

Chapter 2

COMMUNITY

IN THE LAST years of Europe's sixteenth century, evangelized Koreans began to form a specific cohort in Japan. The distinctive features of this group were of interest to Christian writers, both from the Society of Jesus and from the mendicant orders that began a more fully fledged mission campaign in Japan after 1600. The mission strategies of these orders varied considerably, including in terms of whom they targeted, leading to some distinctions in their reports about Koreans; but, on the whole, whether from their vantage points in Japan or as observers and collectors of circulating information from nodes in Macao and Manila, the Christian archive broadly discerned and made differences in the spiritual experiences of Korean women and men. These works underlined particular understandings of evangelized Korean masculinities and femininities, which shaped the way writers assumed and described participation and contributions of Korean women and men to Christian practice, and how they could further mission activities. The Christian archive revealed some of the potential meanings of Korean identity and of Korean networks in Japan as well as community members' complicated notions of, and desire for, belonging that they negotiated with the Christian orders. Moreover, it revealed the perceived importance and power of the gendered body, as the site of affective expression, for interpreting Korean spiritual experience.

Becoming Christian: Gender, the Body, and Affectivity

In implicit contrast to the warrior barbarianism that characterized the way Koreans (more specifically, Korean men) had been described before the Japanese invasions, subsequently, Catholic authors repeatedly emphasized contrasting characteristics of the Korean people whom they encountered outside the kingdom. In 1627, the Spanish Jesuit Pedro Morejón praised Koreans as "gentle, docile, and naturally beautiful."¹ As they came increasingly into contact with captive Koreans, Jesuit writers revised and refined their impressions of the characteristics of people from the Joseon kingdom and the distinctive forms of masculinities and femininities that they perceived to be performed by them. These displays of gender-distinct behaviours were often related to faith-oriented affective expressions.² Such gendered expressions that Society men saw in Korean women and men formed part of their narratives of how Koreans were engaged by Christian teachings and practised their faith. They also shaped the archive of knowledge circulating among Jesuits about how the Joseon kingdom might one day be approached with a dedicated mission.

1 Macao, May 31, 1627, BRAH MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462r: "blandos, dociles y de lindos naturales."

2 For recent analysis of emotions in Jesuit practice, see Haskell and Garrod, eds, *Changing Hearts*.

Reports about evangelized Koreans emphasized their fervour and devotion to their new faith. As early as 1594, when the first invasion had already removed many women and men from the Joseon kingdom to Japan, Francesco Pasio, Superior of the Jesuit residence at Sakai, was able to report his impressions of these people “of great natural intelligence and capacity for our holy faith,” as well as those of the attending Japanese brothers who were “amazed to see what good understanding they have,” “saying that Koreans are in no way inferior to the Japanese when it comes to receiving our holy faith.”³ Such reports were perhaps unsurprising since Jesuit authors were enthusiastic about these opportunities for evangelization, but they had a particular resonance in a context in which violence profoundly shaped the encounter of Koreans with Christianity in Japan. Luís Fróis, ever optimistic, wrote encouragingly to the General of the Order, Claudio Acquaviva, of his initial impressions of Koreans: “people of good understanding and sincerity, and they give signs of being in no way inferior to the Japanese.”⁴ Indeed, he continued with his conviction from “clear experience that they are people very well disposed to receive our holy faith. They are very affectionate, are baptized with joy and no less consolation to see themselves Christians.”⁵ In his history of the mission work in the region, especially in the Philippines where most of his own activities were concentrated, the Dominican friar Diego Aduarte opined that the Joseon character “shares with Japan some of the courage without the ferocity, with which they remain in a more praiseworthy middle ground, much more accommodated to receive and await our Holy Law.”⁶ How Aduarte formed his opinion is less clear. He may have met captive Koreans in the Philippines, but it is also possible that his information came from one of the foremost biographers of Christians in Japan, the Jesuit and fellow Spaniard Pedro Morejón, who also spent time in Manila.

Notably, Christian authors emphasized qualities such as sincerity among Koreans’ praiseworthy characteristics. Koreans were, Aduarte thought, “people of a very good nature, very plain, without duplicity or deceit.”⁷ Such claims for their character as

3 1594, ARSI, JapSin 45, fol. 196r: “grande numero de corayes losquales fueron captivados de los Japones es esta guerra que con ellos tienen, y por que son naturalmente de buen ingenio, y capacidade para las cosas de *nuestra santa fee*,” “admirados de uere quan buen entendimiento tienen,” “diciendo que en nada son inferiores los corays a los japones quanto es para recibir *nuestra santa fee*.”

4 December 3, 1596, ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 203v: “tiene esta gente buen entendimiento a con paria do con simplicidad y dan tales muestra deses que nada parecenser inferiores a los Japones.”

5 ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 203v: “esperiencia clara que es gente muy dispuesta por recibir *nossa Santa fee*. Son muy amorosos, bautizarze con alegria y no menos consolacão de uerse Cristianos.”

6 Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:470–71: “del Iapon participan algo del valor sin la ferocidad, con que quedan en vna mediania mas loable, y mucho mas acomodada para recibir, y aguardar *nuestra Ley Santa*.” An analysis of the Dominicans in Japan is provided by Boxer, “The Dominican Mission in Japan.”

7 Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:470: “cuya gento es de muy buen natural, muy llana, sin doblez ni engaños.”

well as the visible display of pious qualities were important for missionizing men interacting with a group with whom they had only partial linguistic access, via Chinese scripts and those Koreans who had learned some Japanese. Fróis perhaps hoped to head off such concerns by insisting that “most of them pick up the language of Japan so easily that almost none need to confess through an interpreter.”⁸ The Jesuits also sought to demonstrate the full commitment and understanding of Joseon people to Christianity by reading their bodies.⁹ Actions would form a significant mechanism through which Koreans’ spiritual lives and commitment could be demonstrated, in the eyes of Jesuit writers. Some authors emphasized Koreans’ embrace of Christian practices and rituals. Fernão Guerreiro, for example, related the last words of a dying Korean woman in his expansive five-volume account of global Jesuit missions, whom he described as “very weak in her body but strong in spirit.” Guerreiro’s narrative cited the woman’s words, which highlighted her faith in terms of her knowledge of Christian devotional practice to the attending priest seeking to confess her: “I, Father, am called Ursula, and since I am a Christian of just a few years, and of this age which you see, I was over fifty years, yet I know the prayers, and by the grace of God I was baptized [...] every day I pray the rosary many times.”¹⁰ João Rodrigues Giram’s account of Vicente, on the other hand, emphasized that he was “much given to penance and mortification, seeking these out in many ways.”¹¹ Bernardino de Ávila Girón was a Spanish merchant who was eye-witness to missionary endeavours during the more than twenty years he spent in Japan. His *Relación del reyno del Nippon al que llaman corruptamente Jappon*, providing important documentation about missionaries’ activities, became part of the Jesuit and other Christian archives.¹² He described how a Korean man known as Hachikan Joaquin “lived with such devotion and good conduct that he seemed more like a Christian of long standing than one baptized four days ago. He came to church often, heard mass with great devotion, gave his alms, and visited the Fathers.”¹³ The annual letter of 1610 composed by Giram offered compelling evidence of just such devotion, recording that in Nagasaki

8 December 3, 1596, ARSI, JapSin 52, fol. 203v: “la mayor parte dellos toma la lengua de Japão con tanta facilidad que quasi ninguns tiene neccessidad de fe confessar per interprete.”

9 Also noted by Wong, “Jesuits, Korean Catholics, and the State,” 59.

10 Guerreiro, *Relação anual*, 3:157: “muito fraca no corpo, mas forte no espírito [...] ‘Eu, padre, me chamo Úrsula; e, pôsto-que sou cristã de poucos anos e desta idade, que vedes, que passava já de cinqüenta anos, sei todavia as orações, e pela graça de Deus estou como me baptizei; [...] cada dia rezo muitas vezes o rosário.’”

11 Macao, March 24, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 122v: “muito dado apenitencia e mortificação procurando por muitos modos.”

12 On Girón, see the recent analysis by Martín Santo, “‘Cosas de tierras extrañas.’”

13 Nagasaki, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 198v: “procedia en su vida con tanta deuocion, y edificacion que mas parecia un antiquisimo *christano* que hombre baptizado de quatro dias acudia a la Iglesia muy a menudo oya sus missas con *grande* deuocion daua sus limosnas visitava los padres.”

there are many Christians Korean by birth in this city, who, with fervour and devotion, decided to have their own particular church and in it their confraternity. [...] Its dedication was celebrated with solemnity, by themselves and the Japanese, coming all day to visit this chapel, greatly edified by the piety and devotion of the Korean Christians and their concord and unity for salvation, not held back by their great poverty, but purely for the service of God our Lord and his saint [Lawrence, to whom the church was dedicated], and for the spiritual good of their souls, plan such a holy work and so much beyond their resources.¹⁴

In these sources, the physical reality of the Saint Lawrence church in Nagasaki seemed to provide a sign of evangelized Koreans' meaningful engagement with Christianity. It may also have hinted at a need within that cohort for their own dedicated Christian space and community that was not sufficiently catered to within those existing ones that had established for Japanese or European groups and activities. Several years later, in 1617, the Italian Jesuit Francesco Eugenio addressed the General, observing that even the Japanese "confess that the Koreans surpass them in devotion." This was not only the view of the Japanese. Writing from Nagasaki, he made his own comparisons between cultural communities, "here, where we have many Christians, both Chinese and Korean, the Koreans in devotion and ability, are as much superior as gold is to silver."¹⁵

The Jesuit archive associated becoming Christian with control of the body and heterosexual expression for evangelized Korean of both sexes. This took the form of renunciation of marital sexual activity in the biographies of evangelized Korean men, and accounts of women frequently emphasized their chaste or virginal status. Procurator Carlo Spinola noted that Miguel, who married in Japan, slept separately from his wife, at his request.¹⁶ Marina's biographer, Francisco Colín, reported that at her death in 1636, Marina died as she had lived, a "blessed Virgin."¹⁷ For Julia, the protection of her chastity was a reason, Morejón recorded, why she had fled to a *Kirishitan* household, and it remained a feature of her Christian practice worthy of particular note in the many accounts of her activities.

