

The Portuguese Slave Trade in Early Modern Japan

Studies in Global Slavery

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VOLUME 7

The Portuguese Slave Trade in Early Modern Japan

*Merchants, Jesuits and Japanese, Chinese, and
Korean Slaves*

By

Lúcio de Sousa



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To the memory of all Japanese, Chinese, and Korean slaves, whose lives have been erased from the pages of History. May their souls rest in peace and their lives not be forgotten.



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The study of “Japanese, Chinese, and Korean slavery in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries” began as a curiosity almost 20 years ago, a time when, reading a book by Cunha Rivara, I eventually became aware of this topic. I recall looking for a bibliography on this subject; yet, I did not find any information. Nevertheless, I was determined to find original sources that could shed light on this little-known subject matter. During the following years I was able to collect enough documents. I was thus ready to address the issue, which started in April 2003, at the time of my PhD in Asian studies.

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At this delicate moment in our History, in which political upheavals decimate populations, thus leading to the formation of refugee camps at the doors of countless countries, where human rights are attacked on all fronts by populist discourses of world politicians, I appeal to anyone reading this book to have compassion for their neighbour, to openly denounce indignity and social injustice, and to prevent by their words and their vote the emergence of dictators disguised as bastions of freedom.

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Abbreviations

AAL	Arquivo Arzobispal de Lima, Lima
ADS	Arquivo Distrital de Setúbal, Setúbal
AFM	Arquivo da Família Melo, Serpa
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid
AHM	Arquivo Histórico de Macau, Macao
AHPC	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Córdoba, Córdoba
AHSCMP	Arquivo Histórico da Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Porto, Oporto
AHU	Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional, Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican
BA	Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon
BADE	Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora, Évora
BAN	Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale, Paris
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican
BMNA	Biblioteca do Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon
BNL	Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
BNP	Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Lima
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid
SHJ	Shiryō hensan-jo, Historiographical Institute, University of Tokyo, Tokyo

Introduction

On 5 February 1575, Jacinta de Sá and Guilherme Brandão, bearers of typically Portuguese names, married in the Church of the Conception, in Lisbon. The marriage would have passed completely unnoticed by any reader of the church's book of registries had it not been for two small but important peculiarities: both were Japanese and former slaves,¹ information that the priest inscribed in Old Portuguese. Nor was the marriage an isolated case, as during the 16th century other Japanese in Lisbon parishes married Japanese, Europeans, or Africans. Strictly speaking, the presence of such peoples was not limited to the Portuguese capital. In the 16th and early 17th centuries, Japanese people were present throughout the Habsburg Empire, in large metropolises as well as in rural areas, especially in Acapulco, Ahuacatlan, Bagumbayan, Binondo, Cavite, Kochi, Córdoba, Coria del Río,² Dilao, Goa, Guadalajara, Huatulco, Lima, Macao, Madrid, Malacca, Manila, Mexico City, Pagsanjan, Pasig, Puebla de los Ángeles, San Anton, Serpa, Seville, Veracruz, Xochimilco, and Zafra. However, the implications of this presence are completely unknown. Although historians know of the forced migration of African slaves to Europe, the Americas, and India, there is no research that accurately recaptures the phenomenon of Japanese slavery and its diaspora in the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century. This study was therefore initiated with a threefold purpose: the first to try to reconstruct the system of traffic of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean slaves from Japan, using the Portuguese mercantile networks; the second to reconstruct the Japanese communities in the Habsburg Empire; and the third to analyze the impact of the Japanese slave trade on the Iberian legislation produced in the 16th and first half of the 17th centuries.

Although the academic literature on the movement of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean slaves during this period is extremely scarce, the works of Cunha Rivara, Yoshitomo Okamoto, Álvarez-Taladriz, Thomas Nelson, and, more recently, Leonor Seabra, Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, Elsa Penalva, Déborah Oropeza Keresey, Tatiana Seijas, and Rubén Carrillo, are exceptions that confirm the

1 The religious authorities use the word *forros*, meaning former slaves. *Aos 5 de Fevereiro de 73 recebi a porta da Igreja como manda a Santa madre Igreja por marido et molher a guilherme brandão cõ Jacinta de Sá, ambos japones et forros facendose todas as diligencias necessarias forão testemunhas o padre bastião pereira et Carlos neto et outros muitos.* ANTT, Fundo Paroquial, Lisboa, Igreja da Conceição, Liv. 1 de Mistos, fl. 43 v.; 5-2-1573.

2 In the case of Coria del Río, there is no documentation to substantiate the allegation that the inhabitants who have the toponym “Japón” in their name are actually of Japanese descent.

importance of Japanese slavery and its significance for many communities.³ The first historian who stands out in this field is Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (1809–1879), who, from 26 January 1855, took on the task of organizing and publishing the official documentation of the Portuguese authorities in the State of India, the so-called *Archivos da India* (Indian Archives). The purpose of this publication was to prevent the disappearance of much of the Portuguese documentation in India, which was in an advanced state of deterioration due to the climate and the carelessness of the archivists. It was in this context that masses of information about the Japanese presence in the Portuguese Empire, until then completely unknown, began to be published sparingly, in ten volumes. Critical analysis of many of these documents would happen only in the following century, through the work of Japanese researcher Yoshitomo Okamoto. He laid the groundwork for the first study on the relationship between Japanese slavery and the Portuguese presence in Japan. To date, this study remains the first authoritative reference on this matter. Unfortunately, it exists only in Japanese. Several decades later, the great Spanish historian José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, self-exiled in Japan due to the Franco regime (1939–75), continued Okamoto's work in a small appendix to his study on the work of the Italian Jesuit Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606). Titled “Apuntes sobre el Cristianismo y la Esclavitud en Japón” (Notes on Christianity and Slavery in Japan), the appendix demonstrated, by cross-referencing unpublished and published sources, that the participation of the European merchants in the traffic of Japanese slaves badly damaged the propagation of Christianity in Japan and contributed to the Japanese aversion to foreigners.

After Álvarez-Taladriz, the historian Thomas Nelson continued to address the problem of slavery in Japan and its relationship with Portuguese traders in his essay “Slavery in Medieval Japan.” Although he could not read Portuguese,

3 Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, ed., *Arquivo Português Oriental* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1862); Yoshitomo Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki nichi-ō-kōtsū-shi no kenkyū* (1942; Tokyo: Harashobou, 1974), pp. 728–806; José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, “Apuntes sobre el Cristianismo y la Esclavitud en Japon.” Appendix to Alessandro Valignano, *Adiciones del sumario de Japón*, ed. José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz (privately published, n.d.), 498–511; Thomas Nelson, “Slavery in Medieval Japan,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 59(4) (Winter 2004): 463–92; Leonor Diaz Seabra, *A Misericórdia de Macau (Séculos XVI a XIX) Irmandade, Poder e Caridade na Idade do Comércio* (Macau: Universidade de Macau, 2011); Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, *A Outra Metade do Céu* (Macau: Saint Joseph Academic Press, 2011); Elsa Penalva, *Mulheres em Macau: Donas honradas, Mulheres Livres e Escravas, séculos XVI e XVII* (Macau: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2011); Déborah Oropeza Keresey, “Los ‘indios chinos’ en la Nueva España: la inmigración de la Nao de China, 1565–1700,” PhD diss., El Colegio de México, 2007; Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Rubén Carrillo, “Asians to New Spain,” PhD diss., Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, 2015.

Spanish, and Latin sources, the assistance provided by the great historian of Christianity in Japan, Takashi Gonoï, addressed this insufficiency, producing a study where for the first time we can truly contextualize slavery in Japan both before the arrival of the Portuguese and during their stay. This remarkable work demonstrates that the phenomenon of Japanese slavery did not arise during the period of Portuguese presence, but, rather, was a continuation of a pre-existing social structure—something that had not been realized by Okamoto nor successfully demonstrated by Álvarez-Taladriz. Additionally, I would like to introduce the work of the historian Leonor Seabra on Macao's administrative institutions (a former Portuguese colony, reabsorbed by the People's Republic of China in 1999). Through this author, it is possible to know the internal structure of the "Misericórdia,"⁴ as well as to identify a Japanese presence through the first wills produced in the city. Seabra's study also demonstrates the impact of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean slaves, among others, on the formation of Euro-Asian Macanese society. Simultaneously, clearly influenced by the works of Leonor Seabra and Charles Boxer, the historians Ivo Carneiro de Sousa and Elsa Penalva undertook the first comprehensive study on the female presence in Macao.⁵

More recently, Déborah Oropeza Keresey has opened a new historiographical era in the sphere of Asian slaves and their diaspora with her brilliant doctoral thesis. This is an innovative study on the immigration process of such slaves from the Philippines to the Virreinato de Nueva España (New Spain), highlighting aspects previously neglected when approaching the topic, such as geographic origin, ethnic origin, gender, and work-related activities. In parallel, Keresey analyzes and then proves how the demographic flow of Asian origin exerted a profound impact on Mexican economy and culture. Keresey's research has been continued by the historian Tatiana Seijas in two important articles: "The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila: 1580–1640" and "Native Vassals: Chinos, Indigenous Identity, and Legal Protection in Early Modern

4 Also known as "Santa Casa da Misericórdias," "Misericórdia" is a Catholic lay brotherhood whose mission is to treat and support the sick and disabled, as well as assisting abandoned newborns, orphans and widows.

5 This theme was first researched by Charles Boxer. In his book, Boxer revisits the first descriptions of the Jesuit Alonso Sánchez on Macao and the memoirs of the English Peter Mundy, concluding that Macanese female society was initially composed of slaves, who gradually became integrated as free women in the European society of Macao. Charles Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550–1770* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948), pp. 222–41. This author's study on the condition of women in Macao would eventually expand to cover the entire Portuguese Empire in *Mary and Misogyny: Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas (1415–1815): Some Facts, Fancies and Personalities* (London: Duckworth, 1975), pp. 63–95. Penalva, *Mulheres em Macau*, pp. 33–142; de Sousa, *A Outra Metade do Céu*, pp. 93–118.

Spain.”⁶ The former demonstrates the geographical diversity of slaves exported by the Portuguese to the Philippines, who, via the Manila galleons, followed their captors to the Americas. The latter presents a narrative that is not centered on the diaspora, but, rather, on the judicial framework of Asian slaves in Spanish jurisprudence. Both studies were foundational for the extraordinary volume by Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians*. In this work, Seijas develops a rigorous analysis of the cultural and geographic diversity of Asians who arrived in Mexico in the 16th and 17th centuries, eventually demonstrating the impact of this presence on Mexican culture and Spanish jurisdiction (transition from *Chinos* to *Indians* and later to *indigenous vassals*).⁷ Finally, Ruben Carrillo’s study of Asian migratory flows to Mexico between 1565 and 1816 presents new information on Asian communities that has not been studied either by Keresey or Seijas (as is the case of the Asian population of Puebla de los Ángeles, or the baptismal records from Mexico City). Unfortunately, in these works the number of cases of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean slaves identified is extremely low compared with other nationalities.

Yet there are many aspects still to be clarified. When were Japanese, Chinese, and Korean slaves first exported? Who were the captors, sellers, and buyers? Where in Japan were slaves sold to the Portuguese? How were they transported? How large were slave ships and how did internal organization for the transportation of slaves work? How did the purchase and sale system in the countries of destination work? Did slave sellers need to present official documents legitimizing the status of the cargo? If so, who produced these documents, where, and what content did they have? How many slaves are estimated to have departed from Japanese ports through Portuguese traders? At what prices? What were the gender and age of the slaves, and their relation to there a period that was more important than others and, if so, why? What are the reasons for slavery’s beginning and extinction? Was there any relation between this trade and religion, and if so, why? Where can we identify the earliest Japanese, Chinese, and Korean communities in the Habsburg Empire? How were they structured? Who were the first Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans living

6 Tatiana Seijas, “The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila: 1580–1640,” *Itinerario* 32(1) (2008): 19–38; “Native Vassals: Chinos, Indigenous Identity, and Legal Protection in Early Modern Spain,” in *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522–1671*, ed. Christine H. Lee (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 153–64.

7 The first chapter on Catarina of San Juan is extremely interesting. The author clarifies how a slave named Catarina would transition from her slave status to freedom, and later become a popular saint.

in Europe and the Americas? Is it possible to reconstruct their lives? These are the main questions that I attempt to answer in this book.

As for the method, my work seeks to combine micro-history with macro-history, that is, to present individual narratives of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean slaves and to integrate them in a transnational, transcontinental, and transcultural context. To this purpose, I have tried to identify in several Asian, European, and American archives all individuals who were in transit in Japanese ports and the seas of China and who were sold to the Portuguese, from the early 16th century until the definitive closure of Portuguese–Japanese trade relations in 1640. The documents analyzed are predominantly religious correspondence, inquisitorial processes, correspondence of merchants, wills, marriage records, death records, baptismal records, notarial records, censuses, journals, travel registers, merchandise registries, and legislation. In addition to handwritten documentation, I have also analyzed numerous printed documents produced at the time as well as more recent sources. The sample of individuals identified were categorized by year, name, gender, nationality, date, and place of birth and death, destination, commercial route, owner, marital status, profession, kinship, social mobility, and acculturation. This database excludes individuals with the generic categorization of *Chino* (a term used in Latin America), and includes the individuals of the *Padrón de los indios de Lima en 1613*, denominated *Indians from Portugal*, *Indians from China* and *Indians from Japan*,⁸ who arrived on the American continent via Portuguese trade routes. From the gathered information, it has been possible for me to analyze quantitatively and qualitatively the individuals of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean origin, and to examine their lives in the Portuguese Empire and later, from 1581, in the Habsburg Empire.

Terminology

As for terminology, during my research I encountered a far more complex structure than that relating to the Atlantic world. Traditionally speaking, in Asia the term “slave” cannot be solely understood as an individual sold as property. This definition, in addition to being ambiguous, does not reflect the various categories associated with it, such as forced labor, land labor, maritime labor, closed labor slaves, open labor slaves, state bondage, temple and church

⁸ This group includes individuals from India, Southeast Asia, and China, yet it excludes Asians from the Philippines.

bondage.⁹ In the case of slavery controlled by Europeans in Asia, one also comes across different meanings, for example, the meaning of “slave” in European culture does not carry the same meaning in Japanese or Chinese culture.¹⁰ The distinction between ownership of bodies and ownership of labor is often misunderstood, manipulated, and erased by Europeans slave traders in the past. The rights granted to slaves vary according to the laws of each nation and, in the case of the Habsburg Empire, the terminology also varies according to each region. The very status of these *shifting people*, being captured, enslaved, and transported to other regions, varies a great deal as well. In the case of the Portuguese and Spanish in the Asian continent, one comes across *shifting people* who started their diaspora as *free people* in their places of origin but who were illegally forced into being *slaves* at their final destinations. In the case of the slave trade carried out by the Portuguese on the Asian continent, one also encounters a form of slavery that does not fall within the more common concept of land labor. The slaves traded by the Portuguese were mainly deployed in the ship’s equipage, at the dockside (loading and unloading goods), in maritime journeys as seamen and soldiers, in construction and repair of fortresses, and in domestic service.¹¹

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- 9 Anthony Reid, “Closed” and “Open” Slave Systems in Pre-Colonial Southeast Asia,” in *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, ed. Anthony Reid (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1983), pp. 156–81; Robert J. Antony, “Turbulent Waters: Sea Raiding in Early Modern South East Asia,” *Mariner’s Mirror* 99(1) (2013): 23–38; Peter Boomgaard, “Human Capital, Slavery and Low Rates of Economic and Population Growth in Indonesia, 1600–1910,” *Slavery & Abolition* 24(2) (2003): 83–96; Bok-rae Kim, “Debt Slaves in Old Korea,” in *Bonded Labour and Debt in the Indian Ocean World*, ed. Gwyn Campbell and Alessandro Stanziani (London: Pickering & Chatto Publishers Limited, 2013), pp. 165–72; Yoko Matsui, “The Debt-Servitude of Prostitutes in Japan during the Edo Period, 1600–1868,” in *Bonded Labour and Debt*, ed. Campbell and Stanziani, pp. 173–86; Hans Hägerdal, “The Slaves of Timor: Life and Death on the Fringes of Early Colonial Society,” *Itinerario* 34(2) (2010): 19–44; Rila Mukherjee, “Mobility in the Bay of Bengal World: Medieval Raiders, Traders, States and the Slaves,” *Indian Historical Review* 36(1) (2009): 109–29; Joseph MacKay, “Pirate Nations: Maritime Pirates as Escape Societies in Late Imperial China,” *Social Science History* 37(4) (2013): 551–73.
- 10 Hidemasa Maki, *Jinshin baibai* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1971), pp. 59–60, 194–5, 220; Thomas Nelson, “Slavery in Medieval Japan,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 59(4) (Winter 2004): 472–74; Mihoko Oka, “Daikōkai Jidai – Umi wo Watatta Nihonjin,” in *Nihonshi no mori wo yuku*, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensan-jo (Tokyo: Chūkō Shinsho, 2014), pp. 77–8; Lúcio de Sousa, Mihoko Oka, *Daikōkaijidai no nihonjin dorei* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-shinsha, 2017), p. 22.
- 11 Michael Pearson, “Littoral Society: The Concept and the Problems,” *Journal of World History* 17(4) (2006): 353–73. Richard B. Allen, “Satisfying the Want for Labouring People: European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1800,” *Journal of World History* 21(1) (2010):

Among the most commonly used terminology is *moços/moças* (young men/young women). Although an unstable and imprecise category, it nevertheless designates both male and female enslaved persons or former slaves (released young man, freed young man, free young man/*moço liberto*, *moço forro*, *moço livre*). The term *moços* (young men) encompasses slaves ranging from adolescence to old age. On the other hand, the term *moças* (young women) generally refers to fertile, old-enough-to-marry, female slaves. The meaning of this term is very broad as there was no exact age definition.

Besides being a generic category, the term *moços/moças* is a euphemism. It was a word that was also used to disguise the condition of slavery, mainly on the documentation of the merchants of Macao and the Society of Jesus. The use of the word *moço*—instead of the terms *cativo* (captive) or *escravo* (slave)—is also connected with the fact that in 1570 the enslavement of Japanese people was outlawed by the King of Portugal, Sebastian I (1557–1578).

The category *moços de serviço* (young men in service) can be divided into slaves and servants. Another expression with the same meaning is *gente de serviço* (people in service). This category is particularly mentioned in the Jesuits' rules in Japan (*Summary of some things that belong to the Government of the Province of India* left by Alessandro Valignano, or *The excerpt from Commandments from Visitors made for the priests of [Jesuit] Houses and more priests from Japan*, by Francisco Pasio).

Sometimes there is also reference to the term *moço cativo* (captive young men). The use of this term was to reinforce the statute of perpetual slavery of the victim, as there were several different types of *moços* (young men).

The category *moços por anos de serviço* (young men with years of service to fulfill) refers to those who, either willingly or forcibly, sold their services for a set period of time. Generally, Macao and Manila merchants did not honor such contracts and transformed the *moços por anos de serviço* into perpetual slaves.

Moço forro/moça forra (freed young man/freed young woman)—refer to persons who had acquired *alforria* (freedom) or, rather, a freed person. The word *alforria* comes from the Arabic الحُرِّيَّة *al-hurriah* (freedom).

45–73. Jennifer L. Gaynor, *Intertidal History in Island Southeast Asia: Submerged Genealogy and the Legacy of Coastal Capture* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2016). Remco Raben, “Cities and the Slave Trade in Early Modern Southeast Asia,” in *Linking Destinies: Trade, Towns and Kin in Asian History*, ed. Peter Boomgaard, Dick Kooiman, and Henk Schulte Noordholt (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2008), pp. 119–40. Benjamim Videira Pires S.J., *Taprobana e mais além... Presenças de Portugal na Ásia* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1995), pp. 167–73.

The terms *meninos/meninas* (boys/girls) refer to children or adolescent slaves. The earliest use of these terms can be found in Macao's testament sources, dating back to 1591; however, this designation was often used by Portuguese merchants from India.

Another category—*bichas*—appeared in Macao in 1631. In Old Portuguese, this word meant female animals. *Bicha* would correspond to a domestic animal such as a dog or a cat. In northern Portugal, namely in the Trás-os-Montes region, it refers to the female sexual organ. In Macao, *bicha* meant Chinese girls, considered *resgatadas* (redeemed) to be baptized. This term is only connected to female and juvenile Chinese slavery. Initially, the Portuguese did not use this designation for female slaves of other nationalities. Subsequently, this term started to be used in Macao with regard to young Asian slaves who lived in the city, and stopped being applied exclusively to Chinese slaves.

The term *Negro* (Black) in Macao and Japan meant slave (in general), or dark-skinned (African) slave, whereas *Cafres* (Kaffirs), from the Arabic كافر *kāfir*,¹² designated someone ungrateful, unfaithful, an unbeliever, a renegade, or a non-Muslim.

As we can see, the Iberian commercial network not only expressed itself in the formation and expansion of slave diasporas towards Europe and the Americas, but also in the creation of new words to designate them. This linguistic need gave rise to different and innovative terms in both the Portuguese and Spanish languages, which gradually substituted the categories that were used in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages to characterize the different conditions of servitude.

12 Originally, the Portuguese used this word to designate the non-Bantu populations they encountered south of present-day Angola, as they were descending the western coast of Africa on their way to India, more specifically, the Khoisan of present-day Namibia (c.1484–88). Interestingly enough, the Portuguese chose to name the Khoisan *Cafres* since they realized that the latter were neither of the Nilo-Saharan nor of the Niger-Congo ethnic/racial groups who are/were either Muslims/Islamic or had a very sophisticated religious system. Obviously, the Khoisan had/have a very sophisticated philosophical and religious system. Unaware of this, the Portuguese only judged them based on their looks and their nomadic lifestyle. *Cafres*—from the Arabic كافر *kāfir*, “infidels,” “renegade,” or “he/she who rejected the word of God”—was then the term that came to their minds since it was used in the Iberian Peninsula at the time of the Muslim occupation (711–1492). In Asia, then, the Portuguese and their descendants used this term to refer to someone with a dark skin tone, most of the time a slave.

The Book's Structure

This book is divided into eight chapters. In the first four, I analyze the Portuguese commercial ships in Japan and the origin of the slaves they carried during their journeys. The aim of these chapters is to reflect on the social, political, and economic shifts of Japanese–Portuguese relations in the 16th and 17th centuries, which caused an increase in the volume of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean slaves bought and transported by the Portuguese. At the same time, I also investigate Portuguese–Philippines trade connections and the expansion of the Portuguese slave trade from Asia to the Americas via the Manila galleon route.

In Chapter 5, I focus on the structure of the slave trade conducted by the Portuguese in Japan, from the capture of slaves to their sale and transportation. Furthermore, I explore the relations between Western and Asian slave traders in Japan and how initially this business fitted into the Kyūshū–Macao regional trading system and gradually, thanks to the Society of Jesus' intervention legalizing this trade, expanded to South and Southeast Asia, India, Europe, and the Americas.

Chapter 6 introduces four case studies addressing the various stages of Portuguese slave trade in Japan. For this purpose, I have selected the Chinese slave Victoria Diaz, the first Chinese woman who reportedly lived in Europe and was sold in Japan to the Portuguese; the Japanese slave Gaspar Fernandes, the first Japanese slave who reportedly lived in the Americas; the Korean Miguel Carvalho, the son of one of the first Korean slaves brought from Nagasaki to Macao during the Japanese invasions of Korea (1592–98); and the Japanese Jerónimo Iyo, bought as a slave by the Society of Jesus in Japan, who died as a martyr after serving as a priest at the Order of Saint Francis in the Philippines.

Chapter 7 is devoted to the Japanese Diaspora in the Habsburg Empire. The selected regions for this study are Macao, the Philippines, Mexico, Peru, Argentina, Goa, Portugal, and Spain. This chapter aims at demonstrating the truly “global” character of this trade as well as the impact of Japanese presence in those places. It also presents a short study on the importance of Japanese mercenaries in the Philippines, Macao, Malacca, and Goa, as thousands of Japanese participated in the Habsburg commercial and military expeditions in Asia, as well as playing a significant role in protecting these regions and strongholds against Dutch occupation.

Finally, the book presents a study of Japanese slavery and its regulation by Iberian legislation throughout different chronological periods. It begins with the first Goa Council and the measures adopted in relation to Asian slavery, followed by the resolutions of the Jesuit Francisco Rodrigues to regulate the

slave trade between China and Japan and the abolition of Japanese slavery in the Portuguese Empire by King Sebastian (r. 1557–78). I then analyze Toyotomi Hideyoshi's first anti-Christian edict and its relationship to slavery. To conclude, I examine the decline and demise of Japanese slavery within the Habsburg Empire, which was initiated by Bishop Pedro Martins and set in motion by Bishop Luís de Cerqueira.

The Chinese Stage

The First Portuguese in Southeast Asia and China

For 16th-century Europeans the Chinese seas were at the periphery of all major networks, the axis being Europe, the newly discovered American continent, and Africa, particularly West Africa. Initially, the main harbor around which the Portuguese settled in Southeast Asia was Malacca (Malaysia), which was taken in 1511 by Alfonso de Albuquerque (1453–1515). Most Portuguese adventurers were attracted by this city and from here entered into their first commercial connections with China and Japan.¹ Malacca was governed by a captain who, among various functions, organized the Portuguese trade. The Malacca Captain was the most important person within the Portuguese community since the King of Portugal had conferred upon him almost unlimited power. Yet, despite being a royal official, the Malacca Captain was often disobeyed by his peers (Portuguese nobles), as well as by European privateers who, dissatisfied with his orders, roamed across the China seas. This situation of chaos is clearly identifiable in various documents.² Such direct disobedience and dispersal of the Portuguese from Malacca were so relevant that even the Governor of Portuguese India wrote of the high number of Portuguese who traded from Sofala,³ along the Swahili coast, to China, thus avoiding royal control.⁴ This way of life can be summarized in the words of a Portuguese Jesuit merchant, Fernão Mendes Pinto (c.1510–1583):

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- 1 Tonio Andrade, “Asian States and Overseas Expansion, 1500–1700: An Approach to the Problem of European Exceptionalism,” in *Asian Expansions*, ed. G. Wade (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 52–68. Tonio Andrade, *The Gunpowder Age: China, Military Innovation, and the Rise of the West in World History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016). Kenneth J. Andrien, “Age of Exploration, c.1500–1650,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Modern Imperial History*, ed. Philippa Levine and John Marriott (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 15–40.
 - 2 By way of example, in 1540, the Malacca Captain (Pêro de Faria) refused to put boats in the sea, fearing that his men would revolt and flee to Banda and the Molucca Islands. ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, 1-68-86, fol. 2v. Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins: Portugal e a China no Século XVI* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2000), p. 326.
 - 3 João de Castro.
 - 4 *Obras Completas de D. João de Castro*, ed. Armando Cortesão and Luís de Albuquerque (Coimbra: AICP, 1968–81), vol. 3, p. 22. Loureiro, *Fidalgos*, p. 326.

[W]e spread, as pilgrims in India, between various places where each one of us tries to get the best opportunities.⁵

Chronicler Gaspar da Cruz (c.1520–1570) mentions that for the Chinese authorities “all the merchants, Portuguese and Chinese, were considered thieves,”⁶ or rather, from the standpoint of the Chinese authorities, the Portuguese were part of the *Wokou* (倭寇) problem.

The *Peregrinação* (‘Pilgrimage’, published posthumously by Belchior Faria in 1614), written by Pinto, describes in greater detail the lives of these groups of itinerant traders living beside the China seas in the first half of the 16th century. Although the chronology is arbitrary, with murky episodes and blatant gaps that contributed to the *Peregrinação* being disregarded as a historiographic report of true facts, some of the episodes narrated can be confirmed by other sources from the same period. In this book, Pinto writes about marginal groups of Europeans and their trade associations. Furthermore, he clearly demonstrates that, in the first half of the sixteenth century, the *folangi* (佛郎機), as the Chinese called the Portuguese at this time, were just one of the many ethnic and racial groups that comprised the *Wokou*, that is, the multifaceted cluster of private merchants, smugglers, and pirates who sailed the China seas.⁷

5 *nos espalhamos, como peregrinos que fomos na India, por diversas partes onde cada um onde cada um parecia fazer melhor seu proveito.* Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação. Peregrinação: Seguida das suas cartas. Texto primitivo, inteiramente conforme à 1. ed. (1614) Versão integral em português moderno* (1614; Lisbon: Rio de Janeiro, Sociedade de Intercâmbio Cultural Luso-Brasileiro, 1953), p. 480. For further information on Fernão Mendes Pinto, see: José Manuel Garcia, “L’Orient, de Marco Polo à Fernão Mendes Pinto,” in *Indes merveilleuses: l’ouverture du monde au xvie siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale/Chancellerie des Universités de Paris, 1993), pp. 46–48; José Manuel Garcia, *A viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e os portugueses* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 2007).

6 *todos os mercadores, assim portugueses como chineses, entravam na conta de ladrões.* Gaspar da Cruz, *Tractado em que se contam muito por estenso as cousas duas particularidades* (Évora: André de Burgos, 1569–70). Loureiro, *Fidalgos*, p. 425.

7 For some time the *Wokou* were considered “Japanese pirates,” when in fact they were composed of marginal groups of people of different geographic origins, the Japanese being only one. Several works in the early 20th century, the height of the great political tension between China and Japan, would be the main cause of this misunderstanding. The term *wakō* or *wokou* literally means “Japanese pirates and bandits,” though many of them were in fact Chinese. Wu Zhonghan, *Mingdai wokou fanhua shilüe* [A Brief Introduction of Wokou Invasion in the Ming Dynasty] (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1929); Li Jinhua, ed., *Sanbai nian qian wohuo kao* [The Evidential Studies of Wo Disasters Three Hundred Years Ago] (Nanjing: Guomin waijiao weiyuanhui, 1933); Chen Maoheng, *Mingdai wokou kaolüe* [A Brief Evidential Study of Wokou in the Ming Dynasty] (Cambridge, MA:

Another aspect worth mentioning is the relationship between *Wokou* attacks and “normal” Portuguese trading in the South China Sea. The diversity of these groups, which are described as practicing normal business and establishing cordial relations with other groups, is remarkable. Either due to financial need (loss of investments in a shipwreck), or motivated by revenge (debts), or attracted by greed (unprotected areas), people of all backgrounds were forced to become pirates and rob and destroy commercial trade centers. It can thus be inferred that, in the first half of the 16th century, trade practiced by the Portuguese in the China seas was not regulated, but, rather, was controlled by private merchants, despite incessant intervention by the Portuguese Crown, who attempted to regulate it. Contrary to the Eurocentric image given in the official documentation, first-person merchant testimonies destroy the idyllic image of an official trade perfectly structured and regulated by the Crown. On the contrary, they present a raw image of the contraband trade which passed through areas controlled by the Portuguese Crown, and expanded into places essentially unregulated by the Portuguese State of India (1505–1961), based on an exploration of new economic opportunities.⁸ But why did some Portuguese join the *Wokou*? It is difficult to identify only one reason due to the fact that many factors contributed to this partnership. However, the Portuguese provided an important complementation to the *Wokou* and vice versa. While the *Wokou* had true knowledge of the sea routes, the Portuguese had the technology to make these partnerships a success.⁹ Another important element that

Harvard–Yenching Institute, 1939); Wang Poleng, *Lidai zheng wo wenxian kao* [The Evidential Studies of Documents about the Expedition to Wo during the Past Dynasties] (Chongqing: Zhengzhong shuju, 1940). Kwan-wai So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China during the Sixteenth Century* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, 1975). There are several compilations of documents on this subject. Worth mentioning are: Wu Daxin, “Ming Jiajing wokou yanjiu huigu” [A Review of Studies of Wokou at the Jiajing Reign of the Ming Dynasty], *Mingdai yanjiu tongxun* [Association for Ming Studies Newsletter] 2 (1999): 91–106. For more information on these groups and their association with the Portuguese, see: Roderich Ptak, *China and the Asia Seas: Trade, Travel, and Visions of the Other (1400–1750)* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998). Roderich Ptak, *China, the Portuguese, and the Nanyang: Oceans and Routes, Regions and Trade (c.1000–1600)* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003).

8 Lúcio de Sousa, *The Early European Presence in China, Japan, the Philippines and Southeast Asia, (1555–1590): The Life of Bartolomeu Landeiro* (Macao: Macao Foundation, 2010), pp. 157–311.

9 These associations were in force before the Portuguese managed to access official trade enclaves in China and Japan—namely, Macao (1557) and Nagasaki (1580). The *Wokou* lived with the Portuguese in Macao and Japan, sailed on their ships, participated in trade, and their descendants eventually merged into a new society, that is, the Macanese. During the second half of the 16th century, the private merchants of Macao, as had happened

would influence and define these partnerships was the arrival of the Portuguese in Japan, allowing them to gradually become intermediaries in trade between China and Japan. During the Medieval period (5th–15th centuries), Japan was designated and known among Europeans as Zipangu. It was described for the first time in Marco Polo's book as follows:

Zipangu is a vast island to the east in the sea, and have a thousand miles. The people are white and beautiful, they worship idols, governed by themselves, and [they have] never [been] subjected to domination by others. Here, the gold is abundant; and because no man brings it out of the island, or any merchant transport it to the continent for the overwhelming distance, they have a tremendous abundance of gold. I will tell you a great wonder about the royal palace. It is a great building, all covered with pure gold, the same way we cover the roof of our churches of lead. The floor of his many rooms is of pure gold, two fingers thicker; and all the other parts of the palace, the walls of the rooms and the windows are also ornamented with gold. In sum, the wealth is so great that would cause us a great wonder to know the value of it. One can find in the beaches many big and round red pearls, beautiful to see, and they cost like the white ones. In addition to this, they have many precious stones. The island's wealth is huge.¹⁰

in the past, continued to be accompanied by private armies of mercenaries; some merchants were so wealthy that they were carried by slaves on golden chairs and had other accoutrements worthy of kings. BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, Cod. 49-V-3, Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembrar*, fol. 4. BADE, Papéis de D. Francisco Marcarenhas, Cod. CXVI/2-5, fols. 225–234v. Elsa Penalva and Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, *Fontes para a História de Macau no séc. XVII* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, I.P., 2009). Francisco Colín, *Labor Evangélica de la Compañía de Jesús en las Islas Filipinas por el P. Francisco Colín de la misma Compañía* (1663; Barcelona Heinrich y Compañía, Madrid: Ioseph Fernandez de Buendia, 1904), vol. II, pp. 300–01. George Bryan Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and South China Sea 1630–1754* (1986; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 37.

10 *Zipangu è un'isola grandissima verso levante nell'alto mare, e lungi da terra millecinquecento miglia. Il popolo è bianco e bello, idolatro, che si governa da sé, né mai fu soggetto a dominazione altrui. Quivi abbonda l'oro; e perchè nessun uomo ne porta fuori dell'isola, né mercatante del continente per la lontananza soverchia va a prenderne, ne hanno quantità smisurata. Vi conterà una grande maraviglia, di uno de' palazzi del suo signore. Desso è un palazzo grandissimo, tutto coperto di puro oro, a quel modo che noi copriamo le nostre case e chiese di piombo. Il pavimento delle molte sue camere è d'oro puro più grosso di due dita; e tutte le altre parti del palazzo, le pareti della sala e le finestre sono pure ornate d'oro; in somma la ricchezza n'è così sterminata, che troppa maraviglia farebbe il dirne il valore. Si trovano sulle spiagge moltissime perle rosse grandi e rotonde, bellissime a vedersi, che costano come le bianche; oltre a questo, quantità di pietre preziose. La opulenza dell'isola è*

As one may ascertain through the excerpt, Zipangu is depicted as a paradisiacal place, a sort of Asian El Dorado. Around 1450, this literary depiction gained physical shape through Friar Mauro (d. 1464), who for the first time included Zipangu in a map of the world.¹¹ However, the actual existence of this island remained uncertain at the time the Portuguese arrived in Asia. When Tomé Pires (c.1465–1524/40),¹² a botanist, pharmacist, and geographer, who, after arriving in Malacca in 1512, gathered information and undertook comprehensive research about Asia, described Japan for the first time, he presented it as a place that was not rich in commodities or natural products and did not associate it with Zipangu.¹³ This connection came about a few decades later when António Galvão (c.1490–1557) referred to Japan as the place described in the Scriptures. The sailors' sacred book was not the Bible, but Marco Polo's book. The following passage denotes how the connection between Zipangu and Japan began:

António da Mota, Francisco Zeimoto, and António Peixoto [...] saw an island [...] that they call Japan, which seems to be those islands Cipangu.

Galvão, in the *Tratado dos Descobrimentos*, also describes, albeit in no great detail, the merchant–pirate contacts among the Europeans, Chinese, and Japanese, thus confirming Pinto's account. One of the key examples of this is the arrival of the first Portuguese in Japan in 1542/43. They were described as mercenaries in the service of Captain Diogo de Freitas, who, for unknown reasons, fled his ship and embarked on a vessel that was traveling to China. Due to a storm, it eventually arrived in Japan,¹⁴ or Tanegashima, to be more precise. The

inestimabile. Rusticiano di Pisa, *I viaggi di Marco Polo, Veneziano*, trans. Lodovico Pasini (Venice: n.p., 1847), pp. 148–49.

11 Keneth Nebenzahal, *Mapping the Silk Road and Beyond: 2000 Years of Exploring the East* (2004; London and New York: Phaidon, 2005), pp. 48–49. Peter Shapinsky, “Polyvocal Portolans: Nautical Charts and Hybrid Maritime Cultures in Early Modern East Asia,” *Early Modern Japan* 14 (2006): 4–26. The first detailed map of Japan by a European can be found in Fernão Vaz Dourado's (c.1520–c.1580) 1568 atlas.

12 Rui Manuel Loureiro, “Tomé Pires: boticário, tradadista e embaixador,” in *Os fundamentos da amizade: cinco séculos de relações culturais e artísticas luso-chinesas* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e cultural de Macau, Lisbon, 2000), pp. 42–47.

13 English version: Armando Cortesão, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), p. 131. Portuguese version; Armando Cortesão, *A Suma Oriental de Tomé Pires e o Livro de Francisco Rodrigues* (Coimbra: Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis, 1978). Original manuscript: BAN, ms. 1248, E//D 19.

14 António Galvão, *Tratado dos Descobrimentos* (1563; Barcelos: Livraria Civilização Editora, 1987), pp. 164–65.

ship belonged to the Chinese Wang Zhi, and, besides the Portuguese crew, more than a hundred people were on board.¹⁵

But what would cause Pires and Galvão to have such different opinions about Japan? The difference was due to the fact that the information reaching Pires was sieved through the vague testimonies of sailors, something that changed in the following decades as the Portuguese began to gain a deeper and more accurate knowledge of the sea routes and movement of goods in the region.

The arrival of Portuguese in Japan would strengthen the relationship between them and the *Wokou*, creating a new trade route to explore, yet the Portuguese still constituted a minority, living scattered across several temporary ports and without a permanent and stable mercantile base, with the exception of Malacca.¹⁶ From 1557 onwards, after negotiations between Leonel de Sousa and the Chinese authorities, the Portuguese settled permanently in a peninsula called Macao,¹⁷ established the Goa–Malacca–Macao–Japan trade route, and within a few years turned Macao into an important slave-exporting hub. This route began in Goa between April and May, when the ship to Japan was loaded with Portuguese fabrics, Indian cloths, Ormuz textiles, hides, leather, glass objects, mirrors, watches, Mozambican blackwood, ivory, wines, olive oil, butter, sugar, cheeses, olives, lentils, biscuits, *roscas*,¹⁸ salty mangoes, marmalade, soap and numerous European household objects, and medical and religious utensils. Besides these commodities, they also transported luxury objects destined for important leaders with whom the Portuguese had commercial and political alliances. If no problem occurred during the voyage, the ship would then arrive in Malacca about a month later. In this city, part of the cargo was sold or traded and replaced by spices, aromatic woods, animal skins, and also slaves. The timing of the departure of Malacca was uncertain due to

15 Shosuke Murai, *Sekaiishi no naka no sengoku Nihon* (Tokyo: Chikumagakugeibunko, 2014), pp. 136–38.

16 This precarious situation would change when some Portuguese merchants settled in Macao, from 1557 on, with the connivance of the local Chinese authorities, and attracted around 2000 other Portuguese, who were scattered among the Southeast Asia seas to China and Japan, to this port. Peter Perdue, “1557: A Year of Some Significance,” in *Asia Inside Out: Changing Times*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo, Helen F. Siu, and Peter C. Perdue (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), pp. 90–111. António da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a História do Padroado Português do Oriente* (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1953), vol. IX, p. 539.

17 Rui Loureiro, *Introdução e selecção de Em busca das origens de Macau* (Lisbon: Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1996).

18 Portuguese round biscuit.

constant military conflicts between the Portuguese and the local authorities; however, the ship would have been likely to reach Macao between the end of June and the beginning of August. It would remain there between ten months and a year, and much of the merchandise would be replaced by Chinese silk purchased in December/January and May/June at the Canton fairs. Besides silk, several Portuguese, Indian, Southeast Asian, and Chinese products, as well as some gold, were also taken aboard.¹⁹ Another important aspect to highlight here is that the crew changed. While, on the Goa–Malacca–Macao part of the voyage, the crew came mostly from the Indian peninsula and Southeast Asia, along the Macao–Japan route, they were made up of Chinese and Japanese, with their own leaders.²⁰ All were under the command of the Head Captain.²¹ Once the ship was fully loaded, it would travel to Japan between the end of June and the beginning of August, and remain there until October/November or, in case of delay, until February/March of the following year.²²

The Portuguese Adventurers and the First Chinese Slaves

The first Portuguese references to the Chinese slave trade in Asia occur some time prior to the establishment of the Portuguese in Macao (1557) and can be found in *Lendas da Índia* (Legends from India) written by the Portuguese historian Gaspar Correia (c.1492–c.1563).²³ This book is especially interesting because it was not dedicated to a particularly powerful individual, nor was it subject to the inspection of the Inquisition. Furthermore, it did not face any kind of censorship. Perhaps that was the reason why the manuscript was published only in the 19th century, 300 years after it was drafted. Correia recorded many episodes based on his own life as well as oral testimonies of those with whom he became well acquainted in India, which makes it difficult to tell if some of the events described are real or an invention of the author. *Lendas da Índia* is a record of the first known reference to Chinese slavery related by the Head Captain who officially discovered the sea route to Brazil: Pedro Álvares Cabral (1467/68–1520). Appointed by King Manuel I of Portugal (1469–1521) to head the Armada to India in 1500, Cabral, following Vasco da Gama's Atlantic

19 Ana Prosepío Leitão, “Do trato português no Japão: presenças que se cruzam (1543–1639),” Master's diss., University of Lisbon, 1994; BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, Códice 49-IV-66, fols. 16–20.

20 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, p. 51.

21 Initially, he was the Captain of Malacca; he was later replaced by the Head Captain of Macao.

22 Charles Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1988).

23 The manuscripts of this work are in ANTT, CF 40-43 A. In the Biblioteca da Ajuda, there are two codices with the copy of the initial part of the *Lendas da Índia*, 51-VII-17 and 18 (Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia* (Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1859)).

route, first explored Brazilian territory—then called Terra de Vera Cruz—and after proceeded to India. Upon his return trip to Portugal—he set off on 16 January 1501—during the stage from Kannur (Cannanore) to Malindi, he came across a ship of Muslim merchants. The ship’s captain, fearful of being plundered, gave Cabral a present and informed him that his ship belonged to the Sultan of Cambay.²⁴ Cabral and his crew were told about China and its people and, as they revealed a lack of knowledge about these, Cabral was offered two Chinese child slaves as a gift; however, he refused to accept them:

[T]hose things from China will never come, which the Moor was glad to give him,²⁵ and with a lot of contentment sent the boat to the ship, and brought him a white young man and a Chinese girl, very beautiful, dressed in silk cloth, and gave them to the Head-Captain to take them to his wife; the Head Captain was very pleased but did not take anything.²⁶

24 Sultan of Cambay: actually the Sultan of Gujarat, Mahmud Shah I (r. 1458–1511).

25 Whenever I am quoting from a document, I will keep the word “Moor/Moors” as it is in the original language(s). In my own narrative, I will use the more appropriate and non-discriminatory word Muslim/Muslims. The word Moor is a misnomer, since its primary meaning, from the original Greek, via Latin, is “black,” or rather, the “black” people whom the Greeks and, later, the Romans, had encountered in the Maghreb. In order to distinguish between “white” and “black” Africans living in the Maghreb, the Greeks, and later the Romans, coined the neologisms “Berbers”—from the Greek βάρβαροι *barbaroi*, i.e., “barbarians”—and “Moors”—from the Greek Μᾶυροι *mauri*, i.e., “black.” Unbeknownst to them, the “Berbers” are not a race, but rather, are an ethno-linguistic agglomeration of tribes belonging to the Afro-Asiatic group whose ethnicities, due to intermarriage, can embrace people with black African blood. In Latin, Mauri came to designate the (dark-colored) inhabitants of “Mauritania,” the region between Numidia and the Atlantic Ocean. From the Greek plural form, the Latin derived the singular *Maurus*, -a, -um. Hence, by extension, the word meant a dark-colored person and, later, an African. Many times, the color of the Mauri was understood; hence, the Romans knew that Mauri meant “black” Africans and not Berbers. With the advent of Islam in North Africa, in the Maghreb and, consequently, in Europe, particularly in الأندلس Al-Andalūs and صقلية Sicilyyyah (Sicily), the term “Moor” became synonymous with Muslim. Islam entered the Iberian Peninsula and Sicily through Africa; the Maghreb, particularly from Morocco; and Sicily from Tunisia and Libya. Given that some Muslims were “black” or “dark skinned,” Europeans confused the two terminologies “Moor” and “Muslim,” thus making them synonymous. From the Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian, the confusion between these two words and concepts, as well as their overlapping and synonymous meaning, spread throughout Europe, thus making its way into other European languages. Needless to say, the word “Moor” is racially, ethnically, and religiously very offensive, as well as being historically and linguistically incorrect.

26 Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, 1, part 11, p. 226. For a more in-depth understanding on the subject of Chinese slavery: Claude Chevalyeyre, “Recherches sur l’institution servile dans la Chine des Ming et des Qing,” PhD diss., Collège de France-EHESS, 2015.

This describes the first known contact between the Portuguese and Chinese slaves; however, the first direct reference to the Portuguese and Chinese slavery did not appear until in the following decade, in a book by Portuguese chronicler João de Barros (1496–1570). He, rather peculiarly, tried to structure his history of the Portuguese in Asia following the model used by Titus Livius (59 BC–17 AD) in his *Ab Urbe Condita Libri*. As in Livius, each book brings together the events of every decade; hence, it is known in Portuguese historiography as the *Décadas da Ásia* (Decades of Asia).²⁷ In the *Terceira Década da Ásia* (Third Decade of Asia) Barros covered the events that occurred between 1516 and 1526. This volume reported the preparation and implementation of the first Portuguese mission to China led by Pires on behalf of Manuel I. This was the first mission undertaken by a European country to China since that of the Italian Giovanni de' Marignolli (c.1290–1360) in 1338–53.²⁸ On this trip, Fernão Peres de Andrade, responsible for conveying Ambassador Pires, was accompanied by his brother Simão de Andrade, who took the opportunity to acquire Chinese slaves in Guangzhou. This occurrence, found in the second chapter of the book, makes reference to the Portuguese returning to India: “in Guangzhou there were found many young men and women missing, children of honored people, who Simão de Andrade and the people of his Armada bought, and it did not seem to him that it offended the city.”²⁹ This act by Simão, besides feeding the anger of local Chinese authorities, triggered the tragic outcome of Pires’s mission, as its members were imprisoned and killed by the authorities.

27 The historical period analyzed in the first decade covers the years from 1497 to 1505. João de Barros, *Ásia de Ioam de Barros dos factos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento & conquista dos mares & terras do Oriente* (Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1552). The historical period analyzed in the second decade covers the years from 1505 to 1515. João de Barros, *Segunda decada da Ásia de João de Barros, dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento & conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente* (Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1553). The historical period analyzed in the third decade covers the years from 1516 to 1526. João de Barros, *Terceira decada da Ásia de Ioam de Barros: Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento & conquista dos mares & terras do Oriente* (Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1563). There is a fourth volume but it was left unfinished by the untimely death of the author, and was later completed by the historian João Batista Lavanha.

28 B. Colless and Giovanni de' Marignolli, “An Italian Prelate at the Court of the South-East Asian Queen of Sheba,” *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 9(2) (1968): 325–41. John W. Witek, S.J., “Christianity and China: Universal Teaching from the West,” in *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, ed. Stephen Uhalley Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 16.

29 João de Barros, *Ásia de João de Barros: Dos feitos que os portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente: Terceira Década (Sexta edição, actualizada na ortografia e anotada por Hernâni Cidade, Notas históricas finais por Manuel Múrias)* (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1946), p. 307.

Portuguese sailing the seas of China were also persecuted during subsequent decades.³⁰

With regard to an episode that occurred in Guangzhou, Barros tries to justify and acquit the procedure of the Portuguese concerning the purchase of slaves, claiming that this was a common practice in Asia and that parents often sold their children or gave them away as payment or pledges.³¹ Therefore, Portuguese traders probably thought that the people who had been sold to them in Guangzhou had been enslaved in such ways and not as a result of kidnap or “unlawful” sale. The same chronicler, after defending the innocence of the Portuguese—claiming that they had been outsmarted—details how Chinese slaves were sold in the region.³² This concern to describe the Chinese slave trade structure shows that the Portuguese, from their first contact with Ming’s China, demonstrated a particular interest in the trade. Between 1516 and 1542, the Portuguese presence in Malacca and Guangzhou was minimal; they were found mainly in small groups of traders/pirates who associated with other

30 There was also the problem of the Portuguese conquest of Malacca, which was part of the Chinese tributary system. Roderich Ptak, “Reconsidering Malacca and Central Guangdong: Portugal’s and Fujian’s Impact on Southeast Asian Trade (Early Sixteenth Century),” in *Iberians in the Singapore–Malacca Area and Adjacent Regions (16th to 18th Century)*, ed. Peter Borschberg (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), pp. 1–21. John E. Wills, “Relations with Maritime Europeans, 1534–1662,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 8: *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), part 2, pp. 333–75.

31 For a more in-depth understanding on the subject of children in slavery, see: *Children in Slavery through the Ages*, ed. Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2009).

32 *E pôsto que, por lei da terra, isto assi seja, quando alguã pessoa quere vender filho, há-de vir ao juiz denunciar sua necessidade; e se é tal que a não pode suprir outro modo, então usam desta cerimônia: o escrivão de ante o juiz faz huã carta de venda em nome do pai e da mãe que vendem o filho, onde cada um dêles, se o outro é falecido, assina que, se são vivos ambos hão-de concorrer neste consentimento da venda. E por sinal da escritura, o escrivão faz o seu ordinário, e o pai do moço borra a palma da mão direita com tinta grossa à maneira da que usam os impressores àcêra de nós, a qual põe sôbre a carta, impremindô tôda a figura da mão, e outro tanti faz com a planta do pé direito, e a mãe usa de outra tal cerimônia; no fim da qual, ambos, tanto um como outro, recebem seu dinheiro, entregando o filho. E o crêdor, per semelhante modo levando seu devedor a juízo, êle assina a escritura como se dá por cativo por tanto que deve; ou, se é pessoa que se vende a si mesmo, declarando a contia com pauto de tornar à sua liberdade, dando a soma que deve ou recebe.* De Barros, *Ásia de João de Barros*, p. 308. On this subject there is an interesting article in which the authors present various Chinese and Portuguese sources regarding slavery and the idea that persisted in the Chinese imagination that the Portuguese were cannibals: Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, “A (Des)canibalização dos Portugueses,” *Revista de Cultura* 16 (2005): 94–104.

similar Asian groups in the region, plundering and pillaging competing ships and coastal villages, as well as smuggling goods.³³

At this time, the main Portuguese bases for the smuggling trade were the Zhoushan Islands (舟山列島) and the surrounding coastal islands of Zhangzhou and Chaozhou (潮州). After 1548, due to a large military incursion led by Zhu Wan (朱紈) in Shuangyu, the Portuguese shifted their smuggling trade bases to the islands of Shangchuan (上川島) and Lampacau (浪白澳島).³⁴

These Portuguese, scattered throughout the Chinese seas, were beyond the control of the Estado da Índia (Portuguese State of India); most were former soldiers who eventually became pirates, mercenaries, or merchants. Although some of their names are listed on Portuguese and Chinese documents produced at the time, it is almost impossible to reconstruct their biographies and distinguish reality from fiction.³⁵ One of the few cases whereby a Portuguese exceeded the boundaries of anonymity was António de Sousa Faria (d. 1548), the mischievous hero of Pinto's *Peregrinação*. The merchant/pirate Faria was considered fictional for many years—until the discovery of his will, dated 2 June 1548 (Goa).³⁶

This document is a very useful tool for studying European presence in Southeast Asia, China, and Japan during the first half of the 16th century. It also helps us to identify the geographical origins of the slaves traded by Portuguese private merchants. At the time of his death, Faria had 30 slaves: 64 per cent were male and 36 per cent were female, 77 per cent were adults and 23 per cent were children. Of these, it is possible to identify 12 Chinese slaves, two from the island of Java, two from Pegu, one from Japan, one from Gujarat, one from Malabar, one from Makassar, and one from Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Thus, there are nine slaves whose origins are yet to be determined.³⁷

From Faria's will, it is clear that some of the slaves had been acquired for free. In my view, they had probably been abducted,³⁸ as evidenced in the *Per-*

33 Yongjin Zhang, "Curious and Exotic Encounters: Europeans as Supplicants in the Chinese Imperium, 1513–1793," in *International Orders in the Early Modern World: Before the Rise of the West*, ed. Shogo Suzuki, Yongjin Zhang, and Joel Quirk (New York and London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 55–75. Harriet Zurndorfer, "Oceans of History, Seas of Change: Recent Revisionist Writing in Western Languages about China and East Asian Maritime History during the Period 1500–1630" *International Journal of Asian Studies* 13(1) (2016): 61–94.

34 Mihoko Oka, *Shōnin to senkyōshi nanban bōeki no sekai* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2010), pp. 25–52.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

36 Fernando António Almeida, *Fernão Mendes Pinto: Um Aventureiro Português no Extremo-Oriente* (Almada: Câmara Municipal de Almada, 2006), pp. 307–11.

37 *Ibid.*, pp. 307–11.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 304.

egrinação. The will also has the particularity of outlining the geographic boundaries of sea voyages undertaken by the adventurous Portuguese—for example, Goa, Kochi, the Bay of Bengal, Pegu, Makassar, Malacca, Cambodia, and Siam (Thailand)—as well as China and Japan.³⁹

Another reference to the Portuguese and slavery in the Chinese seas can be found in the letter that the Jesuit Melchior Nunes Barreto wrote to the Jesuits of Portugal from Kochi on 8 January 1558.⁴⁰ In this letter, Barreto reports on his experiences in Lampacau (浪白澳) between November/December 1555 and June 1556. The purpose of his stay on this island in the Pearl River Delta was a stop on his journey to Japan. His letter calls particular attention to religious activity in Lampacau. After describing it as an empty island with houses built in a rudimentary way, the author mentions setting up a temporary church, the Portuguese vessels that had wintered there, and that the number of Portuguese traders totaled nearly 300. After informing the Jesuits in Portugal that he had celebrated several masses continuously, Barreto also mentions he engaged in hearing confession and in evangelizing the traders' slaves. The missionary rejoiced over the fruit "bore in their souls," as many Portuguese left the women with whom they lived for many years, and some others had them married off to someone else. Unfortunately, Barreto does not mention the nationality of these women, although it is likely they hailed from different regions of Southeast Asia, China, and Japan.

Several researchers have erroneously used this letter for some years to show that the Portuguese lived on their boats with Japanese women, saying that Barreto criticized these relationships because of the mixed nationalities and different religious beliefs of the participants,⁴¹ when in fact he does not mention the nationality of any of these women. Let us look at the original passage:

39 Ibid., p. 317. On European slave trading and abolitionism in the Indian Ocean, see: Richard B. Allen, *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2014).

40 ARSI, Jap Sin 4, fols. 76–81v; 82–89v; BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, 49-IV-50, nº193, fols. 108v–112v; BNL, Fundo Geral, Códice 4534, fols. 10–14. Manuel Teixeira, S.J., *Macau e a sua Diocese: As Ordens e Congregações Religiosas em Macau* (Macao: Tipografia Soi Sang: 1956–61), vol. III, pp. 124–25; *Documentos del Japón 1558–1562*, ed. Juan Ruiz de Medina (Rome: Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, 1995), p. 74.

41 Nelson, "Slavery in Medieval Japan," p. 463. This author also quoted Yoshitomo Okamoto, *Jūroku-seiki nichī-ō kōtsūshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1931), p. 731. Okamoto makes the same mistake.

And for the goodness of God our Lord great fruits bore in the souls, because there were many chatis that haven't confessed themselves for several years.⁴² And they made much restitution, and many left the young women who have lived with them for many years, and others married them.⁴³

Between 1557 and 1568, commercial ships traveling to Japan were monopolized by a small number of wealthy merchants. Small traders in Macao could not make large profits in the silk trade, and their investments in lower value goods with low profit margins were subject to great losses in the event of shipwreck or attacks. Every year, the Head Captain rented out space in commercial ships to rich merchants; the amount of silk and other goods that each could carry was agreed upon with the merchant. On the other hand, the same space was not subject to regulations when these ships returned from Japan to China.⁴⁴ It is known that silver was the main metal that was carried from Japan by the Portuguese.⁴⁵ However, this metal ore was not enough to fill the spaces that had been previously occupied by silk and other merchandise; hence, the remainder was filled with slaves.

During this first stage of trade relations between Macao and Japan, slaves played a significant role since European private merchants were few in number. More than a symbol of status, slaves were used as private armies, protecting their owners/traders from enemies by taking part in attacks on competitors and trading ports visited by Europeans.⁴⁶ In short, slaves played a fundamental

42 Merchants.

43 Teixeira, *Macao e a sua Diocese*, pp. 124–25. *Documentos del Japón 1558–1562*, pp. 79–80. On the study of sex trafficking, Trude Jacobsen's latest work discusses marriage, temporary marriage, debt bondage, and slavery: Trude Jacobsen, *Sex Trafficking in Southeast Asia: A History of Desire, Duty, and Debt: Sex Trafficking in Southeast Asia* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

44 Manuel Dias, S.J. (1559–1639), *Informação da armação ou contrato da companhia em que os moradores de Amacau mandão a sua çeda a Japão*. Macao, 18-04-1610 in: ARSI, Jap Sin 14 II, fols. 341–342v. *Documentos Remettidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções (1605–1617)*, ed. R.A. De Bulhão Pato (Lisbon: Typographia Academia Real das Sciencias, 1880–93), vol. 111, p. 53; Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Affair of the "Madre de Deus"* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1929), appendix IV, pp. 80–82; José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, "Un Documento de 1610 Sobre el Contrato de Armação de la Nao de Trato Entre Macau y Nagasaki," *Tenri Daigaku* 11(1) (1959): 1–19; Michael Cooper, S.J., "The Mechanics of the Macau–Nagasaki Silk Trade," *Monumenta Nipponica* 27(4) (1972): 423–33.

45 Lúcio de Sousa, "Nitchū-kan bōeki ni okeru iezusu-kai no yakuwari ni tsuite", in *Kagayaki Futatabi Iwami Ginzanten* (Iwami: Iwami Ginzanten Jikko linkai, 2007), pp. 11–13.

46 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, p. 122.

role in the expansion and maintenance of the commercial network from Southeast Asia to China used by the Portuguese.

Macao, *Kurofune*, and the Slave Trade in Japan: The Earliest Evidence

The first reference involving slaves and Portuguese on the Macao ship *Kurofune* in Japan was made by the Jesuit Gaspar Vilela, who on 29 October 1557, wrote a long letter from the port of Hirado. In this, he revealed that the Portuguese had spent the winter in Japan, accompanied by mercenary slaves, in order to sell their goods:

In the month of September came two ships of Portuguese [men] to [Firando] which, with Father [Baltazar Gago] and the Brothers all agree, will send me [...]. We made 2 groups with the help of 5 Portuguese [men] who in the same land will spend the winter for the good of their commodities [...] And the Portuguese [men] with their young men,⁴⁷ who were 15 or 20. [...] And with this where we walked the yard 3 times, around which were 13 or 14 young men of the Portuguese, all with the harquebus.⁴⁸

Slave-mercenaries were purchased by the Portuguese in order to engage in war. These *escravos de peleja*—an Old Portuguese word that appears in documentary sources to mean “slaves used in war”—could acquire freedom if they performed well in military confrontations. Although this document is interesting, as it reveals that merchants were accompanied by armed slaves, it does not suggest that the Portuguese in Japan were trying to acquire Japanese slaves before returning to China.

The first direct link between the ship *Kurofune* and slavery occurred in 1560. It involved Captain Manuel Mendonça, who had served as Head Captain during the trade trip to Japan that same year. Captain Mendonça and his Portuguese fellows were assaulted and saw their goods and slaves being stolen by robbers on their way to a village called Yokoseura,⁴⁹ “[a]nd took from the Portuguese the young men and women they had bought.”⁵⁰

47 *Moços*.

48 BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-50, fols. 149–161. *Cartas do Japão*, vol. 11, fols. 29–40. ARSI, Jap Sin 4, fols. 335–341v (Italian version). *Documentos del Japón 1558–1562*, (ed.) Juan Ruiz de Medina (Rome: Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, 1991), pp. 674–717.

49 In the Jesuit letters it is also named as the port of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda. ARSI, Jap Sin 5, fol. 87.

50 Luís Fróis, *Historia de Japam* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 321–22.

This passage is significant because, for the first time, it demonstrates that the slaves stolen from the Portuguese had been purchased in Japan, since Mendonça was the Head Captain of the Macao ship. The episode reveals that had these slaves not been stolen, they would have returned to Macao on board the *Kurofune*. As for the place of purchase and the nationality of the slaves, the Jesuit Luís Fróis (1532–1597) wrote about a slave who belonged to this group and helped the Christians by alerting them to a plan of attack against the local church in Shimabara, as she lived in that village. The same passage tells us that, initially, the slave had been bought by a Portuguese in Bungo (豊後, Ōita); hence, we can conclude that one of the slave-selling spots that the Portuguese had access to at this time was at Bungo and that this slave was of Japanese origin:

This woman was bought in Bungo by a Portuguese, and was accompanied by Father Cosme de Torres to Yocoxiura in the Kingdom of Fingo where there were large numbers of robbers, a group of thieves assaulted the Father and Manoel de Mendonça, captain of the Japan trip, and other Portuguese, who were accompanying the Father.⁵¹

Some Jesuit priests have also left us additional information about the interior of the *Kurofune* during this period. The first example of this kind can be found in the letter written on 25 October 1562, by Father Luís de Almeida (1525–1583).⁵² This episode dates back to 1560 when, as he was in the port of Tomari during his visit to the ship's former captain, João de Mendonça,⁵³ he spent several days healing the great number of sick people who were on the boat; he tells us that the cause of the illness was the cold, lack of food, and cold contaminated water intake.⁵⁴ In addition, Almeida revealed that there were many female slaves on the boat; hence, he provided a locked area in which they could travel, guarded by two trusted men. As a final reference to this subject, Almeida mentioned the Chinese origin of these slaves; they had been sold by the Japanese

51 Ibid., pp. 321–22.

52 An interesting study on his life is: Diego Yuuki, S.J., *Luís de Almeida (1525–1583): Médico, Caminhante, Apóstolo* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1989). In this work, besides a very useful chronology of many of the events, there is important information on the beginning of the Jesuit mission in Japan.

53 The 1560 commercial journey to Japan was carried out using two vessels. One would be captained by Manuel Mendonça and the other by João Mendonça.

54 *Chegando ao navio, depois de sermos mui bem recebidos dos portuguezes, comesei a pôr por obra curar os doentes que ali avia por causa da emvernada, que trás consigo muitos frios e pouquo comer, e por beberem ágoa fria. Os quais erão tantos que a mais da gemte estava enferma. Prouve a Deus dar-lhes saude.* ARSI, Jap Sin 4, fol. 272. *Documentos del Japón 1558–1562*, p. 549.

for a very low price. This allows us to conclude that these slaves were a product of *Wokou* looting along the coast of China. They were later taken to Japan and sold by the pirates or their intermediaries to the Portuguese:

[T]hat all the women were in chambers on their own, and two men were taking care of them because the ship carried many that they bought for a very low price from the Japanese who brought them from China.⁵⁵

Almeida's version was changed in the *Historia* of Fróis as well as in the printed version included in the *Cartas do Japão* (Letters from Japan). While Almeida reported that the Japanese brought the slaves from China, Fróis's version describes them as "taken," which in Modern Portuguese translates as "kidnapped." The *Cartas* version is also distorted, being published as a result of war in China. The version in the *Cartas do Japão* tells us that the price of each slave was very high: this was obviously a printing error.⁵⁶

Another Jesuit named Baltazar Gago, in a letter to the Jesuits in Portugal dated 10 December 1562, described his year and a half journey from Japan to Goa. After leaving Bungo on 27 October 1560,⁵⁷ on board the vessel belonging to the former Captain of Malacca, João Mendonça—the same craft visited by Almeida—Gago tells us that he experienced a quiet trip between Japan and the island of Hainan; yet, as he was approaching the latter region a major storm almost destroyed the ship. Gago claimed that he confined all slaves in a cabin himself, where they were kept for the five months the ship was in open sea, to avoid "all chances of sin."⁵⁸

55 Letter from Luís de Almeida to the Jesuits in Europe, Yokoseura, 25-10-1562. ARSI, Jap Sin 4, fol. 272. *Documentos del Japón 1558-1562*, p. 550.

56 *que todas as mulheres fossem em camaras fechadas, e que dous homens honrados tivessem as chaves e cuidado dellas; porque levavão no navio muitas, que compravão por mui pouco preço aos japões, os quaes as tinham tomadas na China e depois as vendião.* Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, p. 215. *que todas as mulheres fossem em camaras sobre si, e dous homens que cuidado dellas; por quanto levava o navio muitas, que comprão por muito preço aos japões, os quaes as tomão em guerra na China, e as vendem.* *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus, que andão nos Reynos de Iapão escreverão aos da mesma Companhia da Índia, e Europa, desde ano de 1549 ate o de 66* (Coimbra: António de Mariz, 1570), p. 282v.

57 Letter from Baltazar Gago to the Jesuits in Portugal, Goa, 10-12-1562. ARSI, Jap Sin 4, fol. 290. *Documentos del Japón 1558-1562*, p. 583.

58 *Ençerreilhe as moças que trazião en huã camareta fechada e nella estiverão todas cinco meses recolhidas prometendo todos e votando d'estarem por tudo aquillo que eu ordenase pera bem de suas alma tiradas todas as occasiões de peccados.* Letter from Baltazar Gago to the Jesuits in Portugal, Goa, 10-12-1562. ARSI, Jap Sin 4, fols. 291-291v. *Documentos del Japón 1558-1562*, pp. 588-89.

Also in 1562, another priest, named Francisco de Sousa, described two ships that left from Macao heading to Goa and Malacca. In the ship to Goa “four hundred and fifty expensive female slaves” embarked, with another two hundred in the vessel headed to the fortress of Malacca. These women, mostly Chinese and Bengali, served the Portuguese in many Asian ports, and were considered by Sousa as a moral hazard for traders. We also know that in this group, the women who had been sent to Malacca were forced to abandon the Portuguese with whom they had been living between China and Japan. Sousa states that they were prostitutes and that even in a different place and environment would continue to “practice the same immoralities.” At the same time, the cleric criticized the hypocrisy of the Portuguese merchants, claiming that while buying these women under the guise of converting them to Christianity they intended in fact to use them as sex slaves.⁵⁹

As for age groups, we can estimate that these groups included both adult women and girls, as we know of the case of a Chinese former slave, named Victoria Diaz,⁶⁰ who lived in Portugal in the early 17th century and had been captured during her childhood and sent to Goa exactly in this time period. According to her, she had been baptized and converted to Christianity aboard a ship in Japan, “with other people who were about to be baptized, and she remembers being baptized with water thrown over her head and salt placed in her mouth.”⁶¹

59 *Haveria nesse tempo na cidade de Macau novecentos Portugueses, além de um grande número de Cristãos da terra, que davam larga matéria ao exercício de nossos ministérios. Frequentavam-se os Sacramentos de oito em oito, ou quinze em quinze dias. Nos Domingos e dias santos acudiam à doutrina perto de mil escravos, com os quaes se fez muito fruto. Casaram-se algumas órfãs e muitos Cristãos da terra, que de largo tempo viviam em pecado. Embarcaram-se para a Índia mais de quatrocentas e cinquenta escravas de preço: e na última nau que partiu para Malaca, se embarcaram ainda duzentas, que eram as mais perigosas e as mais difíceis de se lançarem fora. E este foi um dos maiores benefícios que se fez a Deus pela grande soltura que havia naquele vício. Porém muito melhor fora casá-las no mesmo país do que mandar inficionar a Índia com esta peste, que se muda de clima, nem por isso melhora de procedimentos. Compram os Portugueses esta droga em várias Províncias do Oriente, como na China e Bengala, com o pretexto de as fazerem Cristãs e depois as trazem aos nossos portos, onde são de pouca utilidade à bolsa de seus senhores e não sei se de maior prejuízo às almas. Apenas tem hoje os Portugueses na índia um pão para comer, e cada um sustente em sua casa um convento de mulheres com título de tangedoras e músicas e com outros ofícios excusados, que causam riso e talvez escândalo aos Holandeses muito mais ricos e com tudo mais parcos e modesto no serviço doméstico de suas famílias. Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesus Cristo: pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da província de Goa* (Porto: Lello e Irmão, 1978), pp. 650–51.*

60 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Officio, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3331.

61 *Ibid.*, fol. 47v.

The testimony of Dias implies that the sale of Chinese slaves to the Portuguese in Japan was relatively frequent. Unfortunately, there is no documentary evidence of similar cases. However, Dias's testimony shows that many of the Chinese brought to Japan were later sold in various Asian ports and could even have reached Europe.⁶²

Additional information on slavery aboard Portuguese ships traveling to Japan comes to us from 1564, when an anonymous Portuguese trader reported that slaves on board a ship had fallen ill with fever after eating steamed rice cooked with salt water:

And on the ship came more than four hundred souls, and in this time we were carrying many young men sick with fever, thirst, and for cooking rice with a third of salty water, and many merchant men did not eat cooked food, but my companions and I often at night ate sweet food, and drank pure wine, for sparing some water to my young men, who were very sick.⁶³

More information on the Portuguese traders and their involvement with slaves in Japan appears in 1565, due to a clash that occurred between the Head Captain of the Macao commercial ship, João Pereira, and the soldiers of the *daimyo* Matsura of Hirado. There are two main versions of this episode: the first states that in 1565, out of greed, Matsura decides to assault the Portuguese boat and steal all its goods;⁶⁴ the second version, which seems more credible, argues that Matsura wanted to take control over the Macao ship's route, directing it to Hirado, and thus benefiting from the great profits of the trade. Forested by Head Captain Pereira, who took the ship to the Bay of Fukuda, in the Ōmura region, Matsura decided to take revenge and teach the Portuguese traders a lesson.⁶⁵

After a struggle waged in the port of Fukuda, the Portuguese won with the aid of the artillery. The narration of the battle mentions that among the Portuguese fighters, who numbered about seventy men, were slaves:

62 The Portuguese Jesuit Baltasar Dias, in a letter sent to Miguel de Torres, Provincial of Portugal (Malacca, 1-12-1559), describes one of his occupations on Sundays as walking through the city ringing a bell to call male, female, and child slaves, who served the Portuguese, to attend Mass. *Documentos del Japón 1558-1562*, p. 254.

63 Letter from an unnamed Portuguese to Father Francisco Perez in China, place unknown, 1564. *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Jesus*, pp. 393v-94. *Jesus. Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia ...* (Evora: Manoel de Lyra, 1598), fols. 150v-152v.

64 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 2, p. 73.

65 Montalto de Jesus refers to this episode, wrongly claiming it happened in 1567. C.A. Montalto de Jesus, *Macao Historico* (1926; Macao: Fundação Oriente, 1990), p. 65.

In the ship there were nearly 70 Portuguese men (other than slaves), good people to fight but not quite prepared.⁶⁶

Interestingly, I was not able to find in European documents describing the maritime journeys to Japan—for eight consecutive years—any references to slaves carried by the Macao commercial ship. This absence can be explained by the fact that the main slave suppliers serving the Portuguese were from the Hirado region. Severing trade links with this region could also have implied a cut in the supply of slaves the pirates brought from China.

Fortunately, this mysterious gap in the letters of merchants and clerics at the time can be filled by a manuscript containing moral resolutions by the theologian Francisco Rodrigues S.J. (1515–1573). To better understand the context of this document, it should be mentioned that it was written prior to 1570, in response to controversial cases Rodrigues was given to judge from the Jesuits between 1563 and 1568. The cases occurred when the Japanese mission was not yet two decades old and its internal structure was still under development. The purpose of this inquiry was to solve moral conflicts arising from the attempt to “accommodate” European Christianity to Japanese society and culture. It was with this intention that the Jesuits turned to Rodrigues, who was living in Goa, to consult with him on Japanese female slaves and Chinese slave trade in Japan:

[O]n the issue of Japanese girls who say that Father Cosme Torres allows them to buy, as well as the Chinese young men that the Japanese sell there [in Japan], you can better determine that in Japan because it is there [in Japan] where they are [made] captives, and so there is no question. Examining here [in Goa], if the war between the Chinese and Japanese is just or not it would be a difficult matter and very uncertain, there [in Japan] one can better know. If in doubt, with all the good that is done to these slaves converting them to Christianity that one can assume they are well/legally captives, because if they are not well captive if the aim is to make them Christians, in case of doubt it is lawful, it is best to decide in this way [that they are enslaved to be converted to Christianity].⁶⁷

66 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 2, p. 73.

67 ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805, fol. 98v. Reiner H. Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2015), p. 80 (Unfortunately, the analysis of this document is very inaccurate and does not take into account previous studies on this manuscript.) Manuel Lobato, “Notas e correções para uma edição crítica do Mss da Livraria n° 805 (IAN/TT), a propósito da publicação de um tratado do Pe Manuel de Carvalho S.J.,” *Anais de Historia de Alem-Mar* 3 (2002): 389–408.

This question and solution give us additional and very important information. First, the Jesuits in Japan permitted trade in slaves; second, many Japanese women and Chinese men were sold to the Portuguese in Japan; third, in cases where there were doubts concerning the legality of the victims' status, the Jesuits were advised to consider conversion to Christianity as a favorable factor for their legalization.

Through this inquiry, it is also possible to capture a glimpse of the change from Chinese to Japanese slavery. Although my research focuses mainly on slaves of Chinese origin, who represent the vast majority, it is also possible to conclude that a considerable number of Japanese female slaves began to be exported to several Portuguese ports. Indeed, in the late 1560s there was already an Asian trade network that connected Japan to Portugal, as shown by the case of the Japanese Jacinta de Sá Brandão.⁶⁸ On 5 February 1573, in the Church Conceição in Lisbon, this former slave was recorded in *Livro de Casamentos*, as was her spouse, also Japanese and a former slave, named Guilherme Brandão. Jacinta, in addition to providing us with the first known example of a marriage between two Japanese in Europe, was also the first Japanese woman known to have lived in Europe.⁶⁹

The following reference to Portuguese slavery in Japan took place in 1573, when the sinking of an official boat captained by António Vilhena revealed that about 150 Portuguese died, along with a large number of slaves and "locals" (possibly Eurasian, Chinese, and Japanese):

And more than one hundred and fifty Portuguese will die, besides another crowd of slaves and people of the land [...] It was lost together on the ship all the wealth of this land. They say that in the ship there are nearly one hundred and eight thousand cruzados.⁷⁰

It is likely that these slaves were not included in the goods for sale. They were slaves/mercenaries serving the Portuguese, since this was the outward journey to Japan. In any case, their number was clearly high, as the author uses the word "crowd." A second letter from the same period about this event reveals

68 ANTT, Fundo Paroquial, Lisboa, Paroquia da Conceição, Liv. 1 de Mistos (MF 988), fol. 43v, 5-2-1573.

69 I will expand on this case in chapter 7, in the section entitled "Japanese presence in Lisbon."

70 Antonio Vaz's letter to the General of the Society of Jesus, Fr. Francesco Borgia, Macao, 18 November 1573, *Documenta Indica*, ed. Joseph Wicki (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, Societas Jesu, Institutum historicum Societatis Iesu, 1970), vol. IX, p. 284.

that the total number of victims was approximately seven hundred.⁷¹ This episode had a profound impact on the early residents of Macao, as the death of the main merchants who ruled the city meant the trading system also suffered profound changes. Until this time, rich traders who traveled and invested in Japanese goods had the opportunity to buy hundreds of slaves and increase the profit made by the sale of silk and other goods in Japan. However, as of 1573, this context changed dramatically and it was no longer possible for a single merchant to buy several hundred slaves. Sixteen years after its foundation, Macao had a fairly significant population density, motivating its citizens to lobby for their own interests against the interests of the ruling elite, that is, rich private merchants. This important economic restructuring was crafted and introduced by Bishop Belchior Carneiro Leitão, who arrived in Macao in 1568. Taking advantage of the fact that Macao's commercial elite had been lost in the shipwreck of 1573, the Bishop was able to introduce a new type of commercial organization: the contract or *armação* system, which replaced the old monopoly system. This made it possible for ordinary merchants,⁷² the Society of Jesus, the Santa Casa de Misericórdia (Holy House of Mercy),⁷³ and the inhabitants of Macao to become the trading partners of wealthy merchants. In practical terms, the new economic structure of Macao's official trade would result not only in the division of profits, but also in the reduction of spaces that each merchant or group could rent inside the ship, which would mean, with regard to slavery, a drastic reduction in the number of slaves that each individual could transport from Japan. However, it is important to stress that such conditions were only applicable to official vessels that represented the interests of the Portuguese Crown in China. Private vessels concurrently traveling to Japan were not covered by these rules and traders of these ships were free to buy and sell all the slaves they wanted.

71 *O anno passado de 73, escreví a V.P., em que lhe dava conta de como o P. Visitador passara para visitar a China e Jappão, e de como já era chegado a China. Agora temos por nova que a Nao em que se embarcou da China pera Jappão, hé perdida: perdéo-sse à vista 1^a de Jappão, 4 ou 5 legoas da terra; deu-lhe hum rijíssimo vento que a meteo no fundo; durou a tormenta 4 horas; de 700 almas que nella hião, hum só marinheiro se sabou; nella acabarão o P. visitador & o P. Manuel Lopez & 3 companheiros.* Letter from Father Diogo Mesquita. *Introductio Ad Historiam Societatis Jesu In Japonia (1549–1650)*, ed. Josef Franz Schütte (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1967), p. 38.

72 Letter from Manuel Dias (Senior) to Claudio Acquaviva. Macao, 10-04-1610. ARSI, Jap Sin 14 II, fol. 341f.

73 The Santa Casa de Misericórdia, located in Macao, is a Portuguese charity founded in Lisbon, Portugal, in 1498 by Eleanor of Viséu (1481–1525), Queen consort of Portugal (r. 1481–95).

Macao's Commerce Organization before 1581

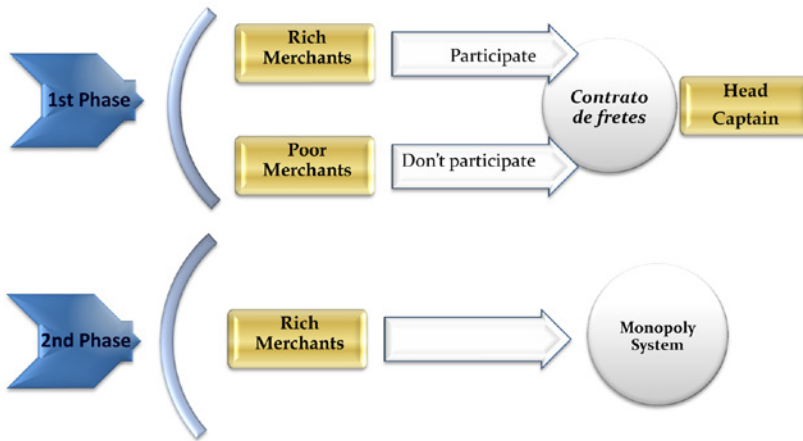


FIGURE 1.1 The silk monopoly system
SOURCE: DESIGNED BY THE AUTHOR

Examples from the Chinese Diaspora

I would like now to direct the reader's attention to individual cases of Chinese slaves sold by the Portuguese in Japan and China and who subsequently traveled to distant places such as Europe and the Americas. The route followed by such slaves began aboard the ships that sailed the trade routes between China and Japan, Malacca, Goa, and Kochi. From these last two cities, slaves traveled to Europe through two sea routes: the inner route to Goa, which passed through Mozambique before rounding the Cape of Good Hope and proceeding to Lisbon; and the outer route via Kochi, which skirted the island of Madagascar. At this time, the Pacific route linking Asia to the Americas had not yet been discovered and Asian slaves who were brought to the Americas traveled via Atlantic trade routes. In the Spanish case, the route that linked Europe to the Americas was called Flota de Indias (West Indies Fleet) and connected the port of Seville to the American ports of Veracruz, Cartagena de Indias, Nombre de Dios, and Portobelo. In the Portuguese case, Asian slaves were sent to Africa via the trade route linking Lisbon to the colony of Brazil.⁷⁴

74 Maria do Rosário Pimentel, "O escravo na formação da sociedade colonial brasileira," *Mare Liberum* 4 (1992): 123–32; Jeanette Pinto, "The Decline of Slavery in Portuguese India with Special Reference to the North," *Mare Liberum* 9 (1995): 235–41.

The first testimony of this time was left by the Chinese slave Tristão, who describes his purchase by the Portuguese; he ended up being sold to a merchant called Cristobal de Haro.⁷⁵ Yet it is difficult to identify his age, since the three documents on which Tristão appears all show different ages. On 17 May 1538,⁷⁶ he claims to be about 30; on 3 June and 8 August 1538,⁷⁷ 26; and in 1544,⁷⁸ 40. He served as an interpreter in various commercial expeditions.

In order to complete *Décadas da Ásia*, Barros acquired several educated slaves to assist him. One of them, a Chinese, helped him translate several Chinese geographical compendia and atlases, which were then included in the third volume of the work.⁷⁹

In 1546, in Évora, in the testimony of Baltasar Jorge de Évora (a *judeo-converso*), two Chinese slaves and two Indian slaves (from Gujarat) are mentioned.⁸⁰ Besides their geographical provenance, we only know that one of them was a tailor by trade.

Another slave worth mentioning here was called Diego/Diogo Indio. Apparently, he was from Liampo, from which he was taken when he was about 6. However, his testimony is confusing; hence, it is difficult to distinguish fact from fiction. Diego reported that around 1546 he left China, more precisely Liampo, in a convey of two or three ships that belonged to the Spanish Governor Francisco de Castañeda. He also claimed that only Castilians lived in Liampo, no Portuguese. Why he manipulated this information is unclear. However, it is known that Governor Castañeda never sent boats to Liampo, as this port was exclusively visited and inhabited by Portuguese. The date 1546 is also crucial, as it represents the period of the famous conflict between the Chinese army and Portuguese traders. Admittedly, Diego was initially owned by a Portuguese merchant who visited that city and had probably escaped the Liampo clashes. Slaves owned by Portuguese usually received their Christian given names from their owners; whereas their surnames revealed their place of origin. Diego, referring to his conversion to Christianity during his report, claimed that his owner took him from Liampo to another land, and had him baptized in a church called Santa Maria. Could this actually be the port called Nossa Senhora/Nossa Senhora da Ajuda? It is likely that he associated the

75 Juan Gil, "Chinos en España en el Siglo XVI," *Revista STVDIA* 58/59 (2002): 11–15.

76 AGI, Patronato, 38, 12.

77 Ibid.

78 AGI, Indiferente, 1205, n° 51.

79 Charles Boxer, *João de Barros, Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia* (New Delhi: Xavier Centre of Historical Research, 1989), p. 119.

80 Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440–1870* (New York, London, Toronto, and Sydney: Simon & Schuster, 1997), pp. 119–20.

name Nossa Senhora with Santa Maria. According to Father Luís de Almeida, this port corresponded to the Japanese port of Yokoseura.⁸¹ We also know that there was a church there, which was destroyed in 1563.⁸² Fróis makes reference to previous churches in Japan, including the Kutami church in Bungo, built in 1554,⁸³ a church in Hirado that already existed in 1555 with a 150-people capacity,⁸⁴ the Funai church, which seems to have been built in 1555, the year of the first European-style funeral in the church,⁸⁵ and the Yamaguchi church built in 1556.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, we do not know the names of these churches. It is also possible that Diego had been baptized in one of the first Japanese churches whose names were not registered. Diego was freed from slavery in July 1575, with the help and assistance of several Chinese friends: Rodrigo de Cabrera,⁸⁷ Francisco Díaz, and Esteban de Cabrera. Among these, I would like to highlight Cabrera, who had known Diego since he was a child. In the testimony of Cabrera, dated 15 March 1599, he revealed new information: he was born in Canton and in his youth had been sold to the Portuguese and taken to Macao. It is thus highly probable that Diego was also born in Canton.

During his Spanish sojourn, Cabrera married, in Seville, a woman named Juana de Castañeda, and had a daughter named Francisca de Altamirano, who would become her father's sole heiress. Francisca would later marry Miguel de la Cruz, a tailor.⁸⁸

Another noteworthy case is the Chinese António, who had served Catherine of Austria, Queen of Portugal (1507–1578), sister of Emperor Charles V (1500–1558), since 1535. In the list of 138 slaves belonging to her we find reference to António and seven slaves from India.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, we do not know how he

81 Letter from Luís de Almeida to the Jesuit Brothers in India, 17-11-1563. ARSI, Jap Sin, 5, fol. 87.

82 *a nova povoacao de Yocoxiura convertida e feita em cinza, a igreja, que era mui capaz e fermoza, queimada e arrazada*. Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 1, p. 339.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

85 *Pareceo mui bem aos gentios de Funai o nosso modo de enterrar os deffuntos; e no primeiro enterramento que na igreja se fez, hiriao com os nossos como tres mil pessoas, gentios, para verem nossas exequias funeraes e modo de enterramento*. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

86 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

87 Seller of olive oil.

88 Gil, "Chinos en España en el Siglo XVI," pp. 11–15; AGI, Patronato, 38, 12; AGI, Indiferente, 1205, n°51; Juan Gil "Chinos in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in *Western Visions*, ed. Lee, pp. 139–52.

89 Jorge Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores na Lisboa Quinhentista* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2010), pp. 220–23. Isabel Maria Ribeiro Mendes, "O Dever e o Haver da casa da rainha D. Catarina (1525–1557)," *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* 28 (1990): 137–211.

arrived in Portugal after being enslaved, nor how he ended up at the Portuguese Court. It is, however, likely that he was a gift to the Queen from a nobleman overseas.

Another case involving the Chinese Diaspora in Europe relates to a remarkable episode of sexual nature between a Chinese slave and his Portuguese owner. In 1550, André Lopes traveled with his Chinese slave, also named António, from India to Lisbon. António China was still a minor, and as slave, subject to Lopes's wishes. Lopes tried to sexually abuse António; he kissed him but the boy responded by biting this tongue. António immediately complained to the ship's captain. As a result, Lopes was left on the island of Saint Helena and his property was confiscated by the Royal Treasury, thus becoming property of the King of Portugal. As António was among the confiscated assets, given his condition as Lopes's legitimate slave, he pleaded with the monarch to grant him his freedom, alleging that, if he had sexually collaborated with his master, he would have obtained it. Curiously, King John III (1502–1557) ended up freeing António in 1551.⁹⁰

Coincidentally, another Chinese slave, also named António, would live a large part of his life in Portugal, in Évora, serving the noblewoman Maria de Vilhena, as a coachman. Due to the good service rendered, provisions were made in Vilhena's will that he be released upon her death.⁹¹

Another interesting example of Chinese presence in Europe is in the register of people subject to the extraordinary tax collection of 1565 in Lisbon. In this list, 327 people were identified as colored, of which 27 were Indian and one was of Chinese origin.⁹² The latter's Christian name was also António, a relatively common name, and his surname was Pereira. In 1557, besides the official visit of Head Captain Francisco Martins to the port of Hirado, there was also an unofficial business trip, led by Captain António Pereira. This might be a coincidence, but it is also possible that this Chinese slave had been captured or sold to Pereira, who sent him to be baptized, thus receiving both his names from his owner.⁹³ In Lisbon, the Chinese António worked as a vendor, next to the Torre

90 Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, p. 352. ANTT, Chancelaria de D. João III, Privilégios, Liv. 4, fol. 162v, 16.6.1551.

91 Jorge da Fonseca, *Os escravos em Évora no século XVI* (Evora: Câmara Municipal de Evora, 1997), p. 21; Alberto da Costa e Silva, *A manilha e o libambo: A África e a escravidão, de 1500 a 1700* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 2011); Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, pp. 119–20.

92 *Livro do lançamento e serviço que a cidade de Lisboa fez a El Rei nosso senhor o ano de 1565* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1947–48) in: Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, pp. 413–14.

93 BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-50, fols. 149–161.

de São Pedro.⁹⁴ His colleagues included a “mulatto,” a “dusty slave,” a “black” slave, and two “black” female slaves. His work’s profit in *reais* (the Portuguese currency at the time) was estimated to be 5000 *reais*, thus he had to pay the corresponding tax of 35 *reais*.⁹⁵

The last individual of Chinese origin I was able to identify during this period was mentioned only by the nickname “China.” Born in 1569, “China” served the Society of Jesus, studying at the Jesuit College of Goa. Between 18 and 28 November, when the Tenshō delegation led by Itō Mancio (伊東 マンシヨ, 1570–1612) arrived in Goa, “China,” then 15, joined it, and thus traveled to Portugal and Spain. The last reference to him occurred on 14, 15, and 16 November 1584,

TABLE 1.1 Asian slaves (1520–69)

Name	Gender	Country	Birth	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Unknown name	M	Chinese			1520–30 Melinde, India	Melinde
Unknown name	F	Chinese			1520–30 Melinde, India	Melinde
António	M	Chinese			1535 Lisbon, Portugal	Malacca–Goa–Lisbon
Tristão da China	M	Chinese	Liampo, 1504–12		1538 Seville, Spain	Liampo–Malacca–Goa–Lisbon
Unknown name	M	Chinese			154? Lisbon, Portugal	

94 *Livro do lançamento*, in Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, pp. 418–19.

95 *Ibid.*

when he was presented to King Philip II. When asked his name and age, Father Diogo de Mesquita, the delegation's representative and interpreter, only revealed that he was a servant of the Japanese and that, as a child, he had been kidnapped and sold to the Portuguese. "China" did not return to Asia with the remaining members of the delegation; hence, we must assume that he remained in Europe, and his most likely destination was Spain, since no reference is made to him in Italy.⁹⁶

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Muslim captain	Single	Slave		Portuguese captain, was offered two Chinese as a gift (a boy and a girl) from a Muslim captain. He refused the present.
Muslim captain	Single	Slave		Portuguese captain was offered two Chinese as a gift (a boy and a girl) from a Muslim captain. He refused the present.
Queen Catherine of Portugal		Slave	Domestic servant	In the list of the 138 slaves belonging to Queen Catherine of Portugal, sister of Emperor Charles v, we find a Chinese slave named António and seven slaves from India. António belonged to the Queen from 1535.
Cristóbal de Haro		Slave	Interpreter	Tristão da China was bought by the Portuguese and was eventually sold to the merchant Cristóbal de Haro. He worked as an interpreter in several commercial expeditions.
João de Barros		Slave	Interpreter, translator	For his work <i>Décadas da Ásia</i> Barros acquired several educated slaves to translate various books. In the translation of several Chinese geographical compendia and atlases he would use a Chinese slave.

⁹⁶ Abranches Pinto, Yoshitomo Okamoto, and Henri Bernard S.J., *La Première Ambassade du Japon en Europe 1582–1592* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1942), pp. 22 (n. 69), 99.

TABLE 1.1 Asian slaves (1520–69) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Birth	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Diego Indio	M	Chinese	Liampo, 1540?		154?–1565/66 Lisbon 1565/66 Seville, Spain	Liampo?–Malacca–Goa– Portugal–Spain
Esteban de Cabrera	M	Chinese	Canton	? Seville	1574–99? Seville, Spain	Canton–Macao–Malacca– Goa–Portugal–Spain
Francisca de Altamirano (daughter of Esteban de Cabrera)	F	Chinese descendant	Seville		15?? Seville	
Rodrigo de Cabrera	M	Chinese	Liampo, 1527?		1574 Seville, Spain	Liampo?–Malacca–Goa– Portugal–Spain
Francisco Díaz	M	Chinese	Liampo, 1529–30		1544 Lisbon? Seville? 1574 Seville, Spain	Liampo?–Malacca–Goa– Portugal–Spain

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Francisco de Castañeda? Juan de Morales (cleric)	Single	Slave	Domestic servant, cobbler	Diego's testimony is somewhat confusing, so it is difficult to distinguish truth from fiction. He claimed that by 1546 he had left China, from Liampo, on a convey of two or three ships owned by Governor Castañeda. He also stated that in Liampó only Castilians, not Portuguese, lived. The reasons that actually led him to manipulate this information are unclear, but Governor Castañeda never have sent ships to Liampo, a port exclusively frequented and inhabited by Portuguese. Probably, claiming that he had been captured by a Spanish citizen and proclaiming that he belonged to the Castilian Indians group ensured he could be freed from the cleric Juan de Morales, which actually happened. Diego was released in July 1575. His friend Esteban de Cabrera, who had known him since he was a child, was from Canton. It is probable that Diego had also been born in Canton.
	Married (Juana de Castañeda)	Freed slave	Cobbler	Initially, Cabrera claimed he was originally from Liampo. However, in his testimony dated 15 March 1599, he revealed that he had been born in Canton. In his youth, he had been sold to the Portuguese and taken to Macao. In Seville he married Juana de Castañeda. He had a daughter named Francisca de Altamirano.
	Married (Miguel de la Cruz, tailor)			Francisca de Altamirano would be designated sole heiress of her father Esteban de Cabrera. Francisca would then marry Miguel de la Cruz.
		Freed slave?	Seller of olive oil	He was a friend of Diego Indio and Esteban de Cabrera. He participated in Diego's liberation process.
		Freed slave		He participated in Diego's liberation process. He also stated that he had been born in Liampo

TABLE 1.1 Asian slaves (1520–69) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Birth	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Unknown name	M	Chinese			1546 Lisbon, Portugal	China–Melaka–Goa–Lisbon
Unknown name	M	Chinese			1546 Lisbon, Portugal	China–Melaka–Goa–Lisbon
2-Pedro	M	Chinese			02-06-1548 Goa	China–Malacca–Goa
Rodrigo	M	Chinese			02-06-1548 Goa	China–Malacca–Goa
António	M	Chinese			02-06-1548 Goa	China–Malacca–Goa
Fernando	M	Chinese			02-06-1548 Goa	China–Malacca–Goa
Isabel	F	Chinese			02-06-1548 Goa	China–Malacca–Goa
Unknown name	M	Chinese			02-06-1548 Goa	China–Malacca–Goa
Girl	F	Chinese			02-06-1548 Goa	China–Malacca–Goa
Pedro (small boy)	F	Chinese			02-06-1548 Goa	China–Malacca–Goa
Diogo	M	Japanese?/ Chinese?			02-06-1548 Goa	China/Japan–Malacca–Goa
Lourenço (child)	M	Chinese			02-06-1548 Goa	China–Malacca–Goa
Hompeó	M	Chinese			02-06-1548 Goa	China–Malacca–Goa
Simão	M	Chinese			02-06-1548 Goa	China–Malacca–Goa
Francisco	M	Chinese			02-06-1548 Goa	China–Malacca–Goa
Unknown name	M	Chinese			28-10-1548 Seville	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Baltasar Jorge de Evora (<i>converso</i>)		Slave	Tailor	In the testimony of Baltasar Jorge de Evora (New Christian), two Chinese slaves and two Indian slaves (from Gujarat) were mentioned. One of these slaves was a tailor.
Baltasar Jorge de Evora (<i>converso</i>)		Slave		In the testimony of Baltasar Jorge de Évora (New Christian), two Chinese slaves and two Indian slaves (Gujarat) are mentioned. One of these slaves was a tailor.
António de Faria Sousa		Slave		Mentioned in the testimony of António Faria Sousa.
António de Faria Sousa		Slave		Mentioned in the testimony of António Faria Sousa.
António de Faria Sousa		Slave		Testimony of António Faria Sousa. He gave this in place of another slave who had escaped.
António de Faria Sousa		Slave		Testimony of António Faria Sousa. Bought for 2 <i>cruzados</i> .
António de Faria Sousa		Slave		Testimony of António Faria Sousa. Bought for 7.5 <i>cruzados</i> .
António de Faria Sousa		Slave		Testimony of António Faria Sousa. Not a Christian.
António de Faria Sousa		Slave		Testimony of António Faria Sousa. Bought for 7.5 <i>talaris</i> .
António de Faria Sousa		Slave		Testimony of António Faria Sousa. Bought for 4 <i>cruzados</i> .
António de Faria Sousa		Slave		Testimony of António Faria Sousa. He fled in Japan, along with a Chinese slave named Hompeó. He would return later to Faria.
António de Faria Sousa		Slave		Testimony of António Faria Sousa. Bought for 1.5 <i>cruzados</i> .
António de Faria Sousa		Slave		Testimony of António Faria Sousa. Escaped in Japan
António de Faria Sousa		Slave		Testimony of António Faria Sousa. Free of charge.
António de Faria Sousa		Slave		Testimony of António Faria Sousa. Free of charge.
Íñigo Ortiz de Retes	Single	Slave		This year in Seville, Íñigo Ortiz de Retes asked for special permission to travel to America with a Chinese slave.

TABLE 1.1 Asian slaves (1520–69) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Birth	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
António (adolescent)	M	Chinese			16-06-1551 Voyage from Goa to Lisbon	Goa–Lisbon
Three slaves	M				1554 Voyage from Goa to Japan	Goa–Japan
Francisco	M	Bengal			1555 Yamaguchi	
Joanne, Juan, João	M		Circa 1555		1555 Yamaguchi	
Amador	M	Malabar			1555 Bungo	
Bartolomeu	M				1555 Bungo	
Unknown name	M	Japan?			1559 Near Hirado	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
André Lopez	Single	Freed slave		In 1550, the graduate André Lopez traveled with his Chinese slave, named António, from India to Lisbon. King John III ended up freeing António China in 1551, as the latter had been a victim of sexual abuse.
Fernão Mendes Pinto	Single	Slave	Servant	Pinto, the author of <i>Peregrinação</i> , after freeing his slaves, went to Japan as a novice of the Society of Jesus and as an ambassador of the Viceroy Afonso de Noronha to the <i>daimyo</i> of Bungo. Pinto left three slaves at the college in Goa to be instructed in the Christian faith, while three other slaves, who did not want to be released, asked Pinto to continue to serve him in Japan, to which he agreed. The three slaves actually left Pinto, since no further reference was made to them in later documents. We know, however, that they travelled to Japan.
Society of Jesus	Single. Married later to a Japanese woman, Barbara?	Slave	Cook	In 1555, in the Jesuit mission in Yamaguchi, Francisco, from Bengal, was the cook. He belonged first to the Portuguese captain Duarte da Gama who gave him to the Society of Jesus. He is likely to have married a Japanese woman, Barbara, with whom he had three children: Diogo, Ventura, and Pedro, and a granddaughter named Úrsula. Ventura became an apostate and exposed the Christians of Nagasaki. He was known as Ventura “Bengala.”
Society of Jesus	Single	Slave	Gardener	Joanne was a gardener for the Jesuit mission in Yamaguchi in 1555.
Society of Jesus	Single	Slave		In Bungo mission, Amador served Father Baltazar Gago and Brother João Fernandes.
Society of Jesus	Single	Slave		In the Bungo mission, Bartolomeu served Father Baltazar Gago and Brother João Fernandes.
		Slave	Boy (<i>moço</i>) of the Interpreter?	We have no information about this boy, except that he was with Brother Guilherme Pereira at the time of his rescue for 20 <i>cruzados</i> by Joane/João Katoku.

TABLE 1.1 Asian slaves (1520–69) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Birth	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
António China	M	Chinese			1560 Goa	Macao–Malacca–Kochi
Unknown name	M	Chinese			1560 Goa	Macao–Malacca–Kochi
Joane China/ João Chin	M	Chinese			1560 Bengala	Macao–Malacca–Kochi
António	M	Chinese			1562 Évora, Portugal	Macao–Malacca–Goa– Lisbon–Évora
Victoria Diaz	F	Chinese	Canton 1550–55?	Ham- burg?	1606 Lisbon, Portugal	Japan–Macao–Malacca– Goa/Kochi trade route; Goa–Lisbon trade route

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Luís Rodrigues		Freed slave		António China and Antonio Guzarate, both freed slaves living in Goa, said that one of António Dias's (son-in-law of Luís Rodrigues, a New Christian accused by the Inquisition) Chinese slaves had been sold.
António Dias		Freed slave		António China and Antonio Guzarate, both freed slaves living in Goa, said that one of António Dias's (son-in-law of Luís Rodrigues, a New Christian accused by the Inquisition) Chinese slaves had been sold.
Diogo Vaz, Jácome de Olivares, Diogo da Veiga		Slave	Sailor	The New Christian merchant Jácome de Olivares referred to a Chinese slave named Joane China/João Chin who belonged to his brother-in-law Diogo Vaz. Jácome advised his brother-in-law to punish the slave more harshly, not to give him apricot plants, nor allow the slave to live with a woman in his house. Vaz always treated João China very well. The merchant Gonçalves Paiva said that Diogo da Veiga (a New Christian) and João sheltered in a small port (small port is the name of a port in the Bay of Bengal) as they were not in Kochi. The merchant Antonio Pessoa stated that Olivares exchanged the Malabar slave Constança, a slave named Gasparinho/Gaspar Malabar, and other slaves for João China.
Maria de Vilhena		Freed slave	Coachman	António belonged to a noblewoman named Maria de Vilhena and was freed in her will. In the document, this noblewoman mentions a total of 15 slaves.
Henrique Dias de Milão	Single	Freed slave	Domestic servant	Slave born in China, went to Lisbon to serve the Milão family. Continued to serve the family after being released. She was persecuted and judged by the Portuguese Inquisition after 1606, accused of practicing Judaism.

TABLE 1.1 Asian slaves (1520–69) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Birth	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
António Pereira	M	Chinese			1565 Lisbon, Portugal	Macao–Malacca–Goa– Lisbon

Note: This list presents individual slaves and former slaves of Chinese and Japanese origin, who were traded or who had been in contact with the Portuguese, whom I have been able to identify during the course of my study.

Sources: Fernando António Almeida, *Fernão Mendes Pinto: Um Aventureiro Português no Extremo Oriente* (Almada: Câmara Municipal de Almada, 2006), p. 304; Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia* (Lisbon: Academia Real das Ciências, 1859), vol. 1, part II, p. 226; Jorge Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores na Lisboa Quinhentista* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2010), pp. 220–23, 352, 413–14; Julio Retamal Avila, *Testamentos de índios en Chile colonial: 1564–1801* (Santiago de Chile: RiL, Red Internacional del Libro, 2000), p. 88; “Livro do lançamento e serviço que a cidade de Lisboa fez a El Rei nosso senhor o ano de 1565” (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1947–48), pp. 417–19; Jorge da Fonseca, *Os escravos em Évora no século XVI* (Evora: Câmara Municipal de Evora, 1997), p. 21; Isabel Maria Ribeiro Mendes, “O Dever e o Haver da casa da rainha D.Catarina (1525–1557),” *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* 28 (1990): 137–211; Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, *Extremo oriente y el Perú en el siglo XVI* (Lima: Pontificia Univ. Católica del Perú, 2005), p. 290; Juan Gil, “Chinos en España en el Siglo XVI,” *Revista STVDIA* 58/59 (2002): 11–15; Juan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
		Slave	Vendor	The Chinese slave António appears as one of the taxed people by the extraordinary levy of 1565. This slave was a vendor, selling door to door, and at his workplace near Saint Peter's Tower. He belonged to a group comprised of a mulatto man, a <i>parda</i> (brown) female, a black male, and other two black female slaves. His annual revenue in <i>real</i> (the local currency) was estimated to be 5000, thus he had to pay the corresponding tax of 35 <i>reais</i> . It must also be underlined that all the other slaves, with the exception of the African ones, paid higher taxes.

Gil, "Chinos in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522-1657*, ed. Christina H. Lee (New York: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 139-52; Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesus Cristo: pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da provincia de Goa* (Porto: Lello e Irmão, 1978), pp. 650-51; Juan Ruiz de Medina, ed., *Documentos del Japón 1558-1562* (Rome: Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, 1995), pp. 34-35, 54-55, 59, 82, 169 (n. 30), 193, 194, 195, 231, 236, 284, 493-94, 517; Charles Boxer, *João de Barros, Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia* (New Delhi: Xavier Centre of Historical Research, 1989), p. 119; Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440-1870* (New York, London, Toronto, and Sydney: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 1997), pp. 119-20; AGN, Justicia, 928, N.8; AGI, Patronato, 38, 12; AGI, Indiferente, 1205, n°51; AGI, Patronato, 38, 12; AGI, Indiferente, 1205, n°51; AGI, Patronato, 38, 12; AGI, Indiferente, 1205, n°51; AGI, Indiferente, 1964, L.11, F.106R-106V; ANTT, Chancelaria de D.João III, Privilégios, Liv.4, fol. 162v.-16.6.1551; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo 12292, fol. 81; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo 5265; ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc.3331.

The Japanese Stage

Initially, as described in Chapter 1, the interest of Portuguese traders in Japan focused mainly on slaves of Chinese origin, although there is also evidence of trade in both male and female Japanese slaves. However, after the 1570s, the origin of slaves purchased in Japan ceased to be mainly Chinese and gradually Japanese slaves predominated. Several aspects may have contributed to this change. First, the logistical aspect: transporting Chinese slaves to Japan represented greater risks during capture and transportation, which also inflated the selling price. In the wake of the establishment of Macao as a Portuguese enclave (1557), obtaining Chinese slaves was made easier for the Portuguese, who could buy them more easily in China at prices lower than they had to pay for Chinese slaves purchased in Japan. Second, there was a social aspect: the various trade associations between the Portuguese pirates and Chinese and Japanese alike also changed. With the settlement of the Portuguese in Macao, the groups with whom they were associated were able to live in this city as well. As the trading system between Macao and Japan became more complex, these groups ceased resorting to piracy and were gradually assimilated by participating in trade, be it official or illegal, between China and Japan.¹

To these changes in Portuguese social and commercial context, we can add the constant wars between the *daimyos* of Kyūshū, leading to poverty and famine in the regions affected by military confrontation, which led to countless migrations by war refugees, providing the Portuguese with a large number of slaves.²

At the same time the demand and supply of Japanese slaves increased and began to be directed not only to Macao, but also to Portuguese ports in Southeast Asia and India, a network of canvassers (*hitokadoi*) developed in the Kyūshū region. The first evident test of this transition of Chinese to Japanese slavery in Japan was related by the Head Captain of Macao, Domingos Monteiro. Despite the lack of information about all Head Captains who traveled to

1 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, pp. 10–11, 51–52; Loureiro, *Fidalgos*, pp. 543–59.

2 *Os gentios de Fucafori [...] ficarão tão atemorizados que se não atreverão mais a cometer Nangazaqui; antes pelo contrario, os christãos os hião cometer a suas terras, fazendo-lhes maiores affrontas do que primeiro delles tinham recebidas, tomando-lhes prezas, queimando-lhe cazas e fazendo-lhe outras destruições muitas vezes em suas ilhas, que não pouco os metia em confusão e espanto.* Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 2, p. 396.

Japan in the 1570s, the last will of Monteiro, the most important merchant of Macao, who monopolized the trade trip to Japan in 1576, 1577, and 1578, shows that the Japanese slave trade had become one of the main sources of income for Portuguese merchants, alongside the silk trade. In addition to the male and female slaves Monteiro acquired in Japan for resale, the number of Japanese slaves he purchased for his household was so high that he could not provide a total number in his will.³ The main commercial centers of the slave hunter network were Kochi, Goa, Malacca, and Macao, and the investments network extended from Ormuz to Japan.⁴ Monteiro's Japanese slaves traveled within this circuit. For example, in his will, the dealer reveals having sent several Japanese slaves to Goa to serve his sister-in-law:

I declare that I have many Japanese girls whom I leave all emancipated with fifty *pardaos* each also the ones in the house of Fernão Lobo, as well as the ones I took my sister in law in Goa.⁵

Additional information on the involvement of the official ship of Macao in slavery appeared in an important proxy dated 1580, belonging to the private merchant Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro. He, as in the case of Monteiro, became one of the most powerful men in Macao in the 1570s.⁶ While Monteiro was the

3 AHSCMP/H, Bco. 6, n^o 17, fol. 281v.

4 *Ibid.*, fol. 280v.

5 *Ibid.*, fol. 281v.

6 He assisted the Chinese authorities in the fight against the pirates of the region, which was fundamental for the Portuguese community to remain in Macao. I would like to thank the assistance of Professor Zhou Xiaolei for this document: 2. 刘尧诒《督抚疏议》: (万历七年十月) 十八日据总兵官张元勳揭称“名色把总黄元兴等, 禀称香山澳报效人吴章等, 与佛朗机番人沈马嘜殊及船主嘜鸣冲咬咭啾, 通事蔡兴全等密报, 林贼见在暹罗, 章等请给冠带犒赏, 自备兵船驾往擒获, 仍乞移文入暹, 使内外交攻”等因。据此, 牌行香山县调到暹罗贡夷船主握坤哪喇、佛朗船主嘜鸣冲咬咭啾, 及把总黄元兴、通事蔡兴全等二十余人前来军门谒见, 译审前情无异, 即牌行广东布政司, 转行该国谕以尽忠擒贼, 果效有成劳, 即与题请降·褒嘉, 及叙功给赏, 量免该年船税, 以示优厚。仍附船主握坤哪喇等贡回宣示, 当处给银牌、花段, 颁赏各番及通事人等有差, 各番夷领受, 于本年十二月初三、十五及八年二月二十四等日前后开驾原船, 复回该国, 去讷为照。(刘尧诒:《督抚疏议》, 卷9,《题为逮贼投番巨测乞申赏格以劝励人心事》, 南京图书馆藏明万历刻本, 第8-13页)。According to the official document presented by General Zhang Yuanxun 张元勳 on 18 October of the seventh year of Wanli (06-11-1579): “Officer Huang Yuanxing 黄元兴 claimed that Macao resident Wuzhang 吴章, Portuguese 沈马嘜殊 Chenma Luoshu [José Maria de Rosa], Captain Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro 嘜鸣冲咬咭啾 and interpreter Cai Xingquan 蔡兴全 secretly reported that the pirate Lin Daoqian was staying in Siam. Wuzhang and his fellows applied for hunting him with their own warships, as well as

official Head Captain representing the Portuguese Crown, Landeiro represented the rich private traders of Macao. Landeiro was from Póvoa de Santa Iria, near Lisbon, and he left for Goa on 28 March 1559, settling in Macao in the 1570s.

The commercial network Landeiro built up from China took him to Japan, Siam, Cambodia, Timor, Tidore, Ternate, and India. We can name four captains who traveled on his behalf to various Asian ports.⁷

Around 1580, Landeiro had at his service no less than 11 commercial agents spread over several ports and traveling with a proxy issued by himself in Macao. This proxy was presented by his stewards upon arrival at major ports such as Manila, Malacca, Kochi, and Goa. The only sample of this document is not the original Portuguese version, but a Spanish translation of a copy kept at the Archivo General de Indias in Seville,⁸ which reveals that both male and female slaves were important investments, along with silks, weapons, gold, and silver.⁹

Interestingly, this proxy makes a distinction between male and female slave trade, demonstrating that there was already a division of labor between them.

applied for caps and belts as reward. Meanwhile, they requested [the] Ming government inform Siam about this military action in order to collaborate. Therefore, I (Liu Yaohui) informed Xiangshan County 香山县 to bring Tribute person (Merchant) Wokun Nala 握坤哪喇, Portuguese Captain Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro 嚙鸣冲咬砥嗽, Officer Huang Yuanxing 黄元兴, interpreter Cai Xingquan 蔡兴全 and 20 more people to come to my office. I guaranteed that if they successfully complete this action, I will report their contribution and exempt one year's tariff. I granted a plate of silver and silk to the foreigners and interpreter and they all received [them]. They left respectively on 20 December 1579, 1 January 1580, and 9 March 1580, by their own ship." Liu Yaohui, *Dufu Shuyi* (Nanjing Library Collection, printed in Wanli era, 1573–1620), vol. 9, pp. 8–13.

7 André Feio, Chema Rosa, Sebastião Jorge/Bastian Moxar (nephew), and Vicente Landeiro (nephew).

8 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, pp. 215–17. *Información hecha a petición de Bastián Jorge Moxar en nombre de Bartolomé Báez Landero sobre el servicio que hizo de traer de Macau a Manila al padre Alonso Sánchez y padres de la Compañía de Jesús y de la orden de San Francisco. Manila, 28 de abril de 1583.* AGI, Filipinas, 79, N.17, fols. 7–9.

9 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, pp. 59–60, 215–17. *Información hecha a petición de Bastián Jorge Moxar en nombre de Bartolomé Báez Landero sobre el servicio que hizo de traer de Macau a Manila al padre Alonso Sánchez y padres de la Compañía de Jesús y de la orden de San Francisco. Manila, 28 de abril de 1583. Va tachado mayo, no vala mas le cumpliere e con el presente poder hallarse puedan por el procurador pedir e demandar rescebir e cobrar e a sus manos aver toda su hazienda dinero piezas mercaderias horo plata esclavos y esclavas y todas las mas cossas que suyas fueren y de derecho le pertenesçieren y que de otra parte para el vinyere y estuviere por cobrar vender trocar e canviar y enplear y aruscar en las enbarcaçiones naos y navios que bien les pertenesçieren.*

Males joined Portuguese merchants' private armies and females were sent to work for Portuguese households or in the sexual market.¹⁰

The Iberian Union: The Opening of Private Trade between Macao and Manila and Financial Restructuring in Macao

I

In the early 1580s, an important political event in Europe profoundly influenced slave trade in Asia. For this reason, I have included in this section a subsection on the participation of the Philippines in Macao's slave trade network.

On 15 April 1581, at the Court of Tomar, Philip II of Spain was crowned King of Portugal.¹¹ Consequently, all Portuguese colonies were required to take an oath of allegiance to the new monarch. The then Viceroy of Nueva España, Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza (1580–83), issued a decree announcing that Portuguese colonies in Southeast Asia and China had to be informed of the new political scenario. The task fell to the Philippines Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa (1580–83), who in 1582 sent four major diplomatic missions: to the Head Captain of Maluco, Diego de Azambuja,¹² the then Head Captain of Ambon, Sancho de Vasconcelos,¹³ the Captain of Malacca, João da Gama,¹⁴ and the Head Captain of Macao, Aires Gonçalves de Miranda. The Jesuit Alonso

10 Extramarital sex between the Portuguese and their slaves was common in Southeastern Asia and the Far East. Despite the mechanisms created by the Church to limit this, the legislation produced on this subject shows that Asian slaves ran the maximum risk of abuse and sexual slavery. For example: in 1585, according to the third Council of Goa, decree 5, the priests strove to end sexual slavery on Portuguese ships and legislated that on the vessels female slaves should travel separately from the men, and by night the doors of their cabins should be closed, because "in this province they [the Portuguese] carried by the sea from many regions many female slaves parts, and other women [non-slaves] of different nations." (Cunha Rivara, ed., *Arquivo Português Oriental*, Fasc. 4, pp. 179–80.) However, in 1598, the Society of Jesus again criticized the behavior of Portuguese merchants pertaining to Japanese slaves, as they continued to have sexual relations outside marriage, and took them to their cabins when they returned to Macao (RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 274v). In 1606, according to the fifth Council of Goa, decree 3, this situation was again discussed. The stipulation was that the captains of ships carrying slave women should transport them in an isolated place, away from the crew, and that, at night, the place where they slept should be locked. There was even a penalty of excommunication and fine of 200 *pardãos* for anyone who violated these instructions. Cunha Rivara, ed., *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, Fasc. 4^o, p. 261.

11 King Philip II of Spain, I of Portugal.

12 *Carta ao Capitão-mor de Maluco*, 1582. AGI, Patronato 24, Ramo 61.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

Sánchez was the emissary sent to Macao.¹⁵ However, this ostensible diplomatic mission to Macao had a second purpose—which was to obtain permission to establish a trade base in China from the Guangzhou authorities, as had happened in 1557 with the Portuguese in Macao.¹⁶ However, the vessel carrying Sánchez was confiscated by the Chinese authorities and sent to Guangzhou, where he was taken prisoner. Through informants, this news spread quickly, rapidly coming to the attention of the Head Captain and Macao inhabitants. The main Portuguese traders drew up a rescue plan, compiling more than 2000 ducats to release Sánchez. Shortly after, the merchant Mattia Pennella, the Italian Jesuit Michele Ruggieri, and the merchant Lopes Vieira, traveled to Guangzhou in order to negotiate with the Mandarins.¹⁷

These negotiations were successful and Sánchez was released and taken back to Macao,¹⁸ where, at the Colégio de São Paulo of the Society of Jesus, a significant meeting, attended by key Europeans living in Macao, took place. The result saw an important official report drawn up and signed by the most important noblemen and merchants of the city, whereby they recognized Philip II of Spain as King of Portugal.¹⁹

In 1582, the merchant António Garcês became the Head Captain of Macao and took charge of the commercial journey to Japan. At the same time, the experienced merchant André Feio also left for Japan, commanding a large vessel belonging to Landeiro and stocked with commodities belonging to Jesuits and Macao citizens. Sánchez and the rest of the Spanish delegation traveled on this vessel. After great hardships at sea, Garcês was able to enter the port of Kuchinotsu. During this journey, he experienced three typhoons. The other large vessel commanded by Feio diverted to Formosa, present-day Taiwan, but was shipwrecked due to the bad weather. Before the ship had any chance of sinking, the sailors stripped wood from the broken vessel, built a new boat, and returned to Macao. As Sánchez explained in his *Relación Breve*,²⁰ once the crew arrived in Macao he sought to return to Spain to relate the outcome of the diplomatic mission.

15 Gaspar de San Agustín, O.S.A., *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto “Enrique Florez,” Departamento de Misionología Española, 1975), p. 550.

16 Letter from the Bishop Archbishop of Manila, Domingo Salazar, O.P., to the King, Manila, 18-06-1583. AGI, Patronato 25, Ramo 8.

17 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, p. 40.

18 AGI, Filipinas, 79, N.17. De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, pp. 39–49.

19 Oath by the noblemen of Macao, 1582. AGI, Patronato 24, Ramo 60.

20 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, pp. 53–62.

Thanks to the mediation of the Italian Jesuit Alessandro Valignano, Sánchez was finally able to return to Manila aboard a new boat built by Landeiro,²¹ and commanded by his nephew Sebastião Jorge, or Bastian Moxar, a name he was given in Manila. Among the many commodities carried were slaves of African and Asian origin.²² The slaves brought by Macao traders to the Philippines in early April 1583 arrived at just the right time, as a slave labor crisis had been affecting the Spanish colony.²³ Two years before, on 10 October 1581, in Tondo, the first Bishop of the Philippines, Bishop Domingo de Salazar, had met with members of the Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans, and the Society of Jesus. In this *Junta* (Council), the key religious members debated the legality of “Indian” enslavement in the Philippines, creating an important document relating to this. This document was divided into three main parts. In the first section, the *Junta* verified the likelihood of any kind of opposition from the slaveholders, supposing that the governor published and actually implemented the prohibition. The *Junta* decided to conceal their ban under a decree issued by Emperor Charles V and in force since 1574, through which he prohibited the enslavement of “Indians” inhabiting the lands colonized by the Spanish or future lands yet to be discovered, even if traders claimed that the slaves were the result of a “just war,” or had been bought from the natives (that is, even if they were considered legitimate slaves by the native people).²⁴

21 Letter of Alessandro Valignano to the Governor of the Philippines, Gonzalo de Ronquillo, 14-12-1582. AGI, Patronato 24, Ramo 57.

22 Colín, *Labor Evangélica*, vol. 11, p. 301. Pedro Torres y Lanzas, *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas* (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1926), vol. 11, p. clxvii.

23 On 28 July 1578, in Manila, Frei Alonso de la Vera Cruz, Superior General of the Province of the Indies (General de las Provincias de Indias), sent a letter to Friar Alonso de Castro in Mexico whereby he expressed many concerns, including some doubts regarding the enslavement of Indians and the high taxation that had been introduced by the *encomenderos* in the Philippines: *Sin en su poder se hallasen algunos indios robados o hechos esclavos por los españoles y dados a los conventos por vía de donación o venta, que se servían de ellos tratándolos como a libres por ser cristianos, a qué eran obligados si fuesen libres en sus tierras, o esclavos de otros; y si sería lícito darles libertad en caso de hacerse cristianos, para que volviesen a sus tierras, por el peligro manifiesto de que apostatasen por no haber en ellas ministros evangélicos; o si se les podía obligar a que viviesen entre españoles para que fuesen doctrinados, embarazándoles sus vicios y en especial el de casarse a su modo gentilico*. De San Agustín, O.S.A., *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, p. 502.

24 *Dio en la misma causa el emperador carlos quinto de buena memoria en que manda que desde la data della en adelante en todas las yndias descubiertas ni por descubrir no se permitan esclavos por ninguna vía que se adquirisen así en guerra justa como avidos comprados de los naturales, aunque entre ellos fuesen tenidos por legítimos esclavos lo qual supuesto queda claro que ningun temor ni sospecha que se tenga de qualquier yncoviniente o dificultad es bastante para que pueda el Señor gobernador o qualquier otra persona a*

The second part of this document addressed whether, if the law was implemented, it could be subject to any exceptions. On this matter, the *Junta* decided not to make exceptions, stating “that the pleading now is no more than entertaining and lengthening injustice.”²⁵

The third part of the document focused whether the governor, after the publication of the law, should declare a period during which the owners should gradually free their slaves, or if the law should be immediately implemented without any time limit, automatically freeing the Indians. On this subject, the *Junta* decided that the immediate release of the slaves would cause much inconvenience to their owners, and even if they were automatically freed they could remain in their owners’ houses for 20 to 30 days. After this period, the owners could not, by any means, hinder them leaving.²⁶

As a result of the proposed prohibition, fierce strife arose between the clerics and the Royal Audience of Manila (the Manila High Court)^{27,28} This was cleverly made use of by the Portuguese of Macao and particularly by Captain Jorge, who arrived in Manila in April 1583. The first and main consequence of the meeting with the trading communities of Macao and Manila was the formalization of an agreement between the Portuguese Captain and the Governor of the Philippines, Diego Ronquillo (1583–84). In that agreement, Jorge, on behalf of Landeiro, committed to sending a commercial ship from Macao to Manila every year.²⁹ Back in Macao, he informed Captain Landeiro of the success of the negotiations. At this point, the latter was preparing two commercial ships, one bound for India with goods and slaves, and the other one headed to Timor to obtain sandalwood (for luxury furniture manufacturing and perfumery) and slaves. Understanding the economic possibilities of exploitation of the trade route between Macao and Manila, Landeiro redeployed both commercial boats to Manila, one commanded by him and the other by his nephew Vicente Landeiro.³⁰

The Landeiro captains arrived in Manila in March 1584 with cloths and slaves, although one of their boats refused to pay the customs taxation charged at that port. A few months later, on 12 September 1584, an important petition

quien tocarse la execucion della dejarla de executar y declarar la libertad que los yndios en si se tienen y su magestad declara y concede. AGI, Filipinas, 84, n. 21.

25 AGI, Filipinas, 84, n.21.

26 Ibid.

27 The most important court of the Spanish Crown in the Asian territories of the Philippines: Audiencia y Cancillería Real de Manila.

28 Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, pp. 43–44, 56.

29 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, pp. 75–80.

30 Ibid., pp. 99–100.

was submitted by Gaspar de Ayala, auditor at the Manila High Court, requesting payment of the *almojarifazgo*,³¹ the customs duty on all goods transported between the various ports of New Spain.³²

From this date, Manila started receiving large numbers of slaves provided by the Portuguese communities established in India, Southeast Asia, China, and also Japan. From Indian ports Portuguese ships arrived, some of them with crews displaying slaves from Mozambique, Gujarati, Malabar, and Ceylon. From the Bay of Bengal—an important center of New Christian/*converso* Portuguese traders, who rebelled against the jurisdiction of Goa³³—slaves were also sent to Manila. In the late 16th century, Malacca exported to the Philippines slaves purchased at fairs in Arkat, Purim, Palembang, Rupert, or caught in Sunda, on the northern coast of Java and Sumatra, all of whom were gradually replaced in the early 17th century by slaves captured on the islands of Timor and Flores.³⁴ From Macao, in addition to exporting to the Philippines slaves from Southeast Asia (via Malacca), Chinese, Japanese, and Korean slaves were also exported. From these groups of slave traders established principally in Goa, Kochi, the Bay of Bengal, Malacca, and Macao, traders from Macao who, over the next few years, developed an important business network with the Philippines, stood out.

II

Another important event during this period was the introduction of a new financial system in Macao called the contract or *armação* system. The key element of this was the freight contract, a type of contract under which the charterer (Head Captain) made ships available to the other contracting party (*charterer*) for shipping purposes/transportation of goods against a stipulated monetary reward. The person who chartered the ship was called the owner (*armador*). In the case of Macao, this was not a single individual, but rather one of four major groups, that is, wealthy merchants, middling and poor

31 This tax varied according to the region and commercial movement of a particular port. The taxpayer who received this tax was called *almojarife*.

32 *los portugueses paguen almojarifazgo de sus mercaderías y esclavos tras la llegada a Manila de un barco de Macao*. AGI, Filipinas, 34, N. 78.

33 This place was inhabited by an important community of Jewish *converso*/New Christian traders whose economic power was such that, in 1597, the Holy Office in Goa issued a surprising official pardon to all such traders if they returned to the Portuguese State of India (Estado da Índia). António Baião, *A inquisição de Goa* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1930), p. 292.

34 Luís Felipe Thomaz, "A escravatura em Malaca no século XVI," *Studia* 53 (1994): 261–62.

merchants, the aforementioned Holy House of Mercy, and the Society of Jesus.³⁵

The portion of silk that each merchant, the House of Mercy, and the Society of Jesus were entitled by contract to carry on the ship was called *baque*, equivalent to the quota. To make merchandise sale negotiations smoother, Macao auditors elected three local men by ballot as their representatives. Frequently, those elected were the auditors themselves. These men, acting on behalf of Macao's merchants, agreed the framework of the contract with the Head Captain as well as taking several steps to ensure desired profits with regard to silk trading. Therefore, the first task at hand was to estimate the amount of silk that could be sold in Japan with a high profit margin, and then decide with the Head Captain the amount of silk to load on the ship. Valignano, in his *Apologia*, tells us that the city of Macao had agreed not to send more than 1600 annual *piculs*.³⁶ However, after some years without any trips being made, the ship that then went to Japan took a larger number of *piculs*. The Jesuit Manuel Dias gave an example of the way this operation was carried out, pricing it at two thousand *piculs*,³⁷ or silk *quintals*.³⁸ The representatives of the city determined the margin of freight, giving the Head Captain a share of 10 percent, subject to various conditions. First, the captain should not carry on his ship more than the specified amount of silk. In return, he would receive a certain amount of money from the city of Macao, sometimes over three thousand *taels*, besides the freight percentage. This compensation was intended to replace the profits of him taking on his ship an amount of silk higher than that specified by the city. Second, if the merchants from Macao failed to sell the amount of silk estimated by procurators and agreed upon in the contract, they still ensured the full payment of freight duty according to the estimate made by procurators.

There is, however, a matter to be clarified: How was the *baque* (the amount of silk that each merchant could have in the contract) determined? The procurators elected by the city of Macao estimated the amount by assigning all the Portuguese merchants in town, and also some foreign merchants, mainly Chinese, a quota according to their wealth, household expenses, and social

35 Álvarez-Taladriz, "Un Documento de 1610," pp. 1–19; Cooper S.J., "The Mechanics of the Macau–Nagasaki Silk Trade," pp. 423–33.

36 *Y así han asentado que no envíen a Japón cada año más de 1600 picos de seda*. Alessandro Valignano, S.J., *Apologia de la Compañía de Jesus de Japon y China*, ed. José Álvarez-Taladriz (Osaka: Eikodo, 1998), p. 191.

37 Approximately 60 kilos.

38 For the currency, weights, and measures used at this time, see: Boxer, *The Great Ship*, pp. 335–42.

background. Nonetheless, the quota assigned to a small merchant was so profitable that he could support his family for a year; hence, he could live without major concerns until the next contract.³⁹ When the amount of silk estimated was not completely sold, the leftover silk was proportionally distributed to all traders who had participated in the contract.⁴⁰

Additionally, the merchants had to pay to the city of Macao a certain percentage of silks and other fabrics sold, so that they could contribute to funding public spending, since the city did not have any other income to rely on. This rate was placed in the so-called “Cauldron,”⁴¹ the name given to customs by the Portuguese in Macao. It varied every year, according to the city’s needs, and initially corresponded to 2, 3, or 4 per cent of the so-called “Cauldron’s income”;⁴² later this rose to 8 per cent,⁴³ in addition to the percentage payable to the Head Captain under the silk contract (usually 10 per cent of freights).⁴⁴

Changes to the Macanese financial system between 1582 and 1584, with the restructuring of the silk-sharing process, resulted in a reduction of the space on the ship rented by each merchant or group dealing in slaves, or, rather, implied a reduction in the number of slaves that each individual or group could buy and carry during Japan–Macao return trip. This remodeling influenced not only the official trade of the city, but also private business operations. We should also note that alongside this official trip, Japan was visited every year by other vessels carrying silks and Chinese fabrics; this contributed to lowering the profit margin originally given to goods on the official ship. Gradually, as the city of Macao started to evolve, a strong sense of community emerged; hence, illegal trade became “so contrary to the common good of the city, that it was a big stain on the honor and almost a disgrace to send cloths to Japan put [in]

39 Letter of Manuel Dias (Sénior) to Claudio Acquaviva, Macao, 10-04-1610. ARSI, Jap Sin 14 II, fol. 341f.

40 *Y no se vendiendo toda se vuelve a dar a cada uno la parte de lo que proporcionalmente le cabe*. Valignano, *Apologia de la Compañia de Jesus de Japon y China*, p. 191.

41 *Caldeirão*.

42 From this income (*renda do Caldeirão*) the financial support of the seminary in Macao would also be drawn. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, *Collecção de monumentos ineditos para a historia das conquistas dos Portuguezes, em Africa, Asia e America* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1977), pp. lxiv, 156, 355.

43 Carlos Pinto dos Santos and Orlando Neves, *De longe à China* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1988), p. 98. António Bocarro, “Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da India Oriental,” *Arquivo Português Oriental* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1938), p. 39.

44 Letter of Manuel Dias (Sénior) to Claudio Acquaviva, Macao, 10-04-1610. ARSI, Jap Sin 14 II, fol. 341.

private vessels, and we spoke about someone who send them [illegally], as a greedy man, enemy of common good."⁴⁵

Therefore, from the early 1580s, the three representatives elected by the city, along with the Head Captain of the official vessel, carefully guarded the region, making sure that the only convey traveling to Japan was the official one. Any vessel bound for Japan was subject to inspection by the Head Captain and his soldiers when passing through or entering the port of Macao, to ensure that no cloth entered or was taken from China to be sold in Japan later. This surveillance was stricter when the annual trip to Japan did not take place, since, driven by greed, some private traders then sought to send cloths to Japan on ships passing through the port, knowing that profits would be much higher as the demand for Chinese silks was very high and they would be the only providers. In these circumstances, the Head Captain and city representatives were particularly attentive, in order to prevent this illegal trade harming the following year's profits, during which official convey would be carrying a two-year investment in silk. This same surveillance was not only limited to the port of Macao, but covered the many boats that left the city bound for other kingdoms and neighboring ports, which were usually frequented by the Japanese as well. The Head Captain and procurators ensured that these boats were not carrying any goods with high demand in Japan. This measure was justified by the authorities, as they feared that some Portuguese would send goods to Japan through foreign merchants upon their arrival at other ports.

In practical terms, this change in relation to private trade also reduced the possibility of Macao traders carrying Japanese slaves outside the official vessel; hence, we can conclude that slave trade from 1586 on was restricted to the latter and connected Nagasaki to Macao. During the 1550s, we can find 16 private Portuguese ships visiting Japanese ports, in the 1560s there were 17 private ships, from the 1570s until 1584, there were 11, and from 1584 the number of private ships decreased dramatically as they became an addition to the official vessel, or only came to Japan if diverted from their original route by storms.⁴⁶

45 Letter of Manuel Dias (Sénior) to Claudio Acquaviva, Macao, 10-04-1610. ARSI, Jap Sin 14 11, fol. 341v.

46 The private ship that in 1582 traveled to Japan belonged to Landeiro but its merchandise was part of the official ship of Head Captain António Garcês de Miranda. The second private ship that arrived in Japan in 1584 was also owned by Landeiro, yet was captained by his nephew Vicente. This ship was not destined for Japan, but rather Macao. Upon leaving the port of Manila, it was eventually diverted by a storm to Japan.

Macao's Commerce Organization after 1581

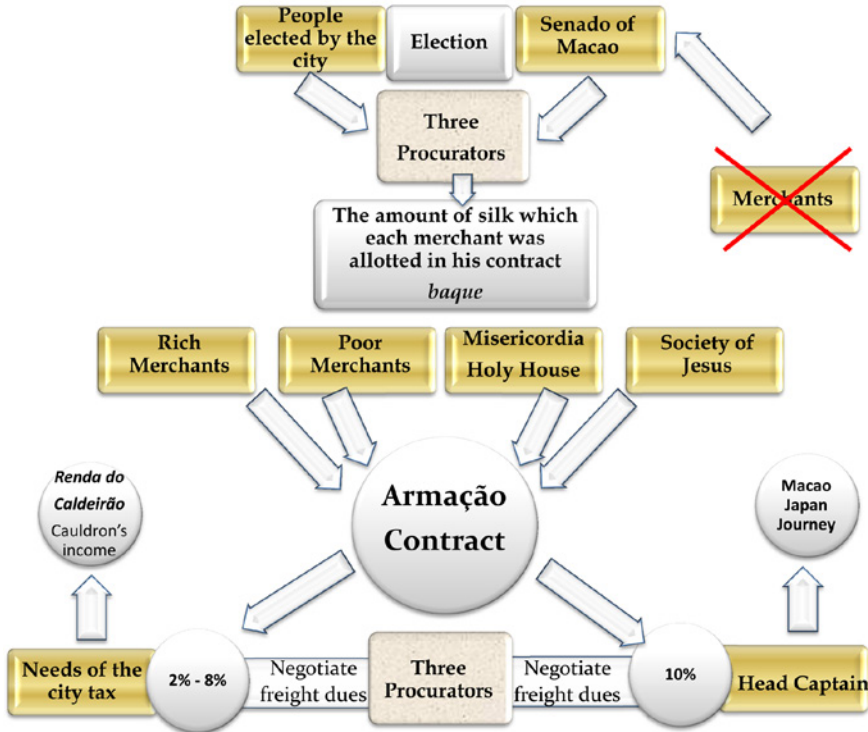


FIGURE 2.1 The Armação system in Macao
 SOURCE: DESIGNED BY THE AUTHOR.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi and the Liberation of Macao Ship Slaves

In the early 1580s there was more information available about the triangular relationship between the slave trade, as well as the crew on the commercial vessel from Macao, and the Society of Jesus. This relationship was not consistent though, being marked by periods of cooperation and opposition. The first moment of cooperation and interaction between enslaving merchants and Jesuits took place in the Arima region and was accurately described by Fróis in his 1583 annual letter. According to him, after the arrival of Macao's commercial vessel, commanded by Miranda, a resident of Arima stole from a merchant in that ship five or six slaves bought in Japan. Although Fróis did not identify the nationality of the injured party, it is very likely that he was Portuguese, judging by the aggressive way this situation was resolved by the Rector of Arima, Melchior de Mora. The cleric immediately sent a message to the local lord,

Protasio de Arima/Arima Harunobu (有馬 晴信),⁴⁷ asking him to enjoin the thief to return the slaves. Since Protasio showed a reluctance to obey Mora, the latter devised a plan that consisted of sending a Japanese Christian Brother to the house of his uncle (Japanese Christian Brother uncle) with false information about Mora, saying that he was going to secretly leave for Nagasaki and that the reason was his dissatisfaction with the way Protasio had treated his request. The plan produced positive results, as shortly after Mora received a note from Protasio saying that he had ordered the banishment of the Arima thief and the return of the slaves to the injured merchant.⁴⁸ This episode illustrates the alliance between the merchants of Macao and the Jesuits in the early 1580s. There were also members of the Society of Jesus who for the first time planned to combat slavery in Japan. These plans were linked to Gaspar Coelho (1530–1590), who held the position of Vice-Provincial of the Society of Jesus between 1581 and 1590. The first information on Jesuit intervention for the protection of Japanese slaves, when they associated with Ōmura Sumitada (大村 純忠), dates back to 1584 (referred to as 1583). During this period, the Jesuits built a Holy House of Mercy in Nagasaki to protect widows, orphans, and the poor. They also built a hospital for lepers and contributed actively to the process of rescuing people captured and enslaved by pirates:

In the lands of Bartolomeu comes the cause with great fervor, so in the churches, in the care of the hospital, and in the Christian doctrine, as in rescuing the slaves from the hands of the pirates, of which there are many in this sea.⁴⁹

This information is very important as it reveals a hitherto unknown anti-slavery stance by the Society of Jesus in Japan. This intervention in favor of slaves was not a one-off, occurring again in 1585, a period during which the wars between Ōmura and Arima territories gained particular force. Despite his attempts, Coelho, Superior of the Society of Jesus, did not succeed in persuading Ōmura and Arima to ally and rebel against Ryuzoji. During the several military clashes between Ryuzoji and other lords of Kyūshū, including Arima, Ōmura Sumitada took advantage of the increased military weakness of the neighboring

47 Arima Harunobu, 1567–1612.

48 Luís Fróis, Annual letter of 1583, Nagasáqui, 02-01-1584. ARSI, Jap Sin 45 I, fol. 63.

49 Luís Fróis, letter of 2-01-1584 in: *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India & Europa des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580: primeiro [-segundo] tomo ... Impressas por mandado do ... padre dom Theotonio de Bragança, arcebispo d'Euora ...* (Evora: Por Manoel de Lyra, 1598), fol. 90v.

region to regain the lands that Arima had invaded a few years earlier. It was then that Ōmura soldiers enslaved two hundred Japanese from the Arima region, who were presumably Christians. When informed of this situation, Coelho took action and succeeded in releasing all the captives. This episode shows that many Japanese sold to the Portuguese originated from the neighboring region of Nagasaki, and that Christian *daimyos'* subjects, also Christian, participated in the capture and enslavement of Japanese Christians.⁵⁰

From 1586, when the Japanese ruler Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉) (1536/37–1598) came to Kyūshū, there is clearer and more detailed information linking the slave trade to the Macao–Nagasaki route: for example, a document written by Ohmura Yuko, one of Hideyoshi's subordinates, with a short but important passage dedicated to this trade, says:

At Goto Islands, Hirado, Nagasaki, and other places, ships of the Southern barbarians [*nanban sen*] are influencing regional lords and our laws negatively. Not only that; these ships [also] buy hundreds of Japanese men and women. Their hands and feet are chained, and they are driven into the bottom of the ships. This is far beyond the punishment in Hell ...⁵¹

This text can be divided into two parts. The first part criticizes the influence of the “Southern barbarians” on the feudal lords of southern Japan and their disregard of Japanese laws. The second section describes slavery and the transportation of Japanese slaves outside Japan. In the first part, it is important to note that despite the Portuguese being designated as *nanbanjin*, this description did not distinguish them from other people living in Southeast Asia. In fact, the reference to the Goto Islands, Hirado, and Nagasaki, is meant to indicate not only the Portuguese but also Siamese and Cambodian presence.⁵² For a better understanding of this text, it is worth recalling that when the first Portuguese arrived at Tanegashima in 1543 on board a ship belonging to the Chinese Wang Zhi, they were traveling with a diverse crew from Southeast Asia. It was for this reason that the Portuguese were initially considered just another variant of the “Southern barbarians” or “nanbanjin.”⁵³ This idea was probably confirmed

50 José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, “Tránsito de Don Bartolomé de Omura del purgatorio del Padre Tsukasa al paraíso,” *Tenri Daigaku Gakuho* 77 (1972): 24–39.

51 Michio Kitahara, *Portuguese Colonialism and Japanese Slaves* (Tokyo: Kadensha, 2013), p. 16, quoted in Hirokazu Shimizu, *Shoku-ho Seiken to Kirishitan* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoten, 2001), p. 405. Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki*, p. 79.

52 Mihoko Oka, “Nanban Trade and Shuinsen Trade in 16th and 17th Century Japan,” in *Global History and New Polycentric Approaches Europe, Asia and the Americas in a World Network System (xvi–xixth centuries)*, ed. Manuel Pérez Garcia and Lúcio de Sousa (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 165–67.

53 Ibid.

by subsequent trips by various Portuguese mercenaries on board vessels belonging to pirates and merchants of Southeast Asian countries, or through the first official trips of Malacca as of 1550. This erroneous identification was also highlighted by the first goods brought by the Portuguese to Japan, mostly from Southeast Asia. The places mentioned by Ohmura Yuki, Goto, and Hirado were also frequented by Siamese and Cambodians. For example, in 1563, the port of Yokoseura was visited by a Siamese ship commanded by a Portuguese, and two years later, in 1565, a ship from Ayuthaia arrived at the port of Fukuejima in Goto: its captain was Chinese, yet the crew included several Portuguese.⁵⁴ There are also records dating from 1577 that mention the Chinese Guo Liuguan presenting himself as an envoy from the Ayutthaya King and entering Hirado harbor.⁵⁵ There is a second record for the year 1587 mentioning a ship from Ayutthaya commanded by a Portuguese headed to the Goto Islands.

At the same time, Portuguese ships visited Hirado in 1550 (two ships), 1553 (one), 1555 (three), 1556 (one), 1557 (three), 1558 (one), 1559 (one), 1562 (one), 1564 (three), and 1586 (one).

Up until 1587, Hideyoshi, like his predecessor Oda Nobunaga, was seen as an ally of Christianity. Hideyoshi lavishly granted the Jesuits good land to build churches and ensured their protection, as happened with the church and house in Osaka next to his castle, where he had chosen the land for their construction (1583).⁵⁶ When Coelho visited the house in Osaka on 4 May 1586, he was received by Hideyoshi himself at Osaka Castle.⁵⁷ Hideyoshi, in an unusually pleasant mood, described to Coelho his projects and requested his help in providing two large Portuguese ships, suitably armed, and Portuguese officials to help him conquer China.⁵⁸ Contrary to instructions from his Superior, Valignano, not to interfere in Japanese politics,⁵⁹ Coelho not only agreed with Hideyoshi's requests but also supplied the two warships,⁶⁰ as well as sending

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 This event took place in 1583, after the Italian Father Organtino S.J. asked him for land on which to build a church and a Jesuit residence in Osaka.

57 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 4, pp. 236–37.

58 Ibid., pp. 228–29.

59 *E essendo io avisato nell'India ch'il detto Patre Gaspar Coeglio s'andava mettendo in queste guerre gli scrissi advertendolo e reprehendendolo di tal modo che quando adesso viddero li Patri le lettere, che se ritrovorono nel suo scitorio rimasero maravigliati, perchè egli ascondeva queste lettere e non faceva saper nulla a questi di sua consulta.* Letter of Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 12/14-10-1590. ARSI, Jap Sin II-II, fol. 234v. José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, "La persecución de 1587 y el Viceprovincial Gaspar Coelho, según el Visitador Alejandro Valignano," *Sapientia* 10 (1975): 103.

60 José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, "Apuntes Sobre la Fusta del P. Gaspar Coelho, Viceprovincial de Japon (1583–1587)," *Eichi University Review* 22 (1988): 133–49.

aid from the Portuguese State of India. Upon receiving this response, Hideyoshi possibly concluded that the influence of the Society of Jesus was too powerful to be tolerated. Consequently, he sent two questions and a order to the stunned Vice-Provincial. In the first, he inquired about the real reason behind evangelization and the methods used in conversion. At the same time, he forbade the Jesuits to continue spreading Christianity and, in case of disobedience, demanded they should return to China. Hideyoshi pledged to pay the Jesuits for their investment in his houses in Japan, as well as ten thousand rice bales, the equivalent to 10,000 *cruzados*.⁶¹

The second question was intended to clarify why the priests and Portuguese merchants ate horses and cows, animals useful to man: horses for transportation and aid during a war; oxen for plowing the land. Hideyoshi asked the Portuguese to hunt other animals, so that Japan should not lack horses and cattle.⁶²

Finally, Hideyoshi demanded the trade of Japanese slaves by the Portuguese in Japan be stopped.⁶³ First, the Portuguese, Siamese, and Cambodians were accused of enslaving the Japanese, and depriving them of their friends and family, something impossible to bear for a Japanese person. Finally, Hideyoshi required Portuguese traders to free the Japanese they had bought who were headed to India and other regions, promising to return the value in silver for each freed slave:

These two men, sad and angry, will arrive with the message that they brought, saying that Quambacudono, besides many other things with great anger and indignation, had told him in particular to say three [things] to the Father. [...] The third: I have learned that the Portuguese and the Siamese and Cambodians who come to these parts make their farms, buy a large number of people and take them captive to their kingdoms, denigrating the Japanese of their country, their relatives, children, and friends, and this is unbearable. So that the Father will cause all the Japanese who are now to be sold, to India and other remote parts, to be restored to Japan again; and when this is not possible because they are far away in remote kingdoms, at least those who now the Portuguese have bought should be freed, and I will give them [the Portuguese merchants] the silver they cost to them.⁶⁴

61 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 4, pp. 401–02.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

64 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 4, pp. 401–03.

