Takahisa and was allowed to propagate Christianity in his territory. About the meeting place there are two opinions running parallel, Ijuin or Kokubu, because Xavier himself did not give any place-name except the mere distance from Kagoshima to that meeting place.

In the 16th century the area now called Kagoshima Prefecture was named Satsuma. As the central government of Japan had no power to reign, tribes and clans repeated battles

all over the land. Shimadzu-Takahisa who had conquered the north Satsuma area was fighting battles at Kajiki which is located next door north of today's Kagoshima City. Takahisa's main castle stood at Ijyuuin, 20 kilometres west of Kagoshima, but some scholars believe that Takahisa stayed at the fort of Kokubu, just northeast of Kajiki to command troops in battle. There is no strict evidence where Takahisa was on 29 September 1549, but the scholars make a conclusion that the battle situation was forcing him to stay at the Kiyomizu fort of Kokubu. On the other hand Anjiro met Takahisa to make an appointment for Xavier. Xavier says in his letter that when Anjiro was presented by Takahisa, he met his mother also, and that she was quite impressed by a picture of Holy Mother. This fact suggests us that in the days of battling every now and then Takahisa returned to his home castle. Anjiro met him there in Ijuin, it was very likely for Xavier met Takahisa at the same place. Moreover as Kajiki is located at the middle point of Kagoshima and Kokubu, Xavier should go to Kokubu by sea under the danger of enemy attack. It is possible but not easy for Takahisa chose the battle place to see some guests, too.

Another place we know where Xavier surely visited is the Fort Tsurumaru in Higashi-ichiki, where he baptized about fifteen people among whom was the principal retainer.

After about one year stay in Satsuma Xavier left Kagoshima in August 1550 for Kyoto ie. Miyako or the capital of Japan in those day, via Hirado, one of the biggest ports on Kyushu Island for overseas trading. He eagerly wanted to be presented to the Tenno Emperor, and given permission to propagate Christianity all over Japan.

From which port he left Satsuma is unknown. Some say Kagoshima, and others say Sendai. Without evidence it is difficult to decide where. From the viewpoint of carrying luggage it is easiest to get on a ship at Kagoshima. But it takes time to sail out of the Kagoshima Bay, first going to south for about fifty kilometres. Another possible route is to go to Kyodomari Port of Sendai, saying goodbye to Daimyo Lord Shimadzu at Ijyuuin, and visiting Christians in Higashi-ichiki, then coming to Sendai. From Higashi-ichiki to Sendai, one possibly used a small boat to go to Kyodomari Port to get on a bigger ship to go north.

As a pilgrimage route could be decided symbolically, the present route is going through Kagoshima → Ijyuuin → Higashi-ichiki → Sendai → Kyodomari Port. Especially Sendai is commemorated by the martyrdom of Leon Hichiemon and Kyodomari is a memorial place because of a historic relics of old days churchyard. Pilgrims already began walking time to time.

3 . From Kagoshima to Kyoto, then Kyoto to Goa

Leaving Kagoshima, Xavier stayed at Hirado, Nagasaki for a short time and got a permission of propagation of Christianity from Daimyo Lord Matsuura-Takanobu. In October he left Hirado for Miyako(Kyoto), the capital of Japan, then went back to the west Japan via Sakai, Osaka. Which route Xavier took is researched by Mr. Katsuyuki Takahashi, who presented his very detailed and reliable paper at the Academic Association of Kirishitan (early day Christians in Japn) Studies.

Having left Hirado Xavier went to Hakata, Fukuoka, by sea, then to Kurosaki by land, crossed the Kammon Strait, and arrived at Yamaguchi in November. He stayed there for about one month, met Daimyo Lord Ouchi-Yoshitaka. In December he reached the Seto Inland Sea, got on a ship for Sakai. About the port where he got on the ship the conclusion has not been made; Iwakuni or Yanai, etc. would be possible.

In Sakai he stayed with Hibiya-Ryokei, one of richest traders and first Christians in Sakai. Ryokei introduced Xavier to a nobleman from Kyoto, asked him to add Xavier among his attendants, when they were returning to Kyoto. Xavier arrived at Kyoto in the early 1551.