¹⁴ ARSI, JapSin 57, fols. 5v–6r: "ha nesta Cidade muitos christãos Coreas de naçam, os quaes entrado em feruor e deuaçam determinarão de ter sua propria e particular Igreja e nella sua confraria. [...] Celebrouse sua dedicacão com solennidade e concurso assi delles como dos Japoens, *que* por todo aquelle dia concorreram em grande numero a uisitar adita capella edificados grandemente dapiedade e deuação dos christãos Coreas, e de sua unison e concordia pera as cousas da saluação, os quaes sem respertar a sua muita pobreza mais que puramente ao serviço, *que* nesto Japiam a Deos.N. *Senhor* e a seu santo, e tambem as proueito espirital de suas almas intentauam tam santa obra e tanto sobre suas forças." Schütte, Joseph. "Nagasaki no sōritsu to hatten ni okeru Iezusu no 'konpania'." 長崎の創立と発展におけるイエズスの「コンパニア」 [The Jesuit company in the founding and development of Nagasaki], 31.

¹⁵ Nagasaki, December 12, 1617, ARSI, JapSin 17, fol. 112r: "confessano, che li Coraijini gli leuano uantaggio nella divotione," "visso che qui, dove ci sono molto Chini, e Coraijini *Christian*: li coraijini nella divotione, e capacità gli tengono tanto uantaggio, quanto sormonta l'oro all'argento."

¹⁶ Nagasaki, March 18, 1615, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 76r–v.

¹⁷ Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:503: "dichosa Virgen"

Affect too was a key tool for Jesuit interpretation of Korean Christian experience. Christian writers' reports about the character of evangelized Koreans distinguished specific qualities that they perceived to be displayed by male and female members of the Christian community. A distinctive form of Korean masculinity emerged from Jesuit authors' pens, one that was characterized by modesty, docility, humility, and even by beauty. Morejón depicted Vicente as "a virtuous young man of good grace and qualities," "like an angel."²¹ In later life, he infantilized Vicente as "always a virtuous, humble and hard-working youth," despite the fact that Vicente spent over thirty years as an adult working for the Society and died in his forties.²² João Rodrigues Giram's account of Vicente emphasized that he was "very humble and devout, and above all patient."²³ Of the convert and captive, Miguel, Spinola emphasized that "he behaved

23 Macao, March 24, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 122v: “era muito humilde e deuoto, e sobre modo paciente.”

with such modesty.”²⁴ Giram’s description of a Korean man known as Cosme, who had arrived in Japan as an eleven-year-old, praised his docility: “he never grumbled.”²⁵ These characteristics were not exclusively performed by evangelized Koreans but appeared to be racialized perceptions about the role that Jesuits believed that East Asian men could perform in Christian life. Hankan, baptized Léon, the Japanese companion of Céspedes during his time in Joseon, was similarly described as “always an example, humble and very poor.”²⁶ These characteristics, frequently associated with evangelized Korean men, were strikingly different to the descriptions of Korean warrior masculinity (or society, as it was claimed) that had previously been presented in the Jesuit archive.

Not only were Korean men described in terms of their virtues of modesty and humility, but their practice of faith was described as expressive, visible, and interpretable to their European eyewitnesses. Another convert, Manoel from Suruga, the son of Korean-born parents, was a young man living with auditory and verbal impairment. His religiosity could, however, be read by the Jesuits through non-verbal signs, including his acts of charity and his affective displays. João Rodrigues Giram described in 1617 to the General, Muzio Vitelleschi, how Manoel had received his baptism “with signs of joy and devotion.”²⁷ Precisely what these signs were on this occasion was not clear, but Manoel’s tears were to provide the Jesuits useful cues. As Christopher Wong has argued, “while they could not read the interior reaches of Manuel’s consciousness, the Jesuits saw Manuel’s tears as signs of that interior life.”²⁸ Giram, for example, wrote of how Manoel “spends a good deal of time in mental prayer, and especially when he is before the sacred images of the Ecce Homo or the Crucifixion he is often seen bathed in tears.”²⁹ What these tears actually indicated about Manoel’s understanding of Christianity, however, was not explicit. A compassionate engagement with his faith community was more obviously claimed, though, in Giram’s description of Manoel’s response to seeing fellow Christians who had been the subject of state violence, when he shed “many tears of compassion.”³⁰ Jesuit writers may have been at pains to dispel earlier, more negative, impressions about the hostility of Korean people, in order to emphasize the strong likelihood of success of a dedicated Korean mission. Yet they did not directly acknowledge the subordinated status of converts many of whom were captives in the land in which Jesuits now encountered

24 Nagasaki, March 18, 1615, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 76r: “sempre procedeo com tanto resguardo em sua vida, que era tido de todos por christão exemplar.”

25 Japan, January 10, 1620, Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 402v: “Suas práticas todas erão do ceo, e ja dantes fugia grandemente de murmurar.”

26 ARSI, JapsSin 46, fol. 327r-v: “sempre muito exemplar, humilde, e muito pobre.”

27 Macao, November 1617, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 401v: “com mostras de alegria e deuaçam.”

28 See the analysis within a theological and missionary perspective in Wong, “Jesuits, Korean Catholics, and the State,” 51–70, this case discussed on 62–63.

29 Macao, November 1617, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 403r: “Contam tambem deste Manoel que gasta bons pedaços de tempo em oraçam mental, e que especialmente, quando se poem diante das sagradas imagens do Eccehomo, ou Crucifixo, o vem muitas vezes banhar-se em lagrimas.”

30 ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 402v: “muitas lagrimas de compaixam.”

them, as a factor shaping how they presented to Christian missionaries. The features of evangelized Korean masculinity that were foregrounded by Jesuit writers likely reflected the largely subordinated circumstances faced by men who were operating in a foreign land and society, rather than in their Joseon homeland.

It was unclear how much Christian authors perceived the affective qualities of Korean Christian masculinity as pre-existing their conversion (thus supporting an argument that Korean men were especially well disposed to Christianity), or as shaped by contact with Christianity. For Korean women, however, the transformative possibilities appeared more obvious to writers. Jesuit authors described how it could be Christianity itself that could temper the rather fiery character of Korean women once they were adherents, much as it had the disposition and behaviour of *Kirishitan* Japanese lords during the invasions of Joseon. João Rodrigues Giram recounted in 1607 how a previously “very hot-tempered and ill natured” captured Korean woman became after her baptism, “a meek lamb.” Giram reported that she was

so patient and devout that besides fasting in Lent and on the other fast days of the Church and undertaking many other devotions, she made it her duty to go each morning to the church to say her prayers [...] saying that she might be a poor slave, but she meant to show her good will as well as she could, and win some merit. Finally, since becoming a Christian she was so transformed that she never answered back again nor said anything disagreeable, that she was an example to everyone to admire the effect that the grace of holy baptism had had on her.³¹

While the affective performances of Christianity perceived to be displayed by both Korean men and women matched long-standing tropes, the transformative effect of Christianity in producing these behaviours appeared somewhat different between men and women.

On the other hand, sometimes the perceived fieriness of Korean women appeared to be less transformed than re-directed towards benefits for the Christian community. While evangelized Korean men were characterized by Jesuit writers in terms of their humility, the same authors were struck by the intense, even violent, expressions of zeal of Korean women. In 1614, Sebastián Vieira described to the General the dramatic behaviour of the convert Máxima residing the local lord’s household in Arima. Confronted by a Buddhist monk attempting to distribute “Buddhist rosaries,” “Máxima, full of zeal, took them and threw them in the face of the monk.”³² Previously, Giram had celebrated the

31 Nagasaki, February 25, 1608, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 405v: “era tam agastade & de maa condição,” “huma mansa cordeira,” “tam paciente & deuota, que alem de leiumar a Quaresma & outros jeiuns da Igreja & fazer outras muitas devaçoes [...] que ja que era pobre & catiua pello menos como que podia queria mostrar sua boa Vontade & ganhar algum merecimento: finalmente ficou tam mudada depois de christãa que nuncamais se lhe ouuio hua roim reposta nemhuma pallaura desentoadada tanto que a todos le hum exemplo admirandose grandemente do effeito que nella fez agração do santo Baptismo.”