Fróis, the rapporteur of this episode, was of the opinion that Hideyoshi did not fulfill his promises; hence, it was hard to read his thoughts and true intentions. Without masking Coelho's hesitation, we know that he finally prepared a diplomatic defense to this.⁶⁵

Father Coelho did not disagree with Hideyoshi on the subject of slavery, claiming he had been instructed to ask the Japanese ruler to ban the sale of slaves, as the Japanese themselves were the ones whom traded them with the Portuguese. Coelho also suggested that Hideyoshi send patents to *tonos* prohibiting slavery in his ports. This proposal was in fact a veiled message to Hideyoshi, an indirect indictment of the *tonos* of the ports visited by Macao ship traders, who were complicit in this trade:

The third [point] to buy and sell Japanese, this was one of the principal points that the Father brought in some notes to ask for mercy to His Highness, to publish very strict sanctions to forbid this, because it was really a great discredit and discouragement to such perfect and honorable people, as are the Japanese to sell one another, not between themselves nor out of their kingdoms; and that this abuse was only propagated by these nine kingdoms of Ximo [Chikuzen, Chikugo, Hizen, Higo, Buzen, Bungo, Hyūga, Osumi, and Satsuma] and not in the Goquinai and Bandou regions,⁶⁶ and a lot of work had suffered our Fathers in this area, working to prevent the sale and captivity: but what primarily was necessary, had to be the exact prohibition of the *tonos*, masters of the ports, where the foreign ships come to do commerce.⁶⁷

This defense by Coelho is not necessarily incorrect. Although there are no detailed records of such trade led by the feudal lords of Kyushū, there is documented evidence pointing in this direction. The most obvious case involves Ōtomo Yoshishige, lord of the province of Bungo. Recent research by Toshio Kage reveals his involvement in the slave trade with China and Cambodia. In the case of trade with Cambodia, Yoshishige had established diplomatic relations with the King of Cambodia and,⁶⁸ before 1579, sent to King Saṭhā

65 Ibid.

66 What Fróis says about the regions of Shimo, Gokinai, and Kantō (Tokyo-Edo) was not published in *Cartas*. Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Mihoko Oka explains the rivalries between Cambodia and Ayutthaya. In this particular period, the King of Cambodia, Barom Reachea/Saṭhā Mahindārāja, took advantage of the conflicts between Ayutthaya and Burma, to expand his country's economic and political

Mahindarāja several gifts, including “beautiful women,” receiving in return an elephant, among other things.⁶⁹ Although there is no further reference to these women, they were probably from Japan, natives of Bungo, or from the neighboring territories of Chikuzen, Chikugo, Hizen, Higo, Buzen, Hyūga, Osumi, or Satsuma. Years later, the Council held by the Society of Jesus in Japan in 1598 again discussed the geographical origin of Japanese slaves, confirming Coelho’s view on the origin of most Japanese slaves, which he claimed to be the old provinces of Chikuzen, Chikugo, Hizen, Higo, Buzen, Bungo, Hyūga, Osumi, and Satsuma.⁷⁰

As for Hideyoshi’s requirement to the Portuguese merchants asking that they release their Japanese slaves, we know that it was obeyed, even though these slaves were already inside the ship bound for Macao anchored in Nagasaki. Nevertheless, the Portuguese traders were very disappointed with Hideyoshi, as his subordinates refused to return the silver they had spent purchasing the slaves:

And as he seldom speaks the truth, if it is not to deceive someone who cares to lie to him with it, having first told the Portuguese that he would send him the silver, with which they had bought some Japanese in the ship from China, and set them free, and then told them to take them, but to give them nothing, and it was done.⁷¹

For other episodes related to slavery that occurred in that year in the port of Nagasaki, neither the Jesuit letters nor other contemporary Portuguese sources

influence with other nations. It was in this context that contacts were made with Yoshihige. As Oka also explained, to strengthen Cambodia militarily and economically in relation to Ayutthaya, Cambodian kings employed numerous Portuguese mercenaries. Mihoko Oka, “Trade Consigned to Portuguese in Ayutthaya: From the Reign of King Narai to the Reign of King Thaisa,” *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* 56 (2011): 25–41; Toshio Kage, *Ajian Sengoku daimyō Ōtomoshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2011), pp. 22–28, 53–8.

69 Toshio Kage, *Ajia no naka no sengoku daimyō* [Sengoku Daimyō in Asia] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2015), pp. 171–8.

70 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 277v. There is also a late Franciscan mention by Friar Diego de San Francisco, in Mogami, dated 21 March 1627, which indicates the strict manner in which peasants were treated by Japanese landowners, who sold peasant women and children. This type of slavery differs from the previous examples, as this slavery was to satisfy domestic consumption and not for export purposes. Lorenzo Pérez, “Relación de la persecución del cristianismo en el Japón, por Fr. Diego de San Francisco (1625–1628),” *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 1(3) (1914): 525.

71 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 4, p. 453.

provide us with more details. This gap was filled some years later by the same Council held by the Society of Jesus in Japan in 1598. On this occasion, a marginal reference clarifies what really happened in Nagasaki in 1587. Besides the letter sent by Toyotomi Hideyoshi to the Jesuits accusing the Portuguese slavers, and their direct intervention by releasing the Japanese slaves that were aboard the official Macao ship, the Japanese ruler published a law against this kind of trade, threatening to kill whoever disobeyed this restriction,⁷² and ordering several Japanese slave canvassers and brokers from Nagasaki to be killed or crucified. To make the threat more credible, the pier *rulō* who ferried the slave boats to the Portuguese ship was crucified as well:

[F]rom Taico Sama Universal Lord of Japan who has put there just not take out of Japan to other kingdoms people bought strictly selling it with death penalty which is sometimes performed in the port of Nagasaki in some Japanese sellers as well as in some brokers of these purchases of which for great fear crucify one *rulō* of the pier where the Portuguese serve themselves to come and go from the ship and do not fear much as it is usual in Japan when the seller dies also the buyer dies.⁷³

Part of this law was even printed in the *Vocabulário: Fítano uricaivo choji suru, yame todomuru*, translated into Old Portuguese as “prohibit the buying and selling of people.”⁷⁴ The place of origin of the slaves Toyotomi Hideyoshi released from the Portuguese ship remains unknown. This uncertainty, in my view, can be partially answered by the Jesuit Luís Fróis’s letter written in Hirado, dated 5 August 1587. The letter reveals that on 10 January of that year the Satsuma troops had invaded Bungo and enslaved many women and girls,⁷⁵ to be later sold at market. Fróis claims that in the single region of Usuki the Satsuma soldiers had taken three thousand women and children. Here are some passages relating what occurred in several areas in Bungo:

72 *Vindo aos Jappões pr.ªm.te na corte de Jappão e reinos de Ximo nos quais reside a frol e nobreza desta nação não ha este costume de cativar em guerra, pollo que sabendo Taycôsama que nestes reinos do Ximo se vendião cada ano mtos Jappões aos Portuguezes o estranhou m.to e prohibio sob pena de morte como abaixo se dirá. E quanto a estes reinos do Ximo.* RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 277v.

73 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 275.

74 Álvarez-Taladriz, “Apuntes sobre el Cristianismo y la Esclavitud en Japon,” p. 500.

75 ARSI, Jap Sin, 50, fol. 49.

The Bungo were trembling because of the Satsuma, seeing that they were so successful that they surrendered to them, and so they began to burn and ravage those lands of Nangun and other lands they passed by, capturing many women, and girls with whom they used strange cruelties [...] arriving at Umen [...] the captive women to remedy their work also gave themselves to the enemies [...] they went from there to the lands of Fynda where many Christians lived and killed Soyequi, the Christian Lord of those lands, and his wife, who was Ysabel's sister, they took her captive with many other women and children.⁷⁶

And three thousand souls were taken away only from the lands of Usuqui among women and children.⁷⁷

Fróis's letter refers the places of origin and the number of slaves that the Portuguese had at their disposal that year, and also contains extra information from other witnesses, including a copy of a portion of a letter written by Father Francisco Carrión to Fróis about Funai and a part of a second letter that Father Pero Gómez wrote to him on the same subject. Carrión's contribution is particularly useful as it bears witness of his personal experience in the region. Carrión describes that due to fear of being killed or enslaved, the population of Funai fled the city and that a "multitude" of men, women, and children tried to escape across the river, as others escaped through hills and mountains. After Funai's burning and the devastation of the region of Bungo, Carrión describes a bleak environment, with people outcast from the fields with nothing to eat or wear, and no shelter from where they could defend themselves against the cold of winter. He also states that Satsuma's soldiers had made captive numerous people, among them many Christians. On the other hand, Pero Gómez's letter to Luís Fróis does not refer the capture of the people by Satsuma's soldiers, but, rather, presents us with a description of the devastation caused by the war.⁷⁸

Continuing his account of Bungo's invasion by Satsuma's soldiers, Luís Fróis describes how Toyotomi Hideyoshi's army entered the region and defeated the forces of Satsuma, as well as Satsuma's betrayal by former allies, who later began to serve Hideyoshi and his army.⁷⁹ Ironically, Fróis concluded this letter explaining that the population of the Bungo region expected Hideyoshi's army to rescue them from Satsuma but, contrary to their expectations, the soldiers

76 ARSI, Jap Sin, 50, fols. 45v-46.

77 Ibid., fol. 47v.

78 Ibid., fols. 50-51v.

79 Ibid., fols. 51v-52.

also looted the region, causing yet more misery and desolation, which was only worsened by an epidemic:

The provincial Father [...], who visited the kingdom of Bungo, and says that it is not possible to explain the miseries and pitiful state in which the kingdom of Bungo is because it was ravaged by those of Sacuma (Satsuma), a great multitude of the captive people, the places destroyed and burned, and again tyrannized by the army of Quambacudono (Hideyoshi), who was going to assist them.[...], and after all these miseries and labors, a pestilence had arisen that killed seven thousand people besides those dying every day.⁸⁰

As we can easily deduce, conveying such large numbers of adult and child slaves from Bungo to other regions would cause many problems, particularly the need for supplies for their nourishment, also necessary for the soldiers' survival. This situation was skillfully exploited by the *hitokadoi* (canvassers) (ヒトカドイ (人勾引) and *hitoakibito* (brokers) (ヒトアキビト (人商人), who specialized in the trade of war hostages, and brought the captives from Bungo to Nagasaki to sell to the Portuguese in 1587.

*Continuation of the Slave Trade in Nagasaki after Hideyoshi's
Anti-Christian Edict*

Hideyoshi's proceedings against the Japanese slave trade in Nagasaki and the relationship of slavery with the issuing of the anti-Christian edict in Japan in 1587 provide two important pieces of documentation: the first is the detailed description of the slave trade in Nagasaki and the second is the reprimand issued to Alessandro Valignano by the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615). Let us look in detail at both documents.

The first document is an unofficial letter from the Vice-Provincial Jesuit Gaspar Coelho to Acquaviva dated 2 October 1587. Following the publication of the anti-Christian edict and the charges against the Portuguese concerning slavery, Coelho refers to the Japanese slaves of the Macao trade vessel in a way rarely found in European sources of the time, and implicitly informs us that the Jesuits themselves were complicit in this situation:

The second evil they carry out, with which they cause enormous scandal, is to want to purchase Japanese men and women, in whatever way they

⁸⁰ ARSI, Jap Sin, 50, fol. 52.

can, through force. As the Japanese are poor, they represent a good opportunity of profit by selling them. The merchants are always using a thousand ways of deception. These traders travel through the villages and steal the sons and daughters from their parents. The Japanese cannot bear to see their people as slaves, or being taken to other countries. Sometimes, after the Portuguese have gotten hold of them with chains and stocks, until the carrack leaves (out of fear that the slaves might run away), some of them cut their bodies, as is their tradition, and kill themselves, and others throw themselves alive into the sea. And because the priests allowed [this] and gave authorization to the merchants stating that the Japanese could be enslaved they practice many injustices against the Japanese. I feel a great compassion and pity to see this horrible spectacle: the poor slaves with chains being loaded into the ship.⁸¹

This section can be divided into three parts. The first focuses on the capture of slaves from poor regions of Japan and of humble origins; the second part stresses the illegal sale and conveyance of slaves in the official ship of Macao, where many committed suicide; and the third is about the legalization of this process carried out by the Jesuits, who issued licenses to slavers stating that the Japanese slaves acquired had been lawfully enslaved.

This description clearly shows that in the early 1580s the official Portuguese ship from Macao to Nagasaki had become a slave transport vessel and that the Society of Jesus played an essential role in this trade, producing the ballots legalizing the status of slavery.

However, with regard to Gaspar Coelho's letter, I would like to draw the reader's attention to the fact that the same phrase used by Hideyoshi to warn members of the Society of Jesus accusing the Portuguese of "distorting the Japanese of their country, of their relatives, children and friends and this thing is unbearable" was also used in Gaspar Coelho's letter, namely, "the Japanese cannot

81 Letter of Gaspar Coelho to Claudio Acquaviva, Hirado, 2-10-1587: *Il 2° mal che fanno com che hanno grandoss° scandolo è voler comprar por qualsi voglia modo que possono, per forza homini e donne Giapponi, e per quanto Giapponi sono poveri, offerecidogle questa occasione di guadagnar per vendergli vanno investigando milli modi de inganni e falsità, e li vanno furtâdo e robbando per le ville i figli, e figle alli proprii padri, e madri, e perche li Giapponi non possono soportar vedersi i suoi naturali e levarli cosi cattivi sin che parte la nave per paura che nõ fuggino, alcuni si tagliano il corpo cõforme a suo costume, e se mattono e altri vivi si bottono nel mar, e perche li padri li dianno ina poliza per il nescono della china de como siano bem cattivi fanno molte falsità com li Giapponi che li vendono, et è cosa di gran compassione, e lastima veder tanto lagrimoso spettacolo di questi poveri cattivi carichi diferi quando la nao se vol partir.* ARSI, Jap Sin, 10 II, fol. 272.

bear to see their people as slaves, or being taken to other countries" (*perché li Giapponi non possono soportar vedersi i suoi naturali e levarli così cattivi*). This detail, perhaps unconscious on Coelho's part, reveals the direct link between this letter and Hideyoshi's charge.

As an immediate consequence of sending this letter to Rome, the members of the Society of Jesus resident in Japan were harshly reprimanded by Father General Claudio Acquaviva:

We would also be grateful if Your Reverence would tell us the reason by which the Portuguese can enslave the Japanese, which is forbidden in Japan under serious penalties, and also in Portugal, as we are told, and it is a true testimony to be so because we know for sure that some Japanese whom the Portuguese enslaved have been freed by ours in that Kingdom without much resistance by the Christians,^{82, 83} they did not stop doing, if they saw that justice was for them.⁸⁴

Now that we are aware of the immediate impacts of the publication of the anti-Christian edict on the Society of Jesus, there are other important questions to answer: What was the impact of these bans on the slave traders in Nagasaki? Did these bans achieve any results? And did the Jesuits cease to participate in the legalization process of Japanese slaves in Nagasaki?

Apparently, neither Coelho's letter nor the admonition from the Society of Jesus General to the Jesuits in Japan not to collaborate in this trade, nor Hideyoshi's bans published in Nagasaki and public condemnation of some of the participants of this network could prevent the continuation of human trafficking, or the Jesuits' participation in the issuing of slave ballots.

At least this is the idea obtained from the letter written in Nagasaki on 18 October 1594 by the Jesuit Antonio López, Rector of the College of Nagasaki, addressed to the Society of Jesus General Father in Rome, Claudio Acquaviva. Although the year is not given clearly, this letter reveals a completely unknown scenario in Nagasaki harbor, in what I deduce to be 1588, with regard to slavery. My chronological deduction is based on the following: the letter stated that Father Pedro Gómez (1535–1600) was not yet Vice-Provincial (he assumed office in 1590) while Hideyoshi had issued the anti-slavery prohibitions in 1587.

82 By the Jesuits.

83 Portugal.

84 Letter of Claudio Acquaviva to Alessandro Valignano, 15-04-1590. ARSI, Jap Sin 3, fol. 15.

As we know, in 1589 there was no official trade trip between Macao and Nagasaki, so the year in question could only have been 1588.

In the letter, Father Antonio López complained that, despite maintaining the title of Rector of the College of Nagasaki, he had been banished because he publicly opposed the enslavement of Japanese people. Furthermore, he accused the Spanish priest Gregorio de Céspedes of collaborating with Macao merchants in the trade of such slaves. The surprising information in this document is Antonio López declaring that in the year 1588, the Macao ship carried over a thousand slaves to China. Let us look at the original source:

The other person was Father Pedro Gómez, who is now Vice-Provincial, but this was before he received his new post, on the captivity of the Japanese, against which I have always been against, and because of that, I was banished from this house saying that it prevented them from carrying the Japanese captives away,⁸⁵ although they did not remove me from my post. And this is very true that I did so, but God knows how it was more of his service than that and so do men, and then it was clearly seen, because when I departed from here, Father Pedro Gómez stayed in my place, who, by being old and not knowing the language,⁸⁶ they gave him a Castilian Father as helper, named Gregorio de Céspedes, and so they loaded the ship of China with Japanese,^{87, 88} so that they were on it more than a thousand souls,⁸⁹ and it was very dangerous because of the prohibition of Quambacudono stating,⁹⁰ under severe penalties, that no carried people with the title of captive [should be brought] outside Japan.⁹¹

The number of slaves mentioned by Father López clearly demonstrates that the official trading ship that sailed the Macao–Nagasaki commercial route had been transformed into a slave boat. Although ships traveling to Japan carried an average of 700 people,⁹² it is quite likely that some carried more passengers, as vessel size varied widely. If the organization within the Portuguese ship

85 To be sold and sent to other countries.

86 Japanese.

87 Official vessel that connected Macao to Nagasaki.

88 Slaves.

89 More than 1000 slaves.

90 Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

91 ARSI, Jap Sin 12 II, fol. 202v.

92 *Introductio Ad Historiam Societatis Jesu In Japonia (1549–1650)*, p. 38.

followed the same structure as Atlantic slave ships, a ship meant to carry an average of 700 people could easily carry 1000 slaves.⁹³

To illustrate the horror of slavery in the Japanese city of Nagasaki and the threats to the stability of the Jesuit mission derived from the collaboration between the members of the Society of Jesus and the slave traders, López described a dark episode. He related that a Portuguese merchant illegally smuggled a young woman aboard the commercial ship bound for Macao, placing her in a box. The woman, realizing what her fate would be, screamed to be released, and was able to make herself heard by the governor's guards. Under the pretext that the box was property of the Society of Jesus, the guards were put off by Father Gregorio de Céspedes when they asked for the key to open the box and investigate its contents. The soldiers, not convinced by Céspedes's words, decided to open the box in front of the city's governor. To the astonishment of everyone, upon lifting the lid, they found the young Japanese woman, almost dead. The Portuguese merchant, fearing the Japanese legal system, fled to the Church of Santa Maria in Nagasaki. The soldiers, receiving orders to arrest him, surrounded the church. As a result of this situation, a brother of the Society of Jesus was beaten and Father Céspedes was forced to flee, while López was called upon to resolve the conflict.⁹⁴

After receiving this letter, Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva sent a new letter to Japan. Even though Acquaviva's original letter is no longer extant today, the answer given by the Visitor Alessandro Valignano—who was asked for his advice on the case—in the 20 October 1598 letter helps

93 On these occasions, slaves traveled seated and additional shelves were placed for space optimization. Although this kind of strategy was efficient, the mortality levels were also higher. For more information, kindly see Chapter 5, Section 5.7, subsection: "Estimates on the Number of Slaves Carried from Japan."

94 *De manera que acaeció que un hombre portugués, queriendo embarcar una muchacha y temiendo los guardias, la metió en un cajón grande y mandándola llevar a la playa para la embarcar, la pobre moza, no sabiendo lo que hacían de ella, gritó de dentro del cajón diciendo: "Ruégos mucho que me saquéis de aquí." La cual voz oyendo los guardias peguaron del cajón, el cual estaba cerrado con llave, y pidiéndola, acudió el Padre Gregorio: "Dejad el cajón que es de los Padres y de la Iglesia." Mas ellos no dando por eso lo llevaron delante del gobernador y abriéndolo sacaron la pobre muchacha medio muerta. Agora vea vuestra paternidad qué vergüenza esta para nos todos. Quisieron luego echar mano del portugués, mas acogióse a la iglesia, fueron luego puestas guardas alderredor y aun dentro de nuestra casa y comenzaron a querer abrir lo lugares cerrados para sacar el portugués. Visto esto, fue necesario el Padre [Pedro Gómez] mandar luego salir de allí al Padre Gregorio y que me volviese yo luego a casa para apacificar la tierra y hacer quitar las guardias que estaban en la casa nuestra, y así se hizo, mas quedó un Hermano o dos empancados de los soldados y el Padre Gregorio quedó muy mal con el gobernador.* ARSI, Jap Sin 12 II, fols. 202v–203.

us reconstruct the original epistle. Acquaviva demanded that Father Céspedes be publicly punished for participating in this episode, putting the already precarious presence of the Society of Jesus in Japan at risk. In response, Valignano divided the slavery issue into two parts. In the first part, he focused his attention on this case, which occurred in 1588, and in the second part analyzed the problem of slavery in Japan in 1598.⁹⁵

Initially, after confirming the veracity of the case, Valignano tried to examine and defend Céspedes's behavior. He also apologized for not having informed the Father General of it, claiming that the amount and importance of the issues to be discussed in the annual report had not permitted the inclusion of this episode, which, in the meanwhile, had been solved. To support his actions, he maintained that Japan's Superior, Father Gaspar Coelho, was responsible for informing the Superior General about the case, as Valignano himself was not at the time in Japan and only reached Nagasaki in July 1590 (Coelho died on 7 May of the same year). Let us look at the original passage:

The seventh (item) deals with a case that happened to a priest during the purchase of a girl that a Portuguese man bought and carried tucked inside an ark to embark her hidden against the prohibition that had been given by the officers of Taicosama and when I took information about this (event) I confirm it happened as they wrote to Your Reverence and,⁹⁶ although it was full of imprudence by the one that committed (it), however in this case the priest (who) intervened moved with piety so that they did not do (any) harm (to) the Portuguese (merchant) and the reason why the Superior did not write to your Holiness was because we cannot write here more than once a year and the case was already solved and forgotten, it seems that father Gaspar Coelho during whose time this case happened forgot to write it and because we do not write more than once a year there are so many things that are forgotten and not written that I am not surprised it happened with this case and because this case has happened so many years ago and the Father is a virtuous man and has worked until now,⁹⁷ to give him another public penance as Your Holiness orders, in truth other major events did not give us place to occupy ourselves of this case, but when this letter is finished I will deal with that and

95 I will study Valignano's analysis of slavery performed by the Japanese in more detail in Chapter 3.

96 Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

97 Gregorio Céspedes.

consult (with) other priests and we will do it in a good way what Your Holiness commands.⁹⁸

Regarding the Jesuit Antonio López, the author of this accusation to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, I would like to emphasize here that he was not entirely innocent of any participation in slavery, despite what he suggests in the letter sent to Acquaviva. Ironically, the Japanese slave Gaspar Fernandes Japon/Xapón, trying to obtain his release in Mexico City in 1599, accused Antonio López of being the author of his limited-time ballot/time bondage, justifying his illegal abduction in 1585:

Took him to the Jesuit priests who lived in the town or city of Nangasaque and having seen and examined him a Jesuit priest of the Society of Jesus named Antonio Lopez, the abovementioned priest Antonio Lopez declared that they could use the abovementioned Japanese for twelve years more or less and that he does not remember correctly (the number of years) if it was right (twelve years) or if it was more or less.⁹⁹

Through the numerous examples herein presented, we must conclude then that during this period (1570–92) the majority of slaves sold in Japan were of Japanese origin, mainly hailing from the Kyūshū region. However, there are some reported cases that lead us to conclude that Japan continued to receive slaves of Chinese origin,¹⁰⁰ and that such human trade was not completely extinguished. That is the case of the parents of a citizen from Nagasaki called Yokose Mago'emon no Joo. The father, of Chinese origin, had been kidnapped and taken to Japan. He was baptized in Nagasaki and died in 1612, in Hamano-machi. Yokose Mago'emon no Joo's Chinese mother had also been kidnapped and brought to Nagasaki, where she was baptized, dying in 1607, also at Hamano-machi. Yokose Mago'emon no Joo was born in 1590 in the same city.¹⁰¹

98 Letter from Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 20-10-1598. ARSI, Jap Sin 13 I, fol. 193.

99 AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisicion, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 265.

100 Reinier H. Hesselink, "An Anti-Christian Register from Nagasaki," *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 18/19 (2009): 36. *Hirado-machi ninbetsu seisho tadashi*.

101 Interestingly, Yokose Mago'emon no Joo had in his house a servant of Korean origin named Ito, born in Korea in 1584. In 1595, at the age of eleven, he arrived in Mogi, Japan, living on Ōmura-machi Street in Nagasaki from 1615 onwards. Hesselink, "An Anti-Christian Register from Nagasaki," pp. 58–59. *Hirado-machi ninbetsu seisho tadashi*.

This feeling of uncertainty was not confined to Japanese or Chinese victims. For example, the letter sent by Father Lourenço Mexia to Claudio Acquaviva in 1580 also reveals that not even European clerics were safe from being enslaved.¹⁰²

¹⁰² We discover that, on the dangerous roads of Japan, infested with thieves, a priest, obeying Valignano's orders to move from Kuchinotsu to Nagasaki, was captured by thieves. His release did not take place until a week later when, through the intermediation of some Christians of Nagasaki, he was rescued for the amount of 100 *cruzados*. *Cartas de Évora*, vol. I, fol. 467v.

TABLE 2.1 Chinese, Japanese, and Korean slaves (1570–92)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Guilherme Brandão	M	Japan			05-02-1573 Lisbon, Portugal	Macao–Malacca–Goa–Lisbon
Jacinta de Sá	F	Japan			05-02-1573 Lisbon, Portugal	Macao–Malacca–Goa–Lisbon
Diego Chino Indio	M	China			1575, Seville, Spain	Macao/China–Philippines– Mexico–Seville/Spain
Maria Pereira	F	Japan	1566		1576–02-07-1596 Lisbon, Portugal	Macao–Malacca–Goa–Lisbon
Gaspar China	M	China			16-02-1577 Lisbon, Portugal	Macao–Malacca–Goa– Lisbon/Lisbon–Goa–Malacca
Unknown names	M/F	China			1578 Lisbon, Portugal	Macao–Malacca–Goa–Lisbon
Unknown names	M/F	Japan			1578 Lisbon, Portugal	Japan–Macao–Malacca– Goa–Lisbon
Isabel de Sigura	F	China	1584		158?–1606 Lima, Peru	Macao–Manila–Acapulco– Lima
Francisco	M	China			1578 Goa, India	Macao–Malacca–Goa
Unknown name 1	M	China		1581	1581 Voyage from Lisbon to Goa and Malacca	Macao–Malacca–Goa–Lisbon/ Lisbon–Goa–Malacca

Owner	Marital Status	Status	Profession	Short biography
	Married	Freed slave		Married Jacinta de Sá, also a Japanese former slave.
	Married	Freed slave		Married Guilherme Brandão, also a Japanese former slave.
		Slave		Of Chinese origin; attempted to be released in Seville, in 1575.
D. Filipa de Guerra	Single	Freed slave	Domestic slave	After her death, Filipa de Guerra, nun at the Monastery of Santos, freed the Japanese slave Maria Pereira. Pereira had been a slave for more than 20 years, as she must have arrived in Portugal in the early 1570s.
		Slave		The slave Gaspar "China" was murdered.
		Slaves	Cooks, intellectuals	The Italian merchant Filippo Sassetti states that many Chinese slaves lived in Lisbon, working as cooks or in intellectual professions.
		Slaves		Sassetti states that many Japanese slaves arrived in Lisbon.
Melchior de Sigura	Single	Freed slave?	Domestic servant	She was born in China in a place she did not know. She first lived in the house of Melchior de Sigura, in Lima, when he was still a child. Married to Marcos de Aragon. Her husband worked in the mines. The couple had no children.
		Slave		This slave was persecuted by the Inquisition of Goa and accused of crypto-Islamism in 1578.
		Slave		In 1581, four ships bound for India and another bound for Malacca, left from Lisbon. The ships were São Lourenço, Bom Jesus, Salvador, and Reis Magos (for Goa) and S. Pedro (for Malacca). The São Lourenço ship was carrying the Viceroy of Goa, Francisco de Mascarenhas. One of these vessels transported Friar Marco Antonio Porcari, who, in the letter he wrote from Kochi to Claudio Acquaviva, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, on 30 November 1581, reported the whole trip with a profusion of detail. After a vivid description of the sick crew members and the bleedings to supposedly help them recover, there is a reference to the slaves who died,

TABLE 2.1 Chinese, Japanese, and Korean slaves (1570–92) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Unknown name 2	M	China		1581	1581 Voyage from Lisbon to Goa and Malacca	Macao–Malacca–Goa–Lisbon/ Lisbon–Goa–Malacca
Unknown name 3	M	Japan		1581	1581 Voyage from Lisbon to Goa and Malacca	Macao–Malacca–Goa–Lisbon/ Lisbon–Goa–Malacca
Damião de Lima	M	Japan	157?	1642	1581 Nagasaki 1582 Macao 1583–84 Goa–Lisbon 1584–1618 Lisbon 1619 India 1625 Macao 1642 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao–Goa–Lisbon– Goa– Macao
Maria Pirez	F	Japan	1562		1583–93 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao
Group of 5/6 Japanese slaves	M	Japan			1583 Arima, Japan	

Owner	Marital Status	Status	Profession	Short biography
		Slave		as well as to one Japanese, two Chinese, and seven Portuguese persons in this report, which shows that these Asians had already traveled the reverse route linking Goa to Lisbon. Same voyage.
		Slave		Same voyage.
Ignácio de Lima	Single	Freed slave	Domestic slave, merchant	Damião de Lima was bought by the Head Captain of Macao, Ignácio de Lima, in 1581. He traveled from Nagasaki to Lisbon with Ignácio de Lima, serving him. He was freed during this time and became de Lima's heir. After Ignácio de Lima's death, Damião de Lima decided to live in Macao. In 1625 he lived in Macao near the Church of Saint Anthony. He is mentioned in the census of 1625. On 25 October 1642, thinking he was about to die, he decided to write his will. Most of his fortune was left to the Japanese community living in Macao. Damião de Lima was served by a young ex-slave named Salvador.
Merchant of the ship of Aires Gonçalves de Miranda	Single	Freed slave Slaves	Domestic slave	Witness against Leonor da Fonseca. Inquisition of Goa. An inhabitant of Arima stole five or six slaves bought in Japan by a merchant who had arrived on the ship of Aires Gonçalves de Miranda. Although Fróis did not identify the nationality of the injured party, it is very likely that he was a Portuguese merchant, as revealed by the aggressive way this situation was resolved by the Rector of Arima, Melchior de Mora. The cleric immediately sent a message to the local lord, Protasio de Arima, asking him to enjoin the thief to return the slaves.

TABLE 2.1 Chinese, Japanese, and Korean slaves (1570–92) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Ito	M	Korea	1585		1585 Mogi 1615 Nagasaki (Ōmura- machi in Nagasaki) 1642 (Hirado-machi in Nagasaki)	Korea–Japan
Unknown name	F	China?	1566 Xangua (Shanghai?) Sagwa? (region of Madhya Pradesh, India) Luo Chaguo 羅刹國, Java?		1586–1606 Lima, Peru	Macao–Manila–Acapulco– Lima
Ana	F	Peru (daughter of a Chinese slave)	1594		1586–1606 Lima, Peru	
Maria	F	Peru (daughter of a Chinese slave)	1602		1586–1606 Lima, Peru	
Secilia	F	Peru (daughter of a Chinese slave)	1606		1586–1606 Lima, Peru	
Nuno Cardoso	M	Japan			1586-06-16 Lisbon, Portugal	Macao–Malacca–Goa– Lisbon
Wife of Jingozaemon	F	Korea	1580		1587? Hirado 1642 Nagasaki (Hirado- machi)	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital Status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Servant of Kyuu'emon no Joo	Single ?	Ex-slave	Servant	Ito, a Korean, was born in Korea in 1585 and arrived in Mogi (茂木), Japan, in 1596 (aged 10 or 11), and in 1615 moved to Ōmura-machi in Nagasaki. He was converted to Christianity in 1615 and apostatized around 1629–32.
	Married to Lorenzo (Indian of Caxamarca)	Freed slave	Domestic	This ex-slave arrived in Lima in 1586. Lived in the house of Melchior Sigura. Was released and married to Lorenzo, a native of that region. Lorenzo lived in San Pedro, in the house of Captain Fernandez de Avila. They had three children: Ana (12); Maria (4); and Secilia (7 months).
	Single			Child of ex-slave who arrived in Lima in 1586. Lived in the house of Melchior Sigura. Was released and married to Lorenzo, a native of that region.
	Single			Child of ex-slave who arrived in Lima in 1586. Lived in the house of Melchior Sigura. Was released and married to Lorenzo, a native of that region.
	Single			Child of ex-slave who arrived in Lima in 1586. Lived in the house of Melchior Sigura. Was released and married to Lorenzo, a native of that region.
	Married	Ex-slave		Nuno Cardoso, "of Japanese nation," freed, married to Constantina Dias, captive of Felipe Rodrigues. She was taken to Japan in 1587 (?)

TABLE 2.1 Chinese, Japanese, and Korean slaves (1570–92) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Unknown name	M	Japan	Nagasaki 1576		1587	Nagasaki
Maria	F	Japan			1587 Notsu (Usuki)	
Sister of Isabel, spouse of Soyequi	F	Japan			1587 Ida (Bungo)	
Wife of Surihata/ Suribata aka Pedro	F	Japan			1587 Nangun (Bungo)	
Wife of João, son of Surihata/Suribata aka Pedro	F	Japan			1587 Nangun? (Bungo)	

Owner	Marital Status	Status	Profession	Short biography
	Single	Sold his 11-year-old son for 5 or 6 months. Servant		Hideyoshi's officials continued to demand more money from the population. First there was a payment of 430 cruzados, then more 1290 cruzados were demanded (or 300 ichimais of silver). Some people sold their houses, others sold their clothes, others sold the rice they used for personal consumption. The price of all commodities was drastically reduced, since there were few people able to buy them. Fróis tells the case of one poor man, who, because he had no other options, had to sell his 11-year-old son into slavery for 5 or 6 months, in order to pay them. Since the population could not assemble enough money, the Church had to cover the remaining costs, which totaled more than 550 cruzados.
	Married to Shibata Simão	Slave		When Satsuma's soldiers invaded the region of Bungo and reached Notsu (Usuki), where there were many Christians, they enslaved Maria, the wife of Japanese Christian Shibata Simão, who was killed during the clashes. The remaining family members, children, grandchildren, and women were all enslaved. We only know Maria's name.
	Married to Soyekii	Slave		When Satsuma's soldiers invaded the region of Bungo and reached Ida, they captured and enslaved a Japanese women whose name is unknown. This woman was married to a Christian named Soyekii. Her sister Isabel was a Christian. No other facts reveal her fate.
	Married to Surihata aka Pedro (Japanese Christian)	Slave		A Japanese nobleman named Surihata/Suribata (Christian name Peter), served the daimyo of Funai. Satsuma's soldiers enslaved his wife, daughter-in-law, and housemaids. He set out alone for the college of the Society of Jesus in Funai, where he was given aid. His wife was eventually set free by her son.
	Married to João, son of Surihata aka Pedro (Japanese Christian)	Slave		João, the son of a Japanese nobleman named Surihata/Suribata (Christian name Peter) set free his wife, mother, and his father's servants.

TABLE 2.1 Chinese, Japanese, and Korean slaves (1570–92) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Servants of Surihata/Suribata aka Pedro	F	Japan			1587 Nangun? (Bungo)	
Cristobal	M	Japan	Nagasaki 1567		1587 America	Nagasaki–Macao–Manila– Acapulco
Cosme	M	Japan	Nagasaki 1570		1587 America	Nagasaki–Macao–Manila– Acapulco
Unknown	M	Japan?			1587	
Diogo	M	Japan			23-05-1590 Lisbon, Portugal	Macao–Malacca–Goa– Lisbon
Justa Carmela	F	China			30-07-1590 Lisbon, Portugal	Macao–Malacca–Goa– Lisbon
Pedro Ruiz Japon	M	Japan			1590 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao
Joan Japão	M	Japan			1590 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao
Isabel de Campoverde	F	China	Xagua (Shanghai?) Sagwa? (region of Madhya Pradesh, India) luo chaguo, Java? 1581		1590–1606 Lima	Macao–Manila–Acapulco– Lima
Mother of Maki	F	Korea	1583		1590? Hirado? 1624 Nagasaki (Funatsu Shita-machi, Imashikkui-machi in Nagasaki)	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital Status	Status	Profession	Short biography
		Slave		Surihata/Suribata aka Pedro's servants were enslaved by Satsuma's soldiers, and then set free by Surihata's son, whose Christian name was João.
Captain Alzola?	Single	Slave		Worked for Thomas Cavendish.
Captain Alzola?	Single	Slave		Worked for Thomas Cavendish.
		Slave	Domestic servant	Jesuit housekeeper, arrived with a message regarding the persecution of clerics after Toyotomi Hideyoshi's anti-Christian edict of 1587.
Matias de Albuquerque, Viceroy of India		Freed slave	Domestic servant	Filipa de Vilhena, the wife of the Viceroy of India, Matias de Albuquerque, submitted a power of attorney from her husband to release the Japanese slave Diogo.
D. João da Costa		Freed slave	Old domestic slave	The nobleman João da Costa and his wife, Maria de Aragão, freed an elderly Chinese slave named Justa Carmela.
		Freed slave?	Worker (port of Macao)	Worked at the port of Macao repairing boats. He was the head of a group of workers.
		Slave	Worker (port of Macao)	Worked at the port of Macao repairing boats.
Diego Nuñez Campoverde	Single	Slave?	Domestic servant	This slave of Chinese origin had worked in the house of Diego Nuñez Campoverde in Lima since she was 9. She was mentioned in the padrón by Miguel Contreras.
	Married	Ex-slave		Her husband was a Christian from Hirado. She came to Nagasaki in 1624 (?). Was baptized in 1590 (?) and apostatized in 1629–32.

TABLE 2.1 Chinese, Japanese, and Korean slaves (1570–92) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Maki	F	Japan (Korean descendant)				
Alarica	F	Macao			1591 Macao	Macao
Wife of Jinsuke	F	Korea	1574		1591 Nagasaki (Ima-machi in Nagasaki) 1642 (Hirado-machi in Nagasaki)	Korea–Japan
Maria	F	Japan			1592 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao
Senhora Amarição	F	Japan			1592 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao
João	F	Japan			1592 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao
Guiomar	F	Japan			1592 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao
Águeda	F	Japan			1592 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao
Mariana	F	Japan			1592 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao
Violante	F	Japan			1592 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao
Spouse of the captain of the fortress of Dongnae	F	Korea			1593 Dongnae 1593 Japan	Korea–Japan
Unknown interpreter	M	Korea			1592 Dongnae 1592 Japan	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital Status	Status	Profession	Short biography
				She was the daughter of a former Korean slave of unknown name.
Francisco Brás Antunes	Single	Freed slave	Domestic servant	Francisco Brás Antunes mentions a girl named Alarica, who was born at home, to whom he gave 70 pardaos of reais for her marriage.
	Married	Ex-slave		Jinsuke's wife was born in Korea in 1574. In 1591, at the age of 17, she was taken to Ima-machi in Nagasaki. There, she managed to be released and married Jinsuke (from Hirado). She came to Hirado-machi in 1620 and became Christian. She was tortured at Mt. Unzen (Unzendake). Apostatized between 1629–32. She rented a house from Shinbee Ishimoto.
Domingos Monteiro	Single	Freed slave	Domestic servant	Worked for the Head Captain of Macao, Domingos Monteiro
Domingos Monteiro	Single	Freed slave	Domestic servant	Worked for the Head Captain of Macao, Domingos Monteiro
Domingos Monteiro	Single	Freed slave	Domestic servant	Worked for the Head Captain of Macao, Domingos Monteiro
Domingos Monteiro	Single	Freed slave	Domestic servant	Worked for the Head Captain of Macao, Domingos Monteiro
Domingos Monteiro	Single	Freed slave	Domestic servant	Worked for the Head Captain of Macao, Domingos Monteiro
Domingos Monteiro	Single	Freed slave	Domestic servant	Worked for the Head Captain of Macao, Domingos Monteiro
Konishi Yukinaga/Dom Agostinho, Toyotomi Hideyoshi	Married	Slave	Servant at Court	While describing the attack to the Korean fortress of Dongnae, Fróis refers to the fortress general's wife, the Korean king's niece, who had been sent as a gift by Konishi Yukinaga/Agostinho to Hideyoshi. After serving Hideyoshi for a while, she was released and sent to Korea.
Konishi Yukinaga/Dom Agostinho		Slave	Interpreter	Fróis transcribed a letter from Konishi Yukinaga with some information about the Battle of Chungju, fought on Mount Tangeumdae. The defeat of the Korean forces headed by General Sin Rip (신립) made King Seonjo (선조, 1552–1608) and his Court leave Seoul and take

TABLE 2.1 Chinese, Japanese, and Korean slaves (1570–92) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Thomas, Tomas	M	Korea			1592–97 Korea	Korea–Nagasaki–Manila

Note: This list presents Chinese, Japanese, and Korean slaves and former slaves traded or in contact with the Portuguese whom I have been able to identify in the course of my study.

Source: AGN, Inquisición, 1601, Vol. 263, exp.1U, fol. 142; AGN, Indif. Virreinal, caja-exp. 6729-009, Filipinas 1589–1592 fol. 49v; AGI, Patronatos 25, R.8, fols. 38–40; AGI, Patronato, 25, R.8 (1), fols. 32–33; AGI, Patronato, 25, R.8 (1), fol. 40; BNP, cód. 203, fol. 308v; ANTT, Fundo Notorial, Lisboa, Cart. 7A, Cx.5, Liv. 23, fol. 124; ANTT, FP, Lx, Conceição, Liv. 1 de Mistos (MF 988), fol. 43 v. 5-2-1573; ANTT, Fundo Notorial, Lisboa, Cart.7A, Liv. 87, fol. 82v. 23-05-1590; ANTT, Fundo Paroquial, Lisboa, Loreto, Liv. 1 de Mistos (Microfilme 1019/SGU), fol. 137 v. 16-6-1586; ANTT, FP, Lx, Conceição, Liv. 1 de Mistos (MF 988), fol. 43 v. ANTT, Fundo Notorial, Lisboa, Cart. 7A, Cx.1, Liv. 5, fol. 119; ANTT, FP, Lx, Conceição, Liv. 1 de Mistos (MF 988), fol. 43 v. 5-2-1573; AGI, Justicia, 928,N.8; RAH, Jesuitas Legajo 9-7238; Legajo 21. Testamento de Damian de Lima. De Macao aos 25 de Outubro de 1642 annos, fols. 969–970; ARSI, Jap Sin 45 1, fol. 63; ARSI, Jap Sin, 50, fols. 45v–46; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Joana Pestana, fol. 14; AHSCMP, H, Bco. 6, nº 17, fol. 281v; Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, *Extremo oriente y el*

Owner	Marital Status	Status	Profession	Short biography
	Single	Freed slave	Catechist	<p>refuge in Pyongyang. In that letter, Konishi Yukinaga described how he captured many Koreans in battle, among them an interpreter who could speak Japanese. This Korean arrived in Nagasaki when he was still very young, with other slaves fruit of the Japanese–Korean War of 1592–97. He was the son of a noble family. After being sold at the city, he ended up traveling to Manila. Was converted to Christianity by the Dominicans of the city and chose Tomas as his Christian name. It is thought that his connection with the Dominicans was through the Brotherhood of the Holy Rosary of Manila, which had close ties with the slaves of the city. Years later, his father was able to contact him. After his journey to Nagasaki, where he was helped by the Dominicans, he ended up traveling to Korea and never returned to Japan.</p>

Perú en el siglo XVI (Lima: Pontificia Univ. Católica del Perú, 2005), p. 290; Jorge Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores na Lisboa Quinhentista* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2010), pp. 108, 425; Lúcio de Sousa, *The Early European Presence in China, Japan, the Philippines and Southeast Asia (1555–1590): The Life of Bartolomeu Landeiro* (Macao: Macao Foundation, 2010), pp. 89–93; Giuseppe Marcocci, “A fé de um império: a Inquisição no mundo português de Quinhentos,” *Revista de História—São Paulo* 164 (2011): 86 (n. 72); Filippo Sassetti, *Lettere edite e inedite [...] raccolte e annotate da Ettore Marcucci* (Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 1855), pp. 125–26; *Documenta Indica*, ed. Joseph Wicki (Rome: Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu, Societas Jesu, Institutum historicum Societatis Iesu, 1970), vol. XII, p. 467; Manuel Castillo Martos, *Bartolomé de Medina y el siglo XVI* (Santander: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cantabria, 2006), p. 152; Luís Fróis, *Historia de Japam* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1983), vol. IV, pp. 296, 297–98, 442; Luís Fróis, *Historia de Japam* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1984), vol. V, pp. 300, 551; Diego Aduarte and Baltasar de Santa Cruz, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinos, Iapon, y China, de la sagrada orden de Predicadores* (Zaragoza: D. Gascon, 1693), pp. 471–72.

The Korean Stage

The Macao Ship and Korean Slaves

After Japan's reunification with the achievements of Shikoku, Kyūshū, and the defeat of the Hōjō clan in the Siege of Odawara (1590), Toyotomi Hideyoshi focused his attention on an ambitious military project: the conquest of China. The first step was the invasion of Korea. On the eve of war, 19 August 1591,¹ the Head Captain of Macao, Roque de Melo, arrived in Japan with the intention of staying in Nagasaki only a few months. However, contrary to initial expectations, the sale of goods in this city proved to be particularly complicated. The first sign of trouble arose when, unexpectedly, two aldermen, Nabeshima Naoshige (鍋島直茂) and Mōri Yoshinari (毛利吉成), accompanied by their own armies, surrounded the port of Nagasaki.² Following Hideyoshi's instructions, they banned trade and tried to buy at a low price all the gold carried on the vessel, presumably to cover the expenses of the military campaign against Korea that was about to start. Movements on and off the Macao ship were carefully monitored and any merchant boarding or leaving the vessel carefully searched. Hence, goods, and especially gold, were protected from being smuggled. Head Captain Melo resisted this intimidation, however, refusing to negotiate directly with Nabeshima Naoshige and Mori Yoshinari, and requiring Jesuit priests to act as intermediaries.³ In view of the interference and insistence of the aldermen, on 2 September 1591, the Head Captain sent a protest letter to Hideyoshi. In this letter, he rebelled against the attempt to monopolize trade, thus disobeying the provisions of *shuinjou* (朱印状), the charter that guaranteed free trade in Nagasaki.⁴

Upon receiving the complaint from the Portuguese traders, Hideyoshi eventually gave in, handing the Head Captain of Macao a charter dated 26 September

1 Lúcio de Sousa, "The Military Questions in the Commerce between Macao and Nagasaki in 1587," *Review of Culture* 27 (2008): 31.

2 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 5, p. 335.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 336.

4 *Sagaken Shiryō Shūsei: Komonjo-hen* III, 1958, pp. 282–83. Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 5, p. 336; Michael Cooper, S.J., *Rodrigues, o Intérprete* (Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 2003), p. 94.

1591, allowing merchants to freely negotiate in Nagasaki.⁵ Because of this situation and the preparations for the impending Korean invasion, Macao's merchants were forced to winter in Nagasaki until October 1592, seeing of the human and material costs of the organization and preparations for war, and witnessing the departure of Japanese soldiers to Korea, which eventually began on 13 April 1592. This first Japanese invasion of Korea was led by the Christian *daimyo* of Higo Province (肥後), Konishi Yukinaga (小西行長)/Dom Agostinho/Don Agustín,⁶ commanding an army composed of 7000 Japanese soldiers. The most direct repercussion of sending the major *daimyos* of Kyūshū and their troops to Korea was the lack of skilled labor left in Japan. The dispatching of local food supplies to the army caused an extensive famine in the region. The Jesuit Luís Fróis, as the Society of Jesus's official chronicler, describes in the first person the social panorama of Kyūshū and how Christian Japanese families in the region depended on the Society of Jesus to survive.

And because with the passage of all Japanese lords with their people to Corai (or Korea), the poverty and need were so great that they had a large number of Christians, so the [232v] ones who departed,⁷ as their wives and daughters who became helpless, were endless the pleading for alms they made to the Priests; who were also in extreme need, and that later would find themselves in other major anguishes without being able to succor them.⁸

Although Fróis did not mention slavery, we can deduce that the famine, associated with the stay of Macao traders in Japan for about 13 months, would be the perfect opportunity for Nagasaki markets to offer the possibility of acquiring Japanese slaves in large numbers at low prices.

From April until October 1592, Captain Melo and the traders had the opportunity of experiencing the extensive poverty panorama described by Fróis, and of taking advantage of this war context to enrich themselves via the slave trade. Despite the prohibition of buying and selling of people in Nagasaki in place since 1587, the Portuguese disobeyed the ban and acquired many slaves. For example, Melo himself bought at least eight Japanese slaves in Nagasaki. In this group of Japanese, five were women, Helena, Úrsula, Cecília, Isabel, and

5 De Sousa, "The Military Questions in the Commerce between Macau and Nagasaki in 1587," p. 31.

6 Christian name.

7 For war.

8 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 5, p. 364.

Lucrecia, and three were men, Matias, Luís, and António.⁹ Seven members of this group traveled with Roque de Melo to Portugal, while the eighth Japanese slave, António, escaped in Goa.¹⁰

It is also very likely that when Melo returned to Macao in October 1592, besides Japanese slaves he also carried the first shipment of Korean slaves, who, from that year until 1598, filled the main Japanese ports and were then redistributed into various regions. My theory gained legitimacy through the genealogical study of the Macanese Miguel Carvalho.¹¹ He was born to a Korean mother in Macao in 1593, thus was one of the first people of Macanese-Korean descent.¹²

In Japan, the new increase of Korean slaves caused slave sale prices to dip sharply. For example, see the letter Hiratsuka Takitoshi (平塚滝俊) (a vassal of Satake Yoshishige (佐竹義重), the *daimyo* of Hitachi), wrote on the arrival of Koreans to Nagoya:

In Korea, the Japanese, who launched a general attack, took two or three [enemy] fortresses and captured Korean men and women alive. The Koreans are now brought [to Japan] day after day. Boats that are fully loaded with [Korean] heads are also arriving in Nagoya, although I have not seen them first-hand yet. But I have seen Korean women and men [here in Nagoya].¹³

The idea that all these victims had been brought only by Japanese is incorrect, since the network of castles or Korean fortresses conquered by the Japanese served as traffic channels for goods and slaves. These channels were provided not only by the Japanese army but also by Korean defectors and commoners, that is, officials who played the role of slave suppliers.¹⁴ Many of these slaves, before being sent to Japan by the aforementioned traffic channels, also actively participated in the Japanese military campaign, not as soldiers, but rather as a

9 *Partilhas de Roque de Melo*. AFM, maço 26, n^o16, fol. 4.

10 *Ibid.*, fol. 4.

11 In Chapter 6 of this book, in the section entitled “The 1640 delegation and the ‘Korean’ Miguel Carvalho,” there is a short essay on this person.

12 ARSI, Jap Sin 29, fol. 245; Jap Sin 25, 143v.

13 Yoshihiko Iwasawa, “Hizen Nagoyajō zubyōbu ni tsuite,” *Nihon rekishi* 260 (January 1970): 209–16; Nam-lin Hur, “The Imjin War (1592–98), War Captives, and the Slave Trade,” p. 3 <<https://www.coursehero.com/file/p54iuvc/Current-scholarship-on-Korean-captives-turned-slaves-is-very-thin-There-is-not/>> (accessed 16 April 2017).

14 Kenneth Swope, *A Dragon's Head and a Serpent's Tail: Ming China and the First Great East Asian War, 1592–1598* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), pp. 180–81.

slave labor employed in the construction and fortification of the fortresses, as cooks, and as “entertainers.”¹⁵

The exact or approximate number of Koreans who were taken to Japan during this war has been, until the present day, polemical. Japanese researchers are accused of underestimating the actual number of people taken to Japan, whereas Korean historians are accused of the opposite—of exaggerating the number of victims. On the one hand, I have estimates pointing at numbers between 50,000 and 60,000 people, while on the other I have some estimates that show more than 100,000 people. For example, a privileged witness of these events, a Korean named Chong Hui-duk (鄭希得), captured by the Japanese at the end of the war (1597), who managed to free himself and return to Korea two years later, left important information on the memorial to the King called *Wolbong haesangnok* (月峯海上錄),¹⁶ stating that between 30,000 and 40,000 men and between 60,000 and 80,000 women had been taken to Japan. To illustrate the scale of slavery, Hui-duk says that in the Awa region (阿波), the current province of Tokushima (徳島県), in each group of people he encountered, eight or nine were of Korean origin.¹⁷ As we can see, the figures vary greatly, hence it is difficult to gain an accurate idea of the number of Koreans sent to Japan. One of the main sources mentioned is by the Jesuit Luís Fróis, the official chronicler of the Society of Jesus’s experience in Japan. Besides being in a privileged position to talk about this event, Fróis had once lived in Nagasaki and was an eyewitness of the Korean Diaspora to and from Japan, particularly to Macao. The author’s Portuguese nationality (i.e., not Japanese or Korean) helped legitimize the alleged estimate that 50,000 Koreans were sent to Japan. Unfortunately, Fróis’s alleged estimation is, as pointed out by several authors, actually a mistranslation of the original text. Using the original Portuguese text, Fróis tells us that he “diligently” tried to know how many Japanese had been sent to Korea and how many had died on this military campaign. The most “reliable and certain result he found” was that the final number would have exceeded the 150,000 men (“soldiers and freight people”). Of these, one third had died due to overwork, hunger, cold, and disease, while a small number were probably killed by enemy armies. Regarding Korean casualties, Fróis states that “no one knows” yet if the number of deaths and captured people was higher than the number of Japanese casualties, that is, 50,000 people. Therefore, an estimated 50,000 people includes not only slaves but also

15 Ibid., p. 173.

16 Hur, “The Imjin War,” p. 1.

17 Etsuko Hae-Jin Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology in Japanese–Korean Relations: From the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), p. 107.

Koreans killed during the Japanese invasion of Korea. Finally, Fróis states that the slaves who had been brought to the region of “Ximo”¹⁸ were countless due to their large number and that the same was true in the regions of “Miaco”¹⁹ and in other places in Japan.²⁰ From these figures, we can subtract the numbers presented by the Chosŏn Dynasty Chronicles (*Choson wangjo sillok*) which mention 7500 individuals who returned to Korea via diplomatic negotiations,²¹ or the recent research by Hitoshi Yonetani, who was able to identify the return of 6323 individuals.²² This author has focused his research solely on clarifying the context and the methods these people used to return to Korea.²³

European Missionaries and Traders and the Invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi

I will analyze this war not only from an Asian perspective—namely Japanese, Korean, and Chinese—but also from a Western point of view.²⁴ During the

18 Kyūshū.

19 Kyoto.

20 *E porque se pode dezejar de saber quantos japões tem passado de Japão a Coray, e quantos delles serão* [370r] *mortos nesta empreza, tendo-se posta muita diligencia em averiguar isto, o mais seguro e certo que se achou, foi que entre os soldados e gente de carreto, terão passado a Coray 150 mil homens. Destes morrerão a terça parte, que são 50 mil, dos quaes poucos forão mortos pelos inimigos, morrendo o[s] mais delles de puro trabalho, fome, frio e doenças. Quantos seião mortos dos corays não se sabe, mas entre mortos e cativos foi sem comparação maior o numero que o dos japões, porque somente os cativos que estão por este Ximo são innumeraveis, afora os que levarão para o Miaco e outras partes.* Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 5, p. 599.

21 Arano Yasunori, “The Formation of a Japanocentric World Order,” *International Journal of Asian Studies* 2(2) (2005): 197–99. Stephen Turnbull, *Samurai Invasion: Japan’s Korean War 1592–98* (London: Cassell & Co., 2002), p. 91.

22 Yonetani, Hitoshi. “Chōsen shinryakugo ni okeru hiryonin no hongoku sōkan ni tsuite,” in *Jinshin sensō* (Tokyo and Seoul: Akashi Shoten, 2008), pp. 126–28.

23 On this topic, Yonetani concludes that the three main ways were: the captives returned to Korea on their own; through Japanese intermediaries; or through the Korean delegates. *Ibid.*, pp. 103–28.

24 A few research papers and a book on this event written by Westerners were first published in the late 19th and early 20th centuries: W.G. Aston, “Hideyoshi’s Invasion of Korea,” *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 6 (1878): 227–45; 9 (1881): 87–93, 213–22; 11 (1883): 117–25; W.G. Aston, *Hideyoshi’s Invasion of Korea*, with Japanese trans. by T. Masuda (Tokyo: Ryubun-kwan, 1907). G.A. Ballard, *The Influence of the Sea on the Political History of Japan* (London: John Murray, 1921). More recently, see the works of: Chōng Tu-hŭi and Yi Kyōngsun, *Jinshin sensō: 16 seiki Nit-Chō-Chū no Kokusai sensō*, ed. Kim Munja,

period between 1592 and 1597, numerous works in Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian were produced on this event. First, I will focus my attention on the documentation produced by the Jesuit missionaries.

Among the Jesuit chroniclers, Luís Fróis stands out with his *Historia do Japam*, in which he shows particular interest in the Korean War. In fact, the *Historia do Japam* is not at all impartial regarding the Japanese–Korean War (1592–97). We can even conclude that, with regard to the Korean War, the work is pro-Japanese. Fróis, besides not condemning the Japanese, even defended the military campaign in Korea, probably because, initially, there was the possibility of some conquered Korean territory being delivered to the Christian *daimyos*, making it possible for the Society of Jesus to extend Japan's evangelization to the Korean Peninsula in the future. Regardless of the motivations that underlay Fróis's work, this Jesuit priest has left us vivid accounts of crucial moments of the first invasion. Let us take, for example, Fróis's description of the taking of Pusan, present-day Busan, in southeastern Korea, by Agostinho, on 24 May 1592.

Agostinho left with his armada from the Island of Çuxima, where he had fifteen thousand men of war. And because the Koreans feared the Japanese, in these frontier places, as we have said, they thought they had great chances of winning. And when the army arrived in Korea in a few days, the first sea fortress they met was one called Funsacay, which contained only six hundred soldiers of war, besides the most plebeian people who had gathered from the [surrounding] villages. [...] Realizing that the Japanese began to enter over the walls with such keen courage, some Koreans threw themselves from the walls to encounter them and prevent their ascent, and inside [the fortress] they fought twice, fighting both sides with much courage. And the Koreans, as good knights, friends of loyalty to their king, fought until they died, and a few of them were taken alive;

trans. Obata Michihiro (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2008). Michael Finch, "Civilian Life in Chosŏn during the Japanese Invasion of 1592: The 'Namhaeng illok' and 'Imjin illok' in *Swaemirok* by O Hüimun," *Acta Koreana* 12(2) (December 2009): 55–77. Kang Hang, *A Korean War Captive in Japan, 1597–1600: The Writings of Kang Hang [Kanyangnok]*, trans. JaHyun Kim Haboush and Kenneth R. Robinson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013). Turnbull, *Samurai Invasion*. Yu Söngnyong, *The Book of Corrections: Reflections on the National Crisis during the Japanese Invasion of Korea, 1592–1598 [Chingbinok]*, trans. Choi Byonghyon (Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2002). Shösuke Murai, "Post-War Domain Source Material on Hideyoshi's Invasion of Korea: The Wartime Memoirs of Shimazu Soldiers in the East Asian War, 1592–1598," in *International Relations, Violence, and Memory*, ed. James B. Lewis (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 108–19.

and among them, one of the first to die, was their captain. Inside the fortress there were three hundred houses. The noble and honorable women, to hide their good look, supposing that with this they could escape from the hands of the Japanese soldiers some of them greased their faces with soot of pots and pans; others with poor dresses; others burst into tears, raising their voices and shouting to the sky at being surrounded by so unexpected people and unexpected anguish: the Korean women are famous for being chaste, honest, and sheepish. The noble and good looking boys and girls taught by their mothers, some pretended to be crippled and limped, others wringed their mouths. [343r] However, soon the Japanese understood they were pretending, and they [the Japanese] did not stop taking advantage of them.²⁵

For a better understanding of the text, Fróis's description mentions the induction of the Japanese in Pusan, and the moment when the soldiers, led by the Christian *daimyo* Agostinho, attacked the coastal fortress of Dadaejin guarded by the Korean commander Yun Heung-sin.²⁶ Unable to resist the Japanese offensive, which was made up of in greater numbers, strategically well prepared and technologically superior (thanks to the use of arquebuses), the Korean defense forces were defeated.²⁷ Fróis also leaves us important clues about the first Korean hostages, describing in detail the moments prior to the entry of the Japanese soldiers in the fort: noble Korean women tried to hide their status, staining their skin, wearing shabby clothes, and teaching children to pretend to be disabled, something that did not convince the soldiers, who "did not stop taking advantage of them."²⁸

This text is also interesting with respect to the individual mentioned by Fróis, on whom Fróis has based his writing about the Battle of Dadaejin. Most likely he was a Korean slave who survived this battle, since it does not seem conceivable that these internal details were known by the Japanese soldiers.

Fróis continues his *Historia* describing the attack on the Korean fortress in Dongnae, emphasizing the importance of arquebuses to its conquest.²⁹ As an

25 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 5, pp. 548–50.

26 Harbor fort.

27 Arquebus fire.

28 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 5, pp. 548–50.

29 *25 de Maio. Tong-nai. Aos 14 dias da lua partio o exercito para outra fortaleza sem comparação melhor, e que parecia levava a vantagem a todas as outras de Córax, por nome Toq-inengi, que distava da primeira tres legoas pela terra dentro; e como os córaxys nesta estribavão tanto, nella tinhão posto mayor cabedal. Estavão nellas recolhidos vinte mil homens de peleja; e pelas novas que logo tiverão do muito damno que recebeo a fortaleza de*

informative note, he also refers to the fortress general's wife, the Korean King's niece, who had been sent as a gift by Agostinho to Hideyoshi:

There died the general of the fortress of Toqunengi, who had been there a few months before, who was married with a niece of the king, who would be about twenty-three years old, who threw herself at the dead and made a great and admirable crying. This sent herself as a present to Quambacodono, but she made so many extremes in the way and made such extraordinary cries before Quambaco, that in pity he sent her back to Korea.³⁰

Other references to the Korean captives are given by Fróis in his translation of the letter that Agostinho sent to Hideyoshi on 4 June 1592.

This letter contains some brief information on the Battle of Chungju, fought on Mount Tangeumdae. The defeat of the Korean forces headed by General Sin Rip caused King Seonjo (1552–1608) and his Court to leave Seoul and take refuge in Pyongyang. In the letter, Agostinho relates his capture of many Koreans in battle, among them, an interpreter who could speak Japanese:

And I took many living in that battle,³¹ and among them one that could speak the language of Japan, who was sent by the king of Korea so that succeeding harm to his people, for this interpreter would inform me about the words of the same king: that he would give these hostages to your Highness and would come in front as a guide of China's invasion with his people and would help him [Toyotomi Hideyoshi].³²

Such interpreters mentioned by Agostinho were to be very important tools used by future Korean delegates to identify slaves in Japan and to bring them back to Korea.

In another section of the *Historia*, Fróis describes how the Japanese soldiers devastated one Acaiquini/Akaikuni kingdom's fortress, killing many people and sending the heads of the Korean army leaders to Hideyoshi. To conclude this description, reference is made again to the survivors of this battle, who ended being captured by the Japanese soldiers:

Funsacay, e que fora entrada com estranha violencia pela espingarda dos japões [...]. Ibid., pp. 550–51.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 550–51.

³¹ Kidnapped.

³² Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 5, p. 552.

And because a lord, very close relative of the king of Korea, who is close to the sea ports, had sometimes harmed the Japanese, determined Quambaco [Hideyoshi] to [do] revenge on him. So that before everyone was gathered, he ordered them to go to the main fortress where this captain lived and burn everything [...] And since the fortress was very strong and the Koreans had been equipped for a long time, they would enter it and kill the captain, whose head they sent to Quambacodono [Hideyoshi] with other chief captains' [heads], who were together with him in the fortress, and all the remaining people there ended up in fire and blood or were held captive.³³

Besides the Christian *daimyo* Agostinho, Fróis shows particular interest in the Christian *daimyo* Ōmura Yoshiaki (大村 喜前, 1569–1616), known in European sources as Dom Sancho de Ōmura. This Ōmura clan leader was Ōmura Sumitada/Dom Bartolomeu's son, the first *daimyo* to convert to Christianity in Japan. Fróis, praising the “chaste” behavior of Ōmura Yoshiaki, his brothers, and the Christian soldiers of Ōmura, tells us that the Japanese in this region had captured a large number of women, who had been respected by the Christian soldiers:

So that [they] not only made the gentiles admire them, but also most Christians, who in so many and so frequent occasions, with the infinite [number] of captive women of all kinds, they were admired [for] how much strength and constancy the Christians of Ōmura had and [294v] behaved themselves, many of whom, being stronger, made a vow of chastity while at war and out of their homes.³⁴

The last Christian leader who received Fróis's special attention was Dom Jerónimo, Itō Sukekatsu (伊東祐勝, 1570–1593), who passed away in Japan upon his return from Korea. Before this, bringing in many Koreans, he ordered that the male captives be delivered to the Society of Jesus so that the clerics could decide what to do with them. Regarding the captive women, Dom Jerónimo gave instructions to deliver them to his wife so that she could keep and support them in her home until they learned how to speak Japanese and acquire a livelihood. After that, they should be released:

And feeling Dom Geronimo bad and desiring not to die without confession, since when he went to war [he] had generally been confessed [and]

33 Ibid., p. 598.

34 Ibid., p. 463.

persuaded by the same Dom Mancio, asking for his brother in law's permission, [he] embarked to come [to heal] and be confessed in Japan. [...] And because he also brought with him many Koreans that he had captured in war, men and women, he also ordered all men to give them to the Priests to do according to their will; and the women were delivered to his wife not as captives but to have them in her home, until they knew how to communicate and talk, and could have means of living in Japan and then she would give them freedom; but not let them go too soon, because as foreign people who could not speak, they would be soon lost and [held] captive.³⁵

In addition to these prominent figures, Fróis also devoted himself into reporting the so-called “edifying examples” of Japanese Christians during the war. The most famous of them was the baptism performed by an unknown samurai from Bungo, who decided to baptize children abandoned by their parents and rejected by slave traders. This example was used to certify the official birth of the Catholic Church in Japanese territory:³⁶

I must also write about a very good work by a Christian nobleman of the Kingdom of Bungo when he was in the Korean War, who seeing many children dying helpless in Korea, left by their own fleeing parents, for not being able to save them, and others that being captured by the Japanese being so small they [the soldiers] didn't take care of them, taken by his devotion he [the Christian nobleman of the kingdom of Bungo] baptized all young men and young women he could, or that he thought could be at danger of dying helpless and could not make use of reason yet, and he made one of his servants always carry a bucket with water for this effect, and as he found some of these children, he quickly baptized them so that no soul was lost and could go to Heaven through the holy baptism, and thus claiming that he had baptized during this period [Korean War] more or less two hundred children, almost all of them died helpless and went to Heaven and if many Christians would have done the same many more souls lost in this war could have gone to Heaven.³⁷

35 Ibid., pp. 519–20. Original in: ARS1, Jap Sin 52, fols. 39r–40r; Pedro Gómez, S.J., Annual Letter of 1593, Nagasaki, 15-03-1594, fols. 136–141.

36 Juan Ruiz de Medina, S.J., states that this episode might have occurred between 1592 and 1593 and that, theologically, it would be the date of the birth of the Catholic Church in Korea. Juan Ruiz de Medina, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Korea: Its Origins 1566–1784* (Rome: Istituto Storico, 1991), p. 50.

37 Luís Fróis, *Anua de Japão de Março de 94 até Outubro de 95*. ARS1, Jap Sin, fols. 102v–103.

Through Fróis's descriptions of the Japanese–Korean War we can conclude that, as a whole, they can be divided into five main subjects: reactions to the attacks to the fortresses, the Koreans' captivity, the conveying of Koreans to Japan, the Koreans' conversion to Christianity, and the Korean evangelization project. At the same time though, these reports show, on the one hand, the technical and strategic superiority of the Japanese, the lack of preparation of the Korean defense, surprised by the unexpected invasion and violence of the attacks, and the devastation caused by war. On the other hand, we can also learn from these descriptions various teachings of a moral nature, such as descriptions of the vow of chastity of a part of Ōmura's Christians during the war, or the Japanese Dom Jerónimo's last act of seeking to protect the captured slaves and providing them with strategies to be socially assimilated in Japan. Fróis's perspective on the Korean invasion, besides being pro-Japanese, also highlights the behavior of Japanese Christians by placing them morally above non-Christian Japanese.

Another important source of information about this conflict was collected and experienced by Father Gregorio de Céspedes S.J., a great apologist for Japanese slavery.³⁸ This cleric was sent to Korea during this period, accompanied by the Japanese Brother Leão Hankan.³⁹ The choice of Céspedes among other Jesuits remains a mystery, but as he explains in Arima, in a letter dated 26 February 1597, written to the Society's General Claudio Acquaviva, he had been chosen by Alessandro Valignano in order to assist Christians involved in the war.⁴⁰ The reason for choosing Hankan as Céspedes's companion is also unknown, but is likely to be related to his deep knowledge of medicine. Entering Korean territory on 28 December 1593,⁴¹ in the fortress built by General Koni-shi Yukinaga (Dom Agostinho/Don Agustín), Céspedes was one of the privileged witnesses of the horrors of war and the massive number of Korean prisoners.

Two letters that Céspedes wrote from Korea were included in the *Apparatos para a História Ecclesiástica do Bispado de Japam* (Guides for the Ecclesiastical History of the Bishopric of Japan). A copy of this manuscript, written by Joseph

38 ARSI, Jap Sin 12 II, fols. 201–203v.

39 Leão Hankan/Fanka/Fanca/Fancam was born in 1538 and entered the Society of Jesus in 1580. He was one of the most famous Japanese preacher brothers. In 1614, he was exiled to Macao, where he died on 6 October 1627.

40 *Es verdad que agora tres años estuve absente porque la Santa Obediencia me enbioal reyno de la coria para confesar y ayudar a mas de dos mill christianos que estavan en la guerra que los japones tienen contra los corias, donde me detuve un año.* ARSI, Jap Sin 13 I, fol. 53.

41 Ralph M. Cory, "Some Notes on Father Gregorio de Céspedes, Korea's First European Visitor," *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 37 (1937): 1–55.

Montanha, is in the Ajuda Library in Lisbon. Chapters 69 to 80 of this manuscript are exclusively devoted to this conflict. Chapter 75 includes the two letters from Céspedes.⁴² The first letter covers the departure of Céspedes from Japan until his arrival in Korea. It contains his first political impressions of the war. No reference to slaves is made. The second letter, in addition to containing a report on military and diplomatic relations with Korea and China, concludes with a few brief lines on the condition of Japanese Christian soldiers. It is also lacking any information concerning the Korean victims.⁴³

The information he sent from Korea arrived in Rome via Father Pedro Gómez, S.J., in the letter he wrote from Nagasaki on 22 March 1594.⁴⁴ On 20 October 1594, the Italian Jesuit Francesco Pasio (1553/54–1612) also recapped the stay of Céspedes and Hankan, explaining that they lived in the Konishi fortress and that many Japanese Christians in neighboring fortresses, knowing of their stay in Komunkai, came to visit Céspedes so that they could have confession. According to Pasio, a large number of people were converted to Christianity during this period.⁴⁵

On 28 October of the same year, the Jesuit Pedro Gómez sent to Rome the “Annual Letter from Japan,” which covers the period between March 1593 and 1594. In this letter, we can only learn about the Jesuit Gregorio de Céspedes’s trip to Korea and his relationship with the various Christian *daimyos*;⁴⁶ any other information was sent in a secret letter to Rome.⁴⁷ In 1595, General Konishi Yukinaga ordered Céspedes and Hankan to return to Japan, suspecting that his rival Katō Kiyomasa (加藤 清正, 1562–1611) would accuse him before Hideyoshi of, despite the ban, having brought in missionaries to instruct and convert the Japanese to Christianity.⁴⁸

42 BA, Coleção Jesuítas na Ásia, Códice 49-IV-57, *Apparatos para a História Ecclesiástica do Bispado de Japam*, fols. 278v–282.

43 *As necessidades destes christãos são mui grandes; porque padecem dome, frio, doenças e outras incomodidades mui diferentes do que lá se cuida, porque ainda que Quambacodono manda mantimentos, he tão moderado o que cá chega, que não he posivel poderemse sustentar com elles.* BA, Coleção Jesuítas na Ásia, Códice 49-IV-57, *Apparatos para a História Ecclesiástica do Bispado de Japam*, fol. 281v.

44 *recibi una Carta del Padre Gregorio de Céspedes que esta en Corea confessando los japones que allá estan con Agustino e los otros Tonos christianos.* Letter from Pedro Gómez to Claudio Acquaviva, 22-03-1594. ARSI, Jap Sin 12 I, fol. 182.

45 Medina, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Korea*, p. 50.

46 Letter for Alessandro Valignano.

47 *Das cousas particulares e do successo desta Guerra se escreve outra carta particular para os que tiverem curiosidade de sabelas não me alargo acerca dellas.* ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fol. 39.

48 Medina, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Korea*, p. 71.

Another European Jesuit who also visited Korea between December 1597 and January 1598 was Francisco Laguna, S.J. (1552–1617), who was accompanied by the Japanese Brother Romão Tamura.⁴⁹ The purpose of this trip was to attend the pregnant wife of Harunobu Arima (有馬晴信)/Dom Protasio/Protasius and wives of other Christian soldiers who were at war.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, Laguna did not put anything in writing about this stay.⁵¹ There are also less well-known European authors who have written on this period, such as the Jesuit Alfonso de Lucena (1551–1623). Lucena was one of the few missionaries chosen to visit Korea, but his trip was canceled just before he entered the kingdom. In 1595, the Christian *daimyo* Ōmura Yoshiaki became seriously ill and, foreseeing his own death, required Lucena to be present. It is for this purpose that several vassals were sent to take him to Korea. After obtaining permission from the Superior Pedro Gómez, Lucena prepared to leave on the *daimyo's* ship, which was anchored in Ōmura. While on board, Lucena was told that Ōmura Yoshiaki had recovered and asked he cancel his trip, for fear of a possible shipwreck.⁵² Many years later, this cleric, in exile in Macao, decided to write his memoirs, which provide a description of the Korean War and how this had been beneficial to the Society of Jesus, with the mass conversion of many Koreans to Catholicism.⁵³

49 Although we do not know the true identity of the Japanese brother who accompanied Laguna to Korea, it is likely it would be Romão Tamura because he was his assistant at this time. Medina, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Korea*, p. 56; Juan G. Ruiz de Medina, *El Martirio del Japón: 1558–1873* (Rome: Inst. historicum S.I., 1999), p. 106, newsaints.faithweb.com/martyrs/Japano2.htm (accessed 16 April 2018).

50 Francisco Pasio, *Breve e Sumaria informação do estado da Cristandade di Japão, começando desde Março de 1598 até principio de Outubro do mesmo año*. ARSI, Jap Sin 54, fols. 2v–3.

51 In his memoirs, *Pontos do que me alembra*, the Jesuit Francisco Pires wrote about the 1597 trip of the Jesuit Francisco Laguna to Korea: “Neste anno de 97 foi o Padre Laguna ao Corai, porque pario a molher do Arimadono, e morreo ella e a criança.” *Monumenta Missio-num Societatis IESU: Monumenta Historica Japoniae 1: Textus Catalogorum Japoniae 1553–1654*, ed. José Franz Schutte (Rome: Monumenta Histórica Societatis IESU a Patribus Eiusdem Societatis Edita, 1975), vol. 1, p. 410. Medina, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 55–56.

52 Medina, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 53–54.

53 *e pera esta conquista mandou que fossem em pessoa quasi todos os tonos grandes e pequenos com infinidade de gente de armas, alguns dizem que passavão de 200 mil soldados, ho certo seria 150 mil homens de guerra afora outra muita gente de serviço. Não conquistarão a Coraj porque não tiverão boa ordem nem seguirão a hum general e cabeça, mas por que avia muitas [cabeças] e cada hum cometia ao inimigo pela parte que lhe parecia, não fizeram nada e se tornarão pera Japão com perda de muita gente que lá lhe morreo, posto que correrão todo o reyno e roubarão o mais precioso delle e cativarão infinidade de gente que trouxerão a Japão e os mais delles se fizeram cristãos, que este fruto e bem se tirou desta guerra.*

Korean Captives in Japan

According to Munja Kim's research, Korean captives can be divided into three main types: slaves who returned to Korea; captives unable to return to Korea who were forced to live in Japan and adapt to Japanese society;⁵⁴ and captives sold as slaves and scattered to other lands.⁵⁵

In the first half of the 16th century, it is known that five Korean delegates (朝鮮通信使) represented the Korean government during their visits to Japan to retrieve slaves in 1607, 1616, 1624, 1636, and 1643. They used three main methods to bring in the captives:

1. On his return, the main delegate gathered together those Korean slaves who identified themselves as such.
2. Korean slaves were sent to places in which slaves lived, to identify and gather together other Korean slaves.
3. Korean interpreters, fluent in Japanese, were sent to various places in Japan to identify and gather together Korean slaves in each place they visited.

Upon learning about their visit to Japan, many captives directly contacted the delegates, asking to be returned to their country. Some of them brought the delegates lists containing the names of the Korean captives who lived in their place of residence. After the identification process, the delegates made lists of captives, requesting their return to Bakufu. The main delegates also asked willing slaves or named subdelegates to represent them in various places in Japan. This process required three official documents for the gathering of Korean captives:

1. 礼曹論文 (Iējo's document: document issued by Iējo, that is, the Korean administrative organ of diplomacy at the time).
2. 使節論文 (the delegate's document: the document issued by the Korean delegate).

Afonso de Lucena, *De alguães cousas que ainda se alembra o padre Afonso de Lucena que pertencem à cristandade de Omura*. ARSI, Jap Sin 22, fol. 134 e.

54 It is estimated that the majority of the captives belonged to this category.

55 Munja Kim, Hideyoshi no Choosen shinryaku to josei horyo, in *Sensō no naka no onna tachi*, ed. Hiroko Nishimura (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2004), pp. 116–34.

3. 執政文書 (Bakufu's official document sent to Iejo with an authorization given by the Shogun allowing the return of the captives).⁵⁶

Of course, the activities of the delegates could not have been performed without the permission of the *daimyo* of each region. Unexpectedly, some *daimyos*, such as Hidemoto Mouri, Tadaoki Hosokawa, Nagamasa Kuroda, Masanari Terasawa, and Sadataka Kataguri, spontaneously and actively participated in the return of Korean captives.⁵⁷

I would like now to examine the category of captives who, unable to return to Korea, were forced to live in Japan and adapt to Japanese society. The social origin of such captives was diverse, ranging from ordinary farmers to Korean nobility. In Japan, the Korean captives were mainly employed in agriculture. During and after the war, the agricultural labor force in Japan was tiny, thus making the use of such Korean labor necessary. In Japanese and European sources, it is possible to identify several cases. For example, one of Takatora Fujidoo's subordinates, Choomon Ooki, captured a Korean couple and took them to Iyo, where they spent the rest of their lives as farmers.⁵⁸ European sources also refer to the Christian Koreans Tome Shoosaku a peasant who lived in Suzuta (鈴田村), a village in the Ōmura area; or Tome Gunnai, a peasant living in Saga (佐賀); or Pedro Jinkurō, a farmer living in Kuchinotsu (口之津).⁵⁹

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- 56 Hitoshi Yonetani, "Chōsenshinryaku-go ni okeru hiryonin no hongoku sōkan ni tsuite," pp. 103–28.
- 57 Of this group, Hosokawa, Kuroda, and Terasawa were *daimyos* of the Kyūshū region. Ibid., pp. 103–28.
- 58 「この場合、日本の農民を兵と為すというのはおそらく陣夫役などの雑用を負担することであろうが、いずれにせよ、日本の耕作農民が払底し、その補填に朝鮮農民をあてようとしたのである。したがって、朝鮮農民のほとんどは、朝鮮侵略した九州・中国・四国の諸大名の領国に連行されることとなった」。Manji Kitajima, *Nikki kiroku ni yoru Nihon rekishi sōsho kinsei-hen 4 Chōsen hibi-ki Kōrai nikki* (Tokyo: Soshiete, 1982), p. 316. Manji Kitajima, *Toyotomi Hideyoshi no Chōsen shinryaku* (Tokyo, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995).
- 59 Lope de Vega, *Triunfo de la Fee en los reynos del Iapon por los años de 1614 y 1615* (Madrid: Por la viuda de Alonso Martin, 1615), p. 86; François Trigault, *Histoire des martyrs du Japon depuis 1612 jusque'en 1620* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoily, 1624), pp. 416, 633; Léon Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon* (Paris: Charles douniol, Libraire Editeur, 1869), vol. 1, p. 293; Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 248–53; Report of Carlo Spinola in 1615.3.18, *Relação dos Mártires do Japão de 1614*, ARSI, Jap Sin 58, fols. 78–78v, 138v; Takashi Gonoï, "Hiryō Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō: 16, 17 seiki nikkan kirisutokyō kankeishi," *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensan-jo kenkyū kiyō* 13 (March 2003): 41–59; Lúcio de Sousa, *Escravidura e Diáspora Japonesa nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Braga: NICPRI Núcleo de Investigação em Ciências Políticas e Relações Internacionais, 2014), pp. 229–39.

There were also captives who served Japanese lords as subordinates, as in the famous case of the Korean Kim Yochiyoru (金如鉄), who was captured by Hideie Ukita (宇喜多秀家) during the war and then taken to Japan. Later, the Korean served Toshinaga Maeda (前田利長) under a new name, Wakita Naosuke (脇田直賢). Other less famous people were also listed in European sources, such as Pedro Arizoo, inhabitant of Ōmura (大村), who served as pageboy and “cashier” (小姓・勘定係); Ana and Paulo, servants of the Japanese Goshima?/Gotō (五島氏), inhabitants of Gotō (五島); Ichibē (市兵衛), *komono* (小者)⁶⁰ of a samurai and later “packhorse driver” (馬方), living in Bizem (備前中須賀); or the Korean servant Mashima, living in Arima (有馬).⁶¹

There were also Korean captives who possessed specialized technical skills, which were admired by the Japanese and necessary to their country. For example, Toyotomi Hideyoshi sent his chief officers to gather together and send him experts in the art of embroidery.⁶² There were also numerous potters among the captives who were taken to the Kyūshū and Chūgoku regions. At the end of the 16th century, the tea ceremony was fashionable and there was a high demand for ceramics; hence, Korean ceramic artisans were protected and placed at the service of the Japanese elite. For example, among the potters of Korean origin brought to Japan during the war, we are able to identify the Korean artisans' groups who specialized in Agano-yaki (上野焼), Arita-yaki (有田焼), Hagi-yaki (萩焼), Imari-yaki (伊万里焼), Karatsu-yaki (唐津焼), Kōda-yaki (高田焼), Satsuma-yaki (薩摩焼), Takatori-yaki (高取焼), and Yatsushiro-yaki (八代焼) types of ceramic. Among the Korean captives there were also Zhu Xi/Chu Hsi (姜) doctors, two of whom were known as Chon Hidoku and Hon Hoyon. There were also captives who became Japanese monks, such as Yo Denam (熊本本妙寺の第三世日遙和尚, 京都金戒光明寺西雲院の開創, 宗巖和尚), or those who served European clerics during Japan's evangelization.⁶³

60 Type of servant.

61 *Chōsen Tsūshinshi Toyotomi Hideyoshi no Chōsen shinryaku kara yūkō he Nikkan kyōtsū rekishi kyōzai seisaku chimu* (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2005); Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, pp. 132, 244–45, 408; Medina, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 241–43; Gonoï, “Hiryō Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō,” pp. 41–59; De Sousa, *Escravatura e Diáspora Japonesa nos séculos XVI e XVII*, pp. 229–39; ARSI, Jap Sin 57, fols. 265v–268v.

62 Hitoshi Nakano, *Hideyoshi no gunrei to tairiku shinkō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2006), pp. 319–20.

63 Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology in Japanese–Korean Relations*, p. 1078; Clare Pollard, *Master Potter of Meiji Japan: Makuzu Kōzan (1842–1916) and His Workshop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 28–29; Yi Misuk, *400 nyōnjōn ūi tojagi chōnjaeng: Imjin Waeran kwa Chosōn sagijang* 400 (Seoul: Myōnggyōngsa, 2013), pp. 78–100.

Some also practiced rare professions, such as the Korean Miguel, interpreter of the English trading post in Hirado (平戸), or Antonio Neretti, interpreter employed by Mizuno Morinobu (水野守信) in Nagasaki.⁶⁴

With respect to the category of captives sold as slaves, I would like to confine this topic to Kyūshū, a region in which the city of Nagasaki took the leading role in centralizing and exporting Korean slaves to the Habsburg territories.

Through the set of descriptions presented here, it is possible to perceive that the arrival of an unexpected number of Korean slaves at Nagasaki, at the time still a small city, unprepared to receive them, would have far-reaching economic and religious consequences.

Due to the large amount of Korean captives they were sold at low prices, replacing the predominant demand for Japanese slaves.⁶⁵ At the same time, in addition to the evangelization of the Japanese, the members of the Society of Jesus in this region focused mainly on the baptism of the “captives of Korea who came in large numbers to Japan.”⁶⁶ For example, in December 1593, Fróis claims that about 100 Koreans had been baptized in Nagasaki, and in Ōmura more than 900 people, mostly Koreans:

On this Christmas of 93, to explain how Nagasaki women heard the Mass, because Terazava ministers still do not allow them to come to church,⁶⁷ the Priests split into several houses where women gathered; therefore, they performed nine Masses and in all of them there was a spiritual practice, and [they] also baptized 100 gentiles who were already indoctrinated, of whom the majority were Korean captives, because a large number of them came to Japan; and all those women were very comforted [with the Mass]. Our house [Jesuit mission] in Nagasaki, besides the Church of All Saints, has three attached houses, which two, are three and four leagues away; in each one of them [there] is continuously living a Priest with a Brother, being each one of them in charge of four and five thousand souls. One which bore the same [spiritual] fruit as in Nagasaki, baptizing many gentiles who gather there. One of these houses is called

64 Gonoï, “Hiryō Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō,” pp. 41–59; *Chōsen Tsūshinshi Toyotomi Hideyoshi no Chōsen shinryaku kara yūkō he*; Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki*, pp. 213, 257 (n. 23).

65 *Pollo que Taicô lhe fez guerra cativando os Jappões infinidade de Coreas os quais trazem a Jappão e vendem por mui baixo presso*. RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 273v.

66 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 5, p. 457.

67 Terazawa Hirotaka (寺沢広高) (1563–1633).

Toquico, the second is Conga, and the third is Conoura. And although these are all Christian lands, subject to Omuradono, and there are no gentiles to convert; however, among the Koreans who came to this land, and other gentiles from other places who started living here because they find better shelter, there are over 900 adults that were baptized at this time.⁶⁸

In 1594, in the regions of Arima, Ōmura, and Nagasaki, the same Jesuit states that the priests of the Society of Jesus had baptized over 2000 Koreans, while in 1595 even more Koreans were baptized:

In these lands of Arima, as well as in the Omura and Nagasaki, there is a great number of Koreans as throughout all other Kingdoms of Japan that the Japanese captured in this war and have sent to their homes [...] And with them there was great profit because we baptized in the year 94 over two thousand of them and in the year 95, the rest [who were] left over.⁶⁹

The Jesuit Francisco Pasio, actively involved in baptisms of Korean slaves, confirmed this information in another letter to the Provincial in Rome, Claudio Acquaviva, dated 20 October 1594.⁷⁰

Thanks to the report of the Jesuit Luís Fróis, we know that in 1596, despite the massive shipments of Korean slaves out of Japan, more than 1300 male and female slaves of Korean origin, who had been baptized in 1594, lived in Nagasaki:

This year we have instructed many Korean captive men, women, and children here in Nagasaki who are apparently more than 1300,⁷¹ whose

68 Ibid., p. 457.

69 ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fol. 137v.

70 Letter of Francisco Pasio to Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 20-10-1594. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 31, fol. 157v, transcribed in *Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristandad de Japón (1593-1597): San Martín de la Ascensión y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, Relaciones e Informaciones*, ed. José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz (Osaka: Japón Eikodo, 1973), p. 104.

71 The original document, written by Luís Fróis, seems to give only 300, because the algorithm 1 is placed next to the “de” particle. This would be erroneously translated into Italian by Francesco Mercati Romano, S.J., as 300 people. Luís Fróis, *Annua de la Vice Provincia del Japon de la Compañia de Jesus, de tres de Diciembre del año de 1596*. ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fol. 203 v. There is an Italian version of this letter translated by Francesco Mercati Romano: Luís Fróis, *Lettera annua del Giappone dell'anno M.D. xcvi. scritta dal P. Luigi Fróis, al R. P. Claudio Acquaviva Generale della Compagnia di Giesù. Tradotta in Italiano dal P. Francesco Mercati Romano della stessa Compagnia* (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1599), p. 136.

majority have been baptized two years ago and this year we confessed them.⁷²

The Korean flow coming to this region seems to have decreased in the year 1597, at least on the eve of the second Korean invasion. In the Society of Jesus's 1597 annual letter, Pedro Gómez, S.J., the official editor, does not report any information about the Korean community in Nagasaki and only states that in Arima Fortress the Jesuits had baptized 100 adults, comprised of foreigners and some Koreans brought by the Japanese.⁷³

Although the lists of Korean baptisms were not sent to Rome at this time, in each region where the Jesuits worked, new converts to Christianity were listed and the total numbers were sent to the official chroniclers. For example, in the 1596 Annual Report, the chronicler Luís Fróis submitted a provisional list, indicating, among other things, that 8012 adults had been baptized; and that the (incomplete) number of confessions held in Japan was recorded at 68807—incomplete because the list of Meaco's confessions had not arrived by the time the annual report was due.⁷⁴

Another witness tells us that many of the Korean prisoners, who arrived in the Ōmura region and were distributed among neighboring regions, were converted to Christianity over a period of two years.⁷⁵

72 Fróis, *Annua de la Vice Provincia del Japon de la Compañia de Jesus, de tres de Diziembre del año de 1596*. ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fol. 203v. Fróis, *Lettera annua del Giappone dell'anno M.D.xcvi. scritta dal P. Luigi Fróis*, p. 136. There is a Latin version of this letter by John Hay (1546–1607): it has 55 letters and other documents written between 1577 and 1601, with a part devoted to Korea. It was compiled by the author, who translated some of the information himself as well as adding prefaces to some. John Hay, *De rebus Iaponicis, Indicis et Peruanis epistolae recentiores* (Antuerpiae: Officina Martini Nutij, ad insigne duarum ciconiarum, 1605), pp. 439–40.

73 *Bautizarão sse cem adultos assi forasteiros como alguns Coraes que os Jappões tomarão na guerra*. Pero Gómez, *Carta Anua de Japão do anno de 1597. Pera nosso Reverendo Padre Geral, 3ª Via*. ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fol. 258v.

74 Fróis, *Annua de la Vice Provincia del Japon de la Compañia de Jesus, de tres de Diziembre del año de 1596*. ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fol. 230.

75 *Tous les Prisonniers, qu'on avoit faits en Corée, avoient été repartis dans le Pays d'Omura, & dans les Royaumes voisins [...] en moins de deux ans ils furent tous baptisez*. Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire et Description Generale du Japon; où l'on trouvera tout ce qu'on a pu apprendre de la nature et des productions du Pays, du caractere & des Coutumes des Habitans; du Gouvernement & du Commerce, des Revolutions arrivées dans l'Empire & dans la Religion; et l'examen de tous les Auteurs, qui ont écrit sur le même sujet* (Paris: Rollin, 1736?), vol. II, p. 2.

This description of the variety of places where it was possible to identify a Korean presence clearly demonstrates how the arrival of Korean captives in Japan altered the social configuration of the whole Kyūshū region. Some Koreans were immediately converted to Christianity and records of them can even be found in European and Japanese sources.⁷⁶

In addition to those Koreans who converted shortly after their arrival in Japan, there were many others who would not convert to Christianity or would be converted later. For example, a Korean named Marina Pak was converted to Christianity in 1606 in Kyoto (京都), becoming a member of the Sisterhood of Miyako (ミヤコの比丘尼ベアタス会).⁷⁷ Meanwhile, the Korean Joaquim Hachikuan/Hoakin Hachikan/Jouchin Hachikan of unknown profession, and his Korean wife Ana, were baptized in Edo (江戸) in 1609.⁷⁸ The 1607 annual letter also contains many edifying examples of moral and civic virtues, like the case of a Korean slave woman in Amakusa (天草), who served a Japanese and whose name is undisclosed, and who changed her problematic behavior after being converted to Christianity.⁷⁹ The Korean Pedro, captured when he was still a teenager, would only be converted to Christianity 17 years later, in

76 Pedro Arizō (アリゾウ), inhabitant of Om Ōmura ura; Tome Shoosaku also living in the region of Ōmura in the village of Suzuta; Ana and Paulo inhabitants of Gotou; Ichibee, inhabitant of Bizen; the couple Catalina and Cisto Kuzaemon (クザエモン), inhabitants of Dewa Ōto (出羽大戸); Miguel, inhabitant of Hirado; Tome Gunnai inhabitant of Saga; João, inhabitant of Hizen Kikitsu (肥前喜々津); Pedro Jinkuroo, inhabitant of Kuchinotsu; Paulo, inhabitant of Shiki (志岐); or two Korean women of unknown names, inhabitants of Himeji (姫路) and Bitchū (備中). De Vega, *Triunfo de la Fee en los reynos del Japon por los años de 1614 y 1615*, p. 86; Trigault, *Histoire des martyrs du Japon depuis 1612 jusqu'en 1620*, pp. 416, 633; José Sicardo, *Christiandad del Japon, y dilatada persecucion que padeciò. Memorias sacras de los martyres de las illustres religiones de Santo Domingo, San Francisco, Compañia de Jesus; y crecido numero de Seglares; y con especialdad, de los Religiosos del Orden de S. Augustin* (Madrid: Por Francisco Sanz, Impressor del Reyno, 1698), p. 421; Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, pp. 293, 582, 721; Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 219–20, 244–45, 248–53; Spinola, *Relação dos Mártires do Japão de 1614*; ARSI, Jap Sin 54, fol. 210v; *Annual Report on Japan of 1608*, ARSI, Jap Sin 56, fols. 55v, 56; ARSI, Jap Sin 55, fol. 405v; Gonoi, “Hiryō Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō,” pp. 41–59; De Sousa, *Escravidura e Diáspora Japonesa nos séculos XVI e XVII*, pp. 229–39.

77 Sociedade de Beatas de Meaco.

78 Trigault, *Histoire des martyrs du Japon depuis 1612 jusqu'en 1620*, pp. 175, 181, 568; Lorenzo Pérez, “Héroes del cristianismo en el Japón en el siglo XVII,” *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 15(87) (1928): 309–14. ARSI, Jap Sin 58, fol. 197; Medina, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 235–41; Gonoi, “Hiryō Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō,” pp. 41–59.

79 Letter of João Rodrigues Giram to Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 25-02-1606. ARSI, Jap Sin 55, fol. 405v; Medina, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 203–04.

Kuchinotsu.⁸⁰ In 1612, in Edo, another Korean named Manuel, deaf-mute, of unknown profession, was baptized.⁸¹

By examining the route of some of these Korean slaves sold in Nagasaki, we can conclude that, initially, most of the victims were taken to neighboring regions, and later brought to this city by slave canvassers.⁸²

For example, a Nagasaki citizen named Jinzaemon, in a statement to the Nagasaki authorities, revealed that both his father and mother had been taken to Ōmura where they had been baptized. The father, who died in 1633, lived on Edo-machi Street in Nagasaki; the mother, still alive in 1643, was living on Shimabara-machi Street. Jinzaemon, born in Japan, married a Japanese from Chikugo.⁸³ Matsu was born in 1612 in Nagasaki and his Korean parents came from Hizen in 1601; Juuzaemon's wife lived in Hirado until 1636. The Korean Sukeemon Kawasakiya was taken to Bizen, Okayama (備前岡山) in 1595, and in 1614 he moved to Nagasaki where he probably met his Korean wife who had been living in this city since 1611. This Korean, whose name is unknown, had come to Japan in 1599 and been taken to Higo, Yatsushiro (肥後八代). The Korean Ito, captured in 1595, lived in Mogui before being taken to Nagasaki in 1615. The sailor Andre Kurubē was captured in 1592/93 and taken to Hakata (博多) where he was baptized in the local church by the Jesuit priest Pero Ramon. On an unknown date, Ito also moved to Nagasaki. The Korean Inês Takeya, born in 1580 and captured in 1592/93, was sent to Chikūgo, where she was baptized by Father Céspedes. When in Nagasaki, she married fellow Korean Cosme Takeya. These are just a few illustrative examples of how Nagasaki became a center of Korean slavery in southern Japan.⁸⁴

80 De Vega, *Triunfo de la Fee en los reynos del Japon por los años de 1614 y 1615*, p. 86; Trigault, *Histoire des martyrs du Japon depuis 1612 jusqu'en 1620*, pp. 416, 633; Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, p. 293; Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 248–53; Gonoï, “Hiro Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō,” pp. 41–59; Spinola, *Relação dos Mártires do Japão de 1614*.

81 Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, p. 283; Medina, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 255–59; Gonoï, “Hiryō Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō,” pp. 41–59; João Rodrigues Giram, Annual Report on Japan in 1616–17, ARS1, Jap Sin 58, fols. 395, 396, 401, 401v, 402.

82 *muitos destes Jappões dos lugares vizinhos a Nãgasaqi q he porto onde vem a Nao vendo a seda cõ que os portugueses os buscavão e compravão nã somente hia a varias partes do Jap-pão a comprar Coreas para os virem vender aos portuguezes*. RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 277v.

83 Hesselink, “An Anti-Christian Register from Nagasaki,” pp. 58–59. *Hirado-machi ninbetsu seisho tadashi*.

84 Hesselink, “An Anti-Christian Register from Nagasaki,” pp. 9–66; Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, p. 537; Medina, *El Martirologio*.

Another feature worth highlighting regarding the Korean captives is that, although the vast majority were young people, there are cases of some captives who came to Japan at a more advanced age, as the case of a Korean nicknamed “Uba” (nunny), meaning old lady in Japanese. She had been born in 1547, captured and taken to Japan in 1598 at the age of 51, and was taken to Chikūgo. From 1621, she lived in Nagasaki, on Moto Kozen-machi Street (本興善町), serving a Japanese called Osakaya Yaemon. From 1642, “Uba” lived on Hirado-machi Street (平戸町) in the same city.⁸⁵

Many children also came to Nagasaki during this period. For example, a maid called Kame, who lived in Hirado-machi in Nagasaki, was born in 1584 in Korea. In 1593, aged only 9, she was taken to Yaoya-machi Street (八百屋町) in Nagasaki.⁸⁶

Another aspect worth mentioning here is that, between 1592 and 1598, the demand for Korean female slaves was much higher for males.⁸⁷ The arrival of Korean women en masse to Nagasaki would have a major impact on the economy and society, making it necessary to create new residential areas in the city to accommodate not only men, but also the thousands of women who arrived every year. Kōrai-machi (高麗町) was founded with this purpose and on a parallel street, Ima Shikkui-machi Street (今石灰町), a new brothel was opened.

As attested by the testimonials of the Italian Francesco Carletti (1573–1636),⁸⁸ and the Jesuits Gaspar Coelho and Mateus de Couros,^{89, 90} to mention only a

85 Gonoī, “Hiryō Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō,” pp. 41–59; Hesselink, “An Anti-Christian Register from Nagasaki,” pp. 58–59. *Hirado-machi ninbetsu seisho tadashi*.

86 Hesselink, “An Anti-Christian Register from Nagasaki,” pp. 58–59. *Hirado-machi ninbetsu seisho tadashi*.

87 As demonstrated by the eyewitness testimony of Bernardino de Avila Girón: *Yyo me acuerdo que el año de mil y quinientos y noventa y siete, quando Taicosama hazia guerra al Reyno de Coray trajeron a esta [tierra] de Japon mucha cantidad de Corays captivos en especial mugeres, y con ellos muchos despojos de alla, vasos de cobre y azofar, vestidos, que son muy diferentes de los de los japoneses, y en una tienda en este pueblo (de Nagasaqui), estaban a vender unos libros y hojas de papel de ocho palmos en quadro, de las quales compré dos*. In a later passage, Girón reports that she had acquired five Korean slaves, three of whom were fluent in Japanese, the youngest being named Maria. ARSI, Jap Sin, 58, fol. 198.

88 Francesco Carletti, *Ragionamenti di Francesco Carletti Fiorentino sopra le cose da lui vedute ne' suoi viaggi si dell'Indie Occidentali, e Orientali come d'altri paesi...* (Stamperia di G. Manni, per il Carlieri, 1701), p. 347.

89 Letter from Gaspar Coelho S.J. to Claudio Aquaviva, Hirado, 2-10-1587, ARSI, Jap. Sin., 10 II fols. 272–272v.

90 Jap Sin 2, fols. 160v–161. Lúcio de Sousa, *The Jewish Diaspora and the Pérez Family Case in China, Japan, the Philippines and the Americas (16th Century)* (Macao: Fundação Macau, 2015), pp. 89–93.

few, the city of Nagasaki in the late 16th century was characterized by sexual freedom between traders and locals, a behavior considered immoral by Catholic standards of the time. Until then, the city's main brothel had been in Hakata-machi; the brothel owners, who had been compelled to leave Hakata during the attacks to the city, returned and resumed their activities unfazed.⁹¹

This brothel's initial location caused some conflicts with the Society of Jesus, as the House of Mercy, a Christian institution that helped the city's poorest as well as those with physical and mental disabilities, was on the same street. This may be the reason why this brothel ended up being transferred to the Ima Hakata-machi by the end of the 16th century. The brothels in Ima Shikkui-machi and Shinkamiya-machi seem to have been run independently from the one that existed in Hakata-machi;⁹² the latter was located on the outskirts of town. The creation of a Korean brothel in the city with slaves brought by Japanese soldiers during their military incursions to Korea led to some competition with the Hakata-machi brothel. The success of the former can be confirmed by the creation of a second Korean brothel by the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th century, in Shin Kourai-machi.⁹³

However, most of the women housed in such brothels did not stay in Nagasaki. After being bought by European merchants, they were sent to Macao and then redistributed to various Asian ports. Although there are no known documents on Macao brothels, the prostitution houses of the Portuguese enclave in China were surely supplied by this new wave of Korean women.

There are also other cases of Korean slaves who had better luck, being assimilated by Nagasaki's multiracial society. This is, at least, the example of an unknown Korean woman who married the Japanese citizen Gonzaemon. She met Gonzaemon in Nagasaki: he had been born in Isahaya and had lived on Tsuki-machi Street since 1606. The couple had a child named Shichizo, who married a Japanese. Curiously enough, Gonzaemon's father had been a soldier and died during the Japanese military campaign in Korea, in 1592.⁹⁴

91 Although we do not know the exact date these prostitutes and brothel owners arrived in Nagasaki, it is possible that it was the result of the rebellions and looting that occurred in this city in the years 1577, 1580, and 1586 respectively.

92 B bio Amaro, "Nagasaki as Emporium: History of Social Composition in its Initial Years," in *Vanguards of Globalization: Port Cities from the Classical to the Modern* (New Delhi: Primus Books, 2014), p. 247.

93 *Ibid.*, p. 247.

94 Hesselink, "An Anti-Christian Register from Nagasaki," pp. 51–52. *Hirado-machi ninbetsu seisho tadashi*.

The Japanese Jinsuke was from Hirado, while his wife had been born in Korea in 1574. In 1591, she was taken to Nagasaki and lived in Ima-machi (長崎今町). In this city, she managed to be released and later married Jinsuke.⁹⁵ Another Japanese called Mago'emon also married a former Korean slave who had come to Japan at a young age and in 1600, aged only 18, moved to Nagasaki.⁹⁶

Forced Migration and Famine and the Slave Trade Peak in Nagasaki

Concurrently with the arrival of thousands of Korean captives to Japan, the consequences of war efforts initiated by Hideyoshi began to be noticeable throughout the region of Kyūshū and particularly in Nagasaki. In 1594, the city had an incalculable number of displaced Japanese, who found in the Society of Jesus, as well as on the Macao ship, two chances of survival. The Society of Jesus and its organized system of care for the poor through the House of Mercy attracted both Christian and non-Christian Japanese from neighboring regions; the Macao ship gave many Japanese the opportunity to leave Japan by selling themselves and their families to Portuguese traders. In addition to refugees, there were also many Japanese who needed the Macao ship to supply silks and other goods, and an extensive network of sites that depended on the profits made by the Portuguese annually in Nagasaki: shop owners who supplied the Portuguese, and the landlords, among others. The Society of Jesus also depended politically and economically on the money generated from the sale of silk and donations from wealthy merchants for their survival in Japan. However, in this critical year of 1594, there would be no official trip because the appointed Captain, Francisco de Sá, was shipwrecked in Achem; this absence, in such a sensitive period of the war, intensified the population's famine.⁹⁷ In 1595, when Head Captain Manuel de Miranda reached Nagasaki, he found many Korean slaves, as well as Japanese ones. The same occurred with the succeeding Head Captains: Rui Mendes de Figueiredo in 1596, and Nuno de Mendonça in 1598.⁹⁸ In 1597, another year the commercial journey to Japan did not take place; the Jesuit Pedro Gómez replaced the recently deceased Luís Fróis as the official chronicler of the Society of Jesus in Japan. In his description of Nagasaki, Gómez mentioned that the city's population had continued to increase, not only due to the Portuguese ship, but also because of the continuous flow of

95 Ibid., pp. 57–58.

96 Ibid., p. 61.

97 Luís Fróis, *Annual Letter of 1595*, Nagasaki, 20-10-1595, ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fol. 91v.

98 *arrivammo a favamento nel Mefe di Giugno nel medesimo anno 1597 in una di effe detta Naganfachi 1597 dove pigliammo Porto*. Carletti, *Ragionamenti di Francesco Carletti Fiorentino*, pp. 9, 40.

displaced Japanese and Korean victims of war. Poverty increased to such a pitch that the House of Mercy in Nagasaki and its brotherhood spent all their resources on social work projects; its members were forced to ask for financial assistance from townsfolk in order to raise funds and continue their support to the needy.⁹⁹

It was also during this period that Portuguese involvement in Japan's slave trade reached its peak. For example, when in 1598 Nagasaki harbor was visited by the Head Captain of Macao, Nuno de Mendonça,¹⁰⁰ instead of one ship, two vessels arrived and, at the same time, a third Portuguese ship came to Nagasaki from India (probably from Goa) bound for Macao,¹⁰¹ as well as a fourth vessel from Macao bound for Cambodia,¹⁰² which had been diverted by a storm to Japan. European sources also mentioned a fifth vessel belonging to the Portuguese Francisco Gouveia traveling in the opposite direction, that is, from Nagasaki to Macao. At the same time though, as reported by Francesco Carletti, a ship captained by a Eurasian bound for Kochi departed from Nagasaki, making a stopover in Macao.¹⁰³

Also during this year, the number of Korean slaves carried on these vessels from Nagasaki was massive: as the purchase price was extremely low, the interior of the ship was completely packed. As a result, many Koreans were neglected and because some of their owners fell sick, many of them ended up starving to death, as no one was took the responsibility of feeding them. Sometimes their owners were African slaves owned by the Portuguese, which makes this situation even more uncommon. Let us take a look at the description by the leading members of the Society of Jesus in Japan of the meeting held in September 1598:

99 Pero Gomez, *Annual Letter of 1597*. ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fols. 256–256v.

100 Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembrar*, in *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, vol. 1, p. 411. BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, Códice 49-V-3, Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembrar*, fols. 11v–12f. BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, Códice 49-V-3, Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembrar*, fol. 11.

101 *Veio mais a Nangasaqi huma Nao que vinha da Índia pera Macau e desgarrou a Japão*. Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembrar*, in *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 413. BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, Códice 49-V-3, Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembrar*, fol. 12v. Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembrar*, in *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 377–434. BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, Códice 49-V-3, Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembrar*, fol. 11.

102 *todos vierão este Março de oito no navio que hia pera Camboja, e daqui arribou*. Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembrar*, in *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 413. BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, Códice 49-V-3, Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembrar*, fol. 12f. BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, Códice 49-V-3, Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembrar*, fol. 11.

103 Means slaves.

First of all, because they gain so much with this [slave trade] they buy all they can, without proper enquiries, having no scruples whatever about it, seeking only business and profit out of them, and even the Cassares [Indian mercenaries] and young men [servants and slaves]¹⁰⁴ of the Portuguese buy slaves and carry them off to Macao and many of them die during the voyage because they travel on top of one another [heaped up on the ship]—there are so many of them, like a crowd—and when their masters get sick, some of whom are Kaffirs or Negroes, slaves of the Portuguese, they do not look after or help them with the necessary things they need.¹⁰⁵

I would like to stress that, as we have learned, the official ship of Macao carried the slaves “on top of one another [heaped up on the ship]—there are so many of them, like a crowd.”¹⁰⁶ By saying that the slaves were traveling on top of one another, it did not literally mean that they were physically piled up one on top of another, but rather, that the common slave transportation system used in the Atlantic had been adapted to fit the Macao–Nagasaki trade route.¹⁰⁷

104 Means slaves.

105 *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas.* RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 274v.

106 *Ibid.*, fol. 274v.

107 This system consisted of transporting the slaves seated in a single position imprisoned by the feet or neck. The conditions of this transportation appear to have been better than the ones found on the Atlantic Ocean slave trade route, partly because the voyage was shorter. This characterization was not unique, as, at this time, Martin de la Ascensión (1556/57–1597), one of the main critics of the Jesuits in Japan, also makes reference to the ship of Macao as a slave vessel (*Documentos franciscanos de la Cristiandad de Japon (1593–1597). San Martín de la Ascensión y Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira. Relaciones e Informaciones*, ed. José Álvarez-Taladriz (Osaka: n.p., 1973), p. 72.) The transportation of a vast amount of Koreans would also have meant increased work for the members of the Society of Jesus vis-à-vis the production of slave certificates. It is in this context that one of the first doubts among the Jesuits arose with regard to the procedure to follow regarding slave certificates. Are Korean slaves considered legal or illegal from the point of view of Canonical Law? In order to address this and other questions Father Gil de la Mata, Procurator of the Society of Jesus in Japan, traveled to Europe to meet the theologian Gabriel Vásquez. Gil de la Mata asked Vásquez if the cause of the war was just, and whether the soldiers called by their respective chiefs to fight in such wars had a clean conscience with regard to the spoils they acquired and the captives they reduced to slavery: “Utrum, quando iustitia belli eat dubia, et milites a suis dominis ad ilia bella uocantur, ea, quae in bello milites capiunt, tuto in conscientia possideant, et captiui in ueram seruitutem redigantur.” Question 27. In Jesús López Gay, S.J., “Un Documento Inédito del P.G. Vázquez (1549–1604) sobre los Problemas Morales del Japón,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 16 (1960–61): 137. Father Gabriel Vásquez’s deliberation is interesting, stating that it was legal for the Jesuits to refrain from judging the soldiers, inasmuch as they were only obeying the orders of their

The Korean Community in Nagasaki and Catholicism

Luís de Cerqueira (1552–1614), Bishop of Japan, was the greatest defender of slaves arriving directly from Korea to Nagasaki between 1592 and 1597 and the Koreans who were taken to other places in Japan. He came to the city after the Japanese–Korean War and the death of Hideyoshi. In addition to the battle against slave canvassers, brokers, and buyers, the Bishop undertook numerous measures to try to help Korean slaves. One of the most important was asking Nagasaki’s Japanese Christians to buy these slaves so that they could be freed.¹⁰⁸ This release could be immediate, or the newly bought slave could serve his owner for a certain period of time in order to pay the price spent on his purchase. In the *Dochirina Kirishitan* published in 1591 in Japanese, there are 14 articles on works of mercy that Christians should learn, the sixth of which instructs Christianized Japanese to buy captured or imprisoned people in order to release them.¹⁰⁹

It is in this social context that in early 1592 the Deputy Provincial Father Pedro Gómez devised a new missionary project taking advantage of the presence of such a large number of Korean slaves in Nagasaki. According to the Jesuit Francesco Pasio, all Jesuits received Gómez’s orders to find, among slaves, educated Koreans. Once the most suitable candidates had been selected, they had to go through three stages.

The first stage included learning Japanese and about Catholicism; the second one, the translation of indoctrination materials and Catholic prayers into Korean; the third stage was the application of indoctrination materials by these former slaves to convert other Koreans to Christianity. This project resulted in remarkable success and, according to Pasio, the Koreans were an important addition to the Society of Jesus. In 1594, these Koreans helped the

lords, so it was not evident to them that the war was unjust; hence, the pillage was not considered to be illegal: 27. *Non uidentur isti iniuste res illas possidere, quia uocati sunt a dominis, et non erat manifesta causa iniustitiae, quare cum his saltem licebit dissimulare.* Gay, S.J., “Un Documento Inédito del P.G. Vázquez.” 143. In sum, the enslavement of the Koreans in the light of European Canon Law was perfectly legitimate and the issuance of ballots for the Korean victims to be exported and sold in the Luso-Spanish Empire would be carried out by the end of 1598.

108 Inácia Rumiko Kataoka, *A vida e a acção pastoral de D. Luís Cerqueira S.J., Bispo do Japão (1598–1614)* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1997), p. 208, n. 204.

109 *Ibid.*, p. 208. On this question, the Jesuits in Japan were also able to study the arguments of the theologian Father Gabriel Vásquez (from 1598), who had decided that it was lawful that the money spent on the purchase of the individual be reacquired through work for in buyer’s service, which should be regulated according to the judgment of a prudent, or religious, person. Gay, “Un Documento Inédito del P.G. Vázquez,” 123–27.

Jesuits baptize more than two thousand people.¹¹⁰ In a letter, Pasio does not, however, reveal if the quick conversion of the Koreans was due to their belief and understanding of the Christian message or if it was due to despair and/or self-benefit.

Fróis also dedicated to this community a part of his 1596 annual letter, stating that the evangelization of these slaves was carried out without any resistance, as most learned Japanese very quickly, thus negating the need to turn to interpreters during the sacrament of confession. Based on his experience among the Korean community, Fróis went even further, qualifying the Korean slaves as very intelligent and modest people, in no way inferior to the Japanese; his writings seems to lead to the conclusion that if the missionaries were allowed into Korea, this country would be easily converted to Christianity.¹¹¹ To prove this, the Jesuit describes that in 1596, in Nagasaki, during Easter, next to the Church of St. Paul, a group of Korean slaves disciplined themselves during the night, to the astonishment of the priest and brothers who were in the church. Covered with blood, the kneeling Koreans claimed that, due to their condition as slaves, they could not attend the daytime procession in the city during Good Friday because they were busy with their duties, so they decided

110 *Había en estas partes [Nagasaki] gran número de coreas, los cuales fueron cautivados por los japones en esta guerra que com ellos tienen, y porque son naturalmente de bon ingenio y capacidad para las cosas de nuestra santa fe, ordenó el Padre Viceprovincial [Pedro Gómez] que se buscasen algunos corais [sic] hábiles y que supiesen leer y escribir su propia letra, que es la misma que los chinas usan, y también corre en Japón; los cuales después de aprender la lengua japónica, fueron instruidos muy bien en el Catecismo, haciendo un buen Sumario de él en su lengua, y van tresladando también las oraciones en la lengua de Coray para de esta manera poder más facilmente catequizar a sus naturales. Lo cual hicieron con tanto fruto que este año se han bautizado más de 2000 corais.* Letter from Francesco Pasio S.J. to Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 20-10-1594, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 31, fol. 157v, transcribed in *Documentos Franciscanos de la Cristandad de Japón*, p. 104.

111 *Hallase por esperiencia clara que es gente muy dispuesta para recibir nuestra Santa Fee, son muy amorosos, bautizanse cõ alegría y no mesmo consolação de verse christianos huelgan de confessarse y en brevisimo tiempo la mayor parte dellos toma la lengua de Japão cõ tanta fasilidad que quasi ninguno tiene necesidad de se cõfessar por interprete [...] tiene esta gente buen entendimiento aconpañado con simplicidad y dan tales muestras de ssi que nada parecem ser inferiores a los japones, qui se nuestro Señor tomar ante mano estas primicias de aquel Reino de Coraj cõ la ocasion desta guerra para mayor bien de sus Almas, y la comum platica que acerca dellos corre es que si entrare la predicacion de la Ley Evangelica en coraj (lo que parece no sera dificultoso por via de Japon) que recibira la fee con fasilidad y se podra mucho dilatar en aquellos Reinos.* Fróis, *Annua de la Vice Provincia del Japon de la Compañia de Jesus, de tres de Diziembre del año de 1596.* ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fol. 203v. Fróis, *Lettera annua del Giappone dell'anno M.D.xcvi. scritta dal P. Luigi Fróis*, p. 137.

to celebrate with an overnight vigil, after they had finished their tasks.¹¹² In order to understand this religious manifestation it is important to mention that at the end of the 16th century in all churches of the Society of Jesus in Japan, the “Passion and Death of Jesus Christ” was preached to the congregation during the so-called “Easter Fridays.” Following the preaching, the crucifix was removed from the altar and it was customary for the Japanese Christians to discipline themselves in memory and appreciation of the “Passion of the Savior.” In many places Christians performed the so-called “blood discipline,” similar to the Korean Christians. In Nagasaki, after the morning Mass, a procession retraced the most important episodes of the “Passion of Christ.” Crosses were placed in the city churchyards, and printed images of “crucifixes and other mysteries of the passion”¹¹³ were distributed by Christians.¹¹⁴

Pedro Gómez’s initial project regarding the Koreans would also be expanded when leading members of the Society of Jesus decided to create a seminary for Koreans in Nagasaki, with the aim of students serving in a future Korean evangelization project. Unfortunately, we do not have much information about this seminary; however, it is very likely that many Koreans entered, and some of them were highly educated people, including monks. The Spanish Bernardino de Avila Girón wrote in his inventory, of a Korean named Joaquin Hachikuan and three slaves of his house, that the Korean elite knew Christianity. A

112 *viernes sancto en anocheciendo estando consertandose la iglesia con las puertas serradas y preparando la fuente para el Sabado siguiente andando un padre con algunos hermanos deando recado y pressa a lo que se hazia oyeron de la banda de fuera un grande rumor junto de la puerta de la iglesia abriendo una ventana y preguntando quien era. Responderan de rodillas con grande humildad personas. Somos Corays solamente y porque somos cautivos y no terniamos aparejo para ayer yr en la procission agora venimos aqui todos juntos a pedir a Dios Misericordia y person de nuestros pecados, los quales derramavan tanta sangre que movieron a lagrimas a los que oyeron y vieron el modo de su penitencia.* Fróis, *Anua de la Vice Provincia del Japon de la Compañia de Jesus, de tres de Diziembre del año de 1596.* ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fol. 203v. Fróis, *Lettera annua del Giappone dell'anno M.D.XCVI. scritta dal P. Luigi Fróis*, p. 137.

113 For this purpose, the images and printing press brought from Europe were used.

114 For a detailed description of this procession, see question number 20, written by Bishop Luís de Cerqueira in 1605, in: *Interrogatorio que o Padre Vice Provincial da Companhia de Jesus nos Reinos de Jappão appresenta para por elle serem perguntadas as testemunhas, que appresenta asim de se entender a verdade do que se contem na enformação e resposta que por mandado do Reverendissimo Senhor Dom Luis de Cerqueira Bispo de Jappão daa alguns arzeoados, e papeis, de que teve noticia, pellos quaes os religiosos das Felipinas e outras pessoas das ditas partes pretendem mostrar ser subreticio o breve do Papa Clemente 8º em que manda que não venhão, nem estejão em Jappão Religiosos das Felipinas.* ARSI, Jap Sin 21, fol. 76.

copy of the manuscript that has been filed in Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu contains an interesting side note, making reference to this seminary:¹¹⁵

If this was said by Hachiquan or by the author I do not know, but I am certain that there is no such thing in all Korea and China because in China there are many of the Society of Jesus and in Japan some in the seminary are of Korean nationality and they know very well their laws, which are the same as in China and Japan [...] because if their female slaves said so or he did not understand them or they, as slaves and low people, did not know the things of Korea and we priests have [Korean] bonzes in our homes and they say there is no such thing.¹¹⁶

The ultimate goal of this seminary was the conversion of the Korean Peninsula to Christianity, a project that dated back to 1566, when the Jesuit Cosme de Torres (1510–1570), the Society of Jesus's Superior in Japan, chose the Portuguese Gaspar Vilela (1525/26–1572), the founder of Jesuit missions in Kyoto and Sakai, to found the Korean mission. This plan was not implemented; hence, Vilela could not cross the border because of the existing political turmoil in Japan.¹¹⁷ An interesting side note: in the Propaganda Fide of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, there is an important reference to a secret plan to convert Korea from the Philippines, dated 1648, the year in which seven religious men, together with a group of Koreans, intended to travel to Korea. Alas, the plan was discovered and the trip came to nothing.¹¹⁸

In 1610, in Nagasaki, a group of extremely poor former Korean slaves raised enough money within the Christian Korean community to purchase a small property on which they intended to build a church and form a brotherhood. Because their finances were insufficient to implement this plan, the Koreans ended up building only a small chapel dedicated to Saint Lawrence of Rome. The choice of this saint, a Catholic martyr and one of the first seven deacons of the early Catholic Church, is extremely interesting. According to Roman tradition, Saint Lawrence was summoned by the Emperor Valerian (d. 260) in 258 to

115 It is probable that this note was made by Father Pedro Morejón, S.J.

116 ARSI, Jap Sin, 58, fol. 198.

117 *Avera cinco anos que pareseo bon ao padre cosme de tores mädar ali algum padre a discutir ho que se podia fazer e sayo a sorte a mim partido não pude efectuar meus desejos por causa de muitas guerras que no caminho avia, japöens huns cö outros, que será impedimento.* Letter of Gaspar Vilela S.J. to Francesco Borgia/Francisco de Borja y Aragón (1510–1572), Goa, 03-11-1571, fols. 80v–81. ARSI, Jap Sin 7 III, fol. 80; Medina, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 201–02.

118 AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRGG. 193, Scrittture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 193: Anno 1654. *Estratto di Coria*, fol. 14.

hand over the treasures of the Church, but he challenged him instead, offering the Emperor the Christian community as the Church's wealth. In retaliation, the Emperor had him burned alive. Did the choice of this saint by the Korean community symbolize their willingness to die while preserving the riches of the Church? According to the researcher Bébíó Amaro, the Chapel of Saint Lawrence of Rome was located in Shin Kōrai-machi (新高麗町).¹¹⁹ In the 1610 annual letter, the Jesuit priest João Rodrigues Girão states that the inauguration of this chapel was celebrated not only by Koreans but also by many Japanese. Let us look at the original passage:

There are in this city many Christian of Korean nationality, who entering into fervor and devotion decided to have their own private church and in it their Brotherhood. But even though they are poor, they raised their alms among themselves, and arranged a good place and for the time being, and because they couldn't do more they built a chapel in honor of the blessed Saint Lawrence, to whom they have dedicated it. Its dedication was celebrated with solemnity and in the presence of them [Koreans] as of the Japanese, who during the whole day visited in large numbers the abovementioned chapel, they [the Japanese] where greatly impressed with the piety and devotion of the Korean Christians, and from their union and harmony regarding the things of salvation [of the soul].¹²⁰

As this chapel was small and located on the outskirts of the city, in one of the most impoverished regions, it survived the destruction of Christian buildings after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1614, going unnoticed by the Japanese authorities.¹²¹ Another document tells us that in 1619 the bones of Christians who had been buried in the churches had been dug up, gathered in this place, and burned. At this time, the Chapel of Saint Lawrence of Rome already appears to be designated as a church, so it is possible to deduce that the original chapel would have been transformed into a larger building.¹²² The following year,

119 Bébíó Vieira Amaro, "Research on Christian Facilities in Nagasaki," PhD diss., University of Tokyo, 2016, p. 477.

120 Annual Letter from João Rodrigues Girão to Claudio Aquaviva, 1610. ARSI, Jap Sin 57, fols. 5v–6r. There is a second copy on the same subject in: ARSI, Jap Sin 57, fol. 71. Amaro, "Research on Christian Facilities in Nagasaki," p. 477.

121 Amaro, "Research on Christian Facilities in Nagasaki," p. 477.

122 *Depois de lançados fora os PP da Comp.a, e mais Religiosos, e sacerdotes, mandou o Rey de Jappão em odio da fee tirar quantos ossosavia nos adros das Igrejas, e os mandou levar a huma Igreja de S. Lourenço por dizer os tinha allí juntos atee q os queimou.* Copy of the letter of Sebastião Vieira? to Father Pietro Spinello, Macao, 1656. ARSI, Jap Sin 22, fol. 361v. Amaro, "Research on Christian Facilities in Nagasaki," p. 477.

along with the Holy House of Mercy building, the churches of São Miguel, Todos os Santos, and Saint Lawrence of Rome, located on the outskirts of Nagasaki, were destroyed, as well as the Church of Santa Clara in Urakami.¹²³

From 1614, date of the official expulsion of clerics from Japan, this Christian Korean community played an important role in the evangelization of the Kyūshū region. Korean former slaves organized a secret network of aid to the “crypto-Christians” who resided in Japan. As described in this Chapter 3, “The Korean community in Nagasaki and Catholicism,” many European clerics who entered Japan illegally and were discovered by Nagasaki authorities were hidden in Korean houses to prevent them being captured. It is also surprising that many of these former slaves became catechists during the persecutions period, preserving the Catholic traditions in southern Japan.

Before and during the hiding period, the Japanese and Korean Christians were organized into two types of Christian institutions, called Holy House of Mercy and brotherhoods. While the Holy House of Mercy focused mainly on social aid, brotherhoods were centered on Christian education. Each brotherhood leader had their main duty the reading and teaching of the doctrine to Christian group members as well as organizing the burial of the dead and giving assistance to the sick and poor. These three last duties were also carried out by the main leaders of each Holy House of Mercy. However, the latter’s destruction in the early 17th century made it necessary to transfer some of the institution’s activities to the secret brotherhoods. Japanese and Korean Christians chose the brotherhoods associated with their priests and spiritual guides and could even enlist in several brotherhoods at the same time.¹²⁴

The Dominican Order

In Japan, the Dominican Order played a significant role in defending Korean slaves. Some Korean Christians in Nagasaki participated in the brotherhood organized by the Dominicans, called Rozario no Kumi or Grupo do Rosario. Several members of this brotherhood assisted the Dominicans and catechized

123 *No mesmo tempo mandou desfazer, e assolar alguns Igrejas que ainda ficarão em pé, mas também como corpos sem alma, e duntos; pois desde o anno de 1614 em que nos desterrarão de Japam estavam ermas, e sem nellas se celebrar o divino sacrificio: a principal era a da Misericórdia que só com a verem os fiéis desta Cidade se consolavão, e animavão: as outras forão a de S. Miguel, de S. Lourenço, de Todos os Santos nos arrabaldes de Nagasaqui: e as de S. Clara em Urakami meya legoa daqui, e outra que estaba da banda de lá deste porto em certa aldea chamada Inaça, e com estas se acabarão de todo quantas Igrejas tinhamos em Japam.* Letter from Mateus de Couros S.J. to Muzio Vitelleschi, Nagasaki, 20-03-1620. ARSI, Jap Sin 35, fol. 138. Medina, S.J., *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 279–80.

124 Lorenzo Pérez, “La Venerable Orden Tercera y la Archicofradía del Cordón en el Extremo Oriente (conclusión),” *Archivo Ibero Americano* 17(98) (n.d.): 179.

the Christians of Nagasaki and its surroundings during the religious persecution period.

In this community, the first Korean who stood out was Cosme Takeya Sozaburo, also known as Cosme Corea, or Cosme Takue. Aged only 11, Cosme was taken from Korea to Japan, being baptized in Nagasaki. After serving a rich Japanese man from Chikūgo whose name is unknown for a long time, as a reward for his fidelity, Cosme Takue was promoted to “*Steward*,”¹²⁵ and received a house and some land. From that moment on, he used his house to help Dominican clerics. He housed the priests Juan de Santo Domingo and Angelo Ferrer, who had secretly arrived in Japan via Manila. In addition to providing accommodation and food, Cosme also taught them Japanese.¹²⁶ On 13 September 1618, at midnight, many Nagasaki houses suspected of hiding clerics were searched without notice by the Japanese authorities. Clerics were found in four of the investigated houses, including that of Cosme Takue. Of the other three: the Jesuits Carlos Espinola (1564–1622) and Brother Ambrosio were found in the house of the Portuguese Domingos Jorge; the Spaniard Francisco Morales in the house of Andre Tokuan; and the Spaniard Alonso de Mena in the house of João Shoun. On 14 November 1619, the *bugyo* (magistrate) of Nagasaki, Hasegawa Gonroku (長谷川権六) (1615–1625) sent them to be burned alive.¹²⁷ Cosme’s wife, Inês/Agnes Takeya, was also from Korea, where she had been born in 1580. During the war, she had been taken as a slave to Nagasaki. This Korean woman would become a prominent figure in Nagasaki’s Rozario no Kumi, dying on 19 October 1622.¹²⁸

Antonio de Corea or Antonius Hamanomachi “The Corea”, also a member of Rozario no Kumi, was killed for having hosted clerics. The date of his death is uncertain, arguably on either 19 August or 9 October 1622;¹²⁹ he was impaled on one of the four poles near the sea of Nagasaki.

Another Korean who stood out for his assistance to the Dominicans was Caius/Gaio Akashijiemon. Martyred in Nagasaki on 16 August 1627, he was an important catechist during the secrecy period.¹³⁰ During the beatification decree Caius/Gaio Akashijiemon was placed in the Dominican Order,

125 *Mordomo*.

126 G. Boero and P.A. del Niño Jesus, *Los doscientos cinco martires del Japon. Relacion de la gloriosa muerte de los martires, beatificados por el sumo pontifice Pio IX, el dia 7 de julio de 1867* (Mexico: Imprenta de J. M. Lara, 1869), pp. 30–31.

127 *Ibid.*, pp. 63–64.

128 Medina, *El Martirologio*.

129 Boero and del Niño Jesus, *Los doscientos cinco martires del Japon*, p. 56.

130 Medina, *El Martirologio*.

but some evidence suggests that he belonged to the Third Order of Saint Francis.¹³¹

The Society of Jesus

Besides cooperating with the Dominicans, some Koreans also helped the Jesuits hiding from the Nagasaki authorities. The brotherhood organized by the Jesuits was called Hisyōten no seibo no Kumi or Grupo da Nossa Senhora da Assunção. In Arima there was also a brotherhood called Espírito Santo.¹³² One of the most important missionaries from Korea associated with the Society of Jesus was Cayo/Caio/Caius (カヨ), who was born in Korea in 1571 and taken to Nagasaki during the war to be sold to a Japanese nobleman. He was converted to Christianity by the Jesuits in Kyoto and accompanied missionaries in Takaku, Osaka, and Sakai. In 1614, Cayo traveled with Justo Ucondono (Takayama Ukon (高山右近)) to Manila, but after the death of the latter he returned to Nagasaki and died as a martyr. In Nagasaki, he was one of the leading Korean catechists openly professing Christianity, especially to imprisoned Christians. His refusal to abjure his faith would lead to his arrest. Admitted into the Society of Jesus during his imprisonment, Cayo was executed on 15 November 1624, before he could be notified of his admittance.¹³³

Another Korean *dojuku* (catechist) who belonged to the Jesuits was Vicente Caun/Vincentius Kaun. Born in Korea in 1579, he was taken to Nagasaki by the priest Gregorio de Céspedes in 1595.¹³⁴ At this time, he was baptized and converted to Christianity, being accepted into the seminary. Years later, the Korean was sent to Beijing to then travel to Korea and begin converting the country to Christianity. Despite attempts over a period of seven years to return to his native land, Vicente failed to re-enter Korea, and was forced to go back to Japan. During the secrecy period, he helped Christians and members of the Society of Jesus, eventually ending up being arrested with the Italian priest Giovanni Battista Zola, who had arrived in Japan in 1606. Vicente was burned alive in Nagasaki, on 20 July 1626.¹³⁵

131 For more information on this controversy, see: Pérez, "La Venerable Orden Tercera y la Archicofradía del Cordón en el Extremo Oriente," pp. 201–02.

132 ARSI, Jap Sin 58, fol. 76v.

133 Boero and del Niño Jesus, *Los doscientos cinco martires del Japon*, pp. 120–21; Medina, *El Martirologio*.

134 Cory, "Some Notes on Father Gregorio de Céspedes," 20, 24. Sung-hwa Cheong and Lee Kihan, "A Study of 16th Century Western Books on Korea: The Birth of an Image," *Korea Journal* 40(3) (2000): 255–83; Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (1965; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), vol. 1, p. 721.

135 ARSI, Jap Sin 29, fol. 140; Medina, *El Martirologio*.

Another charismatic figure was António Martins, nicknamed “the bonzo,” who came from Korea and lived in Nagasaki. He was another former slave of the Japanese–Korean War. As a slave, he served a Portuguese trader living in Nagasaki named Luís Martins, from whom he got his surname at the time of his baptism. António Martins was a member of the secret aid network helping clerics, in particular Father João Baptista Porro.¹³⁶ Mentioned in the Jesuit’s letters, he seems to have escaped the persecutions, as his name is not on the list of martyrs.

Other Koreans who helped the Jesuits, but are of less importance, include “Corai Miguel,”¹³⁷ captured during the 1593 war.¹³⁸ There are several discrepancies about his age, which still remains unknown.¹³⁹ Already in Japan, Miguel returned to Korea, accompanying his owner, to participate in the war front in the second Japanese invasion of 1597.¹⁴⁰ He returned to Japan and became a manservant (*geboku*) in order to release his sister. He was released again and got married at Kuchinotsu, the place of his residence. He also became a member of the Santo Espírito Brotherhood. He took care of the lepers; yet he was denounced and executed on 23 November 1614.

On the same date, “Pedro Coreano, Pedro Corea, Jincuroo Pedro” was also executed. This Korean,¹⁴¹ captured when he was 13, had served in Japan for many years and converted to Christianity after being freed. He did not own a house as he lived a wandering life. He was found in a rented/borrowed room in Kuchinotsu.¹⁴²

136 Manoel Dias, Prov. de Macau; Informations, 10-11-1638. ARSI, Jap Sin 18-1, Codice 50, fol. 172.

137 De Vega, *Triunfo de la Fee en los reynos del Japon por los años de 1614 y 1615*, p. 85; Trigault, *Histoire des martyrs du Japon depuis 1612 jusqu'en 1620*, pp. 407, 633; Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 248–53; Gonoï, “Hiryō Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō,” pp. 41–59; Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, pp. 291–92; Spinola, *Relação dos Mártires do Japão de 1614*, ARSI, Jap Sin 58, fols. 72v, 76, 136, 136v; Bernardino de Avila Girón, ARSI, Jap Sin 58, fols. 263–263v.

138 Spinola, *Relação dos Mártires do Japão de 1614*, ARSI, Jap Sin 58, fol. 76.

139 According to Trigault, he was 48 when he died in 1615, whereas Léon Pagès says that he was 42. In the *Relação dos Mártires do Japão de 1614*, the Korean Miguel is also identified as being 48 years old at the time of his death. Trigault, *Histoire des martyrs du Japon depuis 1612 jusqu'en 1620*, p. 407; Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, pp. 291–92; Spinola, *Relação dos Mártires do Japão de 1614*, ARSI, Jap Sin 58, fol. 76.

140 Spinola, *Relação dos Mártires do Japão de 1614*, ARSI, Jap Sin 58, fol. 76.

141 De Vega, *Triunfo de la Fee en los reynos del Japon por los años de 1614 y 1615*, p. 85.

142 Trigault, *Histoire des martyrs du Japon depuis 1612 jusqu'en 1620*, pp. 416, 633; De Vega, *Triunfo de la Fee en los reynos del Japon por los años de 1614 y 1615*, p. 86; Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, p. 293; Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 248–53; Gonoï,

In 1623, a Korean farmer, whose name is unknown and who had previously served the Society of Jesus as a *dojuku*, hid clerics in his house. He was exposed and executed.¹⁴³

The Franciscan Order

The brotherhoods organized by the Franciscans were called Kurudan no Kumi or Confraria do Cordão/Cofradía del Cordon and Sesutakō. Former Korean slaves also played an important support role for the Franciscans who entered Japan via Manila during the period of Christian persecution. However, it was noted that this support was much less important than that offered by the Jesuit and Dominican presence. The best-known Korean martyr associated with the Franciscan Order was Joachin Hachikuan/Hachikan. In fact, he was the first Korean Christian martyr. He was baptized in 1609 by Friar Alonso de la Madre de Dios (? –1633), along with his wife, who was also Korean. Later, he received the Christian name Joachim, and his wife was named Ana. Hachikan became one of the Franciscan brotherhood leaders in Edo, as a “Steward”¹⁴⁴ of the Cofradía del Cordón y Llagas. When the clerics were being persecuted, Hachikan protected the Franciscan priest Luis Sotelo. He was executed in Edo, Torigoe (鳥越) on 16 August 1613, after refusing to betray his colleagues. We do not know what happened to his wife Ana as her name was not mentioned in the list of those executed. A part of Hachikan’s biography is known through the work of Bernardino Avila Girón. In 1928, the Franciscan priest Lorenzo Pérez transcribed a letter from Sotelo about Hachikan, which kept was at the Convent of the Religiosas Franciscanas Descalzas Reales de Santa Clara de Madrid, along with a box sent by the Franciscans from Japan to Spain, containing the head of this Korean Christian.¹⁴⁵

Tsuji Shōbyōe/Gaspar Vaz/Vas and Thomas Sato Shi’Emon/JinYemon/Tomas Gao Jinemon were some other outstanding names associated with the Franciscans.

The former was captured as a child by Japanese soldiers and sold to a Portuguese merchant. He was raised in Macao and a few years later returned to

“Hiryō Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō,” pp. 41–59; Spinola, *Relação dos Mártires do Japão de 1614*, ARSI, Jap Sin 58, fols. 78–78v, 138v.

143 Letter of Francisco Pacheco to the Superior of Japan, 22-09-1623, Doc. 78 in *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*.

144 *Mordomo*.

145 Pérez, “Héroes del Cristianismo en el Japón en el siglo XVII,” 309–14.

Japan. He was considered Portuguese.¹⁴⁶ In Nagasaki, Shōbyōe married Maria, whose nationality is unknown. According to Pagès, Maria was born in 1591 in Japan,¹⁴⁷ and according to José Sicardo she was Korean, not Japanese.¹⁴⁸ According to Pagès, Shōbyōe sold his home when he became a member of the secret network hiding clerics who lived in Japan. Francisco Coufloye (a friend's real name), was the fake name he used in 1607 to purchase a second home to hide the clerics. During the next 20 years, he helped to hide not only Franciscans but also Dominicans. In May 1627, Father Francisco de Santa Maria was found in his home. He was burned alive in Nagasaki on 16 August 1627, as he refused to expose other clerics and members of the Christian secret networks.¹⁴⁹

Shi'Emon lived in Nagasaki and, despite being associated with the Franciscans, he also helped clerics who belonged to other religious groups. Furthermore, his home served as a secret refuge for the Jesuit Baltazar Torres. For this reason, he was executed with Shōbyōe.

Just like other Koreans serving the Jesuits and Dominicans, Shōbyōe and Shi'Emon were important catechists, preaching Christianity to groups of Japanese Christians who had survived the first persecutions.¹⁵⁰

Some Examples of Korean Diaspora outside Japan

Unfortunately, among all slaves traded in the Nagasaki harbor, the Koreans are the most difficult ones to distinguish outside Japan. In Macao, the information describing this diaspora is mainly of Chinese origin. The first one is a *Memorial* written by Canton's inspector, Tian Shengjin (田生金) which tells us that on 8 October 1607, the Guangdong coastal military detected an unfamiliar boat in which 14 people were hidden. The military mistakenly thought they were pirates; hence, they attacked the boat, and the people fought back. In the end, two of them were killed in the skirmish, four were drowned, and the other eight were captured and sent to prison. The eight in prison were Ma da yu luo (嗎大吁囉); Ma da zhi luo (嗎大吱囉); Dan shi luo (啖施囉); Shen liu (宋六); Duo wei (哆尾); Ge xiang yu luo (哥响咻囉); Zhi huan (吱環); and Shi luo shi (施囉氏). After repeated torture, five of them died except for Ma da yu luo, Ma da zhi luo, and Dan shi luo. According to the testimony, the above-named Koreans came from Busan (釜山), and were slaves of Portuguese in Macao. They

146 Sicardo, *Christiandad del Japon, y dilatada persecucion que padeciò*, p. 332.

147 Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, p. 663.

148 Sicardo, *Christiandad del Japon, y dilatada persecucion que padeciò*, p. 332.

149 Gonoï, "Hiryō Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō," pp. 41–59; Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, p. 663.

150 Medina, *El Martirologio*; Gonoï, "Hiryō Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō," pp. 41–59.

had been sold to Portuguese merchants by pirates at a very young age, and they settled near the Church of São Paulo when the Portuguese merchants brought them to Macao.¹⁵¹ This statement is extremely important because it shows that

- 151 Original text: 題為審錄罪囚事: 臣奉命巡按廣東職當讞獄而囚牒之繁, 惟粵為最。… 今將各犯緊關畧節招罪緣由開坐具本, 專差承差郭民欽齎捧謹題請旨, 計開會審過辯問矜疑凌遲斬絞罪犯人共十七名口: … 三名嗎吁囉、嗎吱囉、咩囉招稱, 與監故俱朝鮮國釜山人, 幼被倭擄賣與佛朗機, 帶至廣東香山澳, 俱在三巴盧寺下街住。有哨官譚奇兵船於萬曆三十五年七月內, 哨見南澳外洋山邊有小艇一隻在彼, 查問稱係白沙寨被擄, 捕兵陳勝等今送回海南道收問。又有另究紅毛通事郭實、丘仁共十二人, 獲送新寧縣收審, 稟報本哨夏守備, 轉報兵巡海道, 訖至本年八月十八日。嗎吁囉等同澳中夷奴監故哆、响唵囉、吱、囉氏, 並被兵殺死, 溺死夷奴六人, 共十四人。同駕一艇往山取柴, 陡遇官兵譚奇、梁杰等兵船, 疑以為倭追捕, 遂用柴刀向敵、囉氏、吱等傷死兵張權等三人, 致兵奮勇殺死夷奴二人, 斬去首級, 溺死四人, 生獲與嗎吁囉等八人。具由妄稱: 等在海行劫白艚等船財物, 殺死客人, 於八月十七八日突入廣海內地, 督兵探見船內有光頭倭夷約五十餘徒, 向前迎敵, 彈死兵張權等, 傷兵王傑等, 夏守備督兵擒獲生倭八名, 斬級二夥, 並器仗解赴兵巡海道審發。海防倪同知蒙喚番兵通事徐伯貴等傳譯, 報出等姓名, 復蒙研審, 因夷語不能通達, 無由訴辯, 具由解道, 轉解軍門, 批按察司譯審。致蒙問擬與嗎吁囉等八名, 俱依強盜得財斬罪, 梟首通詳, 批允監候。有、哆、响唵囉監故, 將囉奴、嗎吁囉等五名刪招轉詳, 未示吱、囉氏各亦監故。; 今蒙巡按田御史會審, 得嗎吁囉等以倭奴入犯內地, 輒敢與我兵格鬪, 拒殺三命, 各擬梟斬, 亦復何辭? 第此輩飄入廣海, 未見有擄人掠貨之事, 至所云送回海南被擄陳勝及送赴新寧通事郭實等果獲於何夷之船, 何由得還, 招中俱無頭緒。而上川等地方失事是何月日, 皆似別案牽合一起者。據梁傑等偵探, 各夷俱是光頭, 似非短髮倭奴, 而嗎吁囉等名姓亦與倭夷稍不類, 且所獲兵器止是倭刀二把, 餘皆漢人兵仗耳, 豈數夷而共一刀乎? 譯審三夷, 訴係取柴之船, 尚有主人在澳。雖未必然, 然武弁貪功妄殺, 亦往往有之, 不可不察。; 該道確鞫詳奪, 案行分巡嶺南道, 委廣肇二府理刑官譯審得嗎吁囉等, 初據偵探, 以為光頭倭奴, 今驗長髮, 殊不類倭。原係朝鮮釜山人, 被擄賣與佛郎機, 帶至香山澳。十四人泛一艇取柴, 遭兵捉解, 有主在澳, 嗎吁囉主名啊咯氏吱囉哪吓, 又嗎吱囉主名唵啲嚙囉喃吓, 又咩囉主名啱呢吧。隨喚夷目嗎珈娘面質云, 澳內果有此名, 則取柴之說非虛。且時當八月風汛不順, 安得有倭船內犯, 詳道行府復審相同呈道。又批香山縣拘得夷目夷主查問, 俱稱各夷奴先年委因取柴迷失, 如虛耳罪呈道, 蒙黃右參政復審, 三犯有主夷奴, 採柴情真, 似應解網, 用昭好生之仁, 具詳到臣。該臣看得此一役也, 武弁侈為非常之捷, 院道嘉其肅清之功, 莫不謂日本真倭突犯內地, 守備奮勇督戰擒斬如許, 而實則澳夷樵採之船耳。船僅一隻, 人僅十四, 而張大其詞, 謂有五十餘徒, 懸坐以海洋行劫, 弁輩之急於邀功, 敢於妄報如此。各夷既有主人, 各主又有甘結, 其非航海之倭明甚。奈何其無故而難擒之, 雖其拒敵殺兵, 罪似難宥, 然因默猶鬥, 實我兵激之使然, 而夷之殺溺者六, 斃獄者五, 亦足以相償矣。見在三犯, 未可謂非我族類, 一概禽獮也。既經道府各官譯審再三, 情委可矜, 相應疏加辯釋, 給還澳夷各主領回約束。緣三犯原問斬罪梟首已經刪招轉詳, 今辯釋放未敢擅便發落。; Origin: (明) 田生金:《按粵疏稿》, 卷 6,《辯問矜疑罪囚疏》, 天津古籍出版社影印明萬曆四十四年徐兆魁序刊本, 1982 年, 第 662–67 頁。; Chinese version: (明) 田生金:《按粵疏稿》, 卷 6,《辯問矜疑罪囚疏》, 天津古籍出版社影印明萬曆四十四年徐兆魁序刊本, 1982 年, 第 662–67 頁。 Kaijian Tang, *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming*

a Korean neighborhood, populated by those thousands of slaves who came to Macao, existed near the Church of São Paulo. The proximity of the Church of São Paulo also enabled the priests to baptize and teach the Christian doctrine to these slaves.