The starting place from Sakai to Kyoto was Ryokei's residence, where now Xavier Park, Sakai, has been built. After leaving here he went east to the East Koya Road, along which he went north to Kyoto. In Kyoto it is supposed that he stayed a house which had some relation with Ryokei and was located in Sakaimachi-town where traders from Sakai gathered.

From Sakai to East Koya Road there were three possible ways to go. Mr. Takahashi's conclusion is that the Yao Road, which many missionary successors of Francis Xaviers likely went along when they went to Kyoto from Sakai, has the biggest possibility of being the road he took.

In Kyoto he wanted to be received in audience by the Emperor, but in those days Kyoto was in a ruinous condition and the Tenno had no actual political power. Moreover as Xavier was poor-looking and presented no offering, he was turned away at the door.

Not being disappointed Xavier tried another plan: to see Buddhist priests and scholars of Enryakuji Temple, Mt. Hiei, where he had heard there was a famous Buddhism college. He went to Sakamoto at the foot of Mt. Hiei to enter the territory of the temple, but failed for the same reason as when he went to see the emperor. After he had made all this effort in vain, he left the capital.

On his return travels he probably used a ship on the Yodo River from Toba to Osaka, then walked back to Sakai, then continued his travels to Hirado by ship on the Inland Sea. He arrived at Hirado in March. As he did not want to repeat the same failure as in Kyoto, he dressed up properly and prepared offerings and a letter of credit from the Governor of Goa and met the Daimyo Lord of Yamaguchi. He enjoyed a great success this time. After four months stay in Yamaguchi he received an invitation from Otomo-Yoshishige, Daimyo Lord of Fudai, Oita, because a Portugese ship came to the port and the Daimyo wanted Xavier's help. He accepted the invitation, visited there, and had another success at propagation of the Catholic faith.

After these series of successes he left Fudai for Goa. On his way back there he landed at Nishino-omote, Tanegashima. This is a conclusion of Rev. Diego Pacheco's historical investigation "Xavier and Tanegashima" ("Monumenta Nipponica" Volume XXIX, Number 4, Sophia University).

4. Xavier's death

Xavier's experiences in Japan let him know Japanese culture had been greatly influenced by Chinese culture. Therefore he felt he should first propagate Christianity in China to Christianize Asia. When he returned to Goa in February 1552, he managed all his duties as head of the churches of Goa as soon as possible. Then he left Goa for China, landing at Sancian Island near the main land China at the end of August. He waited for a chance to enter China, but fell fatally ill in November and died on 3 December at the age of 46.

Plans of the Memorial Pilgrimage Route (Nanaeda)

1. Practical pilgrimage to trace St. Francis Xavier

Here is an example of a pilgrimage from Kagoshima to Navarra & Paris.

- | | |
|-------|--|
| Day 1 | Leave Kagoshima to Hongkong by plane. Then transfer to Macau by Jetfoil.
Visit to St. Joseph Seminary, Facado of St. Paul cathedral & St. Xavier church.
*Overnight at Macau |
| Day 2 | Leave Macau for Sanchuan island passing border by coach.
Visit to St. Xavier church and his graveyard.
*Overnight at Sanchuan Island |