32 Nagasaki, March 16, 1614, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 268v: “a quem deu o zelo tomando as atirou e deu com ellas no rosto do bonzo.” Pedro Morejón reproduces this story as the actions of women and children without mentioning individuals in his *Relacion de la persecucion*, 27.

determination of Julia to practise her faith in Ieyasu's household, by hiding an oratory there.³³ He had described how

this virtuous woman spends a large part of the night in her spiritual books and praying, which she cannot do by day because of the duties of her service in the palace, as well as because she is in the midst of gentiles averse to our holy Law as are the *Kubō* and his women.³⁴

When Julia left the residence and came for confession and communion, Giram wrote, it was "with such devotion and feeling that she comforts all who see her."³⁵ Four years later, he continued to report her fervour in new terms. Although based in Ieyasu's household, Julia, preferring "freedom to devote herself to her salvation more than all the world's favours, wishes for an illness in order to get out of there and go to live among Christians."³⁶ It conveyed a dramatic expression of faith and of desire to belong in a community of shared values.

Christian authors also reported how the intensity of Korean women's faith expressions drove them to be seen and heard in the streets of their communities. Several Jesuit authors, for example, described Korean women's mobility in seeking out Christian teachings. Mateo de Couros recounted the activities of one young woman, "a servant in the house of a pagan" who resisted her master's attempt to have her apostatize. To do so, she sought out a wider Christian community to support her: "On Sundays she went secretly to the house of a certain Christian woman, where she commended herself to Our Lord, and engaged in matters of God."³⁷ Giram described how Julia too sought a like-minded community, "often leaving the palace, with permission, to visit acquaintances, which she does, otherwise not being able to come to confession and communion."³⁸ Writing from Manila, Francisco Colín recorded how when Pak Marina was being paraded through Miyako (today's Kyoto) as a punishment by Japanese state officials for refusing to abjure her faith, "she proclaimed through the streets, in her half Japanese (which, being Korean, she did not speak well), that she remained firm and constant in

33 March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v.

34 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v: "Gasta esta virtuosa molher grande parte da noite em ser liuros espirituas e rozar suas deuações o que dedia não pode fazer assi polla obrigação do seruico do paço como tambem por estar em meo de gentios tam auersos anossa santa ley como he o Cubō e suas molheres."

35 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v: "com tanto sentimento e deuaçam que consola muyto aquem a ve."

36 Nagasaki, March 14, 1609, ARSI, JapSin 56, fol. 13v: "e como deseja mais aliberdado pera se dar mais de proposito as cousas da saluçam que ordas as priuanças do mundo deseja que lhe venha huma doença perase sair dali, e ir viuer enere christãos."

37 Nagasaki, October 6, 1603, ARSI, JapSin 54, fol. 210v: "Viva a li huma moça, Corea de nação, aqual esteua dous annos seruindo em casa de hum gentio," "Aos Domingos secretamente se hia a casa do certa christãa, aonde se encommendaua a N. *Senhor*, e trataua dos cousas de deus."

38 March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v: "muytas vezes sanido com licença do paço com achage deir a visitor suas conhecidas, como a faz por doutra maneira não poder, seddem a confessar e commugar."

the faith of Jesus Christ, for whom she was prepared to die.”³⁹ Korean women, in these accounts, demonstrated commitment to their faith by visible presence in their local district.

Similarly, Christian authors recorded the mobility of evangelized Korean women in the practice of their faith. In a letter he compiled from Mexico in 1614, the Spanish envoy Sebastián Vizcaíno described a meeting with Julia whom he encountered in 1611 in Suruga, in an inn, “where we found a servant, or rather one of the ladies of the palace of the said emperor, named Julia, a Christian, on her way to visit the ambassador and to hear mass.”⁴⁰ Vizcaíno reported how he “gave her some trinkets and other things, she was more interested in pictures, rosaries and pious objects, for they say she is a good Christian.”⁴¹ Although positive, Vizcaíno’s portrait did not provide further details of Julia’s religiosity as were seen in the accounts of contemporary religious authors, perhaps shaped by his encounter with her outside of a spiritual setting. Julia continued her work in the communities and streets of Japan’s cities, where she was later investigated for teaching Christian doctrine to children in Nagasaki.⁴² The Dominican author José de San Jacinto noted nonetheless that “Julia, a Korean, very devout to the Rosary and promoter of the Holy Confraternity, always persevered in this, for which she has been thrown out of her house and on to the streets a few times, and now she has none but goes from one house to another at the mercy of God.”⁴³ In subsequent years, Christian sources suggest that Julia was supported by donations in a Christian network that extended beyond the Jesuits and even beyond Japan. The Dominican Father Francisco Morales was in Japan as part of the first missionary endeavours conducted by the Dominican order. He recorded in a letter that he had given Julia alms that had been donated by the Spanish admiral of the Philippines, Juan Ruiz de Icoaga:

The 400 reales which you kindly sent the first time to doña Julia, and the 200 you sent the second time, I know for certain that she received them. But as the Christians are experiencing such a hard time, I have not had any letter from her that she received them, but I had it from the lady through whom you asked me to send the said alms.⁴⁴

39 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:504: “Y quando las boluieron a entrar en la Ciudad de Meaco metidas en ellos, con su media lengua lapona (que por ser Corea, no la hablaua bien) pregonaua por las calles, que boluia firme, y constante en la Fé de Iesu Christo, por quien deseaua morir.”

40 Mexico, 1614, BNE, MS 3046, fol. 96v: “do hallamos una criada a por mexor dizir de las damas de palacio del dito emperor *que se llama Julia cristiana, auissitar a lembaxador y oir missa.*”

41 BNE, MS 3046, fol. 96v: “algunos juguetes de bidrios y otras cosas quella mas atendia a ymagens rrossarios y cossas de deuocion por que dizen que es buena *chrisitana.*”

42 See Ruiz-de-Medina for a construction of her biography, “History and Fiction of Ota Julia.”

43 [Nagasaki] March 25, 1620, San Jacinto, “Relación breve,” 26–27: “La una, llamada Julia, de nación corea, muy devota del Rosario y gran favorecedora de la santa Confradía; siempre perseveraba en esto, por lo cual, la han ecgado algunas veces de su casa y calle, y agora no la tiene, suno que anda de una casa en otra a la Misericordia de Dios.”

44 [Suzuta] February 28, 1620, cited in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 279.

By 1622, Julia was living in Osaka where the Provincial Francisco Pacheco wrote of his attempts to assist her: “The Korean Ota Julia, banished for the faith, is now in Osaka. I have helped her, and am helping her, as I can.”⁴⁵ Julia had become herself the subject of charity, supported by a broad network of women and men, of many nationalities and professional engagements, who conveyed alms and information about her between them.

Christian authors also identified potentially problematic aspects of evangelized Korean women’s experiences in Japan. In particular, they were concerned about women’s ability to control their bodies from sexual slander and accusations of misconduct. The assertion of female agency described in these contexts demanded dual attention to protection of women’s chastity and their Christian faith. As noted in [Chapter 1](#), Julia’s control of her body was a key element of her conversion narrative. The anonymous annotator of her letter wrote that her conversion had occurred after being “taken to Japan; to defend her modesty from her *tono* she fled to a Christian *tono*.”⁴⁶ Giram even marvelled at Julia’s chastity while residing in Ieyasu’s household, in ways that highlighted conventional assumptions about women’s sexual behaviours:

Of all her virtues what is most surprising is that being a young girl and in the flower of her youth and above all, very good looking, in the midst of so many opportunities, she remains like a rose among thorns, determined to lose her life rather than her soul.⁴⁷

Additionally, accounts of Julia noted attempts to impugn her sexual morality. Within Ieyasu’s household, wrote Mateo de Couros, those who could not convince Julia to recant then suggested that “she had often sneaked out of the palace, which was a clear sign of her disorderly life.”⁴⁸ An investigation was ordered, but Couros assured his readers that Julia’s reputation was cleared and her sexual honour remained intact: “she had gone out to confess, receive communion and hear mass in our church.”⁴⁹ While serving in Ieyasu’s household, Christian authors continued to emphasize Julia’s need to protect her chastity from pagan powers. The Franciscan Muñoz highlighted Julia’s fear that

she might be the Emperor’s [sic] concubine, as are the other ladies whom he keeps at court, calling them to him as and when he pleases, [Julia] said, if the Emperor called her to his apartments, as he usually calls the other ladies, that she would excuse herself,

45 February 15, 1622, ARSI, JapSin 38, fol. 87v: “A córaijin Vota Julia desterrada por fide esta agera em ozaca, eu a ajudei, e ajudo com oque posso.”

46 APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r: “captiva in Japonia delata, ad tuenda pudictia a dono suo perfugit ad tono *Christianus*.”

47 Nagasaki, March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v: “mas o que de suas virtudes espanta mais he que sendo anida moça e na flor da idade e sobre tudo de muito boas partes naturaes no meo de tantas occasioens, se conserua como rosa entre as espinhas determinada e apostada aperder antes a vida *que* não char sua alma.”

48 Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244v: “dizendo *que* muitas vezes tinha saido fora do paço ás escondidas, o *que* era manifesto sinal de andar desconcertada na vida.”