In Macao, these slaves were mistaken for Japanese by the Chinese authorities. The memorial describes in another passage that Tian Shengjin also thought the Koreans were Japanese when he first saw them. He only realized the difference because of their hairstyle: Koreans had short/shaved hair and Japanese had long hair.¹⁵²

This confusion between Japanese and Koreans probably occurred with the Portuguese in other parts of Asia, since they were ignorant of both the Japanese and Korean languages and cultures, making it difficult to distinguish between the two races. This is the most likely the reason why it is very difficult to identify the Korean Diaspora outside Japan.

Despite these difficulties, it has, however, been possible to reconstruct some Korean biographies in Manila, Macao, Goa, and Italy, which I will describe.

The first individual case is that of Gaspar, a Korean who was born in 1579. Captured during the war, he was taken to Nagasaki to be sold when he was only 13. He was then baptized and received the Christian name of Gaspar, as documented in a ballot confirming his legitimate captivity (the ballot was issued by a member of the Society of Jesus). After these proceedings, he was certainly sold to a Portuguese merchant, as Gaspar never learned to speak Spanish. This Korean man traveled to Manila (date unknown) and was resold to the Portuguese trader Rui Pérez.¹⁵³

Another case is that of Tomas, who reached Nagasaki when he was very young, in company with other slaves, fruit of the Japanese–Korean War. After being sold in the city, he eventually traveled to Manila where he was converted to Christianity by the Dominicans. His father was able to trace his whereabouts and tried to persuade him to return to Korea. After his journey to Nagasaki,

and Qing Dynasties (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2015), p. 93. I would like to thank Professor Zhou Xiaolei for this document.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁵³ “In the city of Manila on the nineteenth of June of the year five hundred and ninety-seven, Brother Juan Maldonado, Commissary of the Holy Office of these men, appeared before him and summoned a young white man who said that he was called Caspar of Corya, he was around eighteen years old and the oath was re-acquired in the form of a right, and he promised to speak the truth and he could speak Portuguese and understand what he said.” AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fols. 458v–459.

where he was helped by the Dominicans, Tomas ended up traveling to Korea, never to return to Japan again.¹⁵⁴

Another famous story is that of Antonio Korea, the slave acquired by Francesco Carletti in Nagasaki in 1597 who was taken to Florence and Rome.¹⁵⁵

The Korean Julia Ota was another victim captured and sold into slavery during the Korean War.¹⁵⁶ Later, she was released and brought to Japan by the Christian *daimyo* Konishi Yukinaga,¹⁵⁷ known in Portuguese sources as D. Agostinho.¹⁵⁸ After converting to Christianity, she was banished to the island of Nijijima for refusing to abandon her faith.¹⁵⁹ In Japan's 1608 Annual Report, Julia's life was described in detail by João Rodrigues Girão.¹⁶⁰

The testimony of Macao merchant Pero de Roboredo mentions two female Korean slaves. Reboredo gave 20 *pesos de reales* for the wedding of a Korean slave named Angela, and 20 *pardaos de reais* to ransom a Korean slave named Helena he had sold to a resident of Goa named Francisco Pereira de Sá.¹⁶¹

154 Diego Aduarte and Baltasar de Santa Cruz, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinos, Japon, y China, de la sagrada orden de Predicadores* (Zaragoza: D. Gascon, 1693), pp. 471–72.

155 *e fattili battezzare gli menai meco e nella Città di Goa li lafciai liberi e folo uno di effi conduffi con me in quefta Città di Firenze, che oggi fi ritrova in Roma chiamato Antonio Corea. Carletti, Ragionamenti di Francesco Carletti Fiorentino*, p. 40. Thijs Weststeijn and Lennert Gesterkamp, "A New Identity for Rubens's 'Korean Man': Portrait of the Chinese Merchant Yppong," *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art/Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 66(1) (2016): 142–69.

156 *E que sendo ella huã pobre e estrangeira cativa na Guerra de Corea, veo amontar tanto; que chegou a ser Donzela do paço do Senhor da Tenca de Japam*. ARSI, Jap Sin, 57, fol. 244. 1555–1600.

158 *Entre as molheres que servem no paço ao Cubo ha alguãs Christãas das quaes huã de naçam Corea que foi da molher de Agostinho Tçunocamidono procede com tanta devoção & fervor que ha mister*. ARSI, Jap Sin 55, fol. 283v.

159 *Depois que por mandado do Cubo foram cõdenados a desterro e perdimento de bens os 14 fidalgos seus criados, começou tambem a devassa entre as donzelas do apço, das quais alguãs eram christãas. As principais se chamavam-se Julia, Luzia e Clara [...] A principal das teres era Julia huã Donzela Corea de naçam, pessoa de singular aviso e discríçam, e como tal estimada do Rey*. ARSI, Jap Sin, 57, fols. 243v–244. Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 243–45.

160 ARSI, Jap Sin, 57, fols. 243v–244.

161 *Verbas condicionaes que o deffunto Pero de Roveredo deixou em seu testamento -Tambem mando que dem a hua mossa casta coria por nome angela, que vendi a Dom Paulo de Portugal, 20 pesos de reales para seu cazamento. Verbas condicionaes que o deffunto Pero de Roveredo deixou em seu testamento -e outra mossa por nome Helena casta Coria que vendi a Francisco Pereira de Sá, cazado morador em Goa, mando que dem 20 pardaos de reales para seu resgate*. AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Pero Roveredo, fol. 10.

Another Korean who became famous was Marina Paccu/Pak. This woman arrived at Nagasaki between 1592 and 1597, a slave of the Japanese–Korean War. After converting to Christianity in 1606, she became an essential member of a Japanese religious female community. She made the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. After being tortured in Japan and becoming blind, she traveled to Manila, where she died, aged 74, on 25 May 1636.¹⁶² Although the majority of the slaves who were carried out of the country on Portuguese vessels did not return to Japan, some Korean women who were sold and taken to Macao would later return there. There is, for example, the case of an unknown Korean woman who, in 1599 (when she was 10 years old) had arrived as a slave to Yatsushiro, in Higo. In 1611, this woman traveled to Nagasaki to be sold to Macao, returning to Hokaura-machi, in the same Japanese city, in 1616. We do not know if she was released or if she bought her own freedom. She married another Korean former slave named Kawasakiya Suke'emon no Joo in 1616.¹⁶³ Kawasakiya Suke'emon no Joo had arrived in Japan in 1594 (when he was 12), and been taken to Okayama in Bizen, Japan, where he was later released. In 1614, Kawasakiya Suke'emon no Joo moved to Uwa-machi in Nagasaki. A girl named Tatsu (b. 1623) and a boy named Inosuke (b. 1626) were born to these two former slaves.¹⁶⁴

Another example of the Korean Diaspora can be identified in the Amboyna massacre (23 February to 9 March 1623). In this incident between the British East India Company and the Dutch East India Company (VOC), nine Japanese were executed in Ambon, including Hititso 24, Tsiosa 32, Sinsa 32, all mercenaries from Hirado, Quiandayo, a 32-year-old mercenary from Coraets,¹⁶⁵ Tsabinda, a 32-year-old mercenary from Tsonketgo,¹⁶⁶ Zanchoe, a 22-year-old mercenary from Fisien,¹⁶⁷ Sidney Migiel (Simon? Miguel), a 23-year-old employee of the British trading post in Ambon, Pedro Congie, a 31-year-old mercenary, and Thome Corea (Tome Coreano), a 50-year-old mercenary, all three from Nagasaki.¹⁶⁸

162 Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, pp. 245–48.

163 Hesselink, “An Anti-Christian Register from Nagasaki,” p. 35. *Hirado-machi ninbetsu seisho tadashi*.

164 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

165 Karatsu? (唐津).

166 Chikugo? (筑後).

167 Hizen? Hibari?

168 This information was kindly given to me by the historian Thomas Lockley. Elkanah Settle, *Insignia Bataviae, or, The Dutch trophies display'd being exact relations of the unjust, horrid, and most barbarous proceedings of the Dutch against the English in the East-Indies: whereby is plainly demonstrable what the English must expect from the Hollanders when at any time or place they become their masters* (London: Printed for Thomas Pyke in Pall-Mall; And are

However, a careful look at the names of the victims makes it possible to conclude that one of them, Thome Corea, was probably from Korea. Despite his claim to have been born in Nagasaki, his last name is Portuguese and means Korean; his date of birth is 1573, well before Toyotomi Hideyoshi's military campaign.

to be Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1688), p. 27 <<http://tei.it.ox.ac.uk/tcp/Texts-HTML/free/A59/A59322.html>> (accessed 17 April 2018).

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Wife of Gonzaemon	F	Korea	1583		1592 Shimabara 159? Nagasaki (Shimabara-machi)	Korea–Japan
Shichizo (son of Gonzaemon and his Korean wife)	M	Japan (Korean descendant)	1611			
Caio/Caius/Caio Coreia/Gayo Corea/ Gaio Corea/Cayo Coray	M	Korean	1571–72	1624-11- 15	1592 Tsushima Island (対馬) 1593–1600 Kyoto 16?? Osaka, Sakai, and Kanazawa 1624 Ōmura Nagasaki	Korea–Japan–Manila
Miguel Coreano/ Miguel Corea/Corai Miguel	M	Korea	1567? 1573?	23-11- 1614 Kuchi- notsu	1592–93 Nagasaki 1597 Korea 1598 Kuchinotsu 1614 Kuchinotsu	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
	Married to Gonzaemon (Japanese)	Ex-slave		Married to the Japanese Gonzaemon, this former Korean slave was born in 1583. Gonzaemon's father died in Korea in 1593. This former slave was taken to Shimabara-machi, and then to Nagasaki while she was still a child. She had a son named Shichizo, who married a Japanese whose name we do not know. Gonzaemon and his wife rented a house from Kichiemon Satō. She was converted to Christianity as a child and never apostatized.
	Married			Son of the Japanese Gonzaemon and his Korean wife. Shichizo married a Japanese woman. He was a Christian during his childhood but apostatized later.
	Single	Freed slave	<i>Dojuku</i> (catechist)	He entered the Buddhist priesthood at 12. Caio was a hermit before the war in Korea. In 1592, he was captured by the Japanese. In his trip to Japan he suffered a shipwreck near Tsushima Island and was brought to Kyoto almost dead. He became the slave of a Japanese woman. A relative of the said Japanese woman, named Caio Foyn/Soin helped him to recover. In Kyoto, Caio started to live in a Buddhist temple and became a monk of the Hokke (Nichiren) sect. He was baptized by Father Morejon in 1600 and became <i>dojuku</i> . He worked as catechist in Osaka, Sakai, and Kanazawa. In 1614, he accompanied Takayama Ukon to Manila. In 1616, he came back to Japan. He helped the Jesuits, hiding them in his home. Caius was accepted as a member by the leadership of the Jesuits while he was imprisoned. However, he was executed by being burned alive before this notice reached him.
	Married	Freed slave	Peasant	The Korean Miguel was martyred in Nagasaki. He appears in the list of Lope de Vega (see Bibliography). According to Trigault, he was 48 years old when he died in 1615, while Léon Pagès says he was 42. He was captured in 1592 and returned to Korea, accompanied by his owner, during the second Japanese invasion of 1597. He was baptized at Nagasaki. He came back to Japan and became manservant (<i>geboku</i>) in order to release his sister. He was released again and got married at Kuchinotsu, the place of his residence.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Sister of Miguel Coreano/Corea	F	Korea			1592 Nagasaki? 23-11-1614 Kuchinotsu	Korea–Japan
Miguel Coreano/ Miguel Corea/ Corai Miguel	M	Japan (Korean descendant)			23-11-1614 Kuchinotsu	
Andre Kurobee/ André Coreia	M	Korea	1575	02-09- 1622 Nagasaki	1592–93 Hakata; Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Kame	M	Korea	1584–86		1593 Nagasaki (Yaoya-machi in Nagasaki) 1642 (Hirado-machi in Nagasaki)	Korea–Japan
Polonia de Sigura	F	Indonesia	1570 Malacca		1593–1606 Lima, Peru	Malacca–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima
Kurubou	M	Mozam- bique?			1593–12 Sosaengpo, Korea, north of Pusan	Mozambique–India– Malacca–Macao–Nagasaki
Ventura Gonçalves	M	Japan			31-01-1593 Lisbon, Portugal	Nagasaki–Macao–Malacca– Goa–Lisbon

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
				He became member of the Confraria do Espírito Santo and assisted lepers. A letter contains the words of Michael at the time of his death. He was tortured and executed by beheading.
		Freed slave		Miguel Coreano's sister. Miguel, after being released by his owner, continued to serve him for a few more years in order to be able to free his sister. We know that she was present at the time of Miguel's death, along with Miguel's wife and mother-in-law.
	Single			There is a description of the miracle of the wheat after Coria Miguel's death and of a woman carrying a boy.
		Freed slave?	Sailor	Came to Japan around 1592/93. He was baptized by Father Pero Ramon at a church in Hakata. Later he lived in Nagasaki. He went to Hirado to save Father Luis Flores; yet, he failed. He executed by being burnt alive.
		Freed slave	Domestic servant	Kame was born c.1584–86 in Korea. In 1593, when still a child, she went to Yaoya-machi in Nagasaki. In 1642, she was living in Hirado-machi as the maidservant of widow Gennojō Takanishi (高西源之丞後家下女). She was probably baptized in 1593 and apostatized between 1629 and 1632.
Melchior de Sigura	Single	Freed slave?	Domestic	Arrived in Lima 13 years prior to living in Mexico (1593) to serve Melchior de Sigura.
	Married	Freed slave?	Merchant, mercenary	In July 1593, Hideyoshi ordered the commanders of the invading troops to build fortresses in the south of Korea. Kiyomasa built his castle in Sosaengpo, north of Pusan. It was from this region that, in December of that year, Kiyomasa sent a letter regarding maritime trade to Higo, in which he mentioned a Kurobou. In the <i>Vocabulário da Língua of Iapam</i> , Kurobō means Cafre or black man. This African had a wife and children in Higo, which means that he had probably married a Japanese woman.
	Married	Freed slave		Ventura Gonçalves married Maria Manuel.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Tomé	M	Japan			07-03-1593 Lisbon, Portugal	Nagasaki–Macao–Malacca– Goa–Lisbon
Unknown name	M	Japan			23-03-1593 Penedo das Fontes, Costa da Terra do Natal	Nagasaki–Macao–Malacca– Goa–Lisbon
Inês	F	Japan			1593 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao?
André Vaz	M	Japan			1593 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao?
Maria	F	China			1593–97 Macao	
Ana	F	China			1593–97 Macao	
Unknown name	M	Japan			1593 Goa	Nagasaki–Macao–Malacca– Goa
Unknown name	M	Japan			1593 Goa	Nagasaki–Macao–Malacca– Goa
Unknown name	M	Japan			1593 Goa	Nagasaki–Macao–Malacca– Goa
Clara de Campoverde	F	China	1576 Xangua		1593–1606 Lima	Macao–Manila–Acapulco– Lima

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Simão Carlos (Arménio)	Single	Slave		Tomé, a Japanese slave, was released by Simão Carlos, an Armenian. He worked in Lisbon's Nova Street as a goldsmith (<i>tirador de ouro</i>).
		Slave		Japanese slave who died during the trip.
Leonor da Fonseca		Slave	Domestic servant	Served Leonor da Fonseca.
Nicolau Cerveira, Governor of the Bishopric of China		Slave	Domestic servant	Nicolau Cerveira, Governor of the Bishopric of China.
Joana Pestana		Freed slave	Domestic servant	Slave who served Joana Pestana, and was born in her house. In Joana Pestana's testimony, one can learn that she was granted 50 <i>pardaos of reales</i> .
Joana Pestana		Freed slave	Domestic servant	Slave who served Joana Pestana, and was born in her house. In Joana Pestana's testimony, one can learn that she was granted 20 <i>pardaos of reales</i> .
		Slave	Domestic servant?	The annual letter of the Province of India, written in Goa by Francisco Cabral, on 15 November 1593, mentions the episode of three Japanese slaves who escaped from their Portuguese owner. Two of them were retaken, thanks to the intervention of a priest.
		Slave	Domestic slave?	The annual letter of the Province of India, written in Goa by Francisco Cabral, on 15 November 1593, mentions the episode of three Japanese slaves who escaped from their Portuguese owner. Two of them were retaken, thanks to the intervention of a priest.
		Slave	Domestic servant?	The annual letter of the Province of India, written in Goa by Francisco Cabral, on 15 November 1593, mentions the episode of three Japanese slaves who escaped from their Portuguese owner. Two of them were retaken, thanks to the intervention of a priest.
Diego Nunez de	Married to Francisco	Freed slave?	Domestic servant	Clara de Campoverde worked in Lima at the house of Diego de Nunez de Campoverde, for 13 years. Clara married an

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
			(Shanghai?) Sagwa? (region of Madhya Pradesh, India) Ilo- chagua, Java?			
Unknown name	M	India (of Portugal)	Salao?		1594–1606 Lima, Peru	
Unknown name	F	Korea			1594 Japan	Korea–Japan
Cosme Xapón	M	Japan			1594 Acapulco	Japan–Philippines– Acapulco
Úrsula Pereira	F	Japan	1560/64		1594 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao–Malacca– Goa
Apolónia	F	China			01-06-1594 Lisbon, Portugal	Macao–Malacca–Goa– Lisbon
Miguel Akahochi	M	Japan	1595 Tasoco?, Higo	1614-11- 23 Kuchi- notsu	1595 Higo ? Arima	
Basilio Vaz	M	China			1595 Goa	Macao–Malacca–Goa
Unknown name 1	M	Japan			29-11-1595 Goa	Macao–Malacca–Goa
Unknown name 2	M	Japan			29-11-1595 Goa	Macao–Malacca–Goa

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Campoverde	Xerez/Xuarez (Indian)			Indian named Francisco Xuarez. Another Chinese named Isabel de Campoverde also lived in this house.
Juan de Montenegro	Married to Justabian	Slave	Domestic servant	Served Juan de Montenegro for 12 years. This woman served at the house of Juan de Espinosa.
Japanese Christian master	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	This young Korean woman ran away from her Christian owner and he asked Saint Anthony of Padua to help him get her back. A few days later, she returned.
	Single	Freed slave?	Worked at the harbor	Worked at Acapulco harbor in 1594. He was paid for his services on 31 May 1594, the amount of 30 <i>pesos</i> and, on 30 November 1594, the amount of 45 <i>pesos</i> .
	Married	Freed slave	Maid (nanny)	Úrsula Pereira served at the house of a Portuguese woman from Macao, Leonor da Fonseca, and helped her raise her son for four months.
Alexandre de Sousa		Freed slave	Domestic servant	Alexandre de Sousa freed a Chinese slave named Apolónia, whom this merchant had brought from India.
Japanese Christian	Single	Slave	Servant	Miguel was of noble birth. As a child, he was taken prisoner during the war and sold to a Christian trader from Arima. He tried to help the Christians who were in prison and asked to be arrested. Although initially rejected, due to his insistence he was imprisoned and died as a martyr.
		Slave		This slave was accused by the Inquisition of Goa of speaking against the Christian religion.
		Slave		Six Japanese slaves were released in Goa by a Jesuit (four women and two men). Three others Japanese women were freed by merchants in Goa. The same text reveals that Japanese women commanded very high prices.
		Slave		Six Japanese slaves were released in Goa by a Jesuit (four women and two men). Three other Japanese women were freed by merchants in Goa. The same text reveals that Japanese women commanded very high prices.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Unknown name 3	F	Japan			29-11-1595 Goa	Macao–Malacca–Goa
Unknown name 4	F	Japan			29-11-1595 Goa	Macao–Malacca–Goa
Unknown name 5	F	Japan			29-11-1595 Goa	Macao–Malacca–Goa
Unknown name 6	F	Japan			29-11-1595 Goa	Macao–Malacca–Goa
Unknown name 1	F	Japan			29-11-1595 Goa	Macao–Malacca–Goa
Unknown name 2	F	Japan			29-11-1595 Goa	Macao–Malacca–Goa
Unknown name 6	F	Japan			29-11-1595 Goa	Macao–Malacca–Goa
Old man Kawasakiya M Suke'emon no Jō		Korea	1583	?	1595 Bizen, Okayama 1614 Uwa-machi in Nagasaki 1642 Hirado-machi in Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Wife of old man Kawasakiya	F	Korea	1589	?	1599 Yatsushiro, in Higo	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
		Slave		Six Japanese slaves were released in Goa by a Jesuit (four women and two men). Three other Japanese women were freed by merchants in Goa. The same text reveals that Japanese women commanded very high prices.
		Slave		Six Japanese slaves were released in Goa by a Jesuit (four women and two men). Three other Japanese women were freed by merchants in Goa. The same text reveals that Japanese women commanded very high prices.
		Slave		Six Japanese slaves were released in Goa by a Jesuit (four women and two men). Three other Japanese women were freed by merchants in Goa. The same text reveals that Japanese women commanded very high prices.
		Slave		Six Japanese slaves were released in Goa by a Jesuit (four women and two men). Three other Japanese women were freed by merchants in Goa. The same text reveals that Japanese women commanded very high prices.
		Slave		Six Japanese slaves were released in Goa by a Jesuit (four women and two men). Three other Japanese women were freed by merchants in Goa. The same text reveals that Japanese women commanded very high prices.
		Slave		Six Japanese slaves were released in Goa by a Jesuit (four women and two men). Three other Japanese women were freed by merchants in Goa. The same text reveals that Japanese women commanded very high prices.
		Slave		Six Japanese slaves were released in Goa by a Jesuit (four women and two men). Three other Japanese women were freed by merchants in Goa. The same text reveals that Japanese women commanded very high prices.
	Married	Ex-slave		Kawasakiya Suke'emon no Joo was born in Korea in 1583. In 1595 (aged 12), Joo was taken to Bizen, Japan, where he became a slave but was later released. In 1614, he moved to Uwa-machi in Nagasaki. His wife was probably a Korean woman. This marriage brought forth a girl, Tatsu (1623), and a boy, Inosuke (1626). He was probably baptized in 1614 and apostatized in 1629–32.
	Married	Ex-slave		The wife of Kawasakiya Suke'emon no Jō was probably a Korean woman who, in 1599 (when she was 10 years old)

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Suke'emon no Jō					16?? Nagasaki 1611 Macao, 1616 Hokaure- machi in Nagasaki 1642 Hirado-machi in Nagasaki	
Tatsu Kawasakiya	F	Japan (Korean descendant)	1623		1642 Nagasaki (Hirado-machi)	
Minosuke Kawasakiya	M	Japan (Korean descendant)	1626		1642 Nagasaki (Hirado-machi)	
Unknown name	M	India	1581 Kochi		1596?–1606 Lima, Peru	Malacca–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima
Francisco “Córdoba”	M	Japan			1596	Japan–Philippines– Córdoba/Argentine
Roerto Rodriguez	M	India	1566 Guzarat		06-10-1596 Manila	Acapulco/Mexico– Córdoba/Argentine Goa/Kochi–Malacca– Macao–Nagasaki–Manila
Unknown name	M	China			1596 Malaca	Malacca–Manila
Unknown name	M	Korea			1596 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
				had arrived as a slave to Yatsushiro, in Higo. In 1611, she traveled to Nagasaki to be sold to Macao, and in 1616 returned to Hokaura-machi. It is likely that she married Joo after this period and managed to buy her freedom. This marriage brought forth a girl, Tatsu (1623), and a boy, Inosuke (1626). She was probably baptized between 1611 and 1616 and apostatized in 1629–32.
	Single			Daughter of old man “Korean” Sukeemon. She was probably baptized in 1623 (?) and apostatized in 1629–32.
	Single			Son of old man “Korean” Sukeemon. He was probably baptized in 1626 (?) and apostatized in 1629–32.
Cristóbal Lopez de Bergara, Juan Anton, Andres Lopez de Arcaya	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	This slave, whose name is unknown, was sold by the wife of the Spaniard Juan Anton to Andres Lopez de Arcaya. He came to Lima at the same time as the Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco (1596?), brought by Cristóbal de Bergara. He was iron-marked on the face.
		Slave		One of the first Japanese slaves to reach America. His name was Francisco and he lived in Córdoba, Argentina.
Francisco Rodrigues Pinto		Freed slave		Worked for Francisco Rodrigues Pinto in Nagasaki. He was a witness at the accusation of the New Christian Rui Pérez, in Manila.
Diego de Chaves		Slave		In 1596, the Malacca ship commanded by the Portuguese Manuel Dias de Monforte carried more than 300 slaves. As far as the origin of the slaves is concerned, the Spanish and Portuguese sources are unclear: we know that many Africans arrived and their leader was Father Francisco de Castro, one of the crew in this vessel who described how Captain Diego de Chaves bought a baptized Chinese slave in the Philippines.
		Freed slave		In 1626, persecution forced many Christians in Nagasaki to seek refuge in the mountains. The leaders of this group were the Japanese João Machida and Tomas Goto. Among the escapees was a Korean who had lived in Japan for 30 years.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Ichibee	M	Korea	1590	1652 Bizen Nakasuka	1596–97 Japan	Korea–Japan
Unknown name	M	Korea			1597 Fuximi	Korea–Japan
António Pereira	M	China		1597 Lisbon	07-05-1597 Lisbon, Portugal	Macao–Malacca–Goa– Lisbon
António Corea	M	Korea			1597 Rome	Korea–Nagasaki–Macao– Malacca–Goa–Lisbon– Florence–Rome
Unknown name	M	Japan			1597 Goa	Korea–Nagasaki–Macao– Malacca–Goa–Lisbon
Pablo (Benpaer)	M	India, Bengal?	1567	Bangla- desh/ Bengal?	1597 Mexico City	Kochi–Malacca–Macao– Nagasaki–Manila–Mexico
Gaspar	M	Korea	1579		09-06-1597 Manila	Korea–Nagasaki–Hirado– Manila
Ventura	M	Japan	Nagasaki?		1597 Mexico City	Nagasaki–Hirado–Manila– Acapulco–Mexico City
Miguel Jerónimo	M	Japan	Nagasaki?	1602/03?	1597 Mexico City	Nagasaki–Hirado–Manila– Acapulco–Mexico City

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
		Freed slave	<i>Komono</i> of a samurai (<i>bushi</i>), a pack-horse driver (<i>umakata</i>)	He was captured by a vassal of the family Ukita called Kakuzemon Ishizu, and came to Japan to serve as a slave (1596/97). After he served Hisaemon Nasu, and accompanied him to Nagasaki in 1612 or 1613, he changed his religion. However, he later committed apostasy in 1640. He died in prison.
		Freed slave?		A young Korean from Fuximi, who traveled to Kyoto looking for the Society of Jesus to give him confession. He was guided by a Japanese Christian who eventually heard his confession.
Archbishop of Lisbon		Slave	Domestic servant	The Chinese slave named António Pereira, property of the Archbishop of Lisbon, died in 1597.
Francesco Carletti	Single	Slave		Korean slave taken by Carletti to Rome.
Francesco Carletti	Single	Slave		Japanese slave taken by Carletti to Goa.
Rui Pérez	Single	Slave (from 1587)	Cook	Was purchased in Kochi by Rui Pérez. Traveled to several cities until reaching Mexico. Summoned by the Inquisition to testify against his owner, he decided to protect him and, after returning home, warned his master that he was being accused of Judaism.
Rui Pérez	Single	Slave	Domestic slave	Worked for Rui Pérez in Nagasaki. Enslaved as a result of the Japanese–Korean War of 1592–97. Sold in Nagasaki when he was 13 years old.
Rui Pérez	Single	Slave	Domestic slave	Bought in Nagasaki, where he lived for a period of time, and then went to America, still as a slave.
Rui Pérez (1594–97), Martin de Birviesca Roldan (1597–?)	Single	Slave	Domestic slave	Bought in Nagasaki, where he lived for a period of time, and then went to America, still as a slave.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Unknown name	M	Mozambique?			1597 Mexico City	Mozambique–India– Malacca–Macao–Nagasaki– Manila–Mexico City
Unknown name	M	Mozambique			1597 Mexico City	Mozambique–India– Malacca–Macao–Nagasaki (1588–91)–Manila– Mexico City
Sebastián de Pereda	M	China	Canton		1597 Seville, Spain	Macao–Manila–Mexico– Spain
Madalena	F	Japan	1579		07-12-1597 Manila	Nagasaki–Manila
Filha de Madalena	F	Japan			07-12-1597 Manila	Nagasaki–Manila
Jerónimo Xapon	M	Japan	1579		07-12-1597 Manila	Nagasaki–Manila
Maria Xapona	F	Japan	1582		07-12-1597 Manila	Nagasaki–Manila
Juan Jorge	M	Japan	1560 Hirado		03-07-1597 Manila	Nagasaki–Manila
Manuel	M	Japan	1578		25-09-1598 Lisbon, Portugal	Macao–Malacca–Goa– Lisbon
Unknown name	M	Canarin? Java?	1574		28-09-1598 Nagasaki	Malacca–Macao–Nagasaki

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Rui Pérez		Slave		Worked for Rui Pérez in Nagasaki.
Baltazar de Garcês		Slave	Calafate ¹	Met the Pérez family in Nagasaki.
Francisco de Ortega (Augustinian friar)	Single	Freed slave?	Servant	A Chinese, named Sebastián de Pereda, from Canton, asked for permission to travel from Seville to the Philippines. The date was 22 May 1597. Permission was given on 29 May 1597. He was a servant of the Augustinian friar Francisco de Ortega, and traveled with him to the Philippines.
Diego Fernández Vitoria		Slave	Domestic servant	Slave of the merchant Diego Fernández Vitoria.
Diego Fernández Vitoria		Slave	Domestic servant	Slave of the merchant Diego Fernández Vitoria.
Diego Fernández Vitoria		Slave	Domestic servant	Slave of the merchant Diego Fernández Vitoria.
Diego Fernández Vitoria		Slave	Domestic servant	Slave of the merchant Diego Fernández Vitoria.
Viúva de Gaspar Gonçalves, pilot of the Carreira da Índia		Freed slave?		Witnessed against Diego Fernández Vitoria.
Gaspar Gonçalves, pilot of the Carreira da Índia		Freed slave	Domestic servant	The widow (Margarida Fernandes) of Gaspar Gonçalves, a Carreira da Índia pilot, freed a Japanese slave named Manuel on 25 September 1598.
Francisco Rodrigues Pinto	Married	Slave	Domestic servant	Francisco Rodrigues Pinto's slave, resident in Nagasaki. This slave was married.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Tome (Valdes)	M	Japan	1576 Nagasaki		03-12-1598 Mexico City	Nagasaki (1588–91)– Manila–Acapulco–Mexico City (1595)
Manuel Japón	M	Japan			1599 Seville?	Japan–Spain
Paulo Japón	M	Japan			1599 Seville?	Japan–Spain
Unknown name	M	Korea			159? 1602 Hakata	Korea–Japan
Unknown name	F	Korea			159? 1603 Himeji	Korea–Japan
Isabel de Sigura	F	China	1584		159?–1606 Lima	Macao–Manila–Acapulco– Lima
Paulo	M	Korea			159? 1606 Gotou	Korea–Japan
Ana	F	Korea	1556?		159? 1606 Gotou	Korea–Japan
Úrsula	F	Korea		1606 Gotou	159? 1606 Gotou	Korea–Japan
Maria	F	Korea			159? 19-01-1607 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Unknown name 1	F	Korea			159? 19-01-1607 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Captain Antonio Alçola, Clemente de Vloes		Slave		Tome Valdes was a Japanese slave from Nagasaki, who, after being sold in Manila, was sent to the Americas. Lived in Mexico City.
		Freed slave?	Merchant?	Esteban de Cabrera (Chinese) claimed in his last will he was from Canton, China. He further affirmed that the Japanese Manuel Japón owed him money. It is likely that he was also living in the region of Seville, where Esteban de Cabrera wrote his will.
		Freed slave?	Merchant?	Esteban de Cabrera further affirmed that the Japanese Paulo Japón owed him money. It is likely that he was also living in the region of Seville, where Esteban de Cabrera wrote his will.
		Freed slave	Catechist	In Hakata, a Korean Christian returned to Korea with a Chinese catechism to teach his fellow countrymen.
		Freed slave	Domestic servant	After serving a pagan owner for two years she went into the service of a Christian family.
Melchior de Sigura	Married to Marcos de Aragon (Meztizo)	Freed slave?	Domestic servant	She was born in China in a place she did not know. She first lived in the house of Melchior de Sigura, in Lima, when he was still a child. Married to Marcos de Aragon. Her husband worked in the mines. There were no children from this marriage.
Manservant of Goshima	Married to Ana (Korean)	Freed slave	Domestic servant, gardener	Husband of Ana. He prepared an altar at his house where Korean Christians gathered to pray. He converted Koreans and Japanese to Christianity.
	Married to Paulo (Korean)	Freed slave	Domestic servant	She was a maidservant (<i>gejo</i>) of Mr. Goshima and was also Paulo's wife. She changed her religion.
		Freed slave		Úrsula, a Korean, died in the islands of Goto after being visited by a cleric. She had been a Christian for several years.
Bernardino de Avila Girón		Slave	Domestic servant	Bernardino de Avila Girón had five slaves in his home in Nagasaki, of which Maria was one. She lived near the parish of Santa Maria.
Bernardino de Avila Girón		Slave	Domestic servant	One of five slaves Bernardino de Avila Girón had in his home in Nagasaki.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Unknown name 2	F	Korea			159? 19-01-1607 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Unknown name 3	F	Korea			159? 19-01-1607 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Unknown name 4	F	Korea			159? 19-01-1607 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Unknown name	F	Korea			159? 1607 Amakusa	Korea–Japan
Mother of Yokose Mago'emon no Jō	F	China		1607 Nagasaki	15?? Nagasaki 1607 Nagasaki	China/Macao–Japan
Father of Yokose Mago'emon no Jō	M	China		1612	15?? Nagasaki 1612 Nagasaki (Hamano-machi)	China/Macao–Japan
Unknown name	F	Korea			159? 1608 Bitchū	Korea–Japan
Unknown name	F	Japan (Korean descendant)			159? 1608 Bitchū	
Unknown name	M	Korea			159? 1609 Yatsushiro	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Bernardino de Avila Girón		Slave	Domestic servant	One of five slaves Bernardino de Avila Girón had in his home in Nagasaki.
Bernardino de Avila Girón		Slave	Domestic servant	One of five slaves Bernardino de Avila Girón had in his home in Nagasaki.
Bernardino de Avila Girón		Slave	Domestic servant	One of five slaves Bernardino de Avila Girón had in his home in Nagasaki.
Japanese Christian master	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	The 1607 <i>Carta Ânua</i> mentions a Korean slave who served a Japanese from Amakusa. This Korean woman behaved in a troublesome way and did not obey her owners, nor speak to them politely. After the conversion of the Japanese owners to Christianity, the Korean slave also intended to convert, but her owner did not agree to her becoming a Christian until she changed her behavior. She did so and was converted to Christianity.
<i>Wokou</i> (Japanese pirate)	Married	Ex-slave		Yokose Mago'emom no Jō's mother was Chinese and had been kidnapped by pirates and brought to Nagasaki where she was baptized and died in 1607, in Hamano-machi.
<i>Wokou</i>	Married	Ex-slave		Yokose Mago'emom no Jō's father was Chinese and had been kidnapped by pirates and brought to Nagasaki where he was baptized and died in 1612, in Hamano-machi.
	Married to a Japanese Christian	Freed slave		Her Korean mother married a Japanese Christian.
		Single		Daughter of a Japanese father and Korean mother.
		Slave	Executioner	This slave cut off the head of Pedro, aged 6, after three executioners refused to do it. Pedro was the son of the Japanese Christian João Hattori Jingorō, also executed at that time.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Tome Gunnai	M	Korea	1588?		159? 1613 Saga	Korea–Japan
Maxime/Maxima/ Mashima/Maxence	F	Korea			159? 1613 Arima	Korea–Japan
Joaquin Hachikuan/ Hoakin Hachikan/ Jouchin Hachikan	M	Korea		16-08- 1613 Edo Torigoe	159? 1609 Edo	Korea–Japan
Ana	F	Korea			159? 1609 Edo	Korea–Japan
Mother of Shigebee	F	Korea		1613	159? Ōmura 1613 Ōmura	Korea–Japan
Shigebee	M	Japan (Korean descendant)			1628 Nagasaki (Ōmura-machi)	
Pedro Coreano/ Pedro Corea/Pedro Jinkurō	M	Korea	1577? 1582?	23-11- 1614 Kuchi- notsu	1592?/95? 1614 Kuchinotsu	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
		Freed slave	Peasant	He was baptized at a Dominican church in Saga in June 1613. His wife was called Ana. Later he was expelled and went to Nagasaki.
		Freed slave	Domestic servant	Maxima was the maidservant of Naozumi Arima's wife and refused the rosary that a monk gave her, berating him. In 1613 she was imprisoned at the magistrate's office. She was tortured while imprisoned.
	Married to Ana (Korean)	Freed slave	Catechist	He was baptized with his wife Ana (also a Korean) by Father Alonso de la Madre de Dios in 1609. Lived in Yedo. He was the leader in hiding Father Luis Sotelo (in his own house). Was arrested because of his Christian faith. Hachikan became one of the Franciscan brotherhood leaders in Edo, as a member of the <i>Cofradía del Cordón y Llagas</i> . Part of the first Korean martyrdom. He died from decapitation.
	Married to Joaquin Hachikuan/Hoakin Hachikan/Jouchin Hachikan	Freed Slave		She was baptized by Father Alonso de la Madre de Dios in 1609. After Joaquin Hachikuan/Hoakin Hachikan/Jouchin Hachikan was decapitated, she disappeared from the records. She died in Ōmura in 1613. Shigebē's mother was Korean. Shigebē went to Ōmura-machi, Nagasaki, in 1628.
		Freed slave	Indigent, destitute, peasant?	He was captured as a teenager at the age of 15. He went to Kuchinotsu after coming to Japan, and was converted to Christianity. He did not have his own house as he enjoyed a wandering life. He was found in a rented/borrowed room, and was tortured and beheaded. According to Trigault, he was 38 years old when he died in 1615. According to Léon Pagès, he was 33.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Manuel, Manoel	M	Korea	1592		159? 159? Sunpu 1612 Edo 1614 Sunpu 1615 Osaka 1616 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Miguel	M	Korea			159? 1616 Hirado	Korea–Japan
Toma/Tomas	M	Korea			159? Nagasaki 1614? Manila 1618 Japan	
Pedro Arizō	M	Korea	1591	21-06- 1619? 19-07- 1619? Kubara or Suzuta	159? Ōmura 21-06-1619 Kubara or Suzuta	Korea–Japan
Tome Shōsaku	M	Korea		21-06- 1619 Kubara or Suzuta	159? Ōmura 21-06-1619 Kubara or Suzuta	Korea–Japan
Cosme Taquea/ Cosme Takeya Sōzaburō	M	Korea		18-11- 1619 Nagasaki	159? Japan 1619 Nagasaki	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
		Freed slave?		Deaf person. His parents were <i>tatami</i> (mat) makers, living in Sunpu. In 1612 he was baptized at Edo. In 1614, he went back to Sunpu, only to be disowned. He started living among Christians and for a time he was chased, imprisoned, and then freed. In 1616, he was in Nagasaki (he came from Osaka). He was instructed by the Franciscans in the Christian faith and communicated with other Koreans through sign language.
		Freed slave	Interpreter	Interpreter at the British trading house in Hirado.
Single		Freed slave	Ex- <i>komono</i> , Jesuit	Child of a noble family. He was brought up by the Jesuits. Later he went to Manila. In 1618, he returned to Japan.
Single		Ex-slave	Page (<i>koshou</i>) cashier (勘定係)	He was born in 1591 and was captured between 1592 and 1598. As an adult, he worked as a page (<i>koshou</i> , cashier). Was a vassal of the Ōmura family. He was a member of the Brotherhood of the Rosary, and in Edo became a steward of the Brotherhood of the Cord of San Francisco. He was assisted by a servant named Thomas Cozacu. Died from beheading.
		Freed slave		Peasant in Suzuta village. Member of Guild of Rosario. He was decapitated.
Married		Freed slave	Catechist	Cosme Taquea was taken to Nagasaki where he was sold to a Japanese nobleman at the age of 11, as a result of the Japanese–Korean War of 1592–97. He was released after serving a Japanese lord for a period of time. After being converted to Christianity, he gave shelter to Fathers Angel Orsucci and Juan de Santo Domingo at his home. He became the clerics's Japanese teacher. He was burned at the stake after his connection with the secret network of aid to the clerics was discovered.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Agnes Takeya/Ines Takeya	F	Korea	1580	09-10- 1622 Nagasaki	159? Chikugo 09-10-1622 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Francisco Takeya (フ ランシスコ竹屋)	M	Japan (descendant of Korean parents)	1609	12-09- 1622	1609 Nagasaki	
Julia Ota	F	Korea			159? Fushimi, Sumpu, 1612 Ajiro, Kōzu, 1616–17 Nagasaki 1621 Osaka	Korea–Japan
António de Corea/ Antonius Hamano- machi “O Corea”/ Genzaemon (Japanese name)	M	Korea		10-09- 1622? 19-08- 1622-? Nagasaki	159? Isahaya 1622 Nagasaki (Hama- machi)	Korea–Japan
Maria (wife of António de Corea)	F	Japan	1579 Odamura, Hizen	10-09- 1622? 19-08- 1622-? Nagasaki	1622 Nagasaki (Hama- machi)	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
	Married	Freed slave		She was baptized by Father Gregorio de Céspedes in Chikūgo. Later she came to Nagasaki and got married to Cosme Takue (Cosme Takeya)/Cosme Takeya Sozaburō (d. 18 November 1619). She was a layperson of the archdiocese of Nagasaki and member of the Brotherhood of the Rosary, Dominican Order. She was decapitated.
	Single			Son of Cosme and Ines. He was adopted soon after the martyrdom of his father.
Yukinaga Konishi	Single	Freed slave	Maid-servant of Ieyasu Tokugawa	She was captured by Yukinaga Konishi and brought up by his wife, changing her religion. She was baptized by Father Morejón. Later she lived in Fushimi and Sumpu, serving Ieyasu Tokugawa. In 1612, she was sentenced to deportation to Ajiro, an island of Kōzu. She came back to the main island in 1616 or 1617, heading for Nagasaki. In 1621 she lived in Osaka.
	Married to Maria (Japanese from Higo)	Freed Slave	Catechist	Enslaved during the Japanese–Korean War of 1592–97. He was brought to Isahaya by a Japanese. He was later taken to Nagasaki to be sold to a Japanese nobleman. He was converted to Christianity by Father Rui Barreto, but was released for being honest; his owner gave him a Japanese slave named Maria to marry and some money to start his business. António went to the Hamano-machi region, one of the poorest areas of Nagasaki, and became a respected trader. He also became a catechist and assisted Father Kimura and a member of the Brotherhood of the Rosary in the city. António, his wife Maria and children (Juan/João 12 and Pedro 3) were sentenced to death because of their religion. João was his adopted son. The Japanese Leonardo Kimura wrote an interesting letter in Japanese about “Hamanomachi Antonio” (25 October 1619).
	Married to António de Corea	Freed slave		António de Corea was married to the Japanese Maria. Maria was from Odamura in Hizen, where she was born in 1579. She was sold as a slave in Nagasaki around 1583/84. She converted to Christianity and assisted her husband António.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Pai de António de Corea/Antonius Hamanomachi “O Corea”	M	Korea?			159? Nagasaki	Korea–Japan ?
Mãe de António de Corea/Antonius Hamanomachi “O Corea”	F	Korea?			159? Nagasaki	Korea–Japan ?
Pedro (son of António de Corea and Maria)	M	Japan (Korean descendant)	1619	10-09-1622? 19-08-1622? Nagasaki	1619 Nagasaki (Hamamachi)	
Servant of António de Corea	F	Korea			1621 Nagasaki (Hamamachi)	
Slaves of Dominga Ogata		Japanese?/ Korean?			1621 Nagasaki (Hamamachi)	
Catarina	F	Japanese	1574 Chikūgo, Higo	10-09-1622? 19-08-1622? Nagasaki	1621 Nagasaki (Hamamachi)	
Ioannes Yagō/ João Yāgo	M	Korea		19-08-1622 Nagasaki	159? 19-08-1622 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
		Freed slave?		Léon Pagès mentions that António de Corea released a Korean slave who belonged to his parents. This information leads one to conclude that António de Corea's parents lived in Japan and were captured with him during the Japanese–Korean War.
		Freed slave?		Léon Pagès mentions that António de Corea released a Korean slave who belonged to his parents. This information leads one to conclude that António de Corea's parents lived in Japan and were captured with him during the Japanese–Korean War.
	Single			António married Maria, a Japanese from Higo. They had two children. The eldest was called João (adopted child) and the second was Pedro.
		Freed slave	Servant	This maid from Korea worked at the house of António de Corea and accused him of trying to gain money from the Nagasaki authorities as a reward for finding hidden clerics. Dominga Ogata was married to Domingos Ogata, a Japanese Christian. She was born in Nagasaki in 1586, and christened eight days after her birth. Her husband died when she was still young but she remained single. She lived on the same street as António de Corea. Before her death, she freed all her slaves and sent away the servants. She died in Nagasaki (19 August or 10 September 1622?).
	Widow	Freed slave		Catarina was born in Chikūgo, became a slave, and was sold in Nagasaki. She was converted to Christianity. She married a Japanese and lived in Nagasaki (Hamamachi). She also died in 1622.
		Freed slave	Sailor/ merchant	Layperson of the archdiocese of Nagasaki; member of the Brotherhood of the Rosary. He was baptized at a church in the parish of San Pedro (1604/14). He went to Manila for negotiations. When he was on his way back on Hirayama Jōchin's ship, he was captured by a Dutch and English ship and was imprisoned at Hirado. He was then decapitated.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Unknown name	M	Korean			159? 1623 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Unknown name	M	Japan			1624 Ahuacatlán, Mexico	Japan–Philippines–Mexico?
Catarina/Catarina Kuzaemon/ Catherine Cazay- emon/Madalena	F	Korea		15-11- 1624 Dewa Innai	159? 15-11-1624 Dewa Uto	Korea–Japan
Cisto Kuzaemon/ Sixto Cazayemon/ Sisto Cazayemon/ Sixto Coray	M	Korea		15-11- 1624 Dewa Innai	159? 15-11-1624 Dewa Uto	Korea–Japan
Martinho	M	Korea			159? 1626 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Vicente Caun/ Vincentius Kaun/ Vicente Kaun Khee/ Vicente Coreia/ Vicente Cafioye	M	Korea	c.1579 Seoul	05-06- 1626? 20-07- 1626? Nagasaki	1592 Shiki 1626-06-05 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
	Single	Freed slave	<i>Dojuku</i>	Persecution. Nagasaki jail housed one farmer arrested for sheltering a priest in his house and a Korean who had been a <i>dojuku</i> for the Society of Jesus (it is not known whether he was as a slave or not, but he might have been). Two other Dominican priests were arrested at the house of a farmer outside of, but close to, Nagasaki. On February 1624, "a Japanese that was and is in said village [Ahuacatlán] who was baptized around four years ago" (<i>un Japón que estaba y está en el dicho pueblo [Ahuacatlán] que abrá cuatro años que se bautizó</i>). We do not know the origin of this Japanese. He might have been a member of the Hasekura delegation.
	Married to Cisto Kuzaemon	Freed slave?		Wife of Cisto Kuzaemon. Died by decapitation.
	Married to a Korean woman named Catarina or Madalena	Freed slave?		He was executed with other 16 people at Shimo Innai, a part of the territory of Satake. His wife, Catarina, was killed the same day. He died by decapitation.
Society of Jesus		Freed slave?	Jesuit <i>ex-dojuku</i>	He had his house searched in 1626. He refused apostasy.
		Freed slave	<i>Dojuku</i> , brother	Child of a noble family. He was captured by the troops of Yukinaga Konishi and sent to Shiki. He was offered to the priests to be educated and was baptized by Father Morejon in 1603. He studied at the seminary and became a <i>dojuku</i> . He was very talented in science. He worked for the evangelization of Koreans and Japanese. In 1612/14? he went to Beijing, where he stayed for four years. He could not enter Korea and returned to Japan in 1620 and in 1621 he was back in Nagasaki. He was the companion and the catechist of Father Zola. He was killed by being burned alive.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Tsuji Shōbyōe/ Gaspar Vaz/Vas	M	Korea		16-08- 1627	159? 16-08-1627 Nagasaki	Korea–Nagasaki (Daiku-machi)
Thomas Sato (or JinYemon)/ Tomas Gaio Jinemon	M	Korea		16-08- 1627	159? 16-08-1627 Nagasaki	Korea–Nagasaki
Caius/Caio Akashi Jiemon/Caius Jiyemon	M	Korea		16/17-08- 1627	159? 16/17-08-1627 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Antonio Neretti/ Antono Norot	M	Korea			159? 1600 Nagasaki 1627 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Isabela/Isabel/Isabel F Coreia		Korea			159? Nagasaki 1629 Mt. Unzen	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
	Married to Maria (Japanese? Korean)	Freed slave	Catechist	Layperson of the archdiocese of Nagasaki. He was captured when he was very young by the Japanese and sold to a Portuguese man from Macao. He was raised in Macao by a Portuguese family and some years later he traveled to Japan. His wife was Maria, a native of Nagasaki. (José Sicardo in <i>Christiandad del Japon, y dilatada persecucion que padecio</i> says she was Korean, p. 332.) He was obliged to sell his house because he was accused of hiding priests. In 1607, he bought a second house using the name of Francisco Coufloye, his friend. During the next 20 years he served as a host of Franciscan and Dominican monks. He was discovered in May 1627, hiding the priest Francisco de Santa Maria, and was burned alive in Nagasaki.
	Single	Freed slave	Catechist	Thomas Sato was a layperson of the archdiocese of Nagasaki; member of the Secular Franciscans and host of Father Bartazar de Torres of the Society of Jesus. Died by burning in Nagasaki.
	Single	Freed slave	Catechist	A former Korean monk who had been captured by the Japanese. Came to Nagasaki and became a catechist for the Dominicans and also for the Franciscans. Both religious orders claimed him. He belonged to the care network for the clerics. Caio hid Father Torres in his house.
Orazio Neretti		Freed slave	Catechist	The Korean Antonio Neretti was probably, for a period of time, the slave of Orazio Neretti, who in 1600 traveled from Macao to Nagasaki as Head Captain. He was representing Dom Paulo de Portugal, the temporary Head Captain from Macao. Antonio Neretti was the interpreter employed by Mizuno Morinobu. He examined the letters of a small junk with correspondence from Macao. He was described as a “shaved bonze” by Willem Jansz. He was fluent in Portuguese and Latin and received a Catholic education.
		Freed slave?		She lived in Nagasaki. She was tortured at Mt. Unzen (Unzendake) in 1629. She was obliged to apostatize by the Governor of Nagasaki.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Francisco/Francisco Chingalais	M	Ceylon		1629 near Mt. Unzen	159?/16?? Nagasaki	Ceylon–Cambodia–Japan
Paulo/Paulo Coreia	M	Korea	1570	12-01-1630 Shiki	159? 1630 Shiki	Korea–Japan
Son of Paulo of Shiki	M	Japan? (Korean descendant)			1630 Shiki	
Unknown name	F	Korean		?-09-1631	159? Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Unknown name	F	Korean			159? 1632 Uguen?	Korea–Japan
Bastian/Bastião/Sebastião	M	Korea			159? 1633 Nagasaki?	Korea–Japan
Juan Ichibē/João Coreia/Juan Coria	M	Korea		15-08-1633 Nagasaki	159? 15-08-1633 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
Wife of Juan (João) Ichibē	F	Korea			159?	Korea–Japan
Father of Jinzaemon	M	Korea		1633 Nagasaki	159? Ōmura 1633 Nagasaki (Edo-machi in Nagasaki)	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
		Slave		Francisco was from Ceylon and was sold as a child to a merchant who took him to Cambodia. He was converted to Christianity there and was brought by a Japanese merchant to Japan and given (probably resold) to an inhabitant of Nagasaki. He married in Nagasaki. In 1629, he was among a group of 64 Christians sent to Mount Unzen. The Korean Isabel/ Isabela was in the same group. He died before arriving at his destination.
	Married	Freed slave		He came to Japan during 1592–93. He was captured at his son's house in the end of December 1629. He died by drowning. Son of Paulo. His father was captured in his house. We don't know what happened to him; however, he was still alive when Paulo died.
	Married to a Japanese named Iuã	Freed slave		A group of five Japanese died in the martyrdom that killed Priest Paulo Saito of the Society of Jesus. Only two of them in this group had their first names registered as "Iuã" (João? Juan?). One of them was married to a Korean woman who also died in the same martyrdom. Her name has not been registered either.
	Married	Freed slave		A Korean woman refused to apostatize after her husband refused to apostatize. She was tortured with stones and water, but was later freed.
		Freed slave		He worked as an interpreter for the Dutch in Japan.
	Married to a Korean woman	Ex-slave		<i>Dojuku</i> of Father Francisco de Garcia of the Order of Saint Augustine. His wife was a member of the third group of the same order. He also participated in the Christian network that protected the priests. In his house they found P. Diego de S. Maria. He was burned to death.
	Married to Juan (João) Ichibē			Married to Juan (João) Ichibē, <i>dojuku</i> of Father Francisco de Garcia of the Order of Saint Augustine. Member of the third group of the same order.
	Married	Ex-slave		Jinzaemon's father was born in Korea and was taken to Ōmura as a child. In this city, he was baptized and apostatized around 1629–32. He died in Edo-machi, Nagasaki, in 1633.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Mother of Jinzaemon	F	Korea			159? Ōmura 1633 Nagasaki (Edo-machi in Nagasaki) 1642 (Shimabara-machi in Nagasaki)	Korea–Japan
Jinzaemon	M	Japan (Korean descendant)	1614		1642 Nagasaki (Hirado-machi)	
Kauja Uba/Kourai Kauja Uba	M	Korea		13-02- 1634 Hiro- shima	159? 13-02-1634 Hiroshima	Korea–Japan
Marina Paccu/ Marina Pak	F	Korea		25-05- 1636	159? Nagasaki 1606 Kyoto 1614–36 Manila	Korea–Nagasaki–Manila
António Martins (<i>o bonzo</i>)	M	Korea		11-10- 1638- Nagasaki	159? 11-10-1638 Nagasaki	Korea–Nagasaki
Father of Matsu	M	Korea			159? 1601 Hizen 1601 Nagasaki (Goto-machi in Nagasaki)	Korea–Japan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
	Married	Ex-slave		Jinzaemon's mother was born in Korea and was taken to Ōmura as a child. In this city, she was baptized and apostatized around 1629–32. She probably lived in Edo-machi and then in Hirado-machi in Nagasaki in 1642.
	Married			Jinzaemon's parents were Korean. He was probably christened as a baby, and apostatized around 1629–32.
		Freed slave?		Burned alive in Hiroshima.
	Single	Freed slave		She was born to Yangbang's family (and belonged to the traditional ruling class or gentry of dynastic Korea during the Chosŏn Dynasty). Marina Paccu arrived at Nagasaki between 1592 and 1597, due to the Japanese–Korean War. She changed her religion in 1606, and became a member (fully ordained nun) of the Society of Beatas of Miyako established by Julia Naito. She made the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. In 1614, she was tortured by <i>tawara-zeme</i> (a type of torture where the person is forced into a straw rice bag). After being tortured in Japan, and becoming blind, she traveled to Manila, where she died at the age of 74.
Luís Martins de Figueiredo	Single?	Freed slave	Catechist	António Martins, nicknamed “the bonzo,” came from Korea and lived in Nagasaki. He was another whose slavery originating in the Japanese–Korean War of 1592–97. As a slave, he served a Portuguese trader living in Nagasaki named Luís Martins. He was a member of the clerics' secret support network, and particularly aided Father João Baptista Porro.
	Married	Freed slave		He converted to Christianity in 1601(?) and apostatized around 1629–32.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Mother of Matsu	F	Korea			16?? (Yaoya-machi in Nagasaki) 159? 1601 Hizen 1601 Nagasaki (Gotō-machi in Nagasaki) 16?? (Yaoya-machi in Nagasaki)	Korea–Japan
Matsu	F	Japan (Korean descendant)	1612		1612 Nagasaki 1642 Nagasaki (Hirado-machi)	
Spouse of Mago'emon	F	Korea	1582		159? 1600 Nagasaki (Shita-machi) 1642 Nagasaki (Hirado-machi)	Korea–Japan
Jiro (son of Mago'emon and his Korean wife)	M	Japan (Korean descendant)	1639		1639 Nagasaki 1642 Nagasaki (Hirado-machi)	
Uba (nickname for elderly woman— うば某)	M	Korea	1547		1598 Chikugo 1621 Nagasaki (Moto Kōzen-machi in Nagasaki) 1642 (Hirado-machi in Nagasaki)	Korea–Japan
Toma	M	Korea		20-03- 1643 Nagasaki	159? Nagasaki 1614? Macao 16?? Cambodia 16?? Japan 20-03-1643 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan–Macao– Cambodia–Japan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
	Married	Freed slave		She converted to Christianity in 1601(?) and apostatized around 1629–32.
	Married	Freed slave		Maid servant of Yaemon Ōsaka-machi. She converted to Christianity in 1612(?) and apostatized around 1629–32.
	Married	Freed slave?		Mago'emon's wife was born in Korea in 1582 and at the age of 18 (1600) traveled to Shita-machi in Nagasaki. With her husband she had a 4-year-old son.
				Son of Mago'emon and his Korean wife.
Servant of Osakaya Yaemon no Jo		Ex-Slave	Servant	Uba, a Korean born in 1547 who arrived in Japan in 1598 (51 years old) and went to Chikugo. In 1621, she lived in Moto Kōzen-machi in Nagasaki. She was also baptized in 1621, but apostatized around 1629–32. Served Osakaya Yaemon. In 1642, she was living in Hirado-machi.
	Single	Freed slave	Catechist (<i>dojuku</i>)	He worked for the Japanese Christian Church in Cambodia. He accompanied Father Alberto Metinski to Manila and returned to Japan. He traveled to Japan with the priests Rubino, Marquez, Moralez, Capèce, and Mecinski, and the laymen Pascal Gorrea de Souza, Portuguese, and Juan, from Patane. Another boat brought the Priests Pedro Marquez, Alonzo de Arroyo, Francisco Cassola, Giuseppe Chiara, and André Vieira. Toma died while being tortured.

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, Residence	Commercial route
Father of Koshirō Ikemoto	M	Korea			159? Japan 1597 (Macao) 1643 Nagasaki (Hirado-machi)	Korea–Japan
Koshirō Ikemoto	M	Japan (Korean descendant)	1628 Nagasaki		1643 Nagasaki (Hirado-machi)	
Seigorō Ikemoto	M	Japan (Korean descendant)	1630 Nagasaki		1643 Nagasaki (Hirado-machi)	
Seihachi Ikemoto	M	Japan (Korean descendant)	1633 Nagasaki		1643 Nagasaki (Hirado-machi)	
Niemon	M	Korea	1563?	08-08- 1678 Nagasaki	159? 1678 Nagasaki	Korea–Japan
João	M	Korea			159? Hizen Kikitsu	Korea–Japan

a A “calafate” worked in the naval yards, sealing the spaces between the clapboards on boats with tarpaulin cotton in order to prevent water from infiltrating the hulls.

Note: This list presents Chinese, Japanese, and Korean slaves and former ex-slaves traded or in contact with the Portuguese whom I have been able to identify during the course of my study. I have also included some Asian slaves who traveled through the Portuguese trade routes to Japan and to the American continent.

Sources: Giuseppe Boero and Pablo Antonio del Niño Jesus, *Los doscientos cinco martires del Japón. Relacion de la gloriosa muerte de los martires, beatificados por el sumo pontifice Pio IX, el dia 7 de julio de 1867* (Mexico: Imprenta de J.M. Lara, 1869), pp. 30–31, 56, 63–64, 74, 76, 120–21; Luis Ruiz de Medina, *El Martirologio del Japón: 1558–1873* (Rome: Inst. historicum S.I., 1999); Takashi Gono, “Hiryō Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō: 16, 17 seiki Nikkan Kirisutokyō,” *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensan-jo kenkyū kiyō* 13 (March 2003): 41–59; Léon Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon* (Paris: Charles douniol, Libraire Editeur, 1869), vol. 1, pp. 122–23, 132, 173, 229–30, 244–45, 283, 287, 291–93, 393, 408, 468, 520, 537, 582, 599–601, 612, 623, 663–64, 703–04, 721, 778, 788, 817,

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
	Married			<p>Captured during infancy, he converted to Catholicism later in life. He went to Macao in 1597 and returned to Nagasaki. He apostatized between 1629–32. He was expelled to Macao in 1636 with a <i>nanbanjin</i> (designation for European people, especially Portuguese at that time, literally meaning southern barbarian) whom he brought up.</p> <p>He was converted to Christianity during childhood and apostatized around 1629–32. Later he called himself “Kozaemon.”</p> <p>Son of Koshirō Ikemoto.</p> <p>Son of Koshirō Ikemoto.</p>
		Freed slave		<p>He changed his religion when Mizuno Kawachinokami assumed the role of magistrate (<i>bugyo</i>), 1626/29. According to Genroku Gannenn Zonmei Chō (Note on his first year of <i>Genroku</i>, 1688) he came to Nagasaki “about 90 years ago.”</p> <p>He died of disease.</p>
		Freed slave		<p>He was a key Christian leader in Kikitsu village in the territory of Isahaya. He refused apostasy and was imprisoned.</p>

873, 876; vol. 11, pp. 519; José Sicardo, *Christiandad del Japon, y dilatada persecucion que padeciò. Memorias sacras de los martyres de las illustres religiones de Santo Domingo, San Francisco, Compañia de Jesus; y crecido numero de Seglares; y con especialdad, de los Religiosos del Orden de S. Augustin* (Madrid: Por Francisco Sanz, Impressor del Reyno, 1698), pp. 332, 378, 421, 433; Diego de Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinos, Japon, y China, de la sagrada orden de Predicadores* (Zaragoza: D. Gascon, 1693), vol. 1, p. 653; Bernardino Avila de Girón, *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon (Manuscript)*, vol. 5: *Toyo Bunko* (Library Code: xvii-7-D-a-5), fol. 265v; Lope de Vega, *Triunfo de la Fee en los reynos del Japon por los años de 1614 y 1615* (Madrid: Por la viuda de Alonso Martin, 1615), pp. 85, 86; François Trigault, *Histoire des martyrs du Japon depuis 1612 jusquen 1620* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoily, 1624), pp. 169–71, 175, 181, 407, 408, 416, 568, 633; J.G. Ruiz de Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea: Its Origins 1566–1784* (Rome: Istituto Storico, 1991), pp. 203–04, 208, 219–20, 235–47, 248–53, 255–59; Miguel Contreras, *Padrón de los indios de Lima en 1613*, transcribed by Mauro Escobar Gamboa, with an intro. by Noble David Cook (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 1968), pp. 526, 530; Francisco Colín, *Labor Evangélica de la Compañia de Jesús en las Islas Filipinas*

TABLE 3.1 Asian slaves (1593–98) (cont.)

por el P. Francisco Colín de la misma Compañía (Barcelona: Imprenta y Litografía de Henrich y Compañía, 1904), p. 754; Gakushō Nakajima, “The Invasion of Korea and Trade with Luzon: Katō Kiyomasa’s Scheme of the Luzon Trade in the Late Sixteenth Century,” in *The East Asian Mediterranean: Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce and Human Migration*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), pp. 145–68; Tsuneo Moriyama, *Toyotomishi Kyushu Kurairichi no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), p. 208; Manji Kitajima, *Toyotomi Hideyoshi no Chōsen shinryaku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995), pp. 34–138; Kotō Kiyomasa, *Chōsen sinryaku no jitsuzō* (Tokyo, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007), pp. 8–60; Kaijian Tang, *Setting Off from Macao: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Netherlands: Brill Academic Publishers, 2015), p. 93; Bernardo Gomes de Brito, *História Trágico-Marítima. Em que se escrevem chronologicamente os Naufragios que tiverão as Naos de Portugal, depois que se poz em exercicio a Navegação da India* (Lisbon: Oficina de Congregação do Oratorio, 1735–36), 2 vols.; Paulo Guinote, Eduardo Frutuoso, and António Lopes, *Naufrágio e outras perdas da “Carreira da Índia” séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1998), p. 226; АНМ, Мисericórdia, Legados, Trelados de testamentos, testamento de Joana Pestana, fol. 7; *Documenta Indica*, ed. Joseph Wicki (Rome: Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu, Societas Jesu, Institutum historicum Societatis Iesu, 1984), vol. XVI, p. 301; vol. XVII, p. 365; Gil, “Chinos en España en el Siglo XVI,” pp. 36–38; Rubén Carrillo, “Asians to New Spain,” PhD diss., Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, 2015, p. 134; Jorge Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores na Lisboa Quinhentista* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2010), pp. 108, 228; Giuseppe Marcocci, “A fé de um império: a Inquisição no mundo português de Quinhentos,” *Revista de História: São Paulo* 164 (2011): 86 (n. 72); João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, “O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira,” PhD, New University of Lisbon, 1998, vol. 1, p. 311; E. Prestage and P. Azevedo, *Registo da freguesia da Sé* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1924–1927), vol. 11, p. 422, 1597-05-04; Juan Gil, *Los chinos en Manila. Siglos XVI y XVII* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2011), p. 389;

Francesco Carletti, *Ragionamenti Di Francesco Carletti Fiorentino Sopra Le Cose Da Lui Vedute Ne' Suoi Viaggi Si Dell'Indie Occidentali, e Orientali Come d'Altri Paesi ...* (Florence: Giuseppe Manni, 1701), p. 40; François Pyrard, Pierre de Bergeron, and Jérôme Bignon, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil* (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1887–90), vol. II, p. 523; Lorenzo Pérez, “Héroes del cristianismo en el Japón en el siglo XVII,” *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 15(87) (1928): 309–14; Jesuitas na Asia, cod. 49-IV-60, v.11-3-E-105, volume (8-I-35) num.1-62 Toyo Bunko, 87v, 90v, 170v; Reinier H. Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki* (North Carolina: McFarland, 2015), pp. 193, 200, 213, 225, 257 (n. 23); Reinier H. Hesselink, “An Anti-Christian Register from Nagasáqui,” *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 18/19 (2009): 9–66; *Hirado-machi ninbetsu seisho tadashi*; *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU: Monumenta Historica Japoniae I: Textus Catalogorum Japoniae 1553–1654*, ed. José Franz Schutte (Rome: Monumenta Histórica Societatis IESU a Patribus Eiusdem Societatis Edita, 1975), p. 94; E. Hayashiya, “Los japoneses que se quedaron en México en el siglo XVII: Acerca de un samurai en Guadalajara,” *México y la Cuenca del Pacífico* 6(18) (2003): 10; Lorenzo Pérez, “Mártires del Japón el año de 1623,” *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 10 (1923): 339; ARSI, Jap Sin 31, fol. 209; ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fols. 264–264v; ARSI, Jap Sin 53, fol. 176; ARSI, Jap Sin 54, fol. 210 v; ARSI, Jap Sin 55, fol. 405v; ARSI, Jap Sin 29, fol. 140; ARSI, Jap Sin 58, fols. 72v, 76, 78–78v, 136, 136v, 138v, 197, 263–263v, 395, 396, 401, 401v, 402; ARSI, Jap Sin 57, fols. 265v–268v; ARSI, Jap Sin 61, fol. 14v; ANTT, FP, Lx, Pena, Liv. 1 de Casados (MF 1045/SGU), fol. 24 v: 31-1-1593; ANTT, Lisboa, C.17, Cx4, Livro 16, fol. 121; ANTT, FN, Lisboa, Cart.7 A, Liv. 120, fol. 11v. 25-09-1598; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, nº13360, documento não foliado; ANTT, FN, Lisboa, Cart.11, Liv. 32, fol. 6v. 01-06-1594; BNP, cód. 203, fol. 308v; AGI, Contaduría, 899; AGI, Contaduría, 1206, fols. 282v, 485v, 487v; AGI, Contaduría, 1207, fol. 15v; AGI, Contratación 5253, 1, 21; AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237; fols. 244v–245, 436, 445v–454, 458v; AGN, Inquisición, vol. 8, exp. 9, 1599, fol. 270; AGN, Indifol. Virreinal, caja 6596, exp.138, s.f.; AGN, Inquisición, 1597, vol. 162, exp, fols. 4v–5,88v, 89, 91, 103v, 105, 105v, 107, 107v, 141, 141v, 142.

TABLE 3.2 List of repatriated Korean captives

N	Year	Month	Day	Number of people	Names	Who took the initiative to flee slavery to Korea
1	1599	4		10	Kim Gyeongrip (金慶立) ^a	The slaves themselves
2	1599	6	29	19	Jeong Huiwon / Jeong Heewon (鄭希得)	Yoshitoshi Sou ^b
3	1599	12		1	Noh In (魯認)	The slaves themselves
4	1600	2	9	160	Kim Yupaeng (金有彭)	Yoshitoshi Sou
5	1600	2		1	Shin Annam (辛按南)	The slaves themselves?
6	1600	2	29	33	Moon Eoksu (文億守)	The slaves themselves
7	1600	3	18	30	Ok Sinbyeon (玉信弁)	The slaves themselves?
8	1600	3	29	54	Kang Uiguk (姜義國)	The slaves themselves
9	1600	4	5	20		Yoshitoshi Sou
10	1600	4		300		Yoshitoshi Sou
11	1600	4	15	21	Kim Hakseong (金鶴聲)	The slaves themselves
12	1600	5	19	10	Kang Hang (姜沆)	The slaves themselves
13	1601	4		11		The slaves themselves?
14	1601	4		80	Kang Sajun (姜士俊)	The slaves themselves?
15	1601	4		40	Kim Yeonsang (金連祥)	Yoshitoshi Sou?
16	1601	6		250	Nam Chungwon (南忠元)	Yoshitoshi Sou
17	1602	5		?		Yoshitoshi Sou
18	1602	5		3	Kim Deokbong (金德鳳)	The slaves themselves
19	1602	6	16	104		Yoshitoshi Sou
20	1602	8		172		Yoshitoshi Sou
21	1602	8		229		Yoshitoshi Sou
22	1602	11	20	129		Yoshitoshi Sou
23	1603	3	18	94	Han? (韓○)	Yoshitoshi Sou
24	1603	8	4	14	Oh Heumil (吳欽日)	The slaves themselves
25	1604	2	13	51	Kim Gwang (金光)	Yoshitoshi Sou
26	1604	5	1	1	Park Eungnam (朴応南)	The slaves themselves
27	1604	6	26	1	Mak Geum (莫金)	The slaves themselves
28	1605	5	5	1391		Yu Jion

Information

They stole a small boat (or boats) and arrived in Janggi (長者) (Gyeongsang Province (慶尚道)).

They returned to Korea through China.

They boarded three boats.

They returned to Korea, stealing a Chinese boat.

They all boarded a single boat. He was arrested by the Korean Navy on 18 March.

They all boarded a single boat. He was arrested by the Korean Navy on 29 March.

They left Tsushima on 3 April.

They were the captives of Osaka. They fled on the night of 12 April and went to sea without passing through Tsushima. Upon their return, they received the work exemption book (免役帖) from forced labor.

They fled from Miyako and returned to Korea.

One Japanese traveled on the same boat. He was suspected of being a spy.

Captive in Hiroshima. He borrowed a boat from a subordinate of Terumoto Mouri and left. He was attacked and robbed in Hakata, but was helped by Nagamasa Kuroda and released.

They used a single boat.

They used three boats.

They bought a boat. They had brought many captives. Three Koreans received a work exemption: six years for Lee Ilryong (李一龍), four years for Kim Deokbong (金德鳳), and two years for Kim Geolsu (金乞守).

Nine free people, including Tomomasa Techibana, accompanied the slaves.

They used two boats.

Fourteen free Japanese accompanied the slaves.

They used three boats. Twenty free people accompanied the trip, including Tomomasa Tatibana.

They used a single boat. In the document written by Shigenobu Yanagawa it is stated that "88 captives came back."

Could six more captives have been added?

They were captives of Hizen, Bungo, Hakata, and Karatsu. On 1 August, they left Karatsu. After their return they received a document that guaranteed their exemption of the work (免役復戸帖) from forced labor.

They used three boats. Twenty-two free people accompanied the slaves, including Tomomasa Techibana.

He stole a boat from his owner in Tsushima, and returned, fleeing the night of 1 May.

He built a boat and fled from Tsushima on 20 June. He received a document that guaranteed work exemption (免役復戸帖) from forced labor.

The one who took the initiative was Yoshitoshi Sou. Yu Jion and the others arrived in Japan in 1604. They returned to the country, protected by Tomomasa Techibana, on 5 May 1605.

TABLE 3.2 List of repatriated Korean captives (*cont.*)

N	Year	Month	Day	Number of people	Names	Who took the initiative to flee slavery to Korea
29	1605	7		51		Yoshitoshi Sou
30	1605	10		189		Yoshitoshi Sou
31	1605	10	13	122		Yoshitoshi Sou
32	1606	2	19	230		Yoshitoshi Sou
33	1606	6	12	46		Toshinaga Yanagawa?
34	1606			180		Yoshitoshi Sou
35	1607	6	23	20	Kwon Rip (權立)	Yoshitoshi Sou
36	1607	7	3	1418		First Korean delegate
37	1607	9	11	64		Yoshitoshi Sou
38	1607	10		10		Yoshitoshi Sou
39	1608	4	21	2		Yoshitoshi Sou
40	1608	6	7	6	Kim Bonggeol (金鳳乞)	Yoshitoshi Sou
41	1609	8		9		Yoshitoshi Sou
42	1610	3		30		Toshinaga Yanagawa?
43	1610	4		2	Jeong Banggyeong (鄭邦慶)	Yoshitoshi Sou
44	1610	6	1	5		Yoshitoshi Sou
45	1610	11	15	1	YukHye (六惠)	Toshinaga Yanagawa
46	1613	8		2	PungSan (豊山)	Toshinaga Yanagawa
47	1613	10		1	Kim Banghui / Kim Banghee (金方熙)	Tsushima?
48	1616	8	4, 21	21		Shigeoki Yanagawa
49	1617	1		20	Shin Eungseung (慎応昇)	Shigeoki Yanagawa
50	1617	9		4		Shigeoki Yanagawa
51	1617	10	18	321		Second Korean delegate
52	1618	3		?		Yoshinari Sou
53	1618	10		110		Yoshinari Sou
54	1618			50	Lee Unseung (李雲勝)	Shigeoki Yanagawa
55	1625	3	5	146		Third Korean delegate
56	1625	4	23	3		Yoshinari Sou
57	1627	7		1		Yoshinari Sou

Information

They used four boats.

They used two boats.

They used 72 boats. Thirty-nine free people accompanied the slaves, including Tomomasa Tachibana.

They were the captives of Houki and Hizen.

They were the captives of Tsushima and Nagato.

The captives were sent by the delegate.

They deposited 200 *koku* (石) with the emissary so that they could receive slaves. *Koku* is an ancient unit that was used to measure the amount of rice. One *Koku* corresponds to almost 180 liters.

They were the captives of Awa. Eleven free people, including Yoshikiyo Taira, accompanied the trip.

In the Tsushima document it is written “eight people returned,” but the Iejo document gives the number as “nine people.”^c

Are these the captives from Tsushima? The two companions, Fuji Nobuhisa (藤 信久) and Badō Kora (馬堂 古羅) were Japanese who had served Korea during the war and received a work position from the kingdom.

They were the captives of Satsuma.

Two male and three female captives.

Shin Eungseung (慎心昇) bought a boat to escape from Hyuga to Tsushima and stayed a year in Tsushima. He returned on the Yanagawa boat along with 20 captives including Yang Useong (梁禹成).

The captives were sent by the delegate.

The two companions, Fuji Nagakatsu (藤永勝) and Rihei (利兵衛) were Japanese who had served Korea during the war and received a work position from the kingdom.

Lee Unseung (李雲勝) and Ryu Gimyeong (柳起溟) lived in a *nanban dera* (Jesuit church). They traveled through Europe and returned to Japan. They then moved from Nagasaki to the country. Could they have been Christians? Among the captives were three babies. The captives were sent by the delegate, who had come to Japan in 1624. Slaves of Hizen.

TABLE 3.2 List of repatriated Korean captives (*cont.*)

N	Year	Month	Day	Number of people	Names	Who took the initiative to flee slavery to Korea
58	1629	2		9	Lee Gwangchun (李光春)	Yoshinari Sou
59	1637	2	25	11	Lee Su (李守)	
60	1637	10		2	Lee Heun (李欣)	On its own
61	1643	11	29	14		
62	Unknown			1	Lee? (李某)	Yoshinari Sou
63	Unknown			3		Yoshinari Sou

a “^ㄷ” means “and others.”

b His Christian name was Darius. His father-in-law was Yukinaga Konishi.

c Jejo is the name of the administrative organ of Korean diplomacy of that time.

Source: Yonetani, Hitoshi. “Chōsen shinryakugo ni okeru hiryonin no hongoku sōkan ni tsuite,” in *Jinshin sensō* (Tokyo and Seoul: Akashi Shoten, 2008), pp. 126–28.

TABLE 3.3 Number of repatriated Korean captives

Year	Number of repatriated Korean captives
1600	481
1601	251
1602	229
1603	199
1605	4390
1606	120
1607	1240
1608	6
1613	1
1617	346
1625	146
1630	9
1643	14

Source: Chosŏn Dynasty Chronicles (*Chosŏn wangjo sillok*).

Information

The delegate, who had come to Japan in 1636, sent the captives to Korea.

They returned, fleeing by boat.

The captives were sent by the delegate. In the document written by Tsushima "16 people" are mentioned.

Captive of Satsuma. He returned with nine Korean fishermen who had arrived in Tsushima.

A couple and a baby.

Reorganization of the Portuguese Slave Trade

The End of Korean and Japanese Slavery in the “Nau De Macau” and Its Replacement with Chinese Slavery in the Philippines (1600–14)

I

In the late 16th century, between 1595 and 1597, the Governor of Nagasaki wrote to the Macao Chamber of Commerce and Bishop Pedro Martins, who was in Macao, condemning slavery. This led to excommunication by the ecclesiastical authorities of all those who did not respect the prohibition against trading human beings. Bishop Luís de Cerqueira reactivated that excommunication in September 1598. This political or religious pressure also led to some action by the city of Macao, whose councilors began to force the Head Captains of the China trip to commit, through their contracts, to not allowing on their ships any “purchased young men and young girls.” Inevitably, these contracts were not fully respected, even by the authorities who were supposed to enforce them. For example, when in 1600 the Head Captain Orazio Neretti traveled to Nagasaki as a representative of Paulo of Portugal, he purchased and baptized a Korean whose Christian name was Antonio Neretti/Antono Norot. This Korean, after gaining his freedom, became one of the leading interpreters in Nagasaki, serving Morinobu Mizuno (1577–1637), an official of the Tokugawa shogunate, known as the Nagasaki *bugyo* (長崎奉行) between 1626 and 1631. When in 1627 a small vessel from Macao reached Nagasaki, he was put in charge of reading all correspondence aboard. Besides speaking Portuguese, Neretti had also learned Latin and was able to read and write in both languages. Furthermore, he possessed a deep knowledge of the local Christian community as he had received a Catholic education.¹ Also in 1600, Head Captain Paulo of Portugal took advantage of his stay in Macao and bought a Korean slave named Angela from a local merchant.² Another example of the continuation of this commerce was the assault on the *Santa Catarina* by the Dutch in the Straits of Singapore on 25 February 1603, which revealed that the ship had come from Japan; it departed from Macao bound for Goa and was carrying

¹ Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki*, p. 257 (n. 23).

² AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, Testamento de Pero Roveredo, fol. 10.

aboard a group of one hundred women and child slaves.³ The role of these women remains a mystery. Were they just to be sold at the Malacca and Goa markets? Or were they sex slaves, since there are various references to such throughout the 16th century?⁴

One of the conclusions we can draw from the assault to the *Santa Catarina* is that the commercial vessel that sailed the Macao–Nagasaki route continued to carry Asian slaves on its return to India. The second conclusion is that the slave trade from Macao to Malacca, Kochi, and Goa was considerably low in contrast with the figures known at the end of the 16th century. This decrease was clearly related to the Society of Jesus's prohibitions in Japan, Macao City Chamber's interdictions, and, most notably, to royal pressure, which, in the early 17th century, intensified against Japanese slave traders based in Goa. The small number of Asian slaves aboard the *Santa Catarina* also tallies with the only two diaries—belonging to the *São Roque* and *Nossa Senhora da Índia*—that are still in existence for India Run vessels at this time (1602–04).⁵ In this group of 256 slaves, there were no Japanese, though several Chinese slaves who were sent to Portugal were registered. This demonstrates that there was already a significant flow of Chinese slaves to replace Japanese slaves in Goa and Europe.⁶ At the same time, it also shows that the flow of Chinese slaves was aimed at other regions, mainly the Philippines; they were not destined for the fortresses and trading posts of Malacca, Kochi, and Goa. With regard to the slave network connecting Nagasaki to Goa, the final blow happened shortly after 27 January 1607, when King Philip II, after several failed attempts, compelled Viceroy Martim de Castro to publish in Goa an anti-slavery law issued by King Sebastian of Portugal in 1570. Despite initial opposition by the Goa Chamber and wealthy merchants of the city, the trade of Japanese slaves through the Japan–Macao–Malacca–Kochi–Goa route collapsed from this date.

Another important point to note is that, despite the collapse of this route at the international level, at the local level the Portuguese continued to acquire Japanese slaves in Nagasaki, although few in number, probably for local use.

3 Peter Borschberg, "The Santa Catarina Incident of 1603," *Revista de Cultura* 11 (2004): 13–23; Peter Borschberg, "The Seizure of the Sta. Catarina Revisited: The Portuguese Empire in Asia, VOC Politics and the Origins of the Dutch–Johor Alliance," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 33(1) (2002): 43, 47. Peter Borschberg, *The Memoirs and Memorials of Jacques de Coutre: Security, Trade, and Society in 16th and 17th-Century Southeast Asia* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2014); Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, p. 55.

4 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. 4º, pp. 179–80, 261, 262; RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 274v.

5 The *Carreira da Índia*.

6 Artur Teodoro de Matos, "Novas Fontes para a História da Carreira da Índia, os livros das naus S. Roque e Nossa Senhora da Conceição (1602–1603)," *STVDIA* 48 (1989): 352. The two diaries can be found in AGS, *Secretarias Provinciales*, cod. 1550 and 1551.

According to Bishop Luís de Cerqueira's letter dated 6 March 1609, the Portuguese traders kept asking for permission to carry Japanese slaves to Macao:⁷

As here has been so strictly forbidden by the King of Japan that no one buys, nor take people out of Japan, as than I have already said last year, yet some respected people now ask me to issue a license to some young men. But I do not grant it to them as friendship because the ban is still enforced, and you can see in the land many scouts who see, and search if you keep what the king commands, who wants [the law] to be obeyed very strictly, and it is not to be expected that the bishop, giving the license he would risk himself, and his sheep, especially that the same King entrusted the church, which is to say the same as to the Bishop in keeping his law, as this is one of the reasons because I do not take hand of this excommunication as a way of avoiding disturbance, and other annoyances. But I fear other major disturbances, because once withdrew the excommunication of the Portuguese, and Spaniards for the desire they have to take these young men and young women, regardless of the King's prohibition, they will always take some, and after departing for Manila, and Macao they ask the Bishop about their disobedience, as I have often been asked, without having to answer them, but I do all that I can, to make sure that the law of His Highness is obeyed. I will forbid it with all the diligence that the church usually has. I wanted to point out this to Y.R. so that I can give satisfaction to complainants, whenever they exist, as I wish they did not.⁸

7 RAH, Madrid, Legajo 2665/a-13-7, fol. 94.

8 *Com aqui estar tão rigurosamente prohibido por el Rey de Jappão que não se compre, nem leve gente para fora de Jappão do que ja tenho avisado o anno passado ainda alguãs pessoas de respeito me pedem agora dar licença pera alguns moços. Mas não lha conçedo, com desejar de lhes fazer amizade per a prohibição estar ainda em todo seu vigor, e aver na terra muitos olheiros que vejão, e pesquizen se se guarda o que el Rey manda, o qual quer ser obedecido em grande pontualidade, e não esta em rezão que o Bispo dando a licença que se pede se arrisque asy, e as suas ovelhas, especialmente que o mesmo Rey encarregou a igreja, que vem a dizer o mesmo que ao Bispo a guarda de sua ley, que he huã das cousas porque não levo mão desta escomunhão com desejar de levar mão della pera me ver livre de importunações, e outros enfadamentos. Mas ei medo de cair noutros majores, porque alevantada a excomunhão os Portuguezes, e Espanhóis pollo appetite que tem de levar estes moços, e moças, não ande dar polla prohibição del Rey, e sempre ande levar alguns, e depois delles partidos pera Manilha, e Macao ande pedir conta ao Bispo de sua desobediência delles, como ia alguãs vezes se me tem pedido, sem eu ter que lhes responder senão que faço tudo o que posso pera que se obedeça a ley de sua Alteza. te lho prohibir com todo o rigor que a igreja costuma. Quiz apontar isto a V.R. pera ahi poder dar satisfação a queixosos, quando os ouvesse, posto que cuido os não avera.* RAH, Madrid, Legajo 2665/a-13-7, fol. 94.

Faced with a downturn in Japanese slavery, the Portuguese slavers redirected their attention to the Philippines and, as a replacement for Korean and Japanese slaves, increased their supplies of Chinese slaves, as well as slaves from other countries in Southeast Asia, India, and Mozambique.

As previously addressed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2, a direct trade link between Malacca and the Philippines was opened in 1583. In 1585, in a letter to the Viceroy of India, Duarte de Meneses (1584–88), King Philip II informed him of Diogo Dias de Boavista's desire to travel from Malacca, where he lived, to the Philippines. Surprisingly, the King authorized this trip, even instructing the authorities to welcome and comply with all de Boavista's wishes.⁹ Although we are unaware of the route taken by de Boavista to the Philippines, we believe it went directly from Malacca to Manila, without stopping at other ports. This trip was an exception to the trade contact prohibitions between the Portuguese and Castilian realms in the Far East. As a result of this, the then Governor of the Philippines, Santiago de Vera (1584–90), wrote an important letter to Philip II,¹⁰ requesting the Viceroy of India authorize the sending of "black slaves" to work on ships, thus replacing Spanish labor.¹¹ The black slaves mentioned were mostly from Mozambique and had served in the private mercenary armies of wealthy Portuguese traders.¹² This request was granted and in the following years numerous boats carrying African slaves reached the Philippines.

This means to cope with the demand for slaves in Manila became a success, in part aided by the 1574 prohibitions, which established that, according to Spanish law, any local Indian was to be considered legally free and the European settlers had no right to enslave them. Additionally, there was also pressure from the religious orders in the Philippines following Tondo's 1581 *Junta* that urged compliance with the regulations.¹³ After the merger of the Iberian crowns, the legal body regulating slave trade in "Portuguese India" moved its headquarters in Goa and, in accordance with *Cortes de Tomar*,¹⁴ King Philip II was obliged to maintain and comply with all Portuguese laws, even though the Iberian territories also belonged to him. Thus, legally, all slaves brought by

9 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. 3, p. 41.

10 20 June 1585.

11 AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, N. 16.

12 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, p. 122.

13 Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, pp. 68, 71.

14 The *Cortes* was a Portuguese council of representatives of the estates of the realm, the nobility, clergy, and the bourgeoisie. The *Cortes de Tomar*, Philip II of Spain was proclaimed Philip I of Portugal achieving the dynastic union of the Iberian Peninsula between 1581 and 1640.

Portuguese traders to the Philippines could not be regulated by Spanish legislation and, given that they were considered legal by the Portuguese judicial system, they were accepted as legal by the Royal Audience of Manila. At the same time, when in 1583 the Portuguese began to provide the Philippines with slaves, they had already established a solid slave trading and distribution network straddling East Africa, the Persian Gulf, India, Ceylon, the Bay of Bengal, Southeast Asia, China, and Japan. This multiplicity of regions hosted a great diversity of slave suppliers. In economic terms, this diverse network meant that the Portuguese were not dependent on a single slave supplier region. For example, after the trade in Japanese slaves ended, the Portuguese continued to explore important supply networks established in the neighboring regions of Macao, Southeast Asia, the Bay of Bengal, Kochi, Goa, and Mozambique. We can also conclude that after 1583, the Manila authorities explored new sources of slaves, with the possibility of obtaining them from Portuguese India, Malacca, and Macao, in addition to through the Nueva España–Manila route. For the Portuguese, the opening of trade with the Philippines represented not only a new market to explore but also an alternative to Japanese silver.¹⁵ All these factors combined contributed to the Portuguese slave supply monopoly in the Philippines, where the influence of silver in the region, via the Manila galleon, would be accompanied by the parallel growth of the slave trade.¹⁶

II

At the end of the 16th century, the cities of Macao and Malacca played a very important role in this network. However, trade between Macao–Manila and Malacca–Manila was not conducted peacefully, thus causing some problems between representatives of the Royal Audience of Manila and Portuguese private traders.

In Manila, traders from Macao and Malacca started challenging the laws and, in addition to disobeying the ban on any trade communication between the Portuguese and Spanish courts in the Far East, they did not declare the slaves they were carrying after their arrival in Manila, refusing to pay customs duty. At the same time, they took this opportunity to sell other products at prices lower than their Chinese counterparts. On 20 June 1585 and 26 June 1586, only a few years after the opening of this trade, the Manila High Court was already sending letters to the King, informing him of the arrival of

15 Leslie E. Bauzon, *Deficit Government: Mexico and Philippines Situado, 1606–1804* (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1981); Katharine Bjork, “The Link that Kept the Philippines Spanish: Mexican Mexican Interests and the Manila Trade, 1571–1815,” *Journal of World History* 1 (1998): 25–50.

16 Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, p. 51.

Portuguese ships carrying slaves from Malacca, Macao, and other regions of China and India, which were refusing to pay royalties:¹⁷

To this land they bring from Malacca, Macao, and other parts of China and India slaves and because they say that the taxes are paid from them [...]. The fiscal ordered that the taxes of the goods that are brought from Macao and Malacca should be collected and because [they are] so far, they have not been collected.¹⁸

Despite protests by the Royal Audience of Manila, the Portuguese traders, taking advantage of their control of the slave supply to the islands, continued challenging the Spanish authorities and generating dissatisfaction inside the Royal Audience of Manila by not paying the 3 per cent taxation due on their slaves and goods. The situation became so tense that representatives of the Royal Audience of Manila, eager to resolve this situation and, of course, participate in the profits from this illegal trade, sent a new letter denouncing the behavior of the Portuguese traders to Europe.

In the letter, dated 24 June 1587, the Royal Audience stated that “the Portuguese usually bring from India and Macao and from other parts slaves and up until now have paid no rights.”¹⁹

The authorities also stressed that the monarch should decide the value of the taxation the Portuguese should be charged.²⁰ As a result of all this contention, on 21 January 1587, King Philip II sent an important letter to the Viceroy of India, Duarte de Meneses, revealing that he had been informed of the first trading expeditions by Macao residents in Manila, as well as frustrated attempts by government authorities in Manila in establish a trade route between the Philippines and China, similar to what happened with regard to Macao. His view on this issue is clear—he condemned any contact between Portuguese and Spanish spheres of influence.²¹

Despite these royal directives, Portuguese vessels continued traveling to Manila, as evidenced by the letter drafted by the Philippines Governor, Santiago

17 *Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias, mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Majestad Católica del rey don Carlos II* (Madrid: Edic. Cultura Hispánica, 1973), in Title v, “De los almojarifazgos y derechos Reales,” Law xxii: “En las Filipinas se impuso á tres por ciento, sobre el comercio de las mercaderias para la paga de la gente de guerra. Mandamos, que assi se guarde, y sobresea en lo demás, que se paga de estos derechos.”

18 AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, N. 13.

19 AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 5, N. 30.

20 AGI, Filipinas, 34, N. 78.

21 Archivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. III, parte 1, 80–81.

de Vera and sent to the King on 26 June 1587, informing him that, together with “more than thirty” Chinese ships that had visited Manila, two further Portuguese ships had also arrived, managing to earn a great sum of money and causing discontent within the Chinese community.²²

Although we have no factual data on trade between Macao–Manila and Malacca–Manila until the end of the 1590s, there are some secondary references that point to the vitality and growth of this smuggling trade. For example, the Bishop of the Philippines, Domingo Salazar himself, on 27 June 1588, said he had written a letter to the King, which had been sent via Malacca, so we deduce that a vessel of Malacca visited the Philippines.²³ Upon analyzing Bishop Salazar’s memorial, I found a description revealing that Captain Lope de Palacio, then living in Macao, secretly sent a letter to the Philippines. Obviously, the sending of this special memorial from Macao to Manila involved another secret trip that official documents do not reveal.²⁴ This commercial communication was also manipulated in sources of Portuguese and Spanish origin. One of the most obvious cases happened in 1588. Through Portuguese sources, we know that during this year a new commercial journey to Manila had been prepared in Macao by the Head Captain of Macao, Jerónimo de Sousa himself,²⁵ and that the leading merchants of the city had participated in this venture. However, Portuguese sources claim that the sudden death of de Sousa just before departure threw Macao into political chaos and the journey was eventually canceled. At the same time, such sources also indicate that the annual journey from Macao to Nagasaki, due to an anti-Christian edict issued in 1587 by Toyotomi Hideyoshi outlawing the presence of the Jesuits in Japan, had not happened either. In conclusion, Macao was in a delicate political and economic situation, without a Head Captain and with no means of support, as these trade routes constituted its main source of funds. If trade was not quickly re-established, the Portuguese enclave would be doomed. The underlying objective was the legalization of the Macao–Philippines circuit, as happened with the Macao–Nagasaki commercial circuit.

Yet this bleak scenario described in Portuguese sources and Macanese historiography never occurred. When comparing these events with descriptions of the same events from Spanish documental sources we find that, despite the sudden death of Head Captain Jerónimo de Sousa, the journey from Macao to Manila was in fact successfully carried out. At least, that appears to be the case

22 *Colón, Labor Evangélica*, I, p. 354, n. 2.

23 Emma Helen Blair, James Alexander Robertson, and Edward Gaylord Bourne, *The Philippine Islands 1493–1898* (Cleveland, OH: A.H. Clark, 1903–05), vol. VII, pp. 72, 75.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 73–74.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

in the letter sent to the King by the Royal Audiencia de Manila describing the Philippines situation, dated 26 June 1588. In this letter, we learn that besides a ship from Malacca, a Macao commercial ship had docked in Manila with many goods: “from the Portuguese of Macao a large ship came with a quantity of merchandise and, although they were good things and of value, they did not achieve [the quality and value of the commodities] what the Sangleys have brought.”²⁶ Although this letter does not mention the vessel’s contents, another letter from the judicial magistrate Gaspar de Ayala to the King, dated 20 June 1588, reveals that it was carrying a large load of silk from China, musk, and 100 “kaffirs.” Once again, the problem with customs duty remained unresolved since Judicial Magistrate Ayala wanted to clarify with the monarch if he should charge the 3.5 per cent *almojarifasgo* to the Portuguese.²⁷

Relations with the Portuguese from Macao become an actual problem when they decided to compete with the Philippines in trying to control America–Asia trade. In 1589, the city’s new Head Captain, João da Gama, eager to access American silver against all the royal prohibitions, decided to reroute the annual trip to Nagasaki to New Spain.²⁸ The motivations that led to such a decision are unknown but probably relate to the high profits that the Portuguese had obtained in Manila in 1588 and the instability of trade relations between Macao and Nagasaki after the 1587 anti-Christian edict.

Despite the support of the leading traders of Macao, this trip would prove to be a real fiasco, resulting in a commercial communication crisis between the Philippines and the Portuguese between 1590 and 1594 and the temporary stoppage in slave supply. After departing from Macao on 13 June 1589, João da Gama’s ship would make a brief stopover in Amakusa (Japan), from which it left on 14 October for Acapulco, where it arrived in March 1590. Upon its arrival, the *Maria de Assunção* was immediately confiscated and Head Captain João da Gama was imprisoned.²⁹ After learning about the outcome of this trip and the loss of investments, Macao’s traders decided to retaliate. In 1592, when the Governor of the Philippines, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas y Ribadeneira, sent a ship to Macao with goods and money to buy saltpeter, copper, and munitions, the ship and the money were confiscated and the crew arrested. As a counteroffensive, Manila authorities decided to arrest and confiscate Macao traders’ silver. In the meantime, the imprisoned traffickers were released in

26 AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 6, N. 42, fol. 2v.

27 AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 6, N. 36. Juan Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila: Siglos XVI y XVII* (Lisbon: CCCM, 2011), p. 389.

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 123–33.

29 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 172, expediente 1 (1592). It refers to the events of March 1590.

Mexico and arrived at Manila on the annual galleon.³⁰ This measure was immediately extended to all silver sent from Mexico intended for Macao traders.³¹ When this news arrived at Macao, the ship from the Philippines was swiftly released, returning to Manila harbor on 1 March 1592.³²

Trade relations were resumed only in 1594, as evidenced by the *Caja real de Manila*,³³ after obtaining the amount of 760 *pesos* originating from fees collected from a frigate from Malacca loaded with “blacks [slaves] and goods.”³⁴ In the following year, the Philippines Royal Treasury representative, Francisco de las Misas, in a letter dated 31 May 1595, tells us that during that year Manila was visited by two Portuguese vessels, one from Malacca and another from Macao, carrying merchandise and slaves to sell.³⁵ The same letter went on to question the monarch about the *almojarifazgo* charged on goods and slaves supplied by the Portuguese. This shows that the fee problem remained unresolved.³⁶ This controversy was enhanced by a new measure that the Royal Audience of Manila wanted to introduce, arguing that the Portuguese should pay a higher tax on the slaves they brought to the city to be re-exported to Mexico.³⁷ In fact, the authorities wanted to apply a tax system similar to that applied to the merchants of the Atlantic slave trade. Instead of paying the *almojarifazgo* the Chinese paid (3 per cent) on imported goods. The Royal Audience of Manila maintained that the Portuguese should be taxed in a separate way; in other words, an amount for each carried slave.³⁸ Besides the taxation issue, this debate in 1595 showed that in the late 16th century the flow of slaves from the Portuguese courts to the Philippines did not only supply the Spanish colony, but also the needs of Nueva España, via the Pacific, namely the Portuguese slave network in Asia, which at that time ranged from East Africa and the Persian Gulf to America via the Manila galleon.

It was probably due to this new market that the number of slaves that reached Manila from Portuguese ports increased. For example, in contrast to

30 They are the merchants of the commercial journey that João da Gama made in 1590 to New Spain.

31 AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 93.

32 This episode is described in two letters from Governor Dasmariñas to the King, both dated 31 May 1592. AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 6. AGI, Filipinas, 6, R. 7, N. 93.

33 The Spanish treasury/tax house in the Philippines.

34 AGI, Contaduria, 1202, fol. 169v. Gil, *Los Chinos*, p. 389.

35 AGI, Filipinas, 29, N. 57.

36 Ibid.

37 Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, p. 56.

38 *Peça*.

the 100 slaves who were sent to Macao in 1588, in 1596 the Malacca ship, headed by the Portuguese Manuel Dias de Monforte,³⁹ carried over 300 slaves.⁴⁰

Although the actual number of Portuguese vessels that visited the Philippines remains unknown, in part because of royal prohibitions and the smuggling trade, it is nevertheless noticeable from the available data that there was rivalry between Macao and Malacca ports with regard to supplying the Philippines. The majority of slaves bound for Manila originating from Portuguese colonies in Asia departed from these two ports.

A clear proof of the diversity of slaves provided by the Portuguese can be seen in the slaves belonging to the *converso* merchant Diogo Fernandes Vitória/Diego Hernandez Vitoria, Councilor of the Royal Audiencia in Manila and the most important trader in the Philippines in the late 16th century. His investments straddled Bengal, Bijapur, Cambay, Ceylon, China, Coromandel, Golconda, Gujarat, Japan, Malabar, Malacca, Mombasa, Mozambique, Orissa, Pegu, Siam, Sindh, and the Maluku islands. In these places, 89 per cent of investments were centered on trade with China and Japan. Upon analysis, I have concluded that the goods/commodities traded by Vitoria, in terms of percentage of investments, were raw silk (51 per cent), silken cloth (38 per cent), cloves (6 per cent), the slave trade (3 per cent), and cotton cloth (1 per cent). The remaining 1 per cent was distributed among investments in cinnamon, diamonds, rubies, seed pearls, carpets, musk oil, gold, chest, and desks.⁴¹

On 7 December 1597, Vitoria died and, because of his Jewish ancestry, the Inquisition began the lengthy process of confiscating the property of this wealthy merchant. Among the confiscated goods were 31 slaves. This list (see Table 4.1) is a rare example of the diversity of slaves that were provided by the Portuguese and obtained in the Manila slave market in the late 16th century.

In the early 17th century, the issue of the taxation of slaves had been settled and the Portuguese paid “duties” and “taxes” similar to Chinese traders. Alongside these “official” slaves, other slaves not declared in the records also began to enter the Philippines. The effectiveness of this smuggling system between Portuguese and Spanish can be evinced when, for example, in 1600 a vessel from Malacca arrived in Manila. This was a small-sized vessel, with a capacity of around one hundred men.⁴² However, Manila records of that year tell us that no Portuguese vessel berthed at the harbor.

39 Inquisitorial trial of Diogo Dias Vitoria. AGN, Inquisicion, 1597, vol. 162, fol. 9.

40 Gil, *Los Chinos*, p. 389.

41 James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640* (Baltimore, MD, and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), p. 79.

42 Manuel Lobato, *Política e Comércio dos Portugueses nas Insulândia: Malaca e as Molucas de 1575 a 1605* (Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente, 1999), p. 213. Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas (1609)*, ed. J.S. Cummins (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society/Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 167–74.

TABLE 4.1 Diogo Fernandes Vitoria/Diego Hernandez Vitoria's slaves

Name	Age	Place of origin	Other
Antonio negro	30	Mozambique	Married ^a
Maria negra	20	Mozambique	Married, pregnant ^b
Catalina negra	30	Mozambique	
Maria	1½		Catalina's daughter
Fernando	30	Mozambique	
Domingo negro	40	Sena, Mozambique	Married ^c
Lúcia	35	Mozambique	Married, pregnant
Bras Amboyno	35	Ternate	
Maria Terrenate	30	Ternate	
Miguel Terrenate	12	Ternate	
Diego Terrenate		Ternate	
Madalena	18	Japan	Has a daughter
Jerónimo Xapon	18	Japan	
Maria Xapona	15	Japan	Released after a lawsuit as she claimed to be free
Catalina	25	Siam	Single, white
Elena	25	Siam	Single, white
Lucia	9	Siam	
Francisco Bengala	20	Bengala	
Joana Bengala	30	Bengala	Married, white, bite mark on face ^d
Blanca	25	India	Single, white
Francisco Bornei	20	Borneo	
Pedro Malabar	26	Malabar	
Joana	25	Java	Married ^e
Francisco negro	35	Malindi	Married ^f
Gaspar negro	16	Linguxa caste	
Maria Zambara	23	Zambara?	Claimed to be free
Valacate		Briton?	
Martino Tomino?			
Tomino?	22		
Fernando Negro			
Atoston? Tomino?			

a Married to Maria, a black woman.

d Married to Francisco, a black man.

b Married to Antonio, a black man.

e Married to the musician Francisco.

c Married to the Mozambican slave Lucia.

f Married to Joana Bengala.

TABLE 4.2 *Santiagoillo*

Merchant name	Number of slaves	Taxes paid on goods
Manuel da Costa (Portuguese)	17	204 pesos
Priest Cartagena		
Manuel Fernandes (Portuguese)	8	132 pesos
Sebastian da Costa (Portuguese)	3	36 pesos (12 per person)
Alonso de Vargas	2 (child)	16 pesos (did not feed them)
Licenciado Guiral	5 (large)	72 pesos (freight, food, and a barrel of olives)
Alf3rez Juan Guerra de Cervantes	2	12 pesos
Manuel de Carvalho (Portuguese)	2	12 pesos
Juan Illan	2	12 pesos
Juan Bautista de Noli	2	12 pesos
Captain Cristobal de Azqueta	2	12 pesos
Francisco Leit3o (Portuguese)	1	10 pesos (young/child slave)
Alf3rez Francisco Castillo	3	36 pesos
Sebastian de Aguiar (Portuguese)	4	60 pesos (plus <i>loca fina</i> (crockery) rights)
Sebastian Moreno (Portuguese)	1	8 pesos

Source: AGI, Contadur3a, 1206, fols. 282v, 485v, 487v; 1207, fol. 15v, in Juan Gil, *Los Chinos*, p. 390.

In 1601, we find information of a vessel of Portuguese origin in the Manila harbor records, and in 1604 five ships from Macao were recorded. There was also a sixth ship that had been sent from Manila to Macao, which returned to the Philippines during the same year. That ship, the *Santiagoillo* (see Table 4.2), property of the Spanish Captain Marcos de la Cueva, would have had a cargo of cloths and slaves, most of the latter probably of Chinese origin. Fortunately, the goods' records have survived; hence, it is possible to identify the names of the slave buyers, the number of slaves, and the fees paid to the *Real Caja*, the Spanish treasury/tax house in the Philippines.

Via this table, we can identify 14 merchants, seven of whom are of Portuguese origin. In the group of 54 slaves on board the *Santiagoillo*, 36 belonged to Portuguese traders living in the Philippines. These traders were probably responsible for their sale in the Manila slave market.

In 1605, official records show two ships from Macao arrived in Macao harbor, while 1606 lists only one boat from Macao loaded with "Japanese

embroidery.”⁴³ But in fact, other Portuguese ships, which were not registered, were reaching the city, since in July 1605, Hernando de los Ríos informed government authorities in Spain that, in that year, the Portuguese had sent many slaves, mostly African, via Malacca to the Philippines. Most of these slaves were alcoholics, thieves, and robbers, so were unwanted by the Portuguese in Malacca. Hernando de los Ríos requested the King to order the Portuguese of Malacca to refrain from sending slaves over 12 years of age to the Philippines.⁴⁴

Upon receiving this letter, on 6 March 1608, the King sent a request commanding the Governor of the Philippines to inform him about the troubles related to the many slaves who had been sold by the Portuguese in the archipelago and to strive to solve the problems they caused, as most of them were delinquents.⁴⁵ On 16 July 1609, the Royal Audiencia de Manila tried to conceal this trade, officially stating to the King that “from India, Malacca, and Macao no slaves have come for a long time.”⁴⁶ However, these statements were contradicted by the news the King received, as shown in the letter dated 25 July 1609, on the many boats that arrived from India, the Moluccas, Siam, and other regions with large numbers of slaves “from India, the Moluccan [islands], Siam, and other parts arrive to those islands [the Philippines] large quantities of slaves, stones, and valuable commodities.”⁴⁷

This attempt by the Royal Audiencia de Manila to convince the King no slave trade between the Portuguese merchants in Asia and the Philippines existed was not noticeably successful, mainly because of two key events that occurred the following year: 1610.

The first relates to a ship called *San Marcos* that had departed from Macao and arrived at Manila in 1610, carrying more than 300 slaves.⁴⁸ When approaching the Philippine archipelago this ship ran aground, drowning between 120 and 126 people, mostly slaves.⁴⁹ The second one involved the Bishop of China himself, Friar João Pinto da Piedade (1564–1628), who lived in Macao and had organized for a cargo of Chinese slaves to be sold in Manila, causing a great discontent among the Portuguese authorities of Macao and ultimately

43 Benjamin Videira Pires, *A viagem de comércio Macau–Manila nos séculos XVI a XIX* (Macao: Museu Marítimo de Macau, 1994), p. 19.

44 AGI, Filipinas, 27, n. 51, fol. 313v. Maria de Deus Beites Manso and Lúcio de Sousa, “Os portugueses e o comércio de escravos nas Filipinas (1580–1600),” *Revista de Cultura/Review of Culture* 40 (2011): 6–22. Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, p. 58.

45 AGI, Filipinas, 340, l. 3, fols. 23–23v.

46 Gil, *Los Chinos*, p. 390. AGI, Filipinas, 20, R. 3, n. 28.

47 AGI, Filipinas, 329, L. 2, fols. 97–98.

48 Gil, *Los Chinos*, p. 390. AGI, Contaduría, 1220, fol. 155v.

49 Gil, *Los Chinos*, p. 390.

leading to the clergyman's substitution.⁵⁰ He was replaced by another Dominican,⁵¹ Friar Antonio do Rosário, from the Dominican Convent of Macao.⁵²

The success of transporting slaves by ship can be confirmed through the story of the slave Isabel. On 13 July 1628, she was questioned by the Royal Audiencia de Manila, who asked her to clarify her status after a petition was made by Ascanio Guazoni, a citizen of Manila, take her to Mexico.⁵³ During this process, Guazoni presented a ballot issued by Bishop João Pinto stating that she had been sold by her father when she was 7 years old.⁵⁴

At this time, the slaves sold by the Portuguese in Manila were subjected to investigation to clarify whether they were of legal or illegal origin. In this way, the Portuguese merchants were required to show the slaves' "permits/ballots" and, after purchase, this documentation had be further approved by the Manila authorities. However, this system was considerably corrupt and slaves who came to the Philippines inevitably ended seeing their status confirmed by the ordinary court.⁵⁵ Isabel's case is a perfect example. After serving two Portuguese men in Macao,⁵⁶ she was sold to Captain Juan Baptista de Molina and her slave status was officially legalized by Bishop João da Piedade so that she could be sold outside Macao. After arriving in the Philippines on the ship organized by the Bishop, Isabel, along with another group of Molina slaves, all probably acquired at the same time, were introduced to the representative from the Royal Audiencia de Manila, in order for him to authenticate the legality of the purchase and issue a certificate stating they were slaves "with good and just title and captivity."⁵⁷

Isabel was taken to Mexico in order to serve Doña Teressa Setin, but was probably sold again, as, coincidentally, we found a Chinese named Isabel and also from Canton living in Lima in 1642. This slave belonged to an Asian woman, probably an ex-slave, named Leonor Álvarez, having been bought from the merchant Juan Donde. Although we are unaware of her marital status, Isabel

50 The Bishop of China, when this law was enacted, was living in Goa; he was ultimately unable to return to Macao.

51 Lúcio de Sousa, "The Japanese and the Portuguese from 1580–1614: Commerce, Politics and Religion," PhD diss., University of Oporto, 2007, pp. 501–03.

52 Beatriz Basto da Silva, *Cronologia da História de Macau: séculos XVI–XVII* (Macao: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação, 1992), vol. 1, p. 153.

53 Isabel was taken to Mexico to serve a woman named Teresa Setin.

54 Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, pp. 69–70.

55 *Juzgado ordinario*. Ibid., pp. 68–69.

56 Isabel's first owner was an unknown Portuguese man and the second owner the Portuguese Francisco Carvalho. It was this latter merchant who sold Isabel to Captain Juan Baptista de Molina.

57 *avido de bueno y justo titulo y cautiverio*.

now had two children, the first named Marcos, and the second Gracia de la Ascensión, born in Lima. Leonor Álvarez had been married to the late Hernando Gutiérrez (also known as Chino), but this marriage did not generate any children, and at the time of the writing of her testimony, Isabel had been named de Alvaréz's heir.⁵⁸

Returning to Molina's list of slaves, besides Isabel, it also includes another Chinese named Joseph; Catalina from Java, with three children, Francisco, Maria, and Agustina; Constança, also Javanese, who had two daughters, Catalina and Joana; Gracia from Java and her daughter Jacinta; and Maria, "mulatta Creole" and Francisco from Ternate.⁵⁹ Thus, we can conclude that the slaves who were shipped from Macao were not necessarily solely Chinese but hailed from several different places. This variety of nationalities reflects the commercial network organized from this city, with its links to Southeast Asian ports (via Malacca), India, and also Mozambique.

In the first decade of the 17th century, that Chinese slaves were sent to various ports was a matter of concern for the Chinese authorities, who tried to halt the trade. In this context, in 1612, Canton's Mandarin sent an order to Macao prohibiting the Portuguese from purchasing and selling Chinese abroad. This plate also states that slave "canvassers" were not Westerners, but of Chinese origin, and that they cheated honest people and stole their daughters to sell to the Portuguese. Another detail of great interest is that the slaves mentioned were all female; there was no reference to male slaves. This leads us to conclude that the demand for Chinese slaves in Guangzhou was mainly for females. The same document describes how the Portuguese treated these female slaves, cutting their hair, making them wear Western clothes, shackling them, and selling them abroad.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, pressure from the Chinese authorities did not put an end to the profitable smuggling trade, and in that same year seven ships left Macao bound for Manila, carrying goods and slaves.⁶¹ In 1613, both the Mandarin of Canton and the Viceroy of Goa exerted pressure on Macao city representatives, seeking the extinction of this trade. The law issued on 14 April 1613, was further reinforced by a second law established by the end of April 1614, condemning the Chinese slave trade:

58 Gleydi Sullón Barreto, "Inmigrantes asiáticos en Lima en el siglo XVII. Aproximación a tres casos concretos." Sección Bitácora Página Web Instituto e Investigación del Patrimonio Cultural, July 2016, p. 9 <<http://www.patrimonioculturalperu.com/inmigrantes-asiaticos-en-lima-en-el-siglo-xvii>> (accessed 17 April 2018).

59 AGN Indiferente 2440 exp. 21.

60 BA, *Jesuitas na Ásia*, 49-V-3, fols. 36–37.

61 Pires, *A viagem de comércio Macau–Manila nos séculos XVI a XIX*, p. 19.

Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo etc., I make it known to all who read this provision that according to the information given to me about the great debauchery that many people, residents in Macao, used to trade slaves, and other commodities prohibited by the Chinese, making them angry [the Chinese authorities] and made many complaints, and it was feared that resulted in problems of much disservice to God and to His Majesty, and harmed this city, and trade in that region, I ordered on April 14, 1613 a law stating that no person of any kind or social condition could trade with Manila, on his own or through an intermediary, slaves, or other [commodities] written in the last days of April 1614.⁶²

By the beginning of the second decade of the 17th century references to the Japanese slave trade had disappeared completely. In their place, the Chinese fell victim to Macao merchants, and this became a major concern. The Macao–Nagasaki route lost a profitable source of income. In contrast, small and medium-sized vessels, run by Portuguese traders from Macao, were seeking an alternative to the silk trade and therefore disobeyed the existing prohibitions by traveling to Manila. Despite pressure to put an end to the slave trade between the Portuguese traders and the Philippines, far from declining, it continued to grow in the following years, thanks to the American silver flow from Nueva España. An example of Portuguese trade via the Philippines to the Americas can be found in the census conducted by Miguel Contreras in Lima (completed in 1613). Its last section mentions a group of 114 individuals who were brought to Peru by Portuguese merchants. This group was divided into three main categories: “Indians from Portugal, Indians from China, and Indians from Japan.” “Indians from Portugal” meant, in fact, individuals from the Asian regions conquered by Portugal, whose main city was Goa, the relocating and exporting center of slaves trafficked by the Portuguese. Altogether, the number of people included in this category was 56. Concerning the “Indians” from China, their main traffic centers were located in Manila, Macao, and Malacca, and their number amounted to 38 people. Finally, there were the “Indians” from Japan, whose main traffic center was Nagasaki, who numbered 20.

Regarding the “Indians from Portugal,” we know the biographies of just a few, as most of remain unknown. Yet the known examples serve to reconstruct the Asian slave networks and, at the same time, demonstrate the magnitude or geographical extent of the trade led by the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. For example, the slave Susana was born in Bengal (India/Bangladesh) and brought to Mexico as a slave. After living for some time in this region, she was sold and

62 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, vol. VI, decreto 352, 1059.

sent to Lima in 1601. In this city, she served the Spanish captain Lucas Pérez. Her slave status was no impediment to her marrying Tomas Zarate, a native from this region. Between 1601 and 1606, Susana did not bear any children.⁶³ The slave Gaspar de Acosta was from Gujarat and had lived with his owner, Bernardo Banegas de Bergara, since childhood. He was 24 years old and was married to an “Indian from Portugal” called Aldonza. They had no children. It is likely that Gaspar had traveled to the Americas in the 16th century.⁶⁴ The Indian slave Pedro Ruiz was born in Chaul. By the time the census was carried out, Peter was 24 years old and lived in the house of Juan de la Fuente de Almonte.⁶⁵ There were also two slaves from the city of Kochi. The first, whose name is unknown, was born in 1581. Initially, he was sold by the wife of the Spanish Juan Anton to Andres Lopez de Arcaya. He was later purchased by Cristóbal de Bergara and came to Lima in 1596.⁶⁶ He was iron-marked on his face.⁶⁷ The second slave, Maria Bazquez, was born in 1578. Her owner was Gregorio Hernandez. Maria married the “china” Francisco Perez and did not have children. The remaining slaves or former slaves’ place of origin is not identified. The census only tells us they were from “India” or “Portuguese India.” Although information on the slave trade carried out by the Portuguese in India in the 16th and 17th centuries may be fragmented, this census confirms that Indian slaves were exported to Lima, via the commercial Philippines–Mexico network. The researcher Tatiana Seijas, in her study on Asian slaves in Mexico, has identified 68 Indian slaves from Chite, Corumbi, Goa, Kochi, Lumbini, Malabar, and Mogo, and another 30 originating in the Bengal region, currently Bangladesh and India.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, an extremely small number of colonial inventories and sales documents have survived, making it difficult to estimate the total number of Indian slaves exported to the Americas.

As for the group of “Indians from China,” we only know the biography of a few slaves and former slaves. Among the identified individuals several stand out, such as Maria de Campoverde from Macao (c.1570), bought by Diego Nunez de Campoverde. She lived in Lima since 1601 and worked as a servant.⁶⁹ The Chinese slave Baltasar Hernandez was also born in Macao around 1581,

63 Miguel de Contreras, *Padrón de los indios de Lima en 1613*, transcribed by Mauro Escobar Gamboa, with an intro. by Noble David Cook (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 1968), p. 536.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 539.

65 *Ibid.*, pp. 539–40.

66 He came to Lima at the same time as the Viceroy Luis de Velasco (1596?).

67 *Ibid.*, p. 540.

68 Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, p. 251.

69 Contreras, *Padrón de los indios de Lima en 1613*, pp. 527–28.

having arrived in Lima between 1601 and 1602, where he worked for Niculas Turqui; he had been branded on his face.⁷⁰ There was also a third slave whose name is unknown. This 18-year-old, born in Macao, traveled to the Americas where he served the Spaniard Ruiz Dias of Medina.⁷¹ These are the only clear examples of slaves of Chinese origin in the census. Also within the “Indians from China” category, were seven slaves from Malacca. The first was Polonia Sigura, who arrived in Lima in 1593. She was 23 years old. Her owner was the Spaniard Melchior Sigura.⁷² The second Malaysian slave was Andres, Pedro Sabtisso’s servant. Andres was born in Malacca in 1580 and moved to Lima between 1600 and 1601. He had also been branded on the face.⁷³ The name of third slave from Malacca is unknown. However, there is some biographical information on his diaspora. He was born around 1578 and brought to the Americas by the Spanish captain Lope de Ulloa, having been sold to a merchant named Seberino de Torres and subsequently handed over to his son, Don Luis de Torres.⁷⁴ The fourth slave identified was Pablo Hernandez, who had been born in Malacca around 1588. His first owner was a European named Rodrigo Gómez, who sold him in 1601 to the merchant Juan Mendes Adalid. In Lima, Hernandez worked for Juan de Chaves. He had also been branded on the face.⁷⁵ The fifth slave, Sebastian, was just 14 years old, and we know only that his owner was Juan de la Fuente Almonte.⁷⁶ The slave Pedro Andres was born in Malacca around 1576, and had been branded on the face.⁷⁷ He served the scribe Cristóbal Losaya for eight years. The last in this group was called Paulo, who was born in Malacca in 1586. We know only that he served the Spaniard Juan Mendez Adalid.⁷⁸ The remaining slaves in the “Indians from China” category were from the Philippines and, although they are included in the category of slaves sold by the Portuguese, actually belonged to a network of Spanish traffickers.

The third and final group is “Indians from Japan.” A more detailed study of them will be presented in Chapter 6 of this book.

With regard to these 114 individuals, I would like to point out that some of the places of origin might be difficult to identify, and that some individuals

70 Ibid., p. 537.

71 Ibid., p. 540.

72 Ibid., p. 530.

73 Ibid., p. 532.

74 Ibid., p. 534.

75 Ibid., p. 536.

76 Ibid., pp. 539–40.

77 Ibid., p. 541.

78 Ibid., p. 541.

included in the Portuguese trade sphere were born in the Philippines, which was then under Spanish rule. It is not easy to tell why the author of the census, Miguel Contreras, placed them in “Indians from Portugal,” “Indians from China,” or “Indians from Japan” categories.⁷⁹ Some of these slaves also had children, and we do not know if they were included in this list.

In sum, in the Lima census I was able to verify the extraordinary complexity and geographic diversity of the slaves exported by the Portuguese to the American continent through the Asian traffic networks. It should also be noted that during the first half of the 17th century, the Portuguese settled in Lima continued to control and expand the slave trade, along with two other main activities, namely textiles and winery. In the period between 1611 and 1659, we can also conclude that 45.81 per cent of the Portuguese community in Lima were involved in or had some kind of relation to the slave trade.⁸⁰

The Last Chapter of the Portuguese Presence in Japan

The end of Japanese slavery perpetuated by the Portuguese on an international scale did not represent the end of Japanese slavery in Nagasaki. The last years of Portuguese presence in Japan—especially after 1614, the official date of the expulsion of the Society of Jesus and the mendicant orders—reveal a regional-level slave trade connected to religious persecution. The prohibition of Christianity by the Tokugawa regime, characterized by the increased repression of Japanese Christians throughout the Kyūshū region (where conversion to Christianity had been more successful) led to a new type of victim, quite different from that witnessed in previous decades: that is, Japanese forced into slavery because they were Christians. Through European sources we know that, as early as 1614, some women and children of Ōmura, Shimabara, and Kuchinotsu were threatened with slavery.⁸¹ Although we do not have much evidence, it is very likely that these threats became real since a witness, from 1614, tells us

79 For example, there are six slaves from Xangua (Shanghai?) Sagwa? (region of Madhya Pradesh, India) Luo chaguo (羅刹國), Java. I was not able to verify if this belongs to India, China, or Southeast Asia. There is also the case of a couple of Japanese born in Goa, who define themselves as Japanese rather than Indian. *Ibid.*, pp. 526, 527, 528, 530, 534, 535, 537, 541.

80 Gleydi Sullón Barreto, “Extranjeros integrados. Portugueses en la Lima virreinal, 1570–1680,” PhD diss., University Complutense of Madrid, 2015, p. 157.

81 Trigault, *Histoire des martyrs du Japon depuis 1612 jusqu'en 1620*, pp. 516, 518; Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, pp. 284–85.

that the wife of a Japanese Christian named Luis Sotar was enslaved for refusing to abjure Christianity.⁸² We also know that in 1614, in the Arima region, the practice was not to martyr Christian women, but rather to enslave them. However, no information on their fates survive.⁸³

We also know that in 1615, through Bernardino de Avila Girón, a Christian Japanese woman whose name is unknown, was sent to brothel owners in Nagasaki to serve as a prostitute, as she refused to apostatize.⁸⁴ In 1616, 12 married Japanese Christian women were sold to the owner of a brothel.⁸⁵ Another primary source is Friar Jerónimo da Cruz's letter to a Portuguese nobleman, in 1630, reporting that the children of Japanese Christians were forcibly removed from their parents and adopted by non-Christian families.⁸⁶ The same cleric reported that various Christian women from Hiroshima and recently married young women from Miye were being enslaved, while the most beautiful among them had been sold to work in brothels.⁸⁷ Also, according to the Franciscan Diego de San Francisco, after the 2 November 1630 Nagasaki martyrdom, many wives and daughters of Japanese martyrs were enslaved in Ōmura and Nagasaki and sold at a very low price.⁸⁸

Another letter sent by the Jesuit Cristóvão Ferreira to the Jesuit André Palmeiro reveals that in 1632, the *bugyo* of Nagasaki, Takenaka Shigeyoshi

82 Trigault, *Histoire des martyrs du Japon depuis 1612 jusq'en 1620*, pp. 516, 519.

83 Álvarez-Taladriz, "Apuntes sobre el Cristianismo y la Esclavitud en Japon," p. 508.

84 *Y luego este mesmo dia la traxeron al patio de la cassa del çafioye y ençendiendo primeramente una gran hoguera començaron a echar en ella gran cantidad de Rosarios ymages y reliquias que auian quitado a los xpianos del Tacaqu [...] que no le yçiese nada sino que primero la desnudassen y desnuda en biuas carnes las manos atadas atras lalleuasen por todas las calles de nangaçaqu para que fuese uista de todos particularmente de las honestas mugeres y quando boluais de hacer esto dijo el maluado le hareis esto y esto y entregareis a estos padres de las publicas mugeres de los quales auia alli cantidad aperçeuídos para la lleuar para que la lleben y se aprouechen della ... Bernardino Avila de Girón, *Relacion del Reyno del Nippon a que llaman corruptamente Jappon* (Manuscript), vol. 5: *Toyo Bunko* (Library Code: xv11-7-D-a-5).*

85 Álvarez-Taladriz, "Apuntes sobre el Cristianismo y la Esclavitud en Japon," p. 508.

86 This is also mentioned briefly in Father Vicente Carvalho's letter to an unknown Portuguese man, dated 6 September 1628, translated by Léon Pâges. *Les hommes, les femmes et les enfants étaient enlevés et volés*. Léon Pâges, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon* (Paris: Charles douniol, Libraire Editeur, 1869), vol. 11, p. 350.

87 *Ibid.*, pp. 323–24.

88 Lorenzo Pérez, "Otras dos relaciones de Fr. Diego de San Francisco, acerca de las persecuciones en el Japón," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 1(5) (1914): 245.

(竹中重義) (1629–34,) sent to Edo/Tokyo, as slaves, all the wives and daughters of Christians who had been executed from 1627 to 1632.⁸⁹

Regarding the Portuguese traders living in Japan at this time, despite limited information, it can be concluded that in addition to still owning slaves, some of these slaves were Japanese. For example, Richard Cocks's journal tells us that on 18 June 1615,⁹⁰ the Portuguese Jorge Durois had sent him a letter warning him, among other things, that about 2600 people had died in Nagasaki of "smallpox," among them his "boy" Domingo and his unnamed slave.⁹¹ On 12 December 1616, Cocks bought Jorge Durois's Japanese slave, "Sanzero" Lourenço.⁹² He was considered by Cocks the best worker in the English trading post. After being beaten, on 10 April 1617 Lourenço escaped the trading post, being brought again by his own parents.⁹³

When, in 1624, Europeans were expelled from Nagasaki they were compelled to leave without their Japanese slaves. Before returning to Macao, the Portuguese decided to release the Japanese slaves instead of selling them.⁹⁴

TABLE 4.3 Portuguese commercial journeys to the Philippines (1580–1642)

Year	Portuguese vessel	Captain	Number of vessels
1580	???? (from India?)	????	?
–81	???? (from Malacca)	????	
1582	Tidore	Manuel Ferreira Villas Boas	1
1583	Macao	Sebastião Jorge Moxar	1
1584	Macao	Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro	2
	Macao	Vicente Landeiro	
1585	Malacca	Diogo Dias de Boavista	1

89 Letter from Cristóvão Ferreira S.J. to André Palmeiro S.J., 22 March 1632. Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. II, p. 373.

90 Richard Cocks (1566–1624) was the head of the British trading post in Hirado between 1613 and 1623.

91 Richard Cocks, *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan 1615–1622 with Correspondence*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1883), vol. I, p. 11.

92 *Ibid.*, p. 219.

93 *Ibid.*, p. 249.

94 Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. I, p. 587.

TABLE 4.3 Portuguese commercial journeys to the Philippines (1580–1642) (*cont.*)

Year	Portuguese vessel	Captain	Number of vessels
1585	Macao, China, Malacca, and India		4?
1587	Macao	????	2
	Macao	????	
1588	Macao	????	2
	Malacca	????	
1589	Macao	????	1
1590	Malacca	Diogo Dias de Boavista	2
	Macao— <i>Maria da Assunção</i>	João da Gama	
1594	Malaca	?	1
1595	Macao	????	2
	Malacca	????	
1596	Malacca	Manuel Dias de Monforte	1
1600	Malacca		1
1601	Malacca	????	1
1604	Macao	????	6
	Macao	????	
	Macao	????	
	Macao	????	
	Macao	????	
	Macao— <i>Santiaguillo</i>	Marcos Cueva	
1605	Macao	António Rodríguez	3
	Macao		
	Malacca		
1606	Macao	????	1
1609	India	????	4
	Moluccas		
	Siam		
	Macao		
1610	Macao— <i>São Marcos</i>	????	2
	Macao		
1612	Macao	????	7
	Macao	????	
	Macao	????	
	Macao	????	
	Macao	????	

TABLE 4.3 Portuguese commercial journeys to the Philippines (1580–1642) (cont.)

Year	Portuguese vessel	Captain	Number of vessels
	Macao	????	
	Macao	????	
1613	Philippines–Macao		1
1616	Malacca	Francisco Fernandes	1
1618	Malacca— <i>Nossa Senhora da Esperança</i>	Francisco Falcão	1
1619	Nagasaki— <i>Nossa Senhora dos Remédios</i>	Goa ?	22
1620	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora da Salvação</i>	Miguel Cardoso	27
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora da Salvação</i>	Pedro Dias Carvalho	
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i>	Simão de Oliveira	
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i>	Francisco Botelho	
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora de Atocha</i>	Gaspar Barbosa	
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora da Piedade</i>	José de Vides	
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora da Vida</i>	Gregorio de Aguinaga	
	Macao–Japão— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i>	Don Alvaro Fajardo	
		Miguel Cardoso	
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora do Amparo</i>	Sebastian Hernandez/	
	Macao— <i>São Miguel</i>	Francisco Teixeira	
		António Ribeiro	
	Malacca— <i>Santa Cruz</i>	Francisco Falcão/Falcon	
	Malacca	Luís Machado	
	Malacca	António de Viana	
	Goa/Kochi— <i>São Jerónimo</i>		
	Ternate— <i>São Gregório</i>	Sua Magestade	
	Kochi— <i>São Nicolau</i>	António de Oliveira	
	Nagapattinam— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i>	André Perez Franco	
		Francisco Cardoso	
	Nagapattinam	Manuel da Cunha	
	Nagapattinam	João de Mora	
	Kochi— <i>Nossa Senhora da Conceicao</i>	Gaspar Mendes Raposo	
	Goa— <i>Nossa Senhora dos Remedios</i>	Cristovão Teixeira/Texada	
		João de Brito	
	Kochi— <i>Nossa Senhora da Boa Viagem</i>	Manuel Rodrigues Navarro	
	Bengal— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i>	António Oliveira	

TABLE 4.3 Portuguese commercial journeys to the Philippines (1580–1642) (*cont.*)

Year	Portuguese vessel	Captain	Number of vessels
1621	Nagasaki— <i>Santo Antonio</i>	Pedro de Andrade	20
	Kochi	Andrés Marras	
	Kochi		
	Cambodia		
	Macao	Estevão Penis	
	Macao	Francisco Diaz	
	Macao	Cristóval de Vera	
	Macao	António Teixeira	
	Macao	Francisco de Sosa/Souza	
	Macao	Cristóval Nardi	
	Macao	Juan Xuarez/Soares	
	Macao	Francisco Tavares	
	India	Pedro Tofi?	
	Japan (vessel belonged to Francisco Diaz)	????	
	India	Leonardo Selvado	
	Cambodia	Fernando Baez Rodoballo	
	????	Pedro de Andrade	
	Japan	Duarte Correia	
	Japan	Manuel Rodriguez	
	Goa	Navarro	
Siam	Manuel de Sotomayor		
Malacca	Diego de Miranda		
Malacca	Henriques		
India	Juan/Joam/João de Teixeira		
1625	Bengal— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i>	Domingo Diaz	8
	Malacca	Benito Barbosa	
	Macao	João de Brito	
	Makassar	Mathias Pereira	
	Macao	Rodrigo Homem Cabral	
	Kochi	António de Vederas	
	Goa	Diogo Ribeiro	
	Macao	Miguel Dachar	
	Álvaro Ruiz		
	Juan de Torres		

TABLE 4.3 Portuguese commercial journeys to the Philippines (1580–1642) (cont.)

Year	Portuguese vessel	Captain	Number of vessels
1626	Goa— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i>	Manuel Lopes	14
	Malaca— <i>Almas do Purgatorio</i>	Manuel Goncalves?	
	Kochi— <i>Nossa Senhora da Guia</i>	Inacio Moreira	
	Cambodia	Hernan Baez Rodoballo	
	Macao	Pedro Suares	
	Macao	Juan Texeira	
	Macao	Cristoval de Mercado	
	Malacca	António Barreto	
	Goa	Manuel Botelho	
	Kochi	António Varela	
	Kochi	Domingo de Proenza	
	Goa	Martim Boajez	
	Goa	Manuel da Silva	
	Macao	Manuel Correa	
1627	Macao	Domingo da Cunha	12
	Macao	Nicolás de la Peña (Nicolau da Penha?)	
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i>	Leonel de Sousa	
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i>	Gaspar Borges	
	Macao	????	
	Macao	????	
	India	Manuel de Viera Lobo	
	Makassar	????	
	Malacca	Diego de Miranda	
	Goa	António Borges de Sosa	
	Kochi	Francisco Coelho	
Nagapattinam	Balthasar Fragoso		
1628	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Capitana</i>	????	22
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Almiranta</i>	????	
	Makassar	Domingo Diaz Espinhel	
	Malacca	Juan Baptista	

TABLE 4.3 Portuguese commercial journeys to the Philippines (1580–1642) (*cont.*)

Year	Portuguese vessel	Captain	Number of vessels
	Macao	????	
	Macao	????	
	Macao	????	
	Conchichina	????	
	Goa	Nicolau de la Pena	
	Goa	Manuel Rodrigues	
	Goa	Manuel Francisco	
	Goa	Gerónimo de Rivera	
	India	Pedro Alvarez	
	Malacca	Vital Mendez	
	India	Alvaro Ruiz	
		Sebastião Rodrigues and	
	Japan	Manuel de Ledo	
	Japan	Manuel Alvarez de Orego	
	Macao	Victoria Miguel	
	India	Juan Fialho	
	Kochi	Álvaro de Fonseca	
	Nagapattinam	Antonio Leites de Azevedo	
	Nagapattinam	Luís Dias	
		Simão Pereira Fialho	
1629	Macao— <i>Santo Antón</i>	Francisco Vieira	
	Macao— <i>Capitana</i>	Juan de Alcarazo	
	Macao— <i>Almiranta</i>	Frota de Juand de	
	Malacca	Alcazaro	
	Kochi	Gonçalo Juan	
	Cherue? (Portuguese State of India)	Cosme Cardoso	20
	India	????	
	Macao	Francisco de Acosta	
	Macao	Monteiro	
	Cochinchina	Ponciano de Abreu	
		Manuel de Aranda	
		Niculau de la Pena	

TABLE 4.3 Portuguese commercial journeys to the Philippines (1580–1642) (*cont.*)

Year	Portuguese vessel	Captain	Number of vessels
	India	Luís Botelho	
	Taiwan	António de Matos	
	Cambodia	Pedro Muñoz	
	Cambodia	Pedro Galhardo	
	Goa	Miguel de Araujo	
	Goa	Tomas de Tequeda	
	Goa	Francisco Diaz Uoto/a	
	India	António de Mendoza	
	Makassar	Simão Teixeira	
	Macao (belonged to Nicolau de la Pena)	????	
1630	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i>	????	6
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i>	????	
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i>	????	
	Macao— <i>Trinidad</i>	????	
	Macao	????	
	Macao	????	
1631	Macao— <i>Santa Cruz, Almiranta</i>	Nicolás de Sequeira	3
	Macao— <i>Bom Jesus</i>	João da Rocha	
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora das Mercês</i>	????	
1632	Macao— <i>Santa Cruz</i>	Juan Fialho	15
	Macao	Juan Correa de Acosta	
	Macao	Jorge Pinto	
	Macao	Nicolau Sequeira	
	India	Luís Dias	
	Japan	Manuel Alvarez	
	Malaca	Manuel de Acosta	
	Goa	António Nogueira	
	India	Sebastian de Fuentes	
	Cochinchina	Simão Teixeira	
	Goa	Luís Camelo Serrano	
	Macassar	Joseph de Matos	
	Malaca	Domingos de Barbosa	
	Cambodia	Estevão Rodrigues	
	Kochi	Diogo Ximenez	

TABLE 4.3 Portuguese commercial journeys to the Philippines (1580–1642) (*cont.*)

Year	Portuguese vessel	Captain	Number of vessels
1633	Macao	????	3
	Macao	????	
	Macao	????	
1634	Conchichina	António Machado	5
	Conchichina	António Mendes	
	Makassar	Juan Pinto	
	Conchichina	Manuel Alvarez de Orego	
	Malacca	Juan Daniel de Rocha	
1635	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora da Guia</i>	Diego de Miranda	5
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora da Conceição</i>	Henriques	
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora da Limpa Conceição</i>	Manuel de Morais	
	Macao/Macassar	Pimenta	
	Malacca	Luís Alonso de Roa	
		Simão Teixeira	
		Manuel Jorge	
1636	Macao	Lourenço de Lis Velho	7
	Macao— <i>Santo António?</i>	Manuel de Andrade	
	Macao— <i>São Bernardo</i>	????	
	Cambodia	António Machado	
	Makassar	Magalhães	
	Malacca	Jerónimo Rodrigues	
	Cambodia	Jorge dos Santos	
		Juan Martinez de Subire	
		????	
		????	
1637	Macao	????	3
	Macao	????	
	Macao	????	
1638	Macao— <i>São Baptista</i>	Juan López de Andoáin	6
	Macao	????	
	Macao— <i>Santa Cruz</i>	Aleixo de Mesquita	
	Cambodia	Pereira	
	Makassar	Juan de Mora	
	Makassar	Miguel Alonso	
	Francisco de Vieira		
	Figueiredo		

TABLE 4.3 Portuguese commercial journeys to the Philippines (1580–1642) (*cont.*)

Year	Portuguese vessel	Captain	Number of vessels
1639	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora da Conceição</i>	Francisco da Mota	5
	Macao	Pedro Gomes de Pina	
	Macao	????	
	India	Domingo Rodrigues Pinheiro	
	Makassar	Matias Correia Carvalho	
1640	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora da Conceição</i>	Pedro Gomes de Pina	3
	Macao— <i>Santa Cruz</i>	????	
	Macao	????	
1641	Macao— <i>Sao Francisco Xavier</i>	Francisco Barreto	8
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora da Limpã Conceição</i>	João Leite Ferreira	
	Macao— <i>Nossa Senhora da Limpã Conceição</i>	Aleixo de Mesquita	
	Makassar		
	Cambodia	Salvador Coelho	
	Makassar	Manuel Rodriguez	
	Makassar	Velen/Belém	
	Cambodia	Francisco de Vera Figueiredo	
		Matias Correia	
		Luís Dias	
1642	Macao	Fernão Barreto de Almeida	
	Macao		
	Cambodia	Vicente de Tavares	
	Kochi	Manuel Dias	
	Macao	Francisco Jorge	
	Cambodia	Jerónimo de Sosa	
	Cambodia	Ju° (Julio?) Gomez de Pavia	
	Makassar		

TABLE 4.3 Portuguese commercial journeys to the Philippines (1580–1642) (cont.)