- Day 3 Leave Sanchuan island for Hongkong or Macau
Fly from Hongkong airport or Macau airport to Rome.
*Overnight on board
- Day 4 Arriving Rome in the morning then city pilgrimage of Rome including St. Pietro Basilica, St. Joseph church & Gesu church.
*Overnight in Rome
- Day 5 Full day to enjoy Roman holiday
*Overnight in Rome
- Day 6 Leave Rome for Assisi by coach
Visit to St. Francis' s church
*Overnight in Assisi
- Day 7 Leave Assisi for Venezia
Visit to St. Marco' s basilica and St. Marco' s marble plaza.
*Overnight in Venezia
- Day 8 Leave Venezia for Lisboa by way of Milano by air.
*Overnight in Lisboa
- Day 9 Full day city tour of Lisboa including St. Roque church, Geronimos seminary and the statue of navigation.
*Overnight in Lisboa
- Day 10 Leave Lisboa for Coimbra by coach, stopping at Fatima.
Visit New Cathedral and university of Coimbra.
In the evening catch train for St. Sebastian.
*Overnight on board
- Day 11 Arriving St. Sebastian proceed to the city tour of Pamplona then transfer to Xavier village, Xavier Castle & municipal Xavier Museum.
*Overnight in Xavier Village
- Day 12 Leave Xavier Village by coach for famous Lourdes.
*Overnight in Lourdes
- Day 13 Fly Lourdes to Paris.
City pilgrimage of Paris including St. Denis chapel, Montmartre chapel.
*Overnight in Paris
- Day 14 City pilgrimage of St. Barbre, Quarter Latin & St. Xavier church.
Afternoon free at leisure.
*Overnight in Paris
- Day 15 Leave Paris then fly back to Japan

Originally this itinerary should start from Xavier castle in Navarra then go to Paris, Rome, Lisbon and Indian, Goa. in the order Xavier actually visited. If we should follow this tour plan's actual route it would be rather expensive and unreasonable. This tour starts from Kagoshima and earned the Gold prize from Cathay Pacific airways; Japan district in 1991¹.

The tour first visits Macau. There you will find old churches, and the ruin of St. Paul & St. John's seminary, which are related to Japanese Martyrs in the 17th century. These contain pictures of Japanese martyrs & missionaries who escaped from Japan. Everyone acknowledges that Macau is an important pilgrimage spot in Asia. From Macau, we drive 5 hours and sail to Sanchuan Island in Taizan county, mainland China. Sanchuan Island is the highlight of St. Xavier's pilgrimage. He passed away there on December 03, 1552, looking out over the mountains of China he was eager to reach.

We recollect with regret the failed attempt to establish a mission in China.

Flying from Hongkong or Macau to Rome and staying in Rome for 2 days to visit St. Pietro Basilica in Vatican. St. Pietro became a priest in Rome when he was 31 years old. In Gesu church you can see the right arm of St. Xavier's body which was brought from Goa, India. By tracing the saint's footprints, air, light & atmosphere, pilgrims deepen their respect for him. This is the most fulfilling time of the pilgrimage.

From Rome, going up to the north, we arrive at the town of Assisi. Assisi is the town where St. Francis (Not Xavier) was born and dedicated his whole life to God. He swore honest poverty, obedience & chastity. St. Francis (having the same name as Xavier) is for well known saint in Italy. The father of St. Xavier might have named his son after the Italian saint wishing a disciplined life for him. In Assisi you may be touched by the respective value and faith of St. Francis.

The tour proceeds up to the town of Bologna. Bologna is one of the oldest European Universities of Law. Xavier's father studied there and he brought a lot of information about Italy to Navarra.

After Italy we travel to Lisbon in Portugal. Lisbon is the last place St. Xavier left Europe from. Xavier abandoned the ordinary life here and embarked on a noble mission with determination, challenging the undiscovered world. In the north of Lisbon is the old university town of Coimbra. This university was formerly established by the Jesuit, society of Jesus. One of the Jesuit's dreams came true.

¹ Cathay Pacific's News release, February 1991.

In Navarra we can't miss visiting Xavier's family castle. You may recall the young Francis was running through the green fields. When we see how prosperous his family was we question why Xavier abandoned his prosperity and his chosen way of life touches us.

Finally, in Paris you may visit the Sorbonne, the University of Paris. The Sorbonne is one of the well known universities teaching theology. Xavier's father studied law and became a high ranking officer. Against his father's will St. Xavier chose to study theology and dedicated himself to God. We can see that the family was very studious. In this city again you can see St. Xavier's church; St. Xavier being an international saint.