49 ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244v: “e nam acharam mais *que* saira a se confessar, *commungar*, e ouuir missa em nossa Igreja.”

which she could very easily do. And if this was not enough, she would rather let them cut her into a thousand pieces than consent to it.⁵⁰

This account, which foregrounded Julia's assertion of agency, even to the point of bodily defilement, reinforced the evangelized Korean's exceptionality against other women's apparently more typical acquiescence to sexual importuning.

Articulating Christian Belonging

The general emphasis in these Christian accounts was on bodily expressions and practices of faith, with very few detailed records of how Korean Christians understood or articulated tenets of their belief. State-sanctioned torture and execution became occasions when the thoughts and commitment of mainly Korean men to their faith were recorded, for only a handful of Korean women were subject to comparable forms of violence, as will be explored in the following chapter. In this context, descriptions of evangelized Koreans' dreams and visions that were recorded by Christian authors provide significant insights, albeit mediated, into Korean understandings of Christian belonging.

Both Giram and Morejón relayed accounts about the series of dreams and visions that Gayo had experienced. He had been a Buddhist monk in Japan before his conversion to Christianity. His dreams appeared to support a narrative about his pre-destination for Christian adherence that would eventually entail his death. Giram's account, for example, suggested how animals could sense Gayo's particular and inherent spiritual purity. He recounted how, while Gayo was living as a hermit in a cave in Joseon before the invasion, "one day a tiger (or wolf) came to the cave where he was, and lying down beside him for some time, got up and went without doing him harm." Giram reasoned, "God our Lord was keeping the crown [of martyrdom] for him."⁵¹ Later, Morejón wrote, "he told us in Osaka that while a pagan in his land he had had insights and inspirations that he could not help but understand as there being a Lord of the whole world who was greater than his idols."⁵² Among these was "a dream in which a venerable old man told him that this year he would cross the seas with great trouble and

50 Osaka, February 1607, BL, MS Harley 3570, fol. 390v: "el temor de qué seria manjaba del Emperador como lo son laso tias Damas de quien se aprouchaua enbiando las allamar como y quando da gusto dixo que si el Emperador lallomase su aposento como suele llamar alas otras damas que es escusaria loqual podia hazer muy facilmente quando esto nobastase dejaria hazer mill pedaços antes que consenter enello."

51 Macao, March 15, 1626, ARSL, JapSin 61, fol. 16r: "vir huma uez hum Tigre, ou Lobo a dita Coua a on desstaua, e deitandose junto delle por algum espaço, se Leuantou, e fui sem lhe fazer mal," "Como Deos Nossor a guardaua pera a Coroa"

52 Macao, March 31, 1627, BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462r: "el qual nos dezia en ozaca que tuuo en su gentilidad y tierra algunos luezes u inspiraciones de que no podia a dexar de auer un señor vniversal del Mundo mayor que sus Idolos."

effort, and achieve the fulfilment of his desires.”⁵³ The identity of Gayo’s prophetic dream interlocutor appeared to be revealed when Gayo later received baptism in Japan. As Giram recounted, “one of our Brothers giving him a [holy] image, he said he knew it. And asking why he said that, he replied that this image was the one who had appeared to him in the mountains and wilderness of Korea and had told him he would cross the sea with great trials and at last achieve his desires.”⁵⁴ However, the identity of the interlocutors in the Korean convert’s dream visions were not determined only by Gayo himself. Giram’s record of these experiences was strongly inflected by the commentary of others that offered alternative interpretations of Gayo’s own perceptions. For example, regarding one experience which occurred while Gayo was dangerously ill, Giram wrote, “he saw in a dream, as he related it, a boy of extraordinary beauty; or as others relate, one of our Fathers, who told him that he would soon accomplish his desires. After this dream, he soon began to feel well.” Giram concluded that the dream “acted like medicine.”⁵⁵ Gayo’s dreams appeared to be employed in these accounts to serve a strong narrative purpose that included, among other aspects, the importance of the Jesuits themselves as spiritual conduits.

By contrast, an account recorded by Giram of another intense corporeal and affective vision experienced by an evangelized Korean, suggested far more interpretive control by its narrator, Clara, a woman living in Arima. The story of Clara’s vision would be conveyed to multiple readers beyond the intended recipients of Giram’s account through its inclusion in Fernão Guerreiro’s five-volume account of the Jesuit missions and in an Italian translation of Giram’s letter.⁵⁶ Mistaken for dead, having first been pricked by needles, Clara was being shrouded when she stunned those preparing her body by reviving and sharing a vision. She recounted the following: “First, that she had been taken to Hell, and had seen many souls suffering miserably” and many pots and boilers “in which the many souls were roasting and frying, and in front of these pots passed a river of very cold water, taking the said souls from the pots or hot boilers, putting them in and taking them out again, back into the same boilers, moving them from the one

53 ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 16r–v: “vio huma uez em sonhos ahum velho venerauel, o qual lhe dissa que a quelle anno passaria omar *com* muito risco e trabalho, e alcansaria o comprimento de seus dezejos.”

54 ARSI, JapSin 61, fols. 16v–17r: “dando lhe hum fimaõ nosso huma imagem disse que a conhecia, e perguntanda lhe, perque dizia a quello, Responde, que a quella ymagem, erado velho que nas montanhas, e hermo de Coreia lhe a pareçera, e dissera, auia depassar mares *com* trabalho, e finalmente ter o comprimento de seus dezejos.”

55 ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 16v: “vio em sonhos, segundo elle contaua a hum menino de extraordinaria belleza e fermosura; ou como outros contaõ, ahum P^e Nosso, oqual lhe disse, *que* logo lhe comprinha seus dezejos. Passado este sonho, come coulogo a acharse bem, seruindo lhe ao que parece de meizinha.”

56 Guerreiro, *Relação anual*, 3:165–66 and in Giram, *Lettera di Giappone dell’anno M. DC. VI*, 38–40. The latter does not mention that Clara is Korean.

extreme of heat to another of intolerable coldness.”⁵⁷ There, Clara met a woman she had known, who informed her that she was being punished for dying without confession, after aborting a child. The soul addressed Clara by name (in fact the first time in Giram’s account that Clara was identified by her name) about which “Clara was astonished, to see herself called by her name, and also that the soul was speaking to her and telling her the cause of her torments, what had actually happened in this women’s life.”⁵⁸ The woman’s soul “told her further that she knew and had seen in that place many other people, both men and women, who were in torments for their particular sins.”⁵⁹ Clara added “that when she remembered what she had seen there, her flesh trembled and her hair stood on end.”⁶⁰ Clara then passed from this place to another, “very dark, where no one could be seen, but many could be heard, crying and screaming, as if to say, ‘Pray for us,’ which place, she said, must be Purgatory.”⁶¹

Then Clara found herself in another place that was “very spacious, pleasant and beautiful, all carpeted and covered with rich tapestry.”⁶² Here, “coming closer, she saw a very beautiful gate enamelled all over with gold and silver, and steps also of gold and silver leading up to the top.”⁶³ The steps here were lit by “many lamps, and on both sides there were many children, very beautiful, beautiful in the extreme, all with books open in their hands, praying for them.”⁶⁴ Among these children was a boy Clara recognized,

57 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “Primeiramente, *que* fora leuada ao Inferno e nelle vira penar muitas almas miserauamente,” “nas quaes se estauam assando e frigindo muitas almas, e por diante destas panellas passaua *hum* rio de agoa muito fria, no qual tirando as ditas almas das panellas ou caldeiras ardentes [...] passandoas de *hum* extremo dequentura a outro de intolerauel frialdade.”

58 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “Ali dizia ella, *que* se encontrou com *hum*a molher *que* conhecera neste mundo, e *que* esta alma lhe fallara e dissera Clara (*que* assi se chamaua esta molher Corea) Aqui estou nestes tormentos *por* ter abortado *hum* filho e morrer sem confissão, Como *que* a Clara ficara atonita por se ver nomear *por* seu nome e *tambem* por lhe fallar aquella alma, e diser a causa de seus tormentos; o *que* na Verdade assi passara em Vida daquella molher.”

59 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “Contou mais *que* conhecera e Vira naquelle lugar muitas outras pessoas assi homens como molheres, *que* estauam nos tormentos *por* seus peccados particulares *que* ella contaue.”

60 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “acrecentando *que* quando se a lembraua do*que* ali Vira lhe tremiam as carnes e se lhe arripiavam os cabellos.”

61 ARSI, JapSin 55, fols. 320v–321r: “muito escuro aonde não aparecia *ninguem*, masque ouuia estarem nelle *muitos* chorando e gritando, e como *quem* dizia rogai por nos; oqual lugar, dizia ella *que* seria o Purgatorio.”

62 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: “Indo mais adiante deste lugar contaue *que* fora ter a outro mui largo, ameno, e fermoso todo alcatifado e cuberto de ricatapeçaria.”

63 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: “chegando se mais perto vio, estar *hum* portal fermosissimo esmaltado todo de ouro e prata, do pe doqual comecauas huns degraos *tambem* de ouro e prata, *que* heam subindo para cima.”

64 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: “os quaes degraos estauam cheos de candeas, e de *hum*a e outra parte *muitos* mininos mui fermosos por estremo todos com seus liuros nas mãos abertos, rezando *por* elles.”