Year	Portuguese vessel	Captain	Number of vessels
	Makassar	Gaspar Borges da Fonseca	10
	Makassar	Juan Gomez de Pavia	
		Amaro Rodrigues	
		Ponsiano de Pavia	

Source: José Álvarez-Taladriz, "Apuntes sobre el Cristianismo y la Esclavitud en Japón," in Alessandro Valignano, *Adiciones del sumario de Japon*, ed. José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz (Privately published, n.d.), appendix, p. 499 (n. 15); AGI, Filipinas, 6; AGI, Filipinas, 24, R.2, n.14, fols. 34v, 35v, 36, 36v, 37, 37v, 38, 40, 40v, 41, 42, 42v, 43, 43v, 44v, 45, 45v, 48v, 49, 49v, 51v, 52, 53v, 54, 56, 56v, 58v, 61v, 62, 63, 63v, 64, 64v, 65v, 66, 66v, 68, 68v, 69; AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R. 5, N. 30; AGI, Filipinas, 18A, 6 42; AGI, Contaduría, 1202, fol. 169v; AGI, Filipinas, 29, N. 57; AGI, Contaduría, 1206, fols. 282v, 485v, 487v; 1207, fol. 15v; AGI, Contaduría, 1220, fol. 155v; AGI, Filipinas, 27, n. 51, fol. 313v; AGI, Filipinas, 329, L. 2, fols. 97–98; AGI, Filipinas, 7, R.5, N.58 fol. 7; AGI, Filipinas, 8-R-1-N-10, fols. 3–4; De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, pp. 49–62, 75–80, 93–114; Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. III, p. 41; Colín, *Labor Evangélica*, vol. I, p. 354, n. 2; AGI, Patr. 25, 36; Gil, *Chinos en Manila*, pp. 96, 380, 389, 390, 488, 576, 583, 584, 593, 594, 596, 597, 601, 602, 604, 605; Emma Helen Blair, James Alexander Robertson, and Edward Gaylord Bourne, *The Philippine Islands 1493–1898* (Cleveland, OH: A.H. Clark, 1903–05), vol. VII, pp. 72, 75; AGN, Inquisición, 1597, vol. 160, exp 1, fol. 74v; AGN, Indif Virreinal, caja-exp 6729-009, Filipinas 1589–92 fol. 49v; AGN, Inquisición, vol. 172, expediente 1 (1592); AGN, Inquisición 1597, vol. 162, fol. 9; AGN, Historia, 407, 1616, fols. 162–164; AGN, Inquisición, 1618, vol. 903, fols. 228–229; AGN Inquisición, 1619, vol. 903, fols. 240–241v; AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja-exp.: 4154-001. Inquisición, 1620, fol. 42; AGN, Inquisición, 1626, vol. 903, exp. 32, fols. 247–260; Seymour B. Liebman, *The Jews in New Spain: Faith, Flame, and the Inquisition* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1970), p. 171; Manuel Lobato, *Política e Comércio dos Portugueses nas Insulndia: Malaca e as Molucas de 1575 a 1605* (Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente, 1999), p. 213. Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (1609; Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1909), pp. 167–74; Benjamim Videira Pires, *A viagem de comércio Macau-Manila nos séculos XVI a XIX* (Macao: Museu Marítimo de Macau, 1994), p. 19; Rui D'Avila Lourido, 'The Impact of the Macau–Manila Silk Trade from the Beginnings to 1640', in *The Silk Roads: Highways of Culture and Commerce*, ed. Vadime Elisseeff (Paris: UNESCO, 1998), pp. 209–46; ARSI, Jap Sin 16 i, fol. 117. Emmanuel Dias, 23-12-1614; George B. Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea 1630–1754* (1986; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 12–29, 46–86.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Gaspar (Fernandes)	M	Japan	1577		1599 Mexico City	Bungo–Nagasaki (1585) Macao–Nagasaki–Hirado– Manila–Acapulco–Mexico City
Catalina	F	China?	1594		1599 (America)–1606 Lima, Peru	Macao–Manila–Acapulco– Lima
Spouse of Sonemon	F	Korea	1583		1600 Japan 1603 Nagasaki (Furukawa- machi; Shita- machi; Hirado-machi in Nagasaki)	Korea–Japan
Chinale	M	Chinese			1600	Nagasaki –Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Mexico City
Pedro Xapón	M	Japanese			1600 Mexico City	
Maria (girl)	F	China			1600 Macao	
Antoninho (boy)	F	China			1600 Macao	
Unknown name	F	China			1600 Macao	
Unknown name	F	Siam			1600 Macao	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Rui Pérez (Nagasaki, Manila), Tomas del Rio (Mexico)	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	He was abducted and taken to Nagasaki, sold into service for 12 years for 8 <i>reales</i> (from 1587 (Gaspar mistakenly says 1585)), and then enslaved in the Americas. Worked for Rui Pérez in Nagasaki.
Juan Bonilla	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Catalina came from China to the Americas at the age of 5. Therefore, she had no memory of her birthplace. She was raised by Juan Bonilla as his daughter. In 1606, she was 12 years old.
	Married	Ex-slave		Her husband was a Christian from the Arie family. She came to Japan in 1600(?), and arrived in Furukawa-machi, Nagasaki, in 1603. She was baptized in 1600(?) and apostatized between 1629 and 1632.
	Single	Slave		Pyrard de Laval mentions a former Chinese slave in Southeast Asia. We know that in 1600 there was a service contract with Pedro, a "Japanese Indian," who had always been kept chained. His new owner was advised never to remove these chains to avoid the risk of escape.
Manuel Gomes o Velho	Single	Freed slave		Maria was bought as a child by Manuel Gomes o Velho, who raised her not as a slave, but as a daughter.
Manuel Gomes o Velho	Single	Freed slave		Antoninho was bought as a child by Manuel Gomes o Velho, who raised him not as a slave, but as a son.
Luzia Loubata	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	The last will and testament of Luzia Loubata, wife of Cristóvão Soares Monterroso, reveals her instructions for selling a Chinese girl.
Luzia Loubata	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	The last will and testament of Luzia Loubata, wife of Cristóvão Soares Monterroso, reveals her instructions for selling a Chinese girl.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Madalena	F	Japan			1600 Macao	
Mónica	F	China			1600 Macao	
Angela	F	Korea			1600 Macao	
Helena	F	Korea			1600 Macao	
Catalina	F	Japan			1600? Mexico City	
Baltasar Hernandez	M	China	1581 Macao		06-1601/2 Lima, Peru	Macao–Manila–Acapulco– Lima
Susana	F	Bengal	1576 Bengal		1601–06 Lima, Peru	Malacca–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Luzia Loubata		Freed slave	Domestic servant	The last will and testament of Luzia Loubata, wife of Cristóvão Soares Monterroso, reveals her instructions for releasing Madalena, a Japanese slave who was granted 10 <i>pardaos</i> on the condition she remained at Fernão Palhares's house until reaching a marriageable age.
Pero de Roveredo	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Pero de Roveredo released a Chinese slave named Mónica after eight years of service and gave her 30 <i>pardaos</i> as a dowry.
Pero de Roveredo		Slave	Domestic servant	Pero de Roveredo granted 20 <i>pesos reales</i> to a Korean slave he sold to the merchant/Head Captain Dom Paulo of Portugal.
Pero de Roveredo		Slave	Domestic servant	Pero de Roveredo granted 20 <i>pesos reales</i> to a Korean slave he sold to Francisco Pereira de Sá, who lived in Goa.
	Married to Francisco Leitão (Portuguese merchant)	Freed slave?		At the beginning of the 16th century, on an undisclosed date, a Japanese female slave baptized with the Christian name of Catalina de Bastidos arrived in Mexico City. After having a romantic relationship with Portuguese trader Francisco Leitão/Leiton, she obtained her freedom on the day of her marriage. Even so, she was treated with suspicion and disparagement by her neighbors, due to both her foreign and former slave status. To defend herself, Catalina would come to claim that her enslavement was illegal as she had been born free.
Niculas Turqui	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Hernandez was born in Macao, and arrived in Lima between 1601 and 1602. He worked for Niculas Turqui and, unusually, his face had been branded.
Captain Lucas Perez	Married to Tomas Zarate (free Indian?)	Slave	Domestic servant	Susana came from Bengal to Mexico. She arrived in Lima in 1601 and served Captain Lucas Perez. She had been branded on the face. She was married to Tomas Zarate, a native of that region. They had no children.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Pablo Hernandez	M	Indonesia	1588 Malacca		1601–06 Lima, Peru	Malacca–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima
Andres	M	Indonesia	1580 Malacca		1601–06 Lima, Peru	Malacca–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima
Maria	F	China?			1601 Santiago, Chile	China/Macao–Philippines– Acapulco/Mexico– Santiago/ Chile
Maria de Campoverde	F	China	1570 Macao		1601–06 Lima	China/Macao–Philippines– Acapulco–Lima/Peru
Unknown name	M	China			1602 Route from Goa to Lisbon	China/Macao–Malacca– Goa–Lisbon
Unknown name	M	China			1602 Route from Goa to Lisbon	China/Macao–Malacca– Goa–Lisbon

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Rodrigo Gómez; Juan Mendez Adalid (1601)	Single	Slave		Pablo Hernandez came from Malacca. He was sold in 1601 by Rodrigo Gómez to Juan Mendes Adalid, a merchant. He worked for Juan de Chaves. He was branded on the face.
Pedro Santisso	Single	Slave	Domestic slave	Andres was born in Malacca and lived in Lima between 1600 and 1601. He was branded on the face.
Leonor Titima		Freed slave?		Leonor Titima left some of her belongings to Maria China. It is not clear if Leonor or her granddaughter, who was also called Maria, were former slaves. When she refers to her granddaughter, she does not add the word "China," but when she speaks of this Maria, she does.
Diego Nunez de Campoverde	Single	Freed slave? Domestic Slave		<p>Maria de Campoverde was a Chinese born in Macao. From 1601, she worked for Diego Nunez de Campoverde, in Lima.</p> <p>Commercial transactions involving slaves could be carried out even during the trip, as evidenced by the record books of the vessels <i>Sao Roque</i> and <i>Nossa Senhora da Índia</i> that departed for India on 24 March 1602 and returned again to Lisbon in 1604 (April?). On the return trip, departing from the port of Kochi, the ships carried 256 slaves, namely: "Kaffirs," Bengalis, Canarins, Corumbins, Javanese, and Chinese.</p> <p>Commercial transactions involving slaves could be carried out even during the trip, as evidenced by the record books of the vessels <i>Sao Roque</i> and <i>Nossa Senhora da Índia</i> that departed for India on 24 March 1602 and returned again to Lisbon in 1604 (April?). On the return trip, departing from the port of Kochi, the ships carried 256 slaves, namely: Kaffirs, Bengalis, Canarins, Animals, Corumbins, Javanese, and Chinese.</p>

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Domingo Lopez Japón	M	Japan			1603 Mexico City	Nagasaki–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Mexico City
Diego del Prado	M	Japan	1582		1603–06 Lima, Peru	Nagasaki–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima
Unknown name	M	Japan	1588		1605–06 Lima, Peru	Nagasaki–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima
Unknown name	M	Japan			1606 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao
Unknown name	M	Japan			1606 Macao	Nagasaki–Macao
Unknown name	M	Japan			1606–05 London	Japan–?–London
Victoria Diaz	F	China	1550–55?	Hamburg? Canton	1606 Lisbon, Portugal	Japan–Macao–Malacca– Goa/Kochi trade route; Goa–Lisbon trade route
?	M	Macao (half Japanese, half Spanish)			1606 Lima, Peru	China/Macao–Philippines– Acapulco–Lima
Susana Bernal	F	China?			1606 Lima, Peru	Macao–Manila–Acapulco– Lima

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Pedro Hernandez		Freed slave	Domestic servant	Domingo served the Dominican friar Pedro Hernandez, who obtained a permit for this from the Viceroy.
	Single	Freed slave?	<i>Soletero</i> , ¹ <i>abridor de Cuellos</i> ²	Diego del Prado lived in Lima for three years. He was 24 and had no assets. Worked with a Japanese man whose name is unknown.
	Single	Freed slave?	<i>Soletero</i> , <i>abridor de Cuellos</i>	Worked with Diego del Prado. He was 18 years old and had arrived in Lima in 1605.
Alessandro Valignano		Slave	Domestic servant	Served Alessandro Valignano. Mentioned in the Jesuit's memoirs at the time of Valignano's death.
Alessandro Valignano		Slave	Domestic servant	Served Alessandro Valignano. Mentioned in the Jesuit's memoirs at the time of Valignano's death.
Sir Henry Middleton	Single	Slave	Sailor, cabin boy, personal servant	This young Japanese man in the service of Sir Henry Middleton arrived in England in May 1606 and stayed until 12 March 1607. On 16 July 1607 he arrived at Cape Town and continued his trip to Banten, Indonesia, where he arrived on 14 November 1607. He made several other trips through Southeast Asia and traveled to England on 15 July 1608. There are no other references to this Japanese, and his fate is unknown.
Henrique Dias de Milão	Single	Freed slave	Cook	Slave born in China, went to Lisbon to serve the Milão family. She was persecuted and judged by the Portuguese Inquisition after 1606, being accused of practicing Judaism.
	Married	Freed slave?		Lived in Lima.
Captain Lucas Pérez	Married to Tomas de Zarate	Slave	Domestic slave	Susana came from China and married the slave Tomas de Zarate. They lived in separate houses. Susana's owner was Lucas Pérez and Tomas's was Francisco Basquez.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Unknown name	M	Indonesia	1578		1606 Lima, Peru	Malacca–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima
Pedro	M	India? China?	1582 Xangua (Shang- hai?) Sagwa? (region of Madhya Pradesh, India) luo chaguo, Java?		1606 Lima, Peru	Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima
Maria	F	Peru (daughter of a Chinese slave)	1599		1606 Lima, Peru	
Joana	F	Peru (daughter of a Chinese slave)	1602		1606 Lima, Peru	
Antonio	M	Peru (son of a Chinese slave)	1603		1606 Lima, Peru	
Marcelo	M	Peru (son of a Chinese slave)	1606		1606 Lima, Peru	
Xapon	M	Japan	1580 Nagasaki		1606 Lima, Peru	Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Lope de Ulloa (Lope de Ulloa y Lemos, Galicia 1572?– Concepción, 8 December 1620; Seberino de Torres; Don Luis de Torres (son of Severino de Torres)	Single	Slave	Domestic slave	This slave came from Malacca and was taken to the Americas by Lope de Ulloa. He was later sold to Seberino de Torres. Don Luis de Torres, Seberino's son, became his owner. He was 28 years old.
Francisco Ximenez; Francisco de Toro	Married to Juana from Angola (slave)	Slave	Domestic servant	Pedro had been raised by Francisco Ximenez since childhood. He served in the house of Francisco de Toro, a Spanish shoemaker, in Lima. He claimed he came from Portuguese India and China to Lima. He was married to a slave, Juana de Angola and had four children (two boys and two girls). Maria, 7 years old; Joana, 4 years old; Antonio, 3 years old; Marcelo, 6 months old (ages at time of census).
Francisco de Toro?	Single	Slave		She was the daughter of Pedro and Joana. Pedro served in the house of Francisco de Toro, a Spanish shoemaker, in Lima.
Francisco de Toro?	Single	Slave		She was the daughter of Pedro and Joana. Pedro served in the house of Francisco de Toro, a Spanish shoemaker, in Lima.
Francisco de Toro?	Single	Slave		He was the son of Pedro and Joana. Pedro served in the house of Francisco de Toro, a Spanish shoemaker, in Lima.
Francisco de Toro?	Single	Slave		He was the son of Pedro and Joana. Pedro served in the house of Francisco de Toro, a Spanish shoemaker, in Lima.
	Married to Andrea Ana (from Makassar)	Freed slave	<i>Abridor de Cuellos</i> ³	Xapon came from Nagasaki to Lima. He married Andrea Ana and bought his wife's freedom for 300 pesos. His wife was 24 years old. They had no children.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Maria	F	India? China?	1598 Xangua (Shang- hai?) Sagwa? (region of Madhya Pradesh, India) luo chaguo, Java?		1606 Lima, Peru	Macao–Manila–Acapulco– Lima
Maria	F	Lima (Maria's daughter)	1605? Lima		1606 Lima, Peru	
Juan	M	India? China?	1582 Xangua (Shang- hai?) Sagwa? (region of Madhya Pradesh, India) luo chaguo, Java?		1606 Lima, Peru	Macao–Manila–Acapulco– Lima
Gaspar de Acosta	M	India	1582 Guzarate		1606 Lima, Peru	Malacca–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima
Pedro Ruiz	M	India	1584 Chaul		1606 Lima, Peru	Chaul–Malacca–Macao– Manila–Acapulco–Lima
Sebastian	M	Indonesia	1592 Malacca		1606 Lima, Peru	Malacca–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Francisco Moreno Donosso	Single	Slave?	Domestic servant	Maria was born in Xaguo and claimed that this was the name of a place in India. She worked as a maid in the house of Francisco Moreno Donosso and Niculasa de Bernuy. She had a 1-year-old daughter named Maria.
Francisco Moreno Donosso	Single	Freed slave?		One-year-old daughter of Maria, also named Maria. Her mother worked as a maid in the house of Francisco Moreno Donosso and Niculasa de Bernuy
Francisco Moreno Donosso	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Juan was born in Xaguo. He worked as a servant in the house of Francisco Moreno Donosso and Niculasa de Bernuy. He was 24 years old.
Bernardo Banegas de Bergara	Married to Aldonza (from India)	Slave	Domestic slave	Gaspar de Acosta had lived with his owner Bernardo since childhood. He was 24 years old and was married to an Indian from Portugal called Aldonza. They had no children.
Juan de la Fuente de Almonte	Single	Slave	Domestic slave	Pedro lived in the house of Juan de la Fuente de Almonte, in Lima. We know only that he was 24 years old and was from Chaul.
Juan de la Fuente de Almonte	Single	Slave	Domestic slave	Sebastian lived in the house of Juan de la Fuente de Almonte, in Lima. We know only that he was 14 years old and that he was from Malacca.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Unknown name	M	China (half Japanese, half Spanish)	1588 Macao		1606 Lima, Peru	China/Macao–Philippines–Acapulco–Lima
Maria Basquez	F	India	1578		1606 Lima, Peru	Kochi–Malacca–Macao–Manila–Acapulco–Lima
Francisco Perez	M	China	1566		1606 Lima, Peru	Macao–Manila–Acapulco–Lima
Tomas	M	Japan (from Goa)	1578 He was born in Goa of Japanese parents		1606 Lima, Peru	Goa–Malacca–Macao–Manila–Acapulco–Lima
Marta	F	Japan (from Goa)	She was born in Goa of Japanese parents		1606 Lima, Peru	Goa–Malacca–Macao–Manila–Acapulco–Lima
Francisco	M	Peru (son of Japanese slaves)			1606 Lima, Peru	
Pedro Andres	M	Indonesia	1576 Malacca		1606 Lima, Peru	Malacca–Macao–Manila–Acapulco–Lima
Paulo	M	Indonesia	1586 Malacca		1606 Lima, Peru	Malacca–Macao–Manila–Acapulco–Lima
Andres	M	Portuguese India			1606 Lima, Peru	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Ruiz Dias de Medina	Single	Freed slave?	Domestic servant	This slave was just referred to as Indian from Portugal, <i>mestizo</i> . He had just recently arrived in Lima and lived in the house of Ruiz Dias de Medina, as his servant. He was 18 years old, single.
Gregorio Hernandez Indio?	Married to Francisco Perez (Chinese)	Freed slave?	Domestic servant	Maria Basquez married a Chinese man named Francisco Perez. They had no children.
	Married to Maria Basquez	Freed slave	Swineherd	Francisco Perez was married to Maria Basquez and received a salary for serving Isabel de Sandoval. He was a swineherd. He was 40 years old and had lived in Lima for a long time.
Juseppe de Rivera	Married to Marta (Japanese from Goa)	Slave	Domestic Slave	Tomas was born in Goa and claimed to be Japanese. He was branded on the face. He was married to a Japanese woman from Goa and worked for Juseppe de Rivera. Had a son named Francisco.
Juseppe de Rivera	Married to Tomas (Japanese from Goa)	Slave	Domestic slave	She was born in Goa and claimed to be Japanese. She was married to a Japanese man from Goa named Tomas and worked for Juseppe de Rivera. Had a son named Francisco.
Juseppe de Rivera	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Francisco was Tomas and Marta's son.
Cristóbal de Loyasa	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	This slave served Cristóbal de Loyasa, who was a scribe, for eight years. He was branded on the face.
Juan Mendez Adalid	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	This slave served Juan Mendez Adalid.
Friar Agustin de Torres	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Branded on the face. Served a Dominican priest, Friar Agustin Torres. Lived in the house of Francisco Cifuentes. Was referred to as coming from Portuguese India.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Francisco	M	Portuguese India	1581		1606 Lima, Peru	
Juanillo	M	Portuguese India	1587		1606 Lima, Peru	
Unknown name		China	1586		1606 Lima, Peru	Macao–Manila–Acapulco– Lima
Madalena	F	Portuguese India	1566		1606 Lima, Peru	
Isabel	F	Japan			1606 Lima, Peru	Nagasaki–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima
Madalena	F	Japan			1606 Lima, Peru	Nagasaki–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima
Domingo	M	Portuguese India			1606 Lima, Peru	
	M	Portuguese India			1606 Lima, Peru	
Bartolo	M	Portuguese India	1576		1606 Lima, Peru	
Isabel	F	Portuguese India			1606 Lima, Peru	
Felipa	F	Portuguese India			1606 Lima, Peru	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
General Lorenzo Pacheco	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Francisco, who was branded on the face, and the slave Juanillo are referred to as natives of Portuguese India. These two slaves and another Chinese slave of unknown name served General Lorenzo Pacheco.
General Lorenzo Pacheco	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Francisco and the slave Juanillo, who was branded on the face, are referred to as natives of Portuguese India. These two slaves and another Chinese slave of unknown name served General Lorenzo Pacheco.
General Lorenzo Pacheco	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Francisco and the slave Juanillo are referred to as natives of Portuguese India. These two slaves and another Chinese slave of unknown name, who was branded on the face, served General Lorenzo Pacheco.
Ana de Avila	Single	Slave?	Domestic servant	Madalena is referred to as a native of Portuguese India. She served in the house of Ana de Avila.
Ana Mexia	Single	Slave?	Domestic servant	Two Japanese women served at the house of Ana Mexia, a widow.
Ana Mexia	Single	Slave?	Domestic servant	Two Japanese women served at the house of Ana de Mexia, a widow.
Baltazar de Lorca	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Domingo was branded.
Juan de Espinosa	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	This slave lived in the house of the merchant Juan de Espinosa. He had been branded.
Cristóbal Perez	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Bartolo served the merchant Cristóbal Perez.
Widow	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Isabel was branded on the front part of the body. Her owner was a widow, but we do not know her name.
Gregorio de Ibarra	Married to Anton (Indian from Portugal)	Slave	Domestic servant	Felipa was married to Anton, a slave who served the Jesuits.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Madalena	F	Portuguese			1606	
		India			Lima, Peru	
Clara	F	Portuguese			1606	
		India			Lima, Peru	
Lorenzo	M	Portuguese			1606	
		India			Lima, Peru	
Juan	M	Portuguese			1606	
		India			Lima, Peru	
Antonia	F	Japanese			1606	Nagasaki–Macao–Manila–
					Lima, Peru	Acapulco–Lima
Diogo	M	China?			24-05-1607	
					Macao	
Isabel	F	China?			24-05-1607	
					Macao	
Simão	M	China	Macao		24-05-1607	
					Macao	
António	M	China	Macao		24-05-1607	
					Macao	
Gracia/Graça	F	China	Macao		24-05-1607	
					Macao	
Paula	F	China			24-05-1607	
					Macao	
João	M	China			24-05-1607	
					Macao	
Ma da yu luo (Medeiros)	M	Korea	Busan		10-08-1607	Busan–Japan–Macao
					Macao	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Gregorio de Ibarra	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	
Isabel de Paredes	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Isabel de Paredes was a widow.
Justo de Porras	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Lorenzo was branded on the face.
Niculas de Balderas	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	
Diego de Ayala	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	
Agosto (Augusto) Varela, Luzia (sobrinha; niece)	Married (Isabel)	Slave		Diogo and Isabel were released and received 40 <i>pardaos</i> after serving Augusto Varela's niece for two years from her wedding day.
Agosto (Augusto) Varela, Luzia (sobrinha)	Married (Diogo)	Slave	Domestic servant	Diogo and Isabel were released and received 40 <i>pardaos</i> after serving Augusto Varela's niece for two years from her wedding day.
Agosto (Augusto) Varela, Luzia (sobrinha)	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Simão, the slave Diogo's son, was released after serving Augusto Varela's niece for five years.
Agosto (Augusto) Varela, Luzia (sobrinha)	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Antonio, the slave Diogo's son, was released after serving Augusto Varela's niece for eight years from her wedding day.
Agosto (Augusto) Varela, Luzia (sobrinha)	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Gracia, the slave Diogo's daughter, was released after serving Augusto Varela's niece for 15 years.
Agosto (Augusto) Varela, Luzia (sobrinha)		Slave	Domestic servant	Paula was probably Augusto Varela's lover. She received 80 <i>pardaos</i> for serving his niece Luzia for a period of two years. Even though Luzia and her husband did not like her, they had to give her the 80 <i>pardaos</i> and release her.
Agosto (Augusto) Varela, Luzia (sobrinha)		Slave	Domestic servant	João worked for ten years in the city hospital, before being released.
		Slave		On 8 October 1607, the Guangdong coastal military detected suspicious boat in which 14 people were hidden. The military mistakenly thought that they are <i>wokou</i> ; hence, they attacked the boat, and the people fought back. At last, two of them were killed

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Ma da zhi luo	M	Korea	Busan		10-08-1607 Macao	Busan–Japan–Macao
Dan shi luo (Da Silva)	M	Korea	Busan		10-08-1607 Macao	Busan–Japan–Macao
Shen liu (Teixeira?)	M	Korea	Busan		10-08-1607 Macao	Busan–Japan–Macao
Duo wei (Dias)	M	Korea	Busan		10-08-1607 Macao	Busan–Japan–Macao
Ge xiang yu luo	M	Korea	Busan		10-08-1607 Macao	Busan–Japan–Macao
Zhi huan (Joam, João)M		Korea	Busan		10-08-1607 Macao	Busan–Japan–Macao
Shi luo shi	M	Korea	Busan		10-08-1607 Macao	Busan–Japan–Macao
Isabel	F	China			1607? Macao	
Joana	F	China			1607? Macao	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
				in the skirmish, four drowned, and the other eight were captured and sent to prison. The eight people in prison were: 1. Ma da yu luo; 2. Ma da zhi luo; 3. Dan shi luo; 4. Shen liu; 5. Duo wei; 6. Ge xiang yu luo; 7. Zhi huan; and 8. Shi luo shi. After repeated torture, five of them died except for Ma da yu luo, Ma da zhi luo, and Dan shi luo.
		Slave		Ma da zhi luo was one of the three survivors of capture by the Guangdong coastal military on 8 October 1607.
		Slave		Dan shi luo was one of the three survivors of capture by the Guangdong coastal military on 8 October 1607.
		Slave		Shen liu was captured by the Guangdong coastal military on 8 October 1607, sent to prison, and tortured to death.
		Slave		Duo wei was captured by the Guangdong coastal military on 8 October 1607, sent to prison, and tortured to death.
		Slave		Ge xiang yu luo was captured by the Guangdong coastal military on 8 October 1607, sent to prison, and tortured to death.
		Slave		Zhi huan was captured by the Guangdong coastal military on 8 October 1607, sent to prison, and tortured to death.
		Slave		Shi luo shi was captured by the Guangdong coastal military on 8 October 1607, sent to prison, and tortured to death.
Maria Nunes, Manuel Coelho (son-in-law of Maria Nunes)	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Maria Nunes gave her slave Joana's daughter, Isabel, 50 silver <i>taels</i> as a dowry.
Maria Nunes, Manuel Coelho (son-in-law of Maria Nunes)	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Maria Nunes gave her slave Joana's daughter, Isabel, 50 silver <i>taels</i> as a dowry.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
João	M	China	Macao		1607? Macao	
Miguel de Silva	M	Japan			1608–1610 Lima	Nagasaki–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima
António Rebelo	M	Japan?			19-07-1609 Nagasaki	
Juana Xapona	F	Japan			09-12-1609	Nagasaki–Macao–Manila– Acapulco–Lima
Unknown name	F	Chinese? Indian?			1610 Goa	Macao–Malacca–Goa
Unknown name	F	Japanese			1610 Goa	Nagasaki–Macao–Malacca– Goa

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Francisca Castanho (widow)		Freed slave	Domestic servant	Francisca Castanho released the slave João, under the condition he later served her mother until her death. She also granted him 10 <i>pardaos</i> in her last will and testament.
	Single	Freed slave?	Domestic servant	Miguel de Silva was mentioned in the testimony of the architect Juan del Corral, the Maestro Mayor of Reales Fabricas, who had arrived from San Francisco of Quito to Lima, at the request of Jusepe de Rivera y Dávalos, to build an important bridge of six arches connecting Lima to the San Lazaro district. This bridge, known as Puente de Piedra, was built across the river Rimac between 1608 and 1610. Miguel de Silva participated in the construction as an <i>alarife</i> (builder). Initially, he delivered the stones, and later worked on the construction of the bridge.
Bishop Dom Luís de Cerqueira		Slave	Cook	António Rebelo was Bishop Dom Luís de Cerqueira's slave.
	Single	Freed slave	Domestic servant	The <i>asiento</i> or contract of the Japanese Juana was concluded on 9 December 1609, in Lima, with Alonso de Carrión as a scribe. Juana, who introduced herself as an Indian called Juana de Japón, entered into a contract with Acuña Olivera, a lawyer from the Real Audiencia de Lima, to serve Micaela Cejal de Arroyo, his wife, for two years. During this time, the Japanese woman would receive lodging and food, and by the end of the contract some clothes (a normal condition of this type of contracts). For her work she would receive a 24 <i>pesos</i> salary, 12 <i>pesos</i> for each year of work, being obliged to always serve in this house and never be absent.
Joan Mocquet, host's brother		Slave	Domestic servant	There is a record of the punishment of a Chinese or Indian slave.
Joan Mocquet, host's brother		Slave	Domestic servant	This Japanese slave was cruelly murdered.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Paula Sioa	F	Siam			1610 Macao	Siam–Macao
Isabel/Isabelinha	F	China			1610 Macao	
Madalena Tavera	F	China?			1610 Macao	
Francisca	F	China?			1610 Macao	
Isabel	F	China	Canton?		1610–28 Manila	Canton?– Macao–Manila– Acapulco
Susana	F	Japan			20-06-1612 Arima	
Francisco	M	China	Macao		1613–24 Macao	
Tome Teramachi/ Tomas Teramachi	M	Japan	1570 Chikugo	23-11- 1614 Kuchinotsu	158? Nagasaki 23-11-1614 Kuchinotsu	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Isabel Tavera		Freed slave	Domestic servant	Paula served for 18 years following Isabel's death (1610). She was only released in 1628.
Isabel Tavera		Freed slave	Domestic servant	Isabel/Isabelinha served for 18 years following Isabel Tavera's death (1610). She was only released in 1628.
Isabel Tavera		Freed slave	Domestic servant	Madalena served for 18 years following Isabel's death (1610). She was only released in 1628.
Isabel Tavera		Freed slave	Domestic servant	Francisca served for 18 years following Isabel's death (1610). She was only released in 1628.
Juan Baptista de Molina	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Isabel was bought when she was 7 years old and was taken from Macao to Manila in 1610. In 1628, she traveled as a slave to Mexico.
	Married to Diego Ghenichio	Slave?	Prostitute?	Susana was married to Diego Ghenochio, who was a treasurer. After being deprived of his possessions, he had to parade on a donkey, in a public humiliation. Then he was executed. His wife, Susana, was threatened with being sold to a brothel. We do not know her fate.
Isabel Martins	Single	Son of a slave, freed and adopted by Isabel		Isabel Martins adopted a slave's child and made him her heir. Francisco was Isabel's sole heir but, since he died before adulthood, the inheritance passed to Isabel's husband, Diogo Alvarez. This is a unique example in which the husband, still living, was replaced by the adopted son.
		Freed slave	Merchant	Thome Teramachi was a 44-year-old merchant born in Chikugo; while he was still a boy he was sold during the war to Christians in Nagasaki. He was later released by his owner. After becoming a trader, every time he could raise enough money, he used it to buy slaves. After consulting with the priests, he retired to an unpopulated hill next to the city of Nagasaki in November of 1613. He was in charge of burying the dead and saying prayers for their souls. He died from beheading.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Luís de Encío/Encio Soemon	M	Japan	1595	1666 Guadala- jara	1614 Mexico City, 16?? Ahuacatlán, Guadalajara	Japan– Philippines– Mexico
Margarita de Encío	F	Mexico (first-genera- tion Japanese descendant)			Guadalajara	
Domingo	M	Japan?			18-06-1615 Nagasaki	
Unknown name	F	Japan?			18-06-1615 Nagasaki	
Madalena	F	China	Macao		1615 Macao	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
	Married (Catarina de Silva, Indian native)		Merchant	Luís de Encío was born in 1595, in a village called Fukuchi, in Sendai. Luís was the name Encío Soemon adopted on the day of his baptism and conversion to Christianity. Luís de Encío probably arrived in the Americas as a member of the Hasekura delegation. He married the Indian Catarina de Silva and they had one daughter, named Margarita de Encío. In 1634, he opened his first shop with his partner, Francisco Reinoso, and his second, in 1647, with Francisco de Castilla Chino. In Guadalajara, Luís de Encío met another Japanese man, called Juan de Páez, developing a friendship that would last for the rest of their lives. Around 1635–36, de Páez married Margarita de Encío, becoming Luís de Encío's son-in-law. Luís died in 1666, at the age of 71.
	Married to Juan de Páez (Japanese)			Only daughter of Luís de Encío and Catalina de Silva. In 1635–36, she married the Japanese Juan de Páez. Margarita was a wealthy landlady, heir to Luís de Encío's fortune.
Jorge Durois		Slave?		Richard Cocks's journal tells us that the Portuguese Jorge Durois had sent him a letter on 18 June 1615 warning him, among other things, that about 2600 people had died in Nagasaki of smallpox, among them his boy Domingo and another unnamed slave.
Jorge Durois		Slave?		Richard Cocks's journal tells us that the Portuguese Jorge Durois had sent him a letter on 18 June 1615 warning him, among other things, that about 2600 people had died in Nagasaki of smallpox, among them his boy Domingo and another unnamed slave.
Cristovão Soares, Pero Soares, and Madalena da Cunha	Single	Freed slave	Domestic slave	Madalena was brought to Pero Soares and his wife Sicilia da Cunha and served them for eight years. However, after Pero discarded her, she was taken to the house of Maria Soares and Gaspar Correia.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
	F	Japan			1615 Nagasaki	
Mon	M	Japan			12-12-1616 Hirado	
Sanzero/Lourenço/ Laurenso/Larrance	M	Japan			12-12-1616 Hirado	
Juan de Páez	M	Japan	1608 Osaka	Guadala- jara 1675	1618 Guadalajara	Osaka–Nagasaki–Macao/ Manila–Acapulco– Guadalajara
Lee Unseung	M	Korea			1618 Japan	Korea–Japan–Macao– India.–Europe–India– Macao–Japan–Korea
Ryu Gimyeong (柳起溟)	M	Korea			1618 Japan	Korea–Japan–Macao– India.–Europe–India– Macao–Japan–Korea

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
				When they died, Madalena was taken to Belchior Fernandes and Isabel Gonçalves. Her friends invested 20 <i>pardaos</i> in the trade of Japan and India on her behalf. She was able use this money as a dowry to marry.
Brothel owner		Slave	Prostitute	A Christian woman who refused to apostatized, she was sent to brothel owners in Nagasaki to serve as a prostitute.
Richard Cocks		Servant	Servant in the English trading post in Japan	Cocks paid 2 <i>taels</i> to Mon's mother to buy him. He served at the English trading post for 15 years; the contractual documents were prepared in Japanese.
Jorge Durois, Richard Cocks		Slave	Servant in the English Factory in Japan	On 12 December 1616, Cocks noted in his diary his purchase, from the Portuguese Jorge Durois for 7 <i>taels</i> of silver, of Sanzero, a Japanese slave, whose Christian name was Laurenso (Lourenço). Lourenço was considered by Cocks the best laborer at the trading post.
	Married to Margarita de Encío	Freed slave?	Merchant	Juan de Páez was born in Ōsaka in 1608 and arrived in the Americas in 1618, aged only 10. We do not exactly know how old he was when he moved to Guadalajara. However, it is documented that, between 1635 and 1636, he married Margarita de Encío, thus becoming Luís de Encío's son-in-law.
		Freed slave		Lee Unseung (李雲勝) and Ryu Gimyeong (柳起溟) lived in a <i>nanban dera</i> (Jesuit church). They traveled through Europe and returned to Japan. They then moved from Nagasaki to the country. Could they have been Christians? The Japanese Shigeoki Yanagawa (柳川調興) organized their return to Korea. They traveled with 50 other Koreans.
		Freed slave		Lee Unseung (李雲勝) and Ryu Gimyeong (柳起溟) lived in a <i>nanban dera</i> (Jesuit church). They traveled through Europe and returned to Japan. They then moved from Nagasaki

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Jeffrey	M	Japan			18-04-1618 Hirado	
Bicho/Bycho/Beecho/ Tushima		Japan			28,29-04-1618 Hirado	
Andreas Rodrigo Japon/André Rodrigo Japon	M	Japan			1618–? Pulicat (India)	
Towys Japon Cock	M	Japan			1618–19 Surat (India)	
Jan Miaco/João Meaco	M	Japan			1618–20 Surat (India)	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Kytskindono (?), Richard Cocks		Slave		<p>to the country. Could they have been Christians? The Japanese Shigeoki Yanagawa organized this journey to Korea. They traveled with 50 other Koreans.</p> <p>Kytskindono (?) gave Richard Cocks the Japanese slave Jeffrey and the relevant enslavement papers. Cocks was allowed to take anywhere, even to England. However, Jeffrey was troublesome and was caught stealing. On 21 April, 1618 he was given back to his Japanese owner.</p>
Richard Cocks, Osterwick		Slave		<p>Cocks gave Osterwick a slave named Bicho. This slave was troublesome and was caught stealing. The first reference to Bicho appears on 23 January 1616. On that day, Cocks bought shoes and socks for Bicho.</p>
		Freed slave?	Servant in the Dutch Factory in Pulicat	<p>We know that in 1618, in the Dutch trading post of Pulicat, along the Coromandel coast, the assistant Andreas Rodrigo Japon (André Rodrigo Japon) worked for Hans de Haze. This typical Portuguese name indicates that Japon had been baptized and had Japanese nationality.</p>
		Freed slave?	Servant in the Dutch Factory in Surat	<p>I was able to identify two Japanese in the Dutch trading post of Surat for the years 1618–19: Jan Miaco (João Meaco) and Towys Japon Cock. The latter's salary was 5 <i>guilders</i> per month, which corresponds to the salary of the boys who worked at the trading post, so we can deduce that he was young. Although Japon Cock does not appear on Surat's trading post list for the years 1619 and 1620, there is a reference to Jan Miaco Japon.</p>
		Freed slave?	Soldier in the Dutch Factory in Pulicat	<p>I was able to identify two Japanese working at the Dutch trading post of Surat for the years 1618–19: Jan Miaco (João Meaco) and Towys Japon Cock. Jan Miaco was probably from Kyoto. His first and last names indicate a connection with the Portuguese.</p>

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Gregorio Mattheo	M	Japan			1620 Puebla	
Manuel	M	India, Bangladesh Bengal?			15-02-1620 Macao	India, Bangladesh– Malacca–Macao
Cafre	M				1625 Nagasaki	India–Malacca–Macao– Nagasaki
Ventura	M	Japan			1625 Nagasaki	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Francisco Tomé da Fonseca		Freed slave?		<p>Curiously, they are listed at the end of Surat's list, 17th and 18th respectively, and are the only ones whose profession is not revealed. However, we know that Jan Miaco received a 10 <i>guilder</i> monthly salary. There is another reference to Jan Miaco Japon in Surat's trading post list for the years 1619 and 1620. On this list of 18 people, Jan Miaco Japon is 12th, with a lower salary of 9 <i>guilders</i>, and his rank is designated as soldier, which means that he was a mercenary hired by the trading post to protect it.</p> <p>In Archivo del Sagrario Metropolitano de Puebla, Book of Marriages (1605–24), there is a reference to Gregorio Mattheo, a Japanese Indian from Amesenda (?) in Japan, who married a <i>mestiza</i> (a mixed racial or ethnic person) from Puebla in 1620. Francisco Tomé da Fonseca gave his brother, João da Fonseca, a slave from Bengal named Manuel.</p>
Spanish	Single	Slave	<p>Worked for the Shouya and for Heizō Suetsugu (Xoya) finding Christians and priests in Nagasaki</p>	<p>A <i>kaffir</i> had fled from a Castilian in Nagasaki and accused his owner of having supplied clerics with goods. The Castilian, his wife, and the <i>kaffir</i> were called before the courts, but as the Governor of Nagasaki was sick, they were not received and the accusation was forgotten.</p> <p>Ventura was a slave from Bengal. His mother, Barbara, had two more children, namely Diego/Diogo and Paulo, and a granddaughter named Úrsula. Diego/Diogo became the Provider of the House of Mercy in Nagasaki. Ventura was described as a young man, a captive from Bengal, who apostatized during adulthood in order to be released, denouncing the Christians in Nagasaki to the Japanese authorities, when serving Suetsugu</p>

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Juan de Baeza	M	Japan			1625 Lima	Nagasaki–Macao–Manila–Mexico–Peru
Unknown name	Woman 1 (with three sons)	China			1627 Macao	China–Macao
Unknown name	Woman 2 (with three sons)	China			1627 Macao	China–Macao
Unknown name 1	M	China			1627 Macao	China–Macao
Unknown name 2	M	China			1627 Macao	China–Macao
Martim Gomes/ Martín Gómez	M	Japan	Hakata	1, 2-08-1627 Nagasaki	16?? Nagasaki	Hakata–Philippines–New Spain–Spain–Portugal– India–Malacca–Macao– Japan–Manila–Nagasaki

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
	Single	Freed slave	<i>Soletero</i>	<p>Heizō (末次平藏). His father was probably Francisco Bengal, one of the first slaves owned by the Society of Jesus in Japan.</p> <p>Juan de Baeza wrote his last will and testament in 1625. He lived in the port of Callao and was engaged in patching <i>soletas</i> (a piece of cloth used to patch the sole of a sock). He was single and poor, and for this reason, despite asking to be buried in the main church of Puerto de Callao, he did not want Mass to be held in his name. Juan de Baeza own a house; hence, most likely he lived in rented accommodation.</p>
		Captured and enslaved		Two women with three children each. They had been captured and sold in Macao, but later were released with the help of the Jesuits. They later converted to Christianity.
		Captured and enslaved		Two women with three children each. They had been captured and sold in Macao, but later were released with the help of the Jesuits. They later converted to Christianity.
		Enslaved and freed		Two slaves who were converted to Christianity in Macao. The older brother visited the city and tried to return with them, but they refused. There was an audience with Mandarin, but they opposed to apostatize. They were released later.
		Enslaved and freed		Two slaves who were converted to Christianity in Macao. The older brother visited the city and tried to return with them, but they refused. There was an audience with Mandarin, but they opposed to apostatize. They were released later.
	Married	Enslaved and freed		Martim Gomes/Martín Gómez was born in Hakata, and traveled to New Spain when he was a child. A few years later, he traveled again to Spain (Catalonia) and thence to Portugal. He returned to Japan, and left again for the Philippines to get married

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Inácia (girl)	F	China	Macao		01-09-1629 Macao	
João (boy)	M	China	Macao		01-09-1629 Macao	
10–12 Unknown names	F	Japan			1630 Hiroshima and Mie	
Francisco	M	Mozambique?		1630	1630 Nagasaki	Mozambique–India– Malacca–Macao–Nagasaki
Antónia	F	China	Macao		24-01-1631 Macao	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Domingos da Silva	Single	Daughter of a slave, freed and adopted by Domingos da Silva?		(Manila). Has returned a second time to Japan with his family, and settled in Nagasaki. He devoted the last years of his life to sheltering clerics from Europe and assisting persecuted Christians. The authorities discovered that he was a member of the secret network aiding Christians. He was executed with his 5-year-old son at the beginning of August 1627. Domingos da Silva adopted a boy and a girl, probably children of a relationship with some house slave. Although he was an orphan, he made no mention of his parents.
Domingos da Silva	Single	Son of a slave, freed and adopted by Domingos da Silva?		Domingos da Silva adopted a boy and a girl, probably children of a relationship with some house slave. Although he was an orphan, he made no mention of his parents.
Slave merchants and brothel owners	Single and married	Slave	Servants and prostitutes	Friar Jerónimo da Cruz reported that the children of arrested Japanese Christians were taken from them and handed over to non-Christian families to be adopted. The same cleric mentioned that between 10 and 12 young women from Hiroshima and Mie, recently married, were enslaved. The most beautiful among them were sold to work in brothels. Francisco, a black slave, was executed in Nagasaki in 1630.
Isabel Pinta	Single	Slave	Domestic slave	Antonia, a <i>bicha</i> , was released by Isabel Pinta and granted 100 <i>pesos reales</i> for her wedding, a rosary, two boxes (one big, one small), and a bed. She was supposed to behave according to existing morality standards, otherwise she would lose the bequest. Nevertheless, her freedom was guaranteed.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Jerónimo Iyo/ Jerónimo da Cruz/ Juan Geronimo de la Cruz/Juan Geronimo Torres/Jerónimo Jô	M	Japan	Bungo	03-09- 1632 Nagasaki	Bungo 1614 Nagasaki 161? Manila 1631 Nagasaki	Japan–Manila–Japan
António de Araújo	M	China	Macao	1632–33? Lima	12-11-1632 Lima	Macao–Manila–Acapulco– Lima
Luísa	F	China	Macao		30-10-1635 Macao	
Domingas	F	Bengal			07-11-1636-11- 07 Macao	Bangal–Malacca–Macao
Unknown slave	M	China	1619		17-03-1637 Mexico City	China/Macao– Philippines–Mexico/ Mexico City
Madalena González	F	Japan			05-10-1637 Mexico City	Nagasaki–Macao/Manila– Acapulco–Mexico City?
Manuel	M	Mexico (first- generation Japanese descendant)			05-10-1637 Mexico City	

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Society of Jesus	Single	Freed slave	Priest (O.F.M.)	Jerónimo was born in Bungo and bought as a slave by the Society of Jesus when he was still a child. Because of his talent, Bishop Luís de Cerqueira wanted to make him a priest. After Cerqueira's death in 1614, Jerónimo's relationship with Father Valentim de Carvalho became difficult. He was excommunicated after leaving the Society of Jesus. He joined the Order of San Francisco and traveled to Manila to assist the Japanese refugee community there. He became a priest in 1619 and returned to Japan in 1631. He was captured and died in Nagasaki.
	Single	Freed slave	Worked with gunpowder	António de Araújo's will was made by Juan Sánchez Barragán. He probably died in the hospital of Santa Ana in Lima around 1632–33. In his will he revealed that he only knew one of his parents. He was poor and worked with Juan Muñon.
Francisco Fernandes	Single	Slave	Domestic slave, adopted	Luísa was bought when she was 20 days old and adopted by Francisco Fernandes.
Juliana Dias	Single	Slave	Domestic slave	Juliana Dias gave the slave Bengal Domingas to her granddaughter Isabel.
Hernando del Campo, clergyman	Single	Slave	Domestic slave	This 16-year-old Chinese slave was sold by Hernando del Campo, a clergyman, to Sebastian de Nieva, a locksmith, for the price of 200 <i>pesos</i> of gold.
	Married to Santiago "Chino"	Freed slave?		She baptized her son, Manuel, in the Cathedral of Mexico.
	Single			Baptized in the Cathedral of Mexico. He was the son of Madalena González (Japanese) and Santiago "Chino."

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Constanza	F	Bengal			21-06-1638 Mexico City	Bengal–Malacca–China/ Macao–Philippines– Mexico/Mexico City
Unknown name	M			1637–38 Nagasaki	1637–38 Nagasaki	
Ventura	M	Japan			1640 Mexico City	Nagasaki–Macao/Manila– Acapulco–Mexico City?
Mariana	F	Japan			1640 Mexico City	Nagasaki–Macao/Manila– Acapulco–Mexico City?
Diego Chino		Mexico (first-genera- tion Japanese descendant)			06-05-1640 Mexico City	
Michaela China	F	Mexico (first-genera- tion Japanese descendant)			17-05-1640 Mexico City	
José	M	China	1618	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Macao–Japanese
António	M	China	1632	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Macao–Japanese
Nicolau	M	China	1629	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Macao–Japanese
Domingos	M	China	China	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Macao–Japanese

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Joseph del Castillo, locksmith		Ex-slave	Domestic servant?	Constanza, a Bengal slave, was released by her owner Joseph del Castillo, a locksmith.
Head Captain Francisco de Castel Branco		Slave	Domestic servant	Head Captain Francisco de Castel Branco's slave. After his death, his body could not be buried because the Japanese authorities did not want to bury Christians in Japanese soil.
	Married (Mariana, Japanese)	Freed slave?		Diego Chino and Michaela China's father, baptized in the Cathedral of Mexico City.
	Married (Ventura, Japanese)	Freed slave?		Diego Chino and Michaela China's mother, baptized in the Cathedral of Mexico City.
	Single			Diego Chino was the son of Ventura and Mariana Chinos, who were of Japanese origin, and was baptized in the Cathedral of Mexico City.
	Single			Michaela China, daughter of Ventura and Mariana Chinos, who were of Japanese origin, was baptized in the Cathedral of Mexico City.
Gonçalo Monteiro de Carvalho	Single	Slave	Servant	José, single, approximately 23, was the Chinese slave of ambassador Gonçalo Monteiro de Carvalho. Died a martyr during the delegation.
Gonçalo Monteiro de Carvalho	Single	Slave	Servant	António, single, approximately 8, Chinese slave of ambassador Gonçalo Monteiro de Carvalho. Died a martyr during the delegation.
Gonçalo Monteiro de Carvalho	Single	Slave	Domestic slave	Nicolau, single, approximately 11, Chinese slave of ambassador Gonçalo Monteiro de Carvalho. Died a martyr during the delegation.
		Slave		Domingos, 27, was a slave of one of the ambassadors.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Manuel	M	China	1615	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Macao–Japanese
Lázaro	M	China	1623	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Macao–Japanese
Francisco	M	China	1617	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Macao–Japanese
Pascoal	M	Bengal	1604	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Bengal–Malacca– Macao–Japan
João	M	Bengal	1590	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Bengal–Malacca– Macao–Japan
Mateus	M	Bengal	1617	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Bengal–Malacca– Macao–Japan
Gonçalo	M	Bengal	1606	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Bengal–Malacca– Macao–Japan
Sebastião	M	Bengal	1617	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Bengal–Malacca– Macao–Japan
Domingos	M	Bengal	1605	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Bengal–Malacca– Macao–Japan
Sebastião	M	Malabar	1617	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Malabar–Goa/Kochi– Malacca–Macao–Japan
Nicolau	M	Malabar	1624	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Malabar–Goa/Kochi– Malacca–Macao–Japan
António	M	Malabar	1621	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Malabar–Goa/Kochi– Malacca–Macao–Japan
António	M	Malabar	1620	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Malabar–Goa/Kochi– Malacca–Macao–Japan
Gonçalo	M	Malabar	1620	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Malabar–Goa/Kochi– Malacca–Macao–Japan
Tomé	M	Malabar	1615	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Malabar–Goa/Kochi– Malacca–Macao–Japan
João	M	Malabar	1613	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Malabar–Goa/Kochi– Malacca–Macao–Japan
Jerónimo	M	Malabar	1622	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Malabar–Goa/Kochi– Malacca–Macao–Japan

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
		Freed slave	Pilot (ship)	Manuel, 25, worked for a ship's pilot.
		Slave		Lázaro, 17, was the slave of one of the ambassadors.
		Slave		Francisco, 23, slave.
		Slave		Pascoal, 36, slave of one of the ambassadors.
		Slave		João, 50, slave of the ship's captain.
		Slave		Mateus, 23, slave of the ship's captain.
		Slave		Gonçalo, 34, slave of Diogo Fernandes.
		Slave?		Sebastião, approximately 23. It is likely, but not definite, he was a slave.
		Slave		Domingos, approximately 35 (presumably, he was a slave).
		Slave		Sebastião was from the Balala caste, which is the most significant among the Malabares. He was the 23-year-old slave of the ship's captain.
Manuel Álvares		Slave		Nicolau, a 16-year-old Malabar of the Balala caste, was the slave of Manuel Álvares, ship master.
Rodrigo Sanches de Paredes		Slave		António, a 19-year-old Malabar of the Balala caste, was the slave of ambassador Rodrigo Sanches de Paredes.
		Slave		António, a 20-year-old Malabar slave to the ambassadors and their staff.
		Slave		Gonçalo, 20, slave to the ship's captain (Malabar caste, service lads to the ambassadors and their people).
		Slave		Tomé, a 25-year-old Malabar slave worked for the ambassadors and their people.
		Slave		João, a 27-year-old Malabar slave worked for the ambassadors and their people.
		Slave		Jerónimo, an 18-year-old Malabar slave worked for the ambassadors and their people.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
António	M	Sena, Mozam- bique	1625	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Mozambique–Goa/ Kochi–Malacca–Macao– Japan
António	M	Zamba, Mozam- bique	1600	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Mozambique–Goa/Kochi– Malacca–Macao–Japan
Francisco	M	Sena, Mozam- bique	1590	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Mozambique–Goa/Kochi– Malacca–Macao–Japan
Domingos	M	Malay	1612	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Malacca–Macao–Japan
António	M	Sumba, Solor	1600	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Malacca–Macao–Japan
João da Guerra	M	Papango, Philippines	1610	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Philippines–Macao–Japan
Alberto	M	Timor	1623	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Philippines–Macao–Japan
Manuel	M	Indonesia Java	1605	Japan, 1640	1640 Japan	Malacca–Macao–Japan
Miguel Carvalho	M	Macao (Korean descendant)	1593		1593–1640 Macao 1640 Nagasaki 1641 Macao	Macao–Japan
Mother of Miguel Carvalho	F	Korea			1593 Macao	Korea–Japan–Macao
Ventura	M	China?			1641 Cholula, Mexico	Macao–Philippines– Cholula/Mexico

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Rodrigo Sanches de Paredes		Slave		António was the 25-year-old-slave of ambassador Rodrigo Sanches de Paredes. He was of the Sena caste
Luís Pais Pacheco		Slave		António, 40-year-old slave of ambassador Luís Pais Pacheco. He was of the Zamba caste.
		Slave		Fifty-year-old Francisco, a freed slave of the Sena caste, who had married in Macao, worked for the ship's pilot.
Luís Pais Pacheco		Slave		Domingos, 28, Malayan caste, was the slave of ambassador Luís Pais Pacheco.
		Freed slave		António, Sumba caste from Solor Islands, 40, married in Macao, worked in the ship, free. The reference to António's freedom is probably related to the fact that he was a former slave.
		Freed slave		João da Guerra, Papango caste from Lucoes Islands in Manila, 30, worked in the ship, free. The reference to João da Guerra's freedom is probably related to the fact that he was a former slave.
		Slave		Alberto, from Timor Islands, 17-year-old slave of the ship's surgeon.
Luís Pais Pacheco		Slave		Manuel, from the island of Java, ambassador Luis Pacheco's 35-year-old slave.
	Married	Freed slave? Sailor?		Member of the Portuguese Embassy from Macao to Japan in 1640.
		Slave		She was captured at the beginning of the Korean War. In 1593, she was already in Macao, pregnant. Miguel Carvalho was born that same year.
Andrés Hidalgo	Married	Slave	Tailor	Andrés Hidalgo's slave. The Chinese Ventura was married to the <i>mestiza</i> (free) Maria and worked as a dressmaker. The Viceroy allowed his wife to stay with him at his workplace.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Simón	M	China?			1641 Simón Cholula, Mexico	Macao–Philippines–Cholula/ Mexico
Salvador?	M	Japan?			1642 Macao	
Agustín López de la Cruz	M	Japan			1642-04-29 Hospital of Señor Santo Miguel, Guadalajara, Mexico	Macao–Philippines– Mexico
Leonor Álvarez (married to Hernando Gutiérrez)	F	Portuguese India		1644, Lima	18-10-1644 Lima, Peru	Unknown place–Philippines– Mexico–Peru
Hernando Gutiérrez	M	China?		Before 1644, Lima?	Lima, Peru	
Tomás de Aquino	M	Philippines	Manila	Lima?	18-10-1644 Lima, Peru	Philippines– Mexico–Peru

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Andrés Hidalgo	Married	Slave	Dressmaker	Andres Hidalgo's slave. The Chinese Simon was married to the <i>mestiza</i> (free) Elena de Sarate and worked as a dressmaker. The Viceroy allowed his wife to stay with him at his workplace.
Damião de Lima (Japanese)	Single	Freed slave		Salvador was bought and later released by the Japanese Damião de Lima. He was one of de Lima's heirs. Agustin López de la Cruz, "from the nation of Japan," died on 29 May 1642 at the Señor Santo Miguel Hospital in Guadalajara. His origin is unknown. He was likely a member of the Hasekura delegation.
	Widow	Freed slave?		Native to eastern India, she would have arrived in Peru in the early years of the 17th century. In 1632 she was already in Lima and set up her residence in the parish church of the Mayor. Leonor Álvarez was the widow of Hernando Gutiérrez, of the Chinese nation (<i>nación chino</i>). She had no sons. Leonor declared in her testimony that she had four slaves: Francisco, black of the Terranova caste; Marcos, Chinese; Isabel China; and her daughter Gracia de la Ascensión. Leonor maintained an affectionate and close relationship with Isabel China and her daughter, of whom she wrote "and not unequivocally they were both my slaves, I have raised them and had them as my companions." She named Isabel her heiress, and one of her executors. Thus, we can see that the intimate circle of Álvarez was composed of other Asians.
	Married			He was married to Leonor Álvarez. Friend of Leonor Álvarez.

TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (*cont.*)

Name	Gender	Country	Born	Death	Year, residence	Commercial route
Isabel	F	China	Cantão		1644 Lima, Peru	Macao–Philippines– Mexico–Peru
Marcos (son of Isabel)M		Peru (Chinese descendant)	Lima?		1644 Lima, Peru	
Gracia de la Ascención (daughter of Isabel)	F	Peru (Chinese descendant)	Lima?		1644 Lima, Peru	

- a An artisan that patches socks. Soleta is a piece of cloth used to patch the sole of a sock.
- b An artisan that opens the lechuguilla, cuello or gorguera. The English equivalent is ruff which was worn in Western Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries.
- c An artisan that opens the lechuguilla, cuello, or gorguera. The English equivalent is a ruff, which was worn in Western Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Note: This list presents Chinese, Japanese, and Korean slaves and ex-slaves traded or in contact with the Portuguese whom I have been able to identify in the course of my study. I have also included some Asian slaves who traveled through the Portuguese trade routes to Japan and Peru. *Source:* Francisco Morales, *Ethnic and Social Background of the Franciscan Friars in Seventeenth Century Mexico* (Washington, DC: Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History, 1973), pp. 46–53; Gonoï, “Hiryo Chōsenjin to Kirisutokyō,” pp. 41–59; Pyrard, de Bergeron, and Bignon, *The Voyage of François Pyrard*, vol. II, p. 523; Artur Teodoro de Matos, “Novas Fontes para a História da Carreira da Índia, os livros das naus S. Roque e Nossa Senhora da Conceição (1602–1603),” *STVDIA* 48 (1989): 337–52; Jean Mocquet, *Travels and Voyages into Africa, Asia, and America, the East and West-Indies; Syria, Jerusalem, and the Holy Land* (London: William Nowton, 1696), pp. 251–52; Gleydi Sullón Barreto, “Inmigrantes asiáticos en Lima en el siglo XVII. Aproximación a tres casos concretos,” Sección Bitácora Página Web Instituto e Investigación del Patrimonio Cultural, July 2016, p. 9 <http://www.patrimonioculturalperu.com/inmigrantes-asiaticos-en-lima-en-el-siglo-xvii> (accessed 19 April 2018); Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, *A Outra Metade do Céu* (Macao: Saint Joseph Academic Press, 2011), pp. 166–68; Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in*

Owner	Marital status	Status	Profession	Short biography
Leonor Álvarez		Slave	Domestic servant	Isabel was born in Canton and arrived in the Americas via the Manila galleon. She was sold by Juan Donde Vizcaino to Leonor Álvarez, an Asian native herself from East India. We do not know if Isabel was married, but she had a son named Marcos, who was also considered to be “from the nation of Japan” and a daughter called Gracia de la Ascención. Isabel became Leonor Álvarez’s heir. She is likely to be the same Isabel who was sold in Manila by Bishop João Pinto da Piedade three decades earlier.
Leonor Álvarez	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Marcos was the son of the Chinese Isabel, a native of Canton. He was Leonor Álvarez’s slave.
Leonor Álvarez	Single	Slave	Domestic servant	Gracia de la Ascención was the daughter of the Chinese Isabel, a native of Canton. She was Leonor Álvarez’s slave.

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TABLE 4.4 Asian slaves (1599–1643) (cont.)

15(85) (1928): 7–8; Luys Pinheyro, *Relacion del sucesso que tuvo nuestra santa Fe en los reynos del Japon, desde el ano de 612 hasta el de 615 ...* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martin de Balboa 1617), p. 428; Diego Yuuki S.J., *Bento Fernandes, Japão, 1579–1633* (Macao: Comissão Territorial de Macau para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997), p. 88; Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne*, vol. I, pp. 217; vol. II, pp. 323–24, 404; Tian Shengjin, *Bianwen Jinyi Zuiqiu Shu, Anyueshugao* (Tianjin: Tianjin Ancient Books Publishing House, 1982), vol. 6, pp. 662–67; Tang, *Setting Off from Macau*, pp. 93–94; Jorge de Gouveia, *Relaçam da ditosa morte, de quarenta e cinco christaõs, que em Japaõ morreraõ polla confissaõ da Fé Catholica, em Novembro de 614: tirado de hum processo autentico/pello Padre Jorge de Gouvea* (Lisbon: oficina de Pedro Craesbeeck, 1617); Avila, *Testamentos de índios en Chile colonial*, pp. 119–20; Benjamim Videira Pires, *A Embaixada Martir* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1988), p. 79; AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRCG. 109. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 108 [109]: Anno 1646. Estratto sul Giappone. *Relacion del Ilustre y Glorioso martyrio de quatro Embaxadores Portugueses de la Ciudad de Macan con cinquenta, y siete Christianos*, fols. 195–198v., pp. 47–54; AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRCG. 192. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 192: Anno 1648. *Relação do Glorioso Martitio de Quatro embaixadores portugueses da Cidade de Macau com sincoenta e sete Christãos mais de Sua Companhia nas nações degollados pella ffe de Christo em Nangassaqui, Cidade de Japão a três de Agosto do presente Anno de 1640 com todas as circunstancias de sua embaixada tirada de enformações verdadeiras de testemunhas de vista em Macau por fins de Septembro do mesmo anno*, fols. 280–87; AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRCG. 192. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 192: Anno 1648. *Relatione della glosriosa morte de quattro ambasciatori Portughesi della Città di Macao con altri cinquanta sette Christiani della sua compagnia decapitati tutti per la fede di Christo in Nanguassaqui Città del Giappone alli tre di Agosto 1640 con tutte le circostanze della sua Ambasciata di vere relatione e testimony oculati*, fols. 288–304; João Diogo Alarcão de Carvalho, *A morte dos embaixadores de Macau no Japão em 1640 e o padre António Cardim*. (n.p.: s.n., 1987). Contreras, *Padrón de los indios de Lima en 1613*, pp. 526–47; BADE, Papéis de Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, Cód. 11 (Cód. CXVI-2-5), fols. 225–232; Archivo del Sagrario Metropolitano de la Ciudad de México, Bautismos de Castas 5; Libro de Bautismos de Castas del Sagrario de esta Santa Iglesia Catedral de México que comienza en 13 de febrero de 1639, hasta 9 de mayo de 1640. Bautismos de Castas 6; Libro de Bautismos de Castas del Sagrario de esta Santa Iglesia Catedral

de México que comienza en 1 de mayo de 1640 hasta 28 de abril de 1642. Bautismos de Castas 7; AAL, Testamentos, leg. x, exp. 12; AAL, Testamentos, leg. xxvi, exp. 2; AGN, Genealogía, Rollo 1528, Archivo del Sagrario Metropolitano de Puebla, Libro de Matrimonios (1605-24), fol. 170; AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237; AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 263; AGN, Protocolo Notarial de Alonso de Carrión, N° 268, fol. 262, Lima, 18-04-1612.; AGN, Protocolo Notarial de Alonso de Carrión, N° 267, correspondiente a los años 1609-10, fols. 162-162v. 09-12-1609; AGN, N-2 XVII Protocolo Notarial de Alonso de Carrión, N° 265, fol. 1168; AGN, Protocolo Notarial de Marcos de Santisteban, N° 1811 (1625), fols. 233-234v; AGI, Contratación, 5325, N. 44, fols. 1-3; ARSI, Jap Sin, 14 II, fols. 229-230; ARSI, Jap Sin 63, fols. 59-61; ARSI, Jap Sin 18 I, fols. 84v-85; ARSI, Jap Sin 58, fols. 82v-83; ARSI, Jap Sin, 35, fol. 114; ARSI, Jap Sin, 29, fol. 122v; ARSI Jap Sin 18 I, fol. 136v; Jap Sin 18 I, fol. 220a, ARSI, Jap Sin 29, fol. 245; ARSI, Jap Sin 25, fol. 143v; RAH, Jesuitas, Legajo 21, fol. 921; ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Officio, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc.3331; Biblioteca da Ajuda, Jesuítas na Ásia, 49-V-5, fol. 522 ...; ANM, Juan Pérez de Rivera, 3357, fol. 91 (1600); Archivo Nacional, Escribanos de Santiago, vol. 35, fol. 12; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Manuel Gomes O Velho, fol. 9; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Luzia Loubata, fols. 9-10; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Pero Roveredo, fol. 10; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Isabel Martins, fol. 23; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Isabel Tavera, fols. 14-15; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Francisco Tomé da Fonseca, fol. 22; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Domingos da Sylva, fol. 27; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Augusto Varela, fol. 12; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Maria Nunes, fol. 12; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Francisca Castanho, fol. 13; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Cristovão Soares, fol. 18; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Isabel Pinta, fols. 28-29; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Francisco Fernandes, fols. 33v-34; AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Juliana Dias, Livro 302, fol. 34.

The Structure of Portuguese Slavery in Japan

During the first years of the Portuguese presence in Japan, there was no established structure to the capture, buying, and selling of people, as the slavery of the Japanese only emerged when Nagasaki became the official destination for ships from Macao. The relationship between Macao and Nagasaki dates back to 1571 when—due to the strategic vision of the Jesuit Cosme de Torres—the latter was visited for the first time by a ship from Macao, commanded by Tristão Vaz da Veiga (1537–1604).¹ Soon after, in 1580, the city took on particular importance, when it was granted to the Society of Jesus by Bartolomeu Sumitada/Ōmura Sumitada (1533–1587). Scholars are still debating whether the real intention of Bartolomeu Sumitada/Ōmura Sumitada was to transfer the sovereignty of this Japanese piece of land to the Jesuits, or if this was a calculated attempt to attract traders from Macao and thus, through its economic and military support, counterbalance the presence of *daimyo* Ryūzōji Takanobu (龍造寺隆信) of Saga.² Notwithstanding the Eurocentric or Japanese-centric interpretation of this agreement, we can say that after 1580 Nagasaki experienced a massive transformation, becoming the official docking port of ships from Macao. The most direct result of this was that, for the first time in the history of Portuguese–Japanese relations, there was a geographic base that would allow the creation of an organized slave trade, attracting traders from the entire Kyūshū (九州) region. During the first 20 years of trade relations between Macao and Nagasaki, there are only two known exceptions when Portuguese ships did not utilize this port: one in 1583, when Captain André Feio, due to a thunderstorm, was forced to go to Kuchinotsu, and a second one in 1586, when the Head Captain Domingos Monteiro arrived in Hirado. Let us now take a look at the slavery system in Nagasaki.

1 Diego Pacheco, S.J., *El Hombre que forjó a Nagasaki: Vida del P. Cosme de Torres, S.J.* (Madrid: Editorial Apostolado de la Prensa, S.A., 1973). Bébio Vieira Amaro, “The Contribution of Japanese and Westerners to the Urban Genesis of Nagasaki,” Master diss., University of Tokyo, 2012. Amaro, “Research on Christian Facilities in Nagasaki.”

2 Similarly, there is also a problem with the original text, as there is no Japanese version of the original document and only one copy in the Castilian language survived. George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 94–95; J.S.A. Elisonas, “Nagasaki: The Early Years of an Early Modern Japanese City,” in *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World*, ed. Liam Matthew Brockey (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 72–73.

Capture

Canvassers/angariadores/hitokadoi

As a result of the participation of the Portuguese in Japan's slave trade, those involved achieved greater skill and devised new words to describe their activities. The capture of people to be enslaved was done by "canvassers."³ The Old Portuguese word *angariador* (canvasser) has a slightly different meaning to its equivalent in Modern Portuguese. The etymological root of *angariador* comes from the Greek, meaning *constranger* (embarrass) or *pôr em requisição* (put on request, request something). From the Greek, the word then entered Late Latin as *angariāre*, or rather, "finding people to work in the *corveias*."⁴ There is, however, a second meaning, which is *obrigar, forçar* (to force).⁵ Its introduction in the Portuguese language was probably through the Italian word *angariare* (to oppress, torment).⁶ This same term, in the Greek sense of "constraining," was the origin of the Castilian word *angaria*, similar to *reclutar, ex servidumbre* (recruit, former servant) and the Portuguese word *angueira*. In Medieval Portuguese documents, *angariar* is referred to as *oprimir, vexar, afligir* (oppressing, upsetting, annoying) and in 16th-century Portuguese prose the term appears to mean "aliciar, recrutar; atrair com promessas, engodar" (entice, recruit; attract with promises, lure).⁷ In Japan, the *angariadores* would try to convince their victims to leave their homes in hopes of work, and may have used force to achieve this goal. In the 16th century and early 17th century, the term *angariador* also acquired a linguistic equivalent in Japanese of *hitokadoi* (ヒトカドイ (人勾引)). This word, which does not exist in Modern Japanese, is preserved in the Japanese–Portuguese dictionary published in Nagasaki in 1603 and 1604 by the Society of Jesus. The *Vocabulário de Língua de Japam* was the second Japanese dictionary translated into a European language,⁸ and, besides this term, it also contains many other words used in the Kyūshū region related to slavery. According to this dictionary, *hitokadoi* corresponded to the person being tricked

3 *Angariadores*.

4 Free labor, which, in the time of feudalism, the peasants had to render to their feudal lord for three or more days a week.

5 F. Gaffiot, *Dictionnaire Latin Français* (Paris: Hachette, 1934), p. 125.

6 The Late Latin word *angariare* came from the Greek *angareúō*, i.e., "I behave as an *ánqaros*," or rather, a Persian courier (پیک) in charge of levying taxes. The earliest extant records show that *angariare* entered the Italian language in the 14th century.

7 *Dicionário Viterbo*, pp. 487–88.

8 The first dictionary was the Latin–Portuguese–Japanese dictionary—*Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum* (Amakusa: Collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesv, 1595). This dictionary is not as complex or elaborate as the *Vocabulário*.

or kidnapped.⁹ In addition to this term there were others not as specific in Japanese, yet when translated into Portuguese all linked to slavery. For example, the terms *cadoi*, *ō*, *ōta* (勾引) translate as *chamando alguém a leva enganada ou roubada* (fooling someone to kidnap him);¹⁰ *cadoiidaxi*, *su*, *aita* (カドイダシ, ス, イタ(勾ひ出だし, す, いた)) translates as *lever alguém enganado, e furtado* (take someone who was abducted);¹¹ *cadouacaxisuaita* (カドワカシ, ス, イタ(勾はかし, す, いた)) as *levar a outro enganado, como a gente furtada* (deceive a person, as it happen with abducted people);¹² and *nusumiidaxi*, *su*, *aita* (ヌスマイダシ, ス, イタ(盗み出だし, す, いた)) as *furtando, tirar fora como gente pra vender* (robbing, taking out people to sell them).¹³

Both terms *angariador* and *hitokadoi* correspond to the modern designation of “slaver.” The terms *hitokadoi/angariador/canvasser* will be used in the course of this chapter to describe slave traders in Japan.

One of the most interesting descriptions of the canvasser appears in a text in Italian by the Portuguese Jesuit Gaspar Coelho. Coelho replaced the Portuguese Francisco Cabral (1529–1609), as Vice-Provincial of the Jesuit mission in Japan. In 1587, after a meeting with Toyotomi Hideyoshi, in which he assured the Japanese leader that he would offer the military support of the Jesuits to invade Korea, Coelho was informed of the anti-Christian edict enacted by Hideyoshi. The Jesuits were then officially expelled from Japan. This edict, as one of the justifications for its enactment, a paragraph dedicated to Japanese slavery by Portuguese traders. Following this accusation, on 2 October 1587, Coelho wrote a long letter from Hirado to the Company’s General Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615) in Italy describing the activities of *hitokadoi/angariadores/canvassers* in the surrounding regions of Nagasaki: It is a scandal wanting to buy in any way they can, against their will/forced Japanese men and Japanese women, and because the Japanese are poor, this is a good earning opportunity

9 *Fitocadoi. O que chamando alguém o leva cõsigo enganado, ou furtado. Vocabulário da Língua de Japam, Nagasáqui: Companhia de Jesus, 1603–1604*, ed. Ōtsuka Mitsunobu (1603–04; Ōsaka: Seibundō, 1998), fol. 349. There is also an updated translation of this dictionary in Modern Japanese. This publication is extremely important for understanding not only the meaning of many of the missing words but also their context. In this dictionary the term *hitokadoi* is translated as follows: ヒトカドイ(人勾引)人を呼びよせて、だましたり、さらったりしてその人を連れて行く者。

10 *Vocabulário*, fol. 31v.

11 *Ibid.*, fol. 31v.

12 *Ibid.*, fol. 31v.

13 *Ibid.*, fol. 188.

through the sale [of people] and they look into thousands of strategies of deceit and falsehood and keep abducting and stealing them.¹⁴

Through this passage, we learn that the *hitokadoi/angariadores/canvassers* engaged in many ways to deceive and abduct people inside Japan in order to fulfill the demands of Portuguese traders. We also learn about the socio-economic origin of the victims: very poor people with few means of subsistence skillfully manipulated by the canvassers.

By looking at eyewitness accounts of those who participated in these transactions and testimonies of some of the victims we can conclude that the category of *hitokadoi/angariadores/canvassers* is not uniform and can be divided into three main types, which vary according to the Japanese political context:

- Those who sold people to traders / canvassers;
- Those who sold people to brokers / canvassers;
- Those who sold people to both brokers and traders / canvassers.

The first two types were found in Nagasaki since the expansion of the city to the end of the 16th century. It is possible that during the 17th century they still existed; yet there is no information about them during this period (in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, or Latin sources).

The third type were found in Nagasaki only between 1592 and 1598, during the Japanese invasion of Korea.

Canvassers Selling to Traders

Through the documents that I have consulted, I can conclude that although some slaves came from the region of Nagasaki, most Japanese slaves sold in Nagasaki were from other places, mostly nearby, and were subject to different *daimyōs*. The most common selling process in Nagasaki was to present the kidnapped or deceived person to the buyer without consulting with an intermediary or broker (*corretor*) and, generally, without providing any details of their origin or capture. However, on other occasions, in order to achieve a higher price, the *hitokadoi* would coerce their victims to tell their buyers that they had

¹⁴ ARSI, Jap. Sin., 10 II, Carta do Padre Gaspar Coelho para o Padre Geral Cláudio Acquaviva, Hirado, 2 de Outubro de 1587, fol. 272.

been acquired under the *bellum iustum/jus ad bellum* system.¹⁵ Fear was a very important element in this transaction, and only after they had mastered that fear would victims tell the true origin of their enslavement.¹⁶

This can be proven by the testimony of Gaspar Fernandes, whose Japanese name is unknown. Gaspar Fernandes/Gaspar Japón was originally from Bungo, currently Ōita (大分), where he was born in 1577;¹⁷ he lived there with his parents until he was 8–10 years of age,¹⁸ when he was tragically kidnapped and taken to Nagasaki. The fate of his family is unknown.¹⁹

His Japanese kidnapper sold him to Rui Pérez, without providing any kind of information about how he had acquired him, something common in those times, according to the testimonies of two eyewitnesses.²⁰

Years later, after a journey that would take him from Ōita to Nagasaki, Hirado, Manila, Acapulco, and finally to Mexico City, Gaspar Fernandes/Gaspar Japón stated in before the Court of Inquisition of Mexico:

I am a free person, son of free father and mother, and not subject to enslavement, and my birth was in the city of Bungo in Japan, where they brought me kidnapped from to Nagasaki.²¹

Canvassers Selling to Brokers

There were other kinds of *hitokadoi/angariadores/canvassers* who sold “stolen people” to an intermediary or broker. Unfortunately, we have no data on these sales as, in Nagasaki, no documents were issued. The legalization of slavery or set period of years of work was only recorded if the victim was baptized as a Christian.

It is known that there were several brokers in Nagasaki who bought slaves in order to subsequently sell them to the Portuguese.²² In 1598, at a meeting held

15 Just war.

16 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas*, fol. 274.

17 In 1597, Gaspar was 20 years old (AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 451f.). In the 1599 inquiry, he mentions that he had been sold 14 years earlier (AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, p. 93). Therefore, we estimate that he was 8 years old when he was enslaved.

18 Ibid.

19 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 263, exp. 1 U, fol. 139.

20 AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 265.

21 Ibid., fol. 263.

22 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas*, fol. 275.

by Bishop Luís de Cerqueira in Nagasaki, during which the enslavement of Japanese and Koreans in the region was discussed, this was mentioned:

And all these three sorts of unjust captives (or most notably doubtful cases) are sold to the Portuguese, although, as has been mentioned, the Brokers find another title to hide and cover up the injustice.^{23, 24}

In 1587, Nagasaki already had an established network of *hitokadoi/angariadores/canvassers* and brokers (*corretores*). Toyotomi Hideyoshi even executed some of them, alleging they had disobeyed the anti-slavery laws enacted in Nagasaki. This event was mentioned at the 1598 meeting. However, instead of using the word *angariadores/canvassers*, the word used was *vendedores* (sellers); however, the meaning is the same. Let us look at the passage:

Taico Sama, supreme lord of Japan who has implementend a just law that no person bought be carried away from Japan to other countries to be sold, this strictly, with death penalty, which has been sometimes inflicted on this Nagasaki port on some Japanese sellers²⁵ and even some brokers²⁶ of this trade.²⁷

Amateur Canvassers Selling to Brokers and Traders

Another important category that emerged by the end of the 16th century was designated as *hitokadoi/angariadores/amadores/amateur canvassers*. As of 1592, the Nagasaki slave market was literally flooded with thousands of Korean slaves. Some of these victims were brought to the city by occasional smugglers. These smugglers were mainly soldiers—who had served in the 1592–98 Japanese–Korean War—and who sold their Korean hostages in Nagasaki to intermediaries or local or foreign traders upon their return to Japan.²⁸

23 *Corretores*.

24 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas*, fol. 274.

25 *Vendedores*.

26 *Corretores*.

27 *Ibid.*

28 With regard to Japanese soldiers hunting Koreans and selling them to merchants during this period there are several accounts: Keinen, *Chōsen nichinichiki*, in *Chōsen nichinichiki wo yomu: Shinshūsō ga mita Hideyoshi no Chōsen shinryaku*, ed. Chōsen nichinichiki kenkyūkai (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2000), pp. 48–50; Jurgis Elisonas, “The Inseparable Trinity: Japan’s Relations with China and Korea,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan: Early Modern Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), vol. 4, p. 293.

Other Origins of Japanese Slaves Purchased by the Portuguese

Before the reunification of southern Japan, the clashes between *daimyōs* in the region provided a key source of slaves for the Portuguese. In order to legalize slavery, the Portuguese used the *justi belli*/fair war concept, which consisted of legitimating the enslavement of war victims.²⁹ This argument was used until the end of the 16th century, and only in 1598 would the most prominent Jesuits in Japan sign an official document against Japanese slavery, claiming that since these wars were so long and continuous, it was impossible to ascertain which of the parties had legitimacy over the other, thus the *justi belli* concept used in Europe could not be applied to the Japanese political context.³⁰

During trade relations between the Portuguese, their associates, and Japanese traders, the *justi belli* concept was repeatedly linked to the evangelization process. By winning a battle against his non-Christian adversary, a Christian *daimyo* was aiding evangelization, albeit through the use of force; hence, the product of that war (the hostages) could be legally enslaved.

After Toyotomi Hideyoshi's reunification of Japan and the pacification of the region, we know that under Iberian law, the enslavement of any Japanese was illegal. The Bishop of Japan, Luís de Cerqueira, along with leading members of the Society of Jesus in Japan, declared that from 1587 on, all slaves who arrived in Nagasaki were the product of kidnapping and deceit:

We will examine if this business is found by experience that most of the young men and women that are sold are stolen, tricked, and bought, thus having no proof of legitimate captivity.³¹

This type of slave is mentioned both in the *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum* of 1595, and in the *Vocabulário da Língua de Iapam* of 1603, 1604. In the *Dictionarium*, the entry *captivus* has the corresponding Old Portuguese as “homem cativo ou preso de Guerra” (captive or imprisoned man of war) and the corresponding Japanese of “Iqedori, torico, torauarebito” (イケドリ(生け捕

29 With regard to slavery justified by the *justi belli* concept, we can divide the 1580s and 1590s in Nagasaki in three main periods. The first was prior to the reunification of Japan by Toyotomi Hideyoshi; the second the period of reunification until the Japanese–Korean War; and the third, begun in 1592, known in Korean as the Imjinwar (임진왜란) and in Japanese as the Bunroku no eki (文禄の役) continued until 1598, with the withdrawal of Japanese soldiers from the Korean Peninsula.

30 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas*, fol. 274.

31 *Ibid.*, fol. 274.

り), トリコ(擒・虜), トラワレビト(囚われ人)).³² In the *Vocabulário*, the term *torico* (トリコ(擒・虜)) is translated into Portuguese as “cativo, ou tomado em Guerra” (captive, or taken in war);³³ while *torauarebito* (トラワレビト(囚われ人)) is described as “cativo, ou tomado dos inimigos” (captive or taken from enemies).³⁴ But the act of capture during war was given in the same dictionary as *torauare*, *ruru*, *eta* (トラワレ, ルル, レタ(囚はれ, るる, れた)), which was described as “ser preso, ou cativo na guerra” (being arrested, or captured in war),³⁵ or *toriconisuru* (虜にする), as “tomar, ou cativar na guerra” (to take, or capture in war).³⁶ Yet, the condition of the arrested person in war is identified in the *Dictionarium* as *Captivitas, atis*, which in Old Portuguese corresponds to *cativeiro* (captivity) and in Old Japanese to “toriconinaritaru mono no xindai, 1, iqedorinoxinxō” (虜になりたる者の身代 生捕りの身上).³⁷

Another means by which the Portuguese gained slaves was through parents in extreme poverty—mainly because the taxes landlords charged their tenants were often higher than the income from the rented land—selling their children.³⁸ For example, when in 1587 a Japanese ship from Hirado arrived in Manila, the most important members of the vessel were officially asked about the state of things in Japan by Bishop Domingo Salazar. The 11th question of the inquiry concerned the existence of slaves in Japan, the reason for enslavement, and if the children of slaves also became slaves. This question was answered by 11 Japanese altogether, namely: “Don Juan de Vera” of Hakata; “Tacaua Niemo” and “Don Baltasar Gernal” of Bungo; “Don Pablo Haranda Ziem” of Meaco; “Jerónimo Batanambe Zemoxero” of Bungo; “Andrés Gonçalves Ambraya Yafachiro” of Hirado; “Joachin de Vera” of Bungo/Higo; “Graviel Nangano Yojamon” of Meaco; “Juan Yananguia Gueniemo” of Sakai; “Juan Yamamoto Yosogiro” and “Leon Giminsu Ixcojiro” of Hakata. These crew members, after stating that the most common type of slaves were those captured during war, also mentioned that poverty was another factor, since it was common practice

32 *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum* (Amakusa: In Amacusa in Collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesv, 1595), fol. 101.

33 *Vocabulário*, fol. 263.

34 *Ibid.*, fol. 262.

35 *Ibid.*, fol. 262.

36 *Ibid.*, fol. 263.

37 *Dictionarum*, fol. 101.

38 The Jesuit Luís Fróis stated that several inhabitants of Nagasaki, in order to pay the required taxes, were forced to sell their houses, others their clothes, others their food, giving the example of a father who, in order to pay the required taxes, sold his 11-year-old son for five or six months and used the money to pay the taxes. Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 4, p. 424.

among poor Japanese parents to sell their children.³⁹ Furthermore, according to the Jesuits, some parents who were not in apparent need sold their children anyway:

However, some other times they are sold without much need and at times without reason, because often what is judged as extremely necessary in other kingdoms in Japan is not as serious. A similar end had the children of debtors. These, by failing to pay their debts, had their children seized. Debtors also sold their children themselves to settle debts.⁴⁰

The desperate economic conditions of some Japanese forced them also to spontaneously sell themselves directly to the slave canvassers, brokers, or the Portuguese, accepting without thinking the conditions offered by the latter. In Old Japanese, these people were called *libai* (自売), *Mizzucarauru* (自ら売る). There was no technical designation in Old Portuguese, as the practice was simply referred to as “venderse a si mesmo e aproveitarse do preço” (selling oneself and taking advantage of the price).⁴¹ In Old Japanese, the price at which an individual sold himself was designated as *Minoxiro* (身代). Once again, there is no technical designation in Old Portuguese for such an act; it was translated as “preço pelo qual hum se vende a ssi mesmo” (the price at which one sells oneself).⁴²

In this group, some Japanese sold themselves only for greed, that is, for the money they would get. However, the subliminal intention was to find a way to escape to China, as the official ship anchored in Macao.⁴³

Some of the Japanese who sold themselves received the money; yet, some others, less fortunate, did not. In these cases, the canvassers, brokers, and slave buyers manipulated the desire of the Japanese to leave Japan, arguing with the victims that they only aimed to get this money and then run away, and had no intention of fulfilling the slavery contract. To prove the seriousness of their intentions, these Japanese were coerced into traveling in Portuguese ships to Macao as slaves, without being paid. This strategy was a way for Macao

39 José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, “Notas para la historia de la entrada en Japón de los Franciscanos,” *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 38(149–52) (1978): 7, 8, 11.

40 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas*, fol. 274.

41 *Vocabulário*, fol. 141 (p. 141).

42 *Ibid.*, fol. 362v (p. 724).

43 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas*, fol. 274.

merchants to gain slaves for nothing, and it made it hard for them to subsequently escape or reverse this condition.⁴⁴

Such slave origins correspond only to the slaves purchased by Macao merchants, not to those victims of other existing forms of slavery in Japan at this time.⁴⁵

Sale

Brokers/corretores/hitoakibito (人商人(ヒトアキビト))

Corretor was the term used by the Portuguese in Japan in the 16th century to refer to the agent or intermediary who sold the slaves brought by canvassers/*angariadores/hitokadoi* to the Portuguese.

During the 16th century, a Japanese word, which has now disappeared from the vocabulary, was used to designate these brokers, namely: *hitoakibito* (人商人), or rather, “a person that bought and sold people.”⁴⁶ Today, 仲買人 would be the Japanese equivalent to broker. Another term also used during this period was *fitovouru* (人を売る) which meant “el que vende hombres” (the one who sells men).⁴⁷

Many canvassers/*angariadores/hitokadoi* were quite open about how they had captured their slaves; hence, falsified legally acceptable information regarding their origin was supplied by brokers/*corretores/hitoakibito*: “they sell themselves to the Portuguese, since, as said before, the Brokers give them another legal title by covering up the unjust[ice].”⁴⁸

Buyers/compradores/hitokai (人買(ヒトカイ))

In Portuguese, slave buyers are simply referred to as *compradores* (buyers); there is no specific term that differentiates such buyers from buyers of other “goods.” In Japanese, the term most likely used for slave buyers would be

44 Ibid., fol. 274v.

45 It was equally common in Japan for the spouse and children of a caught thief to be enslaved by the person from whom s/he stole. Another common practice occurred whenever a wife who had fallen out with her husband, a son with his father, or a servant with his respective lord, took refuge in the church, while still someone else's slave. In order to avoid problems with their former owners, clerics had specific instructions to refuse to host these kinds of people. For more information on this topic, see: Nelson, “Slavery in Medieval Japan.”

46 *Fitocaibune. Mercador que trata em cóprar, & vender gente. Vocabulário*, fol. 349.

47 Álvarez-Taladriz, “Apuntes sobre el Cristianismo y la Esclavitud en Japon,” p. 500.

48 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas*, fol. 274.

hitokai (人買). In contrast to the terms *hitokadoi* and *hitoakibito*, which are mentioned in the *Vocabulário da Língua de Japam*, the word *hitokai* is not found. There is another term, *hitocai*, with a similar spelling but different meaning, ヒトカイ (一貝・一抱), which translate as “a shell containing medicine.” The persistence of some confusion between the terms *hitokadoi* and *hitokai*, which are sometimes considered synonyms, that is, buyers, should be stressed here. Nevertheless, slave hunters, referred to as *angariadores* (canvassers) in Old Portuguese, had their precise Japanese equivalent in *hitokadoi*. The same designation, applied in the Jesuits’ documentation, corresponds to the one found in the *Vocabulário da Língua de Japam*. Slave buyers in the Nagasaki region were not referred to as *hitokadoi*, therefore the corresponding word might be *hitokai*.

Nationalities of the Canvassers/Angariadores/Hitokadoi and Brokers

There are some uncertainties regarding the origin of the canvassers/*angariadores*/*hitokadoi* and brokers/*corretores*/*hitoakibito* of Nagasaki, because so few documents are extant today. However, those that are suggest that smugglers and brokers were mostly Japanese. As previously mentioned in Chapter 2 “Toyotomi Hideyoshi and the liberation of Macao ship slaves,” the slave canvassers and brokers, as well as the *rukō* of the slave boats, who had been crucified in Nagasaki by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1587, were all Japanese.⁴⁹

There is also the specific case of the acquisition of the Japanese slave Gaspar Fernandez Xapón. The buyer’s son described how a Japanese *hitokadoi* brought the victim to Nagasaki, after kidnapping him in Ōita, and sold him without providing any information about the way he had been acquired. An eyewitness of this transaction claimed that this was the usual method of selling people in Japan:

[He] stated that a Japanese seller handed Gaspar to the father of this witness, without any title or document about Gaspar, as it is usual in that land for the Japanese to sell to each other without any document.⁵⁰

There is also some evidence of Portuguese practicing the same method. The most important information in this reflection is a seemingly marginal and simple note, which, however, reveals that the Portuguese participated directly in the capture of male and female slaves, and demonstrates that the differences

49 Ibid., fol. 275v.

50 AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 265.

that supposedly would separate Portuguese buyers and Japanese suppliers were not very large:

I leave what they do in the lands of the gentiles whereby they scatter to seek young men and women living in such a way that the same gentiles are amazed at their debauchery and ease.⁵¹

The passage quoted denotes a widespread Portuguese presence in Japan, instead of being exclusively concentrated in the harbors that were annually frequented by them. At the same time, it describes historically unknown Portuguese who earned their livelihoods seeking out, buying, and selling people, and whose social behavior was contrary to the Christian ethics defended by the Jesuits.

Regarding Portuguese intermediaries or brokers, we know of one who, it was alleged, acquired slaves on behalf of buyers. According to the testimony of Miguel Jerónimo, a Japanese born in 1577, he was bought by the merchant Francisco Martes (Francisco Martins) on behalf of Rui Pérez.⁵²

Buyers' Nationalities

Although buyers were mostly Portuguese, slaves were also acquired by people of other nationalities, who also sailed with the Portuguese ships that visited Nagasaki. We have at least some information on Spanish, Italian, English, and Dutch merchants, as well as slaves of the Portuguese who themselves acquired slaves in Nagasaki.⁵³ We can also confirm the presence of: (1) Asian, including Cambodian and Thai (Siamese), merchants involved in human trafficking, who were included in the indictment that Toyotomi Hideyoshi presented to the Jesuits in 1587 immediately before the publication of the anti-Christian edict;⁵⁴ and (2) non-Christian Chinese, Pathans (Thai), and again Siamese in the *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões* (Papers on Japanese Captivity) meeting held in September 1598 by the Society of Jesus in Nagasaki.⁵⁵

51 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas*, fol. 274v.

52 AGN, Indif. Virreinal, caja 6596, exp. 138, s.f.

53 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas*, fol. 274v.

54 Fróis, *Historia*, vol. 4, pp. 401–03.

55 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas*, fol. 275.

The Japanese also acquired many slaves whom they did not intend to export. In addition to providing the Portuguese with Chinese, Japanese, and Korean slaves, the Japanese had a particular interest in acquiring African slaves from Mozambique and Indians from the Malabar region. This is perfectly clear from the *nanbam* screens, on which numerous slaves and servants of the Portuguese with different African, Indian, and Southeast Asian physiognomies can be seen. In regard to Japanese Christians who bought slaves, the Jesuits had specific instructions to abstain from questioning the legitimacy of such slaves' captivity, in order to continue being favored by the Japanese.

Place of Sale in Nagasaki

Unfortunately, I was unable to track the locations where the slaves were kept or the square where they were sold in Nagasaki during this period. Initially, when the number of slaves was low, it is likely there was no specific place in which they would have been accommodated, as individual sellers and intermediaries would have arranged these. However, when the number of slaves carried in Portuguese official and private ships reached over a thousand, for logistical reasons it was necessary to make provision for a sufficiently large place where the slaves could be gathered together, and could eat, drink, and sleep before leaving with their new owners. Arguably, slaves were probably kept close to the harbor or near the places European and Japanese traders would gather to buy and sell silk and other goods. There are references to a route along the pier the Portuguese used when going to and from the ship. It was probably through this area that slaves were conveyed.⁵⁶

The sale of slaves did not necessarily need to be carried out exclusively in the ports of departure and arrival, as during the journey itself was another option. For example, the record books of the vessels *São Roque* and *Nossa Senhora da Índia*, bound for India on 24 March 1602, and eventually arriving in Lisbon in (April?) 1604, reveal some of these transactions.⁵⁷ On the return trip, departing from the port of Kochi, the vessels carried into Europe 256 slaves, namely: "Kaffirs," Indians, Bengalis, Javanese, and Chinese.⁵⁸ The absence of Japanese slaves can be explained as the Japanese ban of slavery was strongly upheld by Portuguese officials in Goa after 1604.

⁵⁶ Ibid., fol. 275v.

⁵⁷ De Matos, "Novas Fontes para a História da Carreira da Índia," p. 352.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 345.

Transportation

The hitokaibune (人買い船)

There was no particular Portuguese term in the region concerning ships carrying slaves to Nagasaki, and from this port to Portuguese official or private ships. However, during the 16th century, slave vessels did have a specific designation in Japanese, which, as with the word 人商人, later became obsolete. The term used then was 人買い船 or *hitokaibune*, that is, “a boat that carried slaves,” or “stolen people,” according to the *Vocabulário da Língua de Japam*.⁵⁹ In Nagasaki, the boatmen engaged in this kind of work were called *rulō* (流浪), and their role was to carry slaves from the pier to the Portuguese boats. In the *Vocabulário* we can see that *rulō* or *ruō* meant a person who had been exiled or that had no home or fixed place.⁶⁰ Through this description it is possible to categorize the *rulō* as socially marginal individuals, refugees from local wars, who were probably hired temporarily by the Portuguese to perform such services.

The Ship and Its Tonnage

I

The Macao–Japan trade route was called “Japan Journey” by the Portuguese while official ships that took this route were called *nau do trato de Macau* (Macao–Japan trade carrack⁶¹), *nau da prata* (silver carrack), or *nau da China* (China carrack). In Japanese, the equivalent term of this kind of vessel was *kurofune* (黒船), but there is no particular reference to the Macao–Japan route.

During the 16th century, the Portuguese *nau* (carrack) was the type of boat commonly used in this kind of commercial journey, yet usually incorporated artillery for defense. This vessel is often mistaken for a galleon, as the type of terminology used by authors at that time to designate carrack and galleon is often ambiguous and ambivalent. As a consequence, I have decided to opt for the designation “vessel.”

Many of these large vessels visiting Japan in the 16th and early 17th century were manufactured in India, more precisely in the shipyards of Goa, Calcutta,

59 *Fitokaibune. Embarcação que leva escravos ou gente comprada. Vocabulário*, fol. 349.

60 *Rurō. Desterro. Rurō suru. Andar desterrado sem casa, nem lugar certo. Rurō no mito naru. Ser desterrado. Vocabulário*, fol. 213v.

61 Charles Boxer uses the term “Great Ship from Macau.” Boxer, *The Great Ship*, p. 2.

and Kochi.⁶² Although we do not know the exact location of the manufacturing sites, the images in Japanese screen artwork of the time clearly demonstrate the use of black teak wood in the hull, instead of brown pine, which was used in European shipyards. The Goa sites were the first to be used by the Portuguese to manufacture boats using European technology. For that purpose, after 1512, the most experienced shipbuilders from *ribeira das naus* (shipyards in Lisbon) were sent to this city with two main goals: the first was to teach the construction of European-style ships to local builders, and the second was to adapt local woods to European nautical construction. The construction of the Goa shipyard was followed by the naval dockyard, which included the Ribeira das Naus, the Ribeira das Galés, wood storage, ship repair, and areas that offered protection from storms. The Ribeira das Naus was used for the construction of large- and medium-tonnage vessels, whereas the Ribeira das Galés was used for small vessels. Near the Ribeira das Naus was a protection area used to anchor vessels from the Carreira da Índia (India Run) and the Goan war fleet.⁶³

In the decades following its establishment, the Goa shipyards produced European-designed ships which were larger, stronger, more durable, and also lighter than those built in Portuguese shipyards, as access to forests of teak (the main wood) and highly skilled Indian manpower improved.⁶⁴

Another site that has particular importance for Portuguese trade in Southeast Asia and the Far East was the shipyard built in Kochi. The forests of this region were considered by the Portuguese to have the best quality teak wood, surpassing existing rival's forests in Bassein. Even though in 1512 the first ship of European design was built in the Kochi shipyard (the construction period lasted between 1510 and 1512), this site was used for rigging and repairing the navy led by Afonso de Albuquerque to conquer the city of Goa in 1510. In

62 Xavier Mariona Martins, "Portuguese Shipping and Shipbuilding in Goa, 1510–1780," PhD diss., Goa University, 1994.

63 Ernestine Carreira, "From Decline to Prosperity: Shipbuilding in Daman, 18th–19th Centuries," in *Indo-Portuguese Encounters: Journeys in Science, Technology and Culture*, ed. Lotika Varadarajan (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2006), pp. 594–95.

64 Goan shipyards gained prime importance when they started to receive, from 1521, teak wood from the region of Chaul, and from 1534 wood from Bassein (Vasai), a region also controlled by the Portuguese. Teak would also be provided from the area of Balaghat in the kingdom of Adil Shah of Bijapur. Besides teak, angely wood was also widely used in shipbuilding. Both types, combined with other wood provided by the Indian forests, replaced the cork-oak for the frames (hull) and the stone pine planking used in the shipyards of Lisbon.

the late 16th century, these shipyards would annually manufacture two large tonnage vessels.⁶⁵

The Calcutta shipyard was established after the construction of a Portuguese fortress in this region in 1513. This shipyard began its activity in 1614 with the construction of a *galliot* (light galley) and ended it in 1625 with the destruction of the fortress.⁶⁶

II

Authors from this period help us outline the developments and dimensions of vessels produced in Portugal for the Asian trade. During the reign of King Manuel I (1498–1521), vessels produced in Portugal did not generally exceed 300–400 tons and only in special cases 500 or 600 tons.⁶⁷ For example, the vessel used by Vasco da Gama (1469–1524) in 1498 on his trip to India was 150 tons.

In the *Livro de Traças de Carpintaria* (literally, “Book of Carpentry Drafting”), a shipbuilding treatise written in 1616 by Manoel Fernandez, we find instructions for building ships of 80, 150, 300, 400, and 500 tons, and galleons of 100, 200, 300, 350, and 500 tons, accompanied by a set of illustrations.⁶⁸ There are no illustrations for vessels of bigger proportions (i.e., over 500 tons). This important work helps us understand shipbuilding practices of Lisbon, as well as showing us that the average tonnage of ships heading to India built in the Ribeira das Naus during the 16th century did not exceed 500 tons. In part, this restriction arose from technological limitations, and the quality and quantity of available wood. In the original edition of the *Livro da fabrica das naos* (literally, “Book regarding the Construction of Carracks”),⁶⁹ written by Fernando de Oliveira (1507–1581?)—the first naval treaty establishing the nautical knowledge of the Portuguese in the 16th century—the second and third chapters focus on the type of wood used in the construction of vessels. The chosen timber for the construction of the “bilge,” or the “vessel skeleton,” was cork, and the wood used for the “planks” or outer coating of the hull was pine, interchanged

65 K.S. Mathew, “Naval Architecture in Portuguese India with Special Reference to the Malabar Coast,” in *Indo-Portuguese Encounters*, ed. Varadarajan, pp. 582–83.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 583.

67 Paulo Guinote, Eduardo Frutuoso, and António Lopes, *Naufrágios e outras perdas da “Carreira da Índia”* (Lisbon: Grupo de trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1998), p. 45.

68 Manoel Fernandes, *Livro de Traças de Carpintaria (1616)* (1616; Academia da Marinha: Lisbon, 1989).

69 BNL, cod. 3702; Fernando de Oliveira, *Livro da fabrica das naos/composto de novo pllo. Licenciado Fernando Oliveira* (Lisbon, 1580).

with oak and poplar wood. There are also references to other woods such as spruce, cedar, and cypress used in other parts of the vessel.⁷⁰

Yet the manufacture of larger vessels is directly linked to the introduction of Indian teak wood in the early 16th century, which would have a major impact on Portuguese shipbuilding. This contributed to intense activity in the Goa, Calcutta, and Kochi shipyards.⁷¹

The first known attempt at using teak occurred in 1512 during the building of the 800-ton *Santa Catarina do Monte Sinai* in the Indian yards of Kochi.⁷² However, in the first decades of the 16th century, a sudden increase in tonnage as a response to trade intensification was not supported with appropriate nautical technology to ensure high strength and durability. During this experimental period, most large vessels produced in India had a limited lifespan, usually three or four trips, and were then scraped, their ironwork, pegs, and pins used in the construction of a new ship. Technological innovations to consolidate the vessels' structure were developed in the second part of the reign of the Portuguese King João III (1502–1557), as he intended to reduce the serious problems of supply of oak and pine wood in Portugal, along a strategy to reduce the number of seamen on board smaller ships; hence, he decided to build vessels of 1500 tons in India. During the reign of King Sebastian (1554–1578), ships of over 1000 tons were used for over ten years.⁷³

In the 17th century, the building of vessels in Lisbon aimed at the India Run had a maximum registered tonnage of 1000 tons, as exemplified by the *Nau Graça* (1556), followed by the *São João* (1550) and the *São Bento* (1551), both of 900 tons.⁷⁴ However, these records are fragmented, with only the tonnage of 67 vessels from 1500 to 1599 out of a total of 678 vessels that had left for India in the same period still extant.⁷⁵ The large vessels traveling between Macao and

70 Tiago Fraga, António Teixeira, and Adolfo Silveira Martins, "A Arte da Fábrica das Naus," in *Fernando Oliveira: Um Humanista Genial*, ed. Carlos Morais (Aveiro: Universidade de Aveiro, 2009), pp. 491–516.

71 Martins, "Portuguese Shipping and Shipbuilding in Goa."

72 Maria Leonor Freire states that the tonnage is 700 tons. However, other historians such as Vitorino Magalhães Godinho claim that it was 800 tons. Maria Leonor Freire Costa, *Naus e galeões da Ribeira de Lisboa: a construção naval no século XVI para a rota do Cabo* (Lisbon: trabalho de síntese elaborado para "Provas de Aptidão Pedagógica e Científica" a apresentar no Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão da Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, n.d.), appendix, table 11. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1987), vol. III, p. 50.

73 Vasco Viegas, *As naus da Índia* (Macao: Comissão territorial para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses em Macau, 1999), p. 26.

74 Costa, *Naus e galeões*, appendix, table 11.

75 Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Mito e Mercadoria, Utopia e Prática de Navegar. Seculos XIII–XVIII* (Lisbon: Difel, 1990), p. 338. Costa, *Naus e galeões*, appendix, table 11.

Japan were usually built at Indian shipyards. Their tonnage greatly exceeded that of the largest Spanish galleons at the time,⁷⁶ with some Portuguese ships traveling the Asian circuit having seven decks.⁷⁷ With the exception of some vessels such as the *Nossa Senhora do Sinai*, there is no complete record of the number and tonnage of these vessels produced in Kochi or Goa. According to Charles Boxer, the commercial vessel used by the Portuguese in the Far East could carry up to four times more cargo than the largest Spanish galleon of the Atlantic route.⁷⁸ Initially, the Portuguese from Malacca, and later, in 1558/59, from Macao, used vessels ranging between 400 and 600 tons. However, in the late 16th century, the vessels visiting Japan ranged, on average, between 1200 and 1600 tons. Some of these ships could even reach 2000 tons, with nearly 120,000 cubic feet of cargo space.⁷⁹ An example of this type of ship was the *Nossa Senhora do Monte Carmel*, which in 1608 served as the flagship of the “Navy of India,”⁸⁰ and whose Captain-General was the Conde da Feira D. João Pereira.⁸¹ This vessel served for 30 years.⁸²

Such vessels were replaced after 1618 by *galliot*s, smaller cargo ships easier to sail. The main purpose of this replacement was avoiding a complete loss of cargo in the event of a shipwreck or attacks. Sand eels could reach the same dimensions as a medium-size vessel used in the Carreira da Índia, that is to say between 300 and 400 tons.⁸³

The Society of Jesus and the Ballot System

The Beginning of the Ballot-Paper System

As the slave trade was never legitimized by the Portuguese Crown, slavery emerged “spontaneously”; hence, merchants found a way to legalize Japanese slavery with assistance from the Jesuits. After buying the slaves from the canvassers/*angariadores*/*hitokadoi* or brokers/*corretores*/*hitoakibito*, the European traders went to the closest church and, after baptizing the slave, asked a

76 Boxer, *The Great Ship*, p. 13.

77 Mathew, “Naval Architecture in Portuguese India,” pp. 586–87.

78 Charles Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550–1770* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 14.

79 Boxer, *The Great Ship*, pp. 13–14.

80 Main vessel.

81 He was acting as Viceroy of the State of India but passed away on the crossing.

82 Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos*, vol. III, pp. 50–51.

83 Boxer, *The Great Ship*, pp. 13–14.

Jesuit to issue a permit legitimatizing this transaction. In order to be considered legitimate, the slave's ballot had to be signed by at least one Jesuit priest.

Chronologically, the first reference to Jesuits' engagement in this type of activity in Japan dates back to 1563–68. During this time, the theologian Francisco Rodrigues, S.J., in Goa, received a set of questions from the Society of Jesus heads in Malacca, Macao, and Japan about the details of the Jesuit mission in Southeast Asia, China, and Japan. The purpose was to use the answers to these questions to draft a manual of confession as a guide to the priest. In Catholicism, the sacrament through which neophytes become de facto Catholic is baptism, which comes after initiation. However, after the sacrament of baptism, Jesuit priest in China and Japan encountered several hurdles performing the sacrament of confession, since many newly converted Christians reported unique "sins" that were difficult to resolve. The 1570 *Manual de Confissão* by Francisco Rodrigues is an attempt to collate some of the most controversial cases, thus providing procedures to follow if similar situations should arise. One such case was that of many Japanese women and Chinese men being sold to the Portuguese in Japan, to be then taken to Macao as slaves.⁸⁴ The traders claimed that the legality of this trade had been approved by the Superior of the Society of Jesus in Japan, the Spanish priest Cosme de Torres,⁸⁵ who authorized the "licenses/ballots," validated the transaction, and made the purchase of Chinese or Japanese people legal under Portuguese law. The question was whether the priests should examine the legitimacy of this enslavement in Japan before issuing any licenses. According to Rodrigues, as the just war issue was difficult to ascertain, these licenses/ballots were perfectly valid, as the slaves, after they had been sold to the Portuguese, would be baptized and converted into Christians. Hence, this sale was considered "a good [thing] that is

84 Several authors have studied parts of this manuscript: Joseph Wicki, *Problemas Morais no Oriente Português do Século XVI* (Lisbon: Comemorações Henriquinas, 1961), pp. 257–63; Jesús López Gay, S.J., "El Catecumenado en la Mission del Japon del s. XVI," *Coleção Studia missionalia. Documenta Et Opera* 2 (1966): 152, 162; Jesús López Gay, S.J., "La Liturgia en la Mission del Japon del Siglo XVI," *Coleção Studia missionalia. Documenta Et Opera* 4 (1970): 83–110, 209; João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira," Ph.D., New University of Lisbon, 1998, pp. 124 onwards; Lobato, "Notas e correcções para uma edição crítica do Mss da Livraria n.º 805 (IAN/TT)," pp. 389–408; Ana Fernandes Pinto, *Uma Imagem do Japão. A Aristocracia Guerreira Nipónica nas Cartas Jesuítas de Évora (1598)* (Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente-Fundação Oriente, 2004), pp. 158–72; Ana Fernandes Pinto and Silvana Remédio Pires, "The 'resposta que alguns padres de japão mandaram perguntar': A Clash of Strategies?," *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 10–11 (2005): 9–60; Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki*, p. 80.

85 Cosme de Torres, Superior of the Society of Jesus in Japan between 1551 and 1570.

done to these slaves.⁸⁶ Father Francisco Rodrigues's statement explains why Society of Jesus priests had been engaged in this process since they first became established in Japan. This involvement was authorized and legitimized by the Society, and we can conclude that the members were involved in the legalization of slaves since at least the late 1560s, long before Nagasaki became the main Japanese slave port.

Ballot Papers' Issuing Location

For the period prior to the establishment of the Society of Jesus in Nagasaki, we do not have any information about the precise locations from which ballots were issued. During the Nagasaki period, a Japanese slave called Thome Teramachi pointed initially to the Santa Maria church. While he was still a child, Teramachi had been taken hostage during a war and enslaved. Born in Chikugo, he had been taken to Nagasaki, where he was sold to a local Christian and baptized at the Society of Jesus' church in the same city.⁸⁷ The former church—along with another big church that was under construction next to it—would end up being razed to the ground by Terazawa Masanari, a Hideyoshi-nominated Governor of Nagasaki, with the materials sent to Nagoya to be used in the military campaign against Korea, which started during 1592.⁸⁸ In 1593, a new church, later called the Church of São Paulo, was built in the same location by the Society of Jesus.

A document on the life of another Japanese man, named Gaspar Fernandes Xapon, reveals that after being purchased by the dealer Rui Pérez, he went to the Society of Jesus, more precisely the Church of São Paulo in Nagasaki, where his ballot was issued.⁸⁹

The Examination

Before issuing the ballots, the victims were examined by members of the Society of Jesus who verified the legality of the slavery process. Only after such verification or examination was the ballot issued. This examination, probably due to the subjective character of the assessment, gave rise to strong

86 ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, Livro 805, Livro de Francisco Rodrigues, fol. 98.

87 Jorge de Gouveia, *Relaçam da ditosa morte, de quarenta e sinco christãos, que em Japão morrerão polla confissão da Fé Catholica, em Novembro de 614: tirado de hum processo autentico/pello Padre Jorge de Gouvea* (Lisbon: oficina de Pedro Craesbeeck, 1617), fols. 77–78.

88 I would like to thank Bébio Vieira Amaro for this information, presented at the "The Evolution of Christian Structures in Nagasaki: 1569–1620," SAH (Society of Architectural Historians), Austin, Texas, 9 April 2014.

89 AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 265.

criticism within the Society of Jesus in Japan, since priests involved in this activity were accused of not verifying effectively how people had been enslaved. For example, in 1587, Gaspar Coelho, the Society of Jesus's Vice-Provincial, warned the Provincial Claudio Acquaviva in Rome of this situation, criticizing the connivance of priests with the slave traders concerning the ballot-granting system:

[B]ecause the priests allowed [this] and gave authorization to the merchants stating that the Japanese could be enslaved they practice many injustices against the Japanese and I feel a great compassion and pity to see this horrible spectacle: the poor slaves with chains being loaded onto the ship.⁹⁰

From the beginning of the ballot-issuing process until the year 1596, the Japanese slaves who were sold by the Portuguese carried ballots issued both by common clerics and the Society of Jesus's elite in Japan. It is even possible to identify three important individuals involved in this process: the Superior in Japan, Cosme de Torres, the Superior in Nagasaki, Antonio López, and Bishop Pedro Martins.

The involvement of Bishop Pedro Martins in this process can be divided into two phases. The first stage covers his permanence in Macao, during which time he approved the issuing of ballots, thus showing that he had a permissive attitude toward Japanese slavery. The second stage, during which he took a radically different posture, began with his arrival in Nagasaki on 14 August 1596. Understanding both the illegality and the damage that were caused by slavery toward the conversion of Japanese to Christianity, Bishop Martins issued strict prohibitions against the signing of ballots and tried to control this system, establishing that, to be considered legitimate, the ballots had to have his signature. At the same time, he issued a public excommunication letter, and a 10 *cruzado* fine,⁹¹ to whoever traded Japanese people in either Nagasaki and Macao.⁹² This measure would be subsequently continued by his successor, Bishop Luís de Cerqueira.⁹³

90 ARSI, Jap. Sin. 10 11, Letter from Father Gaspar Coelho S.J. to the General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva, Hirado, 2-10-1587, fol. 272.

91 Each *cruzado* had a value of 400 *reis*, or roughly 10 Spanish *reals*. Each *peso* was reckoned at 360 *reis*. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade*, pp. 321–22, 325.

92 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas*, fol. 273.

93 ARSI, Jap. Sin. 13–2, 202v. Carta de Dom Luís Cerqueira ao Rei. 24-10-1598, Nagasáqui.

Despite these excommunications, in Nagasaki the Jesuits continued to grant exceptions and issue permits, thus giving rise to dangerous precedents. The remaining traders failed to respect the excommunications, thus taking Japanese slaves to Macao without any kind of legitimacy:

If he does not close this door, not giving permission to anyone to buy and take young men, for the more excommunication that we issue, when someone is given permission (to buy slaves), [the more] nobody respects them (the excommunications), disobeying them all every year, which causes them (the merchants) to continue to embark/purchase more (slaves).⁹⁴

These merchants were expecting to get around the situation in Macao by obtaining a ballot from a Jesuit. Eventually, in 1598, the Jesuits in Japan began to obey the law and refuse to sign.

The Content of the Ballot

Unfortunately, so far no Japanese slave ballots have been found, barring the translation of that which was issued to Isabel, a Christian Chinese slave.⁹⁵ Isabel was probably acquired in Macao to be sold in Manila, where her legal situation could be confirmed. The enslavement ballot was issued by the Bishop of China, Friar João Pinto da Piedade, and the scribe was Father Manuel de Sousa. This very important document allows us to reconstruct the contents of ballots issued by priests in Macao and Nagasaki. The ballot shows first the name of the priest and his ecclesiastical status followed by the buyer's name and the victim's name and age, followed by a reference to the examination the victims had to undergo and the priest's resolution. Finally, the ballot shows the date and location where the examination took place. Any of these ballots would include the scribe's name and the signature of the ecclesiastical examiner validating the victim's status.

Let us look at Isabel's ballot in the Spanish version, translated here into English:

Juan Pinto [João Pinto da Piedade], for the mercy of God and the Holy Church of Rome, Bishop of China and of the Council of the King, Our

94 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas*, fol. 274v.

95 Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, pp. 69–70. AGN, Indiferente, 2440 exp. 21 (1628).

Lord. Here let us make clear to all who read this our certificate that Francisco Carvalho Araña [Francisco Carvalho Aranha] presented us a Chinese girl with the name of Isabel, who would be seven years old, who was brought by her own father to sell, so, through the examination we concluded that she is a slave and can be owned, sold, [and] given away. In this city of the Name of God (Macao), in China, with our signature and seal, which in this ecclesiastical judgment serves, on November fourteenth, six hundred and ten [14-11-1610] Father Manuel de Ssozza (Manuel de Souza), secretary of the ecclesiastic. I wrote it. The Bishop of China.⁹⁶

Isabel's ballot, issued when she was only 7 years old, also matches the description of the ballot system in Nagasaki by the Portuguese merchant António Rodrigues. According to the testimony of this dealer, given in Mexico City on 12 July 1599, the ballot of the Japanese Gaspar showed the names of the Society of Jesus's examiner, Rector Antonio López, and the buyer, merchant Rui Pérez, a mention to the examination and resolution, and the official signature of the examiner:⁹⁷

The aforementioned Rui Perez, the father of this witness, after having bought the aforementioned Gaspar Xapon, took him to the Jesuit priests residing in the city of Nagasaki and he was seen and examined by a Jesuit priest of the Society of Jesus named António Lopez. The aforementioned priest António Lopez said he could use the abovementioned Japanese for twelve years, more or less, and gave him a signed ballot/certificate with his name, which was received by said Rui Perez, father of this witness, and that he had in its power, which it refers to.⁹⁸

Jesuit ballots were divided into two types: "perpetual ballots" and "limited-time ballots/time bondage."

Perpetual Ballots

Perpetual ballots, as implied by their designation, meant that the enslaved was the lifetime property of another person. Nevertheless, it was possible for such slaves to buy their freedom, if he or she managed to gather a sum that was equal or superior to the price originally paid for them. This happened with the

96 AGN, Indiferente, 2440, exp. 21.

97 AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 265.

98 De Sousa, *The Jewish Diaspora and the Pérez Family Case*, p. 215; AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fols. 265–266.

slave soldiers and the so-called *escravos de ganho* (earning slaves), who, despite their status, were paid for their services, as an incentive. However, there were many slaves whose work was unsalaried: their freedom would likely only be obtained if, when their owner died, the will specified they be freed. For example, in 1592, in the will of one of the greatest Head Captains of Macao, the merchant Domingos Monteiro, a large group of male and female slaves of Japanese origin were released after his death. The number was so high that Monteiro only mentions the main slaves, seven women in total. The remaining women received the amount of 50 *pardaos*. The many male Japanese freed slaves, whose names are unknown, received 10 *pardaos* each.⁹⁹

Limited-Time Ballots/Time Bondage

Limited-time ballots/time bondage were tools used by the Jesuits to help Japanese slaves. This system already existed in Japan (*nenkihōkōnin* 年季奉公人). As traders took many Japanese as perpetual slaves, the priests, given their inability to stop this trade, decided to create a new category, namely the limited-time ballots/time bondage, signaling a set period of service. After the stipulated time on the ballot had been fulfilled, the victim was theoretically free. As Father Francisco Pasio suggested in his *Obediências dos Visitadores feito para os padres das Residências e mais padres de Japão* (literally, “Rules of the Visitors made for the priests of the Residences and more priests of Japan”) in 1612, Jesuits should investigate the background of the young men they purchased in order to confirm the legality of their captivity. Should seem uncertain, similarly to previous provisions, the corresponding years of service until the victim could pay off his debt would be determined together with the rector.¹⁰⁰ Through the examples found, we also know that this same rule also applied to the *moços* (literally, “boys”) who were bought by the Portuguese, whose origin was considered doubtful by the priests.¹⁰¹ The Jesuits themselves stated in the 1598 Nagasaki meeting that this was the “lesser of two evils (de dous males o menor)”: in other words, between perpetual slavery and limited-time ballots/time bondage, the priests chose the one that would cause less damage to the victims. By

99 AHSCMP, H, Bco. 6, n^o 17, fol. 28iv.

100 BNM, Jesuitas, Legajo 21, fol. 40, Cap. 2–8.

101 *E se estes años pasados se derão em Jappão a servos de años de serviço foi parte por se não ter tanta esperiencia dos inconvenientes e males que acima se tem apontado, parte por que como os portugueses se enchião de moços e moças e asi como asi os levavão cativos para sempre sem lhe poderem impedir estas compras escolhendos os padres de dous males o menor ao q era em mor favor dos cativos lhe asinalavão estes años de serviço não podendo o fazer e tambem por assi o terem encomendado que fizessem aos ditos Padres os Bispos da China em quanto tinhão iurisdição em Jappão.* RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 275.

giving them a set number of years and a salary, these Japanese and Koreans could live freely, once their contract ended.

However, in reality this form of contract/ballot did not work in the way it was meant. Although many Japanese held limited-time ballots, traders sold them as perpetual slaves regardless.¹⁰²

[M]any who were due to serve a certain number of years were sold as perpetual captives, and in some situations they (the merchants) destroy the ballots given them (by the Jesuit priests), which granted them a limited period of time of servitude.¹⁰³

For example, the Japanese Gaspar Fernandes, Ventura,¹⁰⁴ and Miguel Jerónimo,¹⁰⁵ acquired in Nagasaki and Manila, held limited-time ballots/time bondage. Nevertheless, after the death of the trader for whom they worked, their statutes were changed; hence, they were converted into perpetual slaves in Mexico.¹⁰⁶ Although Fernandes and Ventura were able to prove their true status and acquire freedom, Jerónimo probably died a slave, since no document has been found regarding his release.

Limited-time ballots, as well as their use by the Jesuits, were also mentioned in the *Vocabulário*. The Japanese term *nenqi* (ネンキ(年季)), that is,

102 There are many examples of this kind. In 1616, when the Portuguese Captain Francisco Fernandes traveled from Malacca to the Philippines, he would bring countless slaves on board and claim that the one slaves' ballot had been lost; he would then ask the authorities to issue a new ballot, making the slaves' status legal. AGN, *Historia*, 407, 1616, fols. 162f–164f. See also the case of Anton Chino, or António Chino. Chino was born in Kochi, in a place called Cuane, around 1585. His father's name was Chene and he worked as a clerk, while his mother, Unieche, was a housewife. Unlike most of the slaves found in documentary sources, António Chino was literate, a skill of great utility in his pre-slave profession. As a pepper merchant, António would travel along the Malabar Coast, encountering the mosaic of cultures and religions that traded in this region: Hindus, Arabs, Jews, and Christians. As was customary at this time, António, along with nine *chinos* (Asians), boarded a Portuguese boat to sell pepper. After the transaction, possibly because it was late in the day, the group accepted the offer of the Portuguese crew to sleep on the vessel. However, this was a trap, in order both to get the pepper free and make the merchants slaves. The Portuguese ship left quickly for Malacca and Chino was sold several times in Malacca, Manila, and Mexico. Maria de Deus Beites Manso, Lúcio de Sousa, "Anton Chino: A diáspora de um escravo de Cochim pelo mundo luso-espanhol dos séculos XVI e XVII," *Kyōto Raten Amerika kenkyūjo* 14 (2014): 121–32.

103 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 274v.

104 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 8, exp. 9, 1599, fol. 270.

105 AGN, INDIF. Virreinal, caja 6596, exp. 138, s.f.

106 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 467.

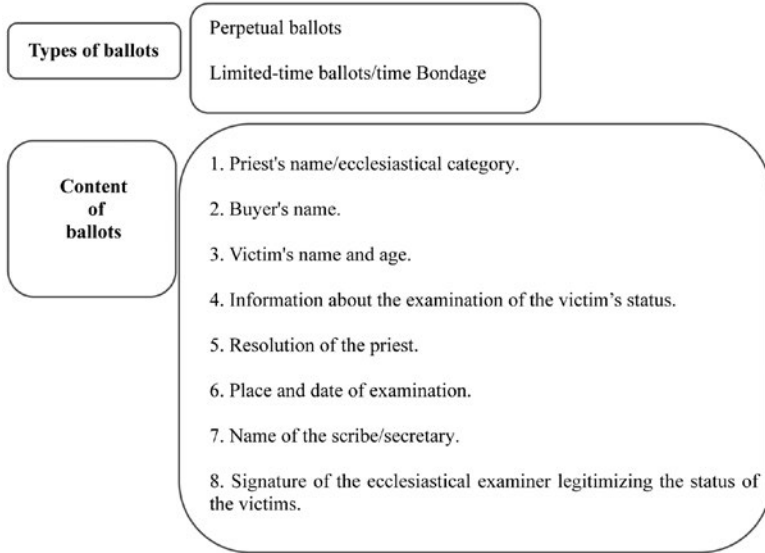


FIGURE 5.1 Ballot description

“quãtidade, ou contia de annos,”¹⁰⁷ meant the amount or number of years the victims had to fulfill; *nenquiosadamuro, 1, sasu* ((年季を定むる, または, 差す)), that is, “acabouse a contia dos annos de serviço,”¹⁰⁸ was the expression used to determine the years of the service of the victim; and *nenqigafateta* (年季が果てた), that is, “acabouse a contia dos annos de serviço,”¹⁰⁹ was the expression used to refer to the end of the years of service given.

The limited- and unlimited-time ballots showed no fixed amount of money and varied according to each case. Elements such as capture method, nationality, and age were crucial to the setting of a given value.

For the completion of these ballots, it is very likely that the priests involved charged a fee for this work; yet I could not find any material evidence supporting my theory.

107 *Vocabulário*, fol. 180v.

108 *Ibid.*, fols. 180v–181.

109 *Ibid.*, fol. 181.

Price and Number of Slaves

Slave Prices

The prices slaves were given in Japan varied depending on the market. These prices would also be influenced either by factors such as age, gender, health, place of birth, and technical capacity, or the political and economic context of each region (e.g., wars, bans, and famine).

Unfortunately, on this subject, I only managed to gather documentary fragments that, in spite of their limited number, I thought would be sufficient to portray the reason why the Portuguese from Macao had a great interest in this trade.

According to Fróis, in 1588, as a result of the Satsuma War (薩摩藩, Satsumahan, now Kagoshima) and Bungo War (current Ōita) many people were abducted and sold in the regions of Mie (三重) and Shimabara (島原). The price of women and children from Bungo varied between two and three *tostões*:¹¹⁰

On the grounds of Mie and Ximabara we found sometimes forty together to sell, and give women, young men and young women of Bungo, to get rid of them, for two, three *tostões*, and of these there was a very large number.¹¹¹

Also according to Fróis, in the realm of Higo (肥後, currently Kumamoto) in 1589, the heavy taxes imposed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi had reduced many people to the status of slaves. Fróis stated that the price of slaves was less than the price of cows or bulls;¹¹² yet he gives no information on the value of slaves in cash.

Another known sale is that of Gaspar Fernandez Xapón, a boy sold in Nagasaki to the Portuguese trader Rui Pérez. Gaspar, who was born in Bungo, came to Nagasaki as a result of the Satsuma soldiers' plundering during the war. Before his condition was clarified I was able to identify two transactions. The first occurred when the kidnapper sold Gaspar to Pérez. I have no information concerning the sale price. The second took place when Pérez set a price to pay to the victim for his services. This second transaction was regulated and set forth by the Society of Jesus. In the evaluation process or examination it was

¹¹⁰ Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 5, pp. 40–42. The origin is the Italian coins that had engraved the head (testone, in Italian) of the king. The exact currencia is imprecise because we do not know if they are silver or gold *tostões*.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40–42.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

clarified that the conditions under which Xapón was abducted and sold during the war were not those of legal slavery; hence, he was issued a limited-time ballot/time bondage by Jesuits. There are two versions of this contract: the first version belonged to the children of Pérez and the second to Xapón himself.

According to the former, the transaction price ranged between 10 to 11 *pesos* in silver, which would be equivalent to a limited time contract.

[H]is father saw and bought the said Gaspar Fernandez Xapón from a Japanese from that land for a price that he thinks between ten to eleven pesos in silver, which is the currency that was used there. This witness and his brother, called Manuel Fernandez, were present when the price was paid to the aforementioned Gaspar Xapon. When his father received him, the aforementioned Gaspar was still a child.¹¹³

According to writings left by Xapón, the price he was sold for was eight *reales*. There is no information as to its equivalent in any currency of that time: “pesos de ocho reales en dinero.”¹¹⁴

Gaspar’s report mentions he served Pérez for around 12 years.¹¹⁵ Comparing the two versions it is possible to conclude that the price of this child was 10–11 silver *reales de a ocho* (10–11 *pesos*), which would amount to 1 *real de a ocho* for each year of service.¹¹⁶

There is also some information on prices relating to a Japanese servant in Manila. Miguel Jerónimo, probably hailing from Bungo or Higo, was given a limited-time ballot/time bondage in Nagasaki. Miguel was later be sold in Manila to the merchant Rui Pérez between 1592 and 1595. After traveling to Mexico aboard the galleon *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, in 1597, where he became a slave, Jerónimo stated before the Inquisition in Mexico City that he had been bought in Japan by the merchant/dealer Francisco Martes (Francisco Martins), and sold to Luis Perez (Rui Pérez), for the price of forty *reais*, equivalent to 5 silver *reales de a ocho* (5 *pesos*) for a period of five years:

113 AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisicion, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 265.

114 Ibid., fol. 263f.

115 Ibid., fol. 265.

116 It is very possible that the aforementioned transactions could add costs to the legalization process; namely, the completion of the ballot, which would require an examiner priest, besides the presence of the buyer and victim, paper, a notary, and probably a seal or mark in addition to the official signature of the cleric. Due to the complexity of this document it seems very likely that its issuance was not free. No documentation confirming such fees have been discovered, however.

Miguel Jeronimo de casta Japon digo que estando en la dicha tierra del Japon Francisco Martes me compro por quenta de Luis [Rui]¹¹⁷ Perez portugues por precio de quarenta rreales por el servicio de my persona tiempo de cinco años de lo qual se hiço scriptura en las yslas ffilipinas donde fue my entrego.¹¹⁸

Through the testimony of Gaspar and Miguel, we can conclude that both in Nagasaki and Manila the two male children/teenagers, with limited-time ballots/time bondage, sold their services for the approximate amount of 1 silver *real de a ocho* (1 *peso*) per year. Unfortunately, there is not enough information that would help clarify if this was the general price assigned to similar victims.

Another important report is on the prices of slaves who belonged to Francesco Carletti, who arrived in Japan in 1597 from Florence.¹¹⁹ This merchant claims that the five Korean slaves he bought cost him just over 12 *escudos*:

[T]hey would bring in a great number of slaves, men and women, of all ages; among the latter there were many beautiful young dames, and they were all sold indiscriminately at a very low price; and I also bought five for a little over twelve scudi.¹²⁰

Unfortunately, we do not know the age of the slaves, if there were women in the group he bought,¹²¹ or if they had any technical skills. As Carletti wrote in his *Ragionamenti*, by the end of the 16th century, 1 Florentine *scudo* was equivalent to 1 Mexican silver *real de a ocho* (1 *peso*);¹²² hence, we can deduce

117 The consonants l (lateral) and r (rhotic or trill) are known as liquids, or rather, they have a vowel-like quality and a similar way of behaving in phonotactics (i.e., the possible number of phoneme combinations, thus creating permissible syllables). Italian and Portuguese have many liquid phonemes. Japanese and Korean, instead, have only one liquid phoneme which functions as a lateral and as a rhotic; hence, they are allophones. In other words, to the ear of a Japanese and a Korean, the sounds l + vowel and r + vowel are allophones and not separate phonemes, hence the confusion in hearing and producing the two sounds. The names Rui /Rúi/ and Luís /luíš/ were heard and are still heard today in Japanese and Korean as /lúi/ and /lúiš/.

118 AGN, Indif. Virreinal, caja 6596, exp. 138, s.f.

119 *Arrivammo a favamento nel Mefe di Giugno nel medefimo anno 1597 in una di effe detta Naganfachi 1597 dove pigliammo Porto*. Carletti, *Ragionamenti di Francesco Carletti Fiorentino*, p. 9.

120 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

121 Carletti uses the masculine pronoun and does not make any allusion to female Korean slaves so probably the five slaves were male.

122 *um "tael," que corresponde ao peso o valor de onze reais de Espanha, ou queremos dizer um escudo de moeda florentina ou pouco mais*. Elisabetta Colla, "Um mercador italiano nos

that the value of the five slaves would have been approximately 12 silver *reales de a ocho* (12 pesos). The division of this among five people amounts to 2.4 silver *reales de a ocho* (2.4 pesos). This would be the average price of a Korean slave in Nagasaki in 1597. This information helps us understand why the Portuguese were so interested in buying Koreans and why they so quickly replaced the demand for Japanese slaves in Nagasaki.

Furthermore, I found some references to the sale of Japanese slaves and their period of service after the war with Korea. For example, Richard Cocks (1566–1624) tells us that the Chinese Captain Andrea Dittis sold the Japanese Mats (Matsu) to the Englishman Ralph Coppendall,¹²³ for the price of 10 *taels*, on 21 February 1614.¹²⁴ That same day Cocks paid 2 *taels* to the mother of a Japanese man, called Mon, who was in service at the English trading post for 15 years. The contractual documents were prepared in Japanese.¹²⁵ Eatons, a merchant belonging to the English trading post, was served by the Japanese Domingo and his sister Susana. Pleased with Domingos's services, Eatons renewed his contract, paying 10 *taels* of silver to his parents for a period of seven years. During this time, Eatons could travel with Domingo to different places but was not allowed to take him to Batavia or England. As for Susana, Eatons paid half the money for the same period of time, that is to say, 5 *taels* for seven years, but was not allowed to take out of Japan.¹²⁶ On 12 December 1616, Cocks wrote in his diary of his purchase, from the Portuguese Jorge Durois for 7 *taels* of silver, of Sanzero, a Japanese slave whose Christian name was Laurenso (Lourenço).¹²⁷

As for the price of Japanese slaves outside Japan, I am aware of two cases in the Americas in the same period. The first, of Francisco Xapón, was in Córdoba, Argentina, and the second, Juan Antón, in Mexico.

Xapón's first known owner was Antonio Rodríguez de Avega. The date and price of acquisition are unknown. The slave trader Avega sold Xapón to the Portuguese Diego López de Lisboa, a slave trader of Portuguese-Jewish origin

caminhos de expansão ibérica: Racionamenti del Mio Viaggio intorno al Mondo (1591–1606) de Francesco Carletti," MA thesis, University of Oporto, 2006.

123 Andrea Dittis was also known as Li Dan (d. 1625) 李旦 from Quanzhou.

124 This transaction was performed on 1 March 1616 when Cocks delivered 10 *taels* in silver bars to the Chinese captain on behalf of Coppendall. Cocks, *Diary of Richard Cocks*, pp. 11, 116. Taladriz makes reference to this case but he makes a mistake in the day and year, giving it as 22 February 1616. Álvarez-Taladriz, "Apuntes sobre el Cristianismo y la Esclavitud en Japon," p. 501.

125 Cocks, *Diary of Richard Cocks*, p. 116. Álvarez-Taladriz, "Apuntes sobre el Cristianismo y la Esclavitud en Japon," p. 501.

126 Cocks, *Diary of Richard Cocks*, p. 210.

127 *Ibid.*, p. 219.

living in Córdoba.¹²⁸ The values and date of this transaction are also unknown. In turn, de Lisboa sold Xapón, on 16 July 1596, to the priest Miguel Jeronimo de Porras for 800 silver *reales de a ocho* (800 *pesos*).¹²⁹

Juan Antón was a former slave who had “bought his freedom from a black slave of Don Juan Vizcaíno”¹³⁰ and whose price of release was 100 *pesos*. The date of release was November 1631. In both cases, it is necessary to make an important distinction that will have direct influence on price disparity. While Xapón was sold while still young, about 21, Antón was probably already an adult when he left Japan (on 28 October 1613) and only gained his freedom 18 years later.

This information alone gives us an idea of the high profit margins of Japanese slaves sold outside Japan and thus why the Portuguese were so interested in this trade. These cases also explain why Portuguese traders in Goa sent Japanese slaves via the Atlantic to Spanish America. For example, in Peru, the census conducted in Lima between 1607 and 1613 includes the testimony of a couple of Japanese slaves, Tomás and Martha, who came from Goa.¹³¹

Shifting our attention from the Americas to focus now on Europe, more precisely on Serpa, Portugal, we can also find a single case of the sale of a group of Japanese slaves. In 1604, the property of the former Head Captain of Macao, Roque de Melo, was divided among his heirs. In this list, we can find seven Japanese slaves (five women and two men),¹³² who were priced at 310,000 *reis*.¹³³ The average per person would be 44,285 *reis*;¹³⁴ of course, we do not know if there were slaves of greater or lesser value in this group.

Despite these examples, in order to have a better idea of the profit margin of this type of slavery, it is important to compare the prices of Francisco Xapón in

¹²⁸ Luis G. Martínez Villada, *Diego López de Lisboa* (Córdoba: Impr. de la Universidad, 1939).

¹²⁹ AHPC, Registro 1, Año 1596–7, fols 286–287, document transcribed by Alejandro Sakuda, *El futuro era el Perú: Cien años o más de inmigración japonesa* (Lima: Esicos, 1999).

¹³⁰ This excerpt demonstrates the acquisition of Japanese people by African slaves. E. Hayashiya, “Los japoneses que se quedaron en México en el siglo XVII: Acerca de un samurai en Guadalajara,” *México y la Cuenca del Pacífico* 6(18) (2003): 10.

¹³¹ Contreras, *Padrón de los indios de Lima en 1613*, p. 541.

¹³² Five are women, Helena, Úrsula, Cecília, Isabel, and Lucrécia; and two are men, Matias and Luís. There is reference to an eighth Japanese, António, who fled to India. AFM, maço 26, n°16, fol. 4.

¹³³ The original amount was 321,200 *reis*, but included a bazaar/bazar stone worth 11,200 *reis*, which was deducted from the value of the slaves. The bazaar stone was an antidote to poisons, was very expensive and considered precious in the 16th and 17th centuries. This word is of malabar origin. AFM, maço 26, n°16, fol. 4. Raphael Bluteau, *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino* (Lisbon: Oficina de Pascoal da Sylva, 1720), vol. VI, p. 352.

¹³⁴ We do not know what type of *reis*. If it's *reis brancos* (white *reis*) it is equivalent to 221.5 *pesos*.

TABLE 5.1 Slave prices

Year	Location	Ethnicity	Man	Woman	Boy	Girl	Average	Valuation
1588	Mie and Shimabara	Japanese	–	2–3 <i>tostões</i>	–	2–3 <i>tostões</i>	–	Sale price
1589	Higo	Japanese	Less than the price of a cow or bull					Sale price
	Nagasaki	Japanese			10–11 silver pesos (for 12 years of service)			Time bondage
1593?	Manila	Japanese			5 silver reales de a ocho/5 pesos (for 12 years of service)			Time bondage
1596	Córdoba	Japanese	800 reales de a ocho/800 pesos					Purchase price
1597	Nagasaki	Korean	2.4 Florentin scudi/2.4 pesos	2.4 florentin scudi/2.4 pesos			2.4 florentin scudi/2.4 pesos	Purchase price
1604	Serpa	Japanese	44,285 reis	44,285 reis			44,285 reis	Sale price
1609	Lima	Japanese		24 pesos (for 2 years of service)				Time bondage
1614	Hirado	Japanese				3 taels (for 5 years of service)		Time bondage

TABLE 5.1 Slave prices (*cont.*)

Year	Location	Ethnicity	Man	Woman	Boy	Girl	Average	Valuation
1614	Hirado	Japanese			10 <i>taels</i>			Sale price
1616	Hirado	Japanese			2 <i>taels</i>			Time bondage
					(for 15 years of service)			
1616	Hirado	Japanese			10 <i>taels</i>	5 <i>taels</i>		Time bondage
					(for 7 years of service)	(for 7 years of service)		
1616	Hirado	Japanese			7 <i>taels</i>			Purchase price
1627	Mogami	Japanese		40–50 <i>reales</i>	40–50 <i>reales</i>			Sale price
1631	Guadalajara	Japanese	100 <i>pesos</i>					Cost of freedom

Source: Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 5, pp. 40–42, 48; AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, pgs. 263f., 265; AGN, Indif. Virreinal, caja 6596, exp. 138, s.f.; AGN, Protocolo Notarial de Alonso de Carrión, N° 267, correspondiente a los años 1609–1610, fols. 162–162v. 09-12-160; Carletti, *Ragionamenti Di Francesco Carletti Fiorentino*, pp. 9, 40; AHPC, Registro 1, Año 1596–7, fols. 286–287; Hayashiya, “Los japoneses que se quedaron en México en el siglo XVII,” 10; AFM, maço 26, n°16, fol. 4; Lorenzo Pérez, “Relación de la persecución del cristiano en el Japón, por Fr. Diego de San Francisco (1625–1628),” *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 1(3) (1914): 524; Álvarez-Taladriz, “Apuntes sobre el Cristianismo y la Esclavitud en Japon,” 501; Cocks, *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 1, pp. 11, 116, 210, 219, 249.

Córdoba and the seven Japanese from Serpa with other slave prices, particularly in Macao, Manila, Goa, Lisbon, Acapulco, and Mexico City fairs. Unfortunately, at least thus far, I am not aware of any extant document with such information. Another of the unknown aspects is the price of female slaves. Although we know that the demand for such slaves often surpassed the demand for males, we do not know the price at which women were sold in Nagasaki nor the prices charged in the ports to which they were exported.

Estimates of the Number of Slaves Carried from Japan

There are no known estimates regarding the number of slaves on board European vessels or ships commanded by Europeans in Japan. The numbers reported here are based on surviving official records of 45 official ships headed by the Portuguese on commercial trips to Japan between 1550 and 1600.¹³⁵ Although important, these sources are nonetheless very limited concerning the type of official boats docked in Japan; they show the approximate number of slaves but contain no detailed records or lists. There are no records regarding slaves smuggled in private Portuguese ships. Thus, we cannot know the precise dimensions of vessels, types of boats, number of crew members, departure locations, or destinations involved, or, most importantly, the exact number of slaves carried out of Japan in the second half of the 16th century.

The number of people traveling in the trade vessels on the annual official trip to Macao between 1558/59 and 1573 was around 200 (100 Portuguese and associates together with mercenary soldiers and slaves).¹³⁶ In 1560, the ship belonging to the former Captain of Malacca, João de Mendonça, who took Father Baltazar Gago from Japan to India, carried over two hundred people (most were Christian, though the sailors were non-Christian Chinese).¹³⁷ At this time, trade between Macao and Japan was controlled by a relatively small number of traders. As of 1573, with the introduction of the contract/frame system, the number of participants increased; hence, the number of traders traveling to Japan increased as well. I estimate that during the outward journeys to Japan, the size average crew ranged between 300 and 400 people.¹³⁸ There were perhaps some exceptions, similar that in 1573 when the official vessel heading to

¹³⁵ The actual number of private vessels traveling to Japan should be higher.

¹³⁶ In 1565, the total number of Portuguese visiting Japan was 70. These traders, along with their slaves, would engage in clashes in the port of Hirado. Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 2, p. 73.

¹³⁷ This ship, made using Chinese technology, was called a *junco* (junk). His sailors were Chinese and non-Christians: *Chamados os marinheyros pera esta determinação os quais erão chins e gintios*. Letter from Baltazar Gago S.J. to the Jesuits in Portugal, Goa, 10-12-1562. ARSI, Jap Sin 4, fol. 291. The number was more than two hundred, as evidenced by the following passage, without counting Chinese, non-Christian sailors: *Eu estava persuadido a acabar antes do junco que a intentar novos perigos porque ficavão mais de 200 almas christãs perdidas*. Letter from Baltazar Gago S.J. to the Jesuits in Portugal, Goa, 10-12-1562. ARSI, Jap Sin 4, fol. 291.

¹³⁸ In the 1582 Taiwan shipwreck, a Jesuit named Alonso Sánchez would claim that the crew of the official trade vessel numbered over 290. In addition to this ship, there another official ship also arrived in Japan. Although we do not know the number of people aboard the second ship, we know that it was of medium size, probably between 300 and 400 tons. Colín, *Labor Evangélica*, vol. 11, p. 300.

Japan was shipwrecked. More than 150 Portuguese were on board,¹³⁹ while the total estimated crew was around 700, according to the records of that time.¹⁴⁰ A rather smaller number traveled to Japan in 1582. In that year, two official vessels undertook this commercial journey, and the larger one was wrecked off the coast of Taiwan. Although the number of crew who were able to arrive safely in Japan remains unclear, the documents on the shipwrecked boat reveal the crew numbered between 200 and 290 people.¹⁴¹

In the 1580s until 1618, the proportions of the official ship of Macao expanded. At the same time, Portuguese commercial networks in this region also suffered a profound change, since the new Macao–Manila commercial route was added to the Goa–Malacca–Macao–Japan trade route. This would affect Macao’s economic structure and its contract/frame system, allowing the inhabitants of Macao greater participation in the trade and requiring larger vessels as well.

The annual number of slaves carried in official ships until the 1580s could vary between 200 and 450,¹⁴² but this number would reach 1000 for the first time after 1580 due to the increased proportions of this type of vessel. It should be stressed once again that the data available is fragmented and incomplete; hence, numbers are only approximate.¹⁴³ The peak of this trade occurred in the years 1591, 1593, 1595, 1596, and 1598, during which time 1000 slaves would travel annually on Macao official ships. These figures should include both registered slaves listed under the so-called “heavy load” (registered goods), and off-record slaves carried as a form of tax evasion (*câmaras*, *gasalhados*,¹⁴⁴ and *liberdades*¹⁴⁵).

139 Letter from Antonio Vaz to the General of the Society of Jesus, Fr. Francisco Borgia, Macau, 18-11-1573. *Documenta Indica*, vol. IX, p. 284.

140 Letter from Father Diogo Mesquita, S.J. *Introductio Ad Historiam Societatis Jesu In Japonia (1549–1650)*, p. 38.

141 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, p. 51.

142 This estimate is based on the figures presented by Francisco de Sousa regarding the slaves of two vessels that in 1564 traveled to Malacca and Goa along part of the Macau–Japan trade route. De Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesus Cristo*, pp. 650–51.

143 Father Antonio López S.J. states that in 1588 the official trade vessel would transport more than 1000 slaves from Nagasaki to Macau, despite the prohibitions of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. ARSI, Jap Sin 12 11, fol. 202v. José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, *Miscelánea Japónica* (Osaka: OUPS, 1978), vol. 11, p. 78.

144 Free spaces in the vessel. There were *gasalhados* for officers of high ranks and for captains. And there were *gasalhados* for the remaining passengers, according to their social status and function within the ships. These spaces were often used to transport unregistered goods and could be rented. Luiz Augusto Rebello da Silva, *História de Portugal nos séculos XVII e XVIII* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1871), vol. V, p. 71.

145 “The right to freight for their own accounts specified, small lots of spices, and other

It is also important to point out that this estimate does not include the transportation of slaves by numerous private Portuguese vessels. These were not necessarily ships, the majority being of medium or small size; many of them would be described in European documentary sources as *junks* (Chinese sailing vessels), *pataches* (European sailing vessels with two masts), or *somas* (Asian light sailing vessels).

In the early 17th century, Portuguese documentary sources reveal a sharp decline in the number of slaves traveling out of Japan. This event was closely related to the campaign conducted by the Society of Jesus aiming at the extinction of the slavery and trade of Japanese among Europeans.¹⁴⁶ However, the Dutch documentary sources present a different point of view. For example, in November 1610, Jacques Specx (1588–1652), foreman at the Dutch trading post in Hirado, claimed that the official trade ship from Macao annually carried 200 merchants with their servants and slaves.¹⁴⁷ Considering that each Portuguese was served at least by one servant or slave, and that persons of influence had private armies of slaves, the number of people on board could easily reach beyond 300.¹⁴⁸ This idea of decrease in the number of slaves in Portuguese documentary sources is not also supported by the Chinese sources on the slave trade in Macao. Records dating back to 1610 tell us that in that period 2000 to 3000 Japanese were bought by the Portuguese, and in 1613 between 5000 to 6000 Japanese and African slaves had been sold in the city.¹⁴⁹ Although the veracity of the figures may be arguable, we can say only that both European and Chinese sources agree that Macao was an important trade center of Japanese slaves.

The slaves belonging to official ship owners were bought by different kinds of people: captains, pilots, merchants, soldiers, sailors, and also by passengers

commodities." Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade*, p. 39. Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos*, vol. III, pp. 51–52.

146 *É importante lembrar que para um escravo japonês ser vendido fora do Japão necessitava de uma cédula realizada por membros da Companhia de Jesus atestando a legitimidade do processo de escravatura* [It is important to remember that for a Japanese slave to be sold outside Japan, he needed a ballot issued by members of the Society of Jesus attesting the legitimacy of the slavery process].

147 Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon*, pp. 15–16.

148 This estimate is confirmed in the records of the five vessels traveling from Lisbon on 13 March 1605 to Malacca and Goa. The three vessels destined for Malacca were *Nossa Senhora das Mercês* with 230 soldiers and 110 sailors; *São Nicolau* with 200 soldiers and 117 sailors; and *São Simão* with 220 soldiers and 106 sailors. With regard to the two vessels destined for Goa, the first, named *São Salvador*, had 250 soldiers and 111 sailors and the second, *Nossa Senhora da Palma*, 330 soldiers and 131 sailors. BA, Cod 51-VI-54, n^o1. Guinote, Frutuoso, and Lopes, *Naufrágios*, p. 435.