2 . Hints to plan the pilgrimage tour

Be conscious about the fatigue of the long journey. Without being refreshed from the day's fatigue travelers cannot be sensitive to new destinations. Loss of appetite makes people feel bad and tend to complain and disappoint the other. Japanese travelers, mostly elders or priests, who take time to recover from the day's fatigue, are the main pilgrims who trace the respected saints' paths. Pilgrims are often busy traveling every day. It is best to complete the tour approximately within 2 weeks and stay 2 days in each place. We should include time to relax during the tour.

3 . End the tour in a modern city

When we visited Sanchuan Tao in China, the accommodation, roads and tourist facilities are much poorer than in European countries.

Local transport causes delay and missed connection.

In the beginning of the tour we should visit enterprising countries then visit modernized countries at the end. When people are still full of energy, they can handle poor facilities and visiting modernized cities later leave a better impression.

With regard to the route it will start in Italy, then continue onto Portugal, Spain & France. We should visit the more prosperous, cities.

The nation's prosperity shows glorious and outstanding architecture and technology of that time. By following this path travelers will continuously find each city leaving a greater impression.

4 . To make it economical

Be conscious about making the tour economical. Offering the tour reasonably gives more people a chance to join. The tour price is largely consisting of accommodation and air fares. With regard to hotels, we would like to stay in hotels with a long history, hotels related to the pilgrimage or downtown. Travelers need free time during the tour. Convenient location provides a chance for walks and having leisure time offers a good impressions of the town.

The Future Connection of Kagoshima and Macau : Their Prospective Pilgrimage Route (Kadota)

As is said in the preceeding chapter, Xavier's Pilgrimage Route from Kagoshima to Sancier via Macau has been already a reality, because Kagoshima is Xavier's first landing place in Japan; in Macau a part of his left arm is being kept; Sancier is the place of his death. From the sight-seeing point of view, there is no doubt about the pilgrimage value of this route, and pilgrims are actually visiting these places from Japan. Future problems are advertising campaigns to encourage prospective pilgrims, and endeavours to increase the pilgrimage value of this route by making the roads and hotels, etc., good in order to make the pilgrimage more attractive.

One of the characteristics of Xavier's Pilgrimage Route is its global feature. In the future this world wide route from its starting point in Navarre to the terminal point of Sancier should be firmly established as one of the world's cultural heritages. Navarre has its old castle where Xavier was born; Paris its small chapel Montmartre where the Jesuits started; Rome the Jesuits' chapel where Xavier's right arm is kept; Goa, Xavier's body; Malacca, the Holy Mother Church where Xavier met Anjiro and decided to go to Japan; Kagoshima, where Xavier became friends with Ninjitsu, head priest of Fukushoji Buddhism Temple; Macau, where his left arm is kept; Sancier, the place of his death. Each place will be an excellent meaningful pilgrimage station. The establishment of the route means the establishment of the stations. The pilgrimage church in each station could be appointed. Some annual events commemorating Xavier in each station could firmly hold the value of this route.

When limiting the problem to Japan, the Xavier route starting from Kagoshima, going to Kyoto via Hirado and Yamaguchi, returning to Tanegashima via Yamaguchi and Oita is

being developed. And the route could be easily connected with the Macau-Sancian Xavier Route.

We have been dealing with "The Francis Xavier Memorial Pilgrimage Route Joining Japan to Macau" or "The Francis Xavier Memorial Pilgrimage Route through Kagoshima and Macau". Now on this last stage of this paper we are dealing with another prospective pilgrimage route combining Japan and Macau. This route is one for commemorating old persecution days' Japanese Christians and their strong faith

As it was said, after Francis Xavier left Japan for Goa in 1551, many missionaries came to Japan and endeavored to propagate Christianity, the Japanese Christian population rapidly increased especially in the west of Japan. The number of believers was more than 100,000 and of churches was 200. On Kyushu Island, the Daimyo Lords Otomo-Sorin, Omura-Yoshitada, and Arima-Harunobu themselves became Christian. Their foreign trade flourished, European culture was introduced, and so-called Namban Bunka, or imported European culture, gradually settled in and mixed with Japanese culture.