"who had died at the age of five, it being three years since he had died."⁶⁵ This boy "had spoken to her and taken her up the steps." As she was guided up the steps, "three robed priests appeared to her, and asked her, 'Who is this?'"⁶⁶ "To which the boy replied who the woman was. The priests said, 'No dirty and filthy people can enter this place.'"⁶⁷ It was then that Clara felt upon her face one of the needles with which her attendants were verifying her death, and she recovered sufficiently to recount her experiences. She insisted, the attending priest heard her say more than once, that this was no dream "but a vision that she had had, after which she said she felt her heart completely changed."⁶⁸ Recovering quickly, Clara "now goes about more devoutly than before," Giram reported.⁶⁹

Significantly, while Christian male authors tended to emphasize women's bodies as a site for demonstration of Christian feeling and practice, Clara's vision occurred beyond her corporeal form. It took place as, and because, she entered a state in which her senses were cut off from the earthly world. In her illness, she was "completely out of herself, with all senses lost."⁷⁰ The text noted explicitly how she did not respond to haptic cues of pricking needles over various parts of her body; "no matter how many tests they did on her, she did not feel anything."⁷¹ It is in this liminal state in which she was disengaged from the corporeal world that Clara was able to apply her senses to a different kind of perception, spiritual perception. It was through her senses and feelings that Clara made sense of the vision experience. Significantly, in this non-corporeal but nonetheless sensory and emotionally perceptive experience, Clara did not appear to display any obvious markers of gender identity.

Clara saw these souls as firmly corporal entities, to which various punishments were rendered. However, she witnessed the haptic nature of the torture as an empathetic connection; the miserable suffering of the souls made her experience "utmost pain and compassion." As Clara entered Purgatory, by contrast, she engaged different senses and practices.⁷² Vision was replaced as a mode of perception by hearing. It was an

⁶⁵ ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: "*Vira hum minino, que ella conhecera o qual morres de idade de cinco annos e avia tres que era morto.*"

⁶⁶ ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: "*e que este minino lhe fallara e metera para dentro dos de graos pellos quaes subindo lhe apareceram tres sacerdotes reuestidos, e lhe perguntaram quem era.*"

⁶⁷ ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: "*aoque respondendo o menino quem era adita molher disseram os Sacerdotes, Este he hum lugar aonde não entra pessoa suja e immunda.*"

⁶⁸ ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: "*senão como Visam que tiuera; depois do qual dizia que sentia seu coracam totalmente mudado doque era dantes.*"

⁶⁹ ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: "*sarando logo da duenca procede agora e anda muito mais deuota que primeiro.*"

⁷⁰ ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320r-v: "*que ao terceiro dia da duença ficou totalmente fora desi com os sentidos todos perdidos.*"

⁷¹ ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: "*mas por mais experiencias que nella fizeram não sentia aduente nada.*"

⁷² Scholars have observed that contemporary descriptions of Hell and Purgatory were rather vague about their distinctions and Kathryn A. Edwards has noted that "the debate about whether purgatory was a place or a state" was one firmly underway in theological works. Edwards, "Purgatory."

experience defined by what Clara could hear and what she could do. Here, the cries and screams of the souls was arresting but more so still was their demands of Clara: namely, that she pray for them. A third site sharply contrasted these previous experiences. Clara perceived it primarily as a visual experience; it was colourful, richly decorated with tapestries, gold, silver and enamel finishes, and brightly lit. Although Clara experienced this third space as “pleasant,” it was also where she was confronted by Church officials and rejected as “dirty and filthy,” an emotional disjuncture that also coincided with (or caused her to sense) the pricking of her mortal flesh and revival into her earthly corporeal form. None of these sensory and emotional interlocations appear to be framed through a female corporeal form. It seems that it was not Clara’s body that sensed and felt in the vision state, but rather her soul, a soul that had no limitations shaped by contemporary gender ideologies and assumptions to its engagement with spiritual matter and interpretive capacity.

However, by contrast, Clara’s living gender identity as a woman did shape other aspects of her vision and her understanding of the Christian community. Throughout the text, various kinds of interactions and networks were identified, which highlighted ways of thinking about the fate of the soul, about relationships between the living and the dead, and about the relationship between communal and individual pious practice. Clara experienced three different kinds of encounter with the dead in her vision. In each case, the dead or their souls engage her in action: first as a woman who shared her story and those of others with Clara, as souls begging for her intercession through prayer, and as the dead child guided her up the staircase, presumably towards Heaven. In at least the first and third cases, Clara identified the individuals whose souls she encountered as people she knew from her own local community. In Hell, “she met a woman, whom she knew in this world,” and in the last case, a boy “who had died at the age of five, three years ago.”⁷³ Moreover, it was made explicit that both these dead individuals knew and recognized Clara by name. Clara noted her surprise, naming a specific emotion of astonishment that seems to relate to two aspects of the encounter, one of which was her personal identification by the woman.⁷⁴ In her second set of interactions with the young boy, the child likewise identified her to the priests. Clara realized, it seems, that she was not anonymous before God and others in the Christian community. She was instead an object of attention and care.

These individuals interacted with Clara, although in the case of the child, it was not made explicit what they discussed. Clara’s meeting with the woman’s soul, though, was framed as both a personal and personalized encounter between the women, in which the woman shared intimate information with her. Clara’s second source of astonishment was “the soul speaking to her and telling her the cause of her torments, what had really happened in that woman’s life.”⁷⁵ Clara was not only singled out as a named individual;

73 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “Ali dizia ella, que se encontrou com huma Molher *que* conhecera neste mundo.”

74 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “Clara ficara atonita, por se ver nomear por seu nome.”

75 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 320v: “e tambem por lhe fallar aquella alma, e dizer a causa de seus tormentos; o *que* na Verdade assi passara em Vida daquella Molher.”

she was the privileged recipient of intimate information of another in her community. Furthermore, these figures appeared to act as guides to Clara. They provided different sorts of experience and perception to her to shape the edification she could draw from the vision. In all three ways, Clara herself was rendered special by the encounter, worthy of attention and care within and by the Christian community, as a Christian.

It is noteworthy too that Clara's guides to Christian edification were not Church officials but rather people from her own community. Church officials, in the shape of the three robed priests, neither know Clara nor accept her (yet) as worthy of entering Heaven. They were literally the gatekeepers of Christian achievement. Although three figures were mentioned, the Holy Trinity or God, Jesus and Mary were not referenced in the text by these names, and the mother and a child mentioned were firmly identified as local individuals. This might suggest how Clara experienced Christian practice—as a faith that was sustained within and among her neighbourhood rather than through mediation of the more distant figure of a priest.

At the same time, Clara's compassionate response, in feeling and practice, to the suffering of others also defined her membership of this Christian community. Clara's time in Purgatory revealed an understanding of the intercessory role of the prayers of the living in preparing souls in Purgatory before their encounter with the divine. The living and the dead remain connected. The living were obliged to remember the dead, as indeed did Clara in remembering the woman and the young boy who once lived in her community. There was no explicit articulation of the context in which these prayers should be offered, such as masses, indulgences, and almsgiving that appeared to have preoccupied contemporary European Catholic communities.⁷⁶ Perhaps in the marginal, dispossessed world in which Clara lived, individual prayers were the most achievable engagement with the dead that was in her own control. In the end, however, Clara's Christian community guides help to focus her on the need to prepare for a good death in her lifetime by her own behaviour, an individual responsibility. Communal practices played a part but so too did individual action and disposition of the heart. Thus, Giram's discussion of Clara's story concluded with her own edifying example to her community and readers, that she "now goes about more devoutly than before."

Significantly, the interpretation of all the visionary experiences were presented as Clara's own, interpretations that came from her sensory and emotional perception of the spiritual. No external mediator was claimed as a guide to her interpretation or identified in the role of spiritual director. The priest who heard her tell of her vision was mentioned only as a recipient of information, "she recounted all this, which a priest heard her tell more than once."⁷⁷ Clara herself was certain what she had experienced: it was "not like a dream, which she said it was not, but as a vision she had."⁷⁸ Ultimately,

⁷⁶ See studies by Zarri, "Purgatorio 'particolare'"; Tausiet, "Gritos del más allá"; Tingle, "Purgatory and the Counter-Reformation."

⁷⁷ ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: "contou tudo isto que hum padre mesmo lhe ouuio huma ou duas uezes contar."

⁷⁸ ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 321r: "não como sonho *que* dizia o não era, senão como Visam *que* tiuera."

Clara determined both the nature and meaning of her spiritual experience, made from her perceptions and concerned with her own future behaviours.

Clara's vision provides an important, rare perspective of a Korean convert's spiritual world. She understood its meaning for her faith and its practices as a perceptive experience of the senses and emotions, experienced not in the corporeal gendered form of the earthly world, but of her soul, an entity not limited by gendered expectations and assumptions. In this mode, Clara engaged with souls that she encountered through emotional, compassionate, responses to their suffering that identified her as part of the contemporary Christian community. In another way, though, Clara's earthly gender identity informed the nature of her visionary experience and those who formed the guides on her spiritual journey. It is significant that Clara's vision affirmed her faith through connections to, and interpretation by, deceased people whom she recognized as part of her local community. Neither figure was an adult male faith leader nor God, Jesus, or Mary. Clara's faith guides, a parturient woman, and a young child, were among the most marginal within the Christian community in Japan.