149 Tang, *Setting Off from Macau*, p. 94.

(e.g., priests, noblemen, and local citizens). Between 1592 and 1598, the number of slaves was so high and their cost so low that the paid slaves of the Portuguese could themselves buy slaves in Nagasaki. From 1580 until 1598, the most profitable period of this trade, the space not taken up by goods on board ships was completely filled with slaves. The mortality rate of slaves between 1592 and 1598 was probably higher than the previous period of 1581–1591 in the Nagasaki–Macao crossing due to the excessive number of slaves, inadequate human transportation conditions, and lack of food, combined with the fact that the slaves were not the most valuable commodity transported.¹⁵⁰

Regarding the placement of slaves within the ship, the bottom of the vessel was filled with goods, and the upper floor was filled by men and women in separate compartments, which were closed and controlled by guards. Although there are no references to how children and pregnant women were carried, we suppose they were kept in well-ventilated compartments and watched by guards, as they were more vulnerable to the rigors of the severe trip. The slaves traveled separated from their owners; hence, we suppose there was an identification system in place. In the Atlantic, slaves were often “shod,”¹⁵¹ but this system was not used in the Far East.

TABLE 5.2 Portuguese commercial journeys to Japan from 1550 to 1614

Year	Major captains	Unofficial ships' captains	Number of ships
1547–49?		Jorge de Faria	2
		Diogo Vaz de Aragão	
????		Leonel de Sousa	?
1550	Fernando de Meneses (arrived in Shimabara)	Duarte da Gama (arrived in Hirado)	3
		Francisco Pereira de Miranda (Hirado)?	
1551	Duarte da Gama (visited Funai and Hide)	Manuel Preto (Yamagawa?)	2
1552	Duarte da Gama		1

150 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, *Papéis sobre o cativoiro dos Japões. 1º assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas*, fol. 274v.

151 To mark the slave as property of a particular individual. A traditional branding iron is heated in the fire. It is commonly made of iron but may have a wooden handle.

TABLE 5.2 Portuguese commercial journeys to Japan from 1550 to 1614 (*cont.*)

Year	Major captains	Unofficial ships' captains	Number of ships
1553	Duarte da Gama (Hirado)		1
1554	Duarte da Gama	Diogo Vaz de Aragão ???? Cosme Rodrigues (vessel did not reach its destination)	4
1555	Duarte da Gama (arrived in Hirado)	Diogo Vaz de Aragão (arrived in Hirado)?	2?-3?
1556	Francisco Mascarenhas (arrived in Funai)	Luís de Almeida (arrived in Hirado) The boat of Diogo Vaz de Aragao (arrived in Hirado)? Commanded by Guilherme Pereira? Francisco Toscano Diogo Pereira	4?
1557	Francisco Martins (on behalf of Francisco Barreto, arrived in Hirado)	António Pereira (?) or Guilherme Pereira (?)	2
1558	Leonel de Sousa (arrived in Hirado, was shipwrecked during the return trip)	Two more ships to Hirado (?) Guilherme Pereira (arrived in Funai)	2
1559	Rui Barreto (arrived in Hirado)	Guilherme Pereira	2
1560	Manuel Mendonça (commanding two junks)	Aires Botelho	3
1561	Fernão de Sousa (on behalf of Gomes Barreto)	Afonso Vaz ???? ???? ????	5

TABLE 5.2 Portuguese commercial journeys to Japan from 1550 to 1614 (*cont.*)

Year	Major captains	Unofficial ships' captains	Number of ships
1562	Diogo Pereira Pedro Barreto Rolim (arrived in Yokoseura)	Ship of Manuel Mendonça (arrived in Hirado)	2
1563	Pedro da Guerra (on behalf of his brother Francisco de Sá, arrived in Yokoseura)	Francisco Castão (galleon docked in Yokoseura) Gonçalo Vaz de Carvalho (junk docked in Yokoseura)	3
1564	Pedro de Almeida (arrived in Hirado, commanding the ship <i>Santa Cruz</i>)	???? (<i>Santa Catarina</i> docked in Hirado) Bartolomeu Gouveia (junk docked in Hirado)	3
1565	João Pereira (arrived in Fukuda)	Diogo de Menezes (Fukuda)	2
1566	Simão de Mendonça (on behalf of his brother João de Mendonça)	? Diogo de Menezes (did not arrive, galleon sank in the Strait of Hainan)	2
1567	Tristão Vaz da Veiga (arrived in Kuchinotsu)	???? ????	3
1568	António de Sousa (arrived in Fukuda)	Diogo Vaz de Aragão?	2
1569	Manuel Travassos (arrived in Fukuda)	????	2
1570	Manuel Travassos (was in Shiki and Fukuda)	Estêvão Leite	2
1571	Tristão Vaz da Veiga (arrived in Nagasaki)	????	2
1572	João de Almeida		1
1573	António Vilhena (ship sank during his trip to Japan)	Gaspar Correia Pinto	2
1574	Simão de Mendonça (on behalf of his brother João de Mendonça)	André Feio ???? ????	4

TABLE 5.2 Portuguese commercial journeys to Japan from 1550 to 1614 (*cont.*)

Year	Major captains	Unofficial ships' captains	Number of ships
1575	Vasco Pereira		1
1576	Domingos Monteiro		1
1577	Domingos Monteiro	Captain Manuel Travassos (Portuguese junk docked near the Korean coast)	2
1578	Domingos Monteiro		1
1579	Leonel de Brito (arrived in Kuchinotsu)		1
1580	Miguel da Gama (arrived in Nagasaki)	Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro (Portuguese Chinese junk arrived in Kuchinotsu)	2
1581	Ignacio de Lima	Boat belonging to Bartolomeu Vas Landeiro	2
1582	Antonio Garcês (commanded a small junk, arrived in Kuchinotsu)	André Feio (shipwrecked in Taiwan)	2
1583	Aires Gonçalves de Miranda		1
1584	Aires Gonçalves de Miranda	Vincente Landeiro (junk belonging to Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro)	2
1585	Francisco Pais (on behalf of Luis Pereira)		1
1586	Domingos Monteiro (arrived in Hirado)	???? (junk from Macao)	2
1587	No official trip was made (year of the first anti-Christian edict)	???? (junk from Macao to Japan via Siam) ???? (junk commanded by a Spaniard; perhaps Domingos Segurado?)	2
1588	Jerónimo Pereira		1

TABLE 5.2 Portuguese commercial journeys to Japan from 1550 to 1614 (*cont.*)

Year	Major captains	Unofficial ships' captains	Number of ships
1589	In the Portuguese documentation there was no official trip due to the death of Jerónimo Pereira. João da Gama was nominated by the Viceroy of India, but he would give this trip to Domingos Segurado.	João da Gama (arrived in Japan having left Macao bound for New Spain) Domingos Segurado	2
1590	António da Costa (on behalf of Henrique da Costa) (galleon <i>São Martinho</i>)	???? (unknown junk)	2
1591	Roque de Melo Pereira (had to spend the winter because there was no silk sale)		1
1592	There was no trip because of the Japanese invasion of Korea		0
1593	Gaspar Pinto da Rocha (on behalf of Domingos Monteiro)		1
1594	There was no official trip because the designated captain, Francisco de Sá, shipwrecked in Achem		0
1595	Manuel de Miranda (on behalf of Francisco de Sá)	???? (A <i>soma</i> arrived from Macao with Father Pedro Ramão)	2
1596	Rui Mendes de Figueiredo		1
1597	There was no official trip	Francisco Gouveia (arrived in a <i>soma</i> and took Father Pedro Gómez to Macao)	1
1598	Nuno de Mendonça (commanded two junks)	Ship diverted from the India–Macao route Ship diverted from the Macao–Cambodia route	4
1599	There was no trip because the official ship was diverted from the route.		0

TABLE 5.2 Portuguese commercial journeys to Japan from 1550 to 1614 (*cont.*)

Year	Major captains	Unofficial ships' captains	Number of ships
1600	Orazio Neretti/Horatio Nerete (on behalf of Paulo de Portugal)		1
1601	There was no trip because the projected ships coming from India were heavily damaged and one of them had been shipwrecked		0
1602	Paulo de Portugal		1
1603	There was no official trip because the day before departure, the appointed Captain-General Gonçalo, Rodrigues de Sousa, was trapped by the Dutch on his ship and, for trade reasons, was prevented from leaving.	Paulo de Portugal (a <i>chô</i> (small ship) from Macao with Father Monteagudo)	2
1604	João Caiado de Gamboa		1
1605	António da Costa (on behalf of Diogo de Vasconcelos)		1
1606	Diogo de Vasconcelos		1
1607	There was no official trip due to the presence of a Dutch fleet off Macao	???? ????	2
1608	There was no official trip because of fear of the Dutch	???? (frigate on which Father Eugenio traveled)	1
1609	André Pessoa (shipwreck off Nagasaki)	Pedro Martins de Gaio	2
1610	There was no official trip		0
1611	There was no official trip	????	2
	Nuno de Souto Maior (in a small ship; as a special envoy on a diplomatic mission)	(a vessel left Macao but sank off the coast of Fukien)	
1612	Pedro Martins Gaio	Dom Luís de ?	3
	Horatio Neretti (galleons <i>São Felipe</i> and <i>Santiago</i>)	(ship arrived in Japan having gone astray)	

TABLE 5.2 Portuguese commercial journeys to Japan from 1550 to 1614 (*cont.*)

Year	Major captains	Unofficial ships' captains	Number of ships
1613	João Serrão da Cunha (ship ran aground when departing from Macao and had to return)		1
1614	João Serrão da Cunha		1

Source: Charles Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macau and the Old Japan Trade, 1544–1640* (Lisbon: CEMM, 1963); Yoshitomo Okamoto, *Jūrokuseiki Nichiōkōtsūshi no kenkyū* (1936, 1952; Tokyo: Rokkō Shobō, 1974); *Testimonios Autenticos acerca de los Protomartires del Japon*, ed. Agustín Millares Carlo and Julián Calvo (Mexico: n.p., 1954), pp. 37, 281, fol. 21; Benjamim Videira Pires, S.J., *Taprobana e mais além ... Presenças de Portugal na Ásia* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1995), pp. 310–14; Ana Prosépio Leitão, “Do trato português no Japão: presenças que se cruzam (1543–1639),” MA thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 1994, pp. 95–98; Lúcio de Sousa, “The Japanese and the Portuguese from 1580–1614: Commerce, Politics, and Religion,” PhD diss., University of Oporto, 2007, pp. 352–58; De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, pp. 23–31; Reinier H. Hesselink, “The Capitães Mores of the Japan Voyage: A Group Portrait,” *International Journal of Asian Studies* 9(1) (2012): 1–41; Lúcio de Sousa, *The Jewish Diaspora and the Pérez Family Case in China, Japan, the Philippines and the Americas (16th Century)* (Macao: Fundação Macau, 2015), pp. 82–85.

Case Studies: Crossing Diasporas

The Chinese Slave Victoria Diaz and the Jewish Conversos

The First Female Chinese Slave in Europe

Although she was born in China between 1550 and 1555,¹ Victoria Diaz could not remember the region or the city where she had lived because she had been so young when she left; as she described it, that was “in a very distant past.” Time had thus led to the erasure of the names of her father, mother, and all relatives from her memory. Unfortunately, she also does not make any reference to how she was enslaved: if it was the result of abduction, or if she was sold by her parents. However, something that seemed noteworthy was her conversion to Catholicism. She was baptized and converted to Christianity (i.e., Catholicism) along with other slaves on the ship to Japan.² This was a common procedure and there are other reports that confirm this testimony.³

Knowing the time frame referred to by Victoria Diaz it is thus safe to assume that the priests who had been involved this conversion belonged to the Society

1 An extended version of Victoria's biography can be found in: De Sousa, Lúcio. “16–17 Seiki no Porutogaru jin ni yoru Ajia dorei bōeki—Vikutoria Diasu aru Chūgokujin josei dorei o otte,” in *Nanban kōmō tōjin—16–17 seiki no higashi ajia kaiiki*, (ed.) Gakushō Nakajima (Tokyo: Shibunkakushuppan, 2013) 229–81. More recently, Patrícia Faria also published the following book chapter: Patrícia Faria, “Gabriel e Vitória Dias: fragmentos de vida de escravos do Oriente Português processados pela Inquisição (séculos XVI e XVII),” in *Inquisição Revisitada*, ed. Lina Gorenstein et al. (Rio de Janeiro: Jaguatirica, 2015), vol. 1, pp. 179–200. In inquiries included in the MS, which were conducted between 30 December 1606 and January 1607, Victoria Diaz revealed her life story and provided important information regarding this unknown period. When Victoria was asked her age, she said that she did not know for sure, but she was certain that she was over 50 years old, which puts her birth date between 1550 and 1555.

2 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3331, fol. 47v.

3 In the account of the baptism of slaves and Chinese children aboard ship one of the women mentioned in the Portuguese sources matches Diaz's description. For example, on 30 November 1564, Jesuit Baltasar da Costa wrote of the baptism of the children and the slaves: “Every afternoon, aboard the ship, Father [Teixeira] taught the Christian doctrine to the children and the slaves, all around seventy. [...] This Sunday afternoon the Portuguese merchants came once again to thank us for our visit and to give thanks to the Lord for having sent us. As a token of their appreciation they brought us ten or twelve slave young men and young girls to be baptized.” Ping and Zhiliang, “A (Des)canibalização dos Portugueses,” pp. 94–104.

of Jesus, since the Jesuits were the only religious order in Japan at that time (others arrived later).

After leaving Japan, the ship carrying Victoria Diaz traveled to Malacca, and months later, Goa. Victoria's conversion to Christianity was confirmed and legitimized by the Archbishop of Goa.⁴ This city was the center of Portuguese presence in Asia at that time, an area called the Estado da Índia (State of India, or rather, Portuguese India). Victoria was then sent to the city's slave market.⁵ Her fate was similar to that of many Chinese slaves. She was purchased in Goa to serve a noble lady named Lalana Meneses,⁶ and spent a part of her childhood in Kochi,⁷ as a servant (*moça de serviço*, literally, service girl).

Owing to the fact that Victoria was still a child when she became a slave, it is very likely that she was used as a status and wealth symbol by this noble European family living in India rather than being a mere source of income. The time spent by Victoria in Kochi, or Lalana's reasons for sending her back to the slave market in Goa after a period of time, remain unknown.

The Goa slave trade, besides supplying the local areas with slaves, was also the main exporter of Asian slaves to Europe where the demand for Chinese and Japanese slaves particularly was very high; they were considered of better quality, hence, their price was astronomical.⁸

Victoria was sold again and, this time, was bought by a Portuguese named Henrique Dias de Milão (1528–1609),⁹ an important businessman involved in the spice trade.

After de Milão had bought her, Diaz traveled to Europe, lived in Lisbon, and served the Milão family for a number of decades.

Quickly integrated, Diaz served as a cook and raised de Milão's children. Notably, this was not an ordinary family; it had a secret that would eventually endanger all their lives: although they appeared to be Christians, in private, the de Milãos practiced Judaism, a religion that at that time was forbidden in Portugal and in Portuguese territories overseas.

4 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3331, fol. 47v.

5 For Goa's slave market, see: François Pyrard de Laval, *Voyage de François Pyrard de Laval contenant sa navigation aux Indes orientales, Maldives, Moluques, et au Brésil: et les divers accidents qui lui sont arrivés en ce voyage pendant son séjour de dix ans dans ces pays. Avec une description exacte des mœurs, loix, façons de faire, police et gouvernement; du trafic et commerce qui s'y fait ...*, (Paris: Thiboust, 1619).

6 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3331, fol. 47v.

7 Ibid.

8 *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, ed. António Silva Rego (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962), vol. 2, p. 114.

9 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3331, fol. 47v.

However, the case of the Milão family significantly differed from that of the so-called Crypto-Jews. Despite living in Lisbon, they traveled to other European cities such as London, Venice, Antwerp, and Hamburg, where they openly practiced Judaism and participated in local Jewish communities.¹⁰ These *diasporic* Sephardic Jews had some Jewish family members in Hamburg, which suggests that their relatives did not suddenly disassociate themselves with the Sephardic tradition. In Lisbon, the Milão home was a meeting place for those of Jewish descent.¹¹ Initially, Henrique de Milão's family inhabited the "Mouraria" quarter, which was one of Lisbon's oldest neighborhoods of ancient Sephardic (8th century BC–1497) and later Muslim (711–1147) origin; it was quite close to the "Rua Nova," also known as "Merchants Street," the center of Lisbon's trade. The Milãos lived in this house until 1604,¹² subsequently moving to the suburbs. In order to avoid suspicions of "Judaizing," they moved into a new house that was located in front of a Flemish monastery, the former "Rua do Barão" in "Alcântara."¹³ In this way, they sought to deceive the spies of the Portuguese Inquisition,¹⁴ since it was unlikely a family of Jewish origin would choose to reside in a Catholic neighborhood. During this period, several Jews visited Lisbon on business, living for a short period in the "Quinta de Vasco Fernandes."¹⁵ The Milão family maintained close friendships and trade relationships with them.

It is possible only to provide a brief description of the financial and social reach and trajectory of this family, as they had commercial links with relatives living in Antwerp, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Livorno, Venice, London, Bordeaux, Pernambuco, Recife, Olinda, the Cape Verde Islands, Mexico City, Acapulco, Goa, Manila, and Macao, to name the most important sites. Their investments were also diversified, distributed across the spice trade in India, silk in China, silver in the Americas, slaves in Cape Verde, the Americas, and Brazil, and sugar in Brazil. Regarding their origins, they seem to have been of Portuguese (Henriques, Lopes, Rodrigues, Dias, Cardoso, and Gomes), Spanish (Cáceres,¹⁶

10 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3338, fol. 30.

11 Ibid., fol. 10.

12 Ibid., fols. 2, 10v, 21f., 26.

13 Ibid., fol. 14v.

14 The Inquisition was a religious court established in Portugal in 1536 and in Goa in 1560, which had several objectives—one was to identify Jewish descendants who, although converted to Catholicism, secretly practiced (some) rituals belonging to Judaism. The majority of people accused of Judaism and arrested by the Inquisition saw their property confiscated and were often sentenced to death.

15 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3338, fol. 16v.

16 Caceres, de Caccres, Caceres.

Lopez, and Rodriguez), and Italian origin (Milão),¹⁷ and all documents evidence familiarity with these geographical regions. Henrique Dias de Milão had married Guiomar, even though the latter was his maternal cousin. Nine children were born of this marriage. Besides the immediate family, others living in the home included Branca Rodrigues, Beatriz Dias,¹⁸ Leonor Henriques,¹⁹ Francisco Barbosa and his brother and sister, António Barbosa and Violante Barbosa,²⁰ João (servant), Domingos (servant), Victoria Diaz (Chinese slave), and Manuel (slave). From the late 1603 onwards, the household also included Beatriz Rodrigues, Henrique de Milão's niece, who was engaged to his cousin Paulo de Milão (Paulo was working in Brazil at the time). In 1605, Manuel de Matos arrived from Brazil.²¹ Manuel de Matos was married to Ana de Milão, who also resided in the Milão house. During the same period, António Dias de Cáceres, Henrique's brother, arrived from London and joined the family.

Henrique de Milão belonged to one of the more significant transnational families of Sephardic New Christians/*conversos* and Jews. In Lisbon, he represented the interests of the Jewish descendants, a position that obviously made him many enemies. However, his wealth and connections were sufficient to protect him, albeit temporarily, from religious persecution.

Between 1591 and 1604, New Christians were able to negotiate a temporary amnesty with the Portuguese authorities. The cost of these negotiations were approximately 1.7 million *cruzados*, which, once paid in full by the Portuguese New Christians/*conversos*, would ensure the freedom of 410 people indicted by the Portuguese Inquisition in January 1605.²² A general pardon was granted by Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605).²³ This pardon was not only confined to the Portuguese New Christians/*conversos* living in Portugal. Numerous attempts were also made to release those captured by the Spanish Inquisition in Mexico. Using an extraordinary network of informers, the New Christians could send information regarding events in Lisbon to places as distant as the prisons of

17 Milan, Millan, Milao, Millao, de Milao, Milano, Pina Milano.

18 Married to Henrique de Milão's cousin Gomes de Milão.

19 Not Leonor Henriques Rodrigues (1577) (Henrique de Milão's daughter). Leonor Henriques (cousin of and married to Henrique de Milão—i.e., Henrique Rodrigues).

20 Henrique de Milão's paternal cousins.

21 Manuel Nunes de Matos.

22 Ana Isabel López-Salazar Codes, *Inquisición Portuguesa y Monarquía Hispánica en tiempos del perdón general de 1605* (Évora: Edições Colibri, 2010). *Traslado autentico de todos os privilégios concedidos pelos reys dos reynos e senhorios de Portugal aos officiaes e familiares do Santo Officio da Inquisição* (Lisbon: Miguel Manescal, 1685). Anita Novinsky, *Gabinete de investigação: uma "caça aos judeus" sem precedentes* (São Paulo: Editora Humanitas, 2007), p. 14.

23 ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura Apostolica in Lisbona, N.5; Segreteria dei Brevi, n. 362.

the Spanish Inquisition in Mexico.²⁴ Yet no further information is available regarding this network.

However, despite this “lenience,” repression resumed again in 1606, when New Christian/*converso* family members were accused of Judaizing, and were thus persecuted relentlessly by the Portuguese Inquisition. The Milão family was chosen as an example, as they were kin to Rodrigo de Andrade,²⁵ one of the key negotiators and supporters of the New Christians/*conversos* in the Spanish Court and the Holy See.²⁶

The interest of the Portuguese Inquisition in Victoria Diaz resides in this last aspect. Working as a cook, she was also educated in Judaism by Henrique’s wife, Guiomar. Her relationship with this family was so good that she was freed in 1602; however, as a free woman, she opted to remain at the Milão’s residence.²⁷ Diaz was responsible for preparing meals for the secret Jewish ceremonies that were held in the house. However, her role was not limited to that of a mere cook since documents show that she played an active role in educating de Milão’s children. During the Portuguese Inquisition, everyone referred to her as a central figure in the Milão family, a position extremely unusual for a former slave. In contrast with other slaves, Diaz spoke perfect Portuguese.

Some documents assert that a friar named Gaspar de Ayala was the first to bring charges against the Milãos.²⁸ However, my research shows that the betrayal actually came from one of the family members: Francisco Barbosa. Born in Madrid in 1588, the son of António Barbosa (shoemaker) and Maria Gonçalves, both Portuguese New Christians/*conversos*, Francisco Barbosa moved to Lisbon in 1605, after the death of his parents.²⁹ Since António was related to Henrique de Milão, the trader attempted to help him and his sons by employing Francisco in the family business from 1605 to 1606. During that same year, at the Portuguese Inquisition quarters, Francisco accused the entire family of secretly practicing Judaism. A few months later, eaten by the remorse of his betrayal, Francisco revealed that he had made a secret confession to the Portuguese Inquisition, and encouraged the Milãos to flee Portugal before “Pessach” פסח, the Jewish Passover.³⁰ A desperate escape attempt then followed. António

24 AGN, Inquisición, 1605, vol. 276, exp. 14, fols. 81.

25 From his father’s side he was a descendant of the last Chief Rabbi of Castile, Abraham Senior or perhaps Fernán Pérez Coronel (1412–1493).

26 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3338, fol. 2v.

27 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3331, fol. 47v.

28 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3338.

29 *Ibid.*, fols. 2f.–2v.

30 *Ibid.*, fols. 41f–41v.

Dias de Cáceres decided to escape to France,³¹ whereas Henrique chose to stay a little longer in Lisbon in order to deal with his business and distribute his family's assets among other New Christians/*conversos*, to prevent all his possessions being inevitably confiscated by the Portuguese Inquisition.³² After completing these tasks, the Milãos, using the New Christian/*converso* underground network, departed for Xabregas, a town on the outskirts of Lisbon,³³ where they hired a boatman to take them to a French ship.³⁴ Once aboard, they were surprised to see several members of the Portuguese Inquisition and realized that they had been victims of an ambush.³⁵ Henrique de Milão and his son, Paulo, were immediately taken prisoner, since they were the most important figures in the family business.³⁶ The women were able to escape temporarily. It is possible to identify Victoria Diaz in the documents describing this group, which also includes a verbal portrayal of the women running down the beach, trying to escape.³⁷ The manner in which this episode unfolded and the way in which all plans appeared to fail, suggest that Inquisition officials had infiltrated the family, thus knew their location and exact time of departure. Fortunately, some family members had been able to successfully escape a few months prior to this episode. Among this fortunate group were António Dias de Cáceres, Manuel Nunes de Matos, and Henrique Rodrigues, who traveled to Hamburg, where their relatives Beatriz Henriques and Álvaro Dinis awaited them.³⁸

Diaz's Imprisonment and Escape

Diaz was captured on 28 October 1606, along with other family members. Accusations of Judaizing were made against her by Francisco Barbosa, Branca Rodrigues,³⁹ Isabel Henriques,⁴⁰ Fernão Lopez,⁴¹ Gomes Rodrigues,⁴² Beatriz Rodrigues,⁴³ and Guiomar Gomes.⁴⁴ Her interrogation began in December

31 Ibid., fols. 33v.

32 Ibid., fols. 18.

33 Ibid., fols. 11.

34 Ibid., fols. 11, 60v.

35 Ibid., fols. 52v–53.

36 Ibid., fols. 11.

37 Ibid., fols. 11.

38 Ibid., fols. 50v–51.

39 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 7063.

40 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 6984.

41 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 2523.

42 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 2499.

43 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 9407.

44 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 6671.

1607. During this first phase, Diaz declared herself innocent of any wrongdoing, claiming to be Christian and answering several questions regarding the Catholic faith correctly. Moreover, during this phase, she revealed her origins and how she came to Portugal.⁴⁵

Her second interrogation occurred on 16 January 1607, when the inquisitors presented the main charges: after the general pardon, which occurred in January 1605, Diaz had declared herself openly Jewish, keeping the Sabbath (שַׁבָּת), Passover, Purim (פּוּרִים), and other Jewish holidays.⁴⁶ She refused to confess to openly or secretly practicing any form of Jewish rite. Hence, Diaz was subsequently summoned for a third session on 19 January 1607 and a fourth session on 7 May 1607.⁴⁷ In both sessions, Victoria refused to acknowledge any Jewish practice and continued to protect Henrique de Milão's family, not betraying anyone. It would be interesting to know what happened on the night between 7 and 8 May 1608 to drastically change Victoria's behavior. Most likely she was informed that family members had already confessed their Jewish practices. Since many testimonies and much evidence already existed against her, if she did not confess, she would have incurred the serious risk of being condemned for Judaizing and burned alive. On 8 May 1608, Diaz called for a special hearing, repented, and confessed her wrongdoings, stating that only in the 1606 Passover of the previous year had she discovered that she was living in a Jewish family,⁴⁸ because someone told her to cook *matzah* (מַצֵּה), unleavened bread, in Portuguese/Judeo-Portuguese *pão ázimo* or *asmo*, and *z'roa* (זְרוּעַ) roasted lamb shank bone) with bitter herbs (*mārôr*, מַרְוֹר),⁴⁹ all ingredients used during the Passover Seder(s), and Passover proper.⁵⁰

Because she was illiterate, the scribe Francisco Borges signed her confession on her behalf. When Victoria returned to her cell, the inquisitors agreed that her confession was believable.⁵¹ Victoria was then forgotten and left in the prison for two months,⁵² only to be heard again by the inquisitors at her request. This time, she revealed that between 1603 and 1604, Henrique de Milão's wife, Guiomar, had told her that they practiced Judaism, and that she (Victoria)

45 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3311, fol. 48.

46 Ibid., fols. 49–51.

47 Ibid., fols. 51–54.

48 The 1606 Passover corresponded to the year 5366 of the Jewish Calendar.

49 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3311, fols. 54v–56.

50 The Passover Seder is a Jewish ritual that marks the beginning of the Jewish Passover in which the history of the Exodus and the liberation of the people of Israel is remembered. Celebrated the first, the second, and/or last night of Passover.

51 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3311, fol. 58.

52 11 July 1607.

believed that Judaism would save her soul; hence, she converted.⁵³ Two days later, Victoria expanded on her confession, revealing that she had participated in Jewish *tzmot* (צומות, fasts)⁵⁴ with the family not only when they resided in the Mouraria quarter but also when they lived in Alcântara; thus revealing the names of family members who had participated. After the confession was ratified, Victoria returned to prison while the inquisitors deliberated on the veracity of her testimony.⁵⁵ Again, her confession was deemed authentic. On 13 September 1607, Victoria was called in to confirm her statements and to denounce close *judeo-conversos*, but refused to denounce family friends, claimed to be repentant, and said that henceforth she would abjure Judaism.⁵⁶ It took eight months for her to be called in again by the inquisitors to corroborate her confession,⁵⁷ and, once again, she refused to denounce family friends.⁵⁸ Her sentence was deliberated almost a year later, on 22 July 1608. Regarded as a Chinese slave poorly converted to Christianity in Japan and converted to Judaism as an adult,⁵⁹ she was pardoned and reindoctrinated into the Catholic faith. The inquisitors considered her poor education in Catholicism the main reason for her conversion to Judaism, as she had no ability to recognize Jewish “heresies.”⁶⁰

On 5 April 1609, the Auto-de-fé was celebrated in Lisbon. This was a ceremony that was divided into several parts: a Mass, a procession, sentencing, and public execution of the sentence. Victoria was then sent to the *Escolas Gerais* (General Schools), along with the women of Milão’s family, a prison penitentiary in the Alfama neighborhood, where she eventually shared a cell with Guiomar Milão and her youngest daughter, Isabel.⁶¹ Although they had been re-educated in Catholicism, Diaz collaborated in a plan to escape from Lisbon to Antwerp. This plan was orchestrated by an old family friend, the New

53 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3311, fols. 58–59f.

54 Besides the fast of Yom Kippur (יום כיפור or יום כפור) “Day of Atonement”), and the fast of Tisha b’Av (תשעה באב or ט’ באב) (“The Ninth [Day] of [the Month of] Av”), there are four other major fast days observed by Jews throughout the world, i.e., צום גדליה Tzom Gedalyah (“The Fast of Fedaliah”), עשרה בטבת Asarah b’Tevet (“The Fast of the Tenth [Month] of Tevet”), עשר בתמוז Shiv’ah Asar b’Tammuz, (“The Fast of the Seventeenth [Month] of Tammuz”), and תענית אסתר Ta’anit Ester (“The Fast of Esther”). Obviously, the (strict) observance of and/or the degree of adherence to the religious precepts regulated by these major fast days varied from one Crypto-Jewish community to the next.

55 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3311, fols. 59v–62v.

56 *Ibid.*, fols. 63–64v.

57 16 May 1608.

58 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3311, fols. 65f–66v.

59 *Ibid.*, fol. 67.

60 *Ibid.*, fol. 67.

61 Isabel Henriques.

Christian/*converso* Manuel Cardoso, who had also been accused by the Portuguese Inquisition. Guiomar Milão, owing to her poor health, could not leave; hence, Diaz assumed responsibility for taking Isabel, the two children of Ana de Milão, and a 14-year-old boy named Manuel (a convicted child of another Inquisition prisoner) to Antwerp.⁶² The plan was to reach Xabregas, and travel from this port to London and then to take a second ship to Flanders.⁶³ It is evident that the family had a great degree of confidence in Victoria Diaz to thus entrust her with such a dangerous mission. This also suggests that Victoria was not merely a subaltern member of the family, much less a common former slave. The escapees managed to elude the inquisitors, and fled to Xabregas on 4 March 1610.⁶⁴ When they arrived at this port, they stayed for some time at the Convent of San Francisco,⁶⁵ awaiting a small boat to take them to an English ship,⁶⁶ and then traveled to Flanders.⁶⁷ This is a particularly interesting series of events, as it suggests the strong possibility that the friars at the convent collaborated in the escape of New Christians/*conversos*. Subsequently, Manuel Cardoso contacted Diaz and once they arrived at the dock, they boarded a small boat. However, minutes later, the spies of the Portuguese Inquisition surprised them for the second time and sent them back to the *Escolas Gerais*.⁶⁸ Although unsuccessful, this escape attempt provides somewhat surprising information: researchers previously assumed that the צדקה (charity) among the Sephardic Jews was extinct; however, it is evident that it was still operating in Antwerp. Though originally based on the religious obligation for all Jews to perform charity and other philanthropic acts toward other members of the Jewish community in distress, during the Iberian Inquisition periods Tzedakah was a Sephardic Jewish Association which aimed to raise funds for the rescue and assistance of Jewish families persecuted by the Iberian Inquisitions.⁶⁹ This clandestine network between Portugal and Antwerp was initiated by the Sephardic families “Mendes,” “Benveniste,” and “Nasci (Nasi)” during the first half of the 16th century.⁷⁰ Important names such as Diogo Mendes

62 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3311, fols. 67v–77v.

63 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 6984, fol. 131.

64 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3311, fols. 67v–77v.

65 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 6984, fol. 128.

66 *Ibid.*, fol. 128.

67 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3311, fols. 67v–77v.

68 *Ibid.*, fols. 67v–77v.

69 Aron Di Leone Leoni, *The Hebrew Portuguese Nations in Antwerp and London at the Time of Charles V and Henry VIII: New Documents and Interpretations* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV, 2005), p. 124.

70 José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, “Conversos: ‘A Península Desejada.’ Reflexões em torno de alguns casos paradigmáticos (séculos XVI–XVII),” *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas*

Benveniste, Beatriz de Luna, and, subsequently, João Micas and Guilherme Fernandes, organized and sponsored the escape of Jews and New Christians from Portugal to Antwerp, relocating them in various European cities.⁷¹

Epilogue

Upon her return to Lisbon, Victoria Diaz was once again the victim of two major interrogations: the first on 8 March 1610,⁷² and the second on 5 April 1610.⁷³ The escape attempt had put her life at risk as it showed that Diaz had maintained her links with Judaism. Against all expectations, Victoria remained calm throughout the interrogations: she did not denounce those who had organized and financed the escape, and she protected the children and Isabel. As an excuse, Diaz claimed that she had merely accompanied Isabel and that the children of Ana de Milão had gone to visit their father, Manuel Nunes de Matos. Shrewdly using her status as a slave, Diaz declared ignorance of the fact that leaving Portugal required obtaining a license from the inquisitors. Throughout the interrogations, she provided no assistance to the inquisitors, and continually protected the family that she had served. Surprisingly, on 10 April 1610, Diaz was finally released from prison, with strict orders not to leave Portugal without permission from the inquisitors, lest she be severely punished.⁷⁴ The absence of more information in the manuscript indicates that most likely Victoria attempted a third and this time successful escape. A letter from the principal in charge of the General Schools, Jorge da Costa, confirms this assumption, since it states that the entire family departed in early February 1611 for Flanders and mentions Victoria's name among them.⁷⁵ Although in all likelihood Antwerp seems to have been the new starting point for Victoria, the Milão family initially moved to Hamburg,⁷⁶ and thence to Amsterdam, practicing Judaism the entire time.⁷⁷

6 (2006): 259–95. Cecil Roth, *Doña Gracia of the House of Nasi* (1948; Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1977). Cecil Roth, *The Duke of Naxos of the House of Nasi* (1948; Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1977). Abraham Galante, *Hommes et Choses Juifs Portugais en Orient* (Constantinople: Société Anonyme de Papeterie, 1927).

71 André Aelion Brooks, *The Woman who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi: A Jewish Leader during the Renaissance* (St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 2002).

72 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3311, fol. 75.

73 Ibid., fol. 77v.

74 Ibid., fol. 78v.

75 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 6671, fol. 192.

76 Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Juden in Hamburg* (Munich: K.D. Saur, 1994).

77 ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 10600, fol. 25.

The Japanese Slave Gaspar Fernandes and the Jewish Conversos

The Pérez's Family's Journey from Viseu to Nagasaki

The merchant Rui Pérez was born in Viseu, Portugal,⁷⁸ around the end of the 1620s and the beginning of the 1630s,⁷⁹ into a family with Jewish origins. Since the beginning of the foundation of Portugal (1128), Viseu, a city with strong ties to the land, hosted an important Sephardic community, and the Jews were an active presence in the region's markets and fairs. By the time he was in his forties, Pérez was the father of two boys, António Rodrigues (b. 1571)⁸⁰ and Manuel Fernandes (b. 1575).⁸¹ Contemporary testimonies claim that his family had been persecuted by the Inquisition and, therefore, he had left for India without his wife, but with his two children:

It was known among the Portuguese that he fled from Portugal to India and that some people said that he had fled because of the Holy Inquisition, he and his two children, and that they traveled from Goa to Macao.⁸²

Unfortunately, several unknown facts obscure Pérez's true past. It is even possible to postulate that the name Rui Pérez was fictitious. In the documents that I have observed I have found another reference to a second last name, Fernandes.⁸³ His children also changed their names during the time they lived in China, Japan, and the Philippines. The elder would be known by three different names.⁸⁴ This concern to erase traces that could help reveal the family's true

78 Longer versions of Pérez's life can be found in: Lúcio de Sousa, "A presença Judaica em Macau, Nagasáqui e Manila no século XVI: O caso Ruy Pérez," *Revista de Cultura* 43(3) (2013): 71–91. De Sousa, *The Jewish Diaspora and the Pérez Family Case*. The first author that mentioned Rui Pérez briefly was: Eva Alexandra Uchmany, "Criptojudíos y cristianos nuevos en las Filipinas durante el siglo XVI," in *The Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage Studies*, ed. Issachar Ben'Amid (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1982), pp. 85–104. Lourenço also used work by Uchmany and myself in: Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, "Injurious Lexicons: Inquisitorial Testimonies regarding New Christians in Macau, Manila and Nagasaki in the Late Sixteenth Century," in *The Conversos and Moriscos in late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, ed. Kevin Ingram and Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 95–116.

79 Testimony of Francisco, from Sunda (21-10-1596): *biejo que el le parece de setenta años*. AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 443v.

80 AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 265.

81 AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fols. 137, 138v.

82 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 457.

83 AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fols. 140.

84 António Rodrigues, Francisco Rodrigues, João Rodrigues. AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fols. 137, 138v, 140.

origin—possibly to protect other family members—suggests a turbulent relationship with the Inquisition.

Beyond these doubts, there are additional uncertainties of a chronological nature. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact year of his departure to India. However, we can say that it was probably in early 1580. It is not difficult to presume that he would have embarked secretly and bribed the captain or a member of the ship's crew he was traveling on, taking into account that in this period *judeo-conversos/cristãos-novos* were prohibited to travel to Portuguese India without the monarch's permission.

In 1587, after troubled sojourns in Goa, Kochi,⁸⁵ and Malacca, the merchant and his two children finally arrived in Macao, where there was an important community of Jews. Upon his arrival “in Macao children and adults thought that he was a Jew and that he belonged to the caste of the Jews and they said: ‘What the hell brought this Jew to this city, there are already enough of those living here!’”⁸⁶

Ironically, in the same year, 1587,⁸⁷ Captain João Gomes Fayó,⁸⁸ also arrived in town. He was the executor of an arrest warrant from the Goa Inquisition for all *judeo-conversos/cristãos-novos* of Macao,⁸⁹ whereby accusers were given half of the goods seized, while the other half went into the Inquisition's coffers.⁹⁰

Newly arrived, and still without any close affiliations, the Pérez family became a scapegoat for the community and Macao's bishopric. Pérez was thus formally accused,⁹¹ and all family members were officially persecuted by order of Bishop D. Leonardo de Sá.⁹² Pérez's oldest son, António, was the first victim. Arrested under the Bishop's orders, António managed to negotiate his conditional discharge, paying bail only for having taken part of the commercial journey between Macao and Japan. Once in Japan, after finishing the

85 José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, *Judeus e cristãos-novos de Cochim: história e memória (1500–1662)* (Braga: APPACDM, 2003).

86 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 461.

87 Date when the Head Captain Jerónimo de Sousa carried out the Macau–Nagasaki commercial journey.

88 In 1607, João Gomes Fayó is referred to as Captain of Cranganor. *Documentos Remettidos da Índia*, II, pp. 17, 77, 132.

89 The apparent reason for this arrest warrant was the royal ban that no man of Jewish ancestry could travel to Malacca, China, and Japan. AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp.1U, fol. 140.

90 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 457.

91 José Maria Braga, *Jesuitas na Ásia* (Macao: Fundação de Macau, 1998), p. 78.

92 *estes dous homens tiverão em Macau huã demanda perante o Bispo, plla qual rezão se vierão acolhendo para Japão*. AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fol. 138.

commercial transactions, instead of returning to Macao with the other merchants, António Rodrigues stayed in Nagasaki, never returning to China.⁹³

The second victim of the persecutions in Macao was Rui Pérez himself. However, he ended up being helped by the least likely person in the city: the Head Captain Jerónimo Pereira himself. This representative of the Portuguese Crown and the city's most important authority figure hid Pérez, his youngest son, and his Indian slave Paulo Banpaer (Venpar) in a vessel bound for Japan.⁹⁴ An important question needs to be answered here: Why did the Head Captain of Macao go against the orders of the King, the Bishop, and the Inquisition of Goa, putting his own career at risk?

This aid has its origins in a striking coincidence: the long-standing relationship between Pérez and Pereira, dating back to Portugal, as both were born in the same town, Viseu,⁹⁵ in the Beira region.⁹⁶ In the late 16th century, Viseu was a small town, with a population of 2600.⁹⁷ It is therefore quite natural that all the inhabitants knew each other. Thanks to the friendship between the two traders, the life of Pérez was saved.

On 16 August,⁹⁸ the large trade ship carrying the fugitives arrived at Nagasaki, then the center of a flourishing trade between China and Japan. Pérez was welcomed by his eldest son, the merchant António Rodrigues, who, in addition to having lived in Nagasaki for some time,⁹⁹ had expanded his business to the Philippines.¹⁰⁰

Pérez never returned to China while his savior, Head Captain Jerónimo Pereira, after returning to Macao on 1 April 1589, committed suicide, shocking the entire Portuguese community.¹⁰¹

93 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 460.

94 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 403.

95 Testimony of Francisco Rodrigues Pinto: *e que o dito Jerónimo Pereira Capitão mor, o qual era natural da mesma terra de Ruy Piz lhe dissera a elle testimunha serem xpãos(cristãos) novos*. AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fol. 138v.

96 Testimony of Manuel Fernandes in which he says: *estas tres pessoas erão da beira*. Ibid., fol. 141. António Rodrigues said that he was born in Viseu. AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 264.

97 António João de Carvalho da Cruz, "A teia de um crescimento. Viseu do século XVI ao século XX," in *Programa da Feira Franca de S. Mateus* (Viseu: Câmara de Viseu, 1986), pp. 1–5.

98 BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, Códice 49-V-3, Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembrar*, fol. 10.

99 AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fol. 138v.

100 Ibid., fol. 138v.

101 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 404.

The Pérez Family in Nagasaki

When, in 1588, Pérez arrived in Nagasaki, the city had reorganized itself after the first anti-Christian edict in the previous year, which apparently banned missionaries from Japan.¹⁰²

The Pérez family lived in the city for three years.¹⁰³ First, they lived in houses that were rented from two Japanese Christians named Justa and Justino,¹⁰⁴ while the last six months of their stay were spent on Shimabara Street (Shimabaramachi, 島原町), in houses that were rented from Takaki Antonio,¹⁰⁵ Takaki Luis's brother, one of the city's *otonas* (representatives).¹⁰⁶ The eldest son, António, remained in this house only 20–30 days before leaving for Manila.¹⁰⁷

From the start, their stay in Justa and Justino's houses was characterized by conflicts. This Sakai-born couple had settled in Nagasaki, where they became the leaders of the Christian community.¹⁰⁸ In addition to investing their own money, the couple raised funds for building Nagasaki's House of Mercy.¹⁰⁹ According to the Jesuit historian Luís Fróis, Justino, after finishing the construction of Nagasaki's House of Mercy, traveled to Gokinai,¹¹⁰ where he worked for a year on the construction of the church, the seminary of Osaka, and Sakai's house.¹¹¹

In Nagasaki, besides being the leader of the Japanese Christian women,¹¹² Justa used her influence in the community to build a hospital for sick women who could not be supported by their children or families.¹¹³ Hence, it is not surprising that the Japanese couple, deeply Catholic, were displeased to find that their homes were inhabited by a family of *judeo-conversos*. Tensions were aggravated by the fact that the Pérez's house was visited by many other *judeo-*

102 Jurgis Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, ed. Hall, p. 363.

103 The commercial journeys of Head Captain Jerónimo Pereira (1588) and Head Captain Roque de Melo Pereira (1591).

104 This couple had a daughter named Maria who married a Christian named Guilherme. We do not know if he was European or Japanese, but we do know that they lived in Nagasaki. AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fol. 138v.

105 *Ibid.*, fol. 137v.

106 *Ibid.*, fol. 141v.

107 *Ibid.*, fol. 138.

108 *Ibid.*, fol. 138.

109 Misericórdia.

110 五畿内 (Gokinai).

111 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 2, p. 122.

112 *Ibid.*, p. 122.

113 *Ibid.*, pp. 122–23.

conversos from Nagasaki.¹¹⁴ Pérez also visited other Portuguese houses for the same purpose.¹¹⁵

For that reason, Pérez and his youngest son were forced to move to a different house and went to live on Shimabaramachi, in the houses belonging to Takaki Antonio.¹¹⁶ Shimabara-machi was one of the main streets in Nagasaki. Initially inhabited by fugitives from the Shimabara region, it owed its name to the place of origin of its first inhabitants. By the end of 16th century, the main Portuguese and Japanese merchants of the city lived there.

Unlike other Portuguese traders, who mistreated the slaves who served them, the documents I have analyzed show that Rui Pérez was reluctant to be served, as well as to ill-treat any of his servants or slaves. Another interesting aspect is that, contrary to what happened with the Portuguese in Nagasaki, Pérez and his children displayed strongly ethical behavior: they did not solicit prostitutes, they did not have lovers, nor did they disrespect the Japanese and their culture. They were thus respected and admired by Japanese locals.¹¹⁷

Gaspar's Testimony

While settling into Nagasaki, Rui Pérez decided to acquire some slaves/servants. The first was Japanese, a Christian boy named Gaspar Fernandes or Gaspar Japón/Japão. Gaspar was originally from Bungo, currently Ōita, where he was born in 1577,¹¹⁸ and where he lived with his parents until he was 8–10 years old,¹¹⁹ when he was kidnapped and taken to Nagasaki. The fate of either his family or his kidnappers is unknown.¹²⁰ It was probably his Japanese kidnapper who sold him to Pérez, without giving any kind of information on how he had been acquired, something common at the time.¹²¹ To legitimate this transaction, Pérez brought the Japanese boy to São Paulo church, in Nagasaki, to be examined by the Rector Antonio López; the latter signed a ballot stating that the boy should serve Pérez for about 12 years.¹²² At this time, the Jesuits had precise directions on the issuance of limited-time ballots for Japanese whose provenance was considered doubtful or clearly illegal. By signing a ballot with

114 AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fols. 138, 140.

115 Ibid., fol. 138v.

116 Ibid., fol. 137v.

117 De Sousa, *The Jewish Diaspora and the Pérez Family Case*, p. 89–93.

118 In 1597, Gaspar was 20 years old. (AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 451f.) In the 1599 inquiry, he mentions that he had been sold 14 years earlier. (AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 263.) Therefore, we estimate that he was 8 years old.

119 Ibid.

120 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fol. 139.

121 AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 265.

122 AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 265.

a limited-time service, Father Lopes implied that this boy's acquisition was illegal. At the same time, the child was baptized with the Christian name of Gaspar, receiving the Portuguese surname "Fernandes," granted by Manuel Fernandes, Pérez's youngest son. This habit was a common practice among the Portuguese, as the godfather used to grant his surname to the newcomer.¹²³ The life of Gaspar Fernandes changed drastically as he developed an emotional bond with his master as well as with his two sons António and Manuel. With this family, Gaspar learned to speak Portuguese and Spanish. Some years later, this level of education became very useful when claiming his rights.

We can say that Gaspar was treated as a domestic servant and not a slave. There is also a strong possibility that, besides being educated alongside Pérez's youngest son, Gaspar was also a kitchen helper for the Bengali slave Paulo Benpaer, a slave who had been acquired by the family during their troubled stay in India. During this period in Japan, besides Benpaer, Pérez owned three more slaves: two Javanese and a third Cambodian, probably bought in Malacca.¹²⁴

Flight to Manila

In Nagasaki, in order to erase the stigma of their Jewish origin, Pérez's children adopted different names. The eldest, António Rodrigues,¹²⁵ was known as Francisco Rodrigues,¹²⁶ or João Rodrigues,¹²⁷ while the youngest, Manuel Fernandes, was known as Luís Rodrigues.¹²⁸

Despite these efforts, the annual presence of Portuguese merchants in Nagasaki, most from Macao, affected Pérez's life. His Jewish origins were rapidly revealed and this fact spread throughout the city, causing unpleasant feelings, mainly among Japanese Christians, who were shocked by the fact Rui Pérez ate meat on days that were forbidden by the Christian calendar—particularly during Easter. Outraged, some merchants denounced Pérez to the Society of Jesus's Vice-Provincial, Father Pedro Gómez, who apparently reproved his behavior.¹²⁹ What they did not know was that Gómez himself was of Jewish descent.¹³⁰

123 For example, the case of the Jew Gaspar da Gama, converted by Vasco da Gama. João de Barros, *Decada primeira da Asia ...* (Lisbon: Imprensa por Jorge Rodriguez, 1628), fols. 44–45.

124 This aspect of Pérez's private life is also interesting as it reveals the variety of slaves that were living in Nagasaki at the end of the 16th century.

125 AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 265.

126 AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fols. 137, 138v.

127 *Ibid.*, fol. 140.

128 *Ibid.*, fols. 137, 138v.

129 AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fol. 140.

130 In China and Japan, a lack of resources forced the Jesuits to depend exclusively on the generosity of merchants based in Macao. This dependence led the Society of Jesus into

The rumors about his meat-eating habits and Jewish ancestry gained impact despite Pérez's poor physical condition: he was an old and weak man with a white face, big nose and feet,¹³¹ weakened by asthma,¹³² with back problems (he hobbled when walking),¹³³ toothless,¹³⁴ and between 60 and 70 years old.^{135, 136} His strength was so depleted that he had to be helped daily to get dressed, a task performed by his youngest son.¹³⁷

Frightened of hosting a man from the "Jewish caste"¹³⁸ in his houses, cottier Takaki Antonio threatened to expel Pérez because of his habit of eating meat on Fridays and Saturdays, something that was strictly forbidden among Christians. The conflict was appeased when Pérez assured the cottier that he had been allowed to do so by his confessor because he was old and sick.¹³⁹ Indeed, this authorization had been issued by Father Antonio López, then Rector of the Society of Jesus's College in Nagasaki.¹⁴⁰ Both López and Gregorio de Céspedes showed compassion for Pérez's condition, stating "it was a hard thing to be a convert from Judaism as he granted Ruy Pérez a permit to eat meat during Lent because he was old and sick; however, the Japanese became astonished with it and came to accuse him."¹⁴¹

According to Portuguese and Japanese who had close contact with this family, they were chased through the streets in Nagasaki and called "Jews."¹⁴² At

making several singular concessions, unlike in other Asian locations where Jesuits and merchants also lived together. Due to the religious tolerance of this new group, implemented by its founder, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), many individuals of Jewish origin were accepted by the Society of Jesus, some in Europe, others in China and Japan. Most of them would remain as brothers though, and only a minority would ascend to the presbytery. Marc Rastoin, S.J., "The 'Conversos' in the Society of Jesus or From Windfall to Fall," in *Friends on the Way: Jesuits Encounter Contemporary Judaism*, ed. Thomas Michel, S.J. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007), pp. 13–15; Josef Wicki, "Die 'Cristãos-Novos' in der Indischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu von Ignatius bis Acquaviva," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 46 (1977): 342–61; De Sousa, "A presença Judaica em Macau," pp. 71–91; De Sousa, *The Jewish Diaspora and the Pérez Family Case*; Juan Ruiz de Medina, "Gómez, Pedro," in *Missionação e Missionários na História de Macau*, ed. Maria Antónia Espadinha and Leonor Seabra (Macau: Universidade de Macau, 2005), pp. 170–72.

- 131 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 458.
 132 AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fol. 142.
 133 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 444.
 134 AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fol. 140v.
 135 *Ibid.*, fol. 138.
 136 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 443v.
 137 AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fol. 138.
 138 *Casta judia*.
 139 *Ibid.*, fol. 138.
 140 *Ibid.*, fols. 137v, 139v, 142.
 141 *Ibid.*, fol. 140.
 142 *Ibid.*, fol. 137v.

this point, Takaki Antonio argued that this animosity was because they were from “that nation,” despite living as Christians.¹⁴³ The *judeo-converso* Francisco Rodrigues Pinto shared the same opinion, stating that they were described that way because they belonged to the “Jews’ caste.”¹⁴⁴

On the other hand, the trader Jorge Durois claimed that this behavior was seen as normal, as it was common for Jewish descendants in Nagasaki to be treated this way by the Japanese.¹⁴⁵ This shows that there was a Jewish community of traders in the city as soon as the Portuguese established a presence in Nagasaki.

On 19 August 1591, Pérez’s life was put at risk again when the newly appointed Head Captain of Macao,¹⁴⁶ Roque de Melo Pereira, former Captain of Malacca,¹⁴⁷ arrived in Nagasaki. As Head Captain of Macao, besides overseeing and protecting Macao merchants’ interests, de Melo had another, more sinister, mission. As a trusted citizen, he was assigned to arrest Rui Pérez and take him back to Macao, from where he would be sent to the Inquisition Court in Goa. According to the *judeo-converso* Francisco Rodrigues Pinto, de Melo was aware of the accusations that had triggered Pérez’s imprisonment.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, we are led to believe that this was probably not the main reason behind de Melo’s orders, as Pérez had been initially persecuted for his Jewish origin and not for his eating habits,¹⁴⁹ which, we stress again, had been authorized by the Society of Jesus’s rector. The underlying reason for this arrest was probably that Pérez was quite well known to the Inquisition, for fooling the inquisitors and anticipating their attempts to capture him.

The presence of the Pérez family in Nagasaki became very dangerous at this time. Everybody knew them as well, and knew of their Jewish origin, which made them easy targets of the Inquisition. As had previously happened in

143 Ibid., fol. 138.

144 Ibid., fol. 138v.

145 Ibid., fol. 140v.

146 De Sousa, “The Military Questions in the Commerce between Macau and Nagasáqui in 1587,” p. 31.

147 In 1582. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), p. 134.

148 Testimony of Francisco Rodrigues Pinto (AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fol. 139): *Disse que ouvira dizer a Roque de Melo Capitão mor então da Viagem e a alguns outros portugueses que porque do Jappão fora acusado o dito Ruy Piz a Macau por comer carne em dias prohibidos o mandavão ir por parte do Sancto Offiçio para Macau.*

149 Testimony of Jorge Durõis (AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fol. 140): *E perguntado se sabia a causa porque vierão de Macau para Jappão e daqui se forão para Manilha? Disse que geralmente se dizia que a causa fora porque avendo ley del Rey que nenhuns xpãos(cristãos) novos passassem a estas parte do Sul, Malaca, China e Jappão.*

Portugal, Kochi, Goa, Malacca, and Macao, Pérez anticipated his capture and prepared an escape plan. The first step was the sale of two Japanese slaves as well as of Charon, the Cambodian slave. The Bengalese slave and Gaspar Fernandes stayed with the family.

According to Takaki Antonio, Pérez and his youngest son unexpectedly appeared at his house to bid their farewells before traveling to Hirado that same night. Alarmed, the cottier went to meet the Rector of the Society of Jesus, Antonio López, informing him of Pérez's intentions. The Jesuit instructed Takaki to let them depart, "because there was a reason to embark."¹⁵⁰ This demonstrates that the Pérez family was protected by the Jesuits, who, upon discovering the intentions of the Head Captain, concealed their escape. After leaving Nagasaki and going to Hirado, Pérez and his youngest son departed to the Philippines on an undisclosed date. They traveled with at least two other people, the Japanese servant Gaspar Fernandes and the Bengalese slave Paulo Benpaer/Venpaer.

Arrival in Manila and Purchase of Two Japanese Servants

For five years (1592–97), Pérez lived in Manila in relative safety, without his past being discovered by the authorities. As a precaution, as had previously been done in Nagasaki, Rui Pérez's sons changed their names: the eldest son, António Rodrigues, was known as Francisco Rodrigues, while the youngest, Manuel Fernandes, became Luís Rodrigues. During these early days, the former led a rather secluded life,¹⁵¹ avoiding leaving his home. Pérez and Luís, however, strolled through the city without fear of discovery.¹⁵²

In 1595, Francisco/António Rodrigues, aiming to expand his businesses, traveled to Nueva España, currently Mexico, leaving his father and his brother in Manila,¹⁵³ where they acted as trading agents.

Rui Pérez then also decided to buy more servants and slaves for himself. Besides the two he had brought from Nagasaki, Pérez purchased two other Japanese servants and a Korean slave. The first servant was the Japanese Miguel Jerónimo. Born in 1577, according to his own deposition, he stated that he was bought by the merchant Francisco Martes (Martins), on behalf of Pérez, for forty *reais*, for a five-year period.¹⁵⁴ It should be noted that in the document Rui Pérez's name was written as "Luis," as Jerónimo was not able to pronounce

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., fol. 138.

¹⁵¹ This is according to some Japanese servants, who later became property of Martin de Brivieta, an officer of the Mexican Inquisition. AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 446v.

¹⁵² Ibid., fol. 446v.

¹⁵³ AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 446v.

¹⁵⁴ AGN, Indif. Virreinal, caja 6596, exp. 138, s.f.

the sound *Ru*, non-existent in Japanese. Both names sound the same to a Japanese speaker, but different to a speaker of an Indo-European language. Francisco Martins was a Portuguese merchant who lived in Nagasaki at least until 1614. He was associated with other merchants of Jewish origin like Diego Jorge and Manuel Gonçalves. Hence, his connection with Pérez is not mere coincidence.¹⁵⁵

The second servant was a Japanese man called Ventura. Apart from his Christian name, we do not have any other information about him. Jerónimo and Ventura, along with Gaspar and Paulo Banpaer/Vanpear, looked after Pérez until his death.

Besides the two Japanese servants, Rui Pérez also bought a Korean slave, also called Gaspar. This Korean had been captured by Japanese soldiers during the Japan–Korea War and taken to Nagasaki, before being exported to Manila. It was from this city's slave market that Pérez bought him, for an undisclosed price. These two Japanese servants performed domestic chores while the Korean helped Pérez with his trade of counterfeit religious relics.¹⁵⁶

Rui Pérez's Capture and the Trip to Mexico

The apparent security of the Pérez family in Manila ended because of an accusation, which took place on 9 September 1596, when Friar Diego de Castañeda confessed to the Commissioner of the Holy Office, Juan Maldonado, that a slave named Francisco, a musician at the Brotherhood of the Rosario, had told him that a “Jewish practitioner” had arrived in the city after his escape from Malacca and Macao.¹⁵⁷

Born in Sunda, Francisco came to San Gabriel Hospital on 21 October 1596, to testify against Pérez. He did not know the name of this “Jewish practitioner,” but claimed he had heard about him from a Portuguese who had made a trip from the Philippines to the Moluccas islands. He added that another slave from Cambodia, named Inocencio, had told him that Pérez was a “four flank Jew,” a metaphor suggesting that he was of “pure” Jewish descent, and was living in the house of the Portuguese Diego Vitoria.¹⁵⁸

Inocencio becomes the key element of this investigation, revealing the most important piece of information: Rui Pérez's name.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ ARSI, Jap Sin 16I, fols. 134–135v.

¹⁵⁶ Some years earlier, Pérez had brought with him to Nagasaki numerous crosses, breaking them and putting bits of bone inside them. Claiming these were the mortal remains of the martyrs, he sold these to the Japanese as if they were true relics.

¹⁵⁷ AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 443.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 444.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 444v.

On 11 June 1597, Isidro Sanchez, the Holy Office representative, along with Juan Ruiz, Alonso Hernandez, and Juan Lucas, went to Pérez's house and arrested him. While Pérez was sent to prison, Sanchez confiscated all his assets.

In 1597, the three Japanese and the Bengali slave departed with Pérez aboard the galleon *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*,¹⁶⁰ captained by Pedro Cedil de Guarda,¹⁶¹ and bound for Acapulco. Ironically, despite the Inquisition's attempts to arrest and judge him, Pérez died two days before the galleon's arrival at Acapulco harbor. His body was thrown overboard on Shabbat, 29 November 1597.¹⁶²

Let us take a look at Rui Pérez's list of goods:

First a Japanese slave of twenty years of age;
 Another Japanese slave of twenty years of age;
 Another Japanese slave of with ten and nine years of age;¹⁶³
 Then came the black Pablo and performed the inventory.¹⁶⁴

The first was Gaspar Fernandes, the second Ventura,¹⁶⁵ and the third was Miguel Jerónimo.¹⁶⁶ I have found a reference to the slave Pablo/Paulo Benpaer/Venpaer's name at the end of the list and another one on his arrival with the galleon from Manila to Acapulco, on 1 December 1597. Pablo is referred to as "black," a word which also meant slave at the time, and not necessarily an African.¹⁶⁷ The fate of the Korean slave Gaspar Coreia is unknown. Was he sold to another trader or did he die before the galleon's departure for the Americas?

It is also worth stressing here that the aforementioned Japanese Gaspar Fernandes, Ventura, and Miguel Jerónimo, having been acquired for a limited period of time, were not considered slaves. However, when Pérez's assets were confiscated, the Inquisition representatives changed them into perpetual slaves. It becomes evident then that the status of these men had been conveniently altered, as evidenced in Pérez's list of assets, even though the original permits attested to a different status. This was not due to mere carelessness or ignorance: the traders shamelessly used these questionable methods themselves, concealing routines and evading the legislative determinations. In remote places where no one could verify the good character of individuals,

160 Ibid., fol. 436.

161 Ibid., fol. 437.

162 Ibid., fol. 440.

163 Ibid., fol. 467.

164 Ibid., fol. 469.

165 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 8, exp. 9, 1599, fol. 270.

166 AGN, Indiferente. Virreinal, caja 6596, exp. 138, s.f.

167 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 436.

traders paid little attention to the motives that led people to lose their freedom. The knowledge that many of them were unjustly or forcibly enslaved did not prevent merchants trading them. The argument was that, if they were not bought, they would be eliminated by their captors in order to conceal their crime. The fact they were being led to Christianity seemed a good enough reason for traders to overcome any doubts.¹⁶⁸

Mexico City's Inquisition Court

Two years after these events, a Japanese slave named Tome Valdes, born in Nagasaki in 1577, and living in Mexico since 1596(?),¹⁶⁹ coincidentally met the merchant Antonio Rodrigues in the heart of Mexico City.¹⁷⁰ Since Valdes had had close contact with Pérez's family in Nagasaki at some time, he immediately recognized Antonio as the son of Rui Pérez. Shortly after, the slave informed the Inquisitor Alonso de Peralta about this occurrence.¹⁷¹ The accusation of Valdes would have an impact not only on Mexico's Inquisition but also on the Portuguese community in Nagasaki. His testimony at the Mexican Inquisition was copied and sent to Manila. Although there is no trace of this document extant, we know that it made its way to Nagasaki, where the then Bishop of Japan, Luís de Cerqueira, opened a new inquiry to clarify the accusations of Judaism against the Pérez family.¹⁷²

As for the Inquisition in Mexico, the inquisitorial representatives continued to pay attention to the recently arrived *judeo-conversos*.

In the meanwhile, Rui Pérez's sons met Gaspar Fernandes/Gaspar Japon by chance in Mexico. It was probably in that encounter that the brothers learned about Gaspar's and two other Japanese servants' fate. Along with Pérez's Bengali slave, they had been surrendered by Captain Pedro Cedil to the Holy Office and illegally turned into perpetual slaves.¹⁷³ Shortly after this encounter, the three submitted several petitions to Inquisition in order to be released, as they were being financially supported by Pérez's sons.

168 Manso and de Sousa "Anton Chino," pp. 121–32.

169 We do not know how he was enslaved; however, we know that he was sold to the *judeo-converso* Francisco Rodrigues Pinto, a Portuguese merchant who lived in the late part of the 16th century in Nagasaki. It was his Portuguese owner who would sell him again, probably to Captain António Arçola, whom he accompanied on his voyage to the Americas. AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fols. 446–447.

170 The document had another of his names: Francisco Rodrigues.

171 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fols. 446–446v.

172 The process of ascertaining the accusations made in Mexico would convey much of the missing information which enables us to reconstruct the Pérez family's experience in the Far East. AGN, Inquisición, 1601, vol. 263, exp. 1U.

173 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 436.

The first one to contest his condition as a slave was Gaspar Fernandes/Gaspar Japon, in 1599. Forced to serve the merchant Tomas del Rio, he complained of physical abuse. He worked for the latter for two years which, added to the 12 years he had been in service with Pérez, made a total of 14 years.¹⁷⁴

Gaspar's testimony was followed by a second petition against the Inquisition from the Ventura. The petitions were merged and a joint statement was made:

Ventura, and Gaspar Japanese Indians in this city's jail, we declare that we have arrived from the city of Manila as servants of the deceased Ruy Pérez, and we were brought to the Holy Office imprisoned, and we were delivered by order of Your Lord to Birviesca Roldan receptor of this Holy Office whom presented us to this prison and by a letter of Your Lord ordered to sends us to the heirs of the abovementioned Rui Pérez, both who are not present in this court and will not appear in here, and we suffer in this jail and we are free without any person being entitled to own us against our will.¹⁷⁵

Unexpectedly, the first witness appearing on the liberation process was Pérez's eldest son, the 28-year-old António Rodrigues, who claimed he had been living in Mexico City since 1594–95.¹⁷⁶ He was living in the Santissima Trinidad district and was working as a merchant.

In his testimony, António claimed to have been present during the purchase of Gaspar's services, along with his brother, and that his father had signed a permit stating that Gaspar should only serve for 12 years.

The second witness was Manuel Fernandes, the youngest son, then 26 years old, who confirmed his brother's account.¹⁷⁷

After the legal process started, the first¹⁷⁸ Procurador do Real Fisco (Royal Tax office attorney) of the Inquisition in Mexico, Garcia de Carvajal, tried to hinder the release of Gaspar, alleging that Pérez's sons had presented false depositions (because they were descendants of Jews), intending to defraud the Inquisitional Court.¹⁷⁹

174 AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 263.

175 Ibid., fol. 270.

176 Ibid., fol. 265.

177 AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fols. 266–267.

178 Another prosecutor in this case was Juan Pérez.

179 Ibid., fol. 268.

At the same time, though, another former servant of Pérez, Jerónimo,¹⁸⁰ also contested his status (on an inaccurate date, probably the end of 1601 or the beginning of 1602, when he was 24 years of age),¹⁸¹ arguing that after the arrest of his owner he traveled to Acapulco as a servant and not as a slave. Being entrusted to Martin de Birviesca Roldan, receptor of the Holy Office in Mexico, Jerónimo was in Roldan's service for four years, two more than his contractual obligation.¹⁸² He also pleaded for his release before the Inquisition of Mexico. As there is no other document attached to this case file, it can be inferred that either he died waiting for a response or that he remained a slave for the rest of his life.

After five years of consideration, on 5 June 1604 the Mexico Inquisition, represented by Martin Birviesca Roldan, decided to release Gaspar Fernandes/Japon and Ventura. Furthermore, both Japanese were to be entrusted to Pérez's children. However, on their release day, neither son appeared. The likely reason for this absence was that, as Jewish descendants, the brothers were probably afraid of being arrested and charged by the Inquisition.¹⁸³ After this event, they also fled from Mexico City, and their names never again appeared in the inquisitorial reports of the time produced in Spanish America. Nevertheless, the brothers were crucial in the release of two Japanese men unfairly enslaved in Mexico. Without the funding and support of these two Portuguese Jews of the diaspora, the slaves would never have been able to survive. The courage they demonstrated by presenting themselves before the Inquisition in Mexico City to save the lives of Gaspar and Ventura is remarkable. As descendants of Jews, this risky deposition could have cost them all their assets and their own lives. Both Gaspar and Ventura eventually ended their days as free men.

Chronology of Events

1530–40—Rui Pérez is born in Viseu. During his life, he also used the name Rui Rodrigues.

1571—The first son of Rui Pérez, named António Rodrigues, is born in Viseu. António Rodrigues also used two false names: Francisco Rodrigues and João Rodrigues.

180 AGN, Indif. Virreinal, caja 6596, exp. 138, s.f.

181 He must have been born around 1577 because in the list of commodities belonging to Pérez he is mentioned as being 20 years of age. AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fol. 467.

182 With this information, I have come to the conclusion that this document must have been written during final months of 1601 or the first months of 1602. It is also possible to identify that Jerónimo started to serve Pérez between late 1594 and early 1595.

183 AGN, Real Fisco de la Inquisición, 1599, vol. 8, exp. 9, fol. 270v.

- 1575—The second son of Rui Pérez, named Manuel Fernandes, is born in Viseu. Manuel Fernandes also used the false name Luís Rodrigues.
- 1580–84—Rui Pérez travels from Lisbon to Goa. He is persecuted by the Inquisition.
- 1585—Pérez flees to Kochi. He is persecuted by the Inquisition.
- 1586—Pérez flees to Malacca. He is persecuted by the Governor of Malacca, Dom João da Silva.
- 1587—Pérez flees to Macao. He is persecuted by Captain João Gomes Fayo and Bishop Leonardo de Sá. His son António is arrested on the orders of the Bishop but manages to escape to Nagasaki. In Nagasaki, he is known as Francisco Rodrigues and as João Rodrigues.
- 1588—Pérez and his son Manuel Fernandes flee to Nagasaki. In Nagasaki, the latter uses the false name Luís Rodrigues.
- 1590–91—António moves to Manila.
- 1591–92—The Head Captain of Macao (Roque de Melo) arrives in Nagasaki and persecutes the Pérez family. Rui Pérez and Manuel Fernandes flee to Manila.
- 1592–97—The Pérez family live in Manila, using different identities.
- 1595—António travels to Acapulco.
- 1597—Rui Pérez is arrested by the Inquisition and is sent to Mexico (29 November).
- 1597—Pérez dies aboard the galleon *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*.
- 1599—António meets the Japanese servant Gaspar Fernandes in Mexico City by chance.
- 1599–1604—Upon hearing that Gaspar and the two other Japanese servants (Ventura and Miguel Jerónimo) had been delivered to the Holy Office and forced into slavery, the sons of Rui Pérez open three judicial processes against the Inquisition and risk their own lives to free them.
- 1604—The Mexican Inquisition releases the Gaspar Fernandes and Ventura Japon.

The 1640 Delegation and the “Korean” Miguel Carvalho

In early August 1639 four boats laden with silks and other goods departed from Macao, bound for Nagasaki. The head of the trade mission was the Portuguese Captain Vasco Palha de Almeida. During the sea crossing, one of the boats was sunk by a typhoon, and another was forced to return to Macao. Only the main ship and a fourth vessel managed to berth at Nagasaki on 16 and 17 August. Once inspected, the crew landed in Deshima, the artificial island prepared to

receive the Portuguese. Unlike in previous years, the goods remained aboard as the Portuguese did not obtain permission to unload it. This situation remained unchanged until the beginning of September when the crew were officially informed that they should return to Macao and that trade between Macao and Japan had ended. In October 1639, after nearly a century of trade relations between the Portuguese and Japan, Captain Vasco Palha de Almeida, accompanied by two Head Captains from the previous year's Japan trip,¹⁸⁴ returned to Macao with their unsold goods.¹⁸⁵ After being informed of the shogunate's decision, the main private traders of Macao, the city representatives, and clerics met immediately to outline the strategy they should follow. The issue at stake was the survival of the city itself, which had been developed and sustained almost exclusively on the basis of annual trade exchanges with Japan. This was not an isolated event in Macao–Japan diplomatic and trade relations. Similar diplomatic conflicts had occurred before, the most recent example being the commercial interruption between 1610 and 1612, with the sinking of *Nau Nossa Senhora da Graça* on 12 January 1610, commonly known as *Madre de Deus*, in Nagasaki Bay.¹⁸⁶

On 13 March 1640, the Macanese assembly members unanimously decided to negotiate with the Japanese authorities by sending a diplomatic delegation representing the city interests with the goal of resuming trade.¹⁸⁷ They carried 6000 *taels* of silver to cover the costs incurred during their stay in Japan.¹⁸⁸ The delegation was led by four ambassadors chosen by the city of Macao: Luís Pais Pacheco, native of Kochi, a widower living in Macao, 68 years old; Rodrigo Sanchez de Paredes, Portuguese, born in Tomar, married in Macao, 55 years old; Gonçalo Monteiro Carvalho, Portuguese, born in Mesão Frio, widower, 51 years old; and Simão Vaz de Paiva, Portuguese, born in Lisbon, married in Macao, 53 years old.¹⁸⁹

184 Francisco Castelo Branco and João Pereira.

185 Boxer, *The Great Ship*, pp. 154–68.

186 José Frazão de Vasconcelos, “Acção Heróica de André Pessoa, Capitão da Nau ‘Madre de Deus’ em Nagasáqui no ano de 1610: Relação contemporânea e outros documentos inéditos publicados,” *Academia Portuguesa da História* (1993): 109–21; José Frazão de Vasconcelos, “Relação Inédita Contemporânea da Perda da Nau ‘Madre de Deus,’” *Academia Portuguesa da História* (1993): 123–47; Charles R. Boxer, *‘Antes quebrar que torcer’ ou (pundonor português em Nagasáqui, 3–6 de Janeiro de 1610, Macau)* (Macao: Instituto Português de Hong Kong–Imprensa Nacional, 1950); Boxer, *The Affair of the “Madre de Deus.”*

187 Benjamim Videira Pires, *A Embaixada Mártir* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1988), p. 53.

188 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

189 *Ibid.*, pp. 54–56.

The first ambassador, Luís Pais Pacheco, was born and lived all his life in Asia and was Head Captain of Macao for the commercial journey to Nagasaki in 1626. He was considered a skilled diplomat and was well known to the Japanese. Before this trip, he held the position of councilor in the Macao Senate.¹⁹⁰

The second ambassador, Rodrigo Sanches de Paredes, was married to Maria Cordeiro, and had been born into one of the most important Sino-Portuguese families of Macao, who were high up in the commercial hierarchy of the city. In 1632, Paredes was elected Councilor of the Macao Senate, and in 1636 factor of Macao's merchants in Japan.¹⁹¹ He was a well-respected citizen in Macanese society and was chosen as an ambassador because of his commercial and diplomatic skills, demonstrated in previous years in Japan.¹⁹²

The third ambassador, Gonçalo Monteiro de Carvalho, descended from one of the most important merchants of this city, Domingos Monteiro, Head Captain of Macao in 1576, 1577, 1578, 1586, and 1593.¹⁹³ Like the other ambassadors, he had also served as a counselor in the Macao Senate in 1631. We also know that he had been an overseer of the Macao to Japan trip, but we do not know in which years.¹⁹⁴

190 Ibid., p. 54. AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRGG. 109. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 108 [109]: Anno 1646. *Estratto sul Giaponne. Relacion del Ilustre y Glorioso martyrio de quatro Embaxadores Portugueses de la Ciudad de Macan con cinquenta, y siete Christianos de su Compañia de diferentes naciones degollados por Nuestra Sancta Fe en la Ciudad de Nangasaqui del Reyno de Iapon a tres de Agosto del año de mil y seys cientos y quarenta ...* (Manila: Compañia de IESVS por Raymundo Migisa, 1641), fols. 195, p. 47; AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRGG. 192. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 192: Anno 1648. *Relação do Glorioso Martírio de Quatro embaixadores portugueses da Cidade de Macau com sincoenta e sete Christãos mais de Sua Companhia nas nações degollados pella ffé de Christo em Nangassaqui, Cidade de Japão a três de Agosto do presente Anno de 1640 com todas as circunstancias de sua embaixada tirada de enformações verdadeiras de testemunhas de vista em Macau por fins de Setembro do mesmo anno*, fol. 285.

191 *Feitor*. Royal agent in trade; modeled after Venetian functionaries of the Levantine trade. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade*, p. 322.

192 Pires, *A Embaixada Mártir*, p. 54; AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRGG. 109. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 108 [109]: Anno 1646. *Estratto sul Giaponne. Relacion del Ilustre y Glorioso martyrio de quatro Embaxadores Portugueses de la Ciudad de Macan con cinquenta, y siete Christianos*, fols. 195, p. 47; AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRGG. 192. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 192: Anno 1648. *Relação do Glorioso*, fol. 285.

193 In this last trip he was replaced by his relative Gaspar Pinto da Rocha. Monteiro died shortly before the trip, on the Malacca–Macao route. For information on Monteiro's family in Macao: AHSCMP/ H, Bco. 6, n° 17, fol. 281v; Eugénio de Andrea da Cunha e Freitas, "Domingos Monteiro, Mercador Quinhentos no Extremo-Oriente," *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 34 (1991): 389–93; Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, "The Confraternities of Misericórdia and Property Transfers: The Case of the Monteiro Family, between Porto and Asia (1580–1640)," *Tempo* 22(39) (2016): 89–109.

194 Pires, *A Embaixada Mártir*, p. 55; AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRGG. 109. Scritture riferite nelle

The fourth and last ambassador, Simão Vaz de Pavia, distinguished himself in 1622 while fighting against the Dutch when they attempted to invade Macao. In 1631, he was elected factor (manager) of the Macao to Japan trip. He had also held a position in Macao's Senate since 1634 as a notary.¹⁹⁵ He was also known by the various diplomatic functions he performed as a representative of the Portuguese and Japanese in 1628, during the assault of a Japanese ship by Spaniards along the coast of Siam.¹⁹⁶

On 6 July 1640, the aforementioned vessel arrived at Nagasaki from Macao with 74 people on board. The goal was to demonstrate to the Japanese authorities that neither Portuguese traders nor Catholic missionaries had participated in the Shimabara Rebellion that had occurred two years prior and that had led to the Japanese cutting off trade relations. Ironically, it is through this delegation that we have the last glimpse of slavery associated with the Portuguese in Nagasaki. It is possible to identify 30 slaves and servants from several regions of Asia and Mozambique who were part of the delegation. Some were referred to as free, as they were former slaves. We can take a look at this impressive list in Table 6.1.

This diplomatic meeting ended tragically. Upon leaving the vessel, the 74 delegation members were imprisoned by the Japanese authorities, who decided to kill almost all of them, except a group of 13, whom they spared and sent back to Macao with this news. The chosen ones were Manuel Fernandes, a sailor who knew how to pilot vessels; Domingos de Quadros, surgeon; João Delgado, scribe; and Manuel Cardoso, leader of the sailors. Another nine *jurubaças* were randomly added to this group.¹⁹⁷

Congregazioni Generali, vol. 108 [109]: Anno 1646. Estratto sul Giappone. *Relacion del Ilustre y Glorioso martyrio de quatro Embaxadores Portugueses de la Ciudad de Macan con cinquenta, y siete Christianos*, fols. 195, p. 47; AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRGG. 192. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 192: Anno 1648. *Relação do Glorioso*, fol. 285; BMNA, Diogo Baptista Monteiro de Carvalho, *S(i) de Carvalho embaxador que foi de Macao pela coroa de Portugal ao emperador Toxogum do Japão, que o mandou degolar com sessenta christãos mais de sua companhia em odio da fee de Christo no anno de 1640* [Manuscript], fols. 13–24.

¹⁹⁵ *Notário*.

¹⁹⁶ Pires, *A Embaixada Mártir*, pp. 55–56; AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRGG. 109. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 108 [109]: Anno 1646. Estratto sul Giappone. *Relacion del Ilustre y Glorioso martyrio de quatro Embaxadores Portugueses de la Ciudad de Macan con cinquenta, y siete Christianos*, fol. 195, p. 47; AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRGG. 192. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 192: Anno 1648. *Relação do Glorioso*, fol. 285.

¹⁹⁷ *Jurubaças* is a Malaysian word used by the Portuguese in China and Japan for “Luso-Asian mestizos.” *Mestiço* (Port.), literally, “of mixed racial origins.” Pires, *A Embaixada Mártir*, p. 65.

TABLE 6.1 The 1640 delegation: slaves and servants

Name	Age	Place of origin	Profession
Domingos	35	Bengal	Ship captain's servant (soldier Diego Fernandez).
Gonçalo	34, 23	Bengal	Ship captain's slave (soldier Diego Fernandez).
João	50	Bengal	Ship captain's slave (soldier Diego Fernandez), cook.
Mateus	23	Bengal	Ship captain's slave (soldier Diego Fernandez).
Pascoal	36, 35	Bengal? Java?	Ambassador Luís Pais Pacheco's slave.
Manuel	30	Bengal	Ship captain's slave (soldier Diego Fernandez).
Sebastião	23	Bengal	Presumably a slave.
António	8	China	Ambassador Gonçalo Monteiro de Carvalho's slave.
Domingos	27	China	Ambassador Rodrigo Sanchez de Paredes's slave.
Francisco	23	China	Ambassador Gonçalo Monteiro de Carvalho's slave.
José	19	China	Ambassador Gonçalo Monteiro de Carvalho's or Ambassador Luís Pais Pacheco's slave. ^a
Lázaro	17, 19	China	Ambassador Simão Vaz de Pavia's slave.
Manuel	25	China	Pilot's servant, free.
Nicolau	11	China	Ambassador Gonçalo Monteiro de Carvalho's slave.
João da Guerra	30	Philippines (Papango)	Servant on the ship, free.
Manuel	35	Indonesia, Java?/ Japan? ^b	Ambassador Luís Pacheco's slave.
António	20	Malabar	Servant to the ambassadors and their staff.
António	19	Malabar	Ambassador Rodrigo Sanches de Paredes's slave.
Gonçalo	20, 25	Malabar	Ship captain's slave (soldier Diego Fernandez).
Jerónimo	18, 20	Malabar	Ambassador Simão Vaz de Pavia's slave.
João	27	Malabar	Servant to the ambassadors and their staff.
Nicolau	16	Malabar (balala)	Shipmaster Manuel Alvares's slave.
Sebastião	23	Malabar (balala)	Ship captain's slave (soldier Diego Fernandez).
Tomé	25	Malabar	Servant to the ambassadors and their staff.
Ivan ^c	27	Malabar	Slave.
Ivan ^d	28	Malabar	Slave.
Ivan ^e	24	Malabar (Nayre)	Ship captain's slave (soldier Diego Fernandez).
Domingos	26, 28	Malay	Ambassador Luís Pais Pacheco's slave.
Álvaro	40	Mozambique (Zamba)	Kaffir, Ambassador Luís Pais Pacheco's slave.

TABLE 6.1 The 1640 delegation: slaves and servants (*cont.*)

Name	Age	Place of origin	Profession
António	25	Mozambique (Siena)	Kaffir, Ambassador Rodrigo Sanches de Paredes's slave.
Francisco	50	Mozambique (Siena)	Kaffir, married in Macao, freed.
Alberto	17	Timor	Slave, served the ship's surgeon.
António	40	Timor, Solor (Sumba)	Slave or free. ^f

a AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRCG. 109. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 108 [109]: Anno 1646. Estratto sul Giaponne. *Relacion del Ilustre y Glorioso martyrio de quatro Embaxadores Portugueses de la Ciudad de Macan con cinquenta, y siete Christianos*, fol. 197, p. 51.

b The list that is in ARSI indicates that this Manuel was of Japanese origin: ARSI, Jap Sin 25, fol. 143.

c Only in the Spanish version.

d Ibid.

e Ibid.

f The Spanish version says António was a slave, while the Portuguese version says he was free.

Source: AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRCG. 109. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 108 [109]: Anno 1646. Estratto sul Giaponne. *Relacion del Ilustre y Glorioso martyrio de quatro Embaxadores Portugueses de la Ciudad de Macan con cinquenta, y siete Christianos*, fols. 195–198v, pp. 47–54; AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRCG. 192. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 192: Anno 1648. *Relação do Glorioso*, fols. 280–287; AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRCG. 192. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 192: Anno 1648. *Relatione della glosriosa*, fols. 288–304; De Carvalho, *A morte dos embaixadores de Macau no Japão em 1640 e o padre António Cardim*.

On 3 August 1640, 61 simultaneous beheadings of the delegation members, including the four ambassadors, took place, marking the end of trade relations between Macao and Japan. The heads of the victims were stuck on spikes to serve as examples. The 13 survivors were placed in a boat of six pairs of oars and sent to Macao on 1 September 1640.¹⁹⁸

Upon their arrival in Macao at the end of September, the survivors' testimonies were recorded in the book of the "Attorney General of the Province of Japan,"¹⁹⁹ the Jesuit priest António Francisco Cardim (1596–1659) under the

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 74–75.

¹⁹⁹ *Procurador-geral da província do Japão*.

title: *Report of the Glorious Death of Four Portuguese Ambassadors from the City of Macau, with Fifty-seven Christians of their Delegation.*²⁰⁰

It is in this record that we learn that the 47-year-old sailor Miguel Carvalho was born in Macao, was married and lived in Macao, and was a Korean descendant.²⁰¹ This means that Carvalho was born in 1593 in Macao, and was the son of a Korean slave brought to this city. It is also very likely that the name Carvalho belonged to the owner of Miguel's mother, who probably acquired him at the time of his baptism. Among the 13 testimonies, Carvalho's testimony comes 12th, only followed by that of the Goan, Agostinho do Rosário, who got married in Macao. This report suggests that Carvalho was at the bottom of the social ladder among these witnesses; hence, his testimony was not considered by the Macao authorities as important as the others'. This fact can also be confirmed through the list of Macao's inhabitants in 1625.²⁰² In this list, Carvalho's name was not included in the group of 411 *jurubaças* or Luso-Asian *mestizos*. Hence, we can draw only two conclusions: he was not living in Macao, or his social origin was considered too low for him to be included in this group.

Carvalho's testimony before the Macao authorities can be divided into four parts: presentation, oath, confirmation of the execution of the 61 members of the delegation to Nagasaki, and additional information about the families of the ambassadors Gonçalo Monteiro de Carvalho and Rodrigues Sanches, and the clerics Domingos Franco and Diogo Fernandes.²⁰³ This testimony does not provide enough biographical information on Carvalho, as the only references available are his age, status, and a single reference to his profession. Unfortunately, after this testimony, Carvalho's name cannot be identified in other documentation produced in Macao; hence, the rest of his life remains unknown. Yet, this presence shows that some of the Korean slaves brought to Macao were also part of the multicultural society of this city and that their descendants had an active participation in important moments of its history. Unfortunately, the Korean presence in Macao is still veiled. Carvalho's case is unique, requiring more research in order to unravel the history of the Korean Diaspora in the region.

200 *Relação da gloriosa morte de quatro embaixadores portugueses, da Cidade de Macao, com sincoenta & sete christãos de sua companhia.*

201 ARSI, Jap Sin 29, fol. 245; Jap Sin 25, 143v. The Portuguese version held at the Archivo Segreto Vaticano also states that Miguel Carvalho is from Korea: *Miguel Carvalho, casta Coreia, natural do Reino vezinho de japão, casado na cidade de Macao, que fora por marinheiro do navio.* AGV, Propaganda Fide: SRCG. 192. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 192: Anno 1648. *Relação do Glorioso*, fol. 287v.

202 BADE, *Papéis de Dom Francisco Mascarenhas*, Cód. 11 (Cód. CXVI-2-5), fols. 225–232.

203 Pires, *A Embaixada Mártir*, pp. 108–09.

From Slave of the Society of Jesus to Franciscan Priest: The Case of Jerónimo Iyo (伊予)/Geronimo de la Cruz

Portuguese, Spanish, and Japanese historiography related to the Society of Jesus's presence in Japan has forgotten, or perhaps ignored, the importance of Jesuit involvement in the trade/trafficking of Asian slaves in the Far East. Along with the profitable silk trade, the buying and selling of Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans represented, in the 16th and 17th centuries, another extremely profitable source for Luso-Asian mercantile associations based in Macao. The Jesuits, as I have shown in Chapter 2, actively participated in the negotiation, purchase, and legalization processes, despite the opposition of Portuguese and Spanish monarchs, and the Japanese government. Unfortunately, the documentation attesting to the Jesuits' participation in the marginalization process of war victims and the poor in Japan was deliberately or conveniently erased leaving only a few traces in the records of Macao, Portugal, Spain, Mexico, and Peru. Despite their scarcity, the extant records testify to violent and unscrupulous human trafficking. These accounts help us recover those lost memories.

In this part of the book, I will clarify the Society of Jesus's participation in the internal slave trade.

Slave Regulations at the Society of Jesus

I

The recruitment of slaves to serve at the Society of Jesus in Japan began in the first years of the Jesuits' arrival. For example, the Jesuit Francis Xavier, as he was preparing to travel to Japan, wrote from the port of Malacca, between 20 and 22 June 1549, saying that he was accompanied by the priest Cosme de Torres,²⁰⁴ Brother Juan Fernandez,²⁰⁵ the Japanese Paulo de Santa Fé,²⁰⁶ and his brother Joanne,²⁰⁷ one of his Japanese servants named António,²⁰⁸ and two slaves: Manuel China and Amador Malabar.²⁰⁹ Manuel China fell in the ship's pump, near the coast of Vietnam, seriously injuring himself.²¹⁰ Amador

204 Spanish.

205 Spanish.

206 Christian name.

207 Christian name.

208 António assisted Francis Xavier in Japan and returned to Malacca and Goa in 1551. In 1552, he was Baltasar Gago's interpreter during the Malacca–Yamaguchi trip. Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 1, p. 21.

209 Letter of Saint Francis Xavier to Paulo de Camerino, António Gomes, and Baltasar Gago, Malacca, 20-22-06-1549. *Documentos del Japón 1547–1557*, p. 117; Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 1, p. 21.

210 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 1, p. 21.

Malabar served Father Baltazar Gago, together with a slave named Bartolomeu. In 1555, in the Jesuit mission of Yamaguchi, the gardener, Joane, was a slave, as was the cook, Francisco, from Bengal.²¹¹ Besides Francisco, who had been offered by the Portuguese Captain Duarte da Gama to the Society of Jesus, we do not know how the remaining slaves were acquired.²¹² Francisco probably married a Japanese woman who had received the Christian name of Barbara after being baptized.²¹³ In the 1626 *Carta Ânua*, this old Japanese woman was described as crippled and characterized as a “good and old Christian of the time of Father Cosme de Torres or the Holy Father St. Francis Xavier’s missions.”²¹⁴ Additionally, at least one of her three children, named Ventura, was described as a slave from Bengal. Barbara had two more children, namely Diego/Diogo and Paulo, and a granddaughter named Úrsula.²¹⁵ Diego, the eldest son, served several times as Nagasaki Holy Mercy Institution’s officer-in-charge,²¹⁶ and Paulo, the youngest, was a fervent Catholic.²¹⁷ Ventura, however, took a different path. He is described in the documentation as “a young man, captive from Bengal,”²¹⁸ who apostatized during adulthood in order to be released,²¹⁹ denouncing the Christians in Nagasaki to the Japanese authorities,²²⁰ when serving Suetsugu Heizo.²²¹

Another example of slaves serving the Jesuits in Japan can be found in Father Aires Brandão’s letter to the Jesuits in Coimbra, written in Goa on 23 December 1554. This letter explains Fernão Mendes Pinto’s admission into the Society of Jesus (Goa, 1554) and how the author of *Peregrinação*, after freeing

211 Letter from Duarte da Silva S.J. to the Jesuits of India, Bungo, 10-09-1555. *Ficou outro que chamam Joanne, homem de 40 annos pera cima. Tem cargo da orta. Ficou também Francisco Benguala que hé cozinheiro. Em Bungo ficou o padre Balthesar Guago e o irmão Joam Fernandez em sua companhia com amador e Bertholomeu. Documentos del Japón 1547-1557*, p. 517.

212 *Documentos del Japón 1547-1557*, p. 543 (n. 19).

213 *Annua de Iapão do anno de mil seis centos vinte e seis annos*. ARSI, Jap Sin 63, fols. 60v-61.

214 *Ibid.*, fols. 60v-61.

215 *Ibid.*, fol. 61.

216 *Provedor*.

217 ARSI, Jap Sin 63, fol. 61.

218 *hum moço captivus Bengala de nação*. *Ibid.*, fol. 59.

219 Pérez, “Relación de la persecución del cristianismo en el Japón,” pp. 347-49.

220 This was not an isolated case. For example, Tomás de Araki renounced Christianity in 1618, became a spy, and denounced hidden Christians to the Japanese authorities. Lorenzo Pérez, “Relación de los Santos Mártires que por la fe de Jesucristo padecieron en los reinos del Japón, desde al año 1628, por Fr. Diego de San Francisco,” *Archivo Ibero Americano* 4 (1914): 72.

221 Pérez, “Relación de la persecución del cristianismo en el Japón,” 347-49. Lorenzo Pérez, “Relaciones de Fr. Diego de San Francisco sobre las persecuciones del Cristianismo en el Japon (1625-1632),” *Archivo Ibero Americano* (1914): 8, 16.

his slaves, traveled to Japan as a novice of the Society of Jesus and as an ambassador for the Viceroy Afonso de Noronha with the *daimyo* of Bungo. Additionally, it reveals vivid details of how Mendes Pinto left three slaves at the college in Goa to be instructed in the Christian faith, while three other slaves, not wanting to be released, asked Mendes Pinto if they could continue to serve him in Japan, to which the Jesuit trader agreed.²²² Aires Brandão notes that the three slaves did depart with Mendes Pinto.²²³ We also know that the entire entourage arrived in Japan.²²⁴

Furthermore, the Jesuit Luís de Almeida was served by a Japanese slave he had brought from India, and whom he had owned before he was admitted into the Society of Jesus. The aforementioned Japanese slave learned medicine and became a surgeon in Japan.²²⁵

Visitor Alessandro Valignano also had two slaves of Japanese origin. Despite the lack of biographical information about them, instructions about how they should return to Japan and continue serving the Society of Jesus was included in his memoirs.²²⁶ Even Bishop Luís de Cerqueira, one of the great defenders of the freedom of Japanese slaves, fell victim to this “plague.” In the *Memento* he left shortly before his death,²²⁷ he refers having a cook, who was his rightful slave, as well as some *moços* with limited-time ballot/time bondage contracts.²²⁸

222 *Tinha muitos escravos seus cativos aos quoaís todos forrou, mandando cada hum por si que dali por diante a só Deos conhecessem por senhor. De tal maneira lançava estas cousas de si que vê-lo era muito pera se glorificar o nome do Senhor. Tinha antre estes escravos três que vendo sua detriminação se lhe lançarão aos pées, chorando que querião ir morrer com elle no Japão. Outros três deixou neste collégio pera que depois de doctrinados e ensinados buscassem a vida que quisessem. Os mais despedio de si da mesma maneira.* Letter of Aires Brandão to the Jesuits in Coimbra, Goa, 23-12-1554. *Documentos del Japón 1547-1557*, p. 493.

223 *Levou mais os os três escravos de Fernão Mendez.* *Ibid.*, p. 494.

224 *Ibid.*, p. 497.

225 *En este ospital, charissimos Padres y Hermanos míos, tienen hechas el Hermano Luis curas que mas parecen obradas por virtud de Jesu Christo, que por fuerça de las medicinas. El qual este junio passado dexo de curar cuerpos, y començó a curar animas, de lo qual trataré en su lugar. ... El enseñó aquí un moço Jao que truxo consigo, quando entró en la Compañia que se llama Luis. El qual hizo y haze curas, que bien se muestra no ser por saber de suriano ni por virtud de las medicinas, porque dexadas muchas infistoladas de 10, 15, 20 annos, curó un señor de que quedaron los japones muy espantados.* ARSI, Jap Sin 4, fols. 209v-210.

226 *Lembranças de Alessandro Valignano*, Macau, 16-01-1606. ARSI, Jap Sin 14 11, fols. 229-230.

227 *Lembrança.*

228 *Antônio Rebello meo cosinheiro he cativo legitimamente, tambem tenho alguns outros mosos, que tem alguns annos de serviço, de que sabe e dará rezão o Irmão Correa.* BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, Cod. 49-V-5, *Lembrança que o Bispo de Japão Dom Luiz Cerqueira deixou por sua morte*, fol. 526v. RAH, Jesuítas, Legajo 22, fasc. 22, *Lembranças que o Bispo de Jappão Dom Luís Cerqueira deixou por sua morte; Testamento*, fols. 261-263v.

II

The most obvious place to start our investigation to determine if the Jesuits in Japan kept slaves or not is in the regulations of the Society of Jesus in Japan. These regulations contained a set of rules governing the Society, both internally and externally.

The first regulation that mentions the presence of slaves is the *Rules for the Japan Seminar*, prepared by Valignano in 1580, where it is expressly stated that each seminary should have one or two “young men (*moços*)” in charge of food preparation. However, the status of these men has not yet been determined. Were they slaves?²²⁹ The Portuguese sources to which I had access are not very clear regarding whether the reference to *moços* corresponds to slaves or just ordinary young men who served the Jesuits in Japan in exchange for compensation. Nevertheless, my experience with manuscripts of this type allows me to conclude that many were in fact household slaves.

For example, in the third question that the Second Japan Consultation²³⁰ discussed in Katsusa (加津佐)²³¹ in 1590, as well as in the third article of the First Congregation conducted in Nagasaki in 1592, in the “war chapter,”²³² it is stated that the Jesuits were forbidden to have *fitojichis*²³³ (receive war hostages) or of putting them somewhere (sending them to any religious house jesuits administered by the Jesuits, using them to gain political power among local daimyos, etc.), or exerting any pressure against their will.²³⁴

Upon consulting the *Vocabulário da Língua de Japam*, I found the following meaning for the word *fitojichi*:

229 *E senão alarguem as horas do jantar, e da çea e pera isso e pera que não se impida o comer e serviço delles com o comer dos padres e mais serviço da casa: tera o seminário hum ou dois moços próprios em fazer o comer e mais que for necessário pera o serviço dos mininos, os quaes não têm conta com o comer dos padres, e mais serviço da casa, senão quando não tiverem que fazer pera o Seminaryo. Regimento pera os Semynarios de Japão 1580.* ARSI, Jap Sin 2, fol. 37.

230 These “Consultations” and “Congregations” were part of an adaptation policy adopted by Alessandro Valignano in Japan to facilitate and encourage European missionaries to follow some Japanese customs and assist the process of conversation of Japan to the Christianity.

231 A town in the Arima domain. The Jesuits Pero Gómez, Organtino Gneccchi-Soldi, Belchior de Moura, Francisco Calderón, Pero Reimão/Romão, Afonso de Lucena, Antonio Lopez, among others, were present.

232 *Cousas da Guerra* and also in the third paragraph.

233 Hitojichi 人質

234 ARSI, Jap Sin 2, fol. 126.

Fitojichi. Hostages. Fitojichiuo toru. Take hostages. Fitojichiuo idafu. Give hostages. Fitojichiuo cayefu. Make hostages. Fitojichiuo futçura. Do not assist/help hostages, letting them to be capture or killed.²³⁵

Although the *hitojichi*/war hostages, in the literal sense, cannot be considered slaves, the very status of these *shifting people*, being captured, and transported to other regions, varies a great deal. In the case of the *hitojichi* in Kyūshū, one comes across shifting people who started their diaspora as war hostages in their places of origin but who were illegally forced into being slaves at their final destinations.

The regulation concerning “Young Men” and “Serving People”²³⁶ was also the fifth question discussed in the Second Japan Consultation,²³⁷ held in 1590, as well as in Article Five of the First Congregation, in 1592. The priests and brothers who performed their ministries among Christian communities abroad had to be provided with “serving people.”²³⁸ Such servants were not intended to be status symbols, but rather, were meant to help members perform their religious tasks and obligations, as well as to assist in domestic “needs and tasks.”²³⁹ Consequently, all members of the Society of Jesus, including the Vice-Provincial, had to be accompanied by these *moços*.²⁴⁰

Some Jesuits, mainly those belonging to the Society’s elite, overstepped the mark. For example, the Italian Visitor Francesco Pasio was criticized for being accompanied by servants carrying *katanas* (a Japanese curved, single-edged blade sword).²⁴¹

The second paragraph of the regulation determined that the number of *moços* and “service people (*‘gente de serviço’*)” would vary according to the size and status of the Jesuit house. The number of people in the colleges and main houses was determined by the Vice-Provincial; however, it was stipulated that the small houses, where just a priest and a brother lived, should not accommodate more than eight people: a *rapado* (shaved head) to help in the

235 *Fitojichi. Refêns. Fitojichiuo toru. Tomar refêns. Fitojichiuo idafu. Dar refêns. Fitojichiuo cayefu. Tornar os refêns. Fitojichiuo futçura. Não deuer com os refêns deixando os cativar, ou matar. Vocabulário*, fol. 96v.

236 *Moços e Gente de Serviço*.

237 *Consulta do Japão*.

238 *Gente de serviço*.

239 *Estas irregularidades nos moços e dojucus podem ser localizadas desde a década de 80 do séc.XVI. O próprio Alessandro Valignano procura debelar esta situação num carta que é enviada para o Japão em 1585 e cujas directrizes seriam compiladas pouco tempo depois*. RAH, Jesuitas 9. Legajo 7238, fol. 34.

240 ARSI, Jap Sin 2, fol. 127v.

241 Letter of Manuel Dias, Macau, 5-12-1615. ARSI, Jap Sin 16 II-b, fol. 249v.

burials,²⁴² someone to care for the *chanoyu* (茶の湯 Japanese tea ceremony), and a *dojuku* (同宿) to accompany the priest, while the remaining *moços* took care of domestic chores.²⁴³ It is likely we can thus conclude that, in a small house, a priest and a brother owned three *dojukus* and five slaves.

The regulations are extremely vague when it comes to the status of the five *moços*. Were they in charge of domestic chores? Were they lifelong slaves or were they considered servants, with years of service yet-to-be fulfilled?²⁴⁴ Or were they orphans sheltered by the Society?²⁴⁵

Nevertheless, the term *moços* is clarified in the third paragraph of the regulation, which is focused on the status of those bought by the Jesuits. First, the Jesuits were required to verify if their capture was considered legal. If not, the rectors should be consulted to determine and grant the victims the limited-time ballots/time bondage permits that seemed fair. There was also an article invoking the mandatory release of illegally enslaved *moços*, even if they had been bought to serve at Jesuit homes and they had not yet completed their time of service. The names of the *moços* and the money spent on their purchase, as well as their period of captivity, which could vary from a few years to a lifetime, were written down in a book; hence, information could be verified by succeeding rectors. We can thus conclude that at least one book of slaves was kept in each Jesuit residence in Japan. Unfortunately, none of these books are extant today and no copies were sent to Rome.

The fourth paragraph of the regulation determined that these *moços* should accompany priests and preaching brothers when they traveled abroad. The rectors or priests' superiors determined the number. When priests visited Jesuit residences they were allowed to take their *dojucu* with them and up to two *moços*. If deemed convenient, the rector could let the priest take a larger number of the latter.²⁴⁶ Interestingly, these *moços* enjoyed some freedom within the Society of Jesus: they were free to accept or decline to accompany the priest or brother they had been assigned to by the superior.

242 Dōgō 道号. The name *Kambo* (kanbō 看坊) was commonly used used in the Jesuit letters.

243 ARSI, Jap Sin 2, fol. 127v.

244 Charles Boxer is of the same opinion, stating that “*moços*” corresponded to slaves: “Those servants who were bought as slaves, and the validity of whose status as slaves was open to doubt, had their slavery commuted to a fixed period of years, varying in accordance with the circumstances of each individual case.” Charles Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1974), p. 217.

245 Since the Jesuits arrived in Japan, numerous orphans were schooled by the Society of Jesus to become *dojucus* and later brothers, contributing to the project of the evangelization of Japan.

246 ARSI, Jap Sin 2, fol. 133v.

The fifth paragraph of the regulation focuses on the Society of Jesus's Vice-Provincial in Japan, who should be humble and modest, rejecting any kind of pride or luxury; he should also be accompanied by *moços*. The number of *moços* allowed is not, however, specified. The Vice-Provincial would eat in the refectory with the other priests; he would not have any kind of independent or separate house for him or his servants/slaves.²⁴⁷

There were always one or two permanent *moços* in the Jesuits' houses in Japan to wash the clothes of the priests, the brothers, and the *dojukus*.²⁴⁸

The Jesuits were forbidden to have in their service *moços* who were married or who wanted to get married. This problem was not limited to Japan. In Portugal, the slave owners created many obstacles to marriage among slaves, since after this ceremony, the male or female slave was entitled to many rights and his owner could not send or sell him to places that affected him fulfilling his marriage duties.²⁴⁹ If there was no real reason to deny them the right to get married, the priests had to discuss with their respective rectors what they should do with the lads.²⁵⁰

In the *Commandments of our Superior Priests of Rome taken from Chapter 4 and Summary of the Laws of things belonging to the Province of India to be obeyed in the [Jesuit] houses and residences of Japan*,²⁵¹ we can find references showing that Jesuit priests were allowed to have "captives" in their homes, as long as they had only the necessary number allotted to them. However, the priests were obliged to clarify the type of captivity of each "victim." Such slaves, when acquired by the Jesuits, received a religious education and a grounding in Christian ethics.²⁵²

Probably compiled in 1595 under the name *The things belonging to the Vice-Provincial in Japan decided in Rome*,²⁵³ the resolutions of the various Society of Jesus's Superior Generals also cover slavery in paragraph 42. The latter is a copy

247 Ibid., fol. 127v.

248 Ibid., fol. 136v.

249 Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, pp. 341–53.

250 ARSI, Jap Sin 2, fol. 123.

251 *Obedientias de nosos Padres Gerais de Roma tiradas do Cap 4 e Leis do Sumario das couzas que pertencem aa Provincia da Jndia pera se guardarem nas casas e residencias de Japão.*

252 ARSI, Jap Sin 2, fol. 123.

253 *Das couzas que pertencem a Vice Provincial de Japão resolvidas de Roma. ... Nas nossas casas se poderam servir de captivos, e de outros moços, com tal, que se tenham sómente os necessarios, e se uze muy particular deligencia e saber, bem dos titulos de seu captiveyro para se guardar com todos a justiça necessaria, aos quais tão bem se instruirão na doutrina, e bons costumes da maneira que convem em nossas casas; e assim o declarou Nosso Padre Everardo na resposta do art.48 da 2ª Congregação Indica.* RAH, Jesuitas 9. Legajo 7238, fol. 28.

of *Summary of some things that belong to the Government of the Province of India* left by Valignano.²⁵⁴ The excerpt from *Commandments from Visitors made for the priests of [Jesuit] Houses and more priests from Japan*, by Father Francisco Pasio,²⁵⁵ written in 1612, also states in chapter 2 that, even if they rode to the *ynacas*,²⁵⁶ priests should take a brother and *dojuku*, and no more than two or three *moços de serviço*. No *moços* under 18 were allowed in Jesuit residences. The priests serving in the residences as disciples should not have more than one *moço*;²⁵⁷ whenever they needed to visit Christian communities, their superior would provide them with the necessary *moços*. No priest could have a private *moço* without the Provincial's consent. When both Jesuit priests and brothers' did not need them any longer the *moços* served at the Jesuits houses, similarly to the other "resident *moços*."²⁵⁸

Around 1612, in accordance with the previous rules of Japan's Consultation and Congregation, the Jesuits were allowed to take two of the *moços* who served them when they moved to a new house.

The same applied to *moços* bought by the Jesuits. First, the provenance of each was to be investigated in order to clarify the legality of their captivity. Should it be deemed illegal, the years of service to be granted should be determined by the Rector of the Jesuit Residence, after which time the *moço* was released. Also in accordance with previous regulations, all slaves purchased by the Jesuits had to be registered in a book containing the corresponding information and rules, so that they could be known and obeyed by those who consulted it.²⁵⁹ The priests were still forbidden to keep married *moços* without their rectors' permission. The *Commandments from Visitors made for the priests of [Jesuit] Houses and more priests from Japan*, by Father Francisco Pasio reveal the hitherto unknown aspects of the religious and moral education of slaves living with the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits were instructed to teach these *moços* Catholic prayers, confession, and how to live a "good Christian" life. These teachings also focused on relationships with their fellow men, ensuring the slaves learnt how to behave both at home and in public,²⁶⁰ according to Japanese tradition.

254 *Summario de algumas cousas que pertencem ao Governo da Província da Índia.*

255 *Obediências dos Visitadores feito para os padres das Residências e mais padres de Japão, pelo padre Francisco Pasio.*

256 Village, countryside. Inaca. *Aldea, ou lugares fora de alguã villa, ou cidade principal. Gèralmente fora do Goqi nas se diz, Inaca. Vocabulário*, fol. 131.

257 Disciples = *súbditos*.

258 The "resident *moços*" served the Jesuits in their houses and didn't visit Christian communities with Jesuit priests and brothers.

259 BNM, Jesuitas, Legajo 21, fol. 40, Capítulo 2–8.

260 *Ibid.*, fol. 41.

These *Commandments* also described the procedures to be taken by members of the Society of Jesus concerning runaway slaves. The fugitives who took refuge at the Society, in order to protect themselves from their owners, should be helped by the Jesuits and released, making it easier for the clerics to maintain their friendship with the respective owners. To this end, the Jesuits should find a Japanese Christian who was willing to serve as an intermediary and seek a peaceful solution between the master and his slave. The priests were also warned not to question the bondage legitimacy of the slaves belonging to Japanese Christians.²⁶¹

In short, in this chapter I was able to identify, through the internal statutes of the Society of Jesus in Japan, the existence of Japanese slaves who were euphemistically referred to as “young men (*moços*).” The derivation of this word is probably related to the fact that, since 1570, Portuguese legislation had officially prohibited Japanese slavery. Initially, before 1570, this term was connected to young individuals from many geographical zones in Asia (from India to China) and the Portuguese did not use this designation for slaves. Subsequently, this term started to be used in Macao regarding young Asian slaves who lived in the city, and later in Japan. It is also important to stress that the statutes of the Society of Jesus only reveal that the Jesuits were slave owners; they did not sell them, at least internally.

There is also a concern in the statutes to clarify the provenance of slaves and their enslavement legitimacy according to Portuguese law. At the same time though, it is important to highlight the moral aspect of these acquisitions and the concern to properly evangelize Japanese slaves, according to the Catholic doctrine.

Number of Slaves Belonging to the Society of Jesus

Unfortunately, I was not able to quantify the exact number of these *moços* within the Society of Jesus. Additionally, I was not able to distinguish within this designation the perpetual or temporary slaves from the *comonos*,²⁶² the servants who performed domestic chores and could be hired. These were generally omitted from the lists written in Japan by priests and brothers to be sent to Goa and Europe. In this section, I analyze the available lists and calculate the number of *moços* who lived with the Society of Jesus in Japan.

The first identified list that includes such numbers is dated 1583, and mentions 29 European priests, 30 European brothers, 26 Japanese brothers,²⁶³

261 Ibid., fol. 48.

262 Komono 小者.

263 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 180–81.

nearly 100 students from the two seminaries, and a *dojuku* accompanying the priests.²⁶⁴ The great revelation comes in the following note:

The young men (“moços”) who serve all the houses of Japan, and those who accompany the Priests to various places, and the bonzos who,²⁶⁵ by order of the Society [of Jesus], are placed in churches for their protection, and the doctrine of the Christians, reach over two hundred people: this way the people whom the Society [of Jesus] supports and to whom gives food and clothes in Japan are close to five hundred.²⁶⁶

As we can see, the number of “young men (*moços*)” together with that of the church watchmen in Japan exceeded two hundred people. In 1583, the total number of the Society of Jesus’s associates was approximately 500. If we subtract the number of priests and European and Japanese brothers, which we know were 85, plus 100 seminary students,²⁶⁷ and the *dojuku*, then we are left with approximately 300 people. One watchman was enough to protect the churches.²⁶⁸ Generally, this office was delegated to a married *dojuku*, thus we can conclude that from the number of churches existing they were not more than 100 people. If we subtract this, we get an approximate number of 200 *moços*, a very high amount.

The following list that refers to *moços* belonging to the Society of Jesus is dated 1586. In that year, the Jesuits had 53 priests and 71 brothers.²⁶⁹ This corresponded to a total of 124 people.²⁷⁰ For the *dojukus*, *moços*, and church watchmen,²⁷¹ we have an approximate number of 405.²⁷²

In 1591, after an interval of five years, in a letter to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva from Alessandro Valignano, the latter mentions the college, the seminary, and the novitiate from Arima who transferred to Amakusa with “three big houses, among our people and the people of service (‘gente de

264 Ibid., p. 181.

265 Christian monks. The priest used the Japanese word applied to Buddhist monks.

266 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 181–82.

267 Correspondent to the Arima and Meaco Seminaries.

268 *Vigia*. The watchman or *vigia* protected the churches from thieves and *gentiles* attacks.

269 I have added two more names than Valignano originally recorded, without indicating their identity: *Duo item alii Frates Japonenses, quorum nomina nunc ignoramos. Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 208.

270 Ibid., pp. 205–10.

271 *Vigias das igrejas*.

272 *omnes (socii in India Orientali) sunt quadringenti et quinque, ex his navigaturi sunt hoc anno (in)Japponiam cum Padre Visitatori septemdecim. Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 210.

serviço'), each of these three houses exceeded one hundred people."²⁷³ The ratio of service people and the members of the Society can be found in another passage, which mentions the transition from a college in Cazuza and the novitiate in Ōmura to Amakusa. In this regard, Valignano says that "in this College there are now close to sixty of our Fathers and Brothers, and with the Dojukus and service people ('gente de serviço') they exceed one hundred and twenty."²⁷⁴ If the expression "service people ('gente de serviço')" can be considered ambiguous, the Visitor, shortly after—referring to another seminary that had been shifted to a more secluded place in Arima, so as to escape persecution resulting from the first anti-Christian edict and deterioration of diplomatic relations between the Society of Jesus and Toyotomi Hideyoshi—tells us that in the "interior of Arima," there are "more than ninety students among young and older with ten of our Priests and Brothers, who are there to guide them and to be their teachers, and, more than twenty service young men" ("mozos de servicio").²⁷⁵

In the following *List of Homes and Residences owned by the Society [of Jesus] in the Vice Province of Japan this month of November of the year 92, with the name of the Priests & Brothers living there*,²⁷⁶ we can count 207 churches, 154 priests and brothers, of which 136 belong to Japan,²⁷⁷ references to *dojukus*, which amount to a total of 180 people,²⁷⁸ "to which adding the service young men" ("moços de serviço") "that are in the houses and several other rapados that take care of the churches,"²⁷⁹ surpass between them and the Priests and Brothers, six hundred and sixty people that are now supported at the Society's expense in Japan."²⁸⁰

Of the 660 people, we know that 316 were priests, brothers, and *dojukus*; hence, the remaining 344 were distributed between church watchmen and *moços de serviço* belonging to the Jesuits.

273 Letter from Alessandro Valignano to Father General Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 6, 9, and 22 October 1591. ARSI, Jap Sin II II, fol. 247v. J.L. Álvarez-Taladriz, "Relación del Padre Alejandro Valignano, S.J. sobre su embajada a Hideyoshi (1591)," *Osaka Gaikokugo Daigaku Gakuho* 28 (1972): 51.

274 Letter from Alessandro Valignano to Father General Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 6, 9, and 22 October 1591. ARSI, Jap Sin II II., fol. 247v.

275 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 205–10.

276 *Rol das Casas & Residências que tem a Companhia na Viceprovincia de Japão neste mez de Novembro do anno de 92, com o nome dos Padres & -irmãos que nellas residem.*

277 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 285–94.

278 *Ibid.*, pp. 295–96.

279 Japanese servants with shaved heads.

280 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 296.

After an 11-year interval, during which no lists mentioned *moços de serviço*, in 1603 a new list, intended to be sent to Goa and then Europe, was prepared. In this, we can find a reference to the loss of the commercial vessel that connected Macao to Nagasaki due to an assault by the Dutch.²⁸¹ This event (the lost of the commercial vessel and the lack of financial support from it) would lead to the dismissal of some *dojukus*, who, together with the other priests, brothers, *dojukus*, watchmen, and *moços de serviço*, accounted for a total of more than 900 people:

[A]fter having reformed, and dismissed some *dojukus* because of the loss of the Ship [...] and before the loss of the Ship it was higher than 900.²⁸²

On October 1603,²⁸³ after this dismissal, there were 122 priests and brothers, 254 *dojukus*,²⁸⁴ “and ... the cambos who are those taking care of the churches,²⁸⁵ and service young men (“*moços de serviço*”) who are in all houses, these exceed 800 people in the Society of Jesus.”²⁸⁶ This passage leads us to conclude that there were at least 424 church watchmen and *moços de serviço* serving the Jesuits in Japan.

281 On the relation between the Dutch and slavery, see Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht and Riverton: Foris Publications, 1986), which gives an important insight into the composition of the crews of VOC vessels.

282 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 450–51.

283 There are two important documents on this case: *estando aqui o padre Valignano o anno de 603 em que os olandeses tomarão neste porto a nao que estava ia carregada e avia de partir a menha seguinte pera Japão, e perdendo nella a Companhia de Japão quasi quanto tinha, e pretendendo elle mandar lá huã embarcação pequena de aviso aos padres que pois estavam tão pobres despedissem os dogicos e moços que pudessem os tirar e estreitassem os demais gastos ao menos a metade do ordinário*. Letter from Manuel Dias (Senior) to Claudio Acquaviva, Macau, 10-04-1610. ARSI, Jap Sin 14 II, fol. 341. *Por este pataxo, que es una embarcación muy ligera y segura, escribí al Padre Viceprovincial todo lo pasara y del poco remedio que yo le podia dar de aquí, y que no hallaba otro mejor que cortar por los gastos aunque fuera con pérdida notable, así del fruto como del crédito de la Compañia y cristianidad de Jappón, y que para se poder incortar lo que se me ofrecia era que se deshiciesen los seminarios y la imprenta y la pintoria, y de 300 dojicus, poco más o menos, que teníamos en nuestras casas se despediesen 200, y juntamente los dos tercios de los mozos de servicio*. Letter from Alessandro Valignano to Father General Cláudio Acquaviva, Macau, 29-07-1603. ARSI, Jap Sin 14 I. Álvarez-Taladriz, “Un Documento de 1610,” p. 10.

284 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 441–50.

285 Japanese word applied by the Jesuits to church watchmen in Japan.

286 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 451.

In the *Brief account of the number of people, income, and expenses of the Society in Japan*, written by João Coelho on 12 November 1609, I have found, for the first time, specific reference to these *moços de serviço*:²⁸⁷

The sum of all *moços de serviço* scattered through the residences, houses, rector houses, novitiates, and hospitals in Japan and Macao, is 482 people, a slight divergence from João Coelho's figures, which show 485 people.²⁸⁸ This discrepancy can be explained by a mistake made by the list's author or could be accounted for by the unspecified numbers of *moços de serviço* at Nagasaki Hospital and Urakami's residence. In 1609, the total number of people serving the Society of Jesus in Macao was 110 (20 priests, 30 brothers, and 60 *moços de serviço*).

The list of expenses incurred by the Society of Jesus in 1612 includes the following information:

According to what is stated, expenditures with the Houses, Colleges, and Residences, *pardaos*²⁸⁹ 19774-4-0

Expenditures with the men in charge of watching and cleaning churches, *pardaos*²⁹⁰ 00300-0-0

One possible conclusion regarding these expenses is that *moços de serviço* corresponded to the first paragraph, along with priests, brothers, and *dojukus*, while the church watchmen were placed in the second. The expenses incurred by the Society of Jesus with respect to the elements included in the first paragraph have already been previously specified when discerning the number of people living in Jesuit facilities in Japan. Thus, we can conclude that when the list of the members of the Society of Jesus and their respective *moços de serviço* was created, the church watchmen, who constituted an independent group, were not accounted for.

Similarly, in the 1613 list I was able to confirm that within the Society of Jesus a clear distinction between *moços de serviço* and church watchmen existed:

²⁸⁷ This framework was devised by João Paulo Oliveira e Costa. However, using the same source, this author uses the term *komonu* instead of the expression *moços de serviço* used in the original source. Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira," vol. II, p. 731.

²⁸⁸ *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 537.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 538.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

TABLE 6.2 List of servants (1609)

Location	Institution	Servants
Nagasaki (長崎)	College	120
	Novitiate	15
	Hospital	? ^a
Urakami (浦上)	Santa Clara Residence	5
Arima region (有馬領)		
Arima (有馬)	College	40
	Seminary	30
Cazzuca/Kazusa, Cochinotcu/ Kuchinotsu (加津佐, 口之津)	Residence	8
Ariye (有家)	Residence	5
Ximabara (島原)	Residence	8
Saigo (西郷)	Residence	5
Amacussa/Amakusa islands		
(天草)		
Xiqui (志岐)	Residence	6
Saxinotcu/Sakitsu (崎津)	Residence	5
Cozzura/Kawachiura (河内浦)	Residence	5
Omura region (大村領)		
Tone (戸根)	Residence	5
Figem/Hizen region (肥前)		
Uracami (浦上)	Residence	? ^b
Isafaye (Isahaya, 諫早)	Residence	5
Fundayama	Residence	5
Fucafori/Fukahori (深堀)	Residence	5
Yagami (矢上)	Residence	5
Chicugo region (Chikugo, 筑後)		
Yanagava/Yanagawa (柳川)	House	10

TABLE 6.2 List of servants (1609) (*cont.*)

Location	Institution	Servants
Chicujem region (Chikuzen, 筑前)		
Facata/Hakata (博多)	Rector's house	18
Aquizzuqui/Akizuki (秋月)	Residence	12
Bujem / Buzen region (豊前)		
Cocura/ Kokura (小倉)	House	25
Bumgo region (豊後)		
Bumgo (豊後)	House	12
Firoxima region (広島)		
Firoxima (広島)	House	15
Miaco region (京都)		
Miaco (京都)	Rector's house	20
Simo Miaco / Shimogyo (下京)	Residence	5
Other regions		
Vozaca's fortress/Osaka jou (大坂城)	House	8
Fuximi's fortress/ Fushimi jou (伏見城)	House	8
Sacai/ Sakai (堺)	Residence	6
Parts of Fococu/Hokkoku (北国諸地域)	Residence	6
Macao	College	60
TOTAL		482

a This location is repeated. *Gente de serviço necessária. Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 521.

b Possibly five *moços de serviço* since they are in the same group.

Besides these, the Society also supported many of those in charge of the churches in the villages; the Japanese Christians exiled from several kingdoms that did not have another way out, and many service young men (“*moços de serviço*”) who cannot be dismissed, according to the custom of this nation.²⁹¹

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 549.

Through that listing, I was only able to determine the existence of 121 priests and brothers in Japan, yet not those residing in China.²⁹²

As for 1614 list, only 115 priests and brothers living in Japan were mentioned;²⁹³ whereas *dojucus*, church watchmen, and *moços de serviço* were ignored. Yet, it is possible to prove that *moços de serviço* continued to accompany the Jesuits until the latter's definitive expulsion, as, in November 1614, while they were waiting to be deported, they were deprived some *moços de serviço* by the Japanese authorities, causing great consternation among the priests.²⁹⁴

The Case of Iyo: Identity Manipulation by Jesuits and Franciscans

Geronimo de la Cruz, Jerónimo da Cruz, Juan Geronimo de la Cruz, Juan Geronimo Torres, Juan Jerónimo Iyo de la Cruz, Xisto Iyo, Jerónimo Jo, João Torres, and Jom are some of the names by which the Japanese Jerónimo Iyo was known among the Jesuits; he was known as Geronimo de la Cruz among the Franciscans.

We can conclude that the biography of this Japanese man follows two parallel processes of disinformation and manipulation. The first process was conducted by the Society of Jesus. Iyo's experience within the Society of Jesus ended in controversy so, as with other dismissed associates or members, the Jesuits tried to erase any trace related to him. He had thus become a *persona non grata*.

The first documentary source mentioning this individual is a private letter from Mateus de Couros to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, which includes his brief biography. In this letter, instead of making use of the name by which he was known within the Society of Jesus, Jerónimo Iyo, de Couros uses his Franciscan identity: Geronimo de la Cruz. The three remaining official documentary references found in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* clearly reveal this process.

The second reference is a list titled *Martyrs who belonged to the Society of Jesus in Japan in these last years of 1632 and 1633*.²⁹⁵ In this listing, Jerónimo de la Cruz is vaguely described, making it almost impossible to realize that the name he is assigned refers to the same person:

292 Ibid., p. 558.

293 Ibid., p. 592.

294 *alguns moços de serviço, que não podíamos escuzar, nem foy possível alcançar, que deixassem ficar embarcados na nao alguns delles, que não podíamos escuzar.* Gabriel de Matos, *Relaçam da Persegviçam que teve a Christandade* (Lisbon: na officina de Pedro Crasbeeck, 1616), fol. 79.

295 *Martires que ouve em Jappão da Companhia de Jesus nestes ultimos annos de 1632 e 1633.*

Jom, a clergyman in Japan raised in our Seminary, and later in Manila, ordained and admitted in the Order of Saint Francis.²⁹⁶

The third document, *Memory of the Holy Martyrs, who died in Nagasaki from September 1632 until October 22, 1633*,²⁹⁷ refers to the “cleric Jerónimo Japon, who received the cassock of S. Francis,” but does not mention his past in the Society of Jesus.²⁹⁸

The fourth document titled *Listing of things from Japan I send to Father Commissioner of Saint Francis this Year of 1633*,²⁹⁹ mentions “Geronimo de la Cruz, 3rd in the same order although in prison he was called friar Geronimo,” but also ignores his religious education within the Society of Jesus.³⁰⁰

The Franciscan chronicles also show the modification of numerous biographical data regarding de la Cruz’s Jesuit training. For example, the account written by Friar Joseph Sicardo states that de la Cruz was baptized by the Franciscans and stayed secretly in Japan after 1614 to continue his conversion work and support local Christians.³⁰¹ The same document also gives the full name of this Japanese as “Juan Jerónimo de la Cruz Torres,” and adds a “fake clue” to the surname “Torres,” saying that it had been granted during the baptism and that it was the name of the priest who baptized him.³⁰² Thus, we are falsely led to believe that Geronimo de la Cruz was also known as “João de Torres” or “João Torres” and that the priests who had performed the baptism were the Jesuits Cosme de Torres and Balthasar de Torres, or the Augustinian Silvester de Torres, all Spaniards. Coincidentally, regarding Cosme de Torres, there was actually a Japanese child named João de Torres, who received his surname after being baptized by this priest. Geronimo de la Cruz was born in Bungo (Iyo more precisely), and João de Torres was born in Yamaguchi in 1550; de la Cruz was a slave purchased by the Society of Jesus, whereas João de Torres was the son of a nobleman from Yamaguchi, baptized eight days after birth and given

296 ARSI, Jap Sin 29, *Martires que ouve em Jappão da Companhia de Jesus nestes ultimos annos de 1632 e 1633*, fol. 122v.

297 *Memoria de los Sanctos Martires, que murieron en Nangasaqui desde el mes de septiembre del año de 1632 hasta 22 de Octubre de mill y seys cientos y treinta y tres.*

298 ARSI, Jap Sin 18 1, *Memoria de los Sanctos Martires, que murieron en Nangasaqui desde el mes de septiembre del año de 1632 hasta 22 de Octubre de mill y seys cientos y treinta y tres ...*, fol. 220a.

299 *Relaçion de las cossas del Japon que envio el Padre Comissario de San Francisco este Año de 1633.*

300 ARSI, Jap Sin 18 1, *Relaçion de las cossas del Japon que envio el Padre Comissario de San Francisco este Año de 1633*, fol. 136v.

301 Sicardo, *Christandad del Japon y dilatada persecucion que padecio*, pp. 338, 447.

302 *Ibid.*, p. 338.

to the Society of Jesus by his father so that, as an adult, he could be part of Japan's evangelization.³⁰³ The date they left the Society of Jesus also differs: João de Torres left in 1612, while de la Cruz departed in 1614, after the death of Bishop Luís de Cerqueira.

On the other hand, the letter sent by the Franciscan Friar Diego de San Francisco to the Provincial of Manila, dated 5 March 1632, referring to the hidden Franciscans in Japan, mentions “the Barajas, and Cruzado, and Madrilejos, and Osorio, Luiz Gómez and I, and the assistants of the Third squad.”³⁰⁴ This was a code, so that if the letter were intercepted, the true identities of the Franciscans—Friar Francisco de Barajas, Friar Diego de la Cruz, Friar Francisco de Madrilejos, Friar Bernardo Osorio de San José, Friar Luis Gómez Palomino, and the two Japanese Geronimo de la Cruz and Juan Meyazaki/Juan de Nagasaki—would not be revealed.³⁰⁵

Fortunately, an Ecclesiastical Report, organized by Dominican Friar Pedro de S. Juan, was held in Macao in 1637. In this, a cleric named Friar Manuel de Presepio, in his deposition, named de la Cruz as “Father Yo (Iyo) Jerónimo Japan,” referring to his death, while some other witnesses referred to the same individual as “father Joan Jerónimo, third clergyman from the Order of Saint Francis,”³⁰⁶ in other words, Jerónimo Iyo and Juan Geronimo de la Cruz are the same person. Also, the historian Léon Pagès confirms this idea. Although his book only mentions the name “Jerome de la Croix,” in the index included in the second volume, he reveals that Jerome de la Croix and Jerome Iyo are the same person.³⁰⁷ This assumption is also confirmed by comparing the letter of the de Couros with the documents related to the life of Jerónimo Iyo, as I will demonstrate in the following section.

The Biography of Iyo

According to a Jesuit source, Iyo was born in Japan, in the Bungo region, and became a slave when a child, being purchased by the Jesuits to serve the Society of Jesus as a *moço de serviço*.³⁰⁸ Through his original surname, Iyo (伊予) one can conclude that his actual place of birth was not Bungo, but one of the

303 Fróis, *Historia do Japam*, vol 1, p. 139; vol. 2, pp. 106, 359.

304 *los Barajas, y Cruzado, y Madrilejos, y Osorio, Luiz Gómez y yo, y los dos ayudantes de la Tercera escuadra*. Pérez, “Otras dos relaciones de Fr. Diego de San Francisco,” p. 249.

305 *Ibid.*, p. 249.

306 *Ibid.*, p. 250.

307 (*Jean-Jérôme de la [Croix]*). (*Voir Iyo*), *prêtre séculier japonais*, 769; martyr, 770. Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. II, p. 445.

308 *hum se chama Jeronymo da Cruz natural de Bungo que sendo minino foi cativo da Companhia comprado por dinheiro*. Letter from Mateus de Couros to Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Nagasaki, 1619-09-15. ARSI, Jap Sin 35, fol. 114.

provinces of Shikoku. It is very likely that the reference to Bungo is related to the Jesuit residence and seminary where he served. Comparing his case with that of other Japanese who worked for the Society of Jesus in Japan, we can speculate that it was not unusual. In fact, upon analyzing the Japanese linked to the Society in the 16th and 17th centuries, I have found that they can be divided into three groups. The first group, the biggest, consists of Japanese with Japanese surnames. These were part of Christian families who were extremely close to the Jesuits, and held economic and political power. The second group, a minority, consists of Japanese whose surnames have toponymic origins, making it impossible to identify their family roots. The third group, also a minority, consists of Japanese who can only be identified by their first names. Although the information available is not enough to confirm or reject this assumption, I am inclined to believe that the second and third groups of Japanese who served as *dojucos* and brothers at the Society of Jesus were either slaves or orphans.

Let us take a second look at the biography of Jerónimo Iyo/Geronimo de la Cruz. Despite his slave status, in the course of his Catholic education he showed great intellectual ability and was chosen to study at the seminary. This opportunity would be very important to Jerónimo since it granted him the ability to move up in the Society of Jesus's hierarchy. From childhood to adulthood, Jerónimo continued studying at this institution, demonstrating great intellectual capacity and standing out among his peers in Latin studies.³⁰⁹ This last aspect made him a strong candidate to join the group of Japanese becoming ordained priests.³¹⁰

309 Letter from Mateus de Couros to Letter from Mateus de Couros to Mutio Vitelleschi, Nagasaki, 1619-09-15. ARSI, Jap Sin 35, fol. 114.

310 The instruction of a native Jesuit in Japan dates back to at least to 1580, when one of the key issues addressed at the First Consultation organized by the Italian Alessandro Valignano was to decide whether the Japanese should join the Society of Jesus. Valignano advocated the same idea as Father General Everardo Mercuriano, who argued that the admission of Japanese into the novitiate and ordination as priests could contribute to Japan's conversion. (Written on the margin to the Letter from Everard Mercurian to Alessandro Valignano, 1578. ARSI, Jap Sin 3, fol. 2v.) At the 1580 Jesuit Consultation, all European Jesuits unanimously agreed that the Japanese should be accepted into the Society of Jesus. The first reason given was that the existence of indigenous priests facilitated Japan's conversion. Indeed, the fact that they could speak their mother tongue was a benefit that could not be underestimated. Furthermore, they could teach and author texts in Japanese, unlike any European priests. The second reason was the fact that the Japanese were: "white" and "creative with words" (ARSI, Jap Sin 2, *Consulta [feita no Japão por Alessandro Valignano em 1580]*, fol. 19v); duly strengthened in faith, educated in Christian doctrine and its virtues, it meant that they would become identical to European clerics. The third reason relates to the fact that Japan was a large country, hence there was a need for a greater number of priests to address the chronic shortage of clergy there. The difference

From his arrival in Japan in 1598, Bishop Luís de Cerqueira had begun ordaining Japanese priests. Sebastião Kimura (木村) and Luís Niabara (にあばら) were the first two to be so ordained, in 1601. In 1606, the Bishop started preparing four other seminarians for the priesthood. For this precise year, I found a curious document called *Recommendations left by Bishop of Japan Dom Luiz Cerqueira at the time of his death*.³¹¹ Although Jesuits were not allowed to leave wills, Bishop Cerqueira, fearing he would not live long enough to complete the training and ordination of the four Japanese mentioned, left precise instructions to his successors concerning them, though, in the end, these were not needed:

[T]he administrator who belongs to this bishopric should support with silver and belongings that will remain after my death, the four students whom I have chosen to become Clerics, Fujimura João [João Luis Fujimura (藤村)], Clemente [Pedro Clemente], Xiqyui Thema [Tomas],

in customs also constituted a strong variable to take into account. Another general opinion was that for the implementation of the Roman Catholic Church in Japan, a Japanese clergy was essential in order to have social credit among the Japanese. One of the most interesting facts is that the Jesuits saw the creation of a Japanese clergy as a way to refrain from relying on profits from human trafficking in order to support the mission. This way, Christianity could be financed by the Japanese and the Church would not be seen as “suspicious and foreign.” After discussing these important topics, the European priests decided that all Japanese who were received into the Society should be instructed with all diligence in the novitiate and trained according to their rules. After the novitiate, those who had the intellectual ability could continue their learning, and the most capable would be ordained as priests (ARSI, Jap Sin 2, *Consulta [feita no Japão por Alessandro Valignano em 1580]*, fol. 20). Despite these resolutions, initiated in 1580, ongoing disputes within the Society around the creation of a native clergy stymied the ordination of any Japanese priests, even 20 years after the first Japan Consultation. This situation contrasted with the educational system itself, in which the European priests kept alive the hopes of the graduates and their families that they would be ordained. It is evident that this was not a trifling matter to the Japanese serving at the Society of Jesus nor to the Japanese Christian communities. At the beginning of the 17th century, the party opposing the creation of a native clergy also advocated abolishing the category of Japanese brothers and just keeping the *dojuku* category. The main reason for this opposition relates to the fact that the *dojukus* preachers carried out the same services as the brothers, and did not complain if they were forced to abandon the Society, since *dojukus* were not considered members of this religious group. At this time, the anti-Japanese clergy movement’s main opponent was Bishop Japan Luís Cerqueira, who, similarly to his predecessor Valignano, was a staunch defender of the idea of a native clergy. On the one hand, the Portuguese Bishop’s will was publicly respected, but privately his opponents criticized his position openly through correspondence sent to the General of the Order in Rome (ARSI, Jap Sin 2, fol. 148v).

311 *Lembrança que o Bispo de Japão Dom Luiz Cerqueira deixou por sua morte.*

and Jehimada [Ichimada] Antão; and someone else should teach them Cases of Conscience, and as much as it may seem necessary, in order to better help, and to serve [Japanese] Christendom, and to [serve] the Bishop successor, so that when he meets them he may be able to command them.³¹²

Except for Jehimada/Ichimada Antão, the remaining three were ordained priests.³¹³ This preparation was carried out with some difficulty, as financial support was not continuous, due to the opposition of many European clerics. Probably these are the main reasons for the small number of seminarians. After training this group, in 1611, Bishop Cerqueira continued this project and chose five new students. Jerónimo Iyo/Geronimo de la Cruz was one of these. This decision shows that, in Cerqueira's opinion, the Japanese cleric had the necessary qualifications to become an important element in the Jesuit mission in Japan.³¹⁴

During this period, Iyo also took a job at the ecclesiastical notary office, showing his language skills in Japanese, Portuguese, and Latin.³¹⁵

After the death of the Bishop in 1614, the Japanese clerics ordained by de Cerqueira gathered to choose his successor. Lourenço da Cruz (1606),³¹⁶ Francisco António Murayama/ 村山 (1606),³¹⁷ Pedro Clemente (1611/12), João Luís Fujimoto/ 藤本 (1611/12), António Miguel/Miguel Antonio de Santa Maria (1604),³¹⁸ and Paulo dos Santos (1606)³¹⁹ officially chose the Portuguese Jesuit

312 *que o administrador que for deste Bispado mande sustentar de prata, e fato, que por minha morte ficar aos quatro sogeitos estudantes que tenho tomado para Clerigos, fugimura João [João Luís Fujimura (藤村)], Clemente [Pedro Clemente], Xiqyui Thema [Tomas], e Jehimada Antão; e outro si os faça ensinar casos de consciência, e mais que lhe parecer necessário para melhor poderem ajudar, e servir a Christandade, e ao Bispo Socessor, de maneira que quando os vier os ache aptos para os poder ordenar.* BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, Códice 49-V-5, *Lembrança que o Bispo de Japão Dom Luiz Cerqueira deixou por sua morte*, fols. 524v–525f.

313 Takashi Gonoï, *Nihon Kirishitanshi no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002), p. 365.
314 ARS1, Jap Sin 35, Letter from Mateus de Couros to Mutio Vitelleschi, Nagasaki, 1619-09-15, fol. 114.

315 *Certidão da tradução de uma carta do governador de Nagasaki, entregue em Miyako com ordem condenatória do Cristianismo.* Nagasaki, 19 de Março de 1614. ARS1, Jap Sin 16 1, fols. 49–49v. Costa, “O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira,” vol. 1, p. 381.

316 Parish of São Pedro in Nagasaki. RAH, Jesuítas, Legajo 22, fasc. 22, fols. 264–264v.

317 Ibid.

318 Parish of Santa Maria in Nagasaki (the most important Christian parish in the city). RAH, Jesuítas, Legajo 22, fasc. 22, fols. 264–264v.

319 Parish of São João in Nagasaki. RAH, Jesuítas, Legajo 22, fasc. 22, fols. 264–264v.

Valentim de Carvalho.³²⁰ Alas, this choice caused great controversy not only within the Society of Jesus but also among other religious orders established in Japan, with the exception of the Augustinians, as the latter maintained a more moderate attitude toward this issue. Both Dominicans and Franciscans insisted that the choice had been illegal, and to make things worse, Carvalho maintained a hostile relationship with both the European clerics and especially with the Japanese. The peak of this conflict occurred in early September 1614, with the severing of relations between Carvalho and the seven Japanese clerics ordained by the Bishop. Shortly after, it is known that the seven clerics, probably in retaliation, signed a request from the Franciscan Diego de Chichón.³²¹ Among them was Jerónimo Iyo/Geronimo de la Cruz, in his capacity as a notary. Although the content is unknown, I assume that it was in opposition to Carvalho's appointment. This was also one of the reasons for the deepening hostility between Carvalho and Iyo. Yet, it was also the beginning of an important friendship between Iyo and de Chichón,³²² which would become fundamental to the latter's ecclesiastical career.³²³ On 21 October, Iyo was officially forbidden to undertake his duties as a notary without Carvalho's permission,³²⁴ and, on that same day, five of the seven Japanese priests (Lourenço da Cruz, Francisco António Murayama, Pedro Clemente, João Luis, and António Miguel)³²⁵ signed a new document that dismissed Carvalho from office. As a replacement, the clerics chose the Dominican Francisco Morales and later the Franciscan Pedro Baptista Porres y Tamayo, since Morales was forced to resign by his superior.³²⁶ When he was informed of the event, Carvalho

320 The Jesuits Miguel Pinto and Martinho Moan were the notaries. RAH, Jesuítas, Legajo 22, fasc. 22, fols. 264–264v.

321 ARSI, Jap Sin, 35, Letter from Mateus de Couros to Mutio Vitelleschi, Nagasaki, 1619-09-15, fol. 114; Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira," p. 702.

322 This relationship is referred to by Mateus de Couros as one of the causes for the expulsion of Iyo. ARSI, Jap Sin 35, Letter from Mateus de Couros to Mutio Vitelleschi, Nagasáqui, 1619-09-15, fol. 114.

323 RAH, Jesuítas, Legajo 22, fasc. 22, fols. 264–264v. This document contains the signatures of Valentim Carvalho and Moan Martinho (notary). Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira," p. 703.

324 RAH, Jesuítas, Legajo 22, fasc. 22, fol. 265. Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira," p. 703.

325 Paulo Santos and Tomé dos Anjos didn't sign the letter. Jerónimo Iyo signed: *Sôju Jerónymo*.

326 The place of the meeting was in the Church of São Pedro in Nagasaki. *Feita na Igreja de S. Pedro desta cidade de Nangassaqui, onde nos ajuntamos a Cap[ítulo]. Oje, 21 de Outubro de 161[4] annos*. RAH, Jesuítas, Legajo 22, fasc. 22, fol. 266. Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira," p. 706.

excommunicated Iyo for taking part in this meeting and disobeying Carvalho's prohibition against him working as a notary.³²⁷

Obviously, this new appointment was not accepted by the European Jesuits, who criticized and opposed the interference of friars in the management of the Japanese mission, causing division before their expulsion.

Another letter written by the Jesuit Jerónimo Rodrigues in 1617, recalling these events, reveals that the excommunication of Iyo had been somewhat unfair, as he was only obeying the clergy who had arranged this meeting. The same letter reveals the crisis in which the Society of Jesus had plunged and the negative impact that this episode had had on Japanese Christians.³²⁸ However, this letter does not clearly show how unpopular Iyo's excommunication was, as he was highly respected among Japanese Christians and had been chosen by the Bishop himself to be ordained as a priest. Carvalho's hostility toward him was not an isolated incident, as the former was known for his difficult relationships with *dojukus*, brothers, and Jesuits from Japan,³²⁹ something which was criticized by European Jesuits.

Until the Japanese clerics' departure to Macao and Manila, Iyo remained hidden in Japan and did not allow his excommunication to prevent him continuing his missionary work. His friendly relationship with Friar Diego de Chichón, commissioner of the Franciscan friars in Japan, was a great help in this.

As for the seven Japanese clerics ordained by the late Bishop, none would be dismissed or excommunicated. Paulo Santos and Tomé dos Anjos, who had refused to choose a substitute for Carvalho, left for Macao and then Manila. The remaining five stayed in Japan.

Iyo remained hidden for four years in Japan, and later traveled to the Philippines. His identity also underwent a profound change, as instead of Jerónimo Iyo, he became known as Geronimo de la Cruz. In 1619,³³⁰ in Manila, amid great dissatisfaction among the Jesuits and without his excommunication being revoked, de la Cruz was ordained as a priest by Father Diego de San

327 ARSI, Jap Sin, 35, Letter from Mateus de Couros to Mutio Vitelleschi, Nagasaki, 1619-09-15, fol. 114. Iyo was excommunicated. Moan Martinho was the notary. *Dado neste Collégio da Companhia de Jesusm de Nagasaqui, sob sinal e selo, aos vinte e tres de Outubro de mil e seiscentos e catorze. E eu Moan Martinho, notário eccllesiástico o fez escrever e soescrevi, no dito dia, mez y era.* RAH, Jesuítas, Legajo 22, fasc. 22, fol. 267.

328 *Resposta dada a huma relação sobre a christandade de Japão neste tempo da perseguição, feita per hum religioso de S. Domingos com menos informação do que convinha. Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 741.

329 On this subject: ARSI, Jap Sin 17, fols. 49–50, 51, 102–03.

330 ARSI, Jap Sin 35, Letter from Mateus de Couros to Mutio Vitelleschi, Nagasaki, 1619-09-15, fol. 114.

Francisco,³³¹ of the Third Order of Saint Francis.³³² His past was not mentioned in the Franciscan sources.

According to Friar Antonio de Santa Maria's letter, once ordained, de la Cruz served at the Japanese Church of Dilao, providing assistance to the many Japanese Christians who annually abandoned Japan to settle in the Philippines due to religious persecution.³³³ During this period, he wrote several works of great importance in the field of evangelization, namely the *Doctrina christiana em idioma Japon*, *Platicas doctrinales em idioma Japon* and the translation from Spanish to Japanese of *Fores Sanctorum*.³³⁴

In 1632, after 13 years of missionary work in the Philippines, de la Cruz decided to return to Japan disguised as a sailor, to continue his evangelization work. After arriving in Nagasaki, he hid at the house of a Japanese cottier named Pablo.³³⁵ Upon being discovered, he was imprisoned by the Japanese authorities. An unexpected event would determine his tragic end.³³⁶ Those initially scheduled to be executed on 3 September 1632 were the Portuguese Vicente de Santo António; the Spanish Francisco de Jesus; the Mexican Bartolomé Gutierrez, who belonged to the Order of St. Augustine; the Spanish Brother Gabriel, from the Order of Saint Francis; the Japanese António Pinto, from the Society of Jesus,³³⁷ and the Christian Beatriz da Costa and her daughter Maria

331 Ibid. Pérez, "Otras dos relaciones de Fr. Diego de San Francisco," p. 249.

332 The excommunication ended with the intervention of Father Mateus de Couros S.J.

333 "Frey Geronimo de la Cruz—who is that Japanese priest who, when I came from Spain was in that church of the Japanese (in our war of Dilao) at the side of, or a little behind the well." Letter from Friar Antonio de Santa Maria in Blair, Robertson, and Bourne, *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, vol. 35, p. 120.