Oda-Nobunaga steadily went on with his work of uniting the whole country, using newly introduced strategy associated with guns, the epoch-making weapon. He supported the Christian church because of his policy to weaken the power of Buddhist temples which kept strong military power in those days and which often troubled Nobunaga. This policy of Nobunaga's, as it turned out, strengthened Christian church and it grew bigger.

But when Nobunaga was killed by Akechi-Mitsuhide in an uprising at Honnoji Temple, Toyotomi-Hideyoshi, a successor of Nobunaga, completed the work of uniting the country. But knowing the Christian church possessed an estate in Nagasaki, he felt a suspicion that missionaries intended to rule over Japan, and so he issued a proclamation to deport missionaries in 1587. In 1596 twenty-six Christians including concealed missionaries were arrested for violation of the proclamation, sent to Nagasaki on foot, and executed. It happened on 5 February 1597 and they were the first Christian martyrs in Japan.

After rather the short rule of Hideyoshi, Tokugawa-Ieyasu was appointed Shogun to rule Japan. Ieyasu, in the early stage of his Shogunate government, gave his silent approval to the Christian church to promote foreign trade. But he gradually became so afraid the flourishing of the church would lead to the aggression on Japan by European powers, that in 1612 he issued a prohibition proclamation against Christian religion. As time went by the prohibition policy turned more and more strict, till the Tokugawa government carried out the prohibition of Christian religion and the closing of the country policy against all

European countries except Holland.

Under such circumstances in Kyushu some Christians concealed themselves on isolated islands, some, the descendants of Daimyo Lord Konishi-Yukinaga and his attendants, went farther south to Satsuma (Kagoshima). They built a small village of Christians on the Eguchihama seashore of Higashi-ichiki where once Xavier baptized more than 10 Japanese, and some left Japan as refugees with missionaries for the far foreign lands of Macau and Manila.

Today there is a pilgrimage route called the "Road to Nagasaki" which starts from Kyoto and terminates at Nishizaka Hill, Nagasaki. It commemorates the 26 Martyrs who were executed at the hill and every year many pilgrims go on a pilgrimage, especially on 5 February, the day of the martyrdom. The office of the headquarters of this "Road to Nagasaki" has its address at Kokubunji, Kita-ku, Osaka-shi with the addressee Mr. Shuji Honda. The office has made up the pilgrimage route maps of all the 1,000 kilometre way from Kyoto to Nishizaka. A periodical "Nagasaki eno Michi (The Road to Nagasaki)" is distributed every now and then to the members.

On the other hand the ashes of 59 Japanese Christian martyrs have been kept at Macau, of which five were brought back to Japan recently. Since then mutual visiting between Japan and Macau has been busier than before since then. This shows us there is some possibility to lengthen the "Road to Nagasaki" to Macau, along with paralleling Xavier's Memorial Route.

Among the ashes there are the remains of one Jacobo Konishi-Chuujiro, who surely is one of the Konishi clan in Eguchihama, Kagoshima. This fact that Xavier's Route from Kagoshima to Macao also has the parallel pilgrimage road of the Martyr's Route gives double value to this pilgrimage route.

In 1868 the Meiji Government united the whole country, when the modernized Japan started, but the prohibition against Christian religion still remained unchanged. In 1889 the new Japanese government arrested 3,400 Japanese Christians and exiled them from their homes to another places all over Japan. A group of them were sent to Kagoshima, and imprisoned in the ruined Fukushoji Temple, where once Xavier had made friends with the Buddhist head priest and made philosophical discussion. Some fifty Christian prisoners died there and on the backside hill there is their narrow cemetery. Mere small stones scattered here and there on which is written somebody's name or only a Christian cross mark show it is a cemetery. It was in 1873 when the prohibition was removed and Japanese got liberty of conscience. The pilgrimage route reminds us of these histories.

This paper has dealt with the general theory on pilgrimage and tourism, Francis Xavier's history, an actual itinerary of Xavier's pilgrimage through Kagoshima and Macau, and a future prospect of the pilgrimage route joining Kagoshima to Macau. We hope more and more pilgrims will walk along and make this route firm reality, and this will further strengthen the friendship between Macau and Japan.

THE END

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