Contributing to the Christian Community

Clara's vision suggested one way in which an evangelized Korean woman understood her faith and the Christian community of which she was part. Christian literature also provided multiple accounts of how evangelized Korean women and men could participate in the wider Christian community, primarily but not exclusively in Japan, by their practical contributions. These accounts highlighted different ways in which their authors perceived Christian action and engagement of women and men with their faith.

Apart from embracing a life of poverty for themselves, both women and men were praised by authors for their work among the less fortunate in the Christian community. Spinola described, for example, the contribution of Miguel:

Miguel had great charity for the poor, although he was also poor himself. And because he could not give them alms, when he was hired to work on Fridays and Saturdays, on which days he always fasted, the food they gave him in the afternoon he took and gave to the poor. And he often called lepers to his home without any repugnance, having them sit with him by the fire, offering them hot water, which was all he could do. And if they were ashamed to come, he said to them: "Do not be ashamed, for we are all brothers, and if I had your illness, I would be like one of you."⁷⁹

79 Nagasaki, March 18, 1615, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 76v: "*Teve Miguel muita charidade com os pobres sendo o elle em grande maneira, e porque não podia dar lhes esmola, quando era alugado pera trabalhar sexta feira e sabado, nos quaes dias sempre jeiuaua, o comer que lhe davão depois do meo dia o tomava e dava aos pobres: E os leprosos chamaua muitas vezes a sua casa sem nenhum asco, e os fazia assenter a par de si ao fogo, conuidando os com agoa quente pois com outra cousa não podia, e tendo elles pejo de se chegarem, lhes dizia, não tensais pejo, pois todos somos irmãos, e se eu tiuera esta doença, seria como hum de vos outros.*"

Similarly, Manoel worked to assist Christians in Suruga, reported Giram,

finding them so badly treated in the huts of poor lepers who lived on the outskirts of the city, he shed many tears of compassion, serving them there, cleaning their wounds and caring for them with great devotion and diligence, sharing with them and other needy Christians what he had earned by his work.⁸⁰

Jesuits, who did not engage in medical labour themselves, could nonetheless praise the viscerally corporeal contact that such men were engaged in. By contrast, Couros praised Julia in broader, vaguer terms, as “very generous towards the poor [...] trying her best not only in observing the commandments, but also in other works of devotion.”⁸¹ The Franciscan Alfonso Muñoz reported that she was “a Christian of great dedication and charity, not only to us, giving us generous alms, but to other poor Christians, visiting them and supporting many with her alms.”⁸² Descriptions of women’s charitable activities did not document a similar kind of bodily labour and direct contact with the bodies of others to that of evangelized Korean men undertaken among the poor and outcast.

As noted in [Chapter 1](#), Jesuit writers were particularly interested in the potential of Korean men to communicate Christian teachings in their native language. Yet the history produced by Fernão Guerreiro based on the accounts provided by missionaries in the field suggested that women could participate in these activities as well as men, outside of the framework provided by the Society for evangelizing. Guerreiro’s account described the work of a Korean couple, Paulo and Ana, living on the Gotō islands. This married couple, “humble, quiet and devout,” had set aside an oratory in their home. Guerreiro described how Paulo and the local priest worked together. The latter, knowing Paulo’s desire to teach “those of his nation, so that they may be good Christians,” persuaded those of “little devotion and who do not know prayers” to visit Paulo. In Guerreiro’s account, it was the community that had encouraged the priest himself to visit, “because they understood the consolation that the priest would take in seeing his house and the oratory that he had in it, where the other Korean Christians of that village gathered on Sundays and feast days, to pray and to entrust themselves to God.” It was not only the material accoutrements that inspired devotion in the

80 Macao, November 1617, ARSI, JapSin 58, fols. 402v–403r: “achandoos tam maltratados em humas palhotas de pobres leprosos, *que* nos arrabaldes da cidade uiuiam, derramou muitas lagrimas de compaixam seruindoos ali, alimpando lhes as feridas, e curando delles com mostras da muita deuaçam e diligencia, partindo com os mesmos, e com outros christãos necessitados do *que* por seu trabalho tinha ganhado.”

81 Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244v: “Era *muito* liberal pera *com* os pobres [...] procuraua se esmerar não so na obseruancia, e guarda dos mandamentos, se nam *tambem* nas de mais cousas de deuaçam.”

82 Osaka, February 1607, BL, MS Harley 3570, fol. 390v: “gran christiana de mucha deuocion exemplo y charidad porquela haze nosolo con nostros dando nos buenas limosnas sino con los de mas Christianos Pobres vistiendo los ysus tentando a muchos con sus limosnas.”

community, but also “the two good Koreans, husband and wife [...] who seemed to be inciting the same devotion.”⁸³

Christian authors documented valuable homosocial networks sustained by Korean women within the Christian community, with whom they practised their faith. Mateo de Couros’s report of the Korean servant girl, described above, noted that she was then attending a secret gathering with a Christian woman who sustained her faith.⁸⁴ A report by the Dominican José de San Jacinto described the activities of a group of Christian women in Nagasaki in 1620, “going about teaching doctrine and singing litanies with girls [...] one of them, called Julia, a Korean.”⁸⁵ In that year, his *confrère* Morales recorded in his correspondence that he knew Julia had received Icoaga’s gift of alms because “I had it from the lady through whom you asked me to send the said alms.”⁸⁶ Likewise, in her own letter to Morejón, Julia had asked for the Jesuit father to provide her with items through a certain Okada Maria who was likely another member of the Christian community in Japan.⁸⁷ This hints at a support network among women that is difficult to elucidate fully from these works alone. These communities involved both Japanese and Korean women just as did the group known as the nuns of Miyako (*Miyako no bikuni*), whose companions included the evangelized Korean woman Pak Marina.⁸⁸ Their bonds and the affirmation of faith that they produced concerned the local governor sufficiently to break them apart. As Francisco Colín later recounted:

seeing the joy and happiness with which they suffered that shame for Christ, he ordered them to be separated from each other, and tried to persuade each one separately to leave the faith and religion of the Christians.⁸⁹

Significantly, upon her deathbed in Manila in 1655, it was to her inclusion of this community of women beyond the earthly realm that she would soon join to which Marina’s last thoughts turned, as reported by Colín:

83 Guerreiro, *Relação anual*, 3:157: “humildes, mansos e devotoes,” “aos de sua nação, de modo que sejam bons cristãos,” “alguns de pouca devoção e que não sabem as orações,” “por entenderem a consolação que o padre levaria em ver sua casa e oratorio, que nela tinha, onde os outros cristãos Coreas daquela povoação se ajuntavam nos Domingos e dias de festa, a fazarem oração e a se encomendar a Deus,” “os dois bons Coreans, marido e mulher, [...] parece estavam incitando a mesma devoção.”

84 Nagasaki, October 6, 1603, ARSI, JapSin 54, fol. 210v.

85 [Nagasaki] March 25, 1620, San Jacinto, “Relación breve,” 26: “andavan enseñando la doctrina y cantando letanías con las niñas; [...] La una, llamada Julia, de nación corea.”

86 [Suzuta] February 28, 1620, cited in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 279.

87 December 1613, APECES], Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r. English translation of Morejón’s transcription of the Japanese text in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 244. See also translation in Spanish and Japanese reconstruction in Ruiz-de-Medina, “History and Fiction of Ota Julia,” 540, 543.

88 See Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*, chap. 4 on the Beatas of Manila.

89 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:501: “Mas viendo la alegría, y gozo con que padecian aquella vergüenza por Christo, las mandó apartar vnas de otras, y por si, y por otros las procuró persuadir a cada vna en particular, que dexassen la Fé, y Religion de los Christianos.”

At the hour of her death her holy mother and foundress Julia [the *Kirishitan* Naitō Julia] appeared to her as she said to a servant of hers, a servant of God, Monica. “Don’t you see,” she said to Monica, “that Julia comes to see me, so beautiful and resplendent? Don’t you see these angels who are here in my company?”⁹⁰

Christian authors foregrounded the spiritually sustaining properties of these networks among evangelized women in Japan that appeared to unite women despite their cultural differences.

When it came to taking on roles of leadership within the community, however, the Christian archive distinguished Korean men from Korean women. One Korean known as Arizō Pedro, who had become the “*tono’s* treasurer and head of other officers” before resigning his office, had been approached by the Edo community, wrote Spinola as relayed by Giram, to

serve as steward of their confraternity, and he did it so well that he always went to the meetings of the confraternity, putting himself alongside the labourers and common people as though he was one of them, and he went around giving advice to everyone who persevered in holy faith and devotion.⁹¹

As did Guerreiro with Paulo, Christian authors tended to identify Korean men rather than women as conducting the vital work of hosting other members of the Christian community. This became particularly evident as those of the faith increasingly attempted to remain hidden from the gaze of the Japanese authorities.⁹² Both Christian authors and Japanese officials saw the act of accommodating visitors within the household as work conducted by their male heads. Men were thus more often identified with work of this kind within the Christian community. Giram’s account of a Korean baptized as Cosme, a narrative of the man’s eventual death at the hands of Japanese officials, observed how he was identified by authorities because he had housed religious men in his home, prompting his own imprisonment.⁹³ The account of the merchant Girón about Hachikan Joaquin emphasized his bravery, for “it was he who supported the religious most in the troubles and trials that they had, bringing them into his

90 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:504: “A la hora de la muerte se le apareció su santa Madre, y Fundadora Iulia, como lo dixo elle a vna criada suya muy sierua de Dios, que se llamaua Monica. No vés, dixo, Monica a Iulia, que viene a verme tan hermosa, y resplandeeiente? No vés estos Angeles, que están aqui en mi compañía?”