334 Marcellino da Civezza, *Saggio di bibliografia geografica storica etnografica sanfrancescana, per fr. Marcellino da Civezza* (Prato: Raniere Guasti—Editore-libraio, 1879), p. 134; Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Japonica: dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'empire Japonais rangés par ordre chronologique jusqu' à 1870* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1912), p. 343.

335 ARSI, Jap Sin 18 1, *Memoria de los Sanctos Martires, que murieron en Nangasaqui desde el mes de septiembre del año de 1632 hasta 22 de Octubre de mill y seys cientos y treinta y tres ...*, fol. 220a.

336 *Estado geográfico, topográfico, estadístico, histórico-religioso, de la Santa y Apostólica Provincia de S. Gregorio Magno, de religiosos menores descalzos de la regular y mas estrecha observancia de N. S. P. S. Francisco en las Islas Filipinas* (Binondo: Imprenta de M. Sanchez, 1865), p. 671. Sicardo, *Christiandad del Japon, y dilatada persecucion que padeció*, p. 447. Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, pp. 769, 770.

337 ARSI, Jap Sin 18 1, *Memoria de los Sanctos Martires, que murieron en Nangasaqui desde el mes de septiembre del año de 1632 hasta 22 de Octubre de mill y seys cientos y treinta y tres ...*, fol. 220a.

da Silva.³³⁸ However, when the authorities discovered that Beatriz da Costa, besides being married to the Portuguese Captain António da Silva, also had a Portuguese father and a Japanese mother, they decided to banish her and her daughter to Macao, instead of executing them.³³⁹ It was in this context that they decided to execute Friar Geronimo de la Cruz,³⁴⁰ and the cottier Pablo/Domingo, in their place.³⁴¹ The victims were tortured in the hot waters of Unguen/Uzen for 33 days before being burned alive. The ashes of de la Cruz and the other victims were thrown into the sea to prevent them from being collected and worshiped as relics by Japanese Christians.

Conclusions

In short, as can be ascertained, priests within the Society of Jesus were authorized to acquire slaves. Regulations were also created for these slaves, with books to keep their records and the standards governing their captivity. These slaves were called “service young men/service people.” In fact, this designation was nothing more than a ploy to disguise their true situation and link it to the word “servant.” The status of these “service young men” had nothing to do with the European concept of servants, as it confined them to a lifelong or temporary enslavement status, since they were forced to comply with a certain number of years of service before being finally released. In terms of their origin, although most were Japanese, I was able to find African, Indian, Malaysian, Korean, and other slaves.

As can be confirmed through the documents mentioned in this chapter, slave recruitment increased as the evangelization endeavor expanded, until the Jesuits’ expulsion in 1614. In 1583, the number was approximately 300, but in 1609 the official figure was raised to 482 (though the official count was 485). If we deduct the 60 who served in Macao College, in China, the actual number would be 425. The data collected show that between 1583 and 1609 the number of young men serving at the Society of Jesus increased substantially. This statistical evidence is incompatible with the argument that the Jesuits bought Christian men, women, and girls, to later release them,³⁴² as we know that Japanese unification had taken place and the war with Korea had ended in the 17th

338 ARSI, Jap Sin 18 I, fols. 218a–18av. Sicardo mentions de name of Beatris de Acostas’ daughter and also says shes was 18 years old. Sicardo, *Christiandad del Japon, y dilatada persecucion que padeciò*, p. 254.

339 ARSI, Jap Sin 18 I, fols. 218a–18av.

340 Sicardo, *Christiandad del Japon, y dilatada persecucion que padeciò*, pp. 254, 261.

341 *Padre Xisto Iyo Japão, no mesmo tormento, aos 10 de Outubro de 1610*. RAH, Jesuitas, Legajo 9-7238; legajo 21, fol. 921.

342 This argument is defended by Kataoka, *A vida*, p. 189.

century. Therefore, this abundant “human surplus” ceased to exist in places like Nagasaki (the main slave center) where anti-slavery prohibitions and the charges against the Portuguese concerning slavery were very strong. Even though we cannot dismiss a regional-level slave trade connected to religious persecution, and internal conflicts³⁴³ connected with the beginning of the Tokugawa shogunate,³⁴⁴ the reality seems to have been very different, as the increase of evangelization centers arranged by the Society of Jesus produced a religious corpus that could not subsist without these “service young men.” I am also led to conclude that, by analyzing the traces left in the documents, they did not put an end to their ownership of slaves in Japan. This fact becomes clear as, when the Jesuits were expelled from Japan in 1614, some slaves of theirs were confiscated by the Japanese authorities in Nagasaki harbor. The case of Jerónimo Iyo/Geronimo de la Cruz is extraordinary, as it clearly demonstrates that the recruitment of some members of the Society of Jesus originated through slavery. Although such men were not considered official members of the Society, they had the opportunity to ascend in the hierarchy if they had a particular talent. De la Cruz became an outstanding student because of his intellectual abilities, and even sought to reach the priesthood with the backing and guidance of Bishop Luís Cerqueira. This goal could not be achieved after the death of the aforementioned Bishop, as de la Cruz was dismissed from the Society of Jesus. However, his vocation and talent led him to join the Order of Saint Francis and become a priest in this religious order in 1619.

TABLE 6.3 Japanese without surnames who belonged to the Society of Jesus

Name	Surname	Place of origin	Year of birth
Adan/Adão ^a			1518
André	Amakusa	Amakusa	1563
Alfonso/Afonso		Arima	1563
António	Hirado	Hirado	1571?
António	Sanga	Sanga	1569?
Bartolomeu	Bungo	Bungo	
Bastian/Sebastião	Hirado	Hirado	1564
Constantino		Isafai	1566
Cristóvão		Bungo	1572

343 For example: the Battle of Sekigahara (関ヶ原の戦い) or the Siege of Osaka (大坂の陣).

344 Tokugawa bakufu (徳川幕府).

TABLE 6.3 Japanese without surnames who belonged to the Society of Jesus (*cont.*)

Name	Surname	Place of origin	Year of birth
Demian/Damião		Chikuzen	1539
Domingos	Hirado	Hirado	1568
Francisco	Fiunga	Fiunga	1568
Gian	Facata	Facata	1563
Inácio	Cami	Miaco	1561?
Joan/João	Omi	Omi	1565?
Juan/João	Taquixima	Taquixima	1568
Julio	Conga	Conga	1568
Lorenço ^b		Figen	1526
Luís	Nagasaki	Nagasaki	1567
Luís		Hirado	1566
Melchior	Xiqi	Xiqi	1568?
Nicolau ^c		Yamaguchi	1523
Paulo		Amakusa	1553
Pedro ^d	Kuchinotsu	Kuchinotsu	1565
Roman/Romão	Fiunga	Fiunga	1566
Roque		Yamashiro	1536
Simeon	Bungo	Bungo	1568
Simon/Simão	Ariye	Fingo	1562
Simon/Simão		Ōmura	1562?
Tadeu ^e		Usuqui	1568
Tomás	Hirado/Firando	Yquizuqui	1564
Tomás		Yquizuqui	1556
Tomás	Xiqi	Xiqi	1569

a He worked as a *dojuku* for much of his life and was accepted into the Society of Jesus in 1587 at the end of his life, as a reward for his work.

b He was received as a *dojuku*, baptized in Yamaguchi by Father Francis Xavier, and received as a brother by Father Cosme de Torres in 1563.

c He became a member of the Society of Jesus in 1570, at the end of his life, as a reward for his work as a preacher.

d Assisted Brother João Baptista with the printing press in Japan.

e Painter.

Source: *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 146–80, 200–342, 441–511, 516–616; ARSI, Jap Sin 25, fols. 3–4, 7–43, 53–66.

The Iberian World and the Japanese Diaspora

Macao

The Establishment of Japanese in Macao and Their Professional Occupations

In Asia, from 1555 to 1640, maritime interactions between Portuguese and Japanese merchants contributed to the creation of an ethnically diverse and unique community in Macao. Besides the Portuguese, other European nationals, and Japanese, this community was also composed of Chinese, Koreans, Malaysians, Indonesians, and Indians. These different ethnic groups often mediated trade and diplomatic relations between Macao and their societies of origin. In the case of the Japanese, due to Chinese prohibitions, it is difficult to trace and describe their multilayered characteristics and activities. In this subsection, utilizing representative examples, I will reconstruct the multiple professional occupations and social layout of Japanese presence in Macao.

The first references connecting the Japanese to Macao date back to the 1560s, when several Portuguese ships returning from Japan transported female slaves who, after arriving in Macao, continued on to Malacca and Goa.¹ From these maritime journeys a first-person account of a Chinese slave named Victoria Diaz survived. She, after being captured in China, was taken to Japan—probably by the *Wokou*—to be sold to the Portuguese in Macao.² In the *Manual de Confissões*, written by Francisco Rodrigues in 1570, we can also find several references to Japanese women who, after being kidnapped in Japan, along with many Chinese men captured by the *Wokou*, traveled on Portuguese ships bound for Macao to be sold there.³ This information can be confirmed through the records of a Japanese Christian woman named Maria Pereira. In the early 1570s, when she was under 10, she arrived in Portugal and served as a domestic slave for two decades, before finally being released.⁴ Through these examples, one can conclude that in the first decades of Portuguese establishment in Macao, there were many Asian slaves in transit,

1 De Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesus Cristo*, pp. 650–51.

2 De Sousa, “16–17 世紀のポルトガル人によるアジア奴隷貿易 16–17 Seiki no Porotogaru hito ni yoru Ajia dorei bōeki ...,” pp. 229–81.

3 ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805, fol. 98v.

4 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, p. 87.

acquired to be exported and sold in the network of ports and factories (i.e., trading posts) either governed or visited by Portuguese merchants.

The first material information about Japanese women not in transit, but settled, living in Macao and already integrated into this multicultural society, appears only in 1583, through the testimony of the Portuguese mercenary Gaspar Fernandes de Medeiros. Medeiros, having traveled on the first voyage between Macao and Manila, was questioned in this port about his experience in China. It is in this context that, referring to the tensions between Chinese soldiers and European merchants, he mentions that, while in Macao, he saw Christianized Chinese and Japanese women who regretted the bad luck of their husbands who, having gone fishing around Macao, were captured by the Chinese Navy and then beheaded. Medeiros also mentions that the Portuguese authorities in Macao complained about this to the mandarins; however, they did not take any measures against it.⁵

Medeiros's testimony of this event was supported by that of another Portuguese mercenary, named Cristóval Cardoso, who was on the same trip. Cardoso reports other supplementary information saying that some of these women had remarried.⁶ As for the status of the Japanese women, I believe that these were free women, as no reference is made to any kind of dependency or slavery in either Medeiros's and Cardoso's testimonies.⁷ Besides this information, nothing else exists on these mysterious Japanese women or their second husbands' nationalities.

The case of Francisca Montera/Monteira, a Japanese Christian living in Macao in the first decades of its foundation, confirms a high miscegenation level in the city, not only among Chinese and Japanese, but also Europeans. From Montera's relationship with a Spaniard named Pablo Fernández a son was born who, as an adult, traveled to the Americas. This son, whose name we do not know, was included in the census carried out in Lima between 1607 and 1613.⁸ Although we do not know his status, it is very likely that his mother had been a Japanese slave owned and named by the merchant Domingos Monteiro. It was customary in Macao for the slave owners to give their family names to the newly converted during the baptism ceremony.

There are also other cases of mixed marriages, such as those of Miguel Colaço (1567/68–?) and Joannes de Macelus (João de Marcelo) (1573–74?), born to Japanese mothers and Portuguese fathers,⁹ who traveled between Macao and

5 AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 8 (1), fols. 32–33.

6 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, pp. 188, 194.

7 AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 8 (1), fol. 40.

8 Contreras, *Padrón de los indios de Lima*, pp. 539–40.

9 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 264–68, 317.

Nagasaki. There are also references to the names of some Japanese and Portuguese mixed couples, such as Domingos Jorge and his Japanese wife Isabel,¹⁰ or the Japanese Lúcia Freitas, married to a Portuguese whose name is unknown.¹¹

This Japanese female presence coexisted in Macao with an important Japanese male presence that I would like to introduce here. In 1582, a tragic event unravels the history of the first known Japanese men settled in Macao. During that year, due to typhoons and bad weather, a ship was rerouted to Taiwan,¹² eventually sinking on its shores. As the bulk of its merchandise was from Macao, thanks to this event it is possible to understand the composition of the ships that traveled annually from Macao to Japan.

For example, in an account given by the Jesuit Luís Fróis I was able to determine that the crew of the boat was nearly two hundred people, of whom “80 were Chinese Gentile, officers of the vessel”; thus 40 per cent of the total crew. In another account of the same ship, by Alonso Sánchez, this number is given as more than 290 people.¹³ In a third account, written by the Jesuit Francisco Pirez, we discover that a large group of Japanese men, whose captain was a Japanese called “Moro João,” were also aboard:¹⁴

We came to the land with a lot of effort along the sandy coast with most of the Japanese that were in the reed the main one was moro João.¹⁵

Portuguese documents relating to the period between 1588 and 1591 mention again the same “Moro Joan,” who had become the city of Nagasaki’s *otona*.¹⁶ Both Moro João and his army of Japanese mercenaries were Macao residents and were deeply involved in the city’s commercial activities. Most surprisingly, they also collaborated with Chinese groups. This data also demonstrates the city’s transnational character. Although Macao did not officially have any Japanese residents, the examples examined reveal a very different social scene. It is also relevant to underline the fact that this presence encompassed the various social strata into which Macao was divided. We can thus recognize a still

10 Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, pp. 393–94.

11 Boero and del Niño Jesus, *Los doscientos cinco mártires del Japón*, p. 56.

12 According to the Spaniard Alonso Sánchez, the Portuguese had been visiting Formosa (Taiwan) since 1540.

13 *las personas que heran mas de doscientos y noventa*. Colín, *Labor Evangélica*, vol. 1, pp. 300–01; vol. II, p. 300.

14 *com a mayor parte dos japões que no junco hião: o principal deles era Moro João*. *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 387.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 387. BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, Códice 49-V-3, Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembrar*, fol. 4.

16 De Sousa, *The Jewish Diaspora and the Pérez Family Case*, p. 81.

incipient Japanese community composed of both male and female slaves and free Japanese mixed with Chinese and Europeans, mercenaries, merchants, and even captains of vessels.

Macao's main economic activities were trade and the transportation of products. Unlike places such as Brazil or New Spain, where the slaves essentially worked in the farming or mining sectors (except for big harbor cities such as Acapulco or important business centers as Mexico City), it is likely a high number of slaves or former slaves worked at Macao's harbor. The transportation of merchandise from the harbor to the city was a difficult and sometimes dangerous job, thus the kind of occupation that was assigned to slaves. Nevertheless, it was also an easy and swift way to earn money, in a period when Macao had become one of Asia's main economical centers.

In all the harbor cities that were administered by the Portuguese, slaves worked directly for their owners or were placed by them at a third party's service. These activities were charged, with a varying percentage, which could amount to 50 per cent of the profit, being given to the slaves. This was a skillful way of motivating the slaves, as they were thus given a way of acquiring some independence on a daily basis as well as saving money to be spent attaining their own freedom.

The workings of this Japanese society in the Macanese multicultural context can be examined in the 1590 commercial diary of the Portuguese merchant António Dias de Cáceres, which allows us to understand how the city port operated and who was responsible for its daily operations.

When the Cáceres boat entered the port of Macao, it was led by Chinese pilots, and some sailors watched over the ship, to make sure it entered port safely. Once anchored, the crew bought bread, meat, and fish and had some refreshments. Thereafter, two *jurubaças* (interpreters) were hired. One was Gaspar de Melo, and the other was Ximon Myn, both baptized Chinese. Cáceres spent some money on the maintenance of the ship,¹⁷ mainly in moorings, tow, nails for caulking and lathes,¹⁸ and hiring caulkers and carpenters for the work. For the execution of these tasks Cáceres stated that he paid a Japanese man called Pedro Ruiz Japón the amount of 20 *pesos* for two ship moorings and another four for another task. Japón was probably a former Japanese slave who had financed his own freedom through his work. Another document shows that it was Japón himself who hired, on Cáceres's behalf, several workers to cut wood for the boat in Macao.¹⁹ These were: Andres, Bartolomé Saliat, Francisco

17 Around 327*pesos*. AGN, Indif. Virreinal, caja-exp. 6729-009, Filipinas 1589-1592, fol. 49v.

18 AGN, Indif. Virreinal, caja-exp 6729-009, Filipinas 1589-1592, fol. 49v.

19 *Ibid.*, fol. 49v.

Melo, Roque de Melo, Francisco Mendez, Francisco Bengala,²⁰ Francisco Preto (Black), and Joan Japan.²¹ Joan Japan was an “earning slave” (*escravo de ganho*) who worked on Macao harbor’s most undesirable jobs and received the small amount of half a *peso*. He is mentioned last in the workers’ list, which demonstrates his low status. It must also be mentioned that the coworkers of this Japanese man, namely Francisco Bengala (Bengal) and Francisco Preto (Black), were probably born in India and Mozambique, as their surnames suggest. The remaining slaves’ names give no clue as to their geographic origin. Even so, it is possible to identify to whom they belonged. For example: Roque de Melo was probably Roque de Melo Pereira’s slave; the latter was Macao’s Head Captain between 1590 and 1591.

In addition to this kind of Japanese port worker, professionally integrated in this multicultural community, there were other types of Japanese living in Macao: the domestic slaves that worked under the direct dependence of their masters, supplying their houses with water and food, cooking, cleaning, bringing and taking messages, assisting their owners in their sons’ educations, in transportation inside the city, and so on. Observing a Macao map included in volume VIII of *Petits Voyages*, a collection of oriental travel reports edited by the de Bry brothers in 1606–07—the first engraving of this territory printed in Europe—it is possible to uncover some information on the city’s slaves. This book includes illustrations of farming and fishing, as well as merchandise being transported from boat to land. A more attentive look also unfolds depictions of daily life, such as the city being supplied by two street vendors, slaves carrying litters or umbrellas, and an armed slave/mercenary protecting a Portuguese man on a horse.²²

In 1592, the presence of domestic Japanese slaves in Macao society was clearly noticeable, as described in the last will and testament of Domingos Monteiro, one of the greatest Head Captains in Macao: he owned a large group of slaves, both male and female, which he willed should be freed after his death. All the women received the sum of 50 *pardaos*, except one, named Violante, who received 400 *pardaos*. The many Japanese male slaves, whose names are unknown, received 10 *pardaos*. We do not have any other information about the fate of these slaves.

20 Probably a freed slave.

21 AGN, Indif. Virreinal, caja-exp. 6729-009; Filipinas 1589–1592 fol. 27v.

22 Planta de Macau, in *Petits Voyages*, ed. Hans-Theodor and Hans-Israel de Bry (Frankfurt am Main, 1606 (German edn.) and 1607 (Latin edn.)), vol. 8; Francisco Roque de Oliveira, “Cartografía antigua da cidade de Macau, c. 1600–1700: confronto entre modelos de representação europeus e chineses,” *Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales* 10(218) (53) (2006), www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-218-53.htm (accessed 25 April 2018).

Domingos Monteiro's household setup was by no means an exception. For example, in 1593, in a religious inquiry into a Portuguese woman of Jewish origin living in Macao, I found reference to her Japanese household slave Inês. Unfortunately, besides this information, there are no further details on the life and daily routine of this slave. Probably, Inês was sold to another family in Macao,²³ as her owner died in poverty after being arrested.

Cases such as Inês's represent only one of the many destinies of Macao slaves, since many slaves, when released, had the opportunity of working and living independently. While male slaves and former slaves worked in Macao's inner and outer harbors, the many former domestic female slaves continued to help noble and middle-class women in their homes after their release. For example, in 1593, a former slave called Maria Pirez was living in Macao. Born in Japan in 1562, Pirez probably arrived in Macao in 1583. After managing to obtain her freedom, she served several Macao citizens as a housemaid.²⁴

Just as would happen with the Pirez, another Japanese named Úrsula Pereira, born in Japan between 1560 and 1564, continued to live in Macao as a maid after being freed. In this city, she helped the Portuguese Leonor da Fonseca (born in Macao), to raise her 4-month-old baby.²⁵

There was also a trend of freed underage female slaves staying at their masters' houses until they reached adulthood and could get married. This suggests that many of these slaves would be assimilated into Macao's most westernized society in the future. Let us take a look at some examples. According to the last will and testament of Monteiro in 1592, several underage Japanese slaves, for example, Maria, Senhora Amarição, João (female), Guiomar, Águeda, and Mariana, were to stay at the house of their cousin, Gaspar Pinto da Rocha, a Macao citizen, until they were old enough to marry.²⁶ In 1600, another Japanese slave named Madalena, a minor, experienced a similar process. Madalena was owned by Luzia Loubata, the wife of the merchant Cristóvão Soares Monteroso. In her will, Loubata left instructions for Madalena's emancipation, granting her 10 *pardaos* under the condition that she stayed at Fernão Palhares's house, until she was old enough to marry.²⁷

Although only a very small number of wills of Macao's inhabitants are extant today, these show that Japanese female slaves living in Portuguese homes experienced a truly multicultural environment. For example, in Luzia

23 ANTT, Inquirição de Lisboa, Processo de Leonor Fonseca nº13360, non-paged document.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 AHSCMP/H, Bco. 6, nº 17, fol. 28iv.

27 Madalena enjoyed a special status in this family, as the two other household slaves, also minors, ended up being sold.

Loubata's house, Madalena lived with other two slaves, a Siamese and a Chinese.²⁸ Besides Japanese and Chinese females, other wills from the 16th century mention Korean, Southeast Asian, Indian, and also African female slaves.²⁹

It should be underlined that Macao's domestic units were not only composed of women. Although in smaller numbers, men also served some families. For example, in 1593, there is brief mention of a Japanese slave called André Vaz, who served the cleric Nicolau Cerveira.³⁰ Unfortunately, we do not have any additional information about him. On 16 January 1606, four days before his death in Macao, the Visitor Alessandro Valignano dictated a set of *Reminders* to be obeyed by his successor and subordinates. It included a reference to two "Japanese young men," whose names are not revealed, who had served him faithfully. Valignano, concerned about their future, instructed his secretary Luís de Araújo to take them to Japan and introduce them to the main Jesuits, in order to find someone they could both serve.³¹

By the end of the 16th century, the number of Japanese in Macao had grown with the arrival of new groups brought by both the official and private ships that traveled annually to Japan. Besides those who were enslaved as a result of abduction, debts, and poverty, some, incredible though it might seem to a modern observer, willingly sold themselves into slavery. One explanation for this seems to have been the fact that, to many Japanese, Macao seemed to incarnate some sort of El Dorado. Others, wishing to go to Macao and realizing that the Portuguese would not take them as passengers, thought they would be able to escape slavery upon their arrival in Macao.³² Although such enslavement took place with their consent, these soon-to-be slaves were unaware of the kind of slavery to which they would be submitted. Many who sold themselves did not actually receive any money, as the slave canvassers argued that they only wanted this so they could escape afterwards. This strategy was a way for canvassers to acquire slaves for free, taking advantage of both their gullibility and desire to travel to Macao and start a new life. Alas, they would end up being sold at the Portuguese colonial fortresses.

28 AHM, Misericórdia, Legados, Treslados de testamentos, testamento de Luzia Loubata, fol. 9.

29 Leonor Diaz Seabra, "Escravos japoneses e asiáticos na Misericórdia de Macau," paper presented at Mestiçagens e Globalização conference, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan, 29–31 May 2015, pp. 112–16.

30 ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo de Leonor Fonseca nº13360, non-paged document. De Sousa, *Escravidão e Diáspora Japonesa nos séculos XVI e XVII*, p. 64.

31 *Lembranças de Alessandro Valignano*, Macau, 16-01-1606. ARSI, Jap Sin, 14 II, fols. 229–30.

32 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fols. 274–v.

Available sources also reveal an obscure side to Macao's Japanese community, that is, those who were unable to adapt themselves to the city. When their owners' deaths freed them, some former Japanese slaves became criminals, robbing the Chinese who came to the city as suppliers. At the end of the 16th century, this situation became particularly dangerous as they formed gangs of thieves and robbed the city's commoners. King Philip II himself was compelled to take action on several occasions, sending a number of bailiffs, as well as letters with instructions to the local authorities to arrest these delinquents.³³ Additionally, freed Japanese women who were unable to adapt to life in Macao would resort to prostitution as their only means of survival.³⁴

When diplomatic/commercial problems with the Philippines arose, in order to revenge themselves the Portuguese used to gather together undesirable slaves of any origin, including Japanese, such as alcoholics, thieves, and criminals, put them on boats and send them to Manila, where they were sold, causing chaos in the city during the following months. Several complaints against this procedure were presented in 1605 and 1608.³⁵

Also, throughout all the Portuguese ports from Goa to Macao, adult slaves who became sick and were unable to work, were "thrown into the streets," and died "abandoned as there was no one to take them." As they now represented a financial loss, owners condemned old slaves to death. In view of this situation, in 1606 the clerical authorities declared that, if their owners did not take them back, such people would become free and, if nobody gave them shelter or took care of them, they would be delivered to the *provedor* (provider) and the *Misericórdia* (a Portuguese institution devoted to the care of destitute social groups) Brothers,³⁶ to be taken to the "Hospitals for the Poor."³⁷

In 1608, the Japanese colony in Macao was affected by military clashes between the Portuguese and Japanese. Due to these clashes, in 1614 the Chinese authorities expelled 90 Japanese working in the port.³⁸ Since the Japanese

33 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, pp. 133–43.

34 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 274v.

35 AGI, Filipinas, 27, n. 51, fol. 313v; Filipinas, 340, l. 3. fols. 23–23v.

36 The name applied to the members of Misericórdia.

37 Decreto 16 in: Archivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. 4º, p. 268.

38 De Sousa, *Escravidura e Diáspora Japonesa nos séculos XVI e XVII*, p. 70. Jin Goo Ping also presents a new version of this, stating that in 1614 the Chinese authorities expelled 98 Japanese: *Nos meados do Reinado de Wanli (萬曆 1573–1620), os Folangji (佛郎機) da Baía de Xiangshan (香山澳) abrigavam ocultamente piratas japoneses, que chegaram a assassinar militares chineses. No 42º ano (1614), o Haidao (海道 Superintendente do Circuito da Defesa Marítima) Yu Anxing (俞安性) recebeu instruções para expulsar para o mar os japoneses. Foram desterrados ao todo 98 nipónicos. Impôs-se uma interdição mais restrita, pelo que paulatinamente foi esta calamidade desaparecendo.* Yin Guangren and Zhang

community living in Macao had been affected by these two events, this situation rapidly normalized with the arrival of more Japanese, as after 1614, it was not only slaves who were arriving in Macao, but also Japanese priests, brothers, and *dóju*, along with several Japanese Christian families.

The Japanese Students' Seminary

Since the arrival of the Society of Jesus in Japan as “missionary strategists,” they had developed various methods of evangelization; for example, the creation of a native clergy capable of understanding and taking advantage of the cultural and political specificities of the region where they lived in order to increase the number of Japanese Christians. It was with this goal in mind that numerous colleges and seminaries were established in Japan during the second half of the 16th century. However, the increasing instability of the Society of Jesus in Japan, due to constant political changes, aggravated by the 1587 expulsion edict, led Alessandro Valignano to present, in 1592, a new project to the “Congregation” of Nagasaki.³⁹ Up to that time “Arts and Sciences” had been studied at the house of *Misericórdia*, which also served for the investments of the Society of Jesus.⁴⁰ In order to avoid the coexistence of the “sacred” and “profane” in the same place, since “so great was the number of people in this house casting doubts of their conscience and things related to their contracts,”⁴¹ Valignano decided to establish the “Macao College” and, within this, set up a seminary for Japanese students. Hence, the best students could have enough time to improve their skills before they were sent to Japan.

On 1 December 1594, this idea was embodied in the official establishment of St. Paul's College.⁴² The Japanese Students' Seminary in Macao can be divided into three distinct periods. The first stage covers 1594–1614: the establishment of the seminary to the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Japan.

The second stage, 1614–22, covers the period of Japanese exile, the decline of the seminary due to financial problems within the Society, and the anti-Japanese policy advocated by Vice-Provincial Valentim de Carvalho.

Rulin, *Breve monografia de Macau*, trans. and footnotes Jin Guo Ping (Macao: Instituto Cultural do Governo da R. A. E. de Macau, 2009), p. 165.

39 *Carta Ânua do Colégio de Macau redigida por Duarte de Sande*, Macau, 28-10-1594. ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fol. 42.

40 *Ibid.*, fol. 41.

41 *tão grande o concurso da gente a preguntar nesta caza duvidas de sua consciencia e negocios de seus contratos*. *Ibid.*, fol. 41.

42 BNL, Cota 9448, Padre Jose Montanha, *Aparatos para a Historia de Macau*, vol. IX, fol. 29.

The third phase, 1623–72, embraces the period from the 1623 establishment of a new seminary for Japanese students, the Seminary of Santo Inácio, to the last reference to it.

In the first period, St. Paul's College received some Japanese students, as the college itself became structurally adapted to receive them. The layout of the house, the Japanese bath, the *chanoyu*, fish, and light-seasoned food were some of the measures implemented by Valignano to ease students' adjustment. At the behavioral level, Europeans were instructed not act out of anger when they reprimanded the Japanese, but rather, use moderate language. At the educational level, European teachers were told to insist on the correct use of articles before nouns, the plurals of verbs, gender differences, and the singular and plural of nouns. Regarding the duration of education within the seminary, the idea was that each student should dedicate himself exclusively to study for four or five years. The main subjects were "Virtues" (morality) and "Letters" (knowledge). Valignano himself passed all these implemented measures on to his successor.⁴³

At St. Paul's College in Macao, Japanese seminarians rubbed shoulders with European, Chinese, and Southeast Asian students, who were later sent to various Jesuit missions in Asia. By the time of the seminary's establishment, we know there were eight to ten Japanese students studying there.⁴⁴ In 1596, the annual letter refers only to "the coming of the Japanese brothers of whom some are already here, and the others we are waiting for every day."⁴⁵ In 1598, 22 priests and 30 brothers lived at the college. Three Japanese had enrolled to study "Cases,"⁴⁶ and six more took "Latin," so the total number of Japanese was nine.⁴⁷ In 1600, the college had 23 students of several nationalities and three Japanese subdeacons who were in their third year of studies. In that year, ten to 12 more Japanese were expected.⁴⁸ In 1603, 31 brothers were studying at the college, and Valignano sent to the mission in Japan six Japanese brothers

43 *Lembranças de Alessandro Valignano*, Macao, 16-01-1606. ARSI, Jap Sin 14 II, fols. 229–230. Tang, *Setting Off from Macau*, pp. 96–97; Takase, Kōichirō. *Kirishitan jidai no korejio* (Tokyo: Yagishoten, 2017).

44 *Carta Ânua do Colégio de Macau redigida por Duarte de Sande*, Macao, 28-10-1594. ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fol. 43v.

45 *Carta Ânua do Colégio de Macau redigida por Duarte de Sande*, Macao, 16-01-1596. ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fol. 120.

46 This discipline comprises the study of generic and the specific religious cases of the evangelization mission in Japan, preparing the Japanese students to the priesthood.

47 *Carta Ânua do Colégio de Macau redigida por Duarte de Sande*, Macao, 1598. ARSI, Jap Sin 52, fol. 267.

48 *Carta Ânua do Colégio de Macau redigida por Duarte de Sande*, Macao, 17-01-1600. BNL, Add.9859, fol. 59v. *Cartas Ânua do Colégio de Macau*, ed. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa,

who had finished their studies in “Morality.”⁴⁹ In 1606, Valignano suggested to the Rector of St. Paul’s College that the Japanese students should be sent to Japan, since the other Japanese students replacement had already arrived in Macao from Japan.⁵⁰ After Valignano’s death, it was intended that the seminary continue to function as a hub to receive future Japanese missionaries. However, due to great opposition to this project, mainly from Father Francisco Pasio, Vice-Provincial (1600–11), by 1609 all the Japanese students had returned to Japan, with one exception: Brother André Kusa/Kusano, assistant to the Prosecutor of Japan,⁵¹ and trusted by Valignano. This prominent cleric fell into disgrace in the years following Valignano’s death, being expelled from the Company of Jesus on 10 March 1612.

The second major change within this seminary began in 1614. On 21 January, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) declared the official expulsion of all clerics from Japan. In November, four ships carried the missionaries and many Japanese Christian families into exile. One ship was sent to Manila, two were sent to Macao, and a third to Siam, with a stopover in Macao. In total, there must have been 300 Japanese Christians divided between the four boats.⁵² The letter of the Jesuit Jerome Rodrigues, from Nagasaki, dated 24 March 1615, describes this departure:

At last, all of them embarked with great serenity, and without any resistance, our Priests, Brothers, and Dojokus embarked on four ships, some of them in a very risky way, as they [the Japanese authorities] did not to allow even one to stay after the Macao vessel [departure], which was here in this port. Two of the ships went straight to Macao, another to Siam was to arrive at the island of Macao, and to leave there our people on the land, warning the ships that came before them to come and pick them at a certain determined place. The other went to the Philippine Islands,

transc. Ana Fernandes Pinto (Macao: Comissão Territorial de Macau para as Comemorações dos Descobr. Port., 1999), p. 88.

49 BA, 49-V-5, fols. 20v, 21v.

50 *Lembranças de Alessandro Valignano*, Macao, 16-01-1606. ARSI, Jap Sin, 14 II, fol. 229.

51 *Cartas Anuais do Colégio de Macau*, p. 30.

52 José E. Borao, “La colonia de Japoneses en Manila en el marco de las relaciones de Filipinas y Japón en los siglos XVI y XVII,” *Cuadernos CANELA* 17 (2005): 15. There is a second report that states five boats left Japan with the exiled. Three traveled to Macao and Siam and two to Manila. Manuel Teixeira S.J., *Os Japoneses em Macau* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau/Comissão Territorial para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1993), p. 29.

where there was a good number of Priests, Brothers and Dojukus, as not many of them could go on the ships for Macao.⁵³

Although we do not know the exact number of Japanese who arrived in Macao that year, most likely they would have amounted to 200 people, as on 21 December 1614, 33 clerics and around 100 Japanese people arrived in Manila.⁵⁴

There are two main accounts of the trip to Macao, one by the Provincial Valentim de Carvalho and another by the Jesuit Francisco Pérez, providing the numbers and composition of both boats. According to Carvalho, in his letter to Macao, on 30 December 1614, shortly after his arrival in Japan, 33 priests and 29 brothers (mostly Japanese), 53 *dojucos*—28 of whom belonged to the Nagasaki seminary and who were immediately integrated into the College of Macao to proceed with their studies—departed from Nagasaki. Father Carvalho sent eight priests, 15 Japanese brothers, and 12 students to Manila.⁵⁵

The figures reported by Pérez to Father General Claudio Acquaviva were slightly different. Pérez says that more than 50 priests and brothers traveled to Macao, and seven or eight priests and 18 brothers were bound for the Philippines.⁵⁶ On the same boat, were 48 Japanese *dojukus* bound for Macao. This group was divided into three types: the first group of 24 was composed of the main and oldest Japanese catechists,⁵⁷ while the second was composed of 24 young *dojukus* or “young men of hopes,” selected from among the best and promising catechists in the seminary.⁵⁸ There was also a third group of *dojukus* traveling to Macao, who did not belong to the seminary and whose identity is unknown.⁵⁹ Additionally, “one of Francisco Pérez’s letters reports a unique testimony of what appeared to be a common practice among the *dojukus* in the Society of Jesus in Japan and the service young men (“moços de serviço”):

53 Letter from Jerónimo Rodrigues S.J. to Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 24-04-1615. ARSI, Jap Sin 58, fol. 150v.

54 Borao, “La colonia de Japoneses en Manila,” p. 15. Teixeira, *Os Japoneses em Macau*, p. 29.

55 Letter from Valentim Carvalho S.J. to Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Macao, 30-12-1614. ARSI, Jap Sin 16-I, fol. 131.

56 Letter from Francisco Pérez S.J. to Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Japan, 23-10-1614. ARSI, Jap Sin 16-I, fol. 97. Letter from Afonso de Lucena S.J. to Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Macao, 21-12-1616. ARSI, Jap. Sin 17, fols. 24v–25.

57 Chosen from among 60 preachers and catechists who served the Society of Jesus in Japan.

58 Letter from Francisco Pérez S.J. to Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Aquaviva, Japan, 23-10-1614. ARSI, Jap Sin 16-I, fol. 97. Letter from Francisco Pérez S.J. to Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Aquaviva, Macao, 3-1-1617. ARSI, Jap Sin 17, fols. 49–50.

59 Letter from Francisco Pérez S.J. to Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Aquaviva, Japan, 23-10-1614. ARSI, Jap Sin 16-I, fol. 97.

pedophilia.” The Jesuit, besides condemning this practice, suggested to Acquaviva that he take measures in the future to inhibit acceptance of children into the Society of Jesus in Macao, since they became victims of “big young men” and provoked the “ruin” of the *dojukus*.⁶⁰ Pérez’s accusation was not the only one, since another Portuguese Jesuit, Mateus de Couros, also gave this as a reason not to accept Japanese as priests in the Society.⁶¹

The sudden arrival of many Japanese at Macao in 1614 and the college’s lack of preparation caused some immediate problems “due to the lack of cubicles, causing great distress and discomforts that all suffered.”⁶² These logistical problems were enhanced by the constant attacks of Provincial Carvalho against the Japanese *dojukus*. Even though the 1614 *Carta Ânua*, drafted by João da Costa, mentions that upon his arrival at Macao the Provincial was received with great pomp,⁶³ Carvalho’s ill-treatment of the Japanese was described in detail by several Jesuits, the most assertive being Vicente Carruba,⁶⁴ Afonso de Lucena,⁶⁵ and Francisco Pérez.⁶⁶ We know, for example, that upon arriving at Macao, two of the main *dojukus* were forced to leave the Society of Jesus. The first was Domu Japão, a former catechist and chapel master, and considered a great musician among Europeans; the second was Remigidio, also a former catechist and particularly gifted in Japanese writing.⁶⁷ The next expulsion was that of the great preacher Brother Xiconzuca.⁶⁸ This increased the friction between the Provincial and the Japanese Brothers. The expulsion of these prominent catechists caused several other *dojukus* and brothers to leave the

60 Spiritually weak. Letter from Francisco Pérez S.J. to Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Macao, 3-1-1617. ARSI, Jap Sin 17, fol. 49v.

61 Letter from Mateus de Couros to Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Arima, 25-02-1612. ARSI, Jap Sin 2, fols. 159–162. José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, “Hermanos o Dogicos? (1612),” *Sapientia, Eichi University* 8 (1974): 99–121. The *moços de serviço* referred to by Francisco Pérez were not slaves but abandoned children who were fostered by members of the Society, and instructed in evangelical preaching, becoming fundamental instruments in spreading the Catholic faith in Japan, as reported by Luís Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. IV, p. 6.

62 *Ânua do Colégio de Macau de 1616*. ARSI, Jap Sin 113, fols. 425, 494.

63 *Ânua do Colégio de Macau de 1614*. ARSI, Jap Sin 113, fol. 373v. *No fim deste anno com a cruel perseguição da cristandade do Japão veio o padre provincial Valentim de Carvalho a Machao com grande número de padres e irmãos desterrados. E posto que nos pezou como era razão do motivo, contudo nos alegamos muito com o efeito, por termos o padre tão perto e podermos comunicar com elle frequentemente as cousas desta cristandade.*

64 ARSI, Jap Sin 17, fol. 51.

65 *Ibid.*, fols. 102–103.

66 *Ibid.*, fols. 49–50.

67 *Ânua do Colégio de Macau de 1616*. ARSI, Jap Sin 113, fols. 425, 494.

68 Letter from Celso Confalonero S.J. to the Assistant Priest of Portugal in the Society of Jesus in Rome, Macao, 26-12-1616. ARSI, Jap Sin 17, fol. 36.

Society. In just two years, 23 *dojukus* left Macao; most of them returned to Japan, abandoned the Society of Jesus, and initiated a campaign against the Society, particularly the Provincial and the Portuguese Jesuits.⁶⁹

In 1616, according to de Lucena, Carvalho sent a group of Japanese *dojukus* exiled from Macao to the Philippines.⁷⁰ They had been requested by the Society of Jesus in the Philippines,⁷¹ and it was intended they filled vacancies in Manila after the deaths of Japanese Brothers André Sayto, Matias Sanga, and Paulo Reoin.⁷²

Another letter from the same Jesuit reveals that these *dojukus* had left the Society of Jesus and returned to Japan, and that the Japanese Brothers in Macao, displeased with Provincial Carvalho, also intended to return to Japan and abandon the Society.⁷³ According to the 1616 *Carta Ânua*, only ten Japanese students in the college were left from the group of seminarians sent to Macao. Two levels of the Japanese language were taught to European clerics: a basic level for beginners and an advanced level for those who already spoke it, to learn “elegance and purity in speaking.”⁷⁴ In 1617, Pérez mentioned that the number of students was even smaller, with only seven seminarian students remaining, and another “four or five old men” who had “retired.”⁷⁵ The same letter tells us that only 17 of the group of 40 *dojukus* who arrived at Macao in 1614 had remained there. Some of them had probably gone to Cochinchina (Vietnam) and to Portuguese India.⁷⁶

From 1618 to 1623, there was no inflow of Japanese students at the seminary, as the Society of Jesus's policy was to reduce expenses and shorten the mission. However, this policy was unexpectedly changed by the Japanese priest Paulo dos Santos and the Portuguese priest Francisco Pacheco (1568–1626), who in 1623 established the Japanese Seminary of Santo Inácio with dos Santos's own

69 Letter from Afonso de Lucena S.J. to Nuno Mascarenhas S.J., Macao, 30-10-1617. ARSI, Jap Sin 17, fols. 102–103.

70 Letter from Afonso de Lucena S.J. to Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Macao, 21-12-1616. ARSI, Jap Sin 17, fols. 24v–25.

71 *esqueçome de lhe escrever o seguinte he que os padres da Manilha nos chamarão de Japão com muita sua caridade e amor da Companhia e por nos chamarem mandou o padre Provincial alguns dos nosso e dojukos e Vossa Reverência como assistente e novo desta Provincia lho deve agradecer mui effincadamente.* Letter from Afonso de Lucena S.J. to Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Macao, 21-12-1616. ARSI, Jap Sin 17, fols. 24v–25.

72 Letter from Celso Confalonero to the Assistant Priest of Portugal in the Society of Jesus in Rome, 26-12-1616, Macao. ARSI, Jap Sin 17, fol. 36.

73 ARSI, Jap Sin 16-I, Carta de Afonso de Lucena, 3-12-1616, Macao, fols. 245–246.

74 *Ânua do Colégio de Macau de 1616.* ARSI, Jap Sin 113, fols. 425, 494.

75 Letter from Francisco Pérez S.J., Macao, 10-12-1617. ARSI, Jap Sin 17, fols. 100–101.

76 Ibid.

TABLE 7.1 Japanese Brothers at Macao College

Year	Name	Education
1603	Brother Xiquimi Martinho	3rd year
	Brother Miocuchi Mâncio	3rd year
	Brother Ito Mâncio	3rd year of Cases
	Brother Nacaura Julião	3rd year of Cases
	Brother Cusano André	3rd year of Cases
	Brother Hiuqui Diogo	3rd year of Cases
	Brother Hixinda António	3rd year of Cases
	Brother Mingo Cuchi Agostinho	3rd year of Cases
25 January 1604	Brother André	2nd year of Cases
	Brother Ito Mâncio	3rd year of Cases
	Brother Julião	3rd year of Cases
	Brother Diogo	3rd year of Cases
	Brother António	3rd year of Cases
	Brother Agostinho	3rd year of Cases
	Brother Martinho	Last year of Philosophy
	Brother Mâncio	3rd year of Philosophy
January 1615	Brother Funamoto Thoma	Latin master at the seminary
	Brother Noma André	Taught Japanese literature to
	Fancan Leão	Japanese Brothers
	Yama João	
	Nicolao	
	Xucan Miguel	
	Moryama Miguel	
	Julio	
	Nixi Romão	
	Xibata Diogo	
	Justo	
	Mathias	
	Mateuvo Luis	
	Naito Luis	
	Paulo Saito	Master of the books of <i>seitas</i>
Joseph	<i>de Japam</i> (Japanese sects) and	
Christóvão	their refutation	
Mâncio João		
Fayaxida Mâncio		

TABLE 7.1 Japanese Brothers at Macao College (*cont.*)

Year	Name	Education
September 1620	Christóvão Faquiwara	Bookkeeper
	Miguel Morayama	In charge of the wardrobe
	Bertholomeu Rioxy	
	Lourenço Vomachi	
	Luís Naitó	
	André Amacusa	
	Romão Tamura	Graduate assistant
	Romão Nixo	
	Agostinho Vota	
	Jorge Tonno	
	Justo Casareya	
	Tadeu	Painter
	Miguel Llagui	
	Júlio Conga	
	Matthias Machida	
Thoma Funamoto		
Leam Fancam	Graduated layman	

Source: ARSI, Jap Sin 25, fols. 65, 65v, 80v, 81, 105v, 109v, 116v–18v.

money—12,000 *taels*. Initially, the intention of the Japanese priest was to instruct 12 Japanese youngsters who were to be prepared in this seminary before departing for Japan.⁷⁷ In 1626 and 1636, St. Paul's College received more refugees, after the expulsion of more missionaries from Japan. The Santo Inácio Seminary continued to operate even after the complete termination of relations between Macao and Japan. In 1656, we know that the seminary was still in operation and that the rector of it was Father Jorge Nunez S.J.⁷⁸ The last

77 *ha neste Collegio hum [seminário] para o qual deixou certo clerigo jappão doze mill taeis de cabedal, para com elles, E com seus ganhos se ensinarem doze meninos japoens, que aprendendo tudo o neccessario para se ordenarem sacerdotes e abrindo se Jappão entrar nelle com as noticia de Filosofia e Teologia.* Teixeira, *Os Japoneses em Macau*, p. 38. Madalena Ribeiro, "The Japanese Diaspora in the Seventeenth Century," *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 3 (2011): 62.

78 *8. P. Jorge Nunez da Companhia de Jesus, Reitor do Seminário dos Jappões.* RAH, Jesuitas, Legajo 9-7238, Legajo 21. *Testigos apresentados por el Procurador de la Causa*, fol. 947.

TABLE 7.2 Japanese Brothers who left the Society of Jesus

Name	Year of birth	Place	Admission into the society	Death	Year left
Aleixo	1565		1589	?	1619 Left
André Noma	1583	Gifu	2-2-1607	?	1617 Left 1625 Readmitted
André Machida	1574/75	Kuchinotsu	10-4-1595	?	8-13-1600
André Kusa/Kusano	1570/71	Chikugo	1590	?	3-10-1600 Dismissed
André Vieira	?		1620	7/4/1678	June 1643 Apostasy
Antonio de Hirado	1570	Hirado	January 1589	9/10/1622	1591 Expelled ^a
António Hojin	?		1602	?	?-10-1607 No longer included in the records
António Nishi			1602		February 1613 No longer included in the records
António de Saga	1568	Saga	July 1587	?	1590 Expelled
Balthasar Tsuruda	?		2-2-1607	?	February 1613 No longer included in the records
Christovão Dias (Leitão)	1572		1604	5-21-1636	November 1614 Left
Cosme Takai	1554	Miyako	1573	?	February 1613 Left
Cosme Tomunaga	1565/66?	Nagaye, Ōmura	1584	?	Expelled between January 1593 and February 1600
Diogo Katano	?		1602	?	February 1607 No longer included in the records
Domingos de Hirado	1562/68?	Hirado	August 1586	?	January 1593 Expelled
Fabião Funkan	1565	Yamashiro	August 1586	1621?	1608 Left
Fogin António	?		?	?	October 1603 No longer included in the records

TABLE 7.2 Japanese Brothers who left the Society of Jesus (*cont.*)

Name	Year of birth	Place	Admission into the society	Death	Year left
Francisco Nishi	1570	Shimabara	January 1590	?	1598 Left
Francisco de Hyuga	1567/69?	Hyuga	September 1586	?	October 1607 No longer included in the records
Francisco Makara	1570	Mino	January 1589	?	1-1-1593 No longer included in the records
Gaspar Hoin	?		1602	?	October 1603 No longer included in the records
Ignácio do Kami	1557/61?	Miyako	October 1581	?	1591 Dismissed by Valignano
Ignácio Kato	1573	Amakusa	1602	?	February 1621 Expelled
Jião (Giam) de Hakata	1563/66?	Hakata	June 1586	?	1598 Expelled
Jião Mori/Jião do Kami/ Jião Tsunokuni	1559/63?	Tsunokuni	October 1581? (1580?)	?	October 1607 No longer included in the records
João de Omi	1565	Omi	August 1586	?	1592 Left
João de Takushima	1567/68?– 76?	Hirado, Takushima	1590	?	1-1-1593 No longer included in the records
João (Mancio João)	1578		1607	?	June 1617 Left 1624 Readmitted

TABLE 7.2 Japanese Brothers who left the Society of Jesus (*cont.*)

Name	Year of birth	Place	Admission into the society	Death	Year left
João de Torres	1550	Yamaguchi	1569	?	3-10-1612 Expelled
João Torres/Geronimo de la Cruz/Jerónimo da Cruz/Juan Geronimo de la Cruz/Juan Geronimo Torres/Juan Jerónimo Iyo de la Cruz/Jerónimo Jô/Jom		Bungo	?	9-3-1632	10-21-1614
Jorge Hirata	1563	Omi?, Yamashiro	1586	?	1606 No longer included in the records
Justo Ito	1572		1583?-91?	?	1598 Expelled
Leonardo Horie	1571	Hirado	January 1589	?	1-1-1593 No longer included in the records
Lião Tanabe	1564?-65?	Takatsuki, Settsu	1588	?	1612 No longer included in the records
Lião Tokumari	1559	Takata, Bungo	December 1580	?	1595 Expelled
Lino de Kawachi	1556?		Between 1580 and June 1581	?	1-26-1589 Left
Lino de Hizen	1564	Hizen	September 1586	?	1-26-1589 Left
Luís Same	1568	Tsunokuni	1588	?	1-1-1593 No longer included in the records

TABLE 7.2 Japanese Brothers who left the Society of Jesus (*cont.*)

Name	Year of birth	Place	Admission into the society	Death	Year left
Luís Shiozuka/ da Cruz	1576	Nagasaki	2-2-1607	9-29-1637	August 1615 Expelled
Luís Matsuo/ Matsuryo	1582/85?	Isahaya	2-2-1607	May/August? 1626	1617/18? Expelled
Mâncio Otao	1561/68?	Amakubo, Ōmura	1589	?	January 1593 Expelled
Mathias	1571		10-4-1595	?	October 1603 No longer included in the records
Matias	?		?	?	October 1603 No longer included in the records
Matias de Miyako	1552?	Miyako	1577		1584 Expelled?
Maximo Ikaruga	1570	Kawachi	January 1589	?	October 1603 Expelled
Melchior	1570		1589	?	1591 Expelled
Melchior de Iyo	1561		October 1581	?	1585 Expelled
Melchior de Shiki	1570?	Shiki	1589		1591 Expelled
Miguel Chijiwa	1569/70?		7-25-1591	?	1601 Left
Miguel de Katsusa	1561/63?	Katsusa	December 1580	?	1-1-1593 No longer included in the records
Paulo Kita	1570/71?	Arima	December 1589	?	1591 Expelled by Valignano
Paulo	1557/62?		1585	11-23-1614	1595 Abandoned due to illness
Paulo	1565/68?		January 1589	?	1592 No longer included in the records
Pedro João	?		1602?	?	October 1607 No longer included in the records

TABLE 7.2 Japanese Brothers who left the Society of Jesus (*cont.*)

Name	Year of birth	Place	Admission into the society	Death	Year left
Rafael Shimizu	?		October 1603	?	Left between October 1607 and 15 March 1612
Sebastião de Bungo/ Osai	1568	Bungo	1583	?	1592 Expelled
Simão	1556/57?		1580	?	1588 Left
Simão de Gokinai		Tsunokuni	1581		1589 Left
Simão de Hizen/ Ōmura	1562/65?	Hizen, Ōmura	1582	?	1590 Expelled by Valignano
Simeão de Bungo	1568	Bungo	August 1586	?	Left between October 1607 and 3-12-1612
Simón/Simão Arie	1563	Higo	May 1587	?	1593 No longer included in the records
Tomás/Tomé Ichiji	1578		02-02-1607	?	Left between March 1613 and February 1614
Tomás/Tomé Limura	1563	Kami	August 1586	?	1-1-1593 No longer included in the records
Tomás/Tomé de Hirado	1565	Ikitsuki	1582	?	1-1-1593 No longer included in the records
Tomás	?		?	?	1586 No longer included in the records
Tomás/Tomé Funamoto	1579	Shiki	2-2-1607	?	1621? Left
Tomé Tsuji	1571	Sonogī	January 1589	1627	1620 – Left 1627 – Readmitted

a Died during the martyrdoms after being expelled.

Source: Takashi Gono, *Nihon Kirishitanishi no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002), pp. 364–73; *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 146–80, 200–342, 441–511, 516–616; Costa, “O Cristianismo no Japão e o episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira,” vol. 1, pp. 756–814; ARSI, Jap Sin 18 1, *Memoria de los Sanctos Mártires, que murieron en Nangasaqui desde el mes de septiembre del año de 1632 hasta 22 de Outubro de mill y seys cientos y treinta y tres...*, fol. 220a; ARSI, Jap Sin, 35, fol. 114v; ARSI, Jap Sin, 25, fols. 1–102.

TABLE 7.3 Japanese priests from 1601 to 1631

Name	Birth	Admission into the society	Ordination	Death
1 Sebastião	1565	1584	September 1601	9-10-1622
2 Luís	1564	1586	September 1601	June 1618
3 Mancio	1570?	1591	1608	11-13-1612
4 Martinho	1568?	1591	1698	10-23-1629
5 Julião	1570?	1591	1608	10-21-1633
6 António	1570	January 1589	1610?	9-3-1632
7 Tomás	1572?	January 1589	1610?	9-7-1627
8 Mancio	1573?	October 1595	1613	3-21-1615
9 Martinho	1576?	October 1595	1615	1643?
10 Constantino Dourado	1566?	October 1595	1616	7-3-1620
11 Sixto	1570?	1589	1616	10-9-1633
12 Diogo	1574/75?	October 1595	July 1615?	1636
13 Pedro Casui	1587	November 1620	November 1620	July 1639
14 Miguel	1578	1607	1623	September 1632
15 Miguel	1581?	December 1607	1624	11-30-1627
16 Mathias	1581?	1607	1624/25?	3-13-1634
17 Justo	1567?	January 1590	1624	1629
18 Paulo	1576	February 1607	1624	10-2-1633
19 Miguel Minoyo	1591?	October 1621	1626	5-14-1628
20 Mancio	1600	August 1623	1627	1644
21 Romano	1570?	1590	1631	1639
22 Agostinho	1575	1602	1631?	9-17-1631

Source: Gonoï, *Nihon Kirishitanshi no Kenkyū*, pp. 362–65; Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, p. 671.

reference to this seminary occurred in 1672 when the Spanish Franciscan Juan Martín, coming from Manila, mentioned young Japanese and Cochinchina

Testemunho: Padre Jorge Nunes Apareção pessoalmente o Padre Jorge Nunes religioso sacerdote da Companhia de Jesus Reitor do Seminario dos Japoens desta cidade de idade que disse ser de sessenta annos pouco mais ou menos. RAH, Jesuitas, Legajo 9-7238, Legajo 21. *Testigos apresentados por el Procurador de la Causa*, fol. 950.

students being prepared for the priesthood.⁷⁹ The last priest of Japanese ancestry who studied at the Santo Inácio Seminary was João Pacheco (1668–1725). He was born in Macao on 8 March 1668 and was ordained in 1694.⁸⁰ This reveals to us the fact the seminary was still in operation at the end of the 17th century.

The 1625 Census and the Japanese Origin of the First Macanese

In 1625, a survey of Macao's male inhabitants was carried out. All Macao-born citizens as well as who had settled in the city later are mentioned, as are foreigners who, predominantly of Portuguese origin, lived only temporarily in the city. These Macao-born inhabitants, the fruit of miscegenation of the Portuguese with Japanese, Chinese, Malaysians, Koreans, Indians, to name the most prominent racial and ethnic groups, were called *jurubaças*. Unfortunately, this survey did not include other Asian communities living in the city, so we do not know the number of Chinese or Japanese. The numbers of women, children, and slaves are also unknown.

Regarding housing areas, the population of the city was subdivided into three areas: the Macao area, the Santo António neighborhood, and the São Lourenço district. The Macao area was the most densely inhabited with 329 men, which corresponded to 43 per cent of the city's male population; followed by Santo António with 298 men, corresponding to 39 per cent; and, finally, São Lourenço, with 142 men, corresponding to 18 per cent. The Macao area was primarily inhabited by *jurubaças*, who amounted to 55 per cent (182 men), with the remaining 45 per cent (147) being Portuguese and other Europeans. The Santo António area had 58 per cent of *jurubaças* (172 men) and 42 per cent of Europeans (126 men). Finally, in the São Lourenço district, the opposite situation prevailed, as 60 per cent were European (85 men) and 40 per cent *jurubaças* (57 men).

This unique document in Macao history shows clearly that by 1625 the original European inhabitants were already being gradually replaced by their mixed-race descendants.⁸¹ These Euro-Asian merchants, historically underestimated and ignored, would play two very important roles in Asia. The first was the assimilation of Portuguese nautical technology and strategies and its dissemination throughout Asia. The second consisted of the use of both European-controlled or European-only commercial channels and alternative commercial networks that were outside Europe's influence. The latter were a

79 Teixeira, *Os Japoneses em Macau*, p. 40.

80 Ibid., p. 29.

81 BADE, *Papéis de Dom Francisco Mascarenhas*, Cód. 11 (Cód. CXVI-2-5), fols. 225–232.

product of Asian commercial reorganization after the arrival of Europeans. These merchants were also to play an important role in the distribution system of goods in regions where the European presence was practically nonexistent, boosting those harbors' importance and connecting them to the European commercial system of the State of India.

Prominent Japanese in Macao

Not all Japanese clerics who arrived in Macao abandoned the Society of Jesus. Some of them, besides remaining in Macao, stood out from their peers. For example, in the field of arts, four disciples of the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Niccolò/Giovanni Nicolao/Giovanni Cola (1560–1626) became very famous in Macao. Niccolò became the founder of the Japanese schools of painting in Arima (1601–?) and Nagasaki (1602–13).⁸² With the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Japan, Niccolò traveled to Macao with some of his best followers and continued to paint and teach in the city until his death on 16 March 1626. Among his Japanese disciples were Jacob Niwa/Neva/Nuia/Ni Yi Cheng, Mâncio Taichiku (大竹奧西曼), Pedro Chicuan/Chikuan/Pedro João (奇川佩德羅), Tadeu (田手烏), Mâncio Otao, and Luís Shiozuka (塩塚).

Jacob Niwa was born in Japan in 1579 of a Chinese father and a Japanese mother. He studied painting with Father Niccolò at the Shiki Seminary in Amakusa. In 1601, Niwa was transferred to Macao to be part of the “China Mission.” His talent with painting was recognized by Europeans, who commissioned him to produce various paintings for the Church of São Paulo in Macao. Moreover, one of his paintings, titled *The Virgin with the Child on her Lap*, was offered to the Chinese Emperor by Father Matteo Ricci, S.J. Niwa continued to paint until his death on 26 October 1638; he was buried at the Church of São Paulo.⁸³

Mâncio Taichiku was born in Uto, Higo, in 1574, and was admitted into the Society of Jesus in 1607. During his time with the Jesuits, he specialized in decorating the interior of churches in Japan. He died on 20 January 1615, shortly after being exiled to Macao in 1614. He was buried at the Church of São Paulo.⁸⁴

82 Alexandra Curvelo, “Nagasaki: An European Artistic City in Early Modern Japan,” *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 2 (2001): 28.

83 Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 199. Teixeira, *Os Japoneses em Macau*, p. 16. Curvelo, “Nagasaki,” p. 31.

84 Letter from Celso Confalonero to the Assistant Priest of Portugal in the Society of Jesus in Rome, Macao, 26–12–1616. ARSI, Jap Sin 17, fol. 36. Teixeira, *Os Japoneses em Macau*, p. 16. Michael Cooper, “Early Western-Style Paintings in Japan,” in *Japan and Christianity: Impacts and Responses*, ed. John Breen and Mark Williams (London: Macmillan Press, 1996), p. 37.

Pedro Chicuan was born in Kuchinotsu⁸⁵ and joined the Society of Jesus in 1585. Between 1603 and 1614, he worked in Nagasaki as a painter and choir director for the Jesuits. In addition to these tasks, he was also selected to provide assistance in typography, working with Brother Giovanni Battista Pesce. In November 1614 he left for Manila, and traveled to Macao in 1620,⁸⁶ where he died in 1622.⁸⁷

Another Japanese cleric whose talent in painting stands out was Tadeu, also known as João Ito or João Mâncio. Tadeu was from Usuki and officially joined the Society of Jesus in 1590. In 1603, he was living in Nagasaki, and in 1606 he moved to Kyoto where he lived until 1613. It is very likely that this change of residence was related to the construction of a new church and the need for decoration. In the post-expulsion period, Tadeu was sent to Manila, and returned to Japan in 1618, and from here he traveled to Macao. He worked as painter in this city until he died on 16 November 1627.⁸⁸

Mâncio Otao was born in Amakubo, Ōmura, in 1568, and began his studies in 1581, when he joined the seminary. Otao was officially admitted into the Society of Jesus in 1589.⁸⁹ In the years 1603, 1606, 1607, and 1613, he presumably lived in Nagasaki. His painting skills led him to the position of painter and schoolmaster. In 1620, exiled in Macao, he pursued the same office.⁹⁰

The painter Luís Shiozuka/da Cruz was born in Nagasaki in 1576; he attended the seminary there during 1587 and 1588, where he studied Latin. In spite of his lack of ability for learning this ancient and dead language, his talent for painting and music set him apart from other students. He soon became a “painter, a singer, and a keyboard player.”⁹¹ On 2 February 1607, he was admitted as a brother in the Society of Jesus, despite the opposition of some who accused him of not being spiritually prepared for religious life. In 1614, he was part of the group of clerics sent to Macao. He stayed in the city until August 1615, and from here he left for Manila, after being dismissed by Father Carvalho. He was ordained priest after joining the Order of Saint Francis. He died on 29 September 1637.⁹²

85 *Cartas Ânuaas do Colégio de Macau*, p. 243; *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 208.

86 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 208, 250–51.

87 Teixeira, *Os Japoneses em Macau*, p. 16. Curvelo, “Nagasaki,” p. 30.

88 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 444, 495, 503, 507, 557.

89 *Ibid.*

90 Curvelo, “Nagasaki,” p. 30.

91 Organist?

92 Letter from Mateus de Couros to Superior General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 9-15-1609. ARSI, Jap Sin 35, fol. 114v.

In the printing press field in Macao the Japanese Brother Jorge de Loyola,⁹³ one of the four Japanese ambassadors entourage sent to Rome, stood out. Loyola learned his printing technique in Lisbon, and perfected it during his time in Goa with Giovanni Battista Pesce. In Macao, Loyola helped with printing the book about the Tenshō embassy, *De Missione Legatorum...*⁹⁴ Loyola suddenly died on 16 August 1589, while this book was in the process of being translated into Japanese.⁹⁵

In the field of “Letters,” Constantino Dourado and Martinho Hara stood out. Dourado was an excellent Latinist and Hara was the best translator of the Japanese mission. Let us take a look at their achievements.

The Japanese priest Constantino Dourado/Constantius Douratus (1566–1620) was one of the main notables of the Japanese community in Macao, “devoted to the idea that the Japanese Dojokus should ‘govern themselves (get along)’ with the Europeans,” a fact that was highlighted in his obituary, included in the 1620 *Carta Ânua*.⁹⁶

Born in Isahaya, he was a member of the entourage accompanying the four young Japanese ambassadors to Europe. In 1587, Dourado was in Goa as a copyist at the service of the Visitor Alessandro Valignano. He also provided assistance to the printers. In 1590, he returned to Japan accompanied by Martinho Hara (原 マルチノ) and Julião Nakaura (中浦 ジュリアン) as a *dojuku*.⁹⁷ He officially joined the Society of Jesus on 4 October 1595. In the seminary he stood out for his talent for studying and learning Latin and music. His Latin abilities facilitated his promotion from *dojuku* to priest. In 1603, Dourado took responsibility for teaching Latin to the Japanese *dojokus* who studied at Arima College; he was very successful at this work.⁹⁸ At the same time, remarkably, he fulfilled the positions of scribe and organist at the Society of Jesus. In November 1614, he left Macao and in January 1616 he traveled to Malacca to become an ordained priest. Upon returning to Macao, Dourado was asked to be the Rector of the Macao Seminary (1618), a position he occupied until 23 July 1620, the

93 The Japanese Brother Pedro João dealt with the Japanese characters, while the Italian Brother João Baptista/Giovanni Battista dealt with the European alphabet. ARSI, Jap Sin 25, fol. 23.

94 Duarte de Sande, *De missione legatorvm Iaponensium ad romanam curiam, rebusq; in Europa ac toto itinere animaduersis dialogvs* (Macaensi portu: Domo Societatis Iesu, 1590).

95 Takashi Gonoï, “Relation between Japan and Goa in the 16th and 17th Centuries,” in *Goa and Portugal: Their Cultural Links*, ed. Charles J. Borges (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1997), p. 105.

96 *Carta Ânua de 1620*. BA, Códice 49-V-5, fol. 287.

97 Diego R. Yuuki S.J., *Os quatro legados dos dâimios de Quiuxu após regressarem ao Japão* 日本に帰った少年使節 (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1990), p. 39.

98 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 447, 781.

date of his death. Respected by both Europeans and Japanese, Dourado was a remarkable individual who achieved harmony and peace during his stay in Macao. He was buried at the Church of São Paulo in Macao.⁹⁹

Martinho Hara/do Campo, nobleman of the house of Ōmura, was one of the four young men chosen as ambassadors to Europe. Born in 1568, he was a student at the seminary in Arima. He left for Europe on 20 February 1582 and returned to Japan on 21 July 1590. A few months later he joined the Society of Jesus (25 July 1591), studying for two years in Amakusa. He fulfilled the positions of preacher, diplomat, interpreter, and translator. He became an ordained priest in 1608. From 1611 onwards he was the Provincial Carvalho's official secretary, thus becoming the most important individual among the Japanese clerics. Considered the best interpreter of the Japanese mission, he translated the *Guía de Pecador* and the *Libro de Fide*, both by Friar Luis de Granada. He also translated *Contemptus Mundi*, and worked on the review of the *History of the Church of Japan* by João Rodrigues Tçuzu during the last years of his life.¹⁰⁰ In 1614, he was sent to Macao, where he died on 23 October 1629.

Among the preachers and catechists in Macao other Japanese, such as Luís Naito and André de Amakusa, although not as important as Martinho Hara, stood out. Naito, who was born in in Nose, Tamba, joined the seminary in 1584, and studied there for the next four years, stood out for his deep knowledge about Buddhism. He also developed the important characteristics of preacher and catechist. Only at a very late stage, on 2 February 1607, was he admitted into the Society of Jesus, probably due to his humble origins. Thanks to his exceptional talent, he specialized in teaching the Buddhist doctrine to the brothers and *dojokus*. After the 1614 forced exile, Macao became his host city, and the place where he died on 4 August 1646.¹⁰¹

André de Amakusa, who was sometimes also referred to as André Matsuoka, was born in 1563, and joined the Society in 1582, and was one of the great preachers of the Japanese mission. In November 1614, he left for Manila, returning to Japan two years later. In 1618 he traveled to Macao. He lived for eight more years there and died on 21 February 1626.¹⁰²

Dourado was not the only person who managed to become an extremely important Japanese "Latinist" in Macao. The other was Matias Machida, born in 1581 in Kuchinotsu. Machida joined the Japanese mission at a later stage, being admitted into the Society of Jesus only in 1607. Initially, he studied Latin

99 Yuuki, *Os quatro legados dos dáimios de Quiuxu após regressarem ao Japão*, p. 39. Gonoï, "Relation between Japan and Goa in the 16th and 17th Centuries," p. 105.

100 Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão e o episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira," vol. 1, p. 791.

101 *Ibid.*, p. 788.

102 *Anua Macaensis 1607*. ARSI, Jap Sin 46, fols. 327–327v.

for approximately seven years. He remained in hiding in Japan after November 1614, and only left for Macao in March 1615. Between 1624 and 1625, he was ordained as a priest, and fulfilled this office until his death on 13 March 1633.¹⁰³

The array of Japanese priests, brothers, and *dojokus* in Macao was very important not only for the city, but also as a base of support for the diaspora of Japanese Christians in Southeast Asia. An example of a leading member of diaspora was the Luso-Japanese Pedro Marques,¹⁰⁴ who was born in Nagasaki in 1612 and died in Hainan between 1670 and 1673.¹⁰⁵ In 1622, he traveled to Macao, and in 1631 he officially joined the Society of Jesus. In 1644, he traveled to India, being ordained priest in 1647. In 1650, he returned from Macao and prepared to support the Japanese mission in Cochinchina. In 1652, he departed for the Japanese mission in Cochinchina, and in 1662 he was appointed superior of this mission. After returning to Macao, he also became the deputy rector of the Jesuit college there between 1667 and 1669.¹⁰⁶

Additionally, many other minor Japanese clerics lived in Macao. They are introduced in Table 7.1.

Japanese Lay Christians in Macao

As well as the religious presence, there were many Japanese lay Christians who lived in Macao during the 17th century. They arrived annually in the city from 1614 until 1636.

Although the flow of exiled persons was continuous during the first half of the 17th century, it can be divided into three important stages.

- The first stage was in 1614 with the expulsion of Society of Jesus clerics from Japan.
- The second stage occurred in 1623–24, when all Portuguese with a Japanese spouse were expelled from Japan; they were only allowed to take their

103 Costa, “O Cristianismo no Japão e o episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira,” vol. 1, p. 793.

104 He was the son of the Portuguese Vicente Marques and a Japanese noblewoman named Sabina Ogá (niece of Bungo *daimyo*, Otomo Yushimune). He had a brother named Francisco Marques, who also joined the Society of Jesus.

105 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 1049, 1229.

106 Pedro Marques wrote in Macao on 7 October 1644: *Relação dos Martyres de Japão, do anno de 1643*, na qual se incluem duas relações, sendo a primeira uma *Relação breve do gloriozo martírio que o Padre António Rubino da Companhia de JESU, Vizitador da Província de Japão e China, padeceu em Nangasaqui, cidade do reyno de Japão, com mais quatro Padres da mesma Companhia e quatro pessoas seculares em Março de 1643* e a segunda uma *Relação da viagem do Padre Pero Márquez, Provincial de Japão, e mais companheiros: de sua chegada e prisão naquelle reyno o anno de 1643*. ARSI, Jap Sin 29 II, fols. 264–294 and 295–328.

TABLE 7.4 Clerics of Japanese origin in Macao

Name	Year	Place of origin	Admission into the society	Office	Arrival in Macao	Death
Agostinho Mizoguchi	1568	Ōmura	1588	Brother, Preacher	1601	Macao, May 1604
Agostinho Uota/Vota	1575	Urakami, Higen	1610	Brother, Preacher	1614	
André Amakusa	1563	Amakusa	1581	Brother, Preacher	1614	
André Vieira Japam ^a				Brother		
André Kusano	1571	Chiqungo	1571			
Andre Noma	1583	Guifu	1607	Brother, Teacher of Japanese literature at Macao College	1614	
António Hixinda						
António Rodrigues				Novice		
Bartolomeu da Costa				Brother		
Bartolomeu Rioxy/Rioxei	1570	Bungo	1595	Brother, Preacher	1614	
Cristóvão Hagiwara	1572	Bungo	Marco, 1604	Brother, Preacher, Bookkeeper	1614	Macao, 21-03-1636
Cristóvão Lestão? Japan ^b	1572	Bungo	1603	Brother	1614	
Diogo Hiuqui/Yuki/Yuqui	1575	Ava, Xicocu	1595	Priest	1614	Ōmura, 25-02-1636
Diogo Shibata	1564	Notsu, Bungo	March 1602?	Brother, Preacher	1614	Macao, 14-09-1618
Diogo/Diego Chindo ^c		Ariye		<i>Dojuku</i> , Novice (in prison)	1614	Nagasaki, 16-10- 1633?
Dinis Yamamoto ^d		Hiroshima		<i>Dojuku</i>	1614	1633
Donato João Somvn				Brother		10-12- 1702 ^e

TABLE 7.4 Clerics of Japanese origin in Macao (*cont.*)

Name	Year	Place of origin	Admission into the society	Office	Arrival in Macao	Death
Fancan Leão	1537	Shimo	1579	Brother, Preacher/ Physician	1614	Macao, 1627
Gaspar Barbosa	1565	Fasami,	1582	Brother	1614	Japan, 1629
Sadamatçu?/Sungui? ^f		Ōmura				
João Mâncio	1578	Ariye, Tacacu	1614	Brother, Preacher		
João Pacheco	3-8- 1668	Macao (Japanese parents)		Priest (1694)		4-4-1725
João Yama	1566	Tsunokuni	1587	Brother, Preacher	1614	
Jorge Tonno	1575	Conga, Arima	1603	Brother, Preacher	1614	
Jorge Ruam ^g				Brother		
Joseph Japão/Olim Eitor	1568	Hiuga	1590	Brother, Preacher	1614	
Julião Piani ^h				Dojuku		
Julião Nacaura	1567	Nakaura, Ōmura	1591	Priest	1614 ²ⁱ	
Júlio Conga	1568	Conga, Arima	1587	Brother, Preacher	1614	
Justo Casareya/Kazariya aka Justo Yamada/Yamanda	1570	Nagasaki	1587	Brother, Preacher	1614	
Leão Fanca/Fanka/Fancam	1538	Shimo	1580	Brother, Preacher	1614	
Lino				Dojuku		
Lourenço de Omachi	1573	Miye, Takaku	1602	Brother, Preacher	?	Macao, 6-11-1620
Luis				Dojuku		
Luis Mateuvo/Matçuo	1582	Isafai, Figem	1607	Brother, Preacher		

TABLE 7.4 Clerics of Japanese origin in Macao (*cont.*)

Name	Year	Place of origin	Admission into the society	Office	Arrival in Macao	Death
Luís Naito	1571	Tamba	1602	Brother, Preacher	1614	
Luís Niabara/Matsubara	1566	Hirado	1586	Priest (1601)	1614	Macao, 1618
Lourenço Japão				Student ^j		Macao 25-10-1652
Mâncio ^k Quiyu	1581		1612	Brother, Preacher	1614	1620
Mâncio Fayaxida/ Hayashida Mâncio Micuchi/ Mizuguchi?						Died February 1615
Martinho Xiquimi	1576	Arima	1595	Brother, Preacher		
Matias Machida	1581	Kuchinotsu	1607	Priest (1624/25)	1614	Macao, 13-03-1633
Miguel Matsuda/Miguel Pinheda	1577	Shiki	February 1607	Priest (1621)	March 1623	Japan, 1632
Miguel Maqui/Maki	1581	Takatsuki	1607	Priest (1623/24)	1617	Macao, 30-11-1627
Miguel Moriyama	1570	Nagasaki?/ Chijiwa	1585	Brother, Schoolmaster, In charge of wardrobe	1614	Macao, 30-07-1623
Miguel Xucan						
Nicolau Qoian/Qeian/ Keyan Soucounanga	1569/ 70	Omi	1588	Brother, Preacher	1614	Nagasaki, 31-07-1633
Paulo Saito	1576	Tamba	1607	Brother, Preacher	1614	Japan, ?-11-1633
Pedro Kasui	1587	Urube, Bungo		Priest (15 11/1620)	1614	Tokyo, 1639
Pedro da Cruz	1602					Macao, 1652

TABLE 7.4 Clerics of Japanese origin in Macao (*cont.*)

Name	Year	Place of origin	Admission into the society	Office	Arrival in Macao	Death
Romão de Bungo	1552/53	Bungo	1586/87	Brother, Preacher	1614	Macao, 1626
Romão Nishi/Nixo	1569	Arima	1580	Priest, Translator (162?)	1614	Cambodia, 1639
Romão Tamura/Matawara/Matsuoka	1553	Bungo	1583	Brother, Preacher	1620	Macao, 31-01-1627
Ruam Jorge ¹	1598		1622	Brother		
Sixto Tocououn	1570	Lyo	1589	Priest	1614	Nagasaki, 10-10-1633
Tadeu	1568	Usuqui	1590	Painter	1614	
Thoma/Tomé Funamoto	1579	Xiqui	1607	Brother, Latin Master at the College of Macao Seminary	1614	
Thomas de Angelis	1582	Fingo		Priest	1626 ^m	
Thomas Nichisori		Iyo		<i>Dojoku</i> , Catechist, Preacher. Was admitted into the Society of Jesus as a brother, while in prison.	1614?	Nagasaki, 22-7-1633
Thomas Tzouji		Ōmura	1589	Priest	1614	Nagasaki, 9-6-1626
Pero Marques/Marquez	1612	Portuguese father and Japanese mother	1631	Priest	1622	Hainão, 1670/73
Bartolomeu da Costa	1628/29	Macao (Japanese parents)	1651	Priest		1695
Inácio Saga	1631	Macao (Japanese parents)	1652	Priest		1688

TABLE 7.4 Clerics of Japanese origin in Macao (*cont.*)

Name	Year	Place of origin	Admission into the society	Office	Arrival in Macao	Death
António Rodrigues	1634	Macao (Japanese parents)	1654	Priest		
João Pacheco	3-8-1668	Macao (Japanese parents)	1694	Priest		4-4-1725

a List of 1636.

b List of 1636.

c He was the son of the martyr Adrião/Adrian (d. 1614).

d Partner of Father João da Costa.

e In the college. Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, vol. III, p. 225.

f The lists do not clarify who Gaspar Barbosa is.

f List of 1636.

h Traveled to Tun Kim with Father Giuliano Baldinotti S.J. Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. I, p. 792.

i The 1615 February and March list says he stayed in Japan. *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 600.

j He died very young: *Falleceo hum menino chamado Lourenço Japão. Siminarista*. Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, vol. III, p. 217.

k He does not appear in any other list and is only cited in the 1620 annual letter (Macao).

l 1636 list.

m He was present at the 1626 murder of Pacheco. He must have traveled to Japan after this date. On 16 June 1632, he was one of the witnesses in the inquiry into the 1615–22 martyrdom. Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. I, p. 779; vol. II, p. 381.

Source: ARSI, Jap Sin 25, fols. 65, 65v, 80v, 81, 105v, 109v, 116v–118v, 141v, 147v; Jap Sin 26, fols. 40, 41; Jap Sin 71, fols. 375, 384, 385, 395v, 411v; Madalena Ribeiro, “The Japanese Diaspora in the Seventeenth Century according to Jesuit Sources,” *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 3 (2011): 63; *Cartas Anuais do Colégio de Macau*, ed. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, trans. Ana Fernandes Pinto (Macao: Comissão Territorial de Macau para as Comemorações dos Descobr. Port., 1999), pp. 182, 264, 265; Costa, “O Cristianismo no Japão e o episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira,” vol. I, pp. 757, 770, 772, 780–88, 793, 796, 806; ARSI, Jap Sin, 46, fols. 327–327v; Manuel Teixeira, *Os Japoneses em Macau* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau/Comissão Territorial para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1993), pp. 29, 42; Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese: As Ordens e Congregações Religiosas em Macau* (Macao: Tipografia Soi Sang: 1956–61), pp. 211–26; *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, pp. 582–609; Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. I, pp. 610, 666, 779, 785, 786, 787, 791, 792, 794, 816; vol. II, p. 381.

personal belongings with them. Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans associated with these Portuguese were also exiled to Macao.

- The third stage took place in 1636, when 287 people were sent to Macao.¹⁰⁷

The Jesuit Nicolau da Costa's Macanese annual letter states that between 1614 and 1616, many Japanese Christian women died in the first two years because of "the inability of the climate change, food, and its people treatment," and in another passage that "all these women will seek our help and that of the House of Mercy of Macao to give them alms and food."¹⁰⁸

The first victim reported by Costa was the Japanese Christian Gracia, who died two months after her arrival in Macao. Gracia must have reached an advanced age, since, referring to her last illness, the Jesuit says that "she survived at the beginning of the persecution," or rather, since 1587.¹⁰⁹

Another victim was a 29-year-old girl from Kyoto who had lost her father when she was 3. She traveled to Macao with her mother.¹¹⁰

However, the main loss to the Japanese female community would be that of Maria, also from Kyoto, who was the "head of all the others," or leader of the community, and who dedicated herself to the conversion of Japanese women to Christianity. Maria's funeral was attended by the main citizens of the city of Macao, and she was buried with all honors at the Church of São Paulo.¹¹¹

In this period noble Christians, such as Takayama Ukon's mother-in-law and sister, also came to Macao. Ukon was commonly referred to as D. Justo in Jesuit letters,¹¹² and relatives received special treatment from the Misericórdia of Macao.¹¹³

In 1618, 40 Japanese were baptized in Macao.¹¹⁴ These Japanese actively participated in public events in Macao. For example, a very special procession was organized in Macao during the beatification of Saint Francis Xavier in 1621. The Japanese community in the city was part of this event. First, the opening session of the procession started with a Japanese man in traditional clothing, symbolizing Japan and showing appreciation for Xavier bringing of

107 Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, p. 817; Teixeira, *Os Japoneses em Macau*, p. 29.

108 *Cartas Ânuas do Colégio de Macau*, p. 146.

109 Ibid.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid., p. 147.

112 Ibid., pp. 146, 147.

113 Ibid., p. 147.

114 Ibid., p. 185.

Christianity to the Far East, followed by traditional Japanese theatrical performances and dances commemorating this event.¹¹⁵

This peaceful scenario in Macao was again disturbed in 1623 by political events in Nagasaki. In that year, an expulsion order was issued against all Portuguese and Spanish living in Nagasaki. Along with them, Indians (probably servants of the Portuguese) were also expelled. A ban on the use of European clothing was also introduced. This was yet another attempt to identify the missionaries hiding in the region who, as they did not wear Japanese clothing, could be easily recognized. This expulsion did not include Japanese women who were married to or mistresses of foreigners. They remained in Japan with their mixed-race children.¹¹⁶ The following year, 1624, the expulsion order was enhanced, as Japanese soldiers invaded the houses inhabited by Europeans in Nagasaki and noted their names, as well as those of the Koreans, Chinese, and Japanese who dressed in European fashion, ordering them to leave Japan on a specific date. On the set expulsion day, this group embarked for Macao and Manila; the authorities made sure that they did not bring any Japanese women or slaves/servants with them.¹¹⁷

At this time, along with the secret network of missionaries, Nagasaki housed an important network of spies and informers who continually reported on the Christian practices of its inhabitants to the Japanese authorities. To tackle this situation, a new law was instituted: inhabitants were obliged to register the temple, sect, and monk to which they belonged. After this measure, a large number of Christians, even those who had publicly renounced Christianity, sold their properties and left Japan.¹¹⁸ The historian Léon Pagès presents an interesting translation by Father Araki of a surviving copy of a letter written by Luis Yakichi, which had been seized by the Japanese authorities. The focus of this letter, among other things, is on 30 Japanese Christians from four families. These victims of persecution were stripped of their belongings and expelled from their homes completely naked during the winter, and then persecuted as fugitives for some time, until they were able to leave Japan.¹¹⁹

In 1627, five more Japanese Christian soldiers and their families were exiled to Macao, a total of 15 to 20 people.¹²⁰ Finally, in 1636, the last of the Japanese

115 Ibid., p. 240.

116 Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, p. 546.

117 Ibid., p. 587. Charlevoix, *Histoire et Description du Japon*, pp. 244–45.

118 Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, p. 560.

119 Ibid., pp. 542–43.

120 This information can be found in: *Relación de Fe. Diego de San Francisco*, transcribed by Lorenzo Pérez. Pérez, “Relación de la persecución del cristianismo en el Japón,” p. 535.

exiles arrived, a total of 287 people.¹²¹ The leaders of this community were the Japanese Mâncio Sugimoto, Francisco Terawachi, Paulo Kozaki Shirobyoe, Luís Sanga, Mâncio Yofenji, André Kozaemon, and Bartholomeo Kamachi, who were often called by the Society of Jesus to testify about the martyrdom in Japan. During the inquiries, all of them showed a deep knowledge of the “clandestine Christian network” because they had witnessed firsthand many of the martyrdoms.¹²² Referring to all of them (with the exception of Mâncio Sugimoto), Father Pedro Morejón said they are of noble origin.¹²³ Besides these leaders, there were countless Japanese Christians who, as exiles, would have difficulty surviving professionally in the city. For this reason, a position in the Misericórdia was created with the aim of assisting such Japanese. Father Vicente Ribeiro S.J. was chosen for this role. This priest had been born in Lisbon in 1577 and entered the Society of Jesus in 1595. He had academic degrees in Philosophy and Theology. In China, Ribeiro had been Superior at the Macao Seminary for two years and also a professor at Macao’s Jesuit College. He was also one of the few Europeans who spoke Japanese perfectly. Later on, Ribeiro became one of Father Alessandro Valignano’s closest and most trusted assistants.¹²⁴ His appointment to the position of assistant to the exiled Japanese was well considered; he was a well-known and respected notable among Japanese Christians.

Although there is no mention of this role in the Jesuit documents regarding the mission in Macao, its existence is confirmed in the will of the Japanese merchant Damião de Lima, written in Macao on 25 October 1642. In this, two mentions are made of the “poor Japanese exiles,” the first was a donation of 250 *patacas*, to be delivered and distributed by Father Vicente, and the second stated that the exiled Japanese community were designated de Lima’s sole heirs, being assigned all his remaining wealth.¹²⁵

The impact of this group of Japanese on Macanese society is unknown, but it is clear that while some remained and were integrated into the city, other groups saw Macao only as a transitory place, establishing themselves later in other areas of Southeast Asia. This dispersion was analyzed by Isabel Mourão, who constructed a social and religious map of the Portuguese and Japanese

121 Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. 1, p. 817; Teixeira, *Os Japoneses em Macau*, p. 29.

122 RAH, Jesuitas, Legajo 9-7238, Legajo 21, fols. 861–861v, 862, 867v, 873v, 923.

123 RAH, Jesuitas, Legajo 9-7238, Legajo 21, fol. 923.

124 ARS1, Jap Sin 25, fol. 135.

125 RAH, Jesuitas Legajo 9-7238; Legajo 21. *Testamento de Damian de Lima. De Macau aos 25 de Outubro de 1642 annos*, fols. 969–970.

TABLE 7.5 Lay Japanese in Macao

Name	Year of birth	Place of origin	Biographical notes	Arrival in Macao	Death
Gracia		Ōmura		1614	February 1615
Young mother		Kyoto	This young woman lost her father when she was 3. He had been a great benefactor of the Society of Jesus. She arrived at Macao with her mother.	1614	1615
Maria		Kyoto	Head of the Japanese women. Well respected. A Christian preacher among women in Japan.	1614	1615
Takayama Ukon's sister			Helped by the Society of Jesus and the Macao House of Mercy during her exile in Macao.	1614	
Takayama Ukon's mother-in-law			Helped by the Society of Jesus and the Macao House of Mercy during her exile in Macao.	1614	
João	1599		Adopted by the Japanese priest Thomas Tzouji. After spending some time in Macao, he returned to Japan in disguise. He was captured 21 July 1626.	1614	9-6-1626
Francisco Fernández	1583		In 1623, he participated in an inquiry on Diego Collado, O.P. He lived in Macao and was 40 years old.	Before 1623	
Luis Faya da Costa	1597		In 1623, he participated in an inquiry on Diego Collado, O.P. He lived in Macao and was 26 years old.	Before 1623	
Inês Correa and her daughter			Inês was a Christian widow. In Japan, she had sheltered the priests Apollinaire Franco, Castellet, and Spinola. The body of the priest Flores, murdered in 1622, was given to her by the Japanese André	1624	

TABLE 7.5 Lay Japanese in Macao (*cont.*)

Name	Year of birth	Place of origin	Biographical notes	Arrival in Macao	Death
Manuel Saito			Tomonanga. She took the body with her when she fled to Macao in 1624, and gave it to the Dominicans. On 16 June 1632, she participated in the inquiry into the 1615–22 martyrs of Japan in Macao. She also traveled to Manila with her daughter.		
Mâncio, aka Sugimoto Mansho ^a	1583	Kawachi	Was present at Pacheco's murder (1626). Probably traveled to Macao after that date as he was living in that city in 1632. Referred to as "exiled by faith" in a list of testimonies on Japanese Christians. In 1632, he participated in an inquiry into the martyrs of Japan.	1628	
Francisco Terawachi	1597	Changora/ Chugoku	Was present at Pacheco's murder (1626). Referred to as "exiled by faith" in a list of testimonies on Japanese Christians. He presented his testimony in Macao to Father Morejón (16/1/1632). According to Morejón, Terawachi was of noble origin.	1627?	
Father of Francisco Terawachi			Francisco Terawachi said he traveled with his parents to Macao. By 1632, his father had already died (in Macao), his mother was still alive.	1627?	
Mother of Francisco Terawachi			Francisco Terawachi said he traveled with his parents to Macao. By 1632, his father had already died (in Macao), his mother was still alive.	1627?	

TABLE 7.5 Lay Japanese in Macao (*cont.*)

Name	Year of birth	Place of origin	Biographical notes	Arrival in Macao	Death
André Tanaka aka Tanaka André Han ^b	1565	Nagauara? Nagasaki?	Was present at Pacheco's murder (1626). Referred to as "exiled by faith" in a list of testimonies on Japanese Christians. He was baptized as an adult, at the age of 36.	1627?	
Paulo Cozaqi/ Kozaki Xirobioye/ Shitobyoe			He presented his testimony in Macao to Father Morejón (16-1-1632). He was one of the representatives of the Japanese community exiled in Macao. According to Father Morejón, he was of noble origin.	1631	
Luís Sanga			He presented his testimony in Macao to Father Morejón (16-1-1632). He was one of the representatives of the Japanese community exiled in Macao. According to Father Morejón, he was of noble origin.	1632	
Mancio Yofenji			He presented his testimony in Macao to Father Morejón (16-1-1632). He was one of the representatives of the Japanese community exiled in Macao. According to Father Morejón, he was of noble origin.	1632	
André Cozayemon/ Kozaemon			He presented his testimony in Macao to Father Morejón (16-1-1632). He was one of the representatives of the Japanese community exiled in Macao. According to Father Morejón, he was of noble origin.	1632	
Bartholomeo Camachi			He presented his testimony in Macao to Father Morejón (16/1/1632). He was one of the representatives of the Japanese community exiled in Macao. According to Father Morejón, he was of noble origin.	1632	

TABLE 7.5 Lay Japanese in Macao (*cont.*)

Name	Year of birth	Place of origin	Biographical notes	Arrival in Macao	Death
Beatriz da Costa and her daughter Maria			She had a Portuguese father and a Japanese mother. ^c She was married to the Portuguese captain António da Silva, also known as António of “Madre de Deus.”	1634	
Manuel	1605		Manuel was one of the members of Macao’s mission to Japan during which 61 people were martyred. A list of mission members mentions the 35-year-old Japanese. ^d		1640
Damian de Lima			Was born in Japan and traveled to Europe. Returned to Macao and died in 1642.		1642
Salvador? Catarina Japoa			Damian de Lima’s servant. Married to the Japanese Sanzoymon Bertholomeu. She received 20 <i>patacas</i> from the Japanese merchant Damian de Lima in 1642.		
Sanzoymon? Bertholomeu ^e			Married to Catarina Japoa.		
Isabel Regouta/ Reigota			Married to the Portuguese Francisco Rombo de Carvalho. Distinguished member of the Society of Jesus.		21-01-1697
Toba Maria Bicuni Regina Pereira					9-4-1648
Catarina Correia			Daughter of exiled Japanese parents in Macao.		1726
Gaspar Barbosa’s mother Gaspar Barbosa Maria Dias					?-11-1649
Tomásia/Thomasia da Costa			Bartolomeu da Costa’s mother.		07-10-1652
Bartolomeu da Costa			Son of Tomásia da Costa.		
Marta Songua/ Songua					10-04-1654

TABLE 7.5 Lay Japanese in Macao (*cont.*)

Name	Year of birth	Place of origin	Biographical notes	Arrival in Macao	Death
João Quio			Lived in Macao. Brought news of the death of Cristóvão Ferreira S.J., saying that he was tortured in Japan.	Before 1555	
Maria Fernandez			Doctor Xivon Dono's aunt.		10-03-1655
Xivon Dono			Doctor, Maria Fernandes's nephew.		
Mother of the novice					10-08-1655
António Rodrigues					
André Guzaki/ Gusaki			Shizube/Xizube Dono's son.		19-06-1658
Shizube Dono			André Guzaki's father.		
Paulo Xerobe Dono			Married to the Japanese Isabel Jozze.		05-10-1670
Isabel Jozze			Married to Paulo Xerobe Dono.		10-01-1685
Mónica Jozze					
Mónica Pires			Jerónima Perez's sister.		17-01-1687
Jerónima Perez			Mónica Pires's sister.		
Leonarda da Fonseca					15-09-1688
Maria Fernandes 1					17-02-1698
Ana da Costa					09-12-1698
Maria Fernandes 2					16-03-1703
Catherina Correia					18-09-1726

- a He signed in Japanese after presenting his testimony on the "Martyrdom in Japan." RAH, Jesuitas, Legajo 9-7238, Legajo 21, fols. 861–861v.
- b He signed in Portuguese and Japanese after presenting his testimony on the "Martyrdom in Japan." RAH, Jesuitas, Legajo 9-7238, Legajo 21, fol. 873 v.
- c ARSI, Jap Sin 18 I, fols. 218a–218av.
- d ARSI, Jap Sin 25, fol. 143.
- e His name was half-erased. RAH, Jesuitas Legajo 9-7238; Legajo 21. *Testamento de Damian de Lima. De Macau aos 25 de Outubro de 1642 annos*, fol. 969.

Source: Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. I, pp. 504, 505, 549, 675, 769, 779, 817; vol. II, p. 381. Teixeira, *Os Japoneses em Macao*, p. 29; Teixeira, *Macao e a sua Diocese*, vol. III, pp. 211–26; *Cartas Ânuaes do Colégio de Macau*, pp. 146, 147, 185; ARSI, Jap Sin 18 I, fol. 218a–218av; Jap Sin 25, fol. 143; RAH, Jesuitas, Legajo 9-7238, Legajo 21, fols. 662–663v, 805v, 812v, 858–861, 862–867, 867v–867v, 872–873, 923, 969–970v; Jesuitas, Legajo 22, fols. 166–176v, 191v, 512–513v.

communities in Vietnam and Tun Ki,¹²⁶ as well as by Seiichi Iwao's classic research on the Japanese community in Batavia. Iwao studied 32 wills of Japanese living in Batavia: the first belonging to Maria, from Tahira, Hirado, dated 12 November 1626, and the last belonging to Jeronima Marino Haru, dated 20 March 1697. He discovered an important relationship between Japan, Macao, and Manila, as many of the documents left provisions for relatives and friends living in these regions.¹²⁷

In Search of the Japanese Quarter in Macao

In the late 16th century and during the 17th, in various port cities throughout Southeast Asia, innumerable Japanese quarters emerged. They were composed mostly of Christian communities fleeing or exiled from Japan due to religious persecution. These districts were built near other communities with whom the Japanese had important commercial relations, as was the case with the Chinese and Portuguese Diaspora communities.¹²⁸ It should also be mentioned that the geographical boundaries of these communities were drawn up by the local authorities to control the flow of foreigners and their commercial activities. The case of Macao was an exception to this model. Due to Chinese prohibitions, Portuguese authorities in Macao would never establish a Japanese district during the 16th century. When the first great unexpected flow of Japanese Christian emigrants occurred in 1614, they were partially assimilated in the Macao, Santo António, and São Lourenço areas. The remainder used Macao as a port of passage for several regions of Southeast Asia, the most important being Toquim and Cochinchina.

In 1623–24 and 1636, the further unexpected arrival of many Japanese to Macao caused this area to be moved.¹²⁹ Although we do not know exact spot where they lived,¹³⁰ it is very likely that one of the districts was a place called 豆醬里 / 豆醬圍 / Misso Alley. *Misso* is a traditional ingredient in Japanese cuisine, made of fermented rice, barley, and soy with salt, resulting in a paste used mainly to make *miso* soup or *missoshiru* (味噌汁, *misoshiru*). This hidden area of Macao, with roots in the 16th century, is close to the Fortaleza do Monte, one

126 Isabel Augusta Tavares Mourão, *Portugueses em terras do Dai-Viêt (Cochinchina e Tun Kim): 1615–1660* (Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente, 2005).

127 Seiichi Iwao, "Japanese Emigrants in Batavia during the 17th Century," *Acta Asiatica* 18 (1970): 14.

128 Mourão, *Portugueses em terras do Dai-Viêt*. Oka, "Trade Consigned to Portuguese in Ayutthaya," pp. 25–41.

129 Tang, *Setting Off from Macau*, p. 98.

130 Manuel Teixeira says they lived in houses abandoned by the Portuguese (based on the studies of Montalto and Jarric). Teixeira, *Macao e a sua Diocese*, vol. 111, p. 227.

of the main fortresses of the city. Its construction dates back to 1603, when clerics from the Society of Jesus built a fence to protect Macao. Completed in 1606, this structure was entirely built by Japanese, so that the Chinese authorities would not realize a defensive structure was being erected and intervene.¹³¹ After four centuries, the initial structure of the fortress, typically Japanese, clearly differed from later building work on the fortress itself.¹³² This first defense attempt would be replaced by a second fortress that integrated the College and the Church of São Paulo, constructed between 1617 and 1626. The location of “Misso alley” near this fortress makes perfect sense, since in the second half of the 17th century the Japanese would play an important military role in the defense of important commercial warehouses controlled by the Portuguese in Daman, Kochi, Goa, and Malacca. Naturally, Macao was not an exception.

Today, the most obvious signs of Japanese presence in Macao can be found on the main façade of São Paulo’s ruins and the adjacent museum. The granite façade was carved by Japanese and Chinese craftsmen under the guidance of the Italian missionary Carlo Spinola, S.J. On it, among the different images, we are able to identify Japanese chrysanthemums. In the Museum of Sacred Art and Crypt, inside São Paulo’s ruins, we are also able to find traces of their presence.

Conclusions

In short, although we do not know the exact numbers making up Macao’s Japanese community, as such a community was considered illegal and forbidden by Chinese authorities, the documents I have gathered here demonstrate that it was very important in building Macanese society. They reveal the three main ethnic contributions to Macao’s first community: Portuguese, Chinese, and Japanese. A Japanese presence can be found in almost all professional sectors, except for leadership positions. This reveals the importance of the Japanese community in Macao; it also bears witness to a consolidated social integration.

It is also possible to identify several migratory flows to this city, which were directly related to commercial and evangelization trends. The Japanese presence can also be subdivided into two parts: the first was seasonal, living half of the year in Macao and the other half in Japan; and the second made up of resident Japanese.

131 Montalto de Jesus, *Macau Histórico*, p. 75; Teixeira, *Os Japoneses em Macau*, p. 46.

132 This discovery was recently made by Professor Hiroshi Mitani 三谷博, who identified that Japanese building characteristics were used in an original part of the fortress.

TABLE 7.6 Macao's population

Year	Population
1560	500–600 Portuguese
1564	300 Portuguese
1563	800–900 Portuguese 900 Portuguese + Many Christians + 1000 slaves + 450 slave women “sent to India, very expensive” + 200 slave women “experts in the art of love”
1564	600–700 Portuguese + Mixed people (servants and <i>jurubaças</i> ^a) 800 Portuguese
1568/69	5000–6000 Christians
c.1577	2000 householders
1578	10,000 people of various races and creeds
1582	500 householders 2000 people (Portuguese, Christians of mixed ancestry (Euro-Asians)) + Chinese
1584	200–300 Portuguese 3000 slaves and Chinese (Christians)
1601	600 married Portuguese householders + merchants
1610	2000–3000 Japanese sold in Macao
1613	5000–6000 Japanese and black slaves sold in Macao
1619	300 householders ^b
1621	700–800 Portuguese 10,000 Chinese
1624	840 married householders (437 Portuguese and mixed race (Eurasians))
1625	358 European Portuguese 411 <i>jurubaças</i> 75 foreigners (mainly Portuguese settled in other places)

TABLE 7.6 Macao's population (*cont.*)

Year	Population
1630	850 married Portuguese householders 850 Chinese (married and Christian) 150 single or married Europeans+ 150 soldiers 5000 slaves
1635	600 Portuguese married men who were heads of households
1635	Portuguese households with an average of six slaves "capable of bearing arms"
1639	600 Portuguese married householders 600 sons of these Portuguese 500 Married and single householders from Macao 5000 slaves 20,000 Chinese
1644	2000 Portuguese and families 40,000 Chinese and slaves
1646	850 married Portuguese and sons + 150 sailors, pilots, <i>mestres</i> (those married in Portugal and those unmarried) + Merchants (unmarried) + Every Portuguese had approximately six slaves for military purposes (the best slaves are <i>kaffirs</i>) 850 <i>jurubaças</i> (natives and Chinese Christians) and those from other nations

a According to the author of the letter, "People who can speak Portuguese and Chinese."

b Spanish source.

Source: Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, "População de Macau," in *Ditema: Dicionário Temático* (Macao: Universidade de Macau, 2011), vol. IV, pp. 1204–24; Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, "População e Sistema Demográfico em Macau (Séculos XVI–XVIII)," *Revista de Cultura, Edição Internacional* 33 (2010): 75–98; Tang, *Setting Off from Macau*, p. 94; Beatriz Basto Silva, *Cronologia da História de Macau* (1992/97; Macao: Livros do Oriente, 2015), vol. 1; Charles Boxer, "Macao as a Religious and Commercial Entrepôt in the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Acta Asiatica* 26 (1974): 64–67; Document no. 87 in *Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, ed. N. Murakami (n.p., n.d.), vol. II, p. 131; BADE, Papéis de Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, Cód. 11 (Cód. CXVI-2-5), fols. 225–232.

The Philippines

The Importance of the Japanese Community in Manila

The earliest Japanese communities in the Philippines at the time of Spanish colonization can be identified as living in the Cagayan region, in the early 1580s.¹³³ According to Governor Gonzallo de Ronquillo, in the years 1580 and 1581, some ships manned by Japanese corsairs (*cossarios del Japón*) arrived in Japan, and in 1582, Ronquillo received information that a contingent of ten such ships were preparing to travel to the Philippines.^{134, 135} To prevent their arrival, Ronquillo sent an armada to fight them, headed by Captain Juan Pablo de Carrión. This was the first confrontation between the Japanese and the Spanish. Carrión, at the entrance to the Cagayan River, was forced to fight some Chinese boats and a Japanese vessel that was in the area. According to Spanish sources, several of the boats were *sampans*¹³⁶ (三板 (*sam pan*)),¹³⁷ and Carrión killed the leader, his son, and 200 more Japanese men. Carrión's settlement in the region and a request that the Japanese be expelled caused a rebellion involving 600 Japanese men, which ended with the latter being defeated.¹³⁸ The Japanese then vanished from this area until a new commercial ship, owned by an Ōmura merchant, visited the region. The Japanese then returned to the Philippines until 1600.

Lingayen was another region frequented by the Japanese, who had founded a small port there known as the "Japanese port" (*puerto de los Japoneses*),¹³⁹ according to a report by Miguel de Loarca. This port continued to operate during

133 The Japanese presence in the Philippines preceded the Spanish.

134 Headed by Tay Fusa, Tayfusu, or Tayfuzu (大夫), *Dāfū* in Chinese/*Taifu* in Japanese.

135 *Este año he imbiado a poblar la çiudad de Segovia en una provinçia que llaman cagayan en esta ysla çien leguas desta çiudad, es frontera de la china de cuya poblaçion se espera mucho bien assi por se el puerto en mejor lugar y mas altura para las naos quae andan en la carrera de nueva españa y peru como por estar tan çerca de la china de donde se puede atravesar a ella en tres dias y para lo de adelante tengo por muy importante tener poblada aquella frontera inbie a la poblaçion della al capitan Juan pablos de carrion y asta çien hombres escogidos lleban buena orden, bien proveidos de artilleria vaxeles munizioni y con vendiçion y aprovaçion de la yglesia dios se servira dellos Vuestra Majestad tambien. Los años de 80 y 81 an venido a estas yslas algunos navios de cossarios del Japón questa de aqui quatroçientas leguas an echo algun daño en los naturales, por tener nueva que se aprestavan diez navios para venir a estas yslas les he embiado una armada al passo por donde suelen venir.* Letter of Gonzallo de Ronquillo, Manila, 16-06-1582. AGI, Filipinas,6, R.4,N.49, fol. 2.

136 Flat-bottomed Chinese wooden boat.

137 Hokkien dialect mainly spoken throughout southeastern China, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia.

138 Borao, "La colonia de Japoneses en Manila," pp. 2-3.

139 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

the 16th and early 17th centuries. In 1618, the Governor of the Philippines informed the Spanish authorities that leather was the region's main commercial good and that Japanese traders exported between 60,000 and 80,000 venison hides per year to their own country.

Regarding Japanese presence in Manila, Martín de Goiti reported that, upon arriving there in 1570, he found 40 Chinese and 20 Japanese. One of these Japanese men was a Christian who had been baptized with the name Pablo, and, after showing them a Christian icon, he asked the Spaniard for a rosary.

When Manila became the Philippines' economical center, the already established Japanese traders in Cagayan and Lingayen gradually moved to this city.

After 1583, with the opening of the Macao–Manila trade route, many other Japanese, hailing from Macao, started to arrive at Manila.¹⁴⁰

The beginning of the relationship between the Spanish authorities and the Japanese community in Manila was marked by suspicion. In 1584, the Governor of the Philippines managed to put down a revolt of the region's Sangley Chinese with the help of two Macao boats that belonged to the Portuguese merchant Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro; Bartolomeu led one of the boats and the second was headed by his nephew Vincente Landeiro.¹⁴¹ Three years later, when a Japanese vessel arrived at the city after the proclamation of Hideyoshi's anti-Christian edict (1587), the suspicion that the crew wanted to start an insurrection resulted in the imprisonment of some of its members and the death of Japanese interpreter Dionisio Fernandez. In 1588, another vessel, owned by Hirado merchants, arrived in Manila; yet its crew was only allowed to sell their merchandise and was obliged to return to Japan. After this vessel's departure, Manila was visited once more, in 1589, by a Japanese group of supposed pilgrims. After the latter's departure, Manila was fortified, due to the suspicion that the pilgrims were in reality spies who wanted to investigate the entire region for a future Japanese military campaign led by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. As an additional measure, Manila's Japanese community was moved to the peripheral neighborhood of Dilao and its weapons were confiscated.¹⁴²

In June 1593, this community was composed of more than 300 residents, not counting the 150 Japanese who had arrived at the Philippines on the vessel commanded by Faranda Quiemon on religious missions or as a result of

140 In 1583, when the shipwreck of the commercial ship from Macao destined for Japan occurred in Taiwan, its crew, a third of which was Japanese, returned to Macao and departed some time later for Manila on the boat commanded by Sebastião Moxar. De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, pp. 49–62, 75–80.

141 *Ibid.*, pp. 99–105.

142 Borao, "La colonia de Japoneses en Manila," p. 6.

commercial contacts, and who were living temporarily in the city.¹⁴³ This population tripled in two years, as reported in one of Francisco de las Misas's letters. He said that, in 1595, the number of Japanese living in Manila had reached 1000.¹⁴⁴ It seems that this growth was mainly due to the trade carried out by Japanese and European merchants between Manila and Nagasaki.¹⁴⁵

In 1596, the *San Felipe*, while traveling from Acapulco bound for Manila, sank off the coast of Japan; its cargo was confiscated and, as a result of the conflict, several Christians were executed in Nagasaki. Consequently, as retaliation by the Spanish authorities, expelled from Manila many Japanese and the settlement became reduced to only 500 people.¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, we do not know the exact identity of who was expelled from the city: if regular merchants or mercenaries.

In 1599, a massive earthquake struck Manila and strong aftershocks ensued in the following year. The high number of victims and poor hygiene led to a contagious disease affecting the entire city.¹⁴⁷ Most likely the resident Japanese community was also affected. At the beginning of the 17th century, the Japanese population was estimated by some at around 500 people, who remained in the Philippines for a short time before returning to Japan; it was believed that their contentious character led to only a few of them remaining in Manila. Other estimates suggest 1500 Japanese.¹⁴⁸ It is very likely that at the beginning of the 17th century, the number of Japanese settled in Manila was less than a thousand, a figure that would only be exceeded with the beginning of the Japanese Diaspora after 21 December 1614, when 33 clerics and more than 100 other Japanese arrived as a result of Tokugawa's anti-Christian edict.¹⁴⁹ In this group

143 Testimony of Antonio López Chino, Christian, Manila, 1-07-1593. *Testimonios Autenticos acerca de los Protomártires del Japón*, pp. 26, 270, fols. 12v-13.

144 *Aunque los Japoneses no vienen a esta tierra, no ay en ella tantos como los chinos, a lo menos entre infidels y cristianos el mas tiempo del año residen aqui mill Japoneses*. Document 67. Letter from Francisco de las Misas to the King of Spain, 1595 in: *Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, ed. N. Murakami (n.p., n.d.), vol. II, p. 3.

145 AGI, Filipinas, 29, n. 57. According to this letter, the number of Sangleyes residing in the city was 12,000. Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Mexico, 1609; Manila; Comision Nacional del Centenario de José Rizal, 1961), pp. 354-55.

146 Borao, "La colonia de Japoneses en Manila," p. 6.

147 Atsuko Hirayama, "El Imperio Español y El Imperio Chino; encuentro en las Islas Filipinas en los siglos XVI y XVII y su impacto," paper presented at Monsoon Asia: Spain and East Asia in Early Modern Era conference, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, 20-21 June 2016, p. 10.

148 Antonio de Morga's estimates were presented by Juan Gil, "Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII," *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, 16 (2015): 23.

149 Gil, "Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII," p. 24.

Takayama Ukon (Justo Ucondono) and Yokuan Naito (Juan Naitodono) stood out.¹⁵⁰ Ukon arrived with his wife, children, and five grandchildren, while Yokuan arrived with his wife and four children.¹⁵¹

It was during this period that the Governor of the Philippines, Don Juan de Silva, decided to conduct a census (*padrón*) of all the Japanese. The Governor of Manila, Sebastián Pérez de Acuna, was the person selected, on 7 September 1615, to undertake this. He was aided by the scribe Juan López de Torres and the Japanese interpreters Andres de Mesquita and Juan de León. This census was completed and handed over to the governor. It showed the name, profession, and age of each Japanese. Unfortunately, it has not survived to modern times.¹⁵²

In 1619, the community comprised almost 2000 people,¹⁵³ reaching 3000 in 1620.¹⁵⁴ Also in 1619, Colonel Hernando de los Ríos, Attorney General of the Philippines, informed the King about problems within the Japanese community, and of a group of mercenaries who had left the city to assist the Dutch in an attempt to invade the islands. For this reason, he asked the King to issue a law prohibiting the presence of any Japanese in Manila: "begging me to pay attention to those islands not allowing the presence of any [Japanese]."¹⁵⁵ The King issued a new ballot on 5 September 1620, giving the governor and the Manila High Court permission to make decisions to solve this problem and bring security to the Philippines.¹⁵⁶ Neither the governor nor the High Court

150 *Neste navio de Philipinas se embarcou Minaminobo Justo Ucon com sua mulher, filha e cinco netos, embarcouse tambem Naito João com sua mulher, filhos, filhas e netos, embarcarãose também alguns bicunis ou beatas daquellas que no Miyaco forão metidas em sacos de palha, e postas a vergonha polla nossa santa fee, outras se embarcão nos navios de Macau.* Letter from Jerónimo Rodrigues, Nagasaki, 24-04-1615. ARSI, Jap Sin 58, fol. 150v.

151 Pablo Pastells and Federico Navas, *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las islas Filipinas precedido de una Historia general de Filipinas* (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1925), vol. III, p. 400.

152 Gil, "Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII," p. 24.

153 This letter is about events that occurred in 1619. Document 101. Letter from the King/Pedro de Ledesma to the Governor of the Philippines. San Lorenzo, 5-09-1620, in: *Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, vol. II, p. 157.

154 Borao, "La colonia de Japoneses en Manila," p. 18.

155 *Se quedan en esa ciudad dos mil Japónes que no son de provecho a la republica, sino de notable riesgo, pues tres o 4 veces la han puesto a peligro de perderse, y en la ultima ocasion que hubo con los Holandeses se pasaron a ayudarles una compañía de Japónes que se vyeron de esa ciudad.* Document 101. Letter from the King/Pedro de Ledesma, San Lorenzo, 5-09-1620, in: *Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, p. 157.

156 *Se quedan en esa ciudad dos mil Japónes que no son de provecho a la republica, sino de notable riesgo, pues tres o 4 veces la han puesto a peligro de perderse, y en la ultima ocasion que hubo con los Holandeses se pasaron a ayudarles una compañía de Japónes que se vyeron*

would take the extreme measures suggested by the Attorney General of the Philippines, as, on 25 July 1620, the Archbishop of Manila, Miguel García Serano, informed the King that the estimated number of Japanese was over 1500 people, distributed among the parishes of Santiago (Bagumbaya), Dilao, São Miguel (both suburbs of Manila), and Cavite.¹⁵⁷ On 30 July, after only six days, the same archbishop said that the number of Japanese exceeded 3000.¹⁵⁸ On 31 December 1622, the King reported having been informed in a letter dated 1621 that 3000 Japanese were living in the Philippines, which endangered the security of the region.¹⁵⁹

This oscillation in population estimates shows that it is difficult to accurately assess the demographic dimension of the Japanese community in the Philippines.

Moreover, it was natural that in the second decade of the 17th century there was a sudden increase in the number of Japanese in Manila due to the private trade carried out not only between the Japanese and the Spanish, but, more so, between Europeans from Nagasaki and the Philippines,¹⁶⁰ and, in parallel, the spread of Japanese Christians to the Philippines and Macao.¹⁶¹

In 1624, Japanese authorities refused to receive a delegation sent by Governor Alonso Fajardo de Tenza (1618–1624). This is the formally accepted date for the interruption of the relations between the Spanish from the Philippines and Japan. However, despite these prohibitions, the flow of Japanese to Manila

de esa ciudad. Document 101. Letter from the King/Pedro de Ledesma, San Lorenzo, 5-09-1620, in: *Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, vol. II, p. 157.

157 Gil, "Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII," p. 25.

158 Borao, "La colonia de Japoneses en Manila," p. 19; Gil, "Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII," p. 25.

159 *Y demas de esto pasan 3.000 los Japoneses*. Document 104. Letter from the King/Juan Ruiz Contreras to the Governor of the Philippines, Madrid, 31-12-1622, in: *Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, vol. II, p. 161.

160 I use the word *European* rather than *Portuguese* because the Nagasaki-settled European community was truly transnational. For example, in one of the few existing documents on the crews of the boats that arrived at Manila via Nagasaki, we know that on 22 November 1619, Dom Fernando de Figueiroa's vessel had four Portuguese, two Biscayans, one Flemish, one Galician, one Castilian, and one Genoese aboard. Unfortunately, there is no mention of a possible Japanese crew member. AGN, Inquisición, 1610, vol. 903, fols. 240–241v.

161 On 11 May 1620, the *Santo Antonio*, which had sailed from Nagasaki on 26 March, arrived at Cavite. Commanded by the Portuguese Manuel Rodrigues Navarro, one of the many private merchants involved in this private traffic, it transported 101 Japanese sailors. It is probable that some of these sailors stayed in the Philippines for some time or even ended up staying permanently. AGN, Indif. Virreinal, caja-exp.: 4154-001. Inquisición, 1620, fol. 15.

TABLE 7.7 Japanese population in Manila

Year	Population	Notes
1570	20 Japanese	One of these Japanese was a baptized Christian called Pablo.
1593	300 resident Japanese	Three more arrived in the Philippines as a result of delegations and business contacts who were temporarily living in the city.
1595	1000 Japanese	The population grew as a result of trade between Manila and Nagasaki.
1596	500 Japanese	In that same year, the <i>San Felipe</i> , while returning from Acapulco bound for Manila, sank off the coast of Japan. Its cargo was confiscated and a group of 26 Christians were executed in Nagasaki. Consequently, the Japanese settlement in Manila was reduced to half, after their first expulsion from the city.
Beginning of 1600	500 non-permanent Japanese	These Japanese remained in the Philippines for a short time before returning to Japan, as their contentious character led to only a few of them staying in Manila.
Beginning of 1600	1500 Japanese	
1606	91 tents, not including houses and villas	
1614	Around 1000 Japanese	
1619	2000 Japanese	
1621	Over 3000 Japanese	Two different sources report the same number.

Source: AGI, Filipinas,6, R.4, N.49, fol. 2; AGN, Inquisición, 1610, vol. 903, fols. 240–241v; Inquisición, 1620, fol. 15; AGN, Indif. Virreinal, caja-exp.: 4154-001; ARS1, Jap Sin 58, fol. 150v; *Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, vol. I, p. 3; vol. II, pp. 157, 161; *Testimonios Autenticos acerca de los Protomártires del Japón*, pp. 26, 270, fols. 12v–13; Atsuko Hirayama, “El Imperio Español y El Imperio Chino; encuentro en las Islas Filipinas en los siglos XVI y XVII y su impacto,” paper presented at the Monsoon Asia: Spain and East Asia in Early Modern Era conference, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, 20–21 June 2016, p. 10; Pablo Pastells and Federico Navas, *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las islas Filipinas precedido de una Historia general de Filipinas* (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1925), vol. III, p. 400; Seiichi Iwao, *Early European Settlers in the Philippines* (Tokyo: Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, 1943); J. E. Borao, “La colonia de Japoneses en Manila en el marco de las relaciones de Filipinas y Japón en los siglos XVI y XVII,” *Cuadernos CANELA* 17 (2005): 2–18; Juan Gil, “Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII,” *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, 16 (2015): 23–25; De Sousa, *The Early European Presence in China*, pp. 49–62, 75–80.

continued throughout the 17th century, via vessels directly or indirectly arriving in the Philippines.

Nevertheless, the Japanese population gradually declined between 1624 and 1640, with part of it assimilated by the multicultural society of the Philippines and part settled in other regions of Southeast Asia.

Professional Occupations of the Japanese in Manila

As in the case of Macao, the Japanese in the Philippines can be found in all social and professional strata. It is possible to identify merchants, soldiers/mercenaries, dock workers, shopkeepers, cleaners, carpenters, interpreters, shamen, servants, and slaves. We can find them not only in Manila or Dilao but also in San Anton, Bagumbaya, Binondo, Cavite, Pagsanjan, or Pasig.

In addition to those Japanese traders seasonally established in the Philippines,¹⁶² many others settled in this region. In 1592, the number of resident Japanese merchants living in Manila was very high, sparking fears that they might collaborate in an attempted invasion by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. That was the reason the Governor of the Philippines, Gómez Pérez de Dasmariñas y Ribadeneira, decided to relocate them outside the city and, at the same time, confiscate and prohibit their use of weapons.¹⁶³

Some Japanese carried weapons, although they had to obtain a special license, approved by the government of Manila, and restricted to a specific purpose.¹⁶⁴ Licenses were also required to set up commercial stands. Although it is not possible to identify them individually, after the 1630s, 114 Japanese traders or descendants were registered at the Contaduría de Manila (Manila's Bookkeeping)¹⁶⁵ as having paid the Spanish authorities for 74 such licenses.¹⁶⁶ Curiously, the Japanese *mestizos* who applied and paid for licenses were concentrated almost exclusively in Dilao, which housed the most important Japanese community in the Philippines. Among the *mestizos* Lucas de Sosa, Pedro

162 One of the most famous merchants was João Naraya, who lived in the Philippines for 20 years. In 1614, he returned to Japan where was killed for being a Christian. ARS1, Jap Sin 58, fol. 75.

163 *Con ver los rreçelos de los enemigos Xapones tan confirmados por todas partes y que los cosarios a lo menos son ciertos y que a dias que andan dañando en la costa pareçe que para asegurarnos de tanto Xapon mercader como ay en esta çiudad sospechoso conberna diputarles una ponlaçon o sitio fuera de la çiudad ya que se les an tomado susarmas y que alli vivan y vendan sus haziendas.* Document 5. *Las prevenciones que se comunicaron a los oficiales in: Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, vol. 1, pp. 27–28.

164 AGI, Contaduría, 1217, fol. 966v.

165 Place where financial information on every transaction was recorded.

166 See Table 7.8 at the end of this subsection showing Japanese merchants divided by region.

Martín, Miguel de la Santa Cruz, Juan Imuy de la Cruz, Juan Álvarez, Ignacio del Rosario, Salvador Francisco, José de la Cruz, Pedro de la Cruz, Tóme de la Cruz, Benque Niemón, Juan Pérez, and Ignacio Quemón, only Álvarez, Rosario, and Martín were not living in Dilao.¹⁶⁷

Besides trade, military activity was one of the main professions of the Japanese in the Philippines.¹⁶⁸ Further information on this subject, can be found in Section 7.4.

As in Macao, in the Philippines a large number of Japanese worked at the ports. In Cavite, in 1616, the chief of the workers at this port was Vicente Famañda. Fifty-five Japanese worked under him between 23 August and 23 October, paid 228 *pesos* each. In the same port, another group of 60 Japanese worked for 43 days hauling artillery to ships.¹⁶⁹

Some individual cases are also worth mentioning. For example, Miguel García Xapón worked as a janitor, having received from the Spaniard Juan Suarez Gallinato the amount of 13.5 *pesos* for cleaning 20 baskets which had hadrice in them.¹⁷⁰ Additionally, Juan Japón worked as a carpenter from 1 August 1608 to 31 July 1610, receiving a total of 36 *pesos*.¹⁷¹

The position of interpreter, an essential job for communication between Japanese and Spanish, was also filled by some Japanese. We know, for example, that in 1592, Governor Dasmariñas had two Japanese Christian interpreters: Pedro Garzes (Pedro Garcês) and Pablo Xapones.¹⁷² In 1597, the Japanese Juan Jorge served the local elite as an interpreter,¹⁷³ mediating between Japanese and Spanish merchants.¹⁷⁴

Another uncommon profession was that of Francisco Japón, who, on 17 March 1622, was accused of witchcraft by the surgeon Juan de Ysasoqara. Apparently, Japón gave an herb to the surgeon, claiming that if he ate it, the

167 Gil, "Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII," p. 24.

168 Stephanie Mawson, "Convicts or Conquistadores? Spanish Soldiers in the Seventeenth Century Pacific," *Past & Present* 232(1) (2016): 87–125; Stephanie Mawson, "Philippine Indians in the Service of Empire: Indigenous Soldiers and Contingent Loyalty," *Ethnohistory* 63(2) (2016): 381–413.

169 Gil, "Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII," p. 29.

170 On 31 January 1604. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

171 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

172 Document 3. *Registro del dialogo de Lasque del Xapon con el governador Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas en la ciudad de Manila a 20 Abril 1592* in: *Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, vol. 1, p. 6v/fol. 1; pp. 7–21.

173 Born in Hirado in 1560. AGN, Inquisición, vol. 162, fols. 4v–5.

174 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 162, fols. 4v–5.

woman he liked would fall in love with him immediately.¹⁷⁵ Unhappy with the result, Ysasogoara denounced Japón to the Inquisition.

We should not exclude the domestic slaves/servants of Japanese origin in this community. In 1592, Governor Dasmariñas, in *Prevenções que se comunicaron a los oficiales de guerra*, described a large number of Japanese servants in Spanish households who could place the colony in danger, if they revolted against their masters and set Manila on fire.¹⁷⁶

Although we do not have much information on the daily lives of Japanese domestic slaves, there were indeed some particular cases of violence. For example, Jeronimo/Xezonmo Xapones's mysterious death: "slave fell bad and they took him to the Hospital of the Indians."¹⁷⁷ This death is suspicious, since in 1596 his owner had murdered three slaves, two of them, named Francisco and Lucelas, as a result of "severe punishments," while the third, Pedro de Makassar, died because of "ill treatment."¹⁷⁸

Other Japanese domestic slaves remained for only a short time in the Philippines, being sold to far-flung places like the American continent. For example, Tome Valdes, owned by Captain António Arçola, had lived for some time in Nagasaki before arriving in Manila in the early 1590s. After Manila, he traveled to Mexico in 1596, where he was sold again.¹⁷⁹ We do not know his fate.

Besides the types already presented, I was able to identify another category of slaves that I have classified as "criminal slaves," since the documents do not mention any other particular qualification. These slaves, as the designation implies, were originally criminals who were enslaved by the Spanish authorities and put to work in galleys. An illustrative case occurred in 1592, in the coastal region of Ilocos' (Ylocos), when groups of Japanese pirates attacked the coastal villages. The inhabitants, who had been forewarned, killed all 30 aggressors and captured another group of 20 Japanese and Chinese pirates, who were brought before Governor Dasmariñas, and forced into slavery to work as oarsmen on a Spanish galley.¹⁸⁰

175 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 336, fol. 306.

176 *Y tambien se piense en lo que se hara de los Xapones de servijio que aqui ay pues son tantos y estan dentro de nuestras cassas y este pueblo en tanto peligro de que se le pueda hechar fuego o hazer otro mal semejante.* Document 5. *Las prevençiones que se comunicaron a los oficiales* in: *Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, vol. 1, p. 28.

177 AGN, Inquisición, 1597, vol. 162, fol. 107.

178 Testimony of the slave André, native of Java. AGN, Inquisición, 1597, vol. 162, fol. 5v.

179 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fols. 446–447.

180 Document 8. Letter from Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas to the King of Spain, Manila, 31-05-1592, in: *Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, pp. 35–38.

TABLE 7.8 List of Japanese community leaders and traders in the Philippines with registered businesses

Year	Name	Notes
1593	Faranda Quiemon (G)	He was called the “Governor” by the Japanese living in Manila, and was highly respected. He was one of Hideyoshi’s vassals and traveled to the Philippines as an ambassador.
1606	Luis Gómez (G)	Gómez was the leader of the Japanese community.
1620	Don Alonso Fajardo y Ocsaba (G)	Don Ocsaba was the leader of the Japanese community.
1625	Juan Antonio de Vega (G)	Vega was the leader of the Japanese community.
1630	1 Miguel de Silva (G)	Silva was the leader of the Japanese community in Manila after 1630, known as “governor of the Japanese.” There was another Japanese with the same name living in Lima, Peru, in 1608–12. It is possible he was the same person.
1636	Jacinto Sosi (M) Juan Youi (M) Miguel Tomanga (M) Francisco de Aguilar (M) Lorenzo Cas (M)	
1637	Antonio (M) Luis Cirucani (BO) Simón Choyman (BO)	
1639	Juan Tete Manço (Manso) (G) ^a Miguel Yamat (military leader) (G) Gaspar Quiusiu (Manço’s scribe) (G) Tomé Cagyoy (SA) Martín de Nagasaki (BA) Pedro Palacio (BA) Antonio Sumçio (BA) Juan Suychu (BA) Juan Cacusque (BA)	Manço was the leader of the Japanese in Dilao. He died fighting the Chinese in 1639.

TABLE 7.8 List of Japanese community leaders and traders in the Philippines (*cont.*)

Year	Name	Notes
1640	Juan Manzano (G) 1 Miguel Sánchez/Sancho (military leader) (G)	Manzano was the leader of the Japanese community.
1641	Miguel Yoyamon (G) Domingo Xenquez (M) Juan Coymon (M) Miguel de Sessa (M) 1 Juan de Sessa (Juan de César) (M) Juan Menorez (M) Juan de la Cruz (M) Domingo de Sossa (M) Gaspar de Comoy (M) Juan Manso (M) Domingo de Acosta (M) Antonio Quioyamon (D) Luis Yosaymon (D) Melchor (D) Tomé Ginca (D)	Yoyamon was the leader of the Japanese community.
1642	Mateo Cuyamon (G) Miguel Camanda (military leader) (G)	Cuyamon was the leader of the Japanese community.
1643	Juan Manso (G) 2 Miguel Sancho (military leader) (G) 1 Juan Hiosaco (Manso's scribe) (G)	Manso was the leader of the Japanese community.
1644	Juan Magoui (G) 1 Miguel de la Cruz (Miguel de la Silva) (military leader) (G) (BA) Antonio Yayro (Magoui's scribe) (G) Mansoligay (M) Pascual Hichiquin (M) 1 Matías Cuyamon (Cuymon) (M) Domingo de Ramos (M) Juan Sochachi (M) Juan Sosti (M) Juan García (M) Antonio Conbinto (M) Juan de la Cruz (M)	Magoui was the leader of the Japanese community.

TABLE 7.8 List of Japanese community leaders and traders in the Philippines (*cont.*)

Year	Name	Notes
	Tomás Suyamon (BA)	
	Francisco Herrero (BA)	
	Domingo Tachiqui (BA)	
	Martín Ichico (BA)	
	Pedro Ichiui (BA)	
	Tomé Yaychi (BA)	
	Tomé Maymay (BA)	
1645	Lorenzo Pobre (G)	Pobre was the leader of the Japanese community.
	3 Miguel Sancho (military leader) (G)	
	2 Juan Yosaco (Pobre's scribe) (G)	
	Juan Quiuxeio (M)	
	2 Juan de César (Juan de Sessa) (M)	
	Juan Causquit (BA)	
	Juan Niamon (BA)	
1646	Juan Esquisayno (G)	Esquisayno was the leader of the Japanese community.
	4 Miguel Sancho (military leader) (G)	
	3 Juan Yosac (Esquisayno's scribe) (G)	
1647	2 Miguel de la Cruz (Miguel de Silva) (G)	De la Cruz was the leader of the Japanese community.
	Sancho Diemo (military leader) (G)	
	Ignacio Chinquiche (de la Cruz's scribe) (G)	
1648	3 Miguel de la Cruz (Miguel de Silva) (G)	
1649	2 Juan de Sosa (Juan de Sessa/César) (M)	
	Gaspar Tosaymo (Gaspar de Comoy) (M)	
	Juan Luis (M)	
	1 Andrés Sanguin (M)	
	2 Matías Cuymon (M)	
	Miguel Sánchez (D)	
	Lorenzo Jerónimo (D)	
	3 Miguel de la Cruz (Miguel de Silva) (BA) (D)	
	1 Diego Jacobo (SA)	
	1 Pedro Caravallo (BA)	
1651	Pablo Guinay (M)	

TABLE 7.8 List of Japanese community leaders and traders in the Philippines (*cont.*)

Year	Name	Notes
1653	Pedro Caymon (C) Domingo Sánchez (C) Matías José (C) Jácome Denco (C) Ruiz Cacusan (C) Juan Dexen (C) Juan Chosa (C) Pedro Gisen (C) Juan Chobi (C) Juan Yñçensa (C) Juan Yayemo (C) Miguel Choe (C) Miguel Churda (C) Gaspar Frecto (C) Domingo Siquiche (C)	
1654	3 Juan de Sessa/César (M) Juan de la Cruz (M) Alexo Sencha (M) 2 Andrés Sagun (Andrés Sanguin) (M) 2 Diego Jacobo (SA) 2 Pedro Caravallo (BA) Lorenzo (BA) Miguel de Santa Cruz (BA) Miguel Muñoz (P)	
1655	1 Juan Imuy (D) Lucas de Sossa (D) 3 Diego Jacobo (SA) 4 Miguel de Silva (Miguel de la Cruz) (Pa) Pedro Cayche (Pa) Juan Quiosiru (Pa)	Miguel de la Cruz also appears as Miguel Silva. In 1657 he was referred to as de la Cruz. He was the military leader of the Japanese community and later became community leader.
1656	Juan (M) 5 Miguel de la Cruz (D) Tomé de San Antón (D) Miguel Hernández (D) Domingo de la Cruz (BA) 1 Juan Aymon (C)	

TABLE 7.8 List of Japanese community leaders and traders in the Philippines (*cont.*)

Year	Name	Notes
	1 Felipe Álvarez (C)	
	1 Miguel de Pineda (C)	
	1 Francisco Ysaymo (C)	
	1 Matías Yosaymon (C)	
1657	Miguel Sagun (Andrés Sagun?) (M)	
	2 Juan Imuy (D)	
	Pedro Crisóstomo (D)	
	Tomé Caheoy (SA) (C)	
	2 Juan Gaymon (Aymon) (C)	
	2 Felipe Álvarez (C)	
	2 Miguel de Pineda (C)	
	2 Francisco Ysaymon (Ysaymo) (C)	
	2 Matías Yúsamo (Yosaymon) (C)	
	Miguel Gonzaca (C)	
	6 Miguel de la Cruz (Miguel de Silva) (Pa)	
	2 Pedro Chuichi (Pa)	
	2 Juan Coziro (Quiusuy/Quiosiru/Coziro/ Quiopssa) (Pa)	
1658	Domingo Sosar (BA)	
1659	3 Andrés Sagun (Andrés Sanguin) (M)	
	Juan Álvarez (BA)	
1660	6 Miguel de la Cruz (D)	
	Francisco Gouco (D)	
	Domingo de Palacios (BA)	
	Tomé de San Antón (BA)	
	Pedro Martín (Pa)	
	Juan de la Cruz (Pa)	
	3 Juan Quiopssa (Pa)	
1662	3 Juan Imuy (D)	
1664	1 Pedro de la Cruz (M)	
	1 Ignacio del Rosário (M)	
	7 Miguel de la Cruz (D)	
	3 Juan Imuy (D)	
	Salvador Francisco (BA)	
	Jacobe de la Cruz (Juan de la Cruz?) (Pa)	
	4 Juan Quiusuy (Pa)	

TABLE 7.8 List of Japanese community leaders and traders in the Philippines (*cont.*)

Year	Name	Notes
1666	2 Pedro de la Cruz (M)	
1667	2 Ignacio del Ros�ario (M)	
1668	4 Andr�es Sanguichi (M)	
	Domingo de Paiz (M)	
1669	3 Pedro de la Cruz (M)	
1671	4 Pedro de la Cruz (M)	
	3 Ignacio del Ros�ario (M)	
1683	Jos�e de la Cruz (D)	
	Pedro de la Cruz (BA)	
1687	Tom�e de la Cruz (D)	
	Benque Niemon (D)	
	Jos�e de la Cruz (D)	
	Juan P�erez (D)	
	Ignacio Quiemon (D)	
	Juan Bautista (BA)	

a He was married to Mar a del Carmen.

Note: Community leaders (G), Manila (M), Dilao (D), San Anton (SA), Bagumbaya (BA), Binondo (BO), Cavite (C), Pagsanjan (P), Pasig (Pa).

Source: AGI, *Contadur a*, 1207, fol. 103r; 1210, fol. 13v; 1211, fol. 151v; 1219, fol. 20r; 1220, fol. 17r; 1221, fol. 52v; 1222, fol. 111v; 1224, fols. 35r, 79v, 86; 1225B, fols. 77v–78r; 1226, fol. 71v; Juan Gil, *Hidalgos y Samurais* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1991), pp. 443–45; Gil, “Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII,” pp. 36, 37; Gil, *Chinos en Manila*, p. 154; *Testimonios Autenticos acerca de los Protomartires del Jap n*, pp. 26, 39–40, 54–55, 283–84, 298–99, fols. 23v–24, 35–36.

Female Presence

Females of Japanese origin in the Philippines may have been in a minority, but they were still quite a diverse group. On 17 February 1594, Friar Juan de San Pedro M rtir, Vicar of the Sangleyes of Manila, participated in an inquiry to clarify whether Toyotomi Hideyoshi was preparing to invade the Philippines. In his testimony, he revealed that some Sangleyes were married to Japanese women and understood the Japanese language.¹⁸¹ Unfortunately,

181 *Dixo que este testigo entiende mucha parte de la lengua sangleya, y tratado de hordinario con chinos cristianos, que algunos de ellos est n cassados con xaponas y entienden su*

Friar Mártir does not inform us how these women had arrived in the Philippines.

In the 17th century it is possible to identify 14 women who were exclusively engaged in commerce in Manila (Dilao), Bagumbaya, and Cavite. As their male counterparts, they had also registered at the Contaduría de Manila and paid licenses to open commercial shops. These licenses were registered after the interruption of official trade relations between the Philippines and Japan. The first woman to register was Potenciana de Salazar, who in 1637 paid the amount of 12 *pesos* to “live and have a shop in this city for eight years,”¹⁸² while, according to the records, the last license was granted to Dominga López in 1671; she paid 8 *pesos* to have a shop for two years.¹⁸³ Initially, the records only showed the amount paid for the licenses and its period of duration, but from 1655 onwards, the data also included the goods sold in these stores. We know, for example, that López, Luisa de Silva, and Ines de Mendoza sold “edible goods.”¹⁸⁴ We also know that Dominga Ramirez and Catalina de la Cruz, besides “edible goods,” sold wine.¹⁸⁵

Besides their involvement in the commercial sector, some such women were also able to rise up in Philippine society. Mariana Navarro, from Japan, married the Spaniard Juan Navarro, the Manila’s prominent Real Audiencia solicitor. This member of the Philippine led a Christian life, as she attended church frequently. In 1613, she accused Friar Miguel de San Juan of having tried to abuse her sexually, asking her in the confessional if she slept with her husband and, soon after, going to her house to try to have sexual intercourse with her. Her testimony can be found in Mexico. However, we do not know the outcome of this case.¹⁸⁶ Mariana influenced another woman, probably also Japanese, to make a similar accusation against the priest Hernando de Moraga.¹⁸⁷

Besides the aforementioned Japanese free women, many slaves were also living in the Philippines, about whom not much is known. For example, 18-year-old Madalena, who had a little daughter and worked at the merchant Diogo Vitoria’s house. Madalena was married to the slave Martim de Melo, who served in the same house and died before 1597. Maria Xapona, a 15-year-old who sued her owner, declaring that she had been illegally enslaved, had worked

lengua. Testimonios Autenticos acerca de los Protomartires del Japon, pp. 298–99, 54–55, fols. 35–36.

182 AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fol. 544v.

183 AGI, Contaduría, 1238, fol. 44v.

184 AGI, Contaduría, 1233, fol. 436.

185 AGI, Contaduría, 1229, fols. 31, 100.

186 AGN, Inquisición, 1612, vol. 263, fol. 168.

187 *Ibid.*, fol. 470.

TABLE 7.9 List of female Japanese traders with registered shops

Year	Name	Notes
1637	Potenciana de Salazar (M)	
1645	1 María de la Cruz (D)	
1647	1 Clara del Rosário (M)	
1648	2 Clara del Rosário (M)	
1649	3 Clara del Rosário (M)	Ramírez was a <i>mestiza</i> .
	Esperanza de Molina (M)	
	2 María de la Cruz (D)	
	1 Dominga Ramírez (D)	
	1 Marta de la Cruz (BA)	
1653	María Herrero (C)	
1654	1 Dominga López (M)	
	2 Marta de la Cruz (BA)	
1656	Catalina Vega (C)	Vega was a <i>mestiza</i> . De la Cruz had lived in Dilao before.
	1 Sabina de la Cruz (D)	
	3 María de la Cruz (C)	
1657	2 Dominga López (M)	
	2 Sabina de la Cruz (C)	
	4 María de la Cruz (C)	
1658	2 Dominga Ramírez (D)	
1659	3 Dominga López (M)	
1660	Luisa de Silva (D)	
1664	Inés de Mendoza (M)	
	3 Dominga Ramírez (D)	
	Catalina de la Cruz (D)	
1667	4 Dominga López (M)	
1671	5 Dominga López (M)	

Note: Manila (M), Dilao (D), Bagumbaya (BA), and Cavite (C).

Source: AGI, Contaduría, 1218; fol. 555v; 1225, fol. 42v; 1226, fols. 16, 64v, 87; 1229, fols. 27, 34, 38, 50v, 97v, 103, 106, 100, 101; 1231, fols. 268v, 541, 561v; 1232, fols. 17, 593v, 614–614v; 1233, fol. 436; 1236, fol. 588; 1234, fol. 29; 1236, fols. 586v, 609; 1238, fol. 44v; 1238, fol. 46v; Gil, “Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII,” p. 33.

in the same household. We know she was freed by Friar Juan Maldonado, who dealt with Vitória's possessions after his death.¹⁸⁸

There are also less common cases such as accusations of witchcraft against the Japanese slaves Úrsula and Dominga.¹⁸⁹ Úrsula Japóna was summoned by Isabel de Montenegro to heal her disease.¹⁹⁰ After Isabel explained her symptoms in detail, Úrsula diagnosed the disease as the product of witchcraft. As the Spanish lady wanted to know the authors of the spell, Úrsula accused a domestic slave. The documentation consulted adds that Úrsula also had the gift of seeing the past and telling the future when reading the hands of her clients. The only prediction she got wrong was one about a black slave on the run: she stated that he was in the Philippines and had not departed for Japan or Malacca, and that he would return to his former owner, something that did not happen.¹⁹¹ As for Dominga Japóna, with the exception of the indictment, her lawsuit is not extant, so I was unable to find any further information about her.

The Unusual Case of Japanese Christian Lepers in Manila

In the 1630s, fewer and fewer Japanese arrived at the Philippines, except in 1632, when two Nagasaki boats were sent to Manila with 130 lepers on board, as reported by Governor Juan Nino de Tavora (1626–32). What the Spanish did not know was that this act was carried out by the Governor of Nagasaki himself. The Jesuit Cristóvão Ferreira describes in one of his last letters, before being captured by the Japanese authorities, the governor's order to gather the Japanese Christian beggars and lepers from the cities of Kyoto, Fushimi, Osaka, Sakai, and Yendo and send them to Manila. He says that in March 1632 there were already more than 90 beggars and lepers in Nagasaki, awaiting the arrival of a few more groups, in order to be sent to the Philippines during that year's monsoon.¹⁹²

Governor Tavora held a state council in Manila to discuss whether the city would accept the lepers. The answer was positive. Franciscan clerics took care of the lepers in a hospital near the Convent of the Order of Saint Francis, while an established amount of 200 *pesos* in alms was paid annually by the city. In 1637, the amount paid to Hospital Warden Jerónimo Núñez de Quiros/Jerónimo Nunes de Queiróz was 275 *pesos*, this sum been having reduced in the

188 AGN, Inquisición, 1597, vol. 162, fol. 104.

189 AGN, Inquisición, 1621, vol. 336, exp. SN, fol. 16.

190 Casada com Gaspar Arias y Rivera.

191 AGN, Inquisición, 1621, vol. 336, exp. SN, fol. 26.

192 Letter from Cristóvão Ferreira S.J. to André Palmeiro S.J., 22-03-1632. Pagès, *Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. II, p. 374.

following years. The surviving documents attest that in 1675, 1676, 1678, 1685, and 1686 the sum provided for the leper care was 50 *pesos* per year.¹⁹³ We also know the names of the lepers' representatives: Juan Quiuso, Pablo Saiculo, and Luis Sanguiche.¹⁹⁴

Conclusions

As was ascertained, Manila's Japanese community played an important role in the construction of the city. However, contrary to what happened in Macao, Manila's Japanese community developed countless conflictive relationships so it was almost uniformly viewed by the Spanish authorities with mistrust. The ever-changing number of residents would also be directly related to the troubled relationship between the government of the Philippines and that of Japan. We can also state Japanese in the Philippines were tolerated due to two important factors: the first to do with trade while the second was Japanese mercenaries' assistance in Spanish military campaigns in Asia.

Goa

The city of Goa had become an important center of Portuguese commerce in India since its conquest in 1511. According to the description of the French traveler Pyrard de Laval (1578–1623), merchants from all over Asia, including Japan, flocked to the city: “depuis le Cap de bonne Esperance, jusqu'en la Chine & au Japon, viennent amener leurs marchandises à Goa.”¹⁹⁵ Concurrently, while describing the city's inhabitants, the author also points out that a large number of Chinese and Japanese lived in the city: “il y a aussi bon nombre de Chinois & Japonois.”¹⁹⁶

The slave trade was also an important feature of local society. Laval described the city's Direita Street, where it was possible to buy Asians from many regions, as well as East African slaves. The most sought-after slaves by the Portuguese were Mozambican Cafres (Cafres de Mozambique). Around the Direita Street slave market it was also possible to find a great number of slaves who

193 AGI, Contaduría, 1240, fols. 127, 458, 160v, 752v, 1168. Gil, “Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII,” p. 21.

194 Ibid.

195 François Pyrard de Laval, *Voyage de François Pyrard de Laval: contenant sa navigation aux Indes orientales, Maldives, Moluques, et au Bresil, et les divers accidens qui lui sont arrivez en ce Voyage pendant son séjour de dix ans dans ces Pais [...]*. (Paris: Billaine, 1679), vol. 11, pp. 226–27.