91 Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fols. 417v–418r: “qual foi ja tesoureiro do tono, e cabeça, de alguns pagens,” “ser mordomo da confraria, *que* ali ha, e o fazia *tambem que* sempre hia aos ajuntamentos da Confraria, metendo-se entre os lauradores e gente baixa como *hum* delles, e andava dando conselhos a todos que perseuerassem na santa fee, e devação.”

92 Rômulo da Silva Ehalt highlights the work of the confraternities in the Christian Church during this phase in Japan in “Theology in the Dark,” 249–84.

93 Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 402v.

home without the fear and cowardice that others showed.”⁹⁴ Only rarely were women investigated by Japanese authorities, as was Marta, the wife of the Korean known as Akashi Jiemon Cayo, who was arrested for hiding Christian missionaries in their home.⁹⁵ Additionally, the Jesuit archive recorded the work of evangelized Korean men in arranging for others in prison for their faith to be supplied with food as well as their spiritual support. Arizō Pedro worked with a fellow Korean, Shōsaku Tomás, a labourer, to deliver resources to those languishing in gaol.⁹⁶ So too did Manoel “visit prisoners of Christ many times, bringing them gifts of food, as he could afford.”⁹⁷ Although Korean men were better placed to have the resources to assist in such ways, we cannot be sure that such actions were exclusively conducted by men. These records of evangelized Korean men’s activities were often documented as part of investigations, torture, and eventual execution for their faith, for which men were more often pursued by Japanese authorities than were women.

However, when Korean women did display leadership behaviours, Christian writers were mixed in their opinions about this form of contribution to the Christian community. The presence of Julia in Ieyasu’s household gave Christians a highly valuable conduit to Japan’s leadership. Giram reported how “often she gives very useful advice as to what she sees is needed for our good and that of Christendom, because as she is in the palace, she knows everything that goes on there.”⁹⁸ The Franciscan Muñoz also reported on Julia’s knowledge of Japan’s political elite, in describing how,

of everything that went on in the palace, she wrote so diligently to the church of Yendo [present-day Tokyo], saying to them, now is the right time to do this, or to stop doing this or that, also to visit or talk to this or that lord, because it would be very important.⁹⁹

Yet, in his same letter, Giram expressed some concern about the intensity of Julia’s engagement: she “behaves with so much devotion and fervour that sometimes she needs to be restrained.”¹⁰⁰ Copies of Julia’s letters that remain within the Jesuit archive

94 Nagasaki, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 199r: “y fue el elque en los trabajos y destierros que los religiosos tuvieron mas los emparo recogendolos em sa casa sinel temor y cobardia que otros lo hazian.”

95 Macao, March 24, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 112r.

96 Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 418r.

97 Macao, November 1617, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 402v: “visitar muitas vezes os presos de Christo leuando lhes presentes de cousas de comer, conforme sua possibilidade sofria.”

98 March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v: “da muitas vezes mui proueitosos auisos de que ve sor necessario pera nossa cousas e bem da Christandade porque como esta no paço sabe tudo o que la passa meudamente.”

99 Osaka, February 1607, BL, MS Harley 3570, fol. 390v: “tenia tanto cuyda do enesta ocasion quetodo quanto pasaua en palacio lo escreuia ala Yglesia de Yendo diziendo juntamente ahora conuiene que se haga esta diligencia o que se deje de hazer esto olo otro que se visitase o hablase aeste o a lotro Señor, porque seria de mucha ynportancia.”

100 Nagasaki, March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 283v: “procede com tanta deuação e feruor que ha mister as vezes freo.”

appear to reflect her intense interest in the activities of the Christian Church and her desire to maintain communication with the missionaries, particularly when she was sent into exile, as will be explored in subsequent chapters. She demonstrated her awareness of the wider contexts and conditions under which Christians operated in Japan: "All day long I am anxious thinking that the conditions might have worsened for you [...] I am especially fearful for the situation of the Fathers."¹⁰¹ Couros similarly noted that in her letters Julia was "asking too of the state of the Church and the Society."¹⁰² These accounts recorded her keen sense of engagement with Christian politics of conversion in Japan and indeed, her willingness to offer advice about it. Julia's own, apparently forthright, voice through letter extracts in Christian narratives suggested her expectation of active participation in the institution of the Church.

Finally, although it did not feature in Christian accounts of Korean evangelizing, embedded in these descriptions was evidence of the way joining the Christian community could entail the breaking of other ties for Koreans in Japan. Such appeared the case for a young man, Manoel, living in Suruga, whose experiences were recounted by Giram to the General, Vitelleschi, from Macao in 1617. Several years earlier, Manoel had converted to Christianity, having noticed "the difference between the lives of good Christians and of pagans." He had been born in Japan to Korean parents, who, Giram suggested, did their very best to dissuade him, until they finally cast him out of their house. Yet Manoel was able "to find support from Christians, whom he knew very well, and never left them."¹⁰³ Becoming Christian did not simply expand the communities for Koreans in Japan, it could also close the door to others. Moreover, over time, it would increasingly become an identity of considerable risk to those living in Japan, as [Chapters 3 and 4](#) explore further.

On the other hand, there is evidence that Christians' identity as Koreans also continued to shape their lives in Japan. Christian archives highlighted the challenges for those identified as Korean in Japan, even many years after their arrival. In 1620 Giram enclosed a report from Spinola about a Korean convert, Arizō Pedro, then a married man with three sons. Spinola related how Pedro had risen to a position of some power in Japan, as "the *tono's* treasurer, and head of other officers. But as he was a foreigner and it was feared that he might be accused of some intrigue, he resigned his office, thereby losing his income."¹⁰⁴ No matter how high they rose in Japan, men identified as Korean were always vulnerable. Moreover, some ties across the Korean community appear to have continued across the diverse beliefs that they practised, and the Jesuit archive

101 APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r; English translation of Morejón's transcription of the Japanese text in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 244. See also translation in Spanish and Japanese reconstruction in Ruiz-de-Medina, "History and Fiction of Ota Julia," 540, 543.

102 Mateo de Couros to Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 245v: "rogandolhe juntamente que a auisasse do estado da Christandade e da Companhia."

103 Macao, November 1617, ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 401v: "foi notando a diferença, que ha entre a vida dos bons christãos e a dos gentios," "se foi valer do emparo dos christãos, os quaes todos muy bem conhecia, e nunca lhes sahia de casa."

104 Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 417v: "foi ja tesoureiro do tono, e cabeça de alguns pagens: mas como era estrangeiro, e se temia que lhe armassem algun caramilho se escusou do officio, e se retirou lograndose de sua renda."

provided occasional evidence of Koreans moving between different identities and roles. In March 1621, Mateo de Couros recorded a tale of apostasy of a Japanese Franciscan tertiary, Tanda Domingo. He narrated how a Korean man “who had been brought up from childhood in our house,” had approached a Korean friend, who was then working as an executioner for the Governor of Nagasaki, Hasegawa Gonroku, to secure him Tanda’s rosary from the pyre. As Tanda apostatized, the Korean executioner concluded that the item could not be considered a relic, and took it to give to his Korean friend.¹⁰⁵ The focus of Couros’s account concerned the fragility of the Japanese tertiary’s faith and the strength of that of the Jesuit-educated Korean, who reputedly later threw the object away in a fire, but his narrative revealed lines of communication and community that continued beyond the faith positions that individuals upheld.

Belonging and the Christian Orders

Studies of the mission strategies of the Society of Jesus in the Asian region have identified how Jesuits employed some local social structures and systems that might support Christian practice and community.¹⁰⁶ With regards to Korean women and men, however, Jesuits and other orders did not adapt their approach to their knowledge, limited in any case, of Joseon society. They met Koreans largely as part of a diaspora spread across the region. In Japan, evangelized Koreans operated within structures that had initially been designed for local Japanese cohorts. Over time, however, Koreans began to create structures attendant to their own needs. These included the establishment of their own site of worship, Saint Lawrence, in Nagasaki. The same annual letter by Giram in 1610 that reported its creation also noted the Korean community’s development of its own confraternity and how “even though they are poor, they gather alms among themselves.”¹⁰⁷

At the same time, the Christian orders, with their different approaches to mission, offered alternative social structures for the evangelized Korean community. While Christian authors may have been concerned with the distinctions between them, there is less evidence that Koreans identified strictly with individual orders and some evidence that they moved between Christian groups that offered the spiritual experiences and support that they desired.¹⁰⁸ Korean women and men, for example, appeared to be members of a range of confraternities. The Dominican San Jacinto described the Korean

105 March 15, 1621, ARSI, JapSin 37, fol. 185r: “hum Christão de sua naçam, seu amigo, que se criaue desde minino en nossa Casa.”