196 Ibid., p. 23.

were not for sale. These were the so-called “earning slaves” (*escravos de ganho*) who sold their works, fruit preserves, and other products. The money they earned was given to their owners.¹⁹⁷ French traveler Jean Mocquet (1575–1617) also mentioned the Goan slaves, particularly the terrible tortures to which they were subjected. These caused such an impression that, years later, he would state: “I have sometimes seen parts of these barbarous cruelties which afflicted me so much, that I have still a horror when I think thereof.”¹⁹⁸

The first information about the Japanese presence in Goa is found in the merchant António de Faria e Sousa’s testimony of 2 June 1546, drafted in the city, which mentions a slave called Diogo who had escaped in Japan, together with a Chinese slave called Hompeo. Diogo returned to de Faria after some time. A doubt about his nationality persists, as he could have been either Japanese or Chinese. Curiously, de Faria only states Hompeo was Chinese, which leads us to speculate that Diogo was probably Japanese.¹⁹⁹

In 1592, the Head Captain of Macao, Domingos Monteiro, wrote of sending of several Japanese female slaves to his sister-in-law in Goa.²⁰⁰

The annual letter of the Province of India, written in Goa by Francisco Cabral, on 15 November 1593, mentions the episode concerning three Japanese slaves who escaped from their Portuguese owner. Two of them converted to Islam. After several attempts, the two slaves due to the mediation of a priest, risked death by returned to Goa and presented themselves before the Inquisition, admitting their wrongdoing. The repentant Japanese were forgiven and returned to their owner.²⁰¹ Another case in which members of the Society of Jesus intervened in slavery was mentioned in the annual letter of the Province of India of 29 November 1595. One of the passages on Japanese slave trade mentions six Japanese who had been released by a Jesuit. The same text reveals that Japanese women were sold for very high prices:

Six people, four Japanese women, and two men, became free thanks to one of ours; and three Japanese girls, who have been sold for a very high price, were freed by the same merchants, who let them free.²⁰²

197 Ibid., pp. 37–38.

198 Jean Mocquet (John Mocquet), *Travels and Voyages into Africa, Asia, and America, the East and West-Indies: Syria, Jerusalem, and the Holy Land* (London: William Nowton, 1696), p. 251.

199 Almeida, *Fernão Mendes Pinto*, p. 304.

200 AHSCMP, H, Bco. 6, no. 17, fol. 281v.

201 *Documenta Indica*, vol. XVI, p. 301.

202 *Documenta Indica*, vol. XVII, p. 365; Costa, “O Cristianismo no Japão e o episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira,” vol. I, p. 311.

In 1597, the slave trader Francesco Carletti, arrived in Goa after a long trip through Southeast Asia, Macao, and Japan. He brought three slaves back with him: a Japanese, a Korean, and an African from Mozambique.²⁰³

In 1603, King Philip III tried to republish a 1570 law of King Sebastian I (1554–1578) against Japanese slavery in Goa. However, the local citizens, through the Goa City Hall High Court (*Relação de Goa*), revolted against this and hindered its implementation, putting forward their arguments in an important letter sent to the King on 30 December 1603. This informed him of the large number of Japanese slaves in the State of India and presented reasons that supported such slavery.²⁰⁴ These reasons were reiterated in 1605, in a second letter from the City Hall of Goa to Philip III.²⁰⁵

This dispute involving the Society of Jesus, the monarch, and the citizens under Goan leading citizens, ended in 1607, when King Philip III compelled the Viceroy, following instructions in a letter sent to India on 6 March 1605, to publish a law against slavery in the city on 18 and 27 January.²⁰⁶ In the letter, the King conceded that all Japanese slaves legally acquired until then remain enslaved; however, all acquired after that date would be considered illegal.²⁰⁷

Despite these measures in favor of the Japanese, some members of that community—at the mercy of their owners' sadistic behavior and lacking any protection from the authorities—would meet a tragic end. For example, in 1610, Mocquet describes the fate of a female slave in Goa. While staying in the city, his host revealed to him that, having praised his recently bought slave's white teeth, during his absence his wife ordered her teeth to be broken. Later, believing that her husband had engaged in sexual intercourse with her, she had a red-hot iron inserted in the slave's vagina, eventually killing her.²⁰⁸ This shocking event reveals not only that owners could torture and murder their slaves with impunity, but also shows their lack of total humanity toward slaves.

203 Carletti, *Ragionamenti di Francesco Carletti Fiorentino*, p. 40.

204 I will resume this topic in Chapter 8. Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. 1º, parte 2ª, pp. 125–28.

205 *Ibid.*, p. 158.

206 AHU, Fich. 2, Gav. 1, Div. 9-10, 26-27 | 2/1- Letter from Philip II to the Viceroy of India Martim Afonso de Castro, Lisbon, 1605-03-06, fols. 82–84.

207 Around this time also arrived in Goa the Japanese Domingas de Paixão. Living in the city, during thirty years she was in charge of the gates of the Santa Monica convent. Unfortunately we don't have any additional information on her journey from Japan to Goa (and about her status). Agostinho de Santa Maria, *Historia da Fundação do Real Convento de Santa Monica da Cidade de Goa, Corete do Estado da India, & do Imperio Lusitano do Oriente (...)* (Lisboa: António Pedrozo, 1699), pp. 770-2.

208 Mocquet, *Travels and Voyages into Africa, Asia, and America*, p. 252.

In the *História Trágico Marítima*, a Portuguese travel literature work, there is reference to a Japanese presence in the *Carreira da Índia* (India Run). On 21 March 1593, the *Nau Santo Alberto*, part of the *Carreira da Índia* fleet, left the port of Kochi bound for Lisbon. The captain was Julião de Faria Cerveira, and Rodrigues Miguéis was the pilot. In southern Africa, in the Penedo das Fontes region, on the Natal coast, in present-day South Africa, a strong storm, combined with the ship's bad condition and overloading, caused the shipwreck of the *Santo Alberto*. This event was described by João Baptista Lavanha; he also mentions a Japanese slave who died after crossing the desert and was buried together with one Javanese and two Caffir slaves.²⁰⁹

Japanese presence in India can also be identified in places other than Goa. Some of these are likely to have been acquired by the Dutch in Japan or arrived in Goa via the Portuguese commercial network but then succeeded in gaining their freedom or escaping. For example, we know that in 1618, in the Dutch trading post of Pulicat, on the Coromandel coast, in present-day India, the assistant Andreas/André Rodrigo Japón worked for Hans de Haze.²¹⁰ This typical Portuguese forename, coupled with his surname, indicates that he was a baptized Japanese. I was also able to identify two Japanese in the Dutch trading post of Surat, in the years 1618–19: Jan Miaco (João Meaco²¹¹) and Towys Japón Cock.²¹² Miaco was probably from Kyoto. As for Cock, we know only that he was from Japan. While the first has a connection with the Portuguese through both his first and last name, the second does not, so is likely to have been originally acquired by the Dutch. Curiously, Surat's list of slaves places them at the end, in 17th and 18th place respectively. They are the only ones whose profession is not revealed. However, we know that Miaco received a monthly salary of 10 *guilders*, whereas Cock only received 5.²¹³ The latter's salary corresponds to that of the "boys" working at the trading post;²¹⁴ hence, we can deduce that he was young. Although Cock does not appear on Surat's trading post list for the years 1619 and 1620, there is reference to a Jan Miaco Japón. On this list of 18 people, he is 12th, with a lower salary of 9 *guilders*, and his rank is designated

209 Bernardo Gomes de Brito, *História Trágico-Marítima* (Lisbon: Escriptorio, 1905), vol. v, p. 52; Guinote, Frutuoso, and Lopes, *Naufrágio*, p. 226.

210 Om Prakash, *The Dutch Factories in India 1617–1623* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1984), p. 70.

211 In Portuguese Meaco is pronounced Miaco.

212 Prakash, *The Dutch Factories in India 1617–1623*, p. 86.

213 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

214 Pieter Fransz, Cornelis Claessen, Jan Claessen Eleman, and Hendrick Prs received the monthly salary of 6 *guilders*, and Jan Peeper, an English boy engaged for six years and entitled only to the cost of his maintenance, received 4 *guilders*.

as soldier, which means that he was a mercenary hired by the trading post to protect it.²¹⁵

Japanese Mercenaries Serving the Habsburgs in Asia

The importance of Japanese mercenaries in the expansion and maintenance of the Habsburg territories remains an unknown chapter in the history of Asia. This section seeks to recover this topic through the compilation of documents describing their presence in the Philippines, Macao, Goa, and Malacca, the main centers of Iberian presence in Asia in the 16th and 17th centuries.²¹⁶

The Philippines

The first information we have about the participation of Japanese mercenaries in the Philippines dates back to 1582, when the Spanish military intervened to pacify the province of Cagayan, north of the island of Luzon.²¹⁷ The reputation of the Japanese as good soldiers would influence the Spaniards choice in 1586, when plotting China's conquest. The Spanish authorities estimated that the hiring of Japanese mercenaries would cost 200,000 *pesos*.²¹⁸ This venture came to nothing, but the mercenaries were required for other military enterprises; for example, on 18 January 1596, when the Spanish authorities hired them for the Gallinato expedition to Cambodia, or two years after in 1598, when another group of mercenaries accompanied Governor Luis Pérez Dasmariñas on a new expedition to Cambodia.²¹⁹

The Spanish authorities also used such mercenaries in 1603, to suppress a Sangley Chinese rebellion in Manila. In that year, according to Antonio de Morga, a military unit composed of 300 Japanese was at the service of Cristóbal

215 Ibid., pp. 128–29.

216 The recent research performed by Adam Clulow led me to study the presence of Japanese mercenaries in the Habsburg territories, namely: Adam Clulow, “Like Lambs in Japan and Devils Outside their Land: Violence, Law, and Japanese Merchants in Southeast Asia,” *Journal of World History* 2(24) (2013): 335–60; “The Pirate and the Warlord,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 16(2) (2012): 523–42; “Unjust, Cruel and Barbarous Proceedings: Japanese Mercenaries and the Amboyna Incident of 1623,” *Itinerario* 31(1) (2007): 15–34 (particularly 17–19). Remco Raben also estimates the number of Japanese at VOC (Batavia) between 1613 and 1623; Remco Raben, “Batavia and Colombo: The Ethnic and Spatial Order of Two Colonial Cities 1600–1800,” PhD diss., University of Leiden, 1996, pp. 84–142.

217 Manel Ollé, “Estrategias filipinas respecto a China: Alonso Sánchez y Domingo Salazar en la empresa de China (1581–1593),” PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 1998, vol. 1, p. 524.

218 Ibid., p. 525.

219 Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, p. 141.

de Azqueta.²²⁰ The number of casualties remain unknown to this day, estimates range from 15,000 to 23,000 dead.²²¹ In describing this troop of 300 Japanese, Morga does not tell us how it was organized nor if its leader was Spanish or Japanese. Yet, our understanding is that the role of “governor of the Japanese” already existed at this time, since Japanese military/commercial units in the diaspora generally had a leader.²²² However, the first documented information on this office appears only in 1606. Luis Gómez, a Japanese Christian, was the Japanese community’s leader at the time, and was probably in charge of military affairs as well.²²³ Also in the same year, as had happened in 1603 with the Sangleys Chinese, the Japanese community started rebelling against the Spanish authorities. This dissatisfaction was caused by a decree issued by the Real Audiencia (Manila High Court) expelling Japanese from the Philippines,²²⁴ justifying this procedure by arguing that the Japanese were an ungovernable, arrogant people, who only obeyed the harsh laws in force in their home country.²²⁵ A riot did not break out in that year (1606), because of clerics’ interventions, but the following year, 1607, and again in 1608, new riots almost destroyed the entire community.²²⁶ As in Manila, Macao experienced riots between the Europeans and Japanese during this period.²²⁷ According to Juan Manuel de la Vega, in 1609, in Manila, between 80 and 100 unarmed Japanese were killed and eight more were arrested.²²⁸ Moreover, two hundred

220 Ibid., p. 154.

221 Argensola estimated 23,000 people; Governor Acuña estimated 15,000 people, and the Bishop of Manila Benavides also estimated 15,000 people. Hirayama, “El Imperio Español y El Imperio Chino,” p. 7, n. 14.

222 For example, in Macao, one of these chiefs was Moro João. Lúcio de Sousa, Mihoko Oka, *Daikōkaijidai no nihonjin dorei* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-shinsha, 2017), pp. 71–97. De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, p. 51; De Sousa, *The Jewish Diaspora and the Pérez Family Case*, p. 81.

223 AGI, Contaduría, 1207, fol. 103v.

224 Borao, “La colonia de Japoneses en Manila,” p. 13.

225 Letter from the Audiencia de Manila to the King, Manila, 8-07-1608. *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniense del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, ed. Isacio Rodríguez (Manila: Arnoldus Press-Valladolid-Estudio Agustiniense, 1984), vol. XVII, p. 106.

226 Borao, “La colonia de Japoneses en Manila,” p. 13.

227 Lúcio de Sousa, “Uma análise historiográfica do relato Relação da queima da Nao Nossa Senhora da Graça em que veo por Capitão-mor da Viagem de André Pessoa no anno de 1609,” in *Literatura e Cultura: percursos críticos*, ed. Maria Cristina Pimentel Campos and Gerson Luiz Roani (Viçosa: Arka Editora, 2010), pp. 103–35.

228 *Puesto en peligro dos vezes esta ciudad y estados de perderse una con los sangleys y otra con los xaponees antes que yo llegasse a esta tierra y despues haciendo officio de general el licenciado Tellez aver sido causa por su mal orden que su hijo y otros soldados matassen ochenta o cien xapones sin culpa sin armas, desnudos metidos devaxo de las camas aviendose ydo*

Japanese were arrested and sent to Japan.²²⁹ In that same year, Vivero de Velasco's delegation to Tokugawa Ieyasu restricted travel to Manila to merchants and sailors only, after receiving, on 6 August 1608, Tokugawa's permission to execute all Japanese who provoked rebellions in the Philippines.²³⁰ Nevertheless, these measures to avoid the establishment of mercenaries/pirates in Manila were not respected, and in 1609, another 19 Japanese were expelled from Manila due to conflicts with the Spanish authorities.²³¹

In 1615, approximately 500 Japanese mercenaries took part in Governor Juan de Silva's expedition (1609–16) against the Dutch in the Malacca Strait. Simultaneously, another fleet composed of 500 Spaniards and 700 Japanese and Pampango Indians protected Manila from a Dutch attack.²³²

At the same time, the relationship between Spanish and Japanese authorities in Manila was deteriorating, as some groups of mercenaries were employed by Dutch fleets, as happened in 1619,²³³ and in 1623.²³⁴

In 1621, fearing that the armed Japanese mercenaries and residents of the city might provoke riots, the Spanish fleet that intended to fight the Dutch and English remained in Manila so that it would "not be left and abandoned [...] and because there are so many Japanese it has been and it is a negligence and failure to leave them (alone in Manila)."²³⁵

In 1620, the Japanese Don Alonso Fajardo y Ocsaba was the Japanese community's leader, followed by Juan Antonio de Vega in 1625. In 1630, Miguel de Silva became leader. He was known as the "governor of the Japanese."²³⁶

solo a prender ocho xapones porque no (sic) deçian al fraile de la doctrina todo por ambiçion. Letter from Juan Manuel de la Vega to the King of Spain, 8-07-1609. AGI, Filipinas, 20, r. 3, n.º 26, fol. 15. After mentioning this event the letter also mentions that the Spanish soldiers, commanded by General Telez, had illegally captured between 1500 and 2000 Indians, enslaving them. Gil, "Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII," p. 36.

229 Gil, "Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII," p. 36.

230 Borao, "La colonia de Japoneses en Manila," pp. 13–14.

231 Gil, "Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII," p. 36.

232 Borao, "La colonia de Japoneses en Manila," p. 12, n. 32.

233 *Se quedan en esa ciudad dos mil Japónes que no son de provecho a la republica, sino de notable riesgo, pues tres o 4 veces la han puesto a peligro de perderse, y en la ultima ocasion que hubo con los Holandeses se pasaron a ayudarles una compañia de Japónes que se vyeron de esa ciudad.* Document 101. Letter from the King to Pedro de Ledesma. San Lorenzo, 5-09-1620. *Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, p. 157.

234 Iwao, "Japanese Emigrants," p. 12; Seiichi Iwao, *Early Japanese Settlers in the Philippines*, 26; Borao, "La colonia de Japoneses en Manila," p. 18.

235 Document 104. Letter from the King / Juan Ruiz Contreras to the Governor of the Philippines. Madrid, 31-12-1622. *Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, p. 161.

236 Gil, *Los Chinos*, p. 154.

Curiously, I have found references to another Japanese with the same name, Miguel de Silva, living in Lima, Peru, in 1608–12.²³⁷ Were they the same person?

There is more information on Japanese mercenaries serving the Spaniards in 1639. Juan Tete Manço (Manso) was the leader of the Japanese in Dilao, and eventually died fighting the Chinese in that year.²³⁸ Miguel Yamat, the military chief of the mercenaries, survived, being succeeded by Miguel Sánchez/Sancho.²³⁹ The latter appears to have carried out his duties with great efficiency by being the only military commander who occupied this post for several years, in 1640,²⁴⁰ 1643,²⁴¹ 1645,²⁴² and 1646.²⁴³ Two other prominent Japanese were Miguel de la Cruz/Miguel de Silva, the Japanese military chief in 1644 and the Japanese community's leader in 1647, and Miguel Camanda, the Japanese military chief in 1642.

Macao

Although there is less information for Macao than the Philippines, we know that the Japanese there were also used as soldiers/mercenaries in trade and war, at least from 1582. In that year, a Japanese unit headed by Moro João traveled aboard the Macao commercial ship.²⁴⁴ This boat, assigned to trade with Nagasaki, was shipwrecked in Taiwan,²⁴⁵ and from there was brought back to Macao after it was reconstructed. The same crew would be used by Captain Sebastião/Bastian Moxar during his first visit to Manila. Although we do not have specific references to any Japanese, it is very likely they were included on this trip.²⁴⁶ Another unmistakable reference to such mercenaries serving the Portuguese in Macao dates back to 1597, when on 16 April King Philip II promulgated a law prohibiting Japanese from using weapons in Macao and imposing heavy penalties for violators. Through this measure, it can be argued that it

237 AGN, Protocolos Notariales N° 268. Escribano Alonso Carrión, fol. 262.

238 AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fol. 20.

239 AGI, Contaduría, 1220, fol. 17.

240 AGI, Contaduría, 1220, fol. 17.

241 AGI, Contaduría, 1224, fol. 35.

242 AGI, Contaduría, 1224, fol. 79v.

243 AGI, Contaduría, 1225B, fols. 77v–78; Gil, “Los Japoneses en Manila en el Siglo XVII,” p. 37.

244 *Monumenta Missionum Societatis IESU*, p. 387; BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, Códice 49-V-3, Pires S.J., *Pontos do que me alembra*, fol. 4; De Sousa, *The Jewish Diaspora and the Pérez Family Case*, p. 81.

245 As for the first contacts between Europeans and Taiwan, see: De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, pp. 49–62, and Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), pp. 1–99.

246 De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, pp. 75–80.

is likely a large part of the Japanese community in China was composed of mercenaries and soldier-slaves. As for free mercenaries, in case of non-compliance, they would be confined to spend ten years exiled in the galleys. As for the soldier-slaves, anyone who disregarded this law by carrying *katanas*,²⁴⁷ large or small, either alone or in the company of their masters, would be sent to India's galleys forever.²⁴⁸

One can conclude, however, that in Macao the local community did not follow this, as common citizens and clerics alike were still accompanied by armed Japanese.²⁴⁹

At the beginning of 17th century, the Japanese caused disturbances and incited a riot in Macao. Contrary to what would happen in the Philippines, the Portuguese did not resort to violence to resolve the problem, but reached an agreement satisfying Japanese demands through diplomatic channels. By such means, the Portuguese sought to prevent any future riots and dissimulate the occurred situation in the face of constant Chinese vigilance (the Japanese presence in Macao was considered a serious menace for the Chinese authorities).²⁵⁰ Unfortunately, I was not able to identify the causes of the riot and what kind of demands had been made.

However, the city authorities were on guard against the possibility of a new riot and forbade the Japanese to use guns. Unfortunately, in a deliberate disregard of such an instruction, the Japanese began to walk the streets of Macao carrying arquebuses and *catanas*, inciting the population.²⁵¹ The high number of slaves coming from Japan to Macao, as well as Japanese mercenaries serving the Portuguese, was again noticed by the Chinese authorities in 1608. On that year, a ship diverted from its route, belonging to the *daimyo* of Arima, arrived at Macao. According to the Jesuit João Rodrigues Girão, groups of 30 to 40 armed Japanese men walked freely through the city. At one point, one of these groups attempted to steal a boat that belonged to a Macao citizen. According to Portuguese sources, their goal was to plunder the city and subsequently leave for Japan.²⁵²

247 A Japanese curved, single-edged blade sword.

248 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. 3º, parte 2, 1861, pp. 763–64.

249 Letter from Manuel Dias, Macao, 5-12-1615, ARSI, Jap Sin, 16 11-b, fol. 249v.

250 *Jaa os annos atras fizeram outro alevantamento na mesma çidade com que se dissimulou por os não agravar fazendolhes o que pedião recebendo sobretudo a çidade pellos agasalhar muita opressão dos chinas porb serem ynimigos*. Document 82. *Consulta do Conselho das Índias*, Lisbon, 4-01-1612. *Documentos relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón sacados del Archivo General de Indias y otras Bibliotecas*, p. 94.

251 De Sousa, "The Japanese and the Portuguese from 1580–1614," p. 246.

252 Boxer, 'Antes quebrar que torcer', p. 10.

It is known that the Chinese authorities contacted the Portuguese asking them to deliver to them these men, in order to solve this problem. The Portuguese, who did not want to obey, asked the Japanese to disguise themselves and hide their weapons in order to pass unnoticed by the Chinese authorities, a request the Japanese did not comply with, putting the city's very survival in danger.²⁵³ Soon after, the situation worsened, with a new clash between the Portuguese and another group of Japanese who were in Macao.²⁵⁴ The Portuguese authorities sent the judicial magistrate to diplomatically and quietly resolve the conflict so as not to alarm the Chinese authorities. However, this attempt proved disastrous, leaving the magistrate seriously injured. At the same time, the son of a prominent Macao citizen was killed, and some Portuguese and their slaves were wounded. The Portuguese then resorted to military force to resolve the situation. We know that some Japanese surrendered, while those who continued to fight barricaded themselves in a house. Toward the end of the struggle, the resisting Japanese were aided by the Arima *daimyo*'s subjects, who joined in the fight, although this was a futile gesture. The fighters were finally given an ultimatum. Due to the intervention of Jesuit priests, those who surrendered would be freed after being punished.²⁵⁵ The last 40 barricaded in the house ended up being killed. After the incident, several testimonies were collected from the Japanese and a judicial investigation was begun. One man, considered the chief instigator, was secretly killed, while the others were sent back to Japan.²⁵⁶

The outcome of this conflict alarmed Chinese authorities. Slavery, associated with the alliance with Japanese mercenaries in Chinese territory, began to be seen as a serious menace to the Chinese authorities, fearing that they could attack and attempt to invade China through Macao. The 1608 confrontation and its repercussions in Macao and Nagasaki did not please the Chinese authorities. I believe that in wake of this context, the Portuguese authorities in Macao were pressured to put an end to this situation regarding the presence of Japanese slavery in Macao.

In 1614, Zhang Minggang (張鳴岡)²⁵⁷ fearing the Japanese presence in Macao and in the Portuguese ships issued a resolution to clear the sea and Macao of "Japanese pirates."

In the resolution the Portuguese of Macao were defined as "tigers" and the Japanese, their "wings," which shows that the Portuguese and Japanese

253 Ibid., p. 11.

254 Ibid., p. 11.

255 Ibid., p. 11.

256 Ibid., p. 12.

257 Chinese commander of Guang-dong (Canton).

association in Macao was known by the Chinese authorities. This apprehension and distrust ended up having a notable negative effect on the city's Japanese community²⁵⁸ when in the same year, the Chinese authorities visited Macao harbor without prior notice, to find it full of "blacks" and Japanese slaves. In that same instance, the Mandarin expelled more than 90 Japanese from Macao who were spotted in the harbor, publicly expressing his fear that the Portuguese would replace them by new Japanese slaves. In order to avoid this, the Mandarin threatened the merchants who traveled to Japan with a Chinese-style trial and beheading if they brought any Japanese to Macao.²⁵⁹

Addressing this menace, the Portuguese justified themselves before the Chinese authorities, arguing that the merchants who had lived there since the founding of the city had obeyed all laws issued by the Chinese authorities, even to the extent of fighting against piracy. To give an example of the enmity between the Portuguese and the Japanese, the city of Macao evoked the episode of Andre Pessoa's ship, which had been sunk in Nagasaki harbor in 1610 as revenge for the persecution of the Japanese that had occurred in Macao harbor two years earlier.

Macao's authorities also alleged that the slaves who had escaped the Portuguese were those who brought the Japanese to China, with the help of the Chinese. As for the 90 Japanese who were expelled from Macao, they could have arrived in an illicit way through the previously mentioned means; hence, the Chinese authorities were requested to forbid the departure of any Chinese vessels to Japan, under the allegation that the Portuguese did not transport Japanese on their boats but the Chinese merchants did the opposite.

It is evident that the Portuguese avoided clearly answering the Chinese authorities' accusations and tried instead to claim that private Chinese merchants of Canton who competed with Macao were the true cause the Japanese had traveled to China and Macao. The Portuguese thus denied being involved in the trafficking of Japanese slaves, as well as their merchants having any direct connection with Japanese mercenaries.²⁶⁰

In 1622, however, the Portuguese of Macao once again turned to Japanese mercenaries to protect the city.²⁶¹ That year, on 29 May four ships appeared off

258 Zhao Chuncheng, *Monografia Abreviada de Macau* (Guangzhou: Editora do Ensino Superior de Cantão, 1988), pp. 21–22.

259 António Bocarro, *Década 13 da História da Índia* (Lisbon: Academia Real das Ciências, 1876), Cap. CLXXVIII, pp. 724–26.

260 *Ibid.*, pp. 730–31.

261 Luís da Cunha Gonçalves, *Camões não esteve em Macau* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1927), p. 29; *Fontes para a História de Macau no Século XVII*, ed. Elsa Penalva and Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2009), p. 353.

the coast of Macao: two English and two of Dutch origin. Some more Dutch and English ships arrived on 22 June. The English ships stayed at some distance, deciding not to participate in the attack. On 23 June 1622, a violent battle lasting several hours began. Fighting resumed the following day. Macao was at that time without much of its male population as most men, including a contingent of 400 soldiers, were abroad trading.

While the Portuguese were accompanied by African slaves and Japanese mercenaries, the Dutch also included a group of Japanese mercenaries. One of the latter defected to the Portuguese side, informing the Europeans and Macanese of the plans and weak points of the invaders.²⁶² During the clashes, a Jesuit priest shot a gun and blew up a wagon loaded with gunpowder. This unexpected explosion caused panic among the Dutch, who fled, suspecting it was an ambush; many of them were killed in retreat. After this unexpected victory, the Portuguese, in gratitude for their efforts in battle, freed their African slaves.²⁶³ There is no information about what happened to the Japanese mercenaries.

Goa

The Japanese also played a very important role in the defense of the Portuguese commercial warehouse in Goa. There is, however, a difference between Japanese military contingents in the Philippines and Macao and those in Goa. While in the former the Japanese mercenaries were free men, in Goa they were slaves were serving the Portuguese. This situation was first publicly recorded in 1603, when King Philip III attempted to republish a 1570 Sebastian law against Japanese slavery in Goa. The local citizens revolted against this and hindered its implementation, putting their arguments forward via an important letter sent to the King on 30 December 1603. In it they informed the monarch that the State of India had a high number of Japanese slaves and that these were necessary for the defense of the island of Goa, as the number of Portuguese men was insufficient. This thinking was further founded on the fact that the Japanese slaves were great fighters and, if granted their freedom, would lend their services to enemies within Goa and, by rioting, could kill the Portuguese as they were more numerous than their masters. Those Portuguese who had five or six of these slaves were given as an example:

Moreover, this State is full of them, who, as captives of their masters, are ready to defend them, because the Portuguese are not able to fill the

262 Montalto de Jesus, *Macao Histórico*, pp. 81–82.

263 *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 82–87.

smallest bastion of this island, and war being offered, there are Portuguese well provided with five and six young men with their rifles on their flanks; Also, these people are quarrelsome, and being released, there is no doubt that they rise up with this land, plotting with the enemies we have before our eyes, and kill us all, because there are many more than us: And so it is, that with the equanimity of this liberty they have already risen, and their lords give notice of them.²⁶⁴

This same message was resent in 1605, in a second letter sent by Goa's City Hall to King Philip III. This letter also makes important references to the Dutch blockage of Goa, conducted in September and October 1604.²⁶⁵ During this conflict the Portuguese were assisted by many Japanese slaves/mercenaries. The same missive also states that some Portuguese even had between seven and eight Japanese soldier-slaves.²⁶⁶

Malacca

Japanese mercenaries in Malacca also played an important role in defending the city. Their presence was particularly noticeable in 1606, during the three months of Dutch siege, when Captain André Furtado de Mendonça was able to withstand the attack thanks to the mercenaries, who formed a notable part of the Malacca garrison.

The second time the Japanese mercenaries' presence was noted was in 1617, by the Captain of Malacca, João de Silveira. He had a Japanese military unit at his service, which he had personally hired and organized. Captain Silveira was not one of the most well-known captains of Malacca, since his governance was quite short (1617). The origin of these mercenaries is not mentioned in the Portuguese sources. There are two possibilities for this omission: first, they could be Japanese who had left Japan due to religious persecution, or, most likely, they belonged to a Japanese military unit composed of 500 Japanese mercenaries who, in 1615, had been part of the expedition of Governor Silva

264 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. 1º, parte 2ª, 1876, 127.

265 Felipe Vieira de Castro, *The Peper Wreck: A Portuguese Indiaman at the Mouth of the Tagus River* (Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2005), p. 70; *Security, Diplomacy and Commerce in Seventeenth-Century Southeast Asia: The Memorials, Letters and Treaties of VOC Admiral Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge*, ed. Peter Borschberg (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2015), pp. 207, 310.

266 *sahia um cazado desta cidade com sete, oito destes moços com suas espingardas e lanças, porque só estes ha na Índia escravos que prestem pera armas*. Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. 1º, parte 2ª, 1876, 158.

against the Dutch in the Strait of Malacca,²⁶⁷ later remaining in this city at the service of the Portuguese.²⁶⁸

Awareness of this presence in Malacca became public after an investigation into the behavior of Captain Silveira, who was accused of corruption. The latter also had a dispute with the Bishop of the City, Gonçalo da Silva (1613–32), invading the church with the assistance of Japanese mercenaries.²⁶⁹

Upon being informed of the incident between the captain and the Bishop, the King's representatives sent instructions from him to the Viceroy of Portuguese India in two letters, both dated 1 February 1618. The first tells him to arrest the Captain of Malacca and send him to Europe to be tried.²⁷⁰ The second letter states that Japanese should not hold military positions in Malacca, because:

A great disorder may occur, and seeing how dangerous it is to use the so-called Japanese, as they are not faithful people, as has been seen in many cases in which they have shown it, particularly in a square as important as that, and so desired [...] how is it to be allowed in a square so surrounded by enemies that armed Japanese come into it, from whose infidelity so irreparable damage may occur.²⁷¹

Subsequently, from 1618 onwards the monarch forbade the hiring of Japanese mercenaries for the defense of the city. In addition to the Japanese, Malaysian and Javanese soldiers are also mentioned. Finally, the monarch ordered the city be protected by military units exclusively composed of Portuguese.²⁷²

The Portuguese Viceroy of India, in his response to this letter on 9 February 1619, claimed that his representative had instructed Captain Silveira to dismiss

267 Ibid., p. 12, n. 32.

268 Peter Borschberg, *The Singapore and Malacca Straits: Violence, Security, and Diplomacy in the 17th Century* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2010), p. 153.

269 This episode is mentioned in two letters written on the same day by the King to the Viceroy of India, Lisbon, 1 February 1618. *Documentos Remetidos da Índia*, vols. III–IV, pp. 297, 300–01.

270 Letter from the King's representatives to the Viceroy of India, Lisbon, 1-02-1618. Ibid., pp. 300–01. According to the letter from the Viceroy of India to the King (Goa, 14-02-1619), the Captain of Malacca, João da Silveira, had been arrested and held in Goa prison. Ibid., pp. 300–02.

271 Letter from the King's representatives to the Viceroy of India, Lisbon, 1-02-1618. Ibid., pp. 297–98.

272 Letter from the King's representatives to the Viceroy of India, Lisbon, 1-02-1618. Ibid., pp. 297–98.

the Japanese mercenaries,²⁷³ and that this had already been accomplished. After that date, a law that only Portuguese soldiers could be hired for defense was implemented. However, should there be a shortage of such soldiers, captains could use Japanese, Javanese, or Malays without paying them a salary.²⁷⁴

This letter demonstrates that, despite royal orders, the Portuguese colony in Malacca could not manage without Asian soldiers for its defense; it sought to get around the law with the use of non-contracted/paid (namely slave) Asian military units, something that had also happened in Goa in the early 16th century. It is equally worth noting that, in the 17th century, mercenary soldiers and Japanese-born slaves replaced African slaves in the defense of Malacca.²⁷⁵

Conclusions

During the 16th century, and especially during the first half of the 17th, many Japanese lived in territories controlled by the Habsburgs and fought for the Portuguese and Spanish. As shown by the documentation that I have gathered, such Japanese were extremely important in defending the main Iberian cities in Asia, as well as in military campaigns. Although we do not know in detail the profile of these men, according to the documents I was able to divide them into two types: mercenaries and soldier-slaves.

Their marginal presence probably originated in the *Wokou*; they were a continuation of the stateless pirates who circulated the seas of China and, at a later stage, would be forced or self-exiled refugees who, due to religious persecution, decided to settle outside Japan. With no means of subsistence, these well-trained Japanese, connoisseurs of the art of war, sold their services to those who paid most, be they Spaniards, Portuguese, or Dutch.

Mexico

The Asian System of Entry to the Americas

Although the “Manila galleon”²⁷⁶ or “galleon of China”²⁷⁷ route connecting Manila to Acapulco was established in 1565, the Japanese arrived in the Americas relatively later than other Asian peoples, namely the Filipino. Despite the existence of irrefutable proof of Japanese presence in Mexico during the 1580s, the

273 The judicial magistrate Diogo Lobo Pereira.

274 Letter from the Viceroy of India to the King, Goa, 9-02-1619. *Ibid.*, pp. 298–99.

275 The slaves we referred to were mostly from Mozambique and served in the mercenary armies of rich Portuguese private traders. De Sousa, *The Early European Presence*, p. 122.

276 *Galeón de Manila*.

277 *Nao de China*.

systematic registration of Asian free men and slaves who entered Acapulco harbor started only in 1590, with the establishment of the Caja de Real Hacienda, commonly known as Caja de Acapulco. In 1593, the King decided that both this route and transpacific commercial traffic should belong to the Spanish Crown and not to private agents.²⁷⁸ At the same time, this commercial route started to be officially traveled by two galleons, the *Capitana* and the *Almiranta*. The first was led by a commander, whereas the second by an admiral. However, in many cases, a “convey” of two galleons was not enough to keep the cargo safe, mainly from Dutch and English attacks. Therefore, a *convoy de los galeones* fleet was created to escort them.

Although Acapulco was the main harbor there were preliminary ports of call in this transpacific maritime trade route. Before arriving at its destination, the convey used to stop at ports such as Chiametla, Navidad, or Columa. These were used to supply the ships and to alert New Spain authorities of the imminent arrival at Acapulco. This was also the route by which some Asians entered Mexico.

The *pliegos* (royal declarations), addressed to the Viceroy of New Spain, were sent through such ports, and from there they were taken to Mexico City by land, along with the news that the “Manila galleon” was about to unload its cargo at Acapulco.²⁷⁹

The Japanese in Mexico

In the Americas, the Japanese did not receive any special treatment or differentiation from other Asian groups arriving aboard the Manila galleon. In fact, they were commonly integrated into the category of “Chinese” and treated as such.

The first Japanese probably arrived in Mexico during the 16th century. This can be verified as early as 1584, when Alonso de Oñate, “Procurer-general of miners and owner of mines in Ixmiquilpan,” requested 3,000 to 4,000 African slaves, as well as Chinese, Japanese, and Javanese, to be sent to the Philippines. The Asian slaves worked as servants in the households of the local elite, as

278 María Fernanda García de los Arcos, “Filipinas en el Imperio de Felipe II,” in *Felipe II y el oficio de rey: la fragua de un imperio*, ed. José Francisco Román Gutiérrez, Enrique Martínez Ruiz, and Jaime González Rodríguez (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001), p. 276.

279 Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, “El alcalde de los chinos en la provincia de Colima durante el siglo XVII: un sistema de representación en torno a un oficio,” *Letras Históricas* 1 (2009): 96.

“they were more skillful people and good at housekeeping.”²⁸⁰ On the other hand, the black African slaves were used for heavy jobs in the Mexican mines.

Oñate’s request was dismissed by the Spanish authorities.²⁸¹ However, this document shows that there was precedent of Chinese, Japanese, and Javanese slaves working in American mining regions.

The first known Japanese presence in the Americas dates back to 1587, when a galleon called *Santa Ana*, that had left Manila, was intercepted by the pirate/corsair Sir Thomas Cavendish (1560–1592) along the coast of California. After sacking the ship, which was kept afloat with the help of Indian and African slaves who bailed out the water that entered its hull, Cavendish decided to go to the Moluccas Islands. Most of the boat’s crew was left on the beach there, with provisions and some weapons to defend themselves. The only exceptions were the pilots Alonzo of Valladolid, Sebastián Rodríguez Cerme, and Miguel Sánchez. Valladolid was accompanied by the Filipino slave Francisco Mangabay from Panay Island while Sánchez did not belong to the *Santa Ana*’s crew, being a “spoil” from another sacked ship. Cavendish was also accompanied by a Portuguese sailor, two Japanese brothers called Cristóbal and Cosme, who were probably slaves, aged 20 and 17, respectively, and three Filipinos: Alphonso, 15, Anthony de Dasi/de Asís, 13, and a boy of unknown name, 9.²⁸² The scholar Thomas Andrew Lockley has recently researched this episode and their lives in England after their arrival in London on 12 November 1588. However, it seems important to highlight that, although they had traveled to the Americas, neither Cristóbal nor Cosme actually lived in this continent. The first known Japanese to live in the Americas, more precisely in Mexico City, was Tome Valdes. Born in Nagasaki in 1577, he was sold as a slave in his hometown to the Portuguese merchant Francisco Rodrigues Pinto. Pinto had arrived in Nagasaki in the 16th century and was still living in the city at the beginning of the following century. While serving Pinto, Valdes witnessed one of the most interesting periods in the history of Nagasaki and lived side by side with some

280 *crear que era gente más doméstica y hábil para el trabajo*. Manuel Castillo Martos, *Barotomé de Medina y el siglo XVI* (Santander: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cantabria, 2006), p. 152.

281 *Ibid.*, p. 152.

282 “[B]ut before his departure, he tooke out of this great shippe two yong lads borne in Japon, which could both wright and reade their owne language, the eldest being about 20 yeers olde was named Christopher, the other was called Cosmus, about 17 yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He tooke also with him out of their ship, 3 boyes borne in the isles of Manilla, the one about 15, the other about 13, and the yongest about 9 yeeres old. The name of the eldest was Alphonso, the second Anthony de Dasi, the third remaineth with the right honourable the Countesse of Essex.” Thomas Lockley, “From the Land of the Gods to the Realm of the Queen: Japanese Mariners in Tudor England,” (forthcoming).

of the people who belonged to an extraordinary community: the first of Jewish origin to ever live in Japan. His owner, as well as numerous other merchants, had chosen to live in Nagasaki not only because of the economic advantages that trade in this region provided, but mainly to escape religious persecution against people of Jewish origin. Valdes, as a privileged witness, met the main *judeo-converso* traders in the city, and heard their stories. His life in Nagasaki ended when his owner decided to sell him, probably to Captain António Arçola, whom he accompanied in 1596 on his trip to the Americas.²⁸³ Although we do not know the exact date of Valdes's departure and arrival in Acapulco, we know that he lived in Mexico City from 1596.²⁸⁴

In 1597, three other Japanese men—Gaspar Fernandes, Ventura, and Miguel Jerónimo—whose life stories were discussed in Chapter 6, arrived in the same city. In 1600, Pedro, a “Japanese Indian,” also lived in Mexico; he is mentioned in an employment contract. His new owner was advised to never remove his chains to avoid the risk of him escaping.²⁸⁵ This clearly reveals Pedro's difficult situation and the physical and psychological trauma he had suffered since his sale in Japan.

At the beginning of the 16th century, on an uncertain date, a female Japanese slave baptized as Catalina de Bastidos also arrived in Mexico City. She is the first known Japanese woman to have lived in the Americas. After a love affair with the Portuguese trader Francisco Leitão/Leiton, she obtained her freedom on the day of her marriage to Francisco. Nevertheless, she was treated with suspicion by her neighbors, who disparaged her for her Japanese origin as well as for originally being a slave. To defend herself, Catalina would claim that her enslavement had been illegal as she had been born free.²⁸⁶

Another interesting story, covering the period 1603 to 1612, is that of Domingo López Japón. We do not know exactly when Domingo arrived on the American continent. However, it is a known fact that he lived in Mexico and served the Dominican friar Pedro Hernández, who obtained a permit for this effect from the Viceroy. Conversely, this permit's content, that is, if Domingo was a lifelong or temporary slave, is unknown. A petition forwarded to the official judges of the house of the Contración de las Indias/house of Trade of the

283 AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fols. 446–447.

284 Ibid., fols. 446–446v.

285 Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, p. 124. ANM, Juan Pérez de Rivera 3357, fol. 91 (1600).

286 Francisco Morales, *Ethnic and Social Background of the Franciscan Friars in Seventeenth Century Mexico* (Washington, DC: Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History, 1973), pp. 46–53. Déborah Oropeza Keresey, “La esclavitud asiática en el virreinato de la Nueva España, 1565–1673,” *Historia Mexicana* 61(1) (2011): 42. AGN, Civil, vol. 365, exp. 7, fol. 358.

Indies in Seville²⁸⁷ by Hernández on 17 October 1607, reveals that Domingo was imprisoned. Where is uncertain, since the document is not very precise; however, we are led to believe that he was imprisoned in the house of the Contración de las Indias/house of Trade of the Indies in Seville. The reason for this imprisonment is not clear either, but there are two credible possibilities: the first, it would be that Domingo traveled from the Americas to Spain without a valid license; the second, and most likely, is that it was directly related to the anti-slavery laws of the early 17th century.

In the petition forwarded to the Contración de las Indias, the friar requested the release of Domingo as well as the restitution of the license containing the Viceroy's permit.

The petition resulted in Domingo's release. It is unknown if he continued in Friar Hernández's service. Nonetheless, we know that on 4 June 1612, King Philip III granted him a special license to travel to the Philippines. Domingo's intention seemed to be to return to Japan.²⁸⁸ This document is also of interest in that the first page contains his signature.²⁸⁹

Numerous Japanese, whose names are unknown, also secretly arrived in the Americas, as mentioned in Spanish sources. For example, in 1609, during the rule of former Governor of the Philippines, Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco, the galleon *San Francisco* sank in the Chiba region on his return trip to New Spain. After introducing himself as an ambassador to the King of Spain, Vivero obtained permission to build a boat and continue his trip. In August 1610, the *San Buenaventura*, entirely built in Japan, left for the Americas. On board were 23 Japanese, probably headed by Tanaka Shōsuke. They are mentioned by the chronicler San Antón Muñón Chimalpáhin (1579–1660), who states that only 17 of them returned to Japan, aboard Captain Sebastián Vizcaíno's galleon. Although he claims that "17 returned to their homes. Three were left here in Mexico,"²⁹⁰ the actual number left is likely to be between three and six.

287 Was established in 1503 in Seville, the house of Trade of the Indies collected colonial taxes and duties, approved all voyages (trade and exploration) and administered commercial law. AGI, *Contratación*, 5325, N. 44, fol. 2.

288 *Ibid.*, fol. 3.

289 *Ibid.*, fol. 1.

290 *Regresaron a su casa 17. Fueron dejados aquí en México tres*. Melba Falck Reyes and Héctor Palacios, "Japanese Merchants in 17th Century Guadalajara," *Revista Iberoamericana* 22(2) (2011): 198; Hayashiya, "Los japoneses que se quedaron en México," p. 14; Miguel León Portilla, "La embajada de los japoneses en México: El testimonio en náhuatl del cronista Chimalpahin," in *El Galeón del Pacífico, Acapulco-Manila 1565–1815*, coord. Javier Wimer (Mexico: Instituto Guerrerense de Cultura, Gobierno del Estado de Guerrero, 1992), pp. 145–46.

The second case involves another journey to Japan, also by Vizcaíno, who wanted to introduce himself as an ambassador to Tokugawa Hidetada (徳川 秀忠, 1579–1632). He returned a 4000 *pesos* loan granted by Ieyasu to Vivero and mapped the Japanese archipelago in order to identify the mythical islands “Rica de Ouro” and “Rica de Prata.”²⁹¹

In March 1611, Vizcaíno left Acapulco, arrived at the Japanese port of Uraga two and a half months later, and stayed in Japan for two years. On 28 October 1613, Vizcaíno, Luis Sotelo, and around 150–180 Japanese departed on the *San Juan Bautista* to Acapulco. This was the Keichō delegation, led by Hasekura Rikueemon Tsunenaga. On 25 January 1614 the vessel arrived at Acapulco, leaving almost immediately for Mexico City. Approximately 80 Japanese stayed in Acapulco, waiting for Tsunenaga’s return. On 24 March 1614, the delegation was officially granted an audience by the Spanish authorities in Mexico City. At the same time, news of the destruction of churches and deaths in Japan started to arrive. In order to demonstrate their loyalty to Christianity, many of the Japanese were baptized in the San Francisco church. Meanwhile, Tsunenaga left for Spain, accompanied by an entourage ranging from 20 to 30 Japanese and Friar Luis Sotelo. Approximately 50 to 60 Japanese stayed in Mexico City, awaiting his return.²⁹² According to Chimalpáhin, they settled in the city to “trade as merchants.”²⁹³ After a trip through Spain, France, and Italy, in June 1616 the delegation departed from the port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Spain. The trip proceeded to Mexico, where the group arrived in 1617. On 20 June 1618, the delegation finally arrived at Manila, and at Nagasaki on 22 September 1620. The majority of the Japanese who had remained in Mexico returned to Japan via the Manila galleon, a few got married and had children in Acapulco and Mexico City, and the remainder departed for other areas of New Spain. For example, Juan de la Barranca, one of the members of the delegation, served as a soldier in the city of Veracruz, having been granted, as a reward for the

291 These islands can be found in ancient maps of Japan produced by European cartographers. Nebenzahal, *Mapping the Silk Road*, pp. 70–71; Mihoko Oka, “Elusive Islands of Silver: Japan in the Early European Geographic Imagination,” in *Cartographic Japan*, ed. Kären Wigen, Sugimoto Fumiko, and Cary Karacas (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016), pp. 20–23.

292 Osami Takizawa, “La delegación diplomática enviada a Roma por el Señor Feudal Japonés Date Masamune (1613–1620),” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 205(1) (2008): 137–58.

293 *Mercadejar como comerciantes*. Miguel León-Portilla, “La embajada de los japoneses en México, 1614. El testimonio en náhuatl del cronista Chimalpáhin,” *Estudios de Asia y África: El Colegio de México*, vol. 48 (1981): 215–41; Carrillo, “Asians to New Spain,” p. 74; Chimalpáhin, *Diario*, ed. and tr. R. Tena (Mexico: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Colección Cien de México), pp. 377, 389, 397.

services rendered to the Spanish Crown, the privilege of being able to bear “sword and dagger,” a privilege extended to his children.²⁹⁴ Likewise, Francisco de Cárdenas received the same privilege from the Count of Salvatierra, being able to bear an arquebus after serving as a soldier at the port of Huatulco.²⁹⁵

In an unknown year, the free Japanese Luis de la Cruz, asked Mexico’s Real Audiencia Court for a permit to cut wood and transport merchandise for his shop.²⁹⁶ Also on an uncertain date, two Japanese, Diego Baez and Diego de la Cruz, asked the Secretaría da Camara for a permit to travel freely. Both of them were “itinerant traders” and worked together.²⁹⁷

Further information regarding the arrival of the Japanese to Mexico is connected with the trip of Friar Diego de Santa Catalina. He left the port of Acapulco, heading to Japan, in 1615. After arriving in Japan, he was compelled to return to New Spain, as he was forbidden to carry any Japanese on that vessel. However, despite this prohibition, some Japanese merchants secretly came aboard and traveled to the Americas.²⁹⁸

Some Japanese also traveled to the Americas under their own steam. In this group we can find the slave Min who, in 1604, asked the authorities for a permit to marry Úrsula, a slave from “Portuguese India.”²⁹⁹ Also, Juan Antonio Japón, who lived in Mexico and became very poor. With no economic resources to return to Japan he asked the King for assistance and on 3 February 1624, received a 50 *ducat* award for having helped the judicial magistrate of the Real Audiencia Pedro de Vergara Gabiria.³⁰⁰

In the village of Xochimilco, there were also two Japanese merchants named Franco Xuo and Juan Diego. In 1634, they both borrowed 100 *pesos* from another Japanese named Franco Romano.³⁰¹

294 Carrillo, “Asians to New Spain,” p. 99; AGN, Indios, vol. 24, exp. 21, fol. 15 (1666).

295 De Sousa, *Escravatura e Diáspora Japonesa*, p. 86; Carrillo, “Asians to New Spain,” p. 107; AGN, Reales Cédulas Duplicadas, Junio 22 de 1644, vol. 48, Expediente 327, fols. 223–223v.

296 AGN, Indif. Virreinal, caja-exp.: 5185-065, Industria y Comercio, fol. 2.; De Sousa, *Escravatura e Diáspora Japonesa*, p. 85; Carrillo, “Asians to New Spain,” p. 109.

297 AGN, Indif. Virreinal, caja-exp.: 4886-026, General de Parte, Año: sf, fol. 2.

298 Reyes and Palacios, “Japanese Merchants in 17th Century Guadalajara,” p. 201.

299 Although I found this reference in AGN, I could not locate the original document. Carrillo seems to have found the document, having cited it in Carrillo, “Asians to New Spain,” p. 130.

300 Archivo Histórico Nacional, Codices L. 752, N. 287, Juan Antonio Japón. AGI, Indiferente General, Legajo 583 (12818. No. 287. Japon, Juan Antonio), 527 and 754. I have used the copy available at the Historiographical Institute, University of Tokyo, Japan.

301 *Un Japón que estaba y está en el dicho pueblo (Ahuacatlán) que abrá cuatro años que se bautizó*. Tatiana Seijas, “Transpacific Servitude: The Asian Slaves of Mexico, 1580–1700,” PhD diss., Yale University, 2008, p. 100. ANM Hernando Arauz 9-184r (1634).

We also have information about the existence of a small group of Japanese people in Mexico's Guadalajara region between 1624 and 1642. Some of them became prominent members of the local society.³⁰² The first document, dated February 1624, mentions "a Japanese that was and is in the said village [Ahuacatlan] who was baptized around four years ago."³⁰³ Taking into account that the year of his baptism would be 1620, it is possible to connect this date with the decision of some of the Keichō delegation members to stay in Mexico.

A second document, dated November 1631, refers the Japanese Juan Anton, a former slave who "bought his freedom from a black man from Don Juan Vizcaíno"³⁰⁴ and whose price of release was 100 *pesos*. There is another reference to Agustín López de la Cruz, "from the nation of Japan,"³⁰⁵ who died on 29 May 1642, at the San Miguel Hospital in Guadalajara.

Luís Encío "Soemon" was another Japanese who lived in Guadalajara.³⁰⁶ Born in 1595, in the town of Fukuchi, in Sendai prefecture, "Encío" was probably his family name and "Soemon" his given name. "Luís" was the name Encío Soemon adopted on the day of his baptism and conversion to Christianity.³⁰⁷ Encío probably arrived in the American continent as a member of the Keichō delegation and stayed there with a few companions. The first documents mentioning his name, described him as *buhonero*, a word that was used in the kingdom of New Spain to describe a hawker. Curiously, this was also given as Diego Baez and Diogo de la Cruz's profession. Still in Ahuacatlan, Encío married the "Indian" Catalina de Silva and fathered his only daughter, Margarita de Encío. In 1634, in Guadalajara, he opened his first shop with his partner, Francisco Reinoso and, in 1647, another with Francisco de Castilla "Chino." In this town, Encío met another Japanese man, called Juan de Paez, with whom he developed a lasting friendship. Paez was born in Osaka in 1608 and arrived in the Americas in 1618, aged only 10. We do not know the exact age he was when he moved to Guadalajara; however, it is documented that, between 1635 and 1636, he married Margarita de Encío, becoming Luís Encío's son-in-law. The Paez–Encío family built a large enough fortune to erase social differences and racial discrimination against Asians who arrived on the Manila galleon, commonly

302 Melba Falck Reyes and Héctor Palacios, *El Japonés que conquistó Guadalajara. La historia de Juan de Páez en la Guadalajara del siglo XVII* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco Juan José Arreola, 2009).

303 Hayashiya, "Los Japoneses que se quedaron en México," p. 10.

304 *Compró la libertad de un negrillo de don Juan Vizcaíno*. This passage demonstrates the acquisition of the Japanese by African slaves. There is also a 1598 reference to African slaves buying Japanese in Nagasaki. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

305 *de nación japon.*

306 Reyes and Palacios, "Japanese Merchants in 17th Century Guadalajara," pp. 191–237.

307 *Ibid.*, p. 191.

known as “chinos.” In official documents Encío avoided signing his name in Japanese, even though he did not know how to sign in Spanish, his son-in-law Paez also tried to avoid referring to his Japanese origin.³⁰⁸ Ironically, Paez became one of the main slave owners in Guadalajara. Encío died in 1666, at the age of 71, and Paez in 1675 at the age of 67.

In the Asian community established in the Puebla region in the 16th and 17th centuries, there was also one Japanese living there among the 47 Asians identified. The remaining Asians came from the Philippines (32), Malacca (3), Cambodia (1), Bengal (2), Ceylon (2), the Mongol territories (1), and Portuguese India (5).³⁰⁹ In the *Archivo del Sagrario Metropolitano de Puebla, Libro de Matrimonios (1605–1624)*, a record of Gregorio Mattheo, “Japanese Indian, native of the town of Amesenda in Japan,”³¹⁰ who married a *mestiza* from Puebla in 1620, can be found.³¹¹

Japanese settled in Mexico City as a result of the Keichō delegation, the Manila galleon, and other commercial voyages between the American and Asian continents. They were sufficiently numerous to establish a “Japanese quarter (Barrio Japonés)” in 1629.³¹² This kind of housing organization, in addition to demonstrating the existence of group consciousness and identity that differentiated the Japanese from other Asians, also reflects a strong and defined social system. In addition to sharing the same nationality, values, language, and interests, the Japanese established in Mexico City also produced offspring. According to Carrillo’s study of the *Book of Baptisms of the Cathedral of Mexico*,³¹³ it is possible to identify three children of Japanese origin among the group of 37 children with *chino* parents baptized in the Cathedral of Mexico City.

The first was Manuel Chino, son of Santiago Chino and the Japanese Madalena González, baptized on 5 October 1637.³¹⁴ The godparents were Francisco and Pascuala, also known as *chinos*.³¹⁵ Next on the list, we have Diego

308 Thomas Calvo, “Japoneses en Guadalajara: ‘Blancos de Honor’ durante el seiscientos mexicano,” *Revista de Indias* 43 (1983): 539, 542; Carrillo, “Asians to New Spain,” p. 108.

309 Carrillo, “Asians to New Spain,” p. 186.

310 *Indio xapón, natural del pueblo de Amesenda en el Xapón*.

311 Rubén Carrillo, “Asia llega a América. Migración e influencia cultural asiática en Nueva España (1565–1815),” *Asiadémica*, p. 92, www.raco.cat (accessed 10 April 2016); AGN, Generalogía, Rollo 1528, Archivo del Sagrario Metropolitano de Puebla, Libro de Matrimonios (1605–1624), fol. 170.

312 Keresev, “Los ‘indios chinos’ en la Nueva España,” p. 119.

313 *Libro de Bautismos de castas del Sagrario de esta Santa Iglesia Catedral de México que comienza en 9 de junio de 1637 hasta 10 de febrero de 1639*.

314 *En cinco de octubre de mill y seiscientos y treinta y siete años con liçençia del cura semanero...*

315 Carrillo, “Asians to New Spain,” p. 131.

Chino and Michaela China, sons of Ventura and Mariana, *chinos* of Japanese origin, who had been baptized in this cathedral.³¹⁶ Both Diego and Michaela belonged to the first known generation with Japanese origin born in Mexico. According to the records, Diego's godfathers were Juan de Alvarado and Juana de la Cruz, both *chinos*. Michaela's godparents were Domingo and María de la Cruz. The surname "Cruz," shared by many Japanese living in Mexico, also leads us to speculate whether Juana and María were of Japanese origin also.

Conclusions

As shown through these documents, Japanese presence in North America is noticeable during the second half of the 16th century. This presence is diverse. Although the majority of the Japanese arrived in the Americas as slaves through Portuguese and Spanish trade networks, others arrived as free men, probably as sailors or members of diplomatic delegations. Unfortunately, due to their conversion to Christianity and adoption of Latin names, it is very difficult to distinguish them or study their assimilation processes after the first generation. Nonetheless, through the examples herein presented, we can conclude that the Japanese took part in the construction of Mexican society.

Another interesting fact is that most Japanese lived in Mexico City, then the center of power of New Spain. Nevertheless, a number of Japanese were dispersed throughout other Mexican regions such as Xochimilco, Ahuacatlan, Huatulco, Puebla and Guadalajara.

Peru

The slave trade led by the Portuguese in Peru can be divided into two stages: the first was the "licenses" and "contracts system" stage,³¹⁷ the second was the "asientos system" stage.³¹⁸ The Portuguese in Peru were the main suppliers of African slaves, and controlled the trade routes linking Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Angola to Spanish America.³¹⁹

During the first period, Portuguese dealers had an active participation in the slave trade through Seville, but access to the Spanish American market was more difficult due to the separation of the two Iberian crowns. In the second

³¹⁶ Ibid., p. 132.

³¹⁷ *Licencias, contratos*.

³¹⁸ *Sistema/régimen de asientos*.

³¹⁹ Barreto, "Extranjeros integrados," p. 134; Linda A. Newson and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2007), pp. 207–10.

period, which covers the integration of Portugal and its dominions under the Habsburgs (1580–1640), access was made easier, as the slave trade became regulated by the *asientos* system. The “asientos” were commercial agreements of the Habsburg Crown with groups of merchants, individuals, or with other monarchies (in peace treaties) to provide the American possessions with slaves. This system was launched in 1595 with Pedro Gomes Reinel’s contract,³²⁰ and continued until Portugal regained its independence in 1640. The only exception were the years between 1609 and 1615, which was the period of mediation by the Casa de la Contratación.³²¹ The *asentistas*, official intermediaries between the monarchy and the slave trader, enjoyed great autonomy, being allowed to annually create a certain number of slaves. While this process was in place, an parallel important and undocumented illegal slave trade also functioned. In order to fulfill the slave supply, the city of Lima had several merchants/commercial agents who represented the interests of key merchants in all these regions mentioned. Curiously, the majority of the “asientos, slave traders, and” Portuguese “commercial agents” were of Jewish origin, being commonly designated as “conversos, New Christians, or men of the nation.”³²²

The first Asians who arrived in Peru took two sea routes: the first, via the Atlantic, connected Macao to Malacca, Goa/Kochi to Lisbon and Seville, and later to Spanish America;³²³ the second, via the Pacific, connected Nagasaki to Macao/Manila and Acapulco.³²⁴ In Spanish America, ports such as Veracruz, Cartagena, and Buenos Aires enjoyed royal permits for the entry (arrival), trade, and distribution of slaves. In contrast to these cities, Lima depended on Cartagena and Panama for its slave supply.³²⁵

320 *Converso* of Portuguese ancestry.

321 Barreto, “Extranjeros integrados,” p. 134.

322 *Conversos, cristãos-novos* or *homens da nação*. Ibid., pp. 135–36.

323 For example, on 7 November 1563, Martín Martínez, a resident of Lima, sold Juan de Arévalo, a *ladino* slave of the Indian of Portugal (*ladino de la india de Portugal*), a blacksmith, aged 25. In this case, *ladino* means “Hispanicized” or “Portuguesized” black “slave/acculturated to Spanish or Portuguese culture, not to be confused with the Ladino languages, or rather Judeo-Portuguese and Spanish-Portuguese spoken by the Sephardic Jews of the Diaspora.” AGN, N-2 XVII Protocolo Notarial de Diego Álvarez, N-1, 8, fols. 129–129v. Lima, 07-11-1563.

324 *En Lima y en todo el Peru viven y andan gentes de todos los mejores lugares, ciudades y billas de Espana y gentes de la nacion portuguesa, gallegos, asturianos, biscaynos, nabarreses, valencianos, de Murcia, franceses, italianos, alemanes y flamencos, griegos y raguseses, corsos, genoveses, mallorquines, canarios, ingleses, moriscos, gente de la Yndia y de la China y otras muchas mesclas y mixturas*. Pilar Latasa and Maribel Fariñas, “El comercio triangular entre Filipinas, México y Perú a comienzos del siglo xvii,” *Revista de Historia Naval* 35 (1991): 13–28.

325 Barreto, “Extranjeros integrados,” p. 135.

Asian presence in Lima was early identified and described by some inhabitants, such as the Portuguese Jewish merchant Pedro de Leon Portocarrero, who, in his description of Peru, devotes an interesting paragraph to the geographical origin of the inhabitants of Lima:

In Lima and throughout Peru live people from all the best places, cities and towns of Spain and people of the Portuguese nation, Galicians, Asturians, Biscayans, Navarrese, Valencians, Murcians, French, Italian, Germans and Flemish, Greeks and Raguseses, Corsicans, Genoese, Mallorcan, Canaries, English, Moorish, people from India and China and many other combinations and mixtures.³²⁶

Although some Japanese might have been in Peru by the end of the second half of the 16th century, the first known information can be found in the census carried out by the clerk Miguel de Contreras. Through his work we know that between 1607 and 1613, 20 Japanese, who were employed and lived in the city of Lima, were put into a group of 114 “Indians” from the “East.”³²⁷ This category meant they were from the “Eastern Indies,”³²⁸ then the applied designation of the Asian continent. Concurrently, it demonstrated that these *indios* came via the Portuguese trade routes.

In total, these individuals amounted to 5.9 per cent of Lima’s total population and were divided into three main categories:

- Indians from Portugal
- Indians from China
- Indians from Japan

There were 20 “Indians” from Japan, whose main trade center was Nagasaki.

Before delving into this population’s migratory process, it is useful to consider the designations that were used in this census. Contrary to what happened in other American regions under the control of the Spanish Crown, the designation and the categories used in this survey were an intriguing mix of

326 Pedro de Leon Portocarrero, *Descripción del virreinato del Peru* (Lima: Editorial Universitaria, Universidad Ricardo Palma, 2009), p. 63; José Loyola Vega, “Japoneses, chinos e indios en Lima cosmopolita de inicios del siglo XVII,” *Cátedra Villarreal* 3 (2015): 156.

327 De Sousa, *Escravidura e a Diáspora Japonesa nos séculos XVI e XVII*, pp. 94–97; Mariano Bonifacio, “Asiáticos en Lima a principios del siglo XVII,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’études andines* 44(2) (2015): 205–36; Vega, “Japoneses, chinos e indios en Lima cosmopolita de inicios del siglo XVII,” pp. 155–72.

328 *Índias Orientais*.

the categories that were used by the Portuguese and the Spanish in Europe. This makes us wonder if these categories were applied in this way given that the routes and the slave boats that brought these people to the American continent were of Portuguese origin. This would have influenced the way slaves were designated in Lima. For example, for the Spanish, the term used to refer to the Asians in Europe and also in New Spain, was “Chino/Chinos,”³²⁹ a term that could encompass different kinds of people, such as Indians and Filipinos. On the other hand, the Portuguese used the term “Índios”³³⁰ to refer to Asians. Both these terms were simultaneously used in this census. Let us take a look at a group of Japanese living in Lima.

The first Japanese who appears on this list was Diego del Prado, 24 years old (b. 1589) who had already lived in Lima for three years. He was single and childless, without any assets/property, and worked as a “soletero”³³¹ and “abridor de cuellos,”³³² on the same street as the government secretary of Lima.³³³ Prado worked with another Japanese *soletero* whose name is unknown. He was also single and was 18 years old (b. 1595). By the time of the census, he was not in Lima, having probably left on a business trip. We do not know since when he moved to the city. Both Prado and his work colleague were free men, as there is no reference whatsoever to any owner. This does not preclude the probability of both being former slaves.³³⁴

The third Japanese was called Xapón. He was 26 years old (b. 1587), and had been born in Nagasaki (Mangagate). Alluding to that city, he revealed that its entire population was free and that the Peruvian system of *caciques* and *encomenderos* did not exist there. The word *cacique* was used to refer to the indigenous tribal leaders in Latin America. This term is still used today in Portuguese and Spanish, with several different meanings. The *encomendero* was the owner of indigenous people in America and the Philippines. This office was granted through Merced Real, or rather, by the monarch himself. The *encomenderos* had several obligations, among which was the conversion of the indigenous population to Christianity. The fact that Xapón mentioned that all Japanese in Nagasaki were free shows he was aware of Japanese and Portuguese legislation against Japanese slavery.

329 De Sousa, *Escravidura e a Diáspora Japonesa nos séculos XVI e XVII*, pp. 24–25.

330 *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24.

331 An artisan that patches socks. *Soleta* is a piece of cloth used to patch the sole of a sock.

332 An artisan that opens the *lechuguilla*, *cuello*, or *gorguera*. The English equivalent is *ruff* which was worn in Western Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries.

333 Contreras, *Padrón de los indios de Lima*, p. 531.

334 *Ibid.*, p. 531.

There is also some mystery about the fact Xapón gave no Spanish or Portuguese name or surname. This could have been a strategy to avoid paying taxes. By avoiding the use of a Latin name or nickname, and simply declaring himself as a Japanese descendant, Xapón was exempted from paying tithes (*diezmos*) and *primicias*. Additionally, because he had lived away from his place of origin for more than ten years, he was also exempt from paying other taxes.³³⁵

Xapón also mentioned he had arrived in Lima at the same time as the Marquis of Montesclaros, the then Viceroy of Peru. Hence, we must deduce that the route taken by each of them would also be the same, namely, via New Spain. Given that Montesclaros held this rank from 21 December 1607 until 18 December 1615, it is likely that Xapón had moved to Lima by the end of 1607 or the beginning of 1608. I was also not able to clarify whether Xapón had arrived in Lima alone, or if he had actually come as a member of the Marquis's entourage.³³⁶

Like other Japanese, such as Prado and his companion, Xapón was also an "abridor de cuellos." He also stood out because of his improved social status, working independently and managing his own shop (*tienda*), located in San Agustín Street, next to the church. However, this explanation does not specify how a young Japanese man, with such a common and not particularly well-paid profession, was able to acquire sufficient financial means to open a shop. Through his testimony, we also know that Xapón was married to the former slave Andrea Ana, 24 (b. 1589); she had been born in Makassar, currently in Indonesia, and had lived in Lima since 1603. Xapón was the one who freed Ana from slavery. With regard to this case, we also know the price paid for her freedom and the name of her owner—she was the property of Pedro Tenoria and was freed for the sum of 300 *pesos*. This is also a surprising piece of information, given that this young Japanese man, only 26 years old, had already achieved enough purchase power to free his wife and start a business.

By 1613, the marriage between Xapón and Ana had not yet produced any offspring.³³⁷

Another interesting case is that of a *mestizo*, a single man from "Portuguese India," who, after declaring he had been born in Macao in 1595 (he was 18 years old), claimed to be the son of a Japanese woman, Francisca Montera, and a Spanish man called Pablo Fernández. Recently arrived from Mexico, he had

335 Vega, "Japoneses, chinos e indios en Lima cosmopolita de inicios del siglo XVII," p. 169.

336 *Ibid.*, p. 169.

337 *Ibid.*, p. 535.

been living in Lima for a short period, in the house of Juan de la Fuente de Almonte, and was serving the Spaniard Rui Díaz de Medina.³³⁸

Another unusual case is that of a couple of slaves belonging to Jusepe de Rivera y Dávalos: Tomas, 28 (b. 1585), and Marta. Although they looked Japanese, when asked about their origin, they claimed to be from Goa, India:

Said to be of the town of Goa of Japanese caste called Tomas, and he was iron-marked on the face. And he is married to a Japanese Indian named Marta from the said India of Portugal and the Goa caste.³³⁹

This Goan couple corresponds to the second generation of slaves of Japanese origin. As is commonly known, the Japanese community in Goa was quite numerous, even leading the local City Hall to fight against the royal legislation that demanded the release of Japanese slaves.

This deposition was also remarkable due to the fact of Tomas was “iron-marked on the face,” a mark that would reveal his original slave status, even if he achieved freedom. This way of marking slaves was also practiced on many of those brought by the Portuguese to Lima.³⁴⁰

With regard these brands, they were made for two different reasons. The first was a way of punishing fugitive slaves, making it more difficult for them to conceal their slave status as they were immediately recognizable. For example, in Brazil during the 17th century, fugitive slaves, or *fujões* as they were known, were marked with an F on one shoulder. The “F” was the first letter of the word *fujão*.³⁴¹ This practice was also seen in Portugal. On 17 September 1558, a mulatto slave named Pedro was arrested in Tavira, a city in the south of Portugal. He had begun his journey in Lisbon, when he decided to escape from the son of his owner, the widow Maria de Brito. At that time, Pedro had already been branded on both cheeks, which shows that this was not his first escape attempt.³⁴² The second reason for that mark was to identify the owners. This method was used by slave traders or royal agents, usually when the slaves left their homelands. Symbolically, it was a way of turning a person into merchandise, converting him or her into patrimony. At the same time, it was a way to dehumanize the slave, placing him or her at the same level as animals. The

338 Ibid., p. 540.

339 *Dijo ser del pueblo de Goa de casta Xapón llamado tomas, y está herrado en el rostro. Y es casado con una india xapona llamada Marta de la dicha India de Portugal y de casta Goa.* Ibid., p. 541.

340 Ibid., p. 543.

341 Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, p. 336.

342 Ibid., p. 336; BADE, *Fundo Notorial*, Liv. 36, fol. 46.

TABLE 7.10 Branded slaves, traded by the Portuguese, in the 1607–13 census

Name	Place	Description
Elena	Indian from Lisbon	Branded on the face and chin
Andres	Malacca	Young man branded on the face
Pablo Hernández	Malacca	Branded on the face
Pedro Andres	Malacca	Branded on the face
Francisca Quesa	Pigo	Branded on the face
Susana	Bengal	Branded on the chin
Baltazar Hernández	Macao	Branded on the face
Andres	Indians from Portugal	Branded on the face
Francisco and Juanillo	Indians from Portuguese India	Branded on the face
Domingo	Indian from Portugal	Branded
Isabel	Indian from Portugal	Branded on the forehead
Lorenzo	Indian from Portugal	Branded on the face
Baltazar Lorca	Indian from Portugal	Branded

Source: Contreras, *Padrón de los indios de Lima*, pp. 531–43; Lúcio de Sousa, *A Escravatura e a Diáspora Japonesa nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Braga: NICPRI Núcleo de Investigação em Ciências Políticas e Relações Internacionais, 2014), p. 91.

process of branding with a hot iron has been used with regard to animals since the beginning of time. This method was also common in the main Portuguese slave trade centers.³⁴³ Despite the scarcity of documentary sources, branding

343 For example, the regiment of the *feitor* of the island of São Tomé, the main base for the export of African slaves to the Americas, was ordered by the Portuguese King João III, in the year 1532, to mark the body of the African slaves with a red-hot iron: *Item pera que os meus escravos que, daqui em diante, a essa ilha vierem se não possam enlear nem trocar com outros alguns, fareis marcar todas as peças que vierem dos resgates, no bucho do braço direito, com a marca da Guiné [...] as ditas marcas estarão guardadas em um cofre de que*

seems to have been a common practice in Goa. For example, the Indian slave who was responsible for looking after King John III of Portugal's elephant, had a cross mark on each cheek.³⁴⁴ We also know that many slaves in Goa were flogged with white-hot irons, a punishment whose consequences could range from death to becoming permanently handicapped.³⁴⁵ There are also many examples of slaves branded on the face serving the Portuguese nobility. The white slave of the royal prince Luís had the name of his owner marked on his face.³⁴⁶ António, a slave who belonged to King António, Prior of Crato,³⁴⁷ received "some marking on the face" with the name of his owner.³⁴⁸

Unfortunately, the *Padrón de Lima* does not give any details of Tomas's marking, which would enable us to identify the origin of the merchant(s) who had done it.

Another interesting new element is the fact that Tomas and Marta had a 7-year old child, called Franscisco, who was also a slave.

Let us now turn our attention to Dávalos, Tomas, Marta, and Franscisco's owner. This person was one of the most important individuals of Lima, as he was the son of the first *alcade*³⁴⁹ of Lima, the conqueror Nicolas de Rivera. Like his father, Dávalos also became the *alcade* of Lima, as he worked as a merchant at the same time, investing in the Asian trade. In 1583, he joined a group of merchants who shipped goods in the galleon *Nuestra Señora de la Cinta* bound for Manila. During the following decades, Dávalos continued to invest in Asian trade via the Manila galleon. It is therefore very likely that this Japanese couple may have arrived at Lima via Asian routes.³⁵⁰

The remaining Japanese mentioned in the *padrón* were not at their masters' houses when the census information was taken, making it almost impossible to verify. All we know is that two Japanese women, named Isabel and

vós tereis a uma chave e outra o escrivão e não se tirarão dele senão em vossa presença quando forem necessárias. Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, p. 316.

344 ANTT, Fundo Notorial, Cart. 1, Cx. 7, Liv. 35, fols. 85, 15-12-1594.

345 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. 4^o, 269.

346 *tem no rosto umas letras que dizem Infante Dom Luís.* ANTT, Chancelaria de D. João III, Privilégios, Liv. 5, fol. 293v, 21-04-1556.

347 The Prior of Crato (Prior do Crato) was an honorary title given to the leader of the Order of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem in Portugal, also known as the Order of Saint John, Order of the Hospitallers, Knights of Hospitaller, Knights Hospitalier, or just Hospitallers. The most famous Prior of Crato was King Anthony I of Portugal (1580), king for only 33 days, eventually losing his throne to Philip II of Spain (1556–98)/Philip I of Portugal (1581–98).

348 ADS, Fundo Notorial, Almada, Livro 1/4, fol. 86, 03-12-1575.

349 An official who heads the executive of a local administration in the Habsburg Empire.

350 Vega, "Japoneses, chinos e indios en Lima cosmopolita de inicios del siglo XVII," p. 169; Contreras, *Padrón de los indios de Lima*, p. 541.

Madalena, served Dona Ana Mexia. Another paragraph says that Antonia, a single Japanese slave, served in the house of Diego de Ayala, on Encarnación Street.³⁵¹ Unfortunately, we do not know more about the remaining Japanese, as they were only included in the *Summary*, and no biographical note appears on their list, which was outlined as follows:

TABLE 7.11 Japanese, traded by the Portuguese, in the 1607–13 census

<i>Japanese men</i>	
Married	4
Single	4
Children	1
Total	9
<i>Japanese women</i>	
Married	4
Single	7
Total	11
Overall total	20

Curiously, there was no other mention of any individual of Japanese origin in the census carried out later in Lima. However, besides the information contained in *Padrón de la Ciudad de Lima* of 1613, recent investigations revealed several new cases of Asians who arrived in Lima via the Portuguese commercial routes in the years following this census, and settled there.³⁵² The first case was the *asiento* or contract of the Japanese Juana,³⁵³ concluded on 9 December 1609, in Lima, with Alonso de Carrión as a scribe.³⁵⁴ Juana, who introduced herself as “an Indian called Juana de Japón,”³⁵⁵ entered into a contract with Bartolomé de Acuña Olivera, a lawyer from the Real Audiencia of Lima, to

351 Contreras, *Padrón de los indios de Lima*, pp. 542–44.

352 Barreto, “Inmigrantes asiáticos en Lima en el siglo XVII. Aproximación a tres casos concretos,” p. 1:12.

353 The group of researchers Eleodoro Balboa Alejandro, Celia Soto, and Bernardo Reyes, in their work on the Asian community in Peru, found a contract for Juana “india del Xapón,” which, on 24 November 2016, was presented at the Japanese Peruvian Cultural Center (Centro Cultural Peruano Japonés).

354 AGN, Protocolo Notarial de Alonso de Carrión, N° 267, correspondiente a los años 1609–1610, fols. 162–162v. 09-12-1609.

355 *india que se dijo llamar Juana de Japón.*

serve Micaela Cejal de Arroyo, his wife, for two years. During this time, she would receive lodging and food, and by the end of the contract some clothes (a normal condition in this type of contract).³⁵⁶ For her work she would receive a 24 *peso* salary, 12 *pesos* for each year of work, being obliged to always serve this house and never be absent. Acuña Olivera was the son of Captain Cristóbal de Olivera and María de Candia, who were from Angol, Chile. In 1605, Acuña Olivera married Arroyo, who was from Lima. Before hiring Juana, Acuña Olivera had hired a 14-year-old named Agustina, a “free black criolla” from Santiago de Chile for a 4-year period of domestic work.³⁵⁷ This contract was concluded on 17 March 1606, before the same scribe, Carrión. Agustina received clothes and food, but no salary was mentioned. Comparing these two contracts, it is possible to conclude that Juana had negotiated better working conditions than her predecessor. When Juana concluded the contract, she also indicated that she had arrived in Lima via Mexico City, evidence of her arrival in the American continent via the Manila galleon route, before traveling to Acapulco.

Another slave living in Lima in the first half of the 17th century was the “Japanese Indian” Miguel de Silva. He was mentioned in the testimony of the architect Juan del Corral, the Maestro Mayor of Reales Fabricas, who had arrived from San Francisco of Quito to Lima, at the request of Dávalos, to build an important bridge of six arches connecting Lima to the San Lazaro district. This bridge, known as Puente de Piedra, was built across the river Rimac between 1608 and 1610. Silva participated in the construction as *alarife*.³⁵⁸ Initially, he delivered the stones, and later worked on the construction. The reading of Corral’s last will and testament revealed that the services rendered by this Japanese weren’t yet paid and should be paid in the near future using Corral’s money:³⁵⁹

And has declared that in the work of the bridge of this city there were four Chinese Indians and a Japanese named Phelipe Mata, Diego Choa, Andres Tagotan, Bartolomé Guidal, and Miguel de Silva Japón/Japanese, and another Chinese named Alonso Leal.³⁶⁰

356 *vestido nuevo a usanza de paño de México, camisa, jubón y mantilla de bayeta.*

357 AGN, N-2 XVII, Protocolo Notarial de Alonso de Carrión, N° 265, fol. 1168.

358 Constructor.

359 Emilio Harth-Terré, *Artífices en el virreinato del Perú (historia del arte peruano)* (n.p.: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1945), pp. 149–64, 204; Vega, “Japoneses, chinos e indios en Lima cosmopolita de inicios del siglo XVII,” p. 162. Paul Nakamura, “Japoneses en la Historia del Perú: Los indios Xapón en la Lima virreinal,” *Kaikan* (2014): 29.

360 *Ytem declaro que en la obra de la puente desta ciudad an travajado quatro yndios chinos y un Japón llamados Phelipe Mata, Diego Choa, Andres Tagotan, Bartolomé Guidal, y Miguel*

Curiously, this will was carried out by Carrión, the same lawyer who had outlined Juana's contract.

Finally, I was able to identify another Japanese Christian named Juan de Baeza, who died in 1625. The only information available on his origin is as follows:

Son of unknown parents, because although I knew I had a mother, I did not know how she had died.³⁶¹

His Japanese name was also unknown, and there are no references on how he had reached Lima. We only know that he lived in the port of Callao and that he was engaged in minor activities, such as patching *soletas*.³⁶² He was single and poor, and for this reason, despite asking to be buried in the main church of Callaos' port, he did not want any Mass to be held in his name. He claimed that he did not have enough assets to pay his debts and asked Gabriel Diaz to forgive him a debt of 20 *atacones*. Baeza had no house of his own, so we deduce that he lived in rented accommodation. This situation was quite common among Asians with more limited financial conditions. For example, on 23 May 1608, the scribe Pedro de Arroyo concluded a lease between Pedro Pérez and the Filipinos Andres Tacotán and Agustín López.³⁶³ In Baeza's ring of friends, we are able to identify another Asian, the Filipino Tomas de Aquino, from Manila.³⁶⁴

This would be the last testimony of Japanese presence in this region in the 17th century, a presence that would only be found again in the early 20th century.

Conclusions

Initially, the route of the Manila galleon connected several points along the New Spain coast, namely, present-day Peru. Fearing the flooding of the Mexican and Peruvian markets with Chinese products, direct trade from Manila to Callao was prohibited in 1579, 1593, 1595, and 1604, by fostering instead the

de Silva Japón y otro chino mas llamado Alonso Leal. AGN, Protocolos Notariales N° 268. Escribano Alonso Carrión, fol. 262 y siguientes. Lima, 18 de abril de 1612.

361 *hijo de padres no conocidos, porque aunque supe tuve madre, no supe más de que murió*. Testamento de Juan de Baeza, Puerto de El Callao, 25-III-1625, AGN, Prot. Not. 1811, Marcos de Santisteban (1625), fols. 233r-234v, in Barreto, "Inmigrantes asiáticos en Lima en el siglo XVII," p. 9.

362 Patching *soletas* (a piece of cloth used to patch the sole of a sock). *Ibid.*, p. 10.

363 AGN, Protocolos Notariales N -2, 164. Escribano Pedro de Arroyo, fols. 360-360v. Lima, 23-05-1608.

364 Barreto, "Inmigrantes asiáticos en Lima en el siglo XVII. Aproximación a tres casos concretos," pp. 11-12.

export of Mexican, Peruvian, and Bolivian silver to Asia. However, despite these prohibitions, merchants and officials from the Viceroyalty of Mexico City and Lima exploited the smuggling system to supply the Lima elite with Chinese goods. Another important strengthening element of these connections was the alliance between the Crowns of Portugal and Castile. Through the dynastic union under the monarch Philip II, the immigration of Portuguese merchants, mainly of Jewish origin, to America, linked Spanish America to Portuguese communities in Manila, Macao, Nagasaki, Malacca, the Bay of Bengal, Kochi, and Goa. In addition to goods, many Asians arrived as servants and slaves.

Regarding the Japanese community in Peru, with the exception of one testimony, none of those living in Lima specified how they arrived and which commercial routes they had taken. Juana is the only one to indicate that she had arrived in Lima via Mexico City. There are also a couple of Japanese slaves whose geographical origin is the city of Goa. This highlights the complexity of commercial routes taken by individuals of Asian origin before arriving at Lima. As for the professional activity of the men, they were mainly *soleteros*³⁶⁵ or *abridores de cuellos*.³⁶⁶ On the other hand, the women were employed domestically. The salary of one of these servants, Juana, was 12 *pesos* per year. The large majority were composed of free men and women and, although some of them declared themselves to be “servants,” they were not owned by their employers. Regarding marriages, we found Japanese people were indiscriminate about their spouses’ origin, thus contributing to the miscegenation that existed in Lima’s society at the beginning of the 16th century. Such mixed race relationships were not limited to the American continent. For example, an individual, after declaring himself to be Macao-born, claimed to be the son of a Japanese woman, Francisca Montera, and a Spanish man called Pablo Fernández. As for slavery, it is equally important to remember that the enslavement of the Japanese had been officially outlawed in Portugal after 1570, a law that was later corroborated by King Philip II, which meant that all Japanese were legally free. As for religion, all Japanese seem to have been baptized, there being no reference to any other religious belief, as they lost their original names because of this process, bearing Portuguese and Spanish names (with the exception of Xapón, who received the name of his country of origin).

The decrease of the Mexico–Peru trade flow, the extinction of the Japanese slave trade by the Portuguese, and the inquisitorial persecutions against

365 An artisan who patches socks. Soleta is a piece of cloth used to patch the sole of a sock.

366 An artisan who opens the lechuguilla, cuello, or gorguera. The English equivalent is ruff which was worn in Western Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Portuguese merchants of Jewish origin would be decisive for the stagnation of the Japanese community in Lima and its assimilation by the local population.

Argentina

The first known Japanese to have lived in Argentina appeared in the Córdoba region. This man, Francisco Xapón, entered the country through Buenos Aires, brought by Portuguese slave traders, and left for Córdoba from there. The goal was probably his resale. Córdoba was then a significant slave center, mainly dealing in African slaves, with an important connection with the Potosi mines in Bolivia. We can ascertain how African slaves contributed to the mining operation in Potosi through Carlos Sempat Assadourian's classic work *El tráfico de esclavos en Córdoba, 1588–1610*.³⁶⁷

Xapón's first known owner was Antonio Rodríguez de Avega. His acquisition date is unknown. The slave trader Avega sold Francisco Xapón to the Portuguese Diego López de Lisboa, a slave trader of Jewish origin living in Córdoba.³⁶⁸ On 16 July 1596, Lisboa, sold Xapón to Father Miguel Jeronimo de Porras:

A slave of the caste of the Japanese from the provinces of Japan whose name is Francisco Xapón that seems to be by its aspect twenty-one years of age, more or less.³⁶⁹

Thanks to this document, it is possible to speculate that Francisco was probably born in Japan around 1575. Following the route of so many other Japanese, the port of departure was probably Nagasaki. However, we do not know the route he took to reach the Americas.

Xapón's selling price to Father Porras was 800 *pesos*.³⁷⁰ The documents also tell us that he had been enslaved as a result of a war which, according to Western standards, was a "just war,"³⁷¹ that is to say, he was a legitimate slave:

367 Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *El tráfico de esclavos en Córdoba, 1588–1610* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1965); Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *El tráfico de esclavos en Córdoba de Angola a Potosí, siglos XVI–XVII* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1966).

368 Villada, *Diego López de Lisboa*.

369 AHPC, Registro 1, Año 1596–7, fols. 286–287, in Sakuda, *El futuro era el Perú*.

370 Ibid.

371 At this time, the Church justified the practice of slavery on the basis of a certain principles, one of which was the distinction between *ex parte justis belli*/fair and unfair war. Although the standards that defined and distinguished a fair war from an unfair war were questionable, the prisoners of a fair war or good war, as described in the sale document of Francisco Xapón, could be reduced to the condition of slaves, especially if this led to the

as according to his deed ... a slave obtained in a good war and subjected to servitude and captivity.³⁷²

Although there is not much information on Francisco's life, one of his personality traits stands out in the examined documents: his desire to be free. This is the only explanation for the fact that, while living in a strange continent, within a hostile society, and occupying the lowest level of the social ladder, Francisco tried to assert his rights, requesting his freedom on 4 March 1597. On this date, he claimed he "could not be a slave" and filed a lawsuit against his owner, Father de Porras:

Francisco Xapón requests his freedom, saying that he can not be a slave, pleading before the scribe Diego de Sotomayor, informing López de Lisboa about him in the city of Santiago del Estero.³⁷³

Father Porras was forced to leave for Chile, entrusting Xapón to the merchant Baltasar Ferreira, who was entitled to receive 800 *reales* from Lisboa if Xapón's plea was granted and he was freed:

And because Porras has to leave for Chile and not be allowed to take Francisco Xapón with him for the pending lawsuit, he receives from Baltasar Ferreira the 800 that he paid for the said slave, who has litigated and asked for his freedom and the case is pending before the present scribe.³⁷⁴

Ferreira, also of Portuguese origin, was a slave trader who had important commercial relationships with merchants in Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile, as he was involved in the trade of male and female Angolan slaves who arrived in that region from Brazil.³⁷⁵

growth of Christianity. This was one of the most commonly invoked reasons to justify reducing a human being to slavery during the 16th century. Despite being generally accepted, it was not possible to prove such circumstances in distant lands such as Japan.

372 AHPC, Registro 1, Año 1596–7, fols. 286–287.

373 *Francisco Xapón solicita su libertad, diciendo que no puede ser esclavo, pleito pendiente ante el escribano Diego de Sotomayor, habiendose dado noticia de éllo a López de Lisboa en la ciudad de Santiago del Estero.* De Sousa, *Escravatura e a Diáspora Japonesa nos séculos XVI e XVII*, p. 96.

374 *Y por tener que ausentarse Porras a Chile y no permitirse llevar consigo a Francisco Xapón por el pleito pendiente, recibe de Baltasar Ferreira los & 800 que pagó por el dicho esclavo; quien ha puesto pleito y pedido su libertad y está la causa pendiente ante el presente escribano.* *Ibid.*, pp. 95–96.

375 Assadourian, *El tráfico de esclavos en Córdoba, 1588–1610*, p. 12.

Unfortunately, the original document attesting the release of Xapón has not been identified. However, we know that he acquired his freedom in 1598, as this can be proven by a document dated 3 November 1598, in which Juan Nieto, the representative of Ferreira, granted several citizens of Lima and Santiago de Chile—Juan López de Altipoca (Lima), Geronimo de Molina, Juan Martínez de Lastur, Rodrigo de Avila (Santiago de Chile)—the legal powers to receive from Father Porras the 800 *reales* that were charged for Xapón.³⁷⁶

Alas, I was not able to trace Xapón's journey after his release, which in Argentina was unprecedented. Thus far, no more information on a Japanese presence here until the beginning of the 20th century has been discovered.

Portugal

The Asian System of Entry to Lisbon

The ships arriving every year at Lisbon's harbor, via the so-called Carreira da Índia, the route that connected Portugal to the Indian ports of Goa and Kochi, brought hundreds of Asian slaves. Many of them performed several different tasks on the ships, according to these trips' reports. We also know that, on average, each ship departing from India bound for Portugal carried between 200 to 300 slaves.³⁷⁷

Initially, the slaves disembarking in Lisbon had two destinations: the Casa da Guiné e da Mina (Guinea and Mina House) and the Casa da Índia (India House). The former received the merchandise from African expeditions, while the latter the goods from Asian maritime journeys. Slaves were obviously included among the merchandise. The rules applied to the Casa da Índia were clearly inspired by those that were practiced at the Casa da Guiné e da Mina. As soon as a boat carrying slaves arrived, the overseer, the treasurer, the scribe of the Casa, the stockman, and the slaves' scribe went aboard before the slaves disembarked.³⁷⁸

This was the way the port authorities prevented the entry of illegal merchandise. Once registered for taxation purposes, the slaves were unloaded and fed. At the same time, their state of health was examined, and those were in a bad way were delivered to someone who could take care of them. Once recovered, they were once again brought before the overseer for a health check

³⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 14.

³⁷⁷ Bernardo Gomes de Brito, *História Trágico-Marítima* (Lisbon: Escriptorio Rua dos Retrozeiros, 1905), vol. 1, pp. 31, 60.

³⁷⁸ Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, pp. 143–44.

while their carers were financially rewarded. The remaining slaves were sent to a house set apart for them and under the stockman's surveillance. Once in this dwelling, the slaves were rated again and their respective prices put around their necks. Taxes were then charged: the payment of the *vintena* (set of 20) for the King's slaves, or the *quarto* (fourth) for private agents. The stockman was in charge of guard duty, provisions, health, deterring escapes or rebellions, and sales. The percentage delivered to the King varied according to need. Consistent with the regulation of the Casa da Mina and Casa da Índia, the overseer himself obtained a slave per year, as did the treasurers and scribes.³⁷⁹

Slaves could be sold either through the stockman or through contracts with private agents. The broker's role in these transactions was also very important, as he mediated between the sellers and the buyers. The *corretores* were divided into two types, royal brokers (appointed by the King) and City Hall brokers (appointed by the municipality of Lisbon). Some brokers did not work exclusively with slaves. After 1578, to differentiate themselves from slave brokers, brokers of more socially prestigious merchandise, such as spices, precious metals, or textiles, started to be known as *tratadores* (handlers).³⁸⁰

Slaves from all over the world arrived at Lisbon, and the Japanese were obviously no exception. Their low numbers prevented them organizing themselves into an association; hence, they resorted to other associations, already established in Lisbon, to represent them.

Lisbon's Slave Associations

At that time, the main slave association in Lisbon was the Confraria do Rosário de Nossa Senhora (Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary). The official date of the establishment of this brotherhood is 1470:

Because the black men coming from far lands and parts of Ethiopia touched by the grace of the Holy Spirit as a messenger of Our Lady of the Rosary and Her great miracles and moved by Catholic devotion were the first builders and preachers and bearers of the very holy Chapel and Brotherhood that is now built and edified in the Monastery of St. Domingos of this very noble and loyal city of Lisbon, which Chapel and brotherhood and devotion flourished in the year one thousand four hundred and seventy.³⁸¹

379 Ibid., p. 148. De Sousa, *Escravidura e a Diáspora Japonesa nos séculos XVI e XVII*, p. 101.

380 De Sousa, *Escravidura e a Diáspora Japonesa nos séculos XVI e XVII*, pp. 101–02. De Sousa, "Mihoko Oka," pp. 146–49.

381 ANTT, *Compromisso da Irmandade da Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos*, 1565, Prologo.

The last sentence shows that, in fact, this association had a previous unofficial origin as it mentions its “current building and residence in the Saint Dominic’s Monastery.” The brotherhood obtained royal legitimacy in 1496, when the Portuguese King Manuel I authorized its establishment by royal decree. In the following century, his successor, King John III of Portugal, reconfirmed this in 1518 and 1529. Initially, this brotherhood received all kinds of people: men, women, old and young, rich and poor, free men and slaves, members of the clergy and secular people. The brotherhood’s open and pluralistic character, within which black and white men, slaves and former slaves coexisted, gave rise to several problems. As such, the *Confraria do Rosário de Nossa Senhora* divided, setting up other, racially based, brotherhoods and sisterhoods.

Although several different statutes were drawn up, the earliest known dates back to 1565. This document shows that this brotherhood also had some elements of a sisterhood. The “Irmãos (Brothers)” of the “*Confraria*” (brotherhood) were required to be free, black, and male. Only they could hold management offices. “White moors, mulattoes, Indians” (Asians), as well as slaves, could not be chosen as “Brothers,” but only as “confreres.” Besides being extremely racist, this was also a sexist organization, as women were excluded from it. In short, this *Confraria* ironically demonstrates that there were subordinate groups, as was the Asians’ case, even among slaves. If they wanted to belong to this *Confraria*, the Japanese had no power of decision whatsoever and their participation, as shown, was conditional: “they will agree that no captive slave can be an officer, nor have a responsibility in the brotherhood, either white moor, mulatto, or Indian.”³⁸²

It should also be noted that the “Indian” (Asian) category was the lowest category of all members of the “Sisterhood/Brotherhood,” falling below the categories of “white moor” and “mulatto.”

The *Confraria do Rosário de Nossa Senhora dos Pretos* (Brotherhood of the Rosary of Our Lady of the Blacks) had the following main prerogatives:

- the right to take candles aboard caravels;
- the authorization to beg for alms only during the celebration of Mass; later on, they were allowed to organize public collections throughout the city;
- the possibility of freeing slaves in payment of their respective price.

The Japanese may have been able to join the *Confraria de São Tomé dos Índios* (Brotherhood of Saint Thomas of the Indians), located in Lisbon’s Church of São Tomé; the date of establishment is unknown. There are some references to

³⁸² Ibid., fol. 4.

this brotherhood and some of its rights, such as begging for alms, in paperwork relating to the chancellery of King Philip II, demarcating the area where the brotherhood could undertake public collections, their duration, and the kind of person that could take part in this activity.³⁸³ Although the brotherhood's statutes are not extant today, it is likely that some Japanese were able to attain management positions in its administration.

The Japanese in Lisbon

In this section, I analyze the Japanese presence in Lisbon in more detail. If Bernardo de Kagoshima was the first Japanese known to have visited Europe,³⁸⁴ Jacinta de Sá was the first Japanese woman known to have lived in Portugal and in Europe for that matter. Unfortunately, as with Bernardo, we do not know Jacinta's Japanese name. We only know that she lived in Lisbon's Conceição parish and that she had been a slave. We also know nothing of the circumstances of her release, whether it was due to a royal decree by King Sebastian or because of another reason. If her liberation was due to the former, she had probably been living in Portugal since at least 20 September 1570, the date of the decree's publication.

On 5 February 1573, in Conceição Church, Sá married former Japanese slave Guilherme Brandão. The witnesses were Father Basteão Pereira and Carlos Neto; the latter's social status/occupation was not mentioned. It is known that many people attended this wedding but their names were not mentioned,³⁸⁵ nor is there any reference to their professions. There is no mention of the baptism of their children or the date of death of this couple either. The most likely scenario is that they moved away, as a plague epidemic affected this area of Lisbon from 27 January 1580.³⁸⁶

The presence of this Japanese couple in Lisbon is not unique, since at the same time the Florentine merchant Filippo Sassetti (1540–1588), who was residing in Portugal (1578–83), when writing a letter from Lisbon on 10 October 1579, to Baccio Valori in Florence, gave the first known description of the

383 Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, pp. 447–48; ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Felipe I, doações, Livro 21, fol. 228 (1591-06-19).

384 The first Japanese known to ever visit Europe was Bernard of Kagoshima. He died in Portugal in March 1557. Unfortunately, we do not know his Japanese name. Alas, this is common to all the Japanese who lived in Lisbon in the 16th and 17th centuries.

385 ANTT, Fundo Paroquial, Lisboa, Paroquia da Conceição, Liv. 1 de Mistos (MF 988), fol. 43v, 5-2-1573.

386 ANTT, Paroquia da Conceição, Registo de Mistos, Livro dos defuntos, fol. 16.

arrival of Japanese slaves to the port of Lisbon.³⁸⁷ Taking into account the fact that Sasseti arrived at Lisbon in 1578, his letter refers to the years 1578 and 1579.

This letter proves that, despite the prohibition against Japanese slavery dated from 20 September 1570,³⁸⁸ such slaves continued to arrive in Portugal every year. Their number was, nevertheless, very low when compared to that of African or Indian slaves. Curiously, during their return trip some Japanese used the same sea route connecting Goa to Lisbon. For example, in 1581, four ships bound for India and another bound for Malacca, left from Lisbon. One of these vessels transported Friar Marco Antonio Porcari, who, in the letter he wrote from Kochi to Claudio Acquaviva, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, on 30 November 1581, gave a detailed report of the whole trip. After a vivid description of the sick crew members and the bleedings aboard, supposedly to help them recover, there is a reference to slaves who died, as well as to one Japanese, two Chinese, and seven Portuguese.³⁸⁹

Still at the beginning of the 1580s, we know that a Japanese slave called Nuno Cardoso lived in Lisbon. On 10 June 1586, already a free man, Nuno got married in the Church of Loreto to a slave named Constantina Dias, who belonged to the Portuguese Felipe Rodrigues. Their marriage certificate shows the names of nine witnesses, about whom we know nothing, except for Father Diogo Fernandez.³⁹⁰ Unfortunately, there is no reference to Nuno's profession. It is also important to emphasize that many obstacles had to be overcome before a free person and a slave could marry. The main one was the opposition of the slave owner as, after marriage to a free person, a slave acquired important rights that protected him or herself. For example, owners were not able to send them wherever they wanted, and their sale was restricted to places where such marriages were allowed.

In 1584, when four Japanese ambassadors arrived in Lisbon (8 December 1584), they were not received with curiosity by the population of the city, quite the opposite of what would happen in other places in Europe. This was due to

387 *Di altri luoghi ci vengono li Giapini (Giaponi), gente olivastra e che esercitano qui ogni arte con buon intendimento; piccol viso, e nel resto di statura ragionevole. I Chini (Cinesi) sono uomini di grande intelletto, e parimente esercitano tutte le arti, e sopra tutto imparano maravigliosamente la cucina.* Filippo Sasseti, *Lettere edite e inedite [...] raccolte e annotate da Ettore Marcucci* (Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 1855), pp. 125–26.

388 BNL, Fundo Geral 801, “Provizão em que os Portuguezes, não possaõ resgatar, nem captivar Japão algum [...]” fols. 144–144v.

389 Letter from Friar Marco Antonio Porcari to the Father General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva, Kochi, 30-11-1581. *Documenta Indica*, vol. x11, p. 467.

390 ANTT, Fundo Paroquial, Lisbon, Loreto, Liv. 1 de Mistos, fol. 137v.

the fact that Japanese were not considered strange to the citizens of Lisbon.³⁹¹ This idea was again reinforced during the visit of the young ambassadors to the palace of the Dukes of Bragança, the most important noble family of that time. Besides the official report of this trip, pages of a travel diary kept by the Japanese Constantino Dourado also contain an interesting reference to slavery. The son of the Duke of Bragança, wishing to pleasantly surprise the ambassadors, dressed in Japanese style.³⁹² When his mother, the Duchess Catarina, invited the ambassadors to meet the “Japanese” who lived in the palace, Father Diogo Mesquita and the other priests were not surprised, thinking that a Japanese slave lived there, brought by the Portuguese from Eastern travels. When they entered the room they discovered instead the young duke in disguise.³⁹³ The passage that describes this moment reveals that the presence of Japanese in Portugal was common and not considered a novelty, information that can be proven by some extant documents on the arrival of Japanese slaves in Lisbon.

For example, when the ambassadors departed from Nagasaki in 1582, many Japanese slaves probably also traveled aboard the same boat. The vessel was commanded by Captain Ignácio de Lima, who brought to Portugal at least one Japanese slave who was still a child. Baptized Damião de Lima, he served Captain Lima during the last years of his life. During his stay in Portugal, more particularly in Lisbon, Damião was liberated and became Ignácio’s heir. The Portuguese captain had a great fortune and left no descendants, so he decided to assign to the Misericórdia of Lisbon an annual income of 3000 *cruzados* and to Damião, 9000 *reis* annually. There was also a clause stating that at the time of Damião’s death 2000 *cruzados* should be given by the Misericórdia of Lisbon

391 *Nesta vizita, que fez ao Cardeal, não houve muito concurso de gente, que os viesse a ver, como nas outras partes; porque como Lixboa está acostumada a ver diversas nações da Índia, e por havel nella tanto concurso de gente, não se atenta pelas couzas novas tanto em particular.* Pinto, Okamoto, and Bernard, *La Première Embassade du Japon en Europe 1582–1592*, pp. 32, 50–53.

392 We also know that after the ambassadors visited Portugal, at the Casa de Bragança in Vila Viçosa, patterns of Japanese clothes were made with the aim of being introduced to the Portuguese Court at feasts. Unfortunately we cannot say whether this happened or not. *Os vestidos como forão feitos naquella noite, nam erão formados para ficar somente para molde; mas o Alfaiata disse ao padre (Diogo de Mesquita), que já tinha talhado outro de telilha de ouro: pode ser que se venha a introduzir o vestidop de Japão em Portugal para festas.* Ibid., p. 55.

393 *Sendo já algumas horas do dia, mandou dizer ao Padre, que fosse lá com estes Senhores por que lhes queria mostrar hum Japão; e cuidando os Padres que seria algum mosso destes que trazem os Portuguezes, não cahirão na conta; e assim forão todos onde ella estava muito contente, e o Japão, que lhes mostrou, foi seo filho Dom Duarte, a quem ella muito amava, por ser elle para isso gentilhomem, prudente, de quatorze ou quinze annos, vestido de Japão com huã boa catana.* Ibid., p. 54.

to his sons and shared among them. If he had no offspring, Damião was allowed to give 500 *cruzados* to an individual or individuals he choose. Damião lived in Portugal until 1618, afterwards departing for Macao, where he would live as a merchant until 1642, the probable year of his death.³⁹⁴

On 23 May 1590, Filipa de Vilhena, the wife of the Viceroy of India, Matias de Albuquerque (1591–1597), filed a power of attorney from her husband to release the Japanese slave Diogo. This document contains a curious physical description of him: “Japanese with a white face.”³⁹⁵ This is probably related to a stereotype mentioned by Sasseti, associated with the Japanese slaves arriving in Lisbon who had a dark skin tone. Diogo was probably a domestic slave who was released due to the law implemented by King Sebastian I, which prohibited the trading of Japanese slaves.³⁹⁶ We also know, through the testimony of Acquaviva, dated 15 April 1590, that some Japanese slaves who arrived in Portugal at that time were released soon after, without any resistance by their owners, as this trade was considered illegal:

In Portugal, as we are told, and it is a good testimony to be so, because we know for certain that some Japanese whom the Portuguese brought captives, ours in that Kingdom have granted them freedom without the Christians making much resistance against.³⁹⁷

It is likely that Diogo belonged to this group. Although it is impossible to gather more detail about his life, it is possible to find other cases of former slaves living in Lisbon and leading perfectly normal lives. Toward the end of the 16th century, there were two important marriages between Japanese men and Portuguese women in Lisbon’s Pena parish.³⁹⁸ The first, held on 31 January 1593, was between Ventura Japam and Maria Manuel;³⁹⁹ the second, between Gonçalo Fernandes and Catarina Luís, took place on 18 January 1595.⁴⁰⁰

394 RAH, Jesuitas Legajo 9-7238; Legajo 21. *Testamento de Damian de Lima. De Macau aos 25 de Outubro de 1642 annos*, fols. 969–970.

395 *Japão que tira a alvo de rosto*. Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, p. 108. ANTT, FN, Lisboa, Cart. 7A, Liv. 87, fol. 82v, 23-05-1590.

396 Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, p. 108.

397 *en Portugal, según nos disen, y es buen testimonio ser assi porque sabemos de cierto que alguns Japónes que Portugueses truoceron captivos los nuestros en aquel Reino les han alcanzado libertad sin los xpianos hazer mucho resistencia*. Letter from Claudio Acquaviva to Alessandro Valignano, 15-04-1590. ARSI, Jap Sin 3, fol. 15.

398 ANTT, Paróquia da Pena, Registo de Casados, fol. 38v.

399 *Ibid.*, fol. 24v.

400 *Ibid.*, fol. 38.

Unfortunately, there is no reference to the participants' professions. Both marriages were celebrated by Father Melchior Dias, and the names of the witnesses were given in full, which enables a reconstruction of the community to which both Japanese men belonged. This community was essentially composed of slaves and former slaves, and some free people as well. Tomé de Abreu and Maria Francisca were the best friends of Ventura and Gonçalo, besides being their marriage witnesses. Although the bride of the former did not invite any (identifiable) relatives, Catarina, Gonçalo's wife, invited her relative Domingo Luís and his wife. We can establish that the latter did not live in the parish of Pena, as this was the only time they were registered there. They probably traveled from another parish in Lisbon or another Portuguese region to attend the wedding. It is likely that another witness to Gonçalo's wedding, a man called João Fernandes, was probably his former owner. He was also a witness at the wedding of the former African slaves Francisco Homem and Maria (27 November 1593), attending with his servant, Pero Fernandes. This is also the surname of another friend of Gonçalo, the Javanese António Fernandes. It is likely that Gonçalo, António, and Pero worked for João Fernandes, and had received his surname. António, married to the African Lourença da Silva (8 May 1594), also served as a witness to the marriage of Gonçalo, as well as to the one between the *índio* Gaspar Toscano and the African Juliana Carnalha, both widowed, on the same day.

Another witness to Gonçalo's wedding, Jordão Pires, also witnessed the marriage of the *índio* Joam Guomes and the Portuguese Justa Rodrigues (27 August 1595). Two years after his marriage, Gonçalo was the main witness to the marriage between the Africans Manuel Carneiro, a slave, and Marqueza de Ataíde, a free woman, both widowed (5 October 1597). João López *preto* (black), Paulo André, donkey keeper, and João, the adult servant of Father José Perdigão, also witnessed this marriage. Another of this community's regular figures was Father Asenso Dias, witness to four marriages between slaves and former slaves, namely those between Pero *escravo* (slave) and Margarida *escrava* (slave) (12 December 1593), António Fernandes and Lourença da Silva (8 May 1594), Bastião *preto* with Britis *preta* (black) (18 November 1595), and the African slaves Lourenço Queirós and Ana Fernandes (24 May 1600).⁴⁰¹

Through this complex map of social relations, outlined mainly between 1593 and 1597 in the Pena parish, we can infer that Gonçalo was perfectly integrated into the Asian and African communities of Lisbon. We are equally inclined to say that the choice of African and Asian godparents, as well as their

401 The people in latter example do not belong to the same community as Gonçalo. The witnesses are all different and have connections with other social groups.

participation in the marriages of individuals of the same origin, reveals that he was probably a member of the same social stratum. His association with Asians shows his closeness to individuals who shared the same or a similar cultural background as Ventura Japam, as was the case of António Fernandes and Toscano.⁴⁰² It is no coincidence that the weddings of Ventura and Gonçalo took place in the same parish. These two Asian immigrants seem to be willing to settle in the same urban area as an easier way to protect themselves, build important kinship relationships, and preserve their identities. This Asian minority group in Pena was also integrated into a larger African community. This type of social organization in this area of Lisbon was somehow transposed identically into the structure of the slave and ex-slave brotherhoods/fraternities.

The marriage of the Ventura and Gonçalo to Portuguese women also reveal important social relations with the Portuguese white community that challenge the notions of social immobility which usually characterized the place of slaves and ex-slaves in 16th-century Portuguese society.⁴⁰³ Unfortunately, it is not possible to follow the progression of this group, study their offspring, or discover whether they chose godparents for their children from among Asians, Africans, or the white community.

With regard to Ventura, besides his marriage and his relationship with Abreu, we do not have any additional information, as his name does not appear in any other records (baptism or death). Hence, we believe he may have moved away. As for Gonçalo and his social circle, although I was able to find plenty of information for a few years, after 1597 none of them are mentioned in the parish registers. This disappearance may be explained by the fact that this date coincides with a traumatic event that profoundly affected Lisbon society. On October 1598 there was a black plague outbreak in the city which only ceased in February 1602.⁴⁰⁴ Running from the plague, a part of the population abandoned Lisbon, taking refuge in the outskirts of the city. It is possible that the larger part of this community died of the plague or was forced to move to other locations. The high number of victims during this period, often buried in common ground, may be one explanation for omitting the slaves' names from the death records.

402 During the 16th century, the term Indian (*Índio*) in Portuguese had the meaning Asian, rather than being a term applied exclusively to a person hailing from India.

403 And with Tomé de Abreu.

404 Francisco Alexandre Lobo, "Memória Historica e Critica á cerca de Fr. Luiz de Soiza e das suas Obras," in *Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Typografia da Academia, 1823), p. 35; Thomaz Alvares, *Advertencias dos meios para preservar se da peste* (Lisbon: Typografia da Academia, 1801).

Still considering the inhabitants of Japanese origin living in Lisbon in the 16th century, on 7 March 1593 we know that Tomé, a Japanese slave, was freed by the Armenian Simão Carlos. This man worked at Rua Nova, in Lisbon, as a “goldsmith.”⁴⁰⁵ The reason for his release was a reward from those “whom Tomé has been serving for years, and serves him well and faithfully, and because the good servants deserve to be rewarded and satisfaction.”⁴⁰⁶

Also, on 7 February 1596, Filipa de Guerra, a nun at the Santos Monastery, wrote in her will that Maria Pereira, her 30-year-old Japanese slave, should be freed after her death. On that date Pereira had served her for more than 20 years, so she must have arrived in Portugal at least in the early 1570s.⁴⁰⁷ Generally, these kinds of releases were divided into several types. The most common was the manumission, which was just a different term for expulsion. Once slaves had reached a certain age and had lost the ability to work well, expulsion was a way many owners got rid of them. Most slaves freed after several decades of service fit perfectly in this category of “expelled slaves,” either due to their age or sickness. Unfortunately, their fate would be crime and/or begging. Some of the lucky ones might be helped by charitable institutions, such as the Misericórdia. Despite having served as a slave for two decades, Pereira was still quite young, since she had been enslaved as a child. However, at that time, it was more difficult for a woman in her thirties to find a husband than for a teenager or a girl still in her twenties (life expectancy of this period for women was very low) and women in their thirties were considered as living in the last period of their existence, and it was equally difficult for a non-married foreign slave woman to get a new job and to maintain herself.⁴⁰⁸ Another typical case was that of slaves freed for legal reasons. Under Portuguese law, some people had been illegally enslaved and had to be immediately released. Pereira fits this type perfectly. It is also worth mentioning the hypocrisy of her nun owner, who kept her enslaved, although it had been illegal since 1570, in collusion with the Mother Superior and the other nuns of Santos Monastery. In the same will, Guerra did not provide Maria with any means of livelihood, which must have made her integration into Lisbon’s society difficult.

More honest behavior was shown by the widow of Gaspar Gonçalves, a Carreira da Índia pilot, Margarida Fernandes, when, on 25 September 1598, she freed the 20-year-old Japanese slave Manuel Ferreira, alleging that her decision

405 *Tirador de ouro.*

406 *o qual Tomé há anos que o tem e o serve bem e fielmente e porque os bons servidores merecem galardão e satisfação.* ANTT, Lisboa, C. 17, Cx. 4, Livro 16, fol. 121.

407 Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, p. 108. ANTT, FN, Lisbon, Cart. 7A, Liv. 11, fol. 128, 07-02-1596.

408 Teresa F. Rodrigues, “A população portuguesa. Das longas permanências à conquista da modernidade,” *População e Sociedade*, 18 (2010): 21–41.

was related to the fact that Portuguese legislation prohibited the enslavement of Japanese:

From India, native of Japan ... cannot be captive according to the custom of the said parts and [...] have diligence on that.⁴⁰⁹

Another unusual example of Japanese presence in Lisbon is that of Martim Gomes/Martin Gómez.⁴¹⁰ Although we do not know when he exactly arrived in Lisbon, it is very likely he had only been living in this city for a short time. Gomes was born in Hakata, and traveled to New Spain when he was a child. A few years later, he traveled again to Spain (Catalonia) and then to Portugal. It was via the Portuguese maritime networks that he returned to Japan on an unknown date. This leads us to deduce that the port of departure was probably Lisbon. After arriving in Japan, he left again for the Philippines and got married in Manila. It was probably in this city that his association with the Franciscans began. We know that Gomes returned a second time to Japan with his family, and settled in Nagasaki. He devoted the last years of his life to sheltering clerics from Europe and assisting persecuted Christians. When a letter from Macao, giving him instructions to assist a cleric, was found in his home by the Japanese authorities, Gomes was executed together with his 5-year-old son in early August 1627.⁴¹¹

Serpa

Another Portuguese town inhabited by Japanese was Serpa, in a region called Baixo-Alentejo, in the south of Portugal. Five of them were women: Helena, Úrsula, Cecília, Isabel, and Lucrecia; and two were men: Matias and Luís. There is a reference to an eighth Japanese named António, who escaped in India.⁴¹² They were brought to Portugal by Head Captain Roque Pereira de Melo, who visited Japan in 1591–92. After Melo's death in 1604, his assets were listed and shared among his relatives. From this list, I was able to identify seven Japanese, evaluated at 310,000 *reis* (white *reales*),⁴¹³ who could not be sold or shared among the heirs without their legal status being clarified. Although we do not

409 *índio de nação, natural de Japão... não pode ser cativo conforme ao costume das ditas partes e [...] ter escrúpulo nisso.* Ibid., fol. 11v.

410 Sicardo, *Christiandad del Japón, y dilatada persecucion que padeciò*, p. 334.

411 Ibid., p. 334. Lorenzo Pérez, "Los mártires del Japón del siglo XVII," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 15(85) (1928): 7–8.

412 AFM, maço 26, n°16, fol. 4.

413 The original amount was 321,200 *reis*, but included a precious stone worth 11,200 *reis*, which was deducted from the value of the slaves. AFM, maço 26, n°16, fol. 4.

know the exact process, we can conclude that its outcome was positive for the victims, since in another copy of the will they were mentioned again, but given the status of free persons.⁴¹⁴

Upon researching the parochial records of Serpa, I was able to identify the person I believe might be the slave Lucrecia. There is only a single mention: no other person in the entire parochial records of Serpa of the time bore this name. Unfortunately, although the parish books indicate the status of registered people, they do not mention their geographical origin. Yet, through Lucrecia's record, I found that she had been sold to a Portuguese from a region called Pero Gomes, but later released. On 8 April 1603, Lucrecia married António Pinto. Father Estevão Lopez officiated. The marriage certificate bears the name of three unknown witnesses:

On the 8th day of the month of April, year 1603, I Estevão Lopez, prior at the church of Salvador, have received at the same church Antonio Pinto, slave of João Fernandez, and Lucrecia, Pero Gomes freed slave. The witnesses were Manuel Álvarez, Aisura Mendez and Esteve Anes. I signed Estevão Lopez⁴¹⁵

With regard to the remaining Japanese, I was not able to find out their fate after their release.

Conclusions

In short, the existence of Japanese people in Europe⁴¹⁶ probably had its origin in the contacts kept by the Portuguese in Japan. Although we admit the possibility of some Japanese arriving in Lisbon as free men, the most common scenario was quite different. The vast majority of these Japanese slaves were exported by Macao merchants to Goa, where they were sold at Direita Street to traders involved in the Carreira da Índia, and later carried to Europe. Once in Lisbon, the Japanese slaves' statute changed, and most of them were freed and merged with the local population. Although uncommon, mainly due to the anti-Japanese slavery legislation enacted in 1570 by the Portuguese King

414 *Item por cincoenta e hum mil seiscentos e vinte e hum reys que averaa e lhe cabemde parte no preço dos sette escravos Japoens que mostrarão serem forros.* AFM, maço 26, nº16, fol. 20.

415 ANTT, Arquivos paroquiais, Paróquia de Salvador, Casamentos 1565-01-06–1615-01-07, fol. 74.

416 There is also one reference to Japanese and Chinese slaves living in Algiers (Algeria) around 1621. It's not clear how they arrived there. For more information: Dieter Kremer, "Ausländer im Lissabon des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Namenkundliche Informationen*, 101/102 (2012/2013): 102.

Sebastian I, it is possible to find both Japanese free men and slaves in Lisbon, throughout the entire second half of the 16th century. The cases found in Lisbon and Serpa are traces of a minority demographic presence, as there is no information on the existence of a Japanese quarter or association in Portugal in the 16th and 17th centuries.

It is also possible to prove that both Japanese men and women were taken to Portugal. The first record that shows documentary evidence of female presence is Jacinta de Sá's marriage certificate in 1573.

The available data allow us to identify the professions of only two Japanese in Portugal: Maria Pereira, a slave, assisted in the domestic work of a convent; and Tomé, also a slave, worked as a goldsmith. There are no clear references to the professions of any of the remaining Japanese.

Spain

A Japanese presence in Spain dates back to the end of the 16th century. The first known reference can be found in tailor Esteban de Cabrera's last will, dated 15 March 1599, in which he claimed to be from Canton, China. He further affirmed that two Japanese owed him money.⁴¹⁷ These Japanese debtors lived in Spain and, fortunately, their names and location were revealed. The first one was named Manuel and the second Paulo. Manuel owed 4 *ducats* and 1 *real*, whereas Paulo owed 3 *ducats* and 9 *reales* for a outfit he had bought from Cabrera.⁴¹⁸

Another historic event that brought more Japanese to Spain was the Keichō delegation, headed by Hasekura Rikueemon Tsunenaga. As in Mexico, some of the Japanese who accompanied Hasekura and the Franciscan priest Luis Sotelo to Europe remained in Spain. I was able to locate the whereabouts of two Japanese in this group: Don Tomas Felipe and Itami Somi (伊丹宗味).

After traveling to Rome, the delegation returned to Seville. They were lodged outside the city, in the monastery Nuestra Señora del Loreto, near the town

417 "Testamento del cantonés Esteban de Cabrera," Archivo Provincial de Sevilla I 1599, 1[208], fol. 906, transcribed in Juan Gil, *La India y el Lejano Oriente* (Seville: Departamento de publicaciones ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2011), pp. 286–90; Carrillo, "Asians to New Spain," p. 134.

418 *Débeme Manuel, japon, quatro ducados e un real que le presté. Cóbrense. Débeme Paulo, japon, tres ducados e çinco reales de resto de nueve ducados del preçio de un bestido que le vendí. Cóbrense d'él.* In Gil "Chinos in Sixteenth-Century Spain," pp. 148–49.

Coria del Rio.⁴¹⁹ We know that Felipe remained in Spain after Hasekura's return to Japan. His life seems to have deteriorated rapidly, as shortly after he was in the service of a Spaniard named Diego Jaramillo in village of Zafra, who treated him as a slave, imprisoning him and refused to pay him a salary. This was an extraordinary situation, especially considering that Japanese slavery was prohibited by the Spanish monarchy. On 4 July 1622, Felipe, *cavallero Japón*,⁴²⁰ appealed to King Philip III, as follows:

Sir. Don Thomas Phelipe. Japón who came to this court with the ambassador of Japan and became a Christian. And his Majesty who enjoys God, father of your Majesty, and the Christian Queen of France, sister of your Majesty. And because a Diego Jaramillo in Zafra was serving without being a slave because he asked for his salary. And so he came before your Majesty to ask him to do justice to this grievance = And thus pleaded to your Majesty to grant him freedom and permission to be able to return to Japan since he is free and Christian. By the grace of God that in him has received great good and charity = Grant him permission to return [Ruiz de Contreras]/The Council on September 26, 1622.⁴²¹

After this appeal, Felipe was granted permission to return to Japan on 26 September 1622. Shortly thereafter, on 7 June 1623, his name was included on the passenger list of a ship going to New Spain as "Don Tomas Felipe, Japón."⁴²² On 12 June 1623, Felipe asked for a new license to travel to the Philippines. His final destination was probably Japan. This permit request displays the peculiarity of his travel route, which should have passed through Honduras.⁴²³ Unfortunately, we do not know if he arrived in Japan or stayed in America. We also do not know if he left any descendants during his stay in Spain.

419 Manuel Alvar, *Nebrija y estudios sobre la Edad de Oro* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1997), p. 47.

420 In this case, it is a Spanish term applied to an individual of recognized nobility.

421 C.H. Lee, "The Perception of the Japanese in Early Modern Spain: Not Quite 'The Best People Yet Discovered,'" *eHumanista-Journal of Iberian Studies* 11 (2008): 372. Lee's transcription of this document is in the appendix of her paper (AGI, Indiferente 1452, "4 de julio de 1622").

422 Elena Gallego, "El legado humano de la misión Hasekura," *Cuadernos CANELA* 8 (1996): 29; Nobuko Adachi, *Japanese and Nikkei at Home and Abroad: Negotiating Identities in a Global World* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2010), p. 114.

423 AGI, Contratación, 5387, n. 53.

Another case involving the same delegation was that of Somi, who was born in Hakata in 1558.⁴²⁴ The relationship between him and Spain dates back at least to 1586. On 26 June 1586, the then Governor of the Philippines, Santiago de Vera, wrote to King Philip II informing him of the arrival of 11 Japanese Christians from Nagasaki in Manila, stating that “they were the first Japanese to have come in Peace.”⁴²⁵

After mentioning that these Christians were vassals of Don Bartolomé de Ōmura, Governor Vera referred to one of them by name: “León Giminsó Ixcojiro,” from Hakata.⁴²⁶ In fact, the governor omits the fact that, once they left Japan, only three of the 11 were Christians and the other eight were only baptized in Manila, in the Church of the Society of Jesus.⁴²⁷ Giminsó Ixcojiro’s godfather was the governor himself. After that, he received the Christian name of Don León de Vera. After returning to Japan, León de Vera embarked on a new trip to Manila in 1593, and returned to Japan in the company of the new ambassador, Friar Pedro Bautista Blásquez, O.F.M. This time, besides using the name of León, he also introduced himself as Don Pedro de Vera. His Japanese identity would only be revealed on 18 October 1599, in a letter written by the Rector of the College of the Society of Jesus, Diogo de Mesquita, to the Rector of the College of the Company of Jesus in Manika, Juan de Ribera. In this letter León Giminsó Ixcojiro, Don León de Vera or Don Pedro de Vera, was referred to as “Somi don Pedro de León.”⁴²⁸ Ten days later, on 28 October 1599, Alessandro Valignano addressed a new letter to the same Rector of the College of Manila, revealing some more details about this man’s identity—he was originally known as Itami Heizayemon, but changed his name to Itami Somi:

It seemed to me I should also write this letter [...] and the man who carries it is a Christian, married and living in Nagasaki, who is a noble and honorable man, and because of some things that happened to him, he

424 Leon Giminsó Ixcojiro of Hakata. Álvarez-Taladriz, “Notas para la historia de la entrada en Japón de los Franciscanos,” pp. 7, 8, 11. *Interrogatorio que o Padre Vice Provincial* ARSI, Jap Sin 21, fol. 79v.

425 Álvarez-Taladriz, “Notas para la historia de la entrada en Japón de los Franciscanos,” p. 2.

426 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

427 Don Juan de Vera of Hakata; Tacua Niemo and Don Baltasar Garnal of Bungo; Don Pablo Haranda Ziem, of Meaco; Jeronimo Batanambe Zemoxero of Bungo; Andres Goncalves Ambraya Yafachiro of Hirado; Joachinde Vera of Bungo/Higo; Graviel Nangano Yojamon of Meaco; Juan Yananguia Gueniemo, of Sakai; Juan Yamamoto Yosogiro and Leon Giminsó Ixcojiro of Hakata. Álvarez-Taladriz, “Notas para la historia de la entrada en Japón de los Franciscanos,” pp. 7, 8, 11.

428 ARSI, Jap Sin 21, fol. 348. Álvarez-Taladriz, “Notas para la historia de la entrada en Japón de los Franciscanos,” p. 4.

lives as trader in this port and is called Pedro Itami Feizzaimon, in Japanese, although after having shaved [his head] he changed the name, according to the tradition of this place, and now is called Itami Somi, and his Christian name, when he was baptized years ago in the city of Manila, Don Pedro de León.⁴²⁹

On 2 July 1604, the name Itami Somi was mentioned in the “red seals records,”⁴³⁰ as he was granted permission to embark on a trade trip to the Philippines.⁴³¹

A year later, Somi was already in Nagasaki, participating in the *Interrogatorium judiciale cerca Breve P M Clementis VIII*, or Judicial Interrogation of Pope Clement VIII, carried out by the Bishop of Japan, Luís de Cerqueira, which consisted of the prohibition against religious orders settled in the Philippines of entering in Japan via Manila, and also banning the development of their missionary activity in Japan (which competed with the Society of Jesus). On 8 January 1605, Somi visited the Bishop Cerqueira at his residence in Nagasaki, introducing himself as “Dom Pedro de Leam Somi,” 47 years old, and disclosing information about the Franciscan presence in Japan and their adversarial relationship with the Jesuits.⁴³²

Somi was again spotted among Hasekura’s entourage, as one of the 150 initial members, in the group that traveled from New Spain to Europe, having been granted Roman citizenship on 19 November 1615. I was unable to determine whether he left for the Americas or the Philippines, as there is no available information after his arrival in Seville, nor afterwards. He probably died on the return journey, as he was already fairly old.

Besides these two people, it is likely that some other Japanese decided to stay in Spain, at Coria del Rio, while Christian persecutions were under way in Japan. It should be noted that the Franciscan monk Sotelo, who had accompanied Hasekura to Europe, was born in Coria del Rio.⁴³³ Once Japanese were

429 ARSI, Jap Sin 21, fol. 354. Álvarez-Taladriz, “Notas para la historia de la entrada en Japón de los Franciscanos,” p. 5.

430 Japanese red seals system. The 朱印船 or “red seal ships” were officially approved ships that travelled from Japan to many Asian countries. Mihoko Oka, “The Nanban and Shuinsen Trade in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Japan,” eds. Manuel Perez Garcia and Lúcio de Sousa, *Global History and New Polycentric Approaches. Palgrave Studies in Comparative Global History* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 163–78.

431 ARSI, Jap Sin 21, fol. 354. Álvarez-Taladriz, “Notas para la historia de la entrada en Japón de los Franciscanos,” p. 5.

432 *Interrogatorio que o Padre Vice Provincial ARSI*, Jap Sin 21, fols. 79–79v.

433 Fernández Gómez, *La embajada Japonesa de 1614 a la ciudad de Sevilla* (Seville: Comisaría de la Ciudad de Sevilla para 1992, Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1991), p. 41; Lee, “The Perception of the Japanese,” p. 349.

baptized and started using a Christian name, the origin of their Japanese family names is hard to detect. In its stead, their descendants would come to use the toponymic surname of “Japón.”⁴³⁴ The swift integration of these members into Spanish society was related to three major factors: their fluency in Spanish, the absence of Japanese women (main culture transmitters), and the presence of the Spanish Inquisition.⁴³⁵ Even the presumed descendants of this community, such as Manuel Carvajal Japón, a former president of the Asociación Hispano Japonesa Hasekura, during an interview with the researcher Nobuko Adachi stated the fear of the Spanish Inquisition had been an important factor in the omission of Japanese traditions.⁴³⁶

Most likely, the descendants of these people became farmers and fishermen, the region's main economic activities. Over time, their Japanese origins would come to be forgotten, a state which lasted until 1989, when Seville's *alcaide* (mayor), Manuel del Valle, traveled to Japan to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the city of Sendai and revealed the presence of the curious “Japón” toponymic in Coria del Rio's region.⁴³⁷ Until then, those with such a surname thought they were the descendants of some fishermen who had lived by the Guadalquivir River, near Coria del Rio. They did not know about the Keichō delegation nor that some of its members had passed by the region.

It should be stressed, however, that there are no parochial records on the first and second generation of their descendants, thus making it impossible to prove the veracity of this information.

Another example of the Japanese presence in Spain is that of Francisco Martínez, a Japanese Christian who died on 15 July 1616 at the Church of San Pedro in Madrid. The cause of death was given as “being poor.”⁴³⁸ Another unsolved mystery is Francisco's arrival in Spain. Which route did he take? What was his status? Did he arrive as a free man or as a slave? If the latter, how did he manage to get free? All these questions remain unanswered and await further study.

434 Alvar, *Nebrija y estudios sobre la Edad de Oro*, p. 311.

435 Adachi, *Japanese and Nikkei at Home and Abroad*, pp. 115–16.

436 The Spanish Inquisition was a religious institution that had the homogenization of Catholicism in its territories as its main role, mainly by fighting the remnants of Judaism and Islam within Spanish society. There were other tasks, but these two were the main ones in the Andalucía region. As such, any individual with religious and cultural traditions different from those instituted by the Spanish monarchy was at serious danger of being accused by the Inquisition and, consequently, lose all his or her assets and life. *Ibid.*, pp. 123–27.

437 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

438 Gallego, “El legado humano,” p. 30.

Japanese Slavery and Iberian Legislation

From the Reconquista to 1550

Until the fifteenth century, slavery on the Iberian Peninsula was shaped by the policies adopted by Christian kings in the period of the Reconquista.¹ The expansion of the Portuguese outside the European continent and the encounter and coexistence with new peoples make clear the need of a new type of law, more comprehensive and aimed at the African, American, and Asian trade. Concepts such as “infidelity”² (“infidel, gentile”),³ or “just war,”⁴ clearly influenced by the Reconquista, were inevitably altered and revised by the leading jurists of the Iberian Peninsula.

Tomás Sanchez, Francisco de Vitória, Fernão Pérez, Domingos de Soto, Azpilcueta Navarro, Martim de Ledesma, Luís/Luduvicus de Molina, Fernando de Oliveira, Fernão Rebelo, Manuel da Nóbrega, Gonçalo Leite, and Miguel Garcia were some of the most important members of the 16th century’s Iberian religious jurist school, a school where ambiguous concepts such as the merchants’ “good faith”⁵ or the legality of captivity were debated.⁶

1 The Reconquista, or the Christian conquest of the Muslim Iberian Peninsula, is a favorite topic in Spanish/Portuguese scholarship. In order to better understand the term and its influence in English, I recommend: Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); Alan Verskin, *Islamic Law and the Crisis of the Reconquista* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015).

2 Jeremy Cohen, “Christian Theology and Anti-Jewish Violence in the Middle Ages: Connections and Disjunctions,” in *Religious Violence between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives*, ed. Anna Sapir Abulafia (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 47–48; Morimichi Watanabe, “Cusanus, Islam, and Religious Tolerance,” in *Nicholas of Cusa and Islam: Polemic and Dialogue in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy, Rita George-Tvrtković, and Donald Duclou (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 12–14.

3 *Infidelidade (infiel, gentio)*.

4 *Títulos de guerra/guerra justa*.

5 *Boa-fé*.

6 As for the legal positions of the religious jurists, see: Maria do Rosário Pimentel, *Viagem ao fundo das consciências. A escravatura na Época Moderna* (Lisbon: Colibri, 1995), pp. 136–41; José Andrés-Gallego, *La esclavitud en la América española* (Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 2005), pp. 77–81, 194–99; José Luis Cortés López, *La esclavitud negra en la España peninsular del siglo XVI* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1989), p. 128.

While the institution of slavery was deeply studied and discussed in Spain, especially in the 16th century, and gave rise to protective legislation for slaves,⁷ debates on the same subject in Portugal did not give rise to political and legal effects until much later. One can even conclude that the institution of slavery was unanimously accepted in Portugal until the 16th century. Influenced by Roman law, it was accepted as normal, and ways to expand this type of workforce were regarded as perfectly legitimate. In order to justify this trade, Portuguese jurists turned to the papal bull *Dum diversas* and the apostolic brief *Divino amore communiti* issued by Pope Niccolò V (1397–1455) on 18 June 1452, which granted to the then King of Portugal, King Afonso V (1432–1481) the right of conquest and enslavement of the enemies of Christ (Muslims, pagans, and other types of infidel), as well as their territories and assets.⁸

In short, we can thus affirm that the *Dum diversas* and the *Divino amore communiti* legitimized and grounded conquest and slavery; conquest was geographically unlimited and the religious/moral foundations of slavery contained no article regarding the unjust slavery of non-Christians. The issue date of the bull and the apostolic brief, 1452, is equally significant since this was the period when the Portuguese began to develop an important slave trade network on the Saharan coast, on the Guinean rivers, and in Arguim, where, between 1444 and 1445, the first Portuguese trading post was built south of Cabo Branco, mainly dedicated to the purchase of slaves, gold, and fish.⁹

Let us now briefly consider the 15th-century Portuguese Church. For the Church, there was only a “fair captivity,” when the enslavement of the “other” was essentially based on five principles. The first justifying principle of slavery was *per nativitatem*. According to Roman law, this principle was based on the fact that the descendants of slaves remained slaves, even if one of their parents was not; the second was the so-called just war, which justified the enemy being

7 Aurelia Martín Casares, “Evolution of the Origin of Slaves Sold in Spain from the Late Middle Ages till the 18th Century,” in *Serfdom and Slavery in the European Economy 11th–18th Centuries*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2014), pp. 428–30.

8 *Nos praemissa et singula debita meditatione pensantes, quod cum olim praefato Alphonso Regi quoscumque Christi inimicos ubicumque constitutos ac regna, ducatus, principatus, dominia possessiones et mobilia bona quaecumque per eos detenta ac possessa, invadendi, conquirendi, expugnandi, devellendi et subiugandi illorumque personas in perpetuam servitutum redigendi, regna, ducatus, comitatus, principatus, dominia, possessiones et bona, sibi et successoribus suis applicandi, appropriandi ac in suos suorumque usus et utilitatem convertendi, aliis nostris Litteris plenam et liberam inter caetera concesserimus facultatem.* Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *De Indiarum iure. Liber II, De acquisitiones indiarum, Cap. 16-25* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000), pp. 433–35.

9 Théodore Monod, *L'île d'Arguin (Mauritanie). Essai historique* (Lisbon: IICT, 1983).

subject to the condition of slavery.¹⁰ The third principle was the practice of enslavement associated with the commutation of death penalty, being considered, according to the Catholic moral system, a humanitarian and merciful act. The fourth principle occurred when the parents sold the child(ren) out of extreme need; and the fifth, if in the lands of the enslaved person there was a law, considered to be just, to take the transgressors captive because of some offense.

In the Portuguese case, only in the 16th century did some jurists dare to go against some of these legal concepts in the existing law. One of them was Fernando de Oliveira, who took a stance against slavery at his time. His thought remained for posterity in the work *A Arte da Guerra do Mar* (The Art of Sea War), published in 1555.¹¹ This author, influenced by Spanish jurists, questioned for the first time the political, ethical, and religious/moral legitimacy of slavery. Openly criticizing the use of evangelization as a reason for enslavement, he was opposed to coerced conversion through war and tyranny, and defended conversion through the path of peace and justice. Against the practice of violent conversions, Oliveira argued that slaves converted to Christianity were not released but sold, and that religious justification was only a means used to make and validate profit.¹²

It was this attempt to change the foundations as a way of justifying slavery in Portugal that, in 1570 and 1571, caused the Portuguese monarchy to promulgate the first measures aimed at limiting slavery within the Portuguese territories. On 20 September 1570, influenced by Spanish thinkers, the Portuguese King partially forbade the captivity of the Brazilian indigenous population,¹³ and on the same day issued a ban against Japanese enslavement.¹⁴ On 3 March 1571,¹⁵ the monarch issued a ban on enslavement of the natives of Bengal,

10 Maria do Rosário, "A expansão ultramarina e a lógica da guerra justa," *Anais de História de Além-Mar, volume de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Teodoro de Matos, da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, special issue (2007): 299–318.

11 Maria do Rosário Pimentel, "A Proposta a Sua Magestade sobre a escravaria das terras da conquista de Portugal," in *Estudos em Homenagem a Luís António de Oliveira Ramos* (Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2004), pp. 843–54; Maria do Rosário Pimentel, "Leitura comentada da proposta a sua majestade sobre a escravaria das terras da conquista de Portugal," *Revista Ultramares* 1(1) (2012): 121–47.

12 Fernando Oliveira, *A Arte da Guerra do Mar* (Lisbon: Edição do Ministério da Marinha, 1983), pp. 23–25.

13 Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1987), vol. IV, p. 184.

14 BNL, Fundo Geral 801, "Provizão em que os Portuguezes, não possaõ resgatar, nem captivar Japão algum [...]," fols. 144–144v.

15 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, vol. 5, parte 2, 782–783.

Moluccas, and China. The exceptions were the African and Indian slaves, a necessary workforce for the Portuguese territories. These inoperative laws would be almost completely ignored by the judicial authorities who were supposed to enforce them. In the case of the Japanese slaves—the main focus of this study—this situation would only be reversed in the early 17th century, when a previously unknown individual stood up in defense of them: the Bishop of Japan, Luís de Cerqueira. This part of the book will attempt to honor him by studying his contribution to the end of Japanese slavery in the Habsburg territories.

Japanese Slavery and Iberian Legislation: 1550–80

The First Council of Goa (1567)

Initially, in the period between 1542/43 and 1567, neither the Portuguese Crown nor the Church felt the need to officially condemn the enslavement of Japanese. Despite some descriptions of the “non-Christian” way merchants lived in Asia (with concubines), slavery remained an open issue without any kind of regulation. The heated debate in the Iberian Peninsula on the legitimacy of slavery had no real impact on the slave trade of Portuguese commercial networks in Southeast Asia and the Far East, where this type of trade was spontaneously arranged, and there was no organized system of buying and selling people. This scenario contrasts with the slave trade in the Atlantic Ocean or in the India Run. For example, the India Run regulations attest that many slaves were carried as a method of payment.¹⁶ These slaves, considered as merchandise, were included in a special category called “freedoms.”¹⁷

16 Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, p. 136; Damião Peres, *Regimento das Casas das Índias e Mina* (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, Instituto de Estudos Históricos Dr. Antonio de Vasconcelos, 1947), pp. 134–36.

17 Although there are no complete records of the slave population in Lisbon throughout the 16th century, there are many references to Asian slaves, mainly Indians. In this city, the oldest references to slaves of Asian origin can be found in the church records of the Sé parish where, for example, Francisco Fernandez and Gujumar, Indian slaves, were baptized on 29 February 1547. (Edgar Prestage and Pedro d’Azevedo, *Registos parochiaes de Lisboa. Registo da Freguesia da Sé* (Lisbon: Academia das ciencias de Lisboa, 1924), p. 10.) By focusing attention on the ecclesiastical framework of the slaves in Portuguese India since 1532, I noticed that the Misericórdia of Goa was authorized by the King to sell slaves. After 1549, this institution monopolized the fostering of slaves forsaken because of disease or old age. In the case of sick slaves, after being healed, they could even be sold by the Misericórdia. (Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, “Escravatura,” in *Dicionário Temático de Macau* (Macao: Universidade de Macau, 2011), vol. 11, p. 528.) These same privileges were later transmitted to the Misericórdia of Macau (Leonor Diaz de Seabra, *O compromisso da Santa*

The first attempt to regulate the slave trade from India to Japan took place in 1567. This was not organized by the Portuguese monarchy, but rather, by the Church, through the first Provincial Council of Goa.¹⁸ This category of provincial councils was summoned by the metropolitan bishop of the corresponding provincial diocese, and the leading diocesan clerics took part in them. Usually, the provincial councils met periodically every 20 years; occasionally, there were some exceptions, as in the case of Goa. The purpose of this council was to adapt the new decrees resulting from the Council of Trent (1545–63) to the Portuguese mission in the East,¹⁹ and to avoid the clash of functions and jurisdictions by establishing a common procedures guide for all clerics covered by the Portuguese State of India.

The council was held in the Cathedral of Goa and was presided over by Gaspar de Leão (Bishop of Goa), with the participation of Friar Jorge Temudo (Bishop of Kochi), Manuel Coutinho (administrator of Mozambique), Vicente Viegas (prosecutor of the Bishop of Malacca), Friar Jorge de Santa Luzia, and the Superiors of the Society of Jesus, the Dominican Order, and the Order of Friars Minor. In addition to this group, doctors of law, theology, and canon law also attended. It was within the framework of new religious orientations from the Council of Trent that various decrees were issued, with the purpose of regulating slavery within the scope of the new moral and theological principles. At the same time, through these deliberations, it is possible to understand the complexity and expansion of the network of Asian slaves, who came from different geographic regions, such as China and Japan, to the great Lusitanian market in Goa, the main center of this kind of trade. The first reference to slavery appears in the 3rd decree of the council, which determined that parents and masters could not “take their children or slaves [anywhere] against their will” before they were baptized, and if they wanted to become Christians even against their parents’ and masters’ will, they should be “instructed in the faith”

Casa da Misericórdia de Goa do ano de 1595 (Macao: Universidade de Macau, 2005) and José Frederico Ferreira Martins, *História da Misericórdia de Goa* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1910–14), 3 vols.)

18 The name council is synonymous with an assembly of religious authorities directed by the bishops, usually organized by the Catholic or Orthodox Church, to deliberate on matters of a doctrinal nature and religious discipline.

19 Ricardo Ventura, “Estratégias de conversão ao tempo de D.Gaspar de Leão, primeiro arcebispo de Goa: Reconstituição histórica de uma controvérsia,” in *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII: espiritualidade e cultura: actas do colóquio internacional, maio 2004* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto; Centro Inter-Universitário de História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2004), p. 515.

so that they could receive baptism.²⁰ The 16th decree determined that non-Christians were not allowed to have a Christian slave and, if they had indeed acquired one, the latter should be set free. If perhaps that slave had been a non-Christian but wanted to convert to Christianity, he or she would become automatically free, without any payment being made to the non-Christian owner, except if he or she had brought the slave intending to sell him or her. The slaves that had come from lands beyond Portuguese jurisdiction, accordingly to the custom, would be returned [to their original land] if they did not want to be converted or, if they had been baptized, their price would be paid to their owners.²¹

The 17th decree aimed at regulating the slave trade and sale to non-Christian merchants, who bought many slaves and converted them to Islam, thus expanding that religion and using the newly converted slaves against the Christians.²² Consequently, under penalty of excommunication, captains of fortresses were not to allow the passage of Muslim slaves through lands under Portuguese jurisdiction, while Christian passengers who arrived in vessels with Muslim slaves had to declare that situation to the prelate or vicar as soon as they set foot in Portuguese lands. The only exception was when traders of other religious beliefs brought “just title captives”²³ to sell to the Christians.²⁴

The 38th decree determined that Portuguese merchants should not put pressure on prelates or religious people who received these slaves, “asking them [the priests] not to receive them [the slaves], or asking them for a guarantee, for the whole time they keep them [to convert them], and they will pay the slaves if they escape from them.” Otherwise, such men would not take such slaves, so they ended up not being properly “indoctrinated in the Catholic faith.”²⁵

According to the 40th decree, prelates and vicars were encouraged to carefully examine each slave that non-Christians brought to the ports and lands controlled by the Portuguese, because Christians could be unfairly enslaved among them.²⁶

In the chapter titled “Reformation of Church Matters,” in the 32nd decree, the council determined that, according to Christian customs, if slaves died,

20 *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do Oriente*, p. 343.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 351–52.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 352.

23 When the enslavement of an individual was essentially based on the five principles recognized by the Catholic Church.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 353.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 363.

26 *Abexiins, Charqueses, Jorgins, Arménios e doutras nações*. *Ibid.*, p. 364.

slave owners should order three masses to be said on their behalf and inform the priest of the parish, so he could bury them. Owners were only exempt for arranging such ceremonies to be performed if they were so poor they were unable to afford them.²⁷

On the other hand, in the chapter “Restoration of Customs,” the council forbade the sale of “young men freed from the land where they were given to be used.”²⁸ The council also ordered that the “Father of Christians”²⁹ should have a book to register those youths’ names, as well as the names of the persons to whom they were given and the year those deliveries took place, to avoid this situation. Those who knew of such situations should report them to the prelate.³⁰

The 5th decree of the “Restoration of Customs” aimed at putting an end to the mistreatment of slaves by Christians. This decree also reveals the terrible conditions in which some of these slaves lived, stating that “some people in this Province punish their slaves with great cruelty to the point of killing them and inflicting [on] them other injustices.” Therefore, it forbade the owners to punish them with fire, a wheel, or other atrocious methods.³¹

These owners were also forbidden to compel their slaves to work on Sundays and holy days, nor sell them on such days, nor order them to pay for things they lost or broke at home.³² When slaves fell sick, the owners were obliged to ensure they received treatment and, if necessary, arrange for them to receive the necessary religious sacraments.³³

According to the 6th decree, the council determined that wills releasing slaves should be respected. They should be immediately freed.³⁴

In the 10th decree, the council recognized that in the Portuguese State of Goa many people were wrongly enslaved, “with great prejudice to the souls, as well as to those who bring them or own them.”³⁵ This decree is of special importance, since it reveals that the Church in Goa recognized that a high percentage of the slaves owned by the Portuguese were wrongly enslaved. It maintains that such slaves should be freed and their owners, before acquiring

27 *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do Oriente*, p. 380.

28 The use of this term in the council allows us to conclude that the Church uses it as a synonym for slaves. Basically, the former slaves could not be turned into slaves again, in the new places where they were sent to work.

29 This position existed only in Portuguese India.

30 *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do Oriente*, p. 384.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 384.

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 384–85.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 385.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 385.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 386.

new ones, should thoroughly check the conditions of their slavery, as well as ensuring those conditions were deemed legitimate by the Church.³⁶

Upon reading the various decrees related to slavery, we can conclude that, in this first Council of Goa, the Church was concerned with the way slaves were used in the Portuguese State of India, particularly with the injustice and violence to which they were subjected. This is clearly noticeable in the penultimate deliberation of this council, in the 32nd decree, which, in addition to stipulating the next provincial council be held in 1571 (every five years) in Goa, also required prelates from other dioceses to attend, encouraging them to come up with a number of subjects for discussion, including “reports on how slaves are made captive in all parts of their dioceses.”³⁷

Although the Church sought to humanize slavery, the resolutions they put in place were not respected by either slave traders or by members of the European clergy in India. In fact, even the clerics who inhabited the plethora of Luso-Asian cities, ports, trading posts, and fortresses in the 16th century largely employed slave labor. For example, on 23 December 1589, the Jesuit Francisco Fernandez wrote a controversial letter from Kochi to the Father General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva, claiming that the financial problems of the Jesuit College in Kochi were caused by the high number of slaves.^{38, 39} This letter is even more interesting as it uses the term “young man,”⁴⁰ which also meant slave, somewhat similar to the expression used in Japan and China.⁴¹

This problem did not occur only in the Jesuit College in Kochi, as the European clerics in Asia were famous for having many slaves. For example, in Goa, on 21 November 1591, the Jesuit Francisco Cabral complained to Father General

36 Ibid., p. 387.

37 Ibid., pp. 395–96.

38 On the education of Jesuits in Kochi and Goa, please see: “Convergências e Divergências: O Ensino nos Colégios Jesuítas de Goa e Cochim durante os séculos XVI–XVII,” in *Jesuítas, Ensino e Ciência sécs. XVI–XVIII*, ed. Luís Miguel Carolino and Carlos Ziller Camenietzki (Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópico, 2005), pp. 163–80.

39 The Superior was Jerónimo Xavier.

40 *Moço*.

41 *La multitud de moços de que cargamos en la Índia me parece que es causa de que no aya renta que nos baste. Los años pasados uvo mil consultas sobre los ministriles del collegio de Goa. Ya no ay instrumento músico que no tengan, y con seu exemplo ya en este collegio tenemos ministriles, siendo bien desnecesarios porque, para quatro fiestas que tenemos, ay mil personas seculares que no los embiarán de muy buena voluntad. Y con el ejemplo deste collegio, ya el superior de Colán, que es una casa pobrísima, anda muerto por comprar otros, y el de Vaipicota también. Queremos tener em casa todos los oficios, scilicet, libreros, barbeiros, organistas, ferreiros, etc., y con esto ay quasi cien moços en casa, quasi todos captivos. Es verdad que agora sirven los mas dellos en las obras, mas, como dixé, no ay renta que baste. Documenta Indica, vol. xv, p. 470.*

Acquaviva about the expenses incurred by priests' slaves who visited from the Jesuit residences established in the Moluccas, Malacca, Kochi, Pescaria, Chaul, Daman, and Vasai. European priests, in addition to being accompanied by a brother and a "young man" supported by the Society of Jesus, were usually accompanied by three additional slaves.⁴²

These examples reveal just a small element of the European reality in Asia, where the whole economy and administration of the Portuguese State of India were based on the slave trade. For instance, slaves participated voluntarily and involuntarily in family and property protection, domestic work, carriage driving, and public and private militias. In Goa, the Rua Direita and Terreiro de Goa—described in detail by foreign travelers such as Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1563–1611), François Pyrard de Laval (c.1578–c.1623), or Francesco Carletti (1573–1636)—competed with the Terreiro do Pelourinho Velho, the main slave market in Lisbon.⁴³ In the slave market of Goa, European and Asian merchants were able to acquire slaves from all regions visited by the Portuguese. The slaves were brought in groups by the merchants, so-called *lotes*, and then individually introduced through a broker. The broker's role was to promote the talents of each slave.⁴⁴ These special skills were clearly based on stereotypes. For example, it was common to believe that black slaves were faithful and intended for heavy labor, but of low intelligence. "Mulattoes" were considered very intelligent, capable of learning any task, particularly suitable to use weapons, but a bit arrogant. As many had been born to white parents and educated at home, they were later freed or released. Muslim slaves were thought to find it difficult to adapt to the slavery system and be prone to escaping. It was thus seen as necessary to allow them little freedom and keep them chained. "Moors from India" were considered more intelligent, quick to learn, and very good servants; their negative traits were "dishonesty" and "thievery." As for the Japanese, they were considered very intelligent, faithful, and industrious. They also

42 *Ho 3º que se me oferece propor a V.P. hé, que parece que ho Padre Provincial tem posta sobeja carga a esta casa nos hospedes que vem de fora, que, como a Província hé tão grande e ho Padre comumente reside nesta casa, aqui vem pousar de Maluco, Malaqua, Cochim, Pescaria etc., como do norte, Chaul, Damão, Baçaim e outras residências; e alguns estão aqui às vezes dous meses e mais, e todos trazem seus moços, como ho Procurador da Pescaria já ho anno pasado com tres moços esteve aqui tres meses, e este anno elle e outro Irmão com outros tantos moços; alem dos de Salsete que, como são 7 o 8 residencias, quasi todos os dias vão e vem elles e moços. E segundo me dixe ontem o Padre Procurador não se há mister menos pera estes gastos extraordinários de 400 ou 500 pardaos: e enquanto o Padre Visitador aqui esteve todos hião pousar ao Collegio. E não fallo [...] Irmão que ho há-dacompanhar, e hum moço seu que a casa tão bem sustenta. Documenta Indica, vol. xv, p. 631.*

43 Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, pp. 148–49.

44 *Prendas or telentos.*

had the reputation of being great warriors. The Chinese, besides being considered very intelligent, faithful, and industrious, also had the reputation of being excellent cooks.⁴⁵

Resolutions of Francisco Rodrigues S.J. to Regulate the Slave Trade in China and Japan

In order to understand the Portuguese slavery system in the China seas at this time, we must refer to the manuscript titled *Comments of Father Francisco Rodrigues of the Society of Jesus on cases versed in India and its parts, with other important and necessary resolutions to confessors*.⁴⁶

Although the authorship of this document is commonly attributed to Francisco Rodrigues S.J., as this Jesuit's name appears in the title, in fact, we are facing a set of resolutions deliberated collectively by Jesuit theologians and jurists. These resolutions were probably coordinated by Rodrigues, with the aim of serving as a reference manual for Jesuits in Asia. Its breadth is astonishing, spanning geographical spaces ranging from India to Japan. The main commentator, Rodrigues was one of the most important Portuguese theologians of the 16th century. His journey through Asia began in 1556, when he departed for India, where he then lived there until his death. Rodrigues was appointed Provincial of India in 1572. The priest António de Quadros (1528–1572) was the other contributor to this manuscript. In addition to his important office as Rector at the College and University of the Society of Jesus in Évora in 1553 (the first Jesuit university in the world), Quadros was a prominent theologian and Latinist. In 1556, he left for India, and was appointed Provincial in 1559, a position he kept until his death in 1572. In addition to his political involvement as a counselor to the ruling elite of the Portuguese State of India, he also coordinated the Jesuit mission in Asia, despite being a critic of the involvement of the Society of Jesus in the Macao–Japan trade. The priest Gomes Vaz (1542–1610) was another contributor, as a specialist in Malaysian habits and customs. After he left for India in 1564, Vaz became the Procurator of the College of St. Paulo in Goa and Superior at the Residence of Malacca.

This manuscript can be divided into four main parts: problems and cases with a purely moral and religious nature; aspects of social life; legal matters; and issues related to the regulation of the commercial and financial activity of the Portuguese in Asia.⁴⁷

45 Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos*, vol. iv, pp. 194–95. Sassetti, *Lettere edite e inedite*, pp. 125–26.

46 ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805.

47 Lobato, “Notas e correcoes para uma edicao critica do Mss da Livraria n° 805 (IAN/TT),” pp. 389–408.

As for Japan, before 1570, Rodrigues received 47 questions from the Society of Jesus priests living in Malacca, Macao, and Japan, aimed at assisting the Jesuits in adapting the European customs to the Japanese habits, the so-called *modus accomodatio*. This section in the manuscript is designated “Answer to some Cases asked by some priests in Japan.” Interestingly, the subject of slavery was not mentioned in any of these questions. However, upon examining the entire manuscript, I realized that one of the concerns of the Jesuits established between Macao and Japan was to clarify the legitimacy of the Asian slave trade conducted by the Portuguese in these regions. This topic is in fact dispersed throughout the 570 pages that compose the document. Also, Rodrigues’s resolutions include 11 questions that directly cover slavery. It should also be noted that some of these issues, as well as their resolutions, were not included in the manuscript’s table of contents. Let us take a look at the main concerns of the Jesuits established in Macao and Japan, and the proposed answers.

The first set of cases on slavery can be found in the section “Miscellaneous and various cases that occur in the Asian regions.”⁴⁸ In this set of questions there is no specific geographical or thematic consistency. The first case involving slavery is called “Case 3,” it has no designation, and is indexed in the manuscript as “Case 47 about the Chinese slaves who sell themselves.”⁴⁹ In Case 3, the Jesuits intended to clarify whether the Chinese slaves who sold themselves or were sold by their own parents could be considered legal slaves. Regarding the first part of the question, Rodrigues suggested that the decision-making should happen after verifying all the conditions that led the individual to act in this way. The conditions should be checked against the instructions given in the *Summa Summarum, quæ Sylvestrina dicitur* (Rome, 1516) by Silvestro Mazzolini da Prierio (1456/57–1523). Regarding the second part of the question—about parents who sold their own children—Rodrigues encouraged the Jesuits to verify the causes for the sale and clarify whether these were related to extreme poverty or any other reason. Rodrigues further argued that the legitimate sale could only be accepted when extreme necessity was the cause. In this type of contract, the victim could be released when they or their parent refunded the amount paid for the sale: the buyer was required to agree.⁵⁰

The second question, or “Case 5,” was titled “Chinese Young men” and indexed in the manuscript as “Case 50 If the Portuguese can buy Chinese Young

48 *Cazos diversos e varios que correm pelas partes da india.*

49 *Caso 47 dos escravos chins que se vendem asy mesmos.* ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805, fol. 4v.

50 ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805, fol. 97.

men because of the fact that they can be killed.”⁵¹ In this case, the Jesuits sought to clarify whether it was lawful for Portuguese merchants to buy Chinese men to avoid the risk of the victims being murdered by the slave traders themselves. Concurrently, the same question clarifies that the slaves purchased were sold by the Portuguese, and the ultimate goal was trade and not just rescuing victims. Regarding this inquiry, Rodrigues suggested that first it should be ascertained whether there was a real danger of slaves being murdered, and if the fact the victims were being purchased by the Portuguese was the real reason the “robbers” kidnapped and sold them. The theologian then revealed that he sought to know more about this type of occurrence, and came to the conclusion that this danger did not exist in China and Japan, and even if the slaves were not bought by the Portuguese, the “robbers” would sell them to other non-Christian traders in the region. He also encouraged the Portuguese to threaten or deliver the slavers to the local authorities so that the victims could be released, the aggressors punished, and this type of trade come to an end. According to Rodrigues, this was the best way to act and also the way to gain respect. To conclude, the theologian expressed his opinion on the question about Portuguese merchants being allowed to sell the abducted persons bought from the kidnappers, saying that, as this kind of trade ceased, this question would become irrelevant, as would the risk of victims being killed by the slavers.⁵²

The third question, called “Case 6” and titled “Chinese Young men” is not indexed in the manuscript.⁵³ In this case the Jesuits wished to know whether it was lawful to buy Chinese men sold by traders or mandarins who claimed to be the owners of these slaves. Rodrigues determined that it would be unnecessary to study the legitimacy of Chinese laws that allowed enslavement for debt or theft, coming to the conclusion that if there were slaves in China, the Portuguese could buy those that were sold publicly, since any public sale was carried out in accordance with the laws and customs in force. To conclude, the theologian affirmed that slaves acquired in this manner were considered the legal property of their buyers.⁵⁴

The fourth question, called “Case 7,” was titled “The Judicial Magistrate for the Dead,” and was indexed in the manuscript as “Case 51,” with the title “The

51 *Caso 50 se podem os portugueses comprar os moços chins por motivo que há de os matarem.* ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805, fol. 4v.

52 ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805, fol. 97v.

53 *Moços chineses.*

54 ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805, fols. 97v–98.

Judicial Magistrate for the Dead and the Auction the Chinese Slaves.”⁵⁵ The Judicial Magistrate for the Dead in the China Seas was in charge of collecting, administering, and knowing all the details concerning the property of deceased or absent persons who did not nominate any heirs in their wills. He was also in charge of handing over the assets to anyone who justly claimed. In this case, Rodrigues was consulted to decide whether it was lawful for the Judicial Magistrate for the Dead to auction slaves belonging to the deceased, or whether they should be released. He claimed that the judicial magistrate could continue to support the slaves in the same way as their deceased owners did, and that those who purchased them should be morally aware that they were acquiring freed slaves. Rodrigues also mentioned that if the Judicial Magistrates for the Dead were to determine whether the slaves should be released or remain captive, they should not auction off slaves whose origin was doubtful, while the remainder should be released, as determined by the law in Goa.⁵⁶ This case clearly reflects the scenario in the China Seas, where the slaves acquired were generally illegal and unlawfully sold by the judicial magistrates.

The fifth question, referred to as “Case 8,” and titled “Young Women,” is not indexed in the manuscript. The Jesuits in Japan wanted to clarify whether the licenses granted by Father Cosme de Torres to legalize the purchases of young Japanese women and young Chinese men were lawful, and whether it was possible to determine the legality of such slaves sold by the Japanese. Another issue that the Jesuits wished to clarify was whether the war between the Japanese and Chinese was considered fair, in order to determine the legality of the Chinese slaves captured by the Japanese and sold to the Portuguese.

In response, Rodrigues affirms that the legality of this type of trade should be verified in Japan; he assumed that the existence of slaves in Japan meant that they were legal under Japanese law, and therefore the Portuguese could buy them without questioning their legality. Regarding the resolution on the existing just war between China and Japan, Rodrigues responded cleverly by stating that it was difficult to clarify this in Goa, and that the Jesuits in China and Japan had more information available to examine and determine this matter. In case of doubt as to the origin and legality of slaves, Rodrigues affirmed that it was not morally appropriate to enslave on the grounds of conversion to Christianity, against Portuguese merchants’ claim that it was fair to regard slaves as legal if they were to be baptized and converted to Christianity.⁵⁷

55 *Do provedor dos deffuntos em leillão os escravos chins*. ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805, fol. 5.

56 *Ibid.*, fol. 98.

57 This argument was presented by Portuguese merchants on a number of occasions. *Ibid.*, fol. 98v.

The sixth question, or “Case 9,” was titled “Baptism,” and indexed in the manuscript as “Case 52” with the title “Should we stop baptizing the slaves for fear that they would flee after being baptized?”⁵⁸ In this case, Rodrigues determined that if it was likely a slave would escape after being baptized, it was permissible not to baptize them. However, the most advisable action would be to send them as quickly as possible to India, or to a place from where they would not escape. During the period between acquisition and baptism, the slaves were to be catechized, which, according to Rodrigues, would prevent Christian slaves from escaping; if they did flee, at least the Jesuits and merchants could congratulate themselves on having taught them the principles of Christianity.⁵⁹ In this question, it seems as if Rodrigues did not grasp the true dimension of the problem. The Portuguese traders’ concern about baptism was the fact that, after slaves were baptized, they could not be sold to non-Christian traders.⁶⁰

The seventh question, referred to as “Case 10,” and titled “Period of service,” was not indexed in the manuscript. The Jesuits wanted to clarify how long a “Chinese young man” should serve his owner until his release. On this subject, Rodrigues determined that it depended on the slaves and their masters, the way the former were indoctrinated, and the benefits their masters received from them. Nevertheless, he reduced the period of service to four or six years, although this period could be changed at the will of the slave’s owner.⁶¹ It should be noted that, in practical terms, this situation did not apply to Chinese and Japanese slaves. Rodrigues seemed to ignore the two types of bondage embraced in Macao and Japan: unlimited- and limited-time ballots. He was also unaware that the last category was converted into an unlimited-time ballot as soon as the Japanese and Chinese victims left Macao and Japan.

The eighth question, or “Case 11,” was titled “Theft or period of service,” and was not indexed in the manuscript. This question was related to Case 10 and aimed at clarifying whether it could be considered legitimate for a free “young man” holding a limited-time ballot stolen from his master the agreed amount corresponding to his service, and, on the other hand, if the master could enslave him as a penalty if the amount stolen was higher than that paid for his service. Rodrigues claimed that if the young man had stolen the equivalent to the services provided, he was not committing any offense and the

58 *Se se podem deixar de baptizar os escravos pello temer que se tem de fugirem depois de baptizados.* Ibid., fol. 5.

59 Ibid., fol. 98v.

60 See this question at the 1575 Council of Goa, particularly the seventh and eighth decrees. Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. 4º, pp. 95–96.

61 ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805, fol. 98v.

master was not legally entitled to bring a lawsuit against him because the amount subtracted was legitimate and corresponded to the amount agreed upon. In cases where the amount stolen was higher than the services provided, the master was advised to deduct the remainder from the young man's future pay, but was not entitled to enslave him because there was no such law in Portugal.⁶²

The ninth question, or "Case 12," was titled "Baptism" and was indexed in the manuscript as "Case 53" with the title "If men were allowed to have female slaves at home or bring them on the vessels."⁶³ On this question, Rodrigues affirmed that even if the Portuguese declared their relations with the slaves were chaste, this did not remove the controversy around the situation. Although the merchants could claim their innocence, they were still exposed to the risk of sinning. In addition, he explained that someone suspected of sinning could not be allowed to experience this kind of coexistence, as permission for this was only given to those merchants who, through confession to priests, declared they had not had sexual intercourse with the victims, or in situations where this did not cause any kind of controversy.⁶⁴ This issue was clearly related to the trade in female slaves carried out by the Portuguese in the Chinese seas, and would become a recurring topic in Portuguese and Spanish legislation in ensuing decades.

The tenth question was called "Case 14," had no title, and was included in a chapter called "Defense matters."⁶⁵ It was indexed in the manuscript as "Case 55" with the title "The slaves sold by the King of China for having committed crimes."⁶⁶ This time, the Jesuits wished to know whether it was considered lawful to buy slaves who had been sold in China for committing crimes. Rodrigues, in line with his previous statement in Case 6, argued that it was lawful to buy people enslaved by the Chinese justice system, since he assumed that these laws were just. This type of purchase would only be considered illegal when the reasons for enslavement had not been foreseen in Chinese law.⁶⁷

The 11th and last question, called "Case 9," had no title, and can be found in a chapter titled "Rights." There is no reference to this issue in the manuscript index. Concerning this, the Jesuits sought to clarify whether it was lawful for Portuguese merchants to own and use captives who were not considered

62 ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805, fols. 98v–99.

63 *Se se podem permitir escravas a homens que as tenham em casa ou tragão em embarcações*. Ibid., fol. 5.

64 Ibid., fol. 99.

65 *Couzas defezas*.

66 *Caso 55 dos escravos que el Rey da China vende por averem cometido delitos*. ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805, fol. 5.

67 Ibid., fol. 99.

legitimate under Portuguese law, simply because they had little intellectual or moral capacity to live independently. These people should be treated as free by the Portuguese merchants and slave owners, having their status recognized in the testimony of those whom they served. This issue was attentively examined by Rodrigues, who affirmed that this type of occurrence was extremely rare and that the character of individuals changes according to their situation. As an example, he argued that many slaves considered to be difficult or unpleasant, proved to be exactly the opposite after they were released. At the same time, Rodrigues argued that few slave owners treated people in this situation as free, and there was a danger that they would keep the victims. However, Rodrigues made an exception for China and Japan, claiming that he knew that in these places there was a danger of unjustly captivated people escaping into “gentility”/non-Christian territories. In such cases, masters were allowed to retain these “young men” until they lived in a religiously safe place.⁶⁸

Having discussed these topics, one can conclude that the issue of slavery was not considered important enough to be addressed in an isolated and conveniently structured way. One can also realize that, despite the importance and growth of Japanese slavery at this time, Chinese slavery in Macao and in Japan was considered more relevant to the Jesuits than Japanese slavery. One also gets the impression that the enslavement of Chinese at this time was more organized than Japanese slavery, and that the latter was essentially related to females. Although we do not have specific figures, it is likely that, in global terms, at this time, the number of Chinese slaves sent by the Portuguese to different Asian ports was probably superior to that of Japanese. It is also important to note that many of these cases, based on the daily experience of missionaries themselves, were mentioned and studied again in the following decades.

The Abolition of Japanese Slavery in Portuguese Territories

Although we have no references to Japanese slaves in Europe in the 1560s, there is no doubt there was a Japanese presence in Lisbon in the 1570s, confirmed through marriage records kept in some parishes.⁶⁹ There were also reports sent to the Portuguese monarch Sebastian I, condemning Japanese slavery. These reports, sadly missing today, made some convincing arguments that spawned the issuing of the first decree against this traffick, on 20 September 1570.⁷⁰ The

68 Ibid., fol. 105.

69 ANTT, FP, LX, Conceição, Liv. 1 de Mistos (MF 988), fol. 43v, 5-2-1573.

70 BN (Lisboa), Fundo Geral 801, “Provisão em que os Portuguezes, não possaõ resgatar, nem captivar Japão algum [...]” cit., fols. 144–144v.

monarch himself confirmed this when, at the beginning of the decree, he affirmed it was a direct result of the “information I have, as it has hitherto been in the captivity of the Gentiles of the Kingdom of Japan.” Unfortunately, it is not possible to know the author of these reports, although there is a strong possibility that it was the Superior of the Japanese Mission between 1551 and 1570, Cosme de Torres, since this decree was directly associated with the inconveniences caused by the practice of slavery and the conversion of Japan by the Society of Jesus: “and of the great inconveniences which follow, and as there are no justified reasons for such captivity, and especially by the impediment that from this arises the conversion of those Gentiles.”

What also leads us to think that the author is Father Torres is the fact that in 1560 he had used the same argument in a letter written to another Jesuit living in Kochi. In this letter, Torres defended the need for a law issued by the Viceroy of the Portuguese State in India, forbidding Portuguese merchants to trade in the port of Hirado, “for doing many ignominies to the [Japanese] Christians who live there.”⁷¹

By declaring that after 1570 any Japanese slave was legally free, the Portuguese monarch sought to regulate this law by declaring that a person who had a slave of this nationality in his possession would immediately lose all his property, half of which would revert to the treasury and the other half to the royal coffers.⁷²

In order to ensure that this measure was enforced, the King compelled the Head Captains of Macao to submit certificates issued by Japanese authorities of the ports visited upon returning from Japan, proving that they had brought no slaves and that the merchants had not used counterfeited weights in commercial transactions. The King also determined that when the ship returned to India, the judicial representative,⁷³ or other judicial authorities in the absence of the latter, were required to verify that all these guidelines had been fulfilled, and judge the individuals who had disobeyed them.⁷⁴

71 *Muito folgariamos todos os que qua estamos que se [h]ouve[s]se huma provisão do Senhor Viso-Rey pera que os portugueses que vêm a estas partes de Japão não fossem a fazer fazenda ao porto de Firando, por se averem feitas nelle e fazem muitas ignominias aos christãos que la morão, fazendo-os arenegar da ley de Deus, e se não querem desterrão-nos da terra.* BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, 49-IV-50, fols. 522–523. BNL, Fundo Geral 4534, fols. 165r–165v.

72 “Provizão em que os Portuguezes, não possaõ resgatar, nem captivar Japão algum, e que os que forem a Japão, comprem, e vendão por hum mesmo prezo, e balança. BN (Lisboa), Fundo Geral 801, “Provizão em que os Portuguezes, não possaõ resgatar, nem captivar Japão algum [...],” cit., fols. 144–144v.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

On 3 March 1571, this law was reinforced in the “Alçada regiment,” widening its validity to slaves from Bengal, China, and the Molucca Islands who belonged to Portuguese. Following the 1570 Japanese slave trade ban, after 1571 this prohibition covered the regions of Bengal, China, and Southeast Asia as well. Besides the confiscation of the assets of those who disobeyed the law, judges in the various Portuguese ports were required to examine each slave’s legitimacy, freeing any person who had been illegally enslaved.⁷⁵

The 1570 decree also includes a particularity that deserves to be examined here. While in the first part the law is aimed primarily at restricting slavery as this is seen as an impediment to Japanese conversion to Christianity, in the second part this impediment is related to irregularities committed by Portuguese in the sale of silk and purchase of silver in Japan:

I have also been informed that the Portuguese who deal with Japan change the weights and scales by selling with ones and buying with others, all to great disadvantage of the Japanese, greatly hindering their conversion.⁷⁶

That is to say, the prohibition of slavery sought essentially to avoid friction between the Japanese and the Portuguese, as this could hinder evangelization and trade, in which the Society of Jesus took part.

Curiously, these measures would not only apply to Portuguese merchants, or foreigners who traveled around the areas controlled by the Portuguese. The same law was converted into ecclesiastical legislation in the *List of things that the King of Portugal granted in the year of 1571 to the Priests of the Society of Jesus in India and in favor of the Christendom that provisions and letters were made from Your Majesty*.⁷⁷ In this list of regulations/instructions, we again find sev-

75 LXI. São outroí informado que muitas pessoas vão a Bengala, China, e Maluco, e outras partes, e trazem muitos escravos e escravas captivos, que sabem que são furtados, e outros que não sabem per que titulo forão captivos, de que nascem muitos inconvenientes em perjuizo de suas consciencias, e do serviço de nosso senhor, e tambem do meu; pelo que vos mando que pela mesma maneira vos ajunteis com o meu V. Rey sendo presentes os desembargadores e mais pessoas que a elle e a vós parecer, e examineis os ditos captiveiros, e fareis libertar os escravos que forem mal captivos; e para o diante se tomará nisso a resolução que bem parecer, a qual o V. Rei fará dar a execução; e para estes casos se ajuntarão tambem comvosco e com o V. Rei os deputados da Mesa da Consciencia das ditas partes. Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, vol. 5, parte 2, pp. 783–83.

76 Ibid.

77 *Lista das cousas que este ano de 1571 concedeo El Rey de Portugal em favor dos Padres da Companhia de Jesus que andam na Índia e em favor da christandade de que se fizerão provisões e cartas de Sua Alteza.*

eral unequivocal references to slavery in Asia, and particularly to Japanese slaves in orders 31, 34, and 38. Through this list, one can also glimpse the situation of Asian slavery as a whole. First, the King claimed he was told that many of the merchants living in Portuguese India were traveling to the region of Bengal, China, and Southeast Asia to acquire slaves, most of whom were kidnapped. He further affirmed the natives were outraged when they realized the Portuguese were involved. This probably refers to the Chinese in Canton, who were infuriated when the Portuguese purchased many young people from the region during one of their first trips to China.⁷⁸ This might also be related with the Japanese region of Kyushū, and the fact that slavery was an obstacle to the conversion of the Japanese to Christianity.

Another extremely interesting aspect about this list was the fact that many Portuguese had at their service 15, 20, 30, 40, or 50 slaves, both male and female. The monarch's concern was focused more on the morality than the juridical legality of such high numbers of slaves. He implied that the existence of many slaves favored sexual and extramarital coexistence between masters and slaves, as well as among the slaves themselves. In paragraph four, the King pointed out that the high number of women in Portuguese fortresses was a risk to the survival of these places, as in case of an external attack, they could not fight to defend the fortress, being "useless people." Furthermore, the King argued that they would consume much of the food, putting the fortress's survival at risk. In this context, and in view of the time period, we are led to believe that this paragraph alludes to the fortress of Malacca, which was the most frequently attacked among the plethora of Portuguese fortresses and trading posts on the Asian continent.

In paragraph 34, the King again emphasized to the Jesuits that the Japanese slave trade was illegal and prohibited. Finally, in paragraph 38, he reported sending letters of greeting to the *daimyo* of Ōmura, D. Bartolomeu/Ōmura Sumitada, as well as information on the prohibitions enforced in Portugal against Japanese slavery.⁷⁹

The content of these laws implied a clean break with a type of trade that was deeply established among the Portuguese in Asia. This gives rise to two important questions: Would slave traders abandon this way of life? Would slave buyers stop buying Japanese?

78 De Barros, *Ásia de João de Barros*, p. 306.

79 "Lista das cousas que este ano de 1571 concedeo El Rey de Portugal em favor dos Padres da Companhia de Jesus que andam na India e em favor da christandade de que se fizerão provisões e cartas de S. A." *Documenta Indica*, vol. VIII, pp. 409–10.

Despite King Sebastian's 1571 prohibitions and the outlawing of the Japanese slave trade in Goa, contrary to what one might suppose there were no disputes in this city. The underlying reason for this was that the Viceroys, fearing the power of the region's leading traders, never implemented it.⁸⁰

The Second Provincial Council of Goa (1575)

During the 16th century, the substantial flow of Asian slaves within areas where the Portuguese had settled and traded would generate numerous conflicts among clergymen, Portuguese communities, and their descendants. These problems particularly affected female slaves, as many of them lived with Portuguese men outside of wedlock.⁸¹

However, despite the clerics' concerns, the slave trade in Japan was not affected nor interrupted. Both male and female slaves of Japanese origin continued to be brought every year to Macao and, from there, to other ports, even those where these laws were supposed to be stricter, as in Lisbon. For example, on 7 February 1596, Filipa de Guerra, a nun from the Santos Monastery, wrote in her will that her Japanese slave Maria Pereira should be freed after her death. By the time the will was written, Pereira had served the nun for 20 years. This document shows that Pereira had arrived in Portugal in the early 1570s,⁸² the exact period when the prohibitions against the enslavement of Japanese people had been issued. The fact that Pereira had illegally served Guerra for 20 years also proves that, in practice, the anti-slavery laws were not obeyed and those who violated them were not punished.

Although initially scheduled for 1571, the second Goa Provincial Council was postponed for four years. Contrary to the previous 1567 council, at the 1575 council, only 18 decrees were issued, two of them referring to the slave trade. The second council was once again presided over by the Bishop of Goa; unlike the first council, it focused on the conversion to Christianity of old and new Asian regions, and the decrees produced were mainly intended at regulating baptism and marriage.

80 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, tomo I, parte 1ª e parte 2ª, pp. 157–58.

81 Eduardo Javier Alonso Romo, *Los Escritos Portugueses de San Francisco Javier* (Braga: Universidade do Minho/Centro de Estudos Humanísticos, 2000), pp. 466–67; de Sousa, *A Outra Metade do Céu*, pp. 286–87. For example, on 16 May 1547, Saint Francis Xavier (1506–1552) wrote from Ambon to the Portuguese King John III, telling him that “the wives of the married men and the locals, and mestizo sons and daughters are happy to say that they are Portuguese by generation and not by law, the cause being the local scarcity of preachers that teach the law of Christ.” One year after this letter, Xavier revealed the same concern about the wives, children, and male and female slaves of the Portuguese who were stationed at the Malacca and Maluco (Tidore) fortresses. *Ibid.*, pp. 475, 288.

82 ANTT, FN, Lisboa, Cart. 7A, Liv. 11, fol. 128, 07-02-1596. Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, p. 108.

The seventh decree of this council mentions a strategy implemented by horse owners, who made “Christian young men disguise themselves with Moorish [i.e., Islamic] costumes.” This shows that slavery practiced at the Portuguese fortresses was not as transparent as it appeared to be, with existing and evident traces of slave trade between Christians and non-Christians.⁸³

In accordance with the resolutions of the previous council, the eighth decree stated that Muslim merchants’ slaves who were not vassals of the Portuguese should be sold, and the revenue given to their non-Christian owners. Whenever these slaves were at ports or in lands under Portuguese jurisdiction, they had to be sold at those places to Christian or non-Christian vassals of the Portuguese King.⁸⁴

Surprisingly, the resolutions on the abolition of Japanese slavery were not addressed at this council. Similarly, in Europe the situation of such slaves remained unchanged.⁸⁵

Japanese Slavery and Iberian Legislation: 1580–1600

The Third Provincial Council (1585)

In the course of the 1580s, despite the ban, human trafficking increased so much that it became a huge obstacle to the expansion of Christianity in Japan.

In the aftermath of King Sebastian’s reign and King Henrique’s (1512–1580) death, Philip II of Spain (1527–1598) succeeded to the Portuguese throne. In 1581, he enforced a new law against slavery in Japan. *His Highness [King Sebastian] prohibition not to captivate any Japanese, and to weigh and receive through the regular scales in Japan*, obeys the same structure of the 1570 legislation, while seeking to give continuity to the directives already issued by the late King Sebastian.⁸⁶ This legislative update against the enslavement of Japanese people did not, however, prevent such slaves continuing to work and serve aboard official state ships, as can be verified by the death of a Japanese slave who in 1581 secretly traveled from Lisbon to Goa.⁸⁷

83 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. 4º, pp. 95–96.

84 Ibid., p. 96.

85 For example, the Florentine trader Filippo Sassetti, in his letter to Baccio Valori, in Florence, pointed out that Japanese slaves arrived at Lisbon harbor aboard ships from the Carreira da Índia between 1578 and 1579. Sassetti, *Lettere edite e inedite*, pp. 125–26.

86 *Alvará de S. Alteza para se não cativar nenhum Japão, e que em Japão se pese e receba pelas balanças acostumadas*. Leitão, “Do trato português no Japão,” p. 140.

87 Letter from Friar Marco António Porcari to Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva, Kochi, 30-11-1581. *Documenta Indica*, vol. xii, p. 467.

The same happened in places such as Macao, where the most important private merchants invested in trading slaves of various nationalities, including Japanese.⁸⁸ Furthermore, Japanese slaves started to be sent beyond Portuguese ports, fortresses, and trading posts scattered throughout the Asian continent, to Manila and the American continent, as can be verified through the story of Cristóbal and Cosme, two slaves, probably Japanese, who become pirates.⁸⁹

In Goa, the Viceroys circumvented the laws prohibiting slavery, none of which were officially implemented in the city:

A permit that the King Sebastian, holy glory to him, ordering that the Japanese should not be captive, and those who were should be set free, it has never been enforced and there was no King who had it enforced, as they thought it was great disservice of God and of Your Majesty, and against Christendom, and for many other reasons there were.⁹⁰

At this time, Nagasaki became an important center exporting Japanese slaves. There are not many documentary sources regarding the geographical origin of these slaves, but manuscripts show that they were essentially from neighboring regions.⁹¹

The third Provincial Council was held in 1585, once again in Goa. In accordance with the decrees issued during the previous meetings, the 21st decree

88 AHSCMP, H, Bco. 6, n^o 17, fol. 28iv.

89 Richard Hakluyt and Jack Beeching, *Voyages and Discoveries: The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985); Francis Pretty, "The Admirable and Prosperous Voyage of the Worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley," in *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation: Made by Sea or Overland to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time Within the Compass of These 1600 Years*, ed. Thomas Derrick and John Masefield (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1907), vols. 1–8; Richard Hakluyt and Richard David, *Hakluyt's Voyages* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981); "The Admirable Adventures and Strange Fortunes of Master Antonie Knivet, Which Went with Master Thomas Candish in His Second Voyage to the South Sea. 1591," in *Hakluytus Posthumus or Parchas His Pilgrimes: containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land Travells by Englishmen and Others*, ed. Samuel Purchas (New York: AMS Press, 1965), vol. 16, pp. 177–289.

90 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, tomo 1, parte 1^a e parte 2^a, pp. 157–58.

91 For example, citizens of Nagasaki attacked people from Fukahori in revenge. Many of them were captured and enslaved: *Os gentios de Fucafori [...] ficarão tão atemorizados que se não atreverão mais a cometer Nangazaqui; antes pelo contrario, os christãos os hião cometer a suas terras, fazendo-lhes maiores affrontas do que primeiro delles tinham recebidas, tomando-lhes prezas, queimando-lhe cazas e fazendo-lhe outras destruições muitas vezes em suas ilhas, que não pouco os metia em confusão e espanto.* Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 2, p. 396.

reiterated the prohibition on “infidels” taking slaves through Portuguese territories, together with excommunication and a fine of 50 *pardaos* for any Christian who associated with such merchants.⁹²

However, the religious resolution that seems most relevant can be found in the decree: that “in the baptism of the slaves there is great neglect in this Province.” This aimed at eradicating the following practice: in order to circumvent the ecclesiastical authorities and avoid incurring the excommunication penalty, Portuguese merchants gave their slaves a Christian name when they bought them, making it sound as if they had already been baptized, so they could sell them to merchants or private individuals with different religious beliefs. Through this decree, the council sought to encourage all people who sold slaves to disclose to their buyers if the slave had been baptized, and stated that all Christian slave owners should baptize their slaves within six months, in case they had not actually been baptized.⁹³ As for the “fifth action” of this council, one can find in decree 2 a resolution concerning owners’ obligation to ransom those slaves who fought for them on land or at sea, and had been captured. Thus, if their owners were unable to rescue them, or if they themselves were unable to flee and return to the Portuguese, they would be freed.⁹⁴ This decree was relevant to many Japanese slaves, particularly in the regions of Goa, Malacca, and Macao, where they served as mercenary soldiers.

This council produced a particularly important last decree. Decree 5 aimed at regulating the relationships between men and women on ships. Women should be kept separately to men, and enclosed at night because “to this Province are brought by the sea many slaves from various nations.”⁹⁵ This concern had already been raised by the Jesuits in the late 1560s, when Rodrigues was consulted on the lawfulness of the Portuguese carrying women on their vessels.⁹⁶

Although these decrees aimed at reducing the illegalities committed by the Portuguese, Japanese slavery was not publicly condemned until in the following decade.

The 1587 Anti-Christian Edict and the Abjuring of Slavery in Japan by Acquaviva

Portuguese slave traders suffered a major setback around 1587. In that year, when the Japanese ruler Toyotomi Hideyoshi arrived at Kyushū, where the

92 Archivo Portuguez Oriental, Fascículo 4º, p. 136.

93 Ibid., pp. 142–43.

94 Ibid., pp. 177–78.

95 Ibid., pp. 179–80.

96 ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805, fol. 99.

slave trade was particularly significant, he was not indifferent to seeing Japanese slaves ready to be sold to the Portuguese. On 24 July 1587, Father Luís Fróis described his inquiry regarding this issue to Vice-Provincial Father Gaspar Coelho in *Historia do Japam*.

As Thomas Nelson argues, could the expulsion edict of the missionaries from Japan, issued only a few days later,⁹⁷ be related to this?

The only certainty amid these speculations is that Hideyoshi accused the Portuguese of buying Japanese people and asked for their release, initially promising to pay the Europeans their price in silver,⁹⁸ although he ended up not keeping his promise.⁹⁹ Some of these slaves were not lucky enough to be released by Hideyoshi, being sold in the Portuguese fortresses or even brought to Europe, to the great indignation of the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome.¹⁰⁰ As an aside, it should be clarified that at that time the legalization of slaves was carried out by the Jesuits established in China and Japan. They were in charge of issuing the so-called slave “ballots” proving their legitimate enslavement, thus allowing not only their acquisition but mainly their sale in Portuguese territories in Asia and Europe. A tremendous controversy broke out at the Holy See when the news of Jesuit participation in the Japanese slave trade arrived in Rome.¹⁰¹ This gave birth to the evident anti-slavery stance of Father General Acquaviva, in the letter he wrote to the Visitor Father Alessandro Valignano on 15 April 1590.¹⁰² Further information, with vivid descriptions of the slave trade in Nagasaki harbor, which arrived, meanwhile, in Rome, also contributed to the radical position adopted by Acquaviva. This statement can be supported with several documentary references. In his letter, Acquaviva affirmed that he looked on slavery as having an adverse impact on Japan’s conversion to Christianity, inasmuch as the priests, by not interfering with or prohibiting this trade and the illicit manner in which the Japanese were enslaved, were inhibiting “gentile” conversion. Likewise, the Father General prohibited Jesuits from any association with this trade in humans:

97 Nelson, “Slavery in Medieval Japan,” p. 464.

98 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 4, pp. 401–03.

99 *Ibid.*, pp. 402–03, 453.

100 ARSI, Jap Sin 10 II, Letter from Gaspar Coelho S.J. to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva, Hirado, 2-10-1587, fol. 272. ANTT, FN, Lisboa, Cart. 7A, Liv. 87, fol. 82v, 23-05-1590; C. 17, Cx 4, Livro 16, fol. 121; Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, p. 108.

101 ARSI, Jap Sin 10 II, Letter from Gaspar Coelho S.J. to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva, Hirado, 2-10-1587, fol. 272. ANTT, FN, Lisboa, Cart. 7A, Liv. 87, fol. 82v, 23-05-1590; C. 17, Cx 4, Livro 16, fol. 121; Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, p. 108.

102 ARSI, Jap Sin 3, Letter from the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva to Alessandro Valignano, 15-04-1590, fol. 15.

We would also be grateful if Y.R. could tell us the reason why the Portuguese can obtain the Japanese, which is forbidden in Japan itself under severe penalties, and also in Portugal, as we are told, and it is a good testimony to do so, because we know for certain that some Japanese who the Portuguese brought captive to our Kingdom [Portugal] were freed without much resistance of the authorities, which they [the Japanese slaves] did not cease to do [to pursue freedom], if they [the Japanese slaves] believe that justice is on their side. In case they took advantage of it, it was not lawful for our men [the Jesuits], who were going to convert them for Christ to consent to the perpetual slavery of men [the Japanese], and to put themselves in such a miserable state, and the Gentiles would be glad to receive the good work in favor of their liberty; And they could not be given a chance to withdraw, and not to trust us, as they would have done when they understood that we were offending, and helping the Portuguese in such corruption, which would do great harm for the preaching of the faith. At last, we ask Your Reverence to consider this issue and to keep us informed, as we express our will that our people do not associate with such dangerous business to the conscience, so risky and even a Universal scandal, which may lead to a remarkable impediment of conversion, and thus we ask Your Reverence to understand and comply with all those who need to.¹⁰³

Acquaviva's stance was also a consequence of a series of Portuguese legislations that, despite having outlawed the slave trade, and being obeyed in Portugal, were not being obeyed by the Portuguese settled and trading in Asia.

Another result of the 1587 anti-Christian edict was the need for the Society of Jesus in Japan to address the controversial subject of slavery in the book *De Missione legatorum Japonensium ad Romanam Curiam, rebusq in Europa, ac toto itinere animadversis dialogus*, which reports the main episodes of the first Japanese mission to Europe (Tenshō embassy). Besides the authenticity of its author,¹⁰⁴ there is something that seems unquestionable: this work clearly expresses Valignano's position on this subject; otherwise, it would have been censored or remained unpublished, as other contemporary works.¹⁰⁵ The purpose

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ The authorship of this work is still questionable, on the one hand it is said to have been written by Valignano in Spanish, and translated into Latin by Duarte de Sande, on the other hand, some researchers consider that Sande was the author.

¹⁰⁵ Regardless of the authorship of the work, if Sande had defended something with which Valignano did not agree, most certainly the book would have been censored, as happened, for example, to two works by Luís Fróis.

of this book was to advertise the Japanese mission to Europe and to raise funds for the Society of Jesus in Japan. It was completed in Macao in 1590, three years after the issuance of the anti-Christian edict in Nagasaki by Hideyoshi.

In *Colloquia 14*, Valignano's stance on slavery was clearly expressed. Using the Japanese ambassadors as main characters in the book, he puts in their mouths the following lines:

- Greed made the Japanese sell their countrymen to the Portuguese.
- During the mission, it was common to find Japanese slaves throughout the places where they passed.
- These slaves were sold at a low price.
- If they were exclusively sold to the Portuguese, that traffic would be considered legal.
- The Portuguese were described as merciful and kind, and their actions towards the slaves were helpful, as the first evangelized the last, subsequently releasing them.
- The Japanese sold their countrymen to people of faiths other than the Roman Apostolic Catholic, making that kind of slavery condemnable.
- The Japanese slaves suffered when they served the “*black-barbarians*.”
- The fact that the Japanese slaves were acquired by Portuguese merchants, excused the latter as they only aimed for profit, which meant that this traffic's fault should be entirely laid on the Japanese who sold them.
- Despite being accused of tolerating slavery, in fact the Society of Jesus opposed this practice and defended the Japanese to the Portuguese authorities.
- Hideyoshi's own magistrates cooperated with the Japanese slave traders, allowing illegality and not punishing those who sold people.¹⁰⁶

106 Sande, *De missione*, pp. 139–40. *Lusitanorum profus nulla ulpa est: eum enim fuit mercatoris, non est illis in vitio ponendum, si nostros homines spe lucri emant, & postea in India, alijsq; locis ex eorum venditione quaestumfaciant: tota ergo culpa nostrorum est, qui etiam ipsos filios, quos chrisimos habere deberent, paruo accepto pretio e matrum gremio diuelli, tam facile patiuntur. Quis enim non miseratione commoueat, uidens tam multos nostrae gentis uiros, ae feminas, pueros, & puellas in tam uarias orbis partes, tam paruo pretio abripi, ac distrahi, miseramque seruitutem pati? [...] tam paruo pretio abripi [...]. Nec enim solum Lusitanis uenduntur, id namque facilius tolerari posset [...] cum Lusitanorum natio erga seruos clemens sit ac benigna, eosque Christianae doctrinae praeceptis imbuat. Sed quis aequo animo ferat nostros homines per tam diuersa regna, abiectarum etiam gentium [...]. Falsaque religioni deditarum dissipari, ibique nons solum inter barbaros et nigro colore homines tristem seruitutem sustinere, sed etiam falsis erroribus imbui? Lusitanorum prorsus nulla culpa est: cum enim sint mercatores, non est illis in uitio ponendum, si nostros homines spe lucre emant, & postea in India, aliisque; locis ex eorum uenditione quaestum faciant:*

As was ascertained, in 1587 Valignano tried to defend Portuguese merchants from accusations made by Hideyoshi to the Jesuits, by blaming Japanese traders and traffickers. However, this attempt to legitimize the enslavements carried out by the Portuguese was not able to camouflage the existence of a very complex human trafficking network, which they monopolized and which allowed the distribution of captives hailing from several different origins throughout Portuguese lands.

The same work deliberately ignores the involvement of the Society of Jesus in this process, not mentioning that the slaves' ballots were issued by the Jesuits.

Nevertheless, neither the anti-Christian edict nor the accusation of slave trading by Hideyoshi, nor the prohibitions by both the King and the Father General of the Society of Jesus, would prevent the Portuguese from practicing this trade. It must also be stressed that some of these Japanese slaves served important individuals in Portuguese society, which demonstrates that the very members of the ruling elite, who were supposed to enforce the laws, were the first to break them. The testimony of Domingos Monteiro in 1592,¹⁰⁷ the escape of three Japanese slaves from Goa in 1593,¹⁰⁸ or even the release in Lisbon of the Japanese slave Diogo, in 1590,¹⁰⁹ are just a few examples that support this statement. Monteiro, for instance, had been Head Captain of Macao, holding this most important government office on four different occasions, representing the monarch's interests and supervising the enforcement of his laws in the city. On the other hand, Diogo belonged to the Viceroy of India, Matias de Albuquerque. With regard to the three fugitive slaves, two of them were found with the help of a priest who should have officially condemned this situation.¹¹⁰

These examples also illustrate the high level of corruption in the Portuguese judicial systems both in Asia and Europe.

tota ergo culpa nostrorum est, qui etiam ipsos filios, quos carissimos habere deberent, paruo accepto pretio e matrum gremio diuelli, tam facile patiuntur. Quod uero ad patres Societatis attinet: ut intelligatis, quam aduersa sit eorum mens ab eiusmodi uenditionibus, & emptionibus, scire etiam uos oportet, eos magna cura ac diligentia a rege Lusitanae regium diploma impetrauisse, quo gravi poena prohibetur, ne quis mercator in Iaponiam ueniens, serrum Iaponensem emat. Sed quid [...] gravissimis indictis poenis praeuipiant.

107 AHSCMP, H, Bco. 6, n° 17, fol. 281v.

108 *Documenta Indica*, vol. XVI, p. 301.

109 ANTT, FN, Lisboa, Cart. 7A, Liv. 87, fol. 82v. 5/23/1590 Fonseca, *Escravos e Senhores*, p. 108.

110 These cases were developed in part four of this book.

Gabriel Vasquez's Resolutions on the Regulation of the Slave Trade in China and Japan

In 1592, Nagasaki hosted a Consultation and its results were sent to Europe. The Jesuit Gil da Mata served as personal courier to Acquaviva and brought him news on the state of the Japanese mission and the problems faced by the priests in the course of the evangelization project. Furthermore, invested as representative of the Jesuits in Japan,¹¹¹ Mata met with prominent European theologians, to whom he presented some difficult moral issues for the Jesuits in Japan, aiming at obtaining conclusive answers and, after papal approval, applying them in that country. Father Gabriel Vasquez, professor at the University of Alcalá, was one of the persons consulted.¹¹²

This document is particularly valuable not only because of Father Vasquez's answers, but also the 45 cases introduced by Mata, through which we can determine the main moral difficulties encountered by the Japanese mission during the last decade of the 16th century. Split into six chapters, the most interesting is chapter 4, where 11 cases regarding the law of war, or just war and six others about slaves were discussed. The last case addressed the subject of slavery and appears to be the least relevant.

In the 31st case, the issue at hand was the Japanese masters' legitimacy to enslave women who escaped from the homes of their parents or husbands.¹¹³ Father Vasquez merely stated that it did not seem necessary to change the said custom, in order to avoid damages, except if there had been an evident injustice.¹¹⁴

Among other things, the 26th Case aimed at clarifying the legality of enslavement by the winning side during a war considered to be unfair, despite the parties' "good faith."¹¹⁵

111 Representative of the Society of Jesus in Japan.

112 Gay, "Un Documento Inédito del P.G. Vásquez," pp. 123–27.

113 31. *Antiquum est apud japonenses consuetudine, quad quando uxores ex uirorum, aut filiae ex parentum domibus [u]gientes tonorum, uei dominorum domus adeunt, ab ipsis recipiuntur, ipsae tamen in perpetuum capituae manent, et liceat postea a propriis uiris uel parentibus petantur, nulla ratione traduntur, et eadem consuetudo introducta est in dominis temporalibus, qui filias famulorum suorum in uxorum ministerium uocantes, eas postea parentum domos adire, uel matrimonium contrahere non permittunt. Dubitatur, utrum melius sit, cum japonensium bona fide dissimulare, quam ueritatem aperire, supposito quod eos id admonere, cum in tota japonia commune sit, et uix aliter ad suum ministerium famulas inueniant, ad nihil aliud deseruiet, quam ad illos in mala fide constituendos. Ibid., p. 137.*

114 31. *Hoc tempore non uidetur aliquid innouandum in tali consuetudine, cum nullus fructus speratur; sed potius damnum, et non sit manifesta causa iniustitiae. Ibid., p. 143.*

115 26. *Utrum ea, quae in eiusmodi bellis capiuntur ex utraque parte tam in ipso conflictu, quam post partam victoriam, iuste possideantur, et maxime captiui an in ueram seruitutem redigantur, quoniam omnes in bello bona fide procedunt, licet a parte rei nulla iusta causa in*

Father Vasquez replied by saying that during confession priests were not allowed to remonstrate with those who held such spoils of war.¹¹⁶

The 27th Case addressed the soldiers' concern to have a clear conscience regarding the spoils of war and the enslavement of their prisoners, where they were commanded by their leaders to fight in wars with questionable purposes.¹¹⁷

According to Vasquez, the Jesuits were not allowed to condemn the soldiers, as the latter were only obeying their masters' orders; they could not be expected to know whether or not a war was unfair, thus the spoils they acquired were not considered unlawful.¹¹⁸

The 28th Case discussed the lawfulness of the Japanese custom of making children pay for their parents' faults, even if these were not serious offenses, by enslaving them. However, controversy arose when the Jesuits wanted to know if they would not be able to condemn that custom when the Japanese acted in good faith, while also arguing that they did not have enough power to change the custom.¹¹⁹

Father Vasquez's answer was vague and contradictory, as he determined that the children could be enslaved, he also states that nobody could punish children for the offenses of their parents. After this passage he also states that parents should be punished for offenses such as infamy, deprivation of property, or servitude, however he does not clarify what is meant by the meaning of offenses, types of infamy or servitude.¹²⁰

In the 29th Case, the Jesuits pointed out the common practice among the Japanese of purchasing slaves without checking the reason for their captivity. Therefore, they wanted to know if information proving slaves had been unjustly captured should be concealed, to keep the goodwill of the Japanese, or

bello illo appareat, uel saltem an dissimulare liceat, quando bona fides re patet, et admonitio nullum effectum habebit, supposito, quod ista dominia ut in plurimum ueros dominos non habeant, et si sint, quod ad illorum potestatem deuenire non possunt. Ibid., pp. 136–37.

116 26. *In confessione non licebit dissimulare cum his, qui possident res captas in Bello, propter rationem dictam in casu. 14. et 23. Ibid., p. 143.*

117 27. *Utrum, quando iustitia belli eat dubia, et milites a suis dominis ad ilia bella uocantur, ea, quae in bello milites capiunt, tuto in conscientia possideant, et captiui in ueram seruitutem redigantur. Ibid., p. 137.*

118 27. *Non uidentur isti iniuste res illas possidere, quia uocati sunt a dominis, et non erat manifesta causa iniustitiae, quare cum his saltem licebit dissimulare. Ibid., p. 143.*

119 28. *Utrum filii, propter parentum peccata, licet grauia non sint, in seruitutem redigi possint, ut est in usu apud japonenses, uel saltem an circa id dissimulare liceat, quando bona fide proceditur, interim quod non est potestas ad eiusmodi consuetudines reformandas. Ibid., p. 137.*

120 28. *Possunt filii redigi in seruitutem, quia licet corporaliter non possint puniri filii a iudice humano, propter delicta parentum, possunt tamen puniri paena infamiae, amissionis bonorum, et consequenter seruitutis. Ibid., p. 143.*

whether they should tell them the truth, considering that out of one hundred owners, only two would release such slaves after being so admonished.¹²¹

Once again, this question seems to have a double meaning, since after declaring that the slaves traded by the Japanese were mostly illegally enslaved, it was implied that it was preferable to allow this practice to continue. Regardless of the true reasons shaping this case, Father Vasquez's answer suggests that it was not licit to conceal the truth during confession, and that the Jesuits should not allow it.¹²²

The 30th Case intended to clarify whether a Christian could buy a man, knowing that he was not a legal captive. Based on the assumption that the Christian did not buy him, and that he was instead being bought by a "pagan" who might enslave him and ensure he lost any hope of attaining salvation, could the Christian claim he acted under good intentions by having the slave serve him or selling those services to a third party, according to the amount paid and the number of years set by the priests?¹²³

This question was obviously related to another kind of human trade, namely saving a slave's soul in the name of God. This was intended to legitimize the trade of slaves of illicit origin, and to convert their enslavement into a kind of servitude based on a fixed number of years. Case 30 intended to legitimize the practice, common in Japan, according to Catholic ecclesiastical canons. As discussed, by this date the Jesuits already "employed" this type of servant in their residences and had books in which they would register them.

Vasquez replied to the 30th Case by saying that the money paid for that individual could be retrieved through his work and according to a diligent person's judgment. There was no answer, though, regarding the years of service required if a servant was resold.

121 29. *Commune est apud japonenses, captiuos emere, nullo circa eorum captiuitatem examine facto, et ut in plurimum tales captiui non sunt, Dubitatur, utrum melius sit, cum japonensium I bona fide dissimulare, uel potius ueritatem aperire, supposito, quod inter centum uix duo reperientur, qui admoniti eiusmodi seruos in libertatem redigent.* Ibid., p. 137.

122 29. *In confessione dissimulare non licet, propter id quod diximus casu. 14. 23. et 26.* Ibid., p. 143.

123 30. *Utrum, licitum sit christiano hominem emere, quern cognoscit, non ease captiuum, si tamen illum non emat, absque dubio a gentilibus emetur, et in perpetuam seruitutem redactus spe saluationis carebit, at an propter eiusmodi beneficium, et pecuniam, quam pro illo dedit, liceat christiano iuxta quantitatem pecuniae ad certum annorum numerum a Patribus taxatum, illius hominis ministerio uti, uei illorum annorum seruitium alteri uendere.* Ibid., p. 137.

These answers reached Japan when Mata returned to Nagasaki in August 1598.¹²⁴ However, in practical terms, they would not influence the Jesuits since, as of this date, Bishop Cerqueira himself had initiated a campaign against Japanese slavery.

The 1592 Provincial Council of Goa and the Excommunication of Portuguese Slavers

Surprisingly, the illegality of Japanese slavery did not influence the fourth Provincial Council in Goa, held in 1592. Of the 19 decrees issued, only decree 7 dealt with slavery. Through this decree, the prelates legitimized marriage between slaves and, under penalty of excommunication, forbade “any person of any quality of inhibiting the sacrament of Marriage to their slaves, male or female,” nor sell them to someone who lived at any distance, should they marry without permission.¹²⁵

The reason for the lack of references to Japanese slavery was that the Viceroy continued to obey local merchants and avoid publishing prohibitive laws.¹²⁶ It should be emphasized that in the same year (1592), Hideyoshi began his first military offensive against Korea. Both the Chinese and the Koreans saw these offensives as an extension of the *Wokou* attacks, as they were not legitimated by international law. However, this time the level of looting and destruction was on an unprecedented scale. In fact, the aim of these raids was not limited to snatching material goods, but was also to capture people.¹²⁷ As explained in Chapter 5 (in section 5.5), many of these captives were baptized in Nagasaki,¹²⁸ the city in which the Portuguese had a new source of slaves to exploit.

The slavery that the Portuguese of Macao practiced reached such proportions that, in 1595, the Viceroy of India, Matias de Albuquerque, under the King’s instructions, published an important decree, attempting to stem this trade. Curiously, the targets were not the Korean or Japanese slaves, but the Chinese. The lack of clear references to the former can be explained by the fact that Korean slavery was still very recent and was not yet publicly recognized by the legislators. On the other hand, the scarcity of information on Japanese slaves may be explained by the fact that such slavery had been prohibited by law since 1570; hence, theoretically there were no Japanese slaves. The 11 March 1595 decree reveals to us that the Portuguese acquired both male and female

124 In 1599, he left for Macao on Nuno de Mendonça’s ship. It was shipwrecked and Mata and 62 crewmen perished with it.

125 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. IV, p. 196.

126 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. I, parte II, pp. 157–58.

127 Yasunori, “The Formation of a Japanocentric World Order,” pp. 197–99.

128 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 5, p. 457.

Chinese slaves to be sold in several regions under the Portuguese Crown. The prohibition also entailed serious penalties to whoever continued to trade Chinese people, ranging from a two-year exile at the fortress of Daman, India, to the payment of a heavy fine of 1000 *cruzados*—one third to the accuser and the remaining two thirds to Goa's Supreme Court.¹²⁹

Eventually, under pressure from reports condemning Japanese enslavement as well as a lack of legislation in Macao to forbid it, on 16 April 1597 King Philip II promulgated another law, extending the prohibitions to the city's Japanese community.¹³⁰

Ironically, despite the bans, the merchants and missionaries living in Japan and Macao remained impassive. Besides important political figures, such as the merchant Monteiro or the Viceroy of India, some individuals such as the Bishop of Japan, Pedro Martins, also owned male and female Japanese slaves, and were associated with this kind of practice.

Martins was appointed Bishop of Funai in 1592 by Pope Clement VIII. Already invested as the second Bishop of Japan, he arrived in Macao in 1593.¹³¹ In this harbor city, he issued permits allowing Portuguese traders to take the “young men and women” they bought out of Japan, including in the documents the number of years of their service or, if applicable, stating they were lifelong slaves.¹³² In Macao, the Bishop earned the reputation of having a strong character and unfriendly relations with the Jesuits, as expressed in Father Afonso de Lucena's letter:

Before he came to Japan, he had been in Macao for two or three years, and I do not know what to say about him (and God forgive him) that he was too serious and wanted to make a great deal, and did not get along well with us.¹³³

However, when he decided to visit Japan, he gave a completely different impression:

For we have all really seen on him friendliness of such great humility in his piety and treatment, nor does he show his reputation of being a

129 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. III, parte II, pp. 537–38.

130 *Ibid.*, pp. 763–64.

131 Diego Yuuki, S.J., “Martins, D. Pedro,” in *Missionação e Missionários na História de Macau*, ed. Espadinha and Seabra, p. 212.

132 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 273.

133 ARSI, Jap Sin 13-I, Letter from Afonso Lucena S.J. to João Alvarez, Japan, 20-10-1596, fol. 11v.

Bishop, so that all the priests and Brothers have been edified by him and he seems to be of good manners.¹³⁴

Curiously, the turning point, partially responsible for the extinction of slavery in Japan stemmed from this same person when, on 14 August 1596, he arrived for the first time in Nagasaki harbor aboard the official ship, headed by Rui Mendes de Figueiredo. Two certificates for this journey were issued by the Head Captain and sent to Rome, describing Figueiredo's experience during the seven-month period he lived in Japan. Both certificates show evidence of the positive way Bishop Martins was received in Japan, his several visits to the Jesuits' residences, and his active participation in the mission.¹³⁵ On 17 November 1596, the Bishop wrote an unusual letter to King Philip II describing Portuguese presence in Nagasaki and existing problems between the latter and the Japanese authorities.¹³⁶ On this subject, Martins divided his analysis into four parts: the first part analyzes the absence of an effective jurisdiction over the Macao merchants in Japan; the second part points out Portuguese merchants' numerous faults, such as wounding or killing Japanese, knowing that they would not be punished, as a result of this lack of jurisdiction. In the third part of his analysis, the Bishop addresses the current situation, stating that because the Head Captain of Macao did not punish offenders, the Church in Japan was viewed with great distrust, and the Japanese authorities in Nagasaki had already created an alternative plan to Portuguese jurisdiction, enabling them to punish Portuguese violators of Japanese laws. This situation was only circumvented due to resistance shown by the Society of Jesus, which managed to have this law revoked.

In the fourth part of his analysis, the Bishop concluded that in order for the King's jurisdiction to be enforced among the Portuguese, the Head Captain or any judicial magistrate sent by the monarch for that purpose should not be in charge of supervising justice in Nagasaki. This position should be held by the Bishop of Japan himself, who was at the "service of God and his Majesty," because there were in Japan "very few men of wholeness who serve these matters in these remote parts."¹³⁷ This letter did not have the result expected by the Bishop, as the Head Captain did not lose his jurisdiction over the Portuguese in both Japan and Macao. During his short stay in Nagasaki, the Bishop witnessed

¹³⁴ Ibid., fol. 11v.

¹³⁵ ARSI, Jap Sin 13-I, *Certidões de Rui Mendes de Figueiredo*, Macao, 14-11-1597, fols. 100-103.

¹³⁶ ARSI, Jap Sin 13-I, Letter from the Bishop of Japan, Pedro Martins to King Philippe II, Nagasaki, 23-10-1596, 2nd via, fols. 24-24v.

¹³⁷ ARSI, Jap Sin 13-I, Letter from the Bishop of Japan, Pedro Martins to King Philippe II, Nagasaki, 23-10-1596, 2nd via, fols. 24-24v.

the trade of Japanese and Korean slaves. This experience had a very profound impact on him, making him the main voice against slavery in Japan. His successor in the office of the bishopric of Japan, Luís de Cerqueira, revealed in a letter to the King that Martins had left a letter of excommunication condemning slavery and forbidding Portuguese merchants to take Japanese and Koreans out of Japan:

The Bishop of Japan Pedro Martins, my predecessor, after experiencing Japan and seeing with his eyes these embarrassing things when he left China and departed for Goa to deal with the Viceroy on the matters of this church, he left an excommunication to be published here in Japan stating that no one should buy or take away Japanese or Korean young men or young women without his permission, which was so strictly reserved as to appear to him an obligation of conscience when he departed for India, and sending me to Japan he also explained in the same excommunication besides having told me in person that it was not his will to grant this permission, and his replacement in Japan should publish the excommunication.¹³⁸

Further information on the content of this excommunication was mentioned at the 1598 Nagasaki meeting. In the report from this meeting, in the part related to the presence of Bishop Martins in Japan, the key representatives of the Society of Jesus revealed that the Bishop, “having experienced the field,” came across the significant human traffic and, being aware of “the serious inconveniences of these captives and years of service,” firmly condemned slavery in a letter threatening all those who bought or carried “young men and women” with excommunication; furthermore, offenders would be subject to a fine of ten *cruzados* for each slave bought. This document, now lost, also forbade any clergyman or person from Japan to grant permits legitimatizing the acquisition of slaves.¹³⁹ The Bishop determined that, even if permits for buying and

138 *O Bispo de Japão Dom Pero Martins meu antecessor depois que tomou a esperiência de Japão e viu com os olhos estes enconvenientes quando da China se partio para Goa a tratar com o Visorey sobre o remedio desta igreja deixou huã escomunhão que mandou se publicasse aqui em Japão que ninguem comprasse nem levasse fora delle moços, ou moças Japões ou Corias sem sua expressa licença a qual reservada assi com tanto rigor para assi lhe parecer obrigação de consciência que com então se partio para a Índia, e me emviar a mim pera Japão declarava na mesma escomunhão alem tambem de mo ter dito de palavra que não era sua vontade que podesse dar esta licença, quem suas vezes estivesse em Japão publicase a excomunhão.* ARSI, Jap Sin 13 2, Letter from the Bishop of Japan, Pedro Martins to King Philip II, Nagasaki, 24-10-1598, fol. 202v.

139 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 273.

selling slaves in Nagasaki were issued by clergymen, any slave who entered Macao harbor from Japan would have his or her license reexamined by the Bishop in person. Only then, after a second check, would it be decided whether or not their status as a slave was legitimate. To be considered legal, each of these permits would have to feature the Bishop's signature.¹⁴⁰ Despite his efforts, the effectiveness of these measures remained unclear. In March 1597, Bishop Martins returned to Macao and went to Goa a few months later to debrief the Viceroy on the political outlook of Japan and discuss the problem of slavery in that country. He died in the Strait of Singapore on 13 February 1598.¹⁴¹ With his death, the excommunication condemning slavery expired, and Portuguese merchants took advantage of this new legislative blank to continue the slave trade.¹⁴²

This fact would be duly proven and mentioned by San Martín de la Ascensión in the second *Relación de las cosas de Japón*, which accused the Jesuits of baptizing Japanese without correctly identifying “unjust slaves.”¹⁴³ Among other things, he argued that the Jesuit facilities in Nagasaki resembled the “customs house” of Seville. According to Ascensión, besides keeping records of all goods brought by the Portuguese to Japan, the priests also organized the slave trade originating in Nagasaki.¹⁴⁴ Faced with this and other accusations, Valignano felt compelled to answer through his *Apología de la Compañía de Jesus de Japón y China* (1598), in which he attempted to ridicule his opponents, while justifying the strategies followed by the Jesuits in Japan. In the *Apología*, Valig-

140 Valignano, *Apología de la Compañía de Jesus de Japón y China*, p. 198.

141 Yuuki, “Martins, D. Pedro,” pp. 213–14.

142 ARSI, Jap Sin 13 2, Letter from the Bishop of Japan, Luís de Cerqueira to King Philip II, Nagasaki, 24-10-1598, fol. 202v.

143 *De aquí es como estos neófitos tengan poca suficiencia para deslindar las conciencias de los que vienen al bautismo de los impedimentos que tienen, para declararles las obligaciones que trae la ley de Dios consigo, así a bulto los bautizan sin examinarlos de los logros, robos, tiranías, de esclavos injustos, de otros muchos géneros de agravios y de otras muchas cosas que es menester deslindar y averiguar, dejar las mancebas, escoger la mujer legítima.* Martín de la Ascensión, *Relacion de las cosas de Japon para nuestro Padre Fray Francisco Arzubiaga comisario General de todas las Indias en corte in: Documentos franciscanos de la Cristiandad de Japon (1593–1597)*, p. 78, n. 176.

144 *Porque los Padres que están acá tratan con grande suma de dinero teniendo correspondencia en China y Macan, y más de cien mil ducados de hacienda mandan en la nave de Macan para la China, y cuando viene la nave toda la mercadería, así la suya como la ajena, la atraviesan y llevan a su convento, de manera que el convento de Nagasáqui es como la casa aduna de Sevilla, adonde se resgistran todas mercaderías que vienen de las Indias. Son tantas las cosas y tantos y tan diferentes y varios los tratos y conciertos que allí hacen, así acerca de las mercaderías de la nave como acerca de los esclavos que van en la misma nave, que lo uno y lo otro, o por mejor decir todo pasa por su mano, que en las Gradadas de Sevilla no sé si habrá más.* *Ibid.*, p. 72.

nano claimed that the absence of a bishop residing in Japan was probably the reason for less ecclesiastical surveillance of this trade. However, the Bishop in Macao had commanded priests to look into this slavery, which they did, issuing ballots to be shown to the Bishop. At the same time, Valignano claimed that the involvement of the Jesuits in slavery and ballot-issuing system had ended in 1587, the year Hideyoshi had taken control of the port of Nagasaki and barred the sale of Japanese to the Portuguese.¹⁴⁵

As shown through documentary evidence in Chapter 5, in section 5.5, “The Society of Jesus and the ballot system,” Valignano willfully lied in his *Apologia* about the true extent of the Society of Jesus’s involvement in Japanese slavery. Slave merchants, after obtaining permits in Japan, had no need to show them to the Bishop residing in Macao for confirmation, as a single signature by the priest who had examined the legality of the captivity was considered enough. Bishop Martins forbade the issuing of slave permits only for a few months, reserving this right exclusively for himself. This measure in defense of the Japanese slaves was taken only in 1597, and not ten years earlier, as claimed by Valignano.

Bishop Luís de Cerqueira and the 1598 Consultation

I

After the death of Bishop Martins, his nominated successor was Bishop Luís de Cerqueira,¹⁴⁶ who lived in Japan after taking office in 1598, until he died in 1614. This individual would play a fundamental role in protecting Japanese slaves. While Bishop Martins had temporarily interrupted the slave trade, Bishop Cerqueira would go further, succeeding in accomplishing the extraordinary feat of extinguishing trade in Japanese slaves in the Luso-Spanish territories.

As revealed in his letter to the King, on 24 October 1598, when he was in Nagasaki, Cerqueira had learned about Portuguese involvement in the enslavement of Japanese and Koreans, and the excommunication law introduced by

145 *También es verdad que hasta ahora, que no hubo obispo en Japón y el obispo de Macau tenía cometido y rogado a los Padres que examinasen el captiverio de los japones que los portugueses compraban, para saber los que eran bien cautivos o dudosos, ellos entendían en esto para excusar injusticias y pecados por no haber otros que lo hiciesen, y daban sus cédulas a los que los compraban, para las presentar al obispo, en que se decían los títulos que acerca de ellos hallaban. (Y aun esto no se ha hecho muchos años ha, desde el tiempo que Kampaku tomó el puerto de Nagasáqui y ordenó que ningún japon se vendiese por cautivo). Y ahora que hay obispo no habrá que entender en esto y quedarán descargados los nuestros de una carga assaz pesada como era examinar esto. Valignano, *Apología de la Compañía de Jesús de Japón y de la China*, p. 198; RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 273.*

146 Bishop Martins died on 13 February 1598. On 8 May 1601, Pope Clement VIII recognized Bishop Cerqueira as his successor. Kataoka, *A vida*, p. 78.

his predecessor in Japan and China. As this letter had expired after the former Bishop's death, Portuguese merchants resumed this type of trade. With great caution, the new Bishop sought to discover how the merchants and their associates carried out this trade, and whether it would be important to renew and confirm the excommunication or to allow the trade to continue.¹⁴⁷ The Bishop probably feared that a radical attitude on the part of the Church against slavery could influence the economic assistance granted by the merchants of Macao to the Society of Jesus in Japan.

Accordingly, the Bishop decided to organize an "assembly of people who were literate and fearful of God and experienced with the things of Japan"¹⁴⁸ and put together a plan to permanently extinguish Japanese slavery. This was divided into three main stages:

1. First, the Bishop decided to outlaw the trade, with the approval of the entire cadre of the Society of Jesus in Japan. He thus intended to completely abolish the issuing of permits by the Society of Jesus.
2. The Bishop also aimed to get this measure approved by the Iberian monarchy and, simultaneously, renew King Sebastian's anti-Japanese slavery law. To this end, Cerqueira corresponded regularly with the King, as well as with ecclesiastical authorities in Goa, Portugal, Spain, and the Holy See. The latter move aimed at exerting pressure on the most skeptical sector of the ruling elite to condemn Japanese slavery.
3. Finally, the Bishop wanted to put an end to this system, attacking its root, that is, the mercantile community of Goa. In order to fulfill this delicate task, he tried to have the 1570 law against Japanese slavery implemented in Goa for the first time. This measure should eventually extinguish the demand for such slaves and finally led to the collapse of the slave traders' network that supported it.

A general outline of Bishop Cerqueira's plan was followed by a thorough discussion of measure that would contribute to the decline of the trade of Japanese slaves. As a side note, on 20 October 1598, in a letter to Acquaviva, Valignano mentioned that this strategy had been extensively debated by the Bishop and himself.¹⁴⁹

147 ARSI, Jap Sin 13 2, Letter from the Bishop of Japan, Luís de Cerqueira to King Philip II, Nagasaki, 24-10-1598, fols. 202v-203.

148 Ibid., fol. 203.

149 ARSI, Jap Sin 13 II, fol. 193.

II

On 4 September 1598, the Bishop of Japan met in Nagasaki with the most prominent notables of the Society of Jesus in Japan to decide the strategy to be followed by the Church concerning slavery. The result of this meeting was published as a treaty with the title: *First Inquiry on the freedom of the Japanese and Koreans by the bishop and prosecutors of Japan, celebrated in September 1598 in Nagasaki*.¹⁵⁰ This is a fundamental document for understanding the relationship between the Church and the slave traders, as well as the way as this trade was carried out. The president of the meeting was Bishop Cerqueira, whereas the members consulted were Valignano, Pedro Gómez, Vice-Provincial, Francisco Pasio, Diogo de Mesquita, Melchior de Mora, Afonso de Lucena, Alonso Gonçalez, and all the Superiors of the Society of Jesus in various parts of Japan, as well as Fathers Organtino Soldo, Francisco Calderón, Gil de la Mata, Celso Confalonieri, Valentim Carvalho, and Rui Barreto. The ecclesiastical notary was Mateus de Couros.

This first topic discussed at this meeting was the Church's role in the slave trade. There was clear condemnation of the illegal way the Japanese and Koreans were enslaved:

This trade of captives and years of service of the Japanese and Koreans is as doubtful and scrupulous as your Reverences will see, and so badly received from well educated and God-fearing people not only in China and India but also in Europe.¹⁵¹

The Bishop then consulted with the ecclesiastics, asking for their opinion on slavery carried out by the Portuguese in Japan, and whether the excommunication previously published by the late Bishop Pedro Martins should be renewed or not:

According to the right information that I have on this subject, that I asked to your Reverences to give me your opinion and to say what you think, we could and should do to fulfill the obligation of the [priestly] duty: if he should renew the aforementioned excommunication and penalties.¹⁵²

150 *1º Assento que o Bispo e procuradores de Japão festerão em Setembro de 1598 sobre a liberdade dos Japões, e Coreas.*

151 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 275v.

152 *é este negocio de cativo e años de serviço dos Japões e Coreas tão duvidoso e scrupuloso como suas Reverencias virão, e por isso mal recebido de pessoas doctas e tementes a Deus o não somente na China e India mas ainda em Europa.* RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 275v.

It was in this context that Bishop Cerqueira, together with all the Jesuit priests, determined two fundamental measures to ban this trade. The first determined that the Church in Japan be in charge of the renewal and publication of Martins' excommunication, together with the penalty of 10 *cruzados*, as well as control slave permits, ensuring that no permit was issued to any person buying or taking from Japan "young men bought neither by captivity nor by years of service."¹⁵³ With this measure, the Church sought to "tackle in the best way possible the many sins and embarrassments of conscience that there are in these purchases and sales."¹⁵⁴ The second measure was to inform King Philip II of this situation, so the monarch could confirm and enforce the law written in 1570 by the late King Sebastian I of Portugal banning Japanese enslavement.

The first reason for these two measures stemmed from the very nature of slavery in Japan, as the sale of slaves was carried out without proper checks on how they had been acquired; many, according to the priests, were acquired by kidnap or deception: "as it has been said for certain that out of one hundred not even one was legitimately bought."¹⁵⁵

Another reason was that slave permits based on *ex parti justis belli*, as a result of a just war, were considered "very rare and doubtful."¹⁵⁶ To legitimize this assertion, the Jesuits also mentioned that the Korean slaves, who arrived in large numbers on the commercial ship that connected Nagasaki to Macao, were the product of illegal military campaigns that the Japanese ruler Hideyoshi had taken against Korea.¹⁵⁷

The war that the Lord of Japan unjustly made because, being the King of Korea Vassal of the King of China, begging Taicosama¹⁵⁸ King of Japan to let him pass through his kingdom to go and conquer China, he denied it not only for not breaking the fidelity that he owed [to China] but for fear-

153 *moços comprados nem por cativos nem com annos de serviço.*

154 *atalhar no melhor modo que podesse aos muitos peccados e embaraços de consciencia que ha nestas compras e vendas.* RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 273v.

155 *tanto que se affirma por cousa certa que de cento não ira hum legitimamente comprado.* Ibid.

156 Ibid.

157 Many of these slaves were baptized and eventually built their own church in Nagasaki—a chapel dedicated to St. Lawrence—and created a brotherhood. *Ha nesta cidade muitos christãos coreas de naçam.os quais entrando em fervor e devoçam determinarão de ter sua propria e particualr Igreja e nella sua confraria. [...] Pera isto, ainda que pobres, aiuntarão suas esmolas entre si,comprarão e concertarão hum bom sitio, e nelle por agora enquanto não tem forças para mais. alevantarão huã capella da honra do bem aventurado São Lourenço a quem a dedicaram.* ARSI, Jap Sin 57-A, Carta ânua de 1610, fols. 5v, 6v.

158 Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

ing that Taicosama might take Korea or at least destroy his people at his passage. Wherefore Taico¹⁵⁹ made with him war captivating numerous Koreans whom the Japanese [soldiers] brought to Japan and sold for a very low price.¹⁶⁰

On this topic, the assembly also stressed that the high demand for slaves by the Portuguese empowered this network of human trafficking. The exchange of slaves for silk, and the high demand for this type of fabric in Japan caused many Japanese to enter Korea for the sole purpose of capturing Koreans and later selling them to the Portuguese in Nagasaki.¹⁶¹

The Jesuits further maintained that it was not customary in Japan to enslave people during the wars they fought, and Hideyoshi having discovered that in the south of Japan a large number of Japanese slaves were sold to the Portuguese, he forbade this trade under pain of death. Later, the members of the assembly emphasized that even if slaves were the product of war, there had not been wars in the south of the archipelago since 1587, as this geographic area had been at peace after the union of Japan under the supreme governance of Hideyoshi. According to the Jesuits, although the nobles frequently rebelled against each other, this had been going on for such a long time that it was extremely difficult to ascertain who had right on their side, and thus who could legitimately capture slaves.

These statements are extremely relevant because they allow us to conclude that the Portuguese were the true driving force of human trade in south Japan after 1587. Gravitating around the Portuguese demand for slaves, the Japanese, without any organized slave trade past, organized networks of human trade on a scale never seen before, kidnapping and deceiving people in certain regions and then selling them.

It should also be made clear that, with regard to the claim that the Japanese did not enslave people during war, the information published in the annual and private letters of the Jesuits to Rome reveals a very different story. These documents report that many slaves were the product of wars between *daimyos*, or rather, the most immediate source of slaves were not hostages taken

159 Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

160 *a guerra q o Senhor de Jappão lhe faz he injusta porque sendo el Rei da Coreá Vassallo del Rei da China pedindolhe Taicôsama Rei de Jappão passo por sei reino para ir conquistar a China elle lho negou não somente por não quebrar a fidelidade que devia a servir mas se temer com razão de Taicôsama lhe tomar a Coreá ou ao menos da sua gente lha destruir nesta passagem. Pollo que Taicô lhe fez guerra cativando os Jappões infinidade de Coreas os quais trazem a Jappão e vendem por mui baixo presso.* RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 273v.

161 Ibid.

during the battles but hostages captured in the devastated areas. These wars also generated many refugees, some of whom were eventually sold to the Portuguese.

After reflecting on *ex parti justi belli*, members of the assembly focused on the strategies followed by slavers who aimed at achieving a higher price for their slaves,¹⁶² and listed in detail the ways slavery could be the result of certain customs in Japan.

Another of the reasons put forward by the assembly to publicly condemn slavery in Japan was that this trade made foreigners “greatly odious,” not only to Japanese Christians, but also to non-Christians, as they saw clergymen participating in slavery. This was made worse by the fact that Japanese slaves were owned by foreigners, a situation that was condemned by Hideyoshi on 24 July 1587,¹⁶³ through an inquiry to the then Vice-Provincial, Father Gaspar Coelho, and described by Father Luís Fróis in his *História do Japam*.¹⁶⁴

This assertion covered essentially those Portuguese merchants who received high profits from this trade, and thus bought as many slaves as they could regardless of verification, treating them as merchandise.¹⁶⁵

A second consideration of the 1598 assembly was the way merchants behaved with Japanese female slaves, maintaining relations out of wedlock, and housing them in their cabins when they returned to Macao. This situation outraged the Jesuits, not only because of the sexual exploitation of slaves, but also because such behavior constituted a direct disregard of Catholic morality.¹⁶⁶

A third consideration involved the years of service of some Japanese, as this was not respected, and permits specifying the period of service were torn up. Such slaves were eventually sold as “perpetual slaves” by the Portuguese.

Once in Macao, if freed by their owners’ wills, most Japanese slaves turned to crime, assaulting the Chinese who came to supply the city, while the freed women turned to prostitution as their only means of survival.

The fourth consideration stated that in spite of the excommunications banning this practice, merchants continued to engage in the trade of “young men and women,” which aroused the indignation of the Japanese, who lost respect for the Jesuits who were trying to evangelize them:

162 Ibid., fol. 274f.

163 Ibid.

164 Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, vol. 4, pp. 401–03.

165 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 274v.

166 One of the most famous writers describing late 16th-century Nagasaki was Francesco Carletti, an Italian slave trader who traveled between the main Iberian trading depots. His interesting account has become an indispensable source, capturing customs, environments, and mentalities, which most of the documents of this time do not portray.

This door must be sealed off completely not allowing anybody to buy and carry off young men; for, no matter how many excommunications are decreed, if license be given to a single one, the rest will immediately break the law, and they do it like that every year, and most of them embark in the ship without confession during Lent which not only causes scandal to these tender Christians but still gives the Japanese justifications to disrespect the ecclesiastical laws seeing how little the Portuguese care about them.¹⁶⁷

On the other hand, the assembly also reported the justifications given by the Portuguese merchants. The first was that, in lawfully buying Japanese and Koreans, the merchants claimed that they were being delivered from a “miserable captivity to a milder one.” The Jesuits refuted this, arguing it was not uncommon for ordinary Japanese to adopt their slaves and even marry them to their own daughters or relatives.¹⁶⁸ As for the slaves’ assets, according to their Japanese owners everything they acquired was theirs and they could be freed whenever they wished, while the Portuguese treated them as animals.¹⁶⁹ On the other hand, since their arrival in Japan, the Portuguese took Japanese servants of low social status, such as the *fudai no genin*,¹⁷⁰ *fudai no mono*,¹⁷¹ *genin*,¹⁷² or *yakko*,¹⁷³ for slaves.¹⁷⁴

The second argument put forward by the Portuguese merchants was that, if they did not buy the “young men,” their sellers would kill them. According to the Jesuits, if this had ever happened, it would have been because such “young men” had been kidnapped and, since that crime was punished with the death penalty in Japan, their sellers, fearing to be denounced by them, would kill them.¹⁷⁵

167 *se de todo se não serra esta porta não dando licença a ninguém para comprar e levar moços por mais escomunhões que se ponhão em se dando licença a alguém não fazem logo conta dellas quebrando as todos os annos donde nace embarcarenses os mais delles sem confição com a nao partir de ordinario meo da quaresma o que não somente causa escandalo a estes tenros cristãos mas ainda lhe da ocasião de estimar em pouco as censuras ecclesiasticas vendo quã pouco dellas se dão os portuguezes.* RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 274v.

168 Arano Yasunori, in an important article, presented several documents concerning Japanese who let their children marry relatives: Yasunori, “The Formation of a Japanocentric World Order,” p. 199.

169 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 274v.

170 Individual who was obliged to serve his master/owner during his life.

171 Hereditary servants who served a clan (all the elements of one family).

172 A low-rank warrior.

173 Servant of Samurai.

174 Yasunori, “The Formation of a Japanocentric World Order,” p. 199.

175 RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fol. 275f.

The third argument put forward by the merchants was that if they did not buy the slaves, non-Christians “would take them to their lands,” to which the priests responded “non sunt facienda mala, ut emergent bona,” namely, evil should not be practiced so that good may result. Besides, it was not because the Portuguese bought slaves that these people failed to acquire them, “as it was seen by experience.”¹⁷⁶

In addition to ridiculing this argument, the clerics also denounced the Portuguese merchants, demonstrating that the human trade in Japan was essentially organized around their demand, rather than that of other nations. Consequently, the Jesuits argued that if Portuguese merchants, who paid generously for slaves, ceased to buy them, a significant number of sellers would cease trading.¹⁷⁷ The priests concluded by stating that if the Portuguese stopped buying slaves, that interdiction could include non-Christians more easily.

The fourth argument put forward by the merchants argued that by buying slaves, they saved them from “infidelity” and Christianized them, and that in exchange for this, together with the price paid for them, these slaves owed traders a few years of service. To this the Jesuits retorted by saying that the evils avoided by prohibiting slavery were far superior and universal than the advantages derived from Christianization through slavery. The Jesuits also alleged that there were so many Christians, particularly in their homelands, that such “young men” did not any help from traders should they wish to convert.¹⁷⁸

The priests disbelieved the statement that Portuguese traders only enslaved people for a limited time. On the one hand, the former argued that this kind of captivity was rarely used throughout the world and was strange to many people, having been introduced very recently in Japan. They also pointed out that even if some priests allowed this type of captivity, they did not accept as a frequent method, as it was easy for owners/traders to enslave people hailing from non-Christian nations for many years. Thus they only legitimized it in exceptional cases and in very particular contexts. To counterbalance the fact that, in previous years, some priests had granted “servants of years of service”¹⁷⁹ in

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ In the book by Léon Pagès this part is incorrectly translated. Pagès, *Histoire de la Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, vol. II, p. 77.

¹⁷⁸ *Este mesmo argumento apresentado pelos comerciantes portugueses já tinha sido debatido pelo teólogo Francisco Rodrigues no início da década de 70, o qual chegara à mesma conclusão tendo deliberado contra a cristianização via escravatura.* ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, No. 805, fol. 98v.

¹⁷⁹ *Servos de anos de serviço.*

Japan, the Jesuits argued that this had happened because they had no experience of the inconveniences and losses arising from this category.

Despite Hideyoshi's prohibition on taking slaves from Japan to other kingdoms, under pain of death, the Jesuits reported during the 1598 meeting that such trade continued. To intimidate the Portuguese, some Japanese sellers had been executed, and a new edict warned that this law also applied to foreigners who disobeyed this ban. However, Portuguese merchants continued to buy Japanese slaves, confident that Hideyoshi's jurisdiction did not cover them. Obviously, this measure reflected some underlying tension between local Nagasaki authorities and the Japanese central leader toward Portuguese traders.¹⁸⁰

In light of this unstable political situation, the Jesuits feared that Hideyoshi would confiscate the official commercial ship journeying between Macao and Nagasaki, as happened with the galleon *San Felipe* in the Philippines in 1596,¹⁸¹ which would cause not only a huge loss to the city of Macao, but also to the entire Portuguese State of India.

After this meeting, the assembly unanimously agreed that the first measure to be taken would be the enforcement of the excommunication law of the late Bishop Martins, and the prohibition against members of the Society of Jesus issuing slavery or years of service permits in Japan and Macao.

The impact caused by the enforcement of this law was described in detail in a letter sent by Valignano to Acquaviva on 25 October 1598. In this letter, Valignano praised the Bishop and his contribution to the Japanese mission, saying that he was loved and respected by clerics, European merchants, and the Japanese:

Because first with his cautious virtue and good conduct has won the hearts of all of us as well as the Japanese speaking to all with great love and causing a great impression about him.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 21, fols. 275–275v.

¹⁸¹ In 1596, the *San Felipe* that had left Manila for New Spain, faced violent storms that forced it to land on the Japanese coast. After several unforeseen events, Hideyoshi confiscated the ship's cargo to finance his planned invasion of Korea and ordered 26 people to be crucified for violating his anti-Christian edict issued ten years earlier in 1587. The year 1597 marked the second major setback in the expansion of Catholicism in Japan. The accusations arising from this episode haunted the Jesuits in Japan until their expulsion and greatly conditioned the relations they would establish with the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians of Manila.

¹⁸² *porque primeramente con su prudencia virtud y buen modo de proceder tiene ganados los coraçones de todos assi de los nuestros como de los japones de fuera veniendo a todos grande amor y formando grande concepto del.* Carta de Alessandro Valignano para Claudio Acquaviva. Nagasáqui, 25 de Outubro de 1598. ARSI, Jap. Sin 13-2, fol. 213.

Following this statement, Valignano then explained that the Bishop published a “rigorous excommunication”¹⁸³ against the buying and selling of Japanese. The same letter also reveals that this “excommunication” was badly received by Portuguese merchants, but well received among the Japanese community, who came to respect the Bishop, since he had done in “a few days what the other could have done in many years.”¹⁸⁴

In addition to the publication of the excommunication, the Bishop had also decided to take action against the resident Portuguese society of Nagasaki, persecuting merchants of Jewish origin, commonly known as New Christians or *conversos*, sending two of them to the Inquisition in Goa and three to Macao. According to Valignano, these people lived shamefully and provided bad examples to the Japanese.¹⁸⁵ This demonstration of strength by the Bishop caused great fear, mainly among “New-Christians,”¹⁸⁶ who had always behaved with impunity until then.¹⁸⁷

Bishop Cerqueira's Campaign and Enforcement of the Law against Slavery in Goa

As he had promised at the beginning of the meeting, Bishop Cerqueira wrote a letter to King Philip III, dated 24 October 1598, reporting on the slavery issue and the need to once again enforce the 1570 law by the late Portuguese King Sebastian I.

Cerqueira sought in a very skillful way to chronologically summarize the main events, from the arrival of Bishop Martins in Japan until October 1598, when he decided, in the absence of the Head Captain, to assume jurisdiction over the resident Portuguese mercantile community. In order for the monarch to have a thorough understanding of the slavery issue, Cerqueira attached to this letter a copy of the report prepared by the 4 September 1598 assembly. Let us look in detail at the contents of this letter. First, Cerqueira asked the monarch to intervene in the trade of Japanese and Koreans. He then mentions the example of Bishop Martins, explaining that his stay in Japan had led him to publish a letter of excommunication prohibiting human trade and reserve the

183 *rigurosa escomunión.*

184 *Pocos dias de lo que otro pudiera hazer en muchos años.* Carta de Alessandro Valignano para Claudio Acquaviva. Nagasáqui, 25 de Outubro de 1598. ARSI, Jap. Sin 13-2, fols. 213–213v.

185 ARSI, Jap Sin 13-2, Letter from Alessandro Valignano S.J. to Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva. Nagasaki, 25-10-1598, fols. 213–213v.

186 De Sousa, *The Jewish Diaspora and the Pérez Family Case*, pp. 86–88.

187 ARSI, Jap Sin 13-2, Letter from Alessandro Valignano S.J. to Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva. Nagasaki, 25-10-1598, fol. 213v.

exclusive power to issue slave ballots and limited-time ballots/time bondage. After these resolutions, he also provided clear instructions to his successor, Luís de Cerqueira, so that no license was issued in his absence.

Bishop Martins then departed for Goa with the intention of finding the Viceroy and discussing this matter; however, his unexpected death was the cause of the expiration of the excommunication law and the resumption of the slave trade.

After settling in Japan, Cerqueira reported to the King that he had organized an assembly to discuss the renewal of the excommunication in Nagasaki, and that all the Jesuits who composed the assembly had decided unanimously to publish the law again in Japan and Macao and ask the King to reinstate the 1570 law in Asia.¹⁸⁸ At the same time, Cerqueira sent the Viceroy a report from the assembly asking him to prohibit Japanese and Korean slavery in Goa.

Additionally, Cerqueira informed the King that more control was required over the Portuguese residents in Nagasaki and the merchants who seasonally visited the city via Macao. The Head Captain, who was nominally in charge, and was sometimes in the city, sometimes absent, was not respected or obeyed by the merchants, who caused various kinds of problems.¹⁸⁹ The difficulty in

188 *peessoas letradas e tementes a Deus.*

189 *fiz aqui uma iunta de pessoas letradas e tementes a Deos—e de esperiência das cousas de Japão e a todos sem descrepar nenhum que se devia de confirmar e publicar de novo como em efeito se confirmou e publicou conforme aos que os outros annos aqui e na China se tinha feito, e que devia ter mão em não dar licença a ninguém como te agora a não dei e que coiuntamente devia de procurar com Vossa Magestade que de novo se publique, e execute a lei que el Rei Dom Sebastião que Deus Aja fez sobre a liberdade dos Japões para que se guarde nestas partes da India, China, e Japão assi como se guarda em portugal. As rezões para isto ha, mando com esta a Vossa Magestade assinadas por todos os que na iunta se acharão para que Vossa Magestade as mande ver. E parecendolhe que vão bem fundadas faça merce assi esta christandade como em toda esta nação tão ingenua de dar ordem que de todo se serre a porta a estes cativeiros e anos de serviço dos Japões e Corias, pois assi parece pede a justiça. E rezão sobre isto escrevo tambem a Índia ao Visorei em mandolhe as mesmas rezões porem o remedio aos muitos inconvenientes que destes cativeiros e annos de serviço nascem Vossa Magestade o ade dar. Tambem me parece obrigação minha avisar a Vossa Magestade como a iustiza entre os portugueses he que em este porto de Nangasaque vay froxa e remissa não somente em ausencia dos capitães mores destas viagens da China a Japão que de ordinario estão absentes de Japão na China, 5 ou 6 mezes, mas ainda em sua presença, e he muito de temer que por os portugueses serem tão remissos na iustiza assi para com os nossos que aqui residem como pelos que vem na Nao lançem os Japões mãos della, e execute nos portugueses principalmente. Em ausencia do capitão pello que emporta darse nisto alguã ordem a que Vossa Magestade ouver mais por seu serviço para que estes portugueses especialmente na ausencia do Capitão não vivão aqui sem ley nem Rey como vivem disto tambem aviso a Índia ao Visorey. ARSI, Jap Sin 13 11, fols. 201–203v; Valignano, *Apologia de la Compañia de Jesus de Japón y China*, pp. 198–99 (n. 28).*

controlling the Portuguese had to do with Jesuits' fear regarding the strong possibility Japanese authorities would extend their jurisdiction over the King's subjects.¹⁹⁰

It is worth clarifying that, in this letter to the King, the Bishop intentionally omitted the fact that he had taken over the jurisdiction of the Portuguese community in Nagasaki and the persecution of New Christian merchants in the absence of the Head Captain.

The subsequent information we have on the process of abolishing Japanese and Korean slavery in the Portuguese territories is dated 20 February 1599, and can be found in a letter from the Bishop to the Representative Father of the Province of Portugal, reporting that the results of the assembly held in Nagasaki had been forwarded to Europe. In the same letter, he further reported that after enforcing the excommunication, he had refused to grant licenses to Portuguese merchants in Japan, prohibiting them from trafficking slaves. These measures had been put in place not only against ordinary traders but also leading notables, including the Head Captain himself, who presumably had asked the Bishop to issue slave permits:

Last year I sent His Majesty a report which was taken here on the injustices and charges of conscience, related to the Japanese and Korean slaves, and that every year the Portuguese carried them with an insatiable thirst that they have to take these people bought for little more than nothing, making them merchandise, with much offense to this Christendom. Last year I issued an excommunication, as I used to do every year, forbidding anyone to take them without a license, and as I have hitherto given to no one, not even the Head-Captain of the voyage.¹⁹¹

On a side note, the copy with the resolutions of the meeting sent to Europe that was mentioned by Bishop Cerqueira in this letter is, in fact, the only surviving one among several copies made.

¹⁹⁰ These considerations were also sent to the Viceroy of the Portuguese State of India.

¹⁹¹ *O anno passado mandei a Sua Magestade un assento, que aqui se tomou sobre as injustiças e encargos de consciencia, que concorriam nos captivos dos Japões, e corias que cada anno d'aqui levavam os portugezes com uma sêde insaciavel, que têm de levar esta gente comprada por pouco mais de nada, fazendo d'isto mercancia, com muito escandalo desta christandade. Puz aqui este anno passado uma excomunhão, como todos os annos se costumava a pôr, prohibindo que ninguém os levasse sem licença e como tive mão em até agora a não dar a ninguém, nem ao mesmo capitão mor da viagem.* RAH, Cortes 1566, M. 21, fols. 273–276v and Kataoka, *A vida*, p. 207 (footnote 198).

On 22 February 1599, in a new letter sent from Nagasaki by Cerqueira to the Representative of the Province of Portugal, the Bishop added a new request: to pressure the monarchy and the ecclesiastical authorities and republish the 1570 law against Japanese slavery. To justify this pressure, he argued that it was a matter that could influence the salvation of the souls of many Japanese, as the Japanese “Christians”¹⁹² had reason to be shocked by the behavior of the Portuguese.¹⁹³

The letters from Cerqueira to Europe and to Goa reaped their first benefits when, on 26 February 1602, King Philip III, in a letter sent to the then Viceroy of India, Aires de Saldanha (1600–05), asked him to report on Cerqueira’s request.¹⁹⁴ After only 13 months, on 13 March 1603, Philip III officially implemented the 1570 law, forbidding the “enslavement of Japanese natives,” and “freeing those who were captive.”¹⁹⁵

In Goa, in the same year, Viceroy Saldanha issued a decree, which was announced throughout the city, reinforcing the law against the enslavement of Japanese.¹⁹⁶

Opposition from Goa City Hall

The news of the imminent publication of this law in Goa was a profound shock for the local mercantile society. Until then, no Viceroy had ever dared challenge them. Displeased with the situation, the city merchants gathered at city hall to express their anger:

Today, the provision issued by the Viceroy, not only deals with this freedom for the future, but also sets free those whom in this State are still

¹⁹² *nuevos cristianos.*

¹⁹³ *Por esta misma via escribo tambien a su Magestad que importa para el bien desta Cristianidad y quietud de sus consciencias confirmar y hacer publicar de nuevo la ley Sebastiana sobre la libertad de los Japonnes, y mandar que se guarde en estas partes, como se guarda en Portugal. Las razones desto embio a vuestra reverencia para que por su parte procure que se ponga en execucion, por ser negocio en que va la salvacion de muchos, y de que estos nuevos christianos se escandalizan con razon.* RAH, Jesuitas, Legajo 9-2678, Cortes, Legajo 13. *Copia de una carta que el Bispo de Jappon Don Luis de Serquera escribio de Nangasaqui al Padre Baltassar Barrosa Procurador de la Provincia de Portugal a 22 de Febrero de año de 1599.* N°61.

¹⁹⁴ AHU, *Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, Fich. 2, Gav. 1, Div. 10-11, 18-19 | 5/1 Letter from King Philippe III to the Viceroy Aires de Saldanha. Valhadolid, 26-02-1602, fols. 53–54.

¹⁹⁵ AHU, *Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, Fich. 2, Gav. 1, Div. 10-11, 54/3 Letter from King Philippe III to the Viceroy Aires de Saldanha. Lisbon, 13–03-603, fol. 110.

¹⁹⁶ Letter from Goa City Hall to King Philippe III. Goa, 30-12-1603 in *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, Fasc. I, parte II, p. 126.

captive; something all this people received so badly, as the merchants of this city gathered in this Hall with great exclamations and petitions.¹⁹⁷

Viceroy Saldanha sought to suppress the public dissatisfaction, claiming that he was only obeying the King's orders:

[T]hat makes us go and speak about this issue with the Viceroy Aires de Saldanha, who escapes with the excuse of following Your Majesty.¹⁹⁸

Goa's rich citizens, through the Goa City Hall High Court (*Relação de Goa*), made two decisions then: the first was to write to the King expressing their dissatisfaction and asking him to cancel the measure; the second, far more radical, was attempting to prevent the law against Japanese slavery being implemented by the Viceroy. This attitude was unprecedented for the time: local power, represented by the merchants, went up against the central power, represented by the Viceroy. In an analogous manner, this subversion of power demonstrates the economic strength of Japanese slavery in Goa.

Surprisingly, after this, Viceroy Saldanha yielded to the Goan merchants' pressure and asked the King to become acquainted first with the arguments of the Goa City Hall High Court (*Relação de Goa*) before pronouncing or enforcing the 1570 law. However, even this did not pacify the merchants.¹⁹⁹ In view of the documentation studied, and knowing that these slaves were sold at a low price in Nagasaki, we can deduce that traders made a very large profit, and that the fear of losing this was the underlying factor of the rebellion.²⁰⁰

The conflict between the local merchants and royal administration in Goa reached such proportions that the Viceroy threatened military intervention, if a second attempt to hinder the publication of the King's legislation was made. Later, the traders would complain about this tactic: "because, we have this law under embargo in the chancellery, and the Viceroy told us that no embargos should be admitted to the implementation of this law; so it seems [to us] that

197 *Oje a provisão, que o Viso-Rey passa, não somente trata desta liberdade pera o futuro, mas ainda acrescenta que os que oje ha neste Estado captivos, sejam livres; cousa que todo este povo recebe tão mal, que se juntarão os mercadores desta cidade nesta Camara oje com grandes exclamações e requerimentos.* Ibid., p. 126.

198 *que nos obrigarão a ir a fallar sobre o negocio com o Viso-Rey Aires de Saldanha, que se escusa com a defesa e instrução de Vossa Magestade.* Ibid.

199 Ibid., p. 126.

200 *e não deve haver lei divina nem humana que tal se consinta porque desapossar-se hum Estado tamanho como este dos escravos que tem comprados com seu dinheiro ha tantos annos, em que está metido hum milhão d'ouro.* Ibid., pp. 126–27.

this law will be implemented more by the use of [military] force than implemented by justice.”²⁰¹

The First Goa City Hall Letter to the King

We seldom able to hear the “voices” of those unknown citizens who acquired Japanese slaves, but they can be found in the letter sent to Europe on 30 December 1603. In this letter, through the Goa City Hall High Court (Relação de Goa), citizens rebelled against the pressure exerted by Jesuit priests who supported the enactment of this law against Japanese slavery.

The text lists the arguments used to nullify this law. The first was that permission had been obtained from the bishops and priests of the Society of Jesus in Japan for all Japanese slaves who had been acquired, and that this could be proved by papers and certificates issued by Jesuits and bearing their seal.²⁰²

The second argument claimed that the Japanese had been bought in their own country by Muslims,²⁰³ who converted them to Islam. If they were acquired by the Portuguese, however, they were converted to Christianity and released after the set period of service determined by the Jesuits. The Goa City Hall High Court also alleged that other merchants would buy the slaves, if the Portuguese did not do so.²⁰⁴ It must be remembered that this same argument had already been used by merchants of Macao who acquired slaves in Nagasaki.²⁰⁵

As their third argument, the Goa City Hall High Court claimed that the Portuguese State of India had a high number of Japanese slaves and that these were necessary for the defense of Goa, as there were not enough Portuguese for that purpose. This reasoning was further strengthened with the fact that Japanese slaves were great fighters and, if granted their freedom, might rebel against their former owners, or convert to Islam and become Muslims and, as they outnumbered them, kill them. Some Portuguese, who owned between five and six Japanese slaves, were given as examples. Nevertheless, we do not know if the numbers of Japanese might have been exaggerated in order to convince the King that his predecessor’s law should not be implemented.²⁰⁶

201 *porque posto que temos embargada esta defesa na chancellaria, o Viso-Rey nos disse que não havia de admitir embargos; no que parece que se usar mais de força, que de justiça.* Ibid., p. 126.

202 Ibid., p. 127.

203 Possibly Muslim merchants from the Moluccas.

204 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. IV, p. 127.

205 *Dizem mais q se elles os não comprão q os comprão os gentios Chinas Siames e Patanes eos levão a suas terras, ao q se responde pr.ªm.te que no sunt facienda mola, ut aveniant bona: alem disto nem por os portuguezes os comprarem os deixão de levar os gentios como se vee por experiencia porq pera todos ha em Jappão.* RAH, Cortes 566, Maço 275.

206 *De mais disto este Estado está cheio delles, que como captivos de seus senhores, estão prestes*

At the conclusion of this letter, the Goa City Hall High Court asked the King to suppress the said law against Japanese slavery, launching, at the same time, a direct attack against the priests of the Society of Jesus, accusing them of ruining the Portuguese State of India and possessing a considerable amount of assets.²⁰⁷

In view of the Viceroy of Goa's inability to reestablish social peace in the city, King Philip III himself was forced to step in directly and, in response to an inquiry from the Council of India on the "ransom and captivity of the Gentiles in the Kingdoms of Japan," on 7 December 1604, he wrote a letter to the merchants of Goa. Through a close reading of this letter, it contains no clear condemnation of this practice, but, rather, an attempt to legitimize it. In order to appease the merchants of Goa, the King stated that this law would only include slaves who had been acquired after its implementation; thus any Japanese who had been bought earlier was not considered free:

It is not my intention that those are to be practiced and include those captives before the publication of this new law, as long as they were bought and held in good faith.²⁰⁸

However, the most relevant passage is the one showing that it was not the King's intention to ban Japanese slavery (the word "gentile" was used in the text, but the context is related to Japanese slaves), but only illegally acquired slaves:

[I]t is not my intention to forbid through the abovementioned laws that the aforementioned gentiles cannot be captives in the cases where, according to the common law, their titles can be just and legitimate.²⁰⁹

pera a defensão delle, porque os Portuguezes não bastão para encher o mais pequeno baluarte desta ilha, e offerecendo-se guerra, ha Portuguez com cinco e seis moços destes á ilhargá com suas espingardas, monta muito; quanto mais que esta gente he bellicosa, e postos em liberdade não ha duvida que se levantem com esta terra, carteando-se com os imigos, que temos diante dos olhos, e nos matem a todos, porque sem numero são mais que nós: tanto he isto assí, que só com o equo desta liberdade andão já alevantados, e seus senhores d'avisó sobre elles. Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. I, parte II, p. 127.

207 Ibid., pp. 127–28.

208 *não he minha tenção que ellas se pratiquem e comprehendão os cativos e possuidos antes de publicação desta nova provisão, por quanto he nisto compraremse e possuïremse com boa fee. BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, 51-VII-15, fol. 10.*

209 *não he minha tenção prohibise por as ditas leis que os ditos gentios não possão ser cativos nos casos em que conforme o direito comum por justos e licitos titulos o podem ser. Ibid., fol. 10.*

To these two remarks, the King added the possibility of Japanese slaves being able to request their freedom before the Magistrate of the Civil Court of Appeal of Goa,²¹⁰ and the judicial magistrates of the Portuguese fortresses. The King also determined that the prisoners should not be mistreated during the course of their legal actions.

However, it seems pertinent to underline that this was extremely vague, making it impossible to ascertain the difference between legitimate and illegal methods of enslavement, as that topic was not even mentioned. Another key aspect is the fact that slaves would not have had access to these rules as, first, they were not able to read and write Portuguese correctly; second, they would be ignorant of the legislative processes; and, finally, because it would not be in the interest of their owners.

Would this law, as well as the previous one, promulgated by Viceroy Saldanha, have been obeyed? We are inclined to think that the royal prohibition of the Japanese slave trade had little effect.

In a new attempt at controlling slavery at its source, namely, Japan, and re-establishing the ecclesiastical authority of the Bishop of Japan, even if covertly, King Philip III commanded the Viceroy of India, “in order to avoid the disorders that certain vassals committed in Japan without the Bishop being able to avoid them,”²¹¹ to order the captains of the Japan route to assist the Bishop in all that he might require of them and to take aboard their ships and return to India all those who could harm the progress of Christianity through their actions; he also recommended that the Head Captains of Macao–Nagasaki route take this law into account.²¹²

The Second Goa City Hall Letter to the King and the Collapse of the Japanese Slave Trade in the Habsburg Territories

In 1605, in a new letter sent by the Goa City Hall High Court to the King, Goan citizens clearly challenged the monarch, disobeying, once again, the royal decree and submitting new arguments to justify their disobedience.²¹³

210 Former magistrate with functions similar to those of the current judge of law.

211 *para evitar as desordens que certos vassallos cometiam no Japão sem que o Bispo as pudesse evitar.*

212 Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa, Arquivo Histórico do Estado da Índia, *Livros das Monções* N.º 6-A (1604–1605), Fich. 2, Gav. 1, Div. 8-9, 3/4 | 5/1, *Alvará Régio de Felipe II*, Valhadolide, 18-03-1604, fol. 13.

213 *O anno atraz passado deu esta cidade conta a Vossa Magestade como os Padres da Companhia intentarão se cumprisse hum alvará, que El Rey Dom Sebastião, que sancta gloria aja, mandou passar, pera que os Japões não fossem cativos, e os que ora erão ficassem forros, o qual em trinta e tantos annos que ha que he passado nunca ouve cumprimento, nem ouve Viso Rey que o quizesse mandar cumprir, por entenderem ser em muito desserviço de Deos e*

According to their representatives, the Japanese slaves had been acquired in “good faith,” that is, they had been legitimately enslaved. Another of the arguments submitted centered around the economic loss caused by the release of slaves, as some individuals had invested “one thousand, and two thousand cruzados” in their purchase. The third argument was that, since these slaves had previously been sold to non-Christians, their resale to Christians was legitimate.²¹⁴ Subsequently, the Goa City Hall High Court attacked the main opponent of this slavery, Bishop Cerqueira, arguing once again that all slaves had been acquired with the written consent of the Bishop of Japan and with limited years of service, which made their acquisition legitimate. Claiming that such Japanese were purchased with permits of “years of service”/time bondage, and thus later released, the merchants sought to deceive the authorities by concealing the true status of most Japanese slaves. If believed, the royal decree would lose its purpose, as it was intended at regulating only perpetual slavery of the Japanese and not contracts of a temporary nature.

As a final argument, the Goa City Hall High Court tried to manipulate the King by claiming that the Japanese were fundamental to Goa, as many were soldiers defending the city against enemies.²¹⁵

While the struggle for the resumption of Japanese slavery was taking place in Goa, in Japan, despite excommunications and interdictions by the ecclesiastical authorities, traders continued to find ways of circumventing these prohibitions, openly disobeying the Bishop and the King. This news reached Philip III, who tried to fight the disorder and disobedience by issuing a new decree, the Valladolid Decree, on 18 March 1604, asking the Viceroy of India to instruct

de Vossa Magestade, e contra a cristandade, e por muitos respeitos que avia. E sentindo elles o tempo mais favoravel no governo d'Ayres de Saldanha, o mandarão apregoar, tendo avido de Vossa Magestade huma tacita confirmação sem contrariedade deste Estado, a quem perjudica, por não ter noticia que se impetrava; emfim o apregoarão, o que esta cidade lhe embargou pelas rezões que apontarão a Vossa Magestade. Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. I, parte II, pp. 157–58.

214 This statement was based on the 17th decree of the 1597 Provincial Council of Goa, the eighth decree of the 1675 Council, and the 25th decree of the 1585 Council.

215 As an example, the merchants referred to a siege of the city that had recently been organized by the Dutch, in which, without the assistance of Japanese slaves, they would have lacked the necessary human resources for their defense: *que ha muitos neste Estado, que he gente mui bellicosa, e que serve pera aguerra, e em hum cerco ou necessidade, como se vio ha pouco nesta dos Olandezes, sahia um cazado desta cidade com sete, oito destes moços com suas espingardas e lanças, porque só estes ha na India escravos que prestem pera armas, e huma cidade tamanha como esta muitas vezes lhe faltará a gente necessaria pera a defensão de seus muros. Estas e muitas outras razões ha, que se apontarão quando Vossa Magestade mandar que este alvará se cumpra, o que esperamos que seja sem sermos ouvidos como partes a que toca. Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasc. I, parte II, p. 158.*

the Head Captains of the Macao–Nagasaki commercial route to expel from Japan all Europeans who disobeyed the Bishop.²¹⁶

Months later, on 7 December 1604, a similar document on the same subject was published by King Philip III, once again stating that illegal Japanese slaves should be released. The Japanese slaves who were legally approved by the Portuguese jurisdiction were not covered by this law, as their situation remained unaltered.²¹⁷

The King commanded the Head Captain of Macao, whenever required by Bishop Cerqueira, to ask the Japanese ruler Tokugawa Ieyasu to deliver to them insurgent European merchants, who should be taken to Goa and, from there, sent to Europe to be judged. This decree covered “people of Europe of whatever quality and condition they were,”²¹⁸ even if they had a license to live in

216 *Eu El-Rey faço saber aos que este alvará virem que eu sou informado das muitas desordens que cometem alguns dos meus vassallos, que andão aos partes do Japão contra o serviço de Deus e meu, e que a causa de se cometerem he por serem aquelles Reinos de hum Rey gentio, e por esse respeito não obedecem os ditos meus vassallos ao Bispo, devendo ser mui pelo contrario, nem guardão seus mandados, por o dito Bispo não ter poder para os constringer ao que lhe parece mais conveniente para remedio das ditas desordens, e castigar como lhe parecer nas materias tocantes a seu officio pastoral; e considerando eu os grandes danos que dellas se seguem em tão grande perjuizo das almas, e quanto convem atalharse a ellas pelo máo exemplo, e outros grandes inconvenientes que ha, e desejando que todos tenham o devido respeito ao dito Bispo, ey por bem e mando ao meu Viso Rey da india ordene aos capitães da viagem de Japão que no porto de Nangassaquí, onde costumão ir, e o dito Bispo reside, lhe assistão em tudo o que da minha parte lhes requerer para se atalharem as ditas desordens, e avendo algumas pessoas tão desobedientes ao dito Bispo, e das quaes na materia da christandade se receba perjuizo, e escandalo de maneira que se tenha por necessario para remedio disto que não residão nas ditas partes.* Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, fasc. VI, pp. 764–65.

217 *Em carta de Sua Majestade de 7 de Dez. 604. Vi a consulta do Conselho da India sobre o resgate e cativoiro dos gentios das partes de Japão e conformandome em parte com o que nella se contem e vos parece hei por bem e mando q se passe nova provisão declaratoria das leis feitas neste caso em que se diga que não he minha tenção q ellas se pratiquem e comprehendão os cativos e possuidos antes de publicação desta nova provisão, por quanto he nisto comprarem-se e possuirem-se com boa fee. E que outrosi não he minha tenção probirse por as ditas leis que os ditos gentios não possão ser cativos nos casos em que conforme o direito comum por justos e licitos titulos o podem ser. Porem que para que se evitem as injusticas que nisto poderia aver e os que pretenderem que não forão bem cativos nem com justo e licito titulo possão ter recurso por via da justiça e alcançar liberdade a possão requerer diante do corregedor do civil da Relação de Goa e dos ouvidores das mais fortalezas do estado os quais conhecerao de suas causas e as determinarão breve e sumariamante conforme a justiça obrigando aos do nossos escravos a darem em caução e fianças bastantes a que os não tratarão mal emquanto as ditas causas durarem. Encomendo aos que o deveis que nesta conformidade se faça p'socoro da india a dita provisão por vias e me venha para esaassinar nas primeiras naos. Escrivão Geral. BA, Jesuítas na Ásia, 51-VII-15, fol. 10.*

218 *peçoas de Europa de qualquer calidade e estado que seião.*

Japan. The Head Captain was commanded to obey and enforce this law whenever the Bishop required him to do so.²¹⁹

The following year, on 28 February 1605, a new letter from King Philip III to the Viceroy of India, Martim Afonso de Castro, referred the enforcement of this decree, emphasizing that Bishop Cerqueira should be obeyed by the Head Captain of Macao.²²⁰ These last two decrees ensured the Bishop had more power than the Head Captain, something the former had been trying to achieve since the letter he sent to the monarch on 24 October 1598.²²¹

In 1605, on 6 March, King Philip III sent another letter to Viceroy Castro, with instructions to enforce the provision forbidding the enslavement of the Japanese.²²² However, the monarch seemed to rapidly change his mind as, on 22 March, he sent a second letter to Goa City Hall, trying to resolve the dispute in favor of Japanese slavery as well as making accusations against the priests of the Society of Jesus, who were strongly in favor of banning this trade. In response to the set of arguments submitted by the Portuguese merchants in Goa and also in Kochi, the letter contained exactly the same arguments as the first letter sent by the King to Goa City Hall. He began by stating that this decree only sought to ban illegitimate Japanese slavery, which had already been prohibited by late King Sebastian I of Portugal, and not fair and legitimate slavery. It therefore granted Japanese slaves who had been illegally acquired the right to seek justice and to be released. It is obvious that this document represents no more than a second evasive maneuver by the King—allowing the Japanese slaves already bought to be retained, but prohibiting future acquisitions.²²³

219 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, fasc. VI, p. 765.

220 *Ao dito bispo e aos religiosos da companhia, que com mais fervor entendo se empregam na obra da conversão, deveis favorecer e ajudar no que for necessario. E por eu ter entendido que nas ditas partes do Japão se comettem muitas desordens por meus vassallos que lá passam, e não obedecendo aos mandados do dito bispo nas materias de sua obrigação e officio pastoral, mandei o anno passado passar sobre isso huã provisão, de que foi huã via em vossa companhia, e pela incerteza vão agora outras, que mandareis guardar inteiramente. Documentos Remetidos da Índia*, vol. VII, p. 18.

221 ARSI, Jap Sin, 13-2, fol. 202v.

222 Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, *Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, Fich. 2, Gav. 1, Div. 9-10, 26-27 | 2/1, Letter from King Philippe III to the Viceroy Martim Afonso de Castro. Lisbon, 6-03-1605, fols. 82–84.

223 *Sendo eu informado de alguns abusos e sem-justiças, que se cometiam no resgate e captiveiro dos gentios dos Japão, que o senhor rey dom Sebastião, meu primo, que Deos tem, mandou prohibir por um seu alvará feito no anno de quinhentos e sessenta [setenta], mandei que o dito alvará se publicasse e guardasse n'essas partes; e porque fui ora informado que se pretendia estender aos escravos que eram bem possuídos e havidos por títulos legítimos, de que se seguiam muitos inconvenientes, alem do danno que recebiam os moradores desse Estado, e o que se pode seguir, deixando-os assi todos em sua liberdade, e não foi minha*

Although this letter reached Goa, we do not know if either the representatives of the merchants of Goa nor the Viceroy had access to its contents, as the law remained unimplemented. It was probably a maneuver carried out by the Portuguese authorities in the city, in order to avoid dissatisfaction among the merchants, thus allowing Japanese slavery to continue as it had hitherto.

Only two years later, on 18 January 1607, Viceroy Castro was again questioned about the same issue by the King. In that letter, Philip III mentioned that he had already given his view in 1605: that he did not forbid the enslavement of Japanese altogether, but just those cases deemed illegitimate. Consequently, he decreed that the old 1570 law against Japanese slavery in Goa should be immediately enforced. The King was not persuaded by the protests and arguments previously submitted by the Goa City Hall High Court, affirming that, when considering this issue, he had relied on the opinions of several theologians.²²⁴

Facing pressure by the Society of Jesus, and probably as a precaution against the possible loss of the 18 January letter, the monarch once again decreed the law against Japanese slavery in Goa be implemented, in a second letter written on 27 January 1607:

The city also writes that at the time of the government of Ayres de Saldanha, a proclamation was made by King Sebastian, my cousin, holy glory may abide, that, with my confirmation, the freedom of the

*tenção, nem a do dito senhor rey Dom Sebastião devia ser, prohibir que não podessem ser escravos os japões, auendo por justos e legitimos títulos e nos casos em que o direito o permite o fossem, como são os gentios das outras nações, e por atalhar a outros inconvenientes que por parte das cidades de Goa e Cochim me foram representados, mandei passar a provisão, que será com esta, que mandareis publicar, para que venha á noticia de todos, e a fareis guardar, procurando se evitem todos os abusos que n'esta materia ha e houve até agora, e os ditos escravos tenham liberdade para requerer sua justiça, se pretenderem que seu captivo não he licito, nem de bom titulo; e vos hei esta materia por mui encomendada, por ser de tanto serviço de Deos e meu.—Fernão Tellez. Letter from King Philippe III to the Viceroy Martim Afonso de Castro. Lisbon, 22-03-1605, 22 de Março de 1605, in *Documentos Remetidos da Índia*, vol. VII, p. 43.*

²²⁴ *A mesma camara me escreveu tambem que os padres da Companhia intentaram se cumprisse hum alvará que se passou, para os japões não serem captivos, e que os que ora o eram ficassem forros, do qual nunca houve cumprimento em trinta e tantos annos que ha que he passado, e o mandaram apregoar no governo de Ayres de Saldanha, tendo havido de mim huã tacita confirmação, e me pedem mande se não cumpra(a câmara da cidade de Goa); e porque sobre esta materia com muita consideração e pareceres de theologos tenho provido por huã ley, que vos mandei enviar, de que a dita camara ainda não devia ter noticia quando me escreveu, vos encomendo a façaes cumprir. Ibid., p. 109.*

Japanese, saying how they had seized him,²²⁵ and asking me to consider the inconveniences of this matter, and solve it. And because I have decreed one law on this matter of the Japanese, of which the city still should not have information of it, I want it to be fulfilled and punctually enforced.²²⁶

After this date, no further letter from the Goa City Hall was sent to the King on this matter. If the Portuguese merchants in Goa continued to show their dissatisfaction and protests, no records of this were sent to the King. The reason for this silence is likely to be related to King's resolution allowing Japanese slaves who had been purchased before 1605, and held permits proving their legality, to be retained. This concession to the traders allowed the bulk of the money invested in the purchase of Japanese slaves to be saved, and such slaves to be traded in all Portuguese fortresses.

Consequently, one can affirm that, from 1605 on, the Society of Jesus, headed by Bishop Cerqueira, had succeeded in permanently abolishing Japanese slavery within the Habsburg territories.

The Fifth Provincial Council

It was during these delicate negotiations between the Goa City Hall, the King, and the Society of Jesus, that the fifth Provincial Council was held in 1606. This council is mentioned because, unlike previous councils, in addition to seeking to better regulate slavery in the Portuguese State of India, it also sought to humanize it in a manner previously unknown in Portuguese territories, as well as legally punish those who treated slaves badly. At the same time, it sought to establish several rights for slaves, hitherto not mentioned by other councils. This stance by the Church in defense of the slaves' rights was not mere coincidence; on the contrary, it was directly related to the polemic of Japanese slavery, which would have called into question the legitimacy not only of Japanese slaves, but of the very system of slavery in Portuguese territories.

In the "first action" of decree 50, the assembly tried to regulate the numerous requests to the ecclesiastical courts from free people who had married female freed slaves, but "because at the time of the marriage no freedom permit

225 The merchants.

226 *Tambem escreve a cidade que em tempo do governo de Ayres de Saldanha se apregoou hum alvará do senhor rey dom Sebastião, meu primo, que santa gloria haja, com confirmação minha, sobre a liberdade dos japões, dizendo como o tinham embargado, e pedindo-me que mande considerar os inconvenientes que esta matéria tem, e conforme a isso proveja n'ella. E porque eu tenho passado sobre isto dos japões huã ley, de que a cidade ainda não devia ter noticia, hei por bem que ella se cumpra e execute pontualmente.* Ibid., p. 119.

was demanded,” their (previous) owners did not recognize their status. To put an end to this situation, parish priests were prevented from marrying such freed slaves without the previous owners confirming their status. If they were considered free, they had to sign the wedding register and were given a certificate.²²⁷

Decree 52 again confirmed the penalty of a 200 *pardaos* fine, half of which went to the person who denounced them, for owners who prevented their slaves, either male or female, from marrying. The assembly determined that the owners of slaves married to free people could not sell them off the “coast of India, beyond the Cape of Comorim, or Dio.”²²⁸

In the “fourth action,” which dealt with the “reformation of customs of the Christian republic,”²²⁹ decree 3, the assembly determined that ship captains who carried female slaves should reserve a secure place for them in their vessels, which could be locked at night, under the penalty of excommunication and 200 *pardaos*. This resolution did not include the female slaves of “virtuous women,” generally the wives of noblemen, who were free to bring their own slaves or those belonging to other masters, as they wished.²³⁰

Decree 14 declared that female slaves under 50 were forbidden to sell “eating and sewing things” on the street. Their owners were also forbidden to turn them out of the house when they reached 50.

On the other hand, decree 15 aimed at eradicating illegitimate captivity and was directly related to the controversy, involving the Society of Jesus and the citizens of Goa, around Japanese slaves.²³¹

227 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fascículo 4º, p. 216.

228 Ibid., p. 217.

229 *reformação dos costumes da Republica Christã*.

230 Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fascículo 4º, p. 261.

231 *Em nenhuma couza estão tão embaraçadas as consciencias dos homens, e expostas a sua perdição nesta Provincia com escandalo universal de pessoas doutas, e tementes a Deos, como nos captiveiros dos escravos, em tanto que com razão pela devassidão, que nesta parte ha, justamente podemos temer da poderosa mão de Deos algum grave castigo a este Estado; e posto que nos concílios passados sempre se tratou de dar remedio aos injustos captiveiros, todavia sempre forão crescendo cada vez mais, e estão em termo, que parece, que não há esperança de remedio, do que doendo-se esta sagrada Synodo, e querendo por hora acudir a estes males, como pode, manda com todo rigor, e encarrega estreitamente aos Ordinarios, cada huma em sua diocese, que nos portos, donde vão commumente os escravos para outras partes, deputem pessoas ecclesiasticas, ou seculares de confiança bem entendidas e virtuosas, que examinem inteiramente os captiveiros dos taes escravos, antes que nos ditos portos se partão, e pede ao Vice Rey que depute outrosim pessoas de consciencia, e tementes a Deos, que justamente com os deputados pelos Ordinarios examinem estes captiveiros, e nos escriptos, e titulos, que derem, se declarem as causas do captiveiro, dando a cada hum dos escravos seu escripto, e dos examinados, e havidos por bem captivos, passem certidão, ou certidões a*

Decree 16 sought to regulate the procedures to follow if sick slaves were cast out by their owners. If these owners did not take them back, such slaves would be freed (the owner would be compelled to issue a freedom permit so the public notary would officially free them), and if there was nobody to take care of them, they would be sent to the House of Mercy and from there taken to the hospitals of the poor. This decree had its genesis in the fact that, at the time, in the Portuguese courts, there were numerous cases of “slaves were found on the streets dying helplessly because nobody took care of them.”²³²

Decree 17 determined that slaves who were subject to overly severe punishment would be freed, without appeal or grievance, by the judicial magistrate to whom they were presented. Instead of a manumission letter, they would be given a judge’s certificate, which had the same effect.²³³

Decree 18 is particularly shocking to contemporary readers due to the list of torture methods it contains. This deliberation revealed the main tortures which slaves endured at the hands of their owners, which resulted in many dead or permanently handicapped. Consequently, all people, whatever their status, were forbidden to mistreat their slaves under penalty of excommunication *latae sententiae* and the payment of 50 *pardaos*, half of which was allocated to the accuser. This peculiar paragraph also contains a tacit acknowledgment of the fact that clergymen owned slaves and could also mistreat them. Nevertheless, its inclusion was possibly destined to make this a more equitable and socially inclusive law. According to this decree, nobody could flog any slave with a wheel, raw sole, or use fire, blazing iron, or drips of any kind of substance to chastise. Slave owners were also forbidden to leave the slaves hanging; to “paddle slap” them on their hands or feet; make them step on sticks or stones; tie them in an upright position for long periods in order to deprive them of sleep; hit them with sticks, irons, or stones; throw pepper, oil, vinegar, salt, or other substances in their eyes; break their teeth with irons, sticks, or stones; order them flogged by more than one person at the same time; allow non-Christians to flog Christian slaves; or subject them to any other kind of unusual harassment. The owners were also admonished to punish their female

seus donos; e manda outrosim aos mesmos donos sob pena de excomunhão latae sententiae, e de duzentos pardãos, que não tirem dos ditos portos escravo algum sem ser examinado, e aprovado pelos ditos deputados, havendo-os nelle, e alem da dita pena o escravo, que assim tirar, será havido por forro, ainda que o senhor mostre o justo titulo de captiveiro, e tirando algum dono os taes escravos dos lugares, onde não houver os ditos deputados, será obrigado sob as mesmas penas a apresentalos ao Vigario, ou deputados do primeiro porto que tomar, para ser examinado, e se justificar o titulo, e sem exame e certidão do justo captiveiro, serão os escravos havidos por forros. Ibid., pp. 267–68.

232 Ibid., p. 268.

233 Ibid., p. 269.

slaves in a morally honest way, without undressing them in front of the people in charge of punishing them.²³⁴

To tackle slaves escaping to neighboring Portuguese lands, where they converted to other religions or were at risk of doing it, decree 19 determined that clergymen who captured fugitives could keep them out of their masters' reach for a month, and at the end of this period give them back to their owners, under the assurance that they would not be punished; if slaves feared that their masters could mistreat them, owners should be prompted to sell them to other individuals.²³⁵

In decree 20, the assembly determined that no free or captive person should pawn his own son or daughter, or another free person of whom they were in charge, to settle their debts; if anyone accepted this kind of commitment, he should lose the right to his debt and pay 5 *pardaos* to the officer who accused him. If the person in question was a slave, only the service of that captive should be discounted from the debt.²³⁶

Decree 28 was the last one on slavery. As with the 1567 Provincial Council, decree 5 on "Reformation of customs," the assembly reiterated the prohibition against owners forcing their slaves to work on Sundays and holidays, under the penalty of a 5 *pardaos* fine.²³⁷

Conclusions

In short, although participation in the slave trade in Japan was spontaneously initiated by the Portuguese, the sale of Asians, and particularly of Japanese, quickly became an extremely profitable business. However, unlike the African slave trade in the Atlantic Ocean, these slaves were transported to Macao, Malacca, Kochi, Goa, and Lisbon without official authorization. The absence of licenses shows that this was a private trade without any regulation.

At that time, the so-called license was a mandatory provision to import slaves and take them from one place to another. This contract between the monarch and an individual mentioned the number of slaves that could be carried and traded. Under the contract, the contractor paid an amount according to the number of slaves carried and the duration of the license. Exceptionally, a license could be allocated as a reward. As a way of managing this situation in Japan, the Jesuits began to issue slave licenses, legitimizing this trade.

234 Ibid., pp. 269–70.

235 Ibid., pp. 270–71.

236 Ibid., p. 271.

237 Ibid., p. 275.

However, these licenses did not have royal approval from Portugal, or ecclesiastical endorsement from Rome.

Despite the connivance of the Society of Jesus with the slave merchants, some members of this group, such as that of the Superior of the Society of Jesus in Japan, Gaspar Coelho, emphasized the immoral aspect of this trade and, considering Japanese slavery carried out by the Portuguese a serious impediment to the project of evangelization of Japan, urged the King of Portugal, Sebastian I, to prohibit it. Efforts to create a law to protect the Japanese and the interests of the Society of Jesus in Japan were rewarded, in 1570, with the publication of a law against Japanese slavery throughout Portuguese territories. However, despite its publication in the European metropolis, this law was never implemented in Goa, then the center of Portuguese administration in Asia. While in Europe Japanese slaves were released, in trading posts, fortresses, and ports controlled by the Portuguese in Asia they were not. In actuality, there was an increase in such slavery.

This situation was also condemned by the Japanese ruler Hideyoshi on 24 July 1587, and forbidden in Nagasaki after the issuance of the 1587 anti-Christian edict. However, all these voices against slavery that were raised from time to time could not eradicate this trade. The reasons for its survival were the high levels of profit and the permissiveness and cooperation between Jesuits, local *daimyos*, and Portuguese merchants.

This situation changed only through the decisive intervention of the Bishop of Japan Luís de Cerqueira, who succeeded in enforcing the law outlawing the enslavement of Japanese people. His continuous lobbying inside the Society of Jesus in China, Japan, and Goa through letters to the Viceroy, to King Felipe III in Europe, and to the Holy See, would bear fruit in the King's resolution of 6 March 1605. In that, he allowed the Portuguese to retain those slaves bought before that date, if they had obtained legitimate slave permits (issued by the Society of Jesus). However, after 1605, any Japanese slave arriving in Goa was considered to be illegitimately enslaved and should be immediately released.

Ironically, despite the arrival of this letter in Goa (it was even filed in the archives there), it seemingly did not reach the Viceroy or the members of City Hall. Two years later, the King again stated his resolution concerning Japanese slaves. Perhaps as a precaution, two copies of the letter were sent to Goa. Although the decision was taken in 1605, the enforcement of this resolution took place only in 1607; from this date on any Japanese person enslaved within the Habsburg territories was considered free.

Conclusion

The documentation summarized and analyzed in this study represents only a small part of the Japanese, Chinese, and Korean diaspora in the 16th and 17th centuries. This notwithstanding, it provides new insights, descriptions, and interpretations, shedding light on Asian slaves' lives after their departure from Japan.

The book describes the transformation the official trading ships between Macao and Japan into slave boats. While the sources suggest that initially the transportation of slaves was sporadic, by the end of the 16th century this boat was being described as a true slave ship, whose internal spaces became cramped due to the high number of slaves. At the same time, numerous Portuguese vessels from other parts of Asia, or with Portuguese men as part of the crew, went to Japan to trade. These private ships, along with the official ships from Macao, contributed to the intensification of the slave trade in Japan and transformed what had been a predominantly regional trade into a transnational and intercontinental trade.

During the first phase of Portuguese settlement in China and trade relations with the Japanese, the information left by merchants and clerics points towards the slaves being predominantly of Chinese origin, having been captured in coastal villages and transported to the Japanese region of Kyūshū. They were sold to the Portuguese merchants who traveled annually to Japan and, following their return trip to Macao, they were sent to Malacca and Goa, only to be redistributed later from several different ports, including European harbors. During this early phase, Portuguese presence in the China seas was dispersed and limited to a handful of merchants and mercenary adventurers.

The Iberian legislation regarding Japanese slavery in this period shows that the expansion of the slave trade from Macao to Europe, as well as the illegality of this type of trade, gave rise to a number of complaints and reports which, on 20 September 1570, triggered the issuance of Portugal's first royal decree against Japanese slavery throughout the territories under Portuguese administration. This decree, partially obeyed in Portugal, was never issued in Goa, the capital of the then Portuguese State of India. This situation was due to the fear of the viceroys and governors in opposing the power of local private merchants, the main beneficiaries of such trade.

The case of the Chinese slave Victoria Diaz is representative of this phase. Having been captured in China, Victoria Diaz was sent to Japan, sold to the Portuguese, and converted to Christianity. After Japan, she was sent to Macao, Malacca, Goa, Kochi, and finally Lisbon, where she converted to Judaism, and

was persecuted by the Portuguese Inquisition. Once freed, still at the service of a family of Jewish origin, she left for Antwerp, later dying in Hamburg.

Between 1570 and 1592 the trade underwent changes, and Chinese slaves were gradually replaced by Japanese from the poor zones of Kyūshū, many of whom were taken as the result of war amongst local Daimyos. During this phase, two events clearly influenced the slave trade: the first was the creation of the Iberian Union (1580–1640),¹ which caused a deep transformation in Macao's trade. From now on, Macao not only received slaves from Japan and exported them to the Portuguese communities scattered throughout the Asian continent, it now also controlled an important slave route to the Philippines, financed by the influx of American silver. In addition to rapidly transforming Manila into one of the main Asian economic centers of the 16th and 17th centuries, the commercial route between Acapulco and Manila was cleverly explored by Portuguese traders, who ran a slave network in Asia that stretched from East Africa and the Persian Gulf through to China and Japan. These Portuguese merchants and associates entered the Philippines illegally, without royal approval, bargaining freely without paying duties, the so-called *almojari-fasgo*, which their direct competitors, the *sangleys* merchants, were obliged to pay (3%). After this controversy was resolved, the growth of Portuguese slavery in the Philippines ran in parallel with the trade of the Manila galleons and the reception of Asian goods by the elites of Mexico and Central and South America.

The second event was Nagasaki's assertion as the central port of Portuguese trade in Japan, when Omura Sumitada (D. Bartolomeu) decided to secure the city directly to the Jesuits in 1580. The annual arrival of Portuguese vessels in this port favored the creation of more structured and permanent slave trade networks. This structure becomes rather complex and it is possible to identify a capture system that can be divided into canvassers/*angariadores*/*hitokadoi* (人勾引(ヒトカドイ)), *hitokadoi*/*angariadores*/*canvassers* selling to traders, *hitokadoi*/*angariadores*/*canvassers* selling to brokers, *hitokadoi*/*angariadores amadores*/amateur canvassers selling to brokers and traders; and a system of sales through brokers/*corretores*/*hitoakibito* (人商人(ヒトアキビト)), or directly to the buyers/*compradores*/*hitokai* (人買(ヒトカイ)). A system of permits was also developed to enable the sale of slaves purchased in Japan throughout the Habsburg Empire. This permit system was administered by Jesuits and consisted of dividing the status of the people sold to the Portuguese in Japan in perpetual ballots, and limited-time ballots/time bondage.

¹ The dynastic union of the crowns of Portugal, Castile, and Aragon.

The first anti-Christian edict issued under Iberian legislation in regard to Japanese slavery in this period was passed in 1587 by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. The slave trade was a cause of deep discontent with Hideyoshi. In this reign, several Japanese slave sellers and transporters were arrested and executed in Nagasaki, serving as a warning to traffickers. It is during these periods that, due to Toyotomi Hideyoshi's accusations, detailed descriptions of the trade begin to emerge, enabling us to understand its size and indeed its truly global configuration.

An example of this phase is that of the Japanese Gaspar Fernandes who, as a child, after witnessing the murder of his family, was captured by Japanese soldiers, sent to Nagasaki, and sold to a Portuguese merchant. After receiving a limited-time ballot/time bondage for 12 years, he moved to Nagasaki and Manila with a Portuguese merchant of Jewish origin and his two children. On the voyage he undertook from Manila to Acapulco, the merchant suddenly died and Gaspar was illegally sold into slavery, unable to secure his release years later in Mexico City due to the intervention of the two sons of the merchant who had bought his services in Nagasaki.

Between 1592 and 1597 the Korean phase of the trade emerged. Toyotomi Hideyoshi promoted important military campaigns in Korea during this period and many local prisoners of war were sent to Japan and then sold to the Portuguese. Many such Koreans stayed in Nagasaki. However, a great number of them was sent to the Asian harbors of Macao and Manila. In the case of Macao, it is even possible to identify a Korean community living near St. Paul's College of Macao (Colégio de São Paulo) also known as College of Madre de Deus.

The Korean slaves who remained in the Kyūshū region were assisted by the Society of Jesus, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Augustinians in Japan. All of them played a major role in the liberation of the Korean slaves and the evangelization of communities. The initial goal was a Korean evangelization project through Japan, which dated back to 1566. This project ultimately failed, but the role of Korean Christians became extremely important in the final years of Christian presence in Japan. In the wake of the 1614 expulsion of European clerics from Japan, former Korean slaves organized and supported their concealment in Kyūshū.

Even though it is known that as many as one to two thousand Korean slaves were sold to the Portuguese per year between 1592 and 1597, it is extremely difficult to find trace of them in the ports, fortresses, or Portuguese trading posts in Asia. In contrast to the Japanese slave trade, the demand for Korean slaves was mainly for female slaves. This corroborates my theory that the mystery regarding the almost complete absence of traces of Korean slavery is most likely

linked to the fact that the Korean slaves had been incorporated into the Asian sex market, hence explaining the complete absence of any written record.

The arrival of thousands of Korean captives met with strong criticism from Bishop Pedro Martins and Bishop Luís de Cerqueira. The first began a public campaign against slavery by prohibiting the Jesuits from issuing permits for the international sale of slaves acquired in Japan. However, Pedro Martins' premature death in the Strait of Singapore, on 13 February 1598, interrupted the prohibitions. After Martins' death, Bishop Luís de Cerqueira arrived in Japan with a plan to put an end to the Japanese slave trade in the Habsburg Empire. First, Cerqueira held a meeting with the main members of the Society of Jesus in Japan, from which a general prohibition emerged in which the holy fathers were not allowed to issue permits for the slave traders. Second, the bishop asked the royal authorities in Lisbon and Madrid that the 1570 anti-Japanese slavery law be republished throughout the Habsburg territories. Third, the bishop put pressure on the Viceroy of the Portuguese State of India to issue the anti-Japanese slavery law in Goa. Goan resistance to this request presented the most difficult obstacle, especially when local merchants prevented the Viceroy Aires de Saldanha from proceeding with its publication. The main reason for this attitude was the dependence of the Portuguese State of India on a Japanese labor force. This contrasted with the first half of the 16th century, when African labor took a predominant place in the private armies of the wealthy merchants and military structures of the Portuguese in cities such as Goa, Kochi, Malacca, and Macao. But in the late 16th century this structure changed: African slaves were gradually replaced by Japanese slaves and mercenaries in Portuguese military units in Asia (and this lasted until at least 1618).

Despite initial protests, negotiations between the king and the Goa City Hall High Court eventually led to an agreement whereby the law against Japanese slavery officially came into force in Goa, in theory from 1605 and in practice from 1607. This new law, contrary to the 1570 law, covered only Japanese slaves acquired after 1605.

A good example of this phase is the case of the Korean Miguel Carvalho, son of one of the first female slaves seized during the Korean war. Carvalho was included in the Macao embassy to Japan in 1640, leaving an account of the closure of Portuguese–Japanese commercial relations. In 1607, with the official end of the Japanese slave trade in Goa, Portuguese traders from Macao redirected the slave trade towards Manila, Cavite, and the Americas. However, most of the slaves that were exported were of Chinese origin, rather than being Japanese or Korean captives. The trade in Chinese slaves, though never disappearing during the golden age of Japanese and Korean slavery, was particularly important from this period onward, since thousands of Chinese slaves were

now sent to the Hapsburg fortresses and colonies in the Americas and Asia. Macao itself continued to play a central role in the capture and distribution of Chinese slaves up to the 19th century. This leads one to conclude that the so-called collies trade to the Americas was not an independent, 19th-century phenomenon, since it clearly dates back to the 16th and 17th centuries.

In this stage, the example of Isabel China is illustrative. A native of Canton, she was bought up by Portuguese merchants, and after working for a few years in Macao, she was sold and shipped to Manila by a bishop. Years later, she left for Acapulco and Mexico City, finally traveling to Peru. In Lima, she was freed, only to later become the heiress of the fortune of the widow Leonor de Álvarez, also a former Asian slave.

Another conclusion that I would also like to draw out is that, although it was possible to reconstruct the main stages of the slave trade in Japan, there are other aspects that remain to be solved, such as the actual number of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean slaves transported by Portuguese ships from Japan. Unfortunately, lists of slaves bought in Japan and transported on Portuguese ships in the 16th and 17th centuries have not survived. Hence, it is impossible to quantitatively and qualitatively analyze this migratory flux. Nor is there precise information on the size of Portuguese ships in Japan, which are extremely diverse throughout the 16th and early 17th centuries. Information on the places where slaves were sold, and the prices in Japan and Macao, is also fragmented and insufficient. All these obstacles are repeated in relation to the study of the trade of slaves transported by the Portuguese to the Philippines. Between 1580 and 1642, it is possible to identify 251 registered vessels commanded by Portuguese; yet the real number was surely higher since a number of Portuguese vessels were not registered. Many of them would transport, besides Asian goods, shipments of slaves, and although I was able to identify their value through the *almojarifazgo* tax, the detailed listings used to calculate the tax have not survived. Nevertheless, I can conclude that the main Portuguese supplier of slaves to the Philippines was Macao (114 ships), although Portuguese merchants from Malacca, Nagasaki, Siam, Cambodia, Conchichina, Taiwan, Tidore, Ternate, Bengal, Makassar, Nagapattinam, Goa, and Kochi also traded slaves in Philippine ports.

Finally, I would like to emphasize the contribution of Portuguese trade routes in the 16th and 17th centuries in the formation of new Asian communities in Acapulco, Ahuacatlan, Algiers, Bagumbaya, Binondo, Cavite, Kochi, Córdoba, Dilao, Goa, Guadalajara, Huatulco, Lima, Lisbon, Macao, Malacca, Manila, Mexico City, Pagsanjan, Pasig, Puebla de los Ángeles, San Anton, Serpa, Seville, Veracruz, and Xochimilco, proving that the main agents of globalization were not just routes and products, but also the thousands of anonymous

Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans who, under adverse conditions, managed to establish themselves in geographic spaces previously unknown to them, thus revealing their strength and spirit and creating cultural bridges between Asia, Europe, and the Americas.

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