106 See, for example, on China, Standaert, “Jesuits in China,” 172.

107 Annual Letter, 1610, ARSI, JapSin 57, fols. 5v–6r: “ainda *que* pobres, aiuntarão suas esmolas entresi.”

108 See, for example, the oath written by the Japanese Paulo Hitomi on behalf of the community at Takatsuki in 1595 that swore their exclusive allegiance to the Jesuits, Anesaki and Sakurai, “Two Kirishitan Documents,” and Hesselink, “Document of the Rosario Brotherhood of Nagasaki.” On the activities of such confraternities, see Cieslik, “Laienarbeit in der alten Japan-Mission,” 176–83; Oliveira e Costa, “The Misericórdias among Japanese Christian Communities”; Gonoi, “The Jesuit Mission and *Jihi no Kumi* (Confraria de Misericórdia),” who also mentions the involvement of evangelized Koreans at 133.

adherent Julia, for example, as “very devout to the Rosary and a promoter of the Holy Confraternity.”¹⁰⁹ Arizō Pedro was a member of the Dominican confraternity of the Rosary (*Rozario no Kumī*) and, as noted above, later in Edo a steward of the Franciscan brotherhood of the Cord (*Kurudan no Kumī*).¹¹⁰ Hachikan Joachin too was a steward of the brotherhood of the Cord.¹¹¹ Although only Korean men were recorded in official roles within such groups, women too were included within them. The Korean couple, Takeya Inés and Cosme, were both members of the confraternity of the Rosary.¹¹² In Nagasaki, Ichibō Juan and his Korean wife were both members of Augustinian third order.¹¹³ These organizations offered social and care practices, charitable support and, later, as Christianity was increasingly repressed by Japanese authorities, protected Christians in their homes and supported those in prison.¹¹⁴

The biographies of evangelized Koreans provided in Christian records revealed the different ways that their authors understood the contributions of women and men to the Christian community. However, when it came to the Society of Jesus itself, only a select group of Korean men could officially become members in some form. The precise roles available to local Asian men had been the topic of rigorous debate among the Society through the sixteenth century, before the General, Claudio Acquaviva, confirmed in 1610 that they might be admitted, albeit not with the same opportunities as other cohorts. Moreover, the Society’s demand that its members knew Latin excluded many. Only a small number of Korean men therefore were recorded as recognized assistants known as *dōjukus*, including Gayo, the former monk, who performed this role in Nagasaki. The activities of these men appeared critical in reaching out to the Korean community across language and cultural barriers. Morejón recorded how Gayo “for many years helped in our houses by his good example and his talks on the Catechism to his compatriots, and after he had learned the language, to the Japanese. [...] In Nagasaki he read them spiritual books and gave talks.”¹¹⁵ Vicente too followed this path into the Jesuit community. According to Morejón, “he turned out a good teacher of catechism,” not only among his Korean compatriots, but having “a like influence on the Japanese as well.”¹¹⁶ As *dōjukus*,

109 [Nagasaki] March 25, 1620, San Jacinto, “Relación breve,” 26–27: “muy devota del Rosario y gran favorecedora de la santa Confradía.”

110 Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 155.

111 Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 125.

112 Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 122.

113 Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 165.

114 On Japanese women’s roles in these confraternities, see Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*, 335 and the evidence of Japanese women’s involvement in providing prison support in the letter of Jesuit brother Kimura Leonardo, in Hesselink, “A Letter from Jail.”

115 Macao, March 31, 1627, BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462r–v: “y siruio en nuestras casas muchos años con buen exemplo y con los sermones del cathecismo a sus naturales y despues de saber la lengua a los Japones. [...] en Nangasaqui les leya libros espirituales platicaua.”

116 BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462v: “salio buen predicador del Cathecismo,” “Yo lo mismo hazia con los Japones.”

both men served a wider Christian community than that of the Koreans alone, a critical role in the development of the Church in Japan undertaken by celibate men connected with a specific religious order. Women could catechize informally, but they could not become *dōjukus* or be recognized in official apostolic roles.¹¹⁷

Some Korean men trained as *dōjukus* but stepped away upon marriage. Among them was “a Korean Christian called Martinho who was our *dojuco* and now is married,” wrote Morejón in the annual letter of 1626.¹¹⁸ He was examined by officers of the governor of Nagasaki in 1626 and his home searched: “saying, among other things, that he was a Brother. He replied that he was not, for he had a wife and children.”¹¹⁹ Martinho may not have been a Brother, but the Society’s men in Japan corresponded with Rome about the possibility of admitting appropriate Korean men, receiving approval to admit them under the same conditions as for Japanese and Chinese in December 1608.¹²⁰ Gayo’s activities as a catechist eventually came to the attention of the authorities in Nagasaki. He spent eighteen months in prison, during which time he requested entry to the Society; he was accepted just before his death.¹²¹

Women had no place performing these assistant roles within the Society of Jesus. As Haruko Nawata Ward has observed, even the much-lauded *Miyako no bikuni* group, led by the elite Japanese woman, Naitō Julia, was never officially recognized as part of the Society.¹²² Although they could not take part in the official roles of the Christian apostolate in Japan, Korean women, like the Japanese women studied by Ward and Kataoka, could contribute to their membership in other ways. They ensured, for example, a stream of boys to support Christian activities and to become *dōjukus* in their turn, in acts of spiritual abandonment. Muñoz described how Julia

gave to the Church where there was need, a twelve-year-old boy as a *dōjuku* whom she had adopted as her son, and another twelve-year-old, brother of our Brother Leon [...] He is a beautiful and graceful boy called Augustin. He went with another brother to paint and gild the palaces of Casindono, who is the tyrant-lord of Fingo.¹²³

117 On *dōjuku* in the wider Jesuit organization, López-Gay, “Las organizaciones de laicos”; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 222–26; and on Japanese women’s forms of ministry, Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*, 221–22.

118 Annual letter, 1626, ARSI, JapSin 63, fol. 73v: “hum Christão Coreia chamado Martinho, *que* foi nosso *dojuco*, e agora he Casado.”

119 ARSI, JapSin 63, fol. 73v: “dizendo he a lem doutras cousas *que* era Irmão. Respondes lhe que onão era pois tinha molher, e filhos.”

120 ARSI, JapSin 58, fol. 198r and Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 90.

121 Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 126–27.

122 Though it was recognized as affiliated to it, see Ward, “Kirishitan Veneration of the Saints,” 54.

123 Osaka, February 1607, BL, MS Harley 3570, fol. 390v: “y dio para la yglesia por dezir que abria nescesidad aun ninõ de doze años para Dojico, el qual auia adoptado por hijo suyo, y otro muchacho de doze años hermanito de nuestro hermano Leon [...] esmuy hermoso ya graciado llama se Augustin, fue con otro su hermano apintar y dorar los palacios de Casindono, el qual tirano es Señor de Fingo.”

Just as Jesuit writers accepted that forced movement might be the pathway that exposed Koreans to Christianity, they in turn depicted Julia's Christianity as practised and demonstrated by her control of the fate of other vulnerable children.

Moreover, evangelized Korean women could serve the Society and Christian missionaries more broadly as powerful role models of mission possibilities, who existed in the controlled space of the Jesuit archive, their stories and letters mediated by men, either directly or through the transcription of their letters and the paratextual information with which they were contextualised. The Society was by no means the only Christian order that sought contact with Koreans or which reported the activities of evangelized Korean women whom Jesuits encountered or heard about, as this chapter has demonstrated. Although most authors showed no concerted effort to emphasize Koreans among the cohort of Christians in Japan, and the Korean identity of such women was rarely the focus of their appearance in such texts, nevertheless, this was noted as a part of these women's identity. In such ways, Korean adherents travelled the globe. Clara's vision, for example, as it was relayed in Giram's report from Japan, in its translation into Italian, and its inclusion by Guerreiro in his five-volume publication, became a statement of faith for more than Clara alone. It offered edification to many readers across Europe as it was printed and circulated in multiple languages.¹²⁴ This individual's highly individualized vision became part of the communal culture of Catholic Christianity in these new contexts. Not only did it demonstrate the strength of the Church in Japan, but Christian authors utilized such narratives to demonstrate the power and potential of missionary endeavours to the Joseon kingdom. With this objective, the inclusion of speeches and texts attributed to Korean women such as Julia, Clara, Ursula, and Marina played a vital role in seemingly confirming Christian authors' claims about the fervour and other positive features of character that they identified with Korean women, and Korean people more broadly, which made them attractive subjects for proselytizing strategies.

Conclusions

Christian authors articulated the participation of Koreans as a community, within the wider Christian cohort and in relation to its specific orders. They saw different roles for women and men in all three, and different ways in which women and men could demonstrate their faith. Their texts naturally foregrounded what they thought mattered or was right, but they could also embed alternative ideas and practices held by Korean women and men themselves. The Christian archive, unsurprisingly, provided strong evidence to support claims that Korean women and men were driven by their own desires for an active apostolate, but Christian writers saw gender as a key determinant that shaped how women and men experienced and participated in the Christian community that they had joined, as did local Japanese authorities. Belonging was complicated for Koreans,

124 Giram, *Lettera di Giappone dell'anno M. DC. VI*, 38–40.

out of place, away from home, making new connections while negotiating the meaning and value of their former ties. Soon the meanings of community, identity, networks, and belonging would be tested in a new context of violence in which, once again, women would find themselves challenged to participate fully in new kinds of experiences as Christians and in the forms that they desired.

