

RiMe

Rivista dell'Istituto
di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea

ISBN 9788897317685

ISSN 2035-794X

numero 9/II n. s., dicembre 2021

**Imperative Minorities and Transoceanic
Connections (c. 1572 -c.1621)**

Elsa Penalva

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7410/1511>

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RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea (<http://rime.cnr.it>)

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Special Issue

Crossing Borders: The Social and Economic Impact of the Portuguese Maritime Empire in the early Modern Age

Edited by

Nunziatella Alessandrini and João Teles e Cunha

RiMe 9/II n.s. (December 2021)

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Imperative Minorities and Transoceanic Connections (c. 1572 - c. 1621)¹

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Date of receipt: 12/11/2021

Final date of acceptance: 10/12/2021

Abstract

In 1601, D. Luís Cerqueira, Bishop of Japan, revealed a multicultural social network composed of merchants - some of which were “cristãos-novos” - and Jesuits which connected Nagasaki, Macao, Manila, Goa and Siam. By analysing the paths of Jewish-origin merchants belonging to this network, we aim to question their importance within the Jesuit project’s sustenance and survival network in East Asia and Macao itself. We also look at the reach of the *cristão-novos* network which was useful to the self-financing strategy launched by Alessandro Valignano, SJ, and that was of key importance between 1593 and 1596 when the *cristão-novo* Jesuit Gomes Vaz was the procurator. A network which by operating in concert with the Jesuits still connected Nagasaki and Macao to Portugal, Peru, Panama, Mexico, Manila, Goa, Kochi and the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords

“cristãos-novos”; Jesuits; Macao; Nagasaki; Social Networks

Resumo

Em 1601 D. Luís Cerqueira, bispo do Japão, revelou uma rede social multicultural composta por mercadores – alguns dos quais “cristãos-novos” – e por jesuítas, que conectavam Nagasaki, Macau, Manila, Goa e o Sião. A partir da análise do percurso de mercadores de origem judaica pertencentes a esta rede, propomo-nos questionar o seu peso na rede de sustentação e sobrevivência do projecto jesuíta na Ásia Oriental e da própria cidade de Macau. Questionamos também o alcance da rede de cristãos-novos, útil à estratégia de auto-financiamento projectada por Alessandro Valignano, SJ, na qual foi determinante entre 1593 e 1596, o desempenho do cargo de procurador por parte do jesuíta cristão-novo Gomes Vaz. Uma rede que, operando concertadamente com os jesuítas, conectava Nagasaki e Macau com Portugal, Peru, Panamá, México, Manila, Goa, Cochim e com o Império Otomano.

Palavras-chave

“cristãos-novos”; Jesuítas; Macao; Nagasaki; Redes sociais.

¹ This paper/article had the support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH/UAç), through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UID/HIS/04666/2019).

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Introduction

Between 1593 and 1596, the Society of Jesus stopped trading only silk on the Macau-Nagasaki axis – according to the contract signed between Alessandro Valignano, SJ and the “*povo de Macao*”² in 1578 –, to trade in gold, “*aljofre*” and other products exchanged on the aforementioned axis, bought with silver *reales de prata* that merchants from Peru³ and Panama⁴, in partnership with Jesuits from the Province of Peru, brought to invest in Macau in 1589.

The Society did it eleven years after the pledge of allegiance to Philip II of Spain, I of Portugal by the representatives of the “*povo*” of Macau, in partnership with merchants of Sephardic origin who operated in networks in the Western Indian Ocean, the Eastern Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia, East Asia, Portugal, Mexico, Peru and Panama.

The sale of these products had taken place through Alessandro Valignano, SJ, Father Gomes Vaz (also of Sephardic origin), procurator in Goa, and the procurator in Japan, Father Miguel Soares.

In this way, the Society of Jesus changed the model by which it governed its economic activity according to the contract it had signed with the “*povo*” of Macau in 1578, despite intermediating the sale of gold on the *Nueva España-Manila-Macau-Nagasaki* axis in 1592.

According to the aforementioned contract, and in return for the permission to negotiate first 50 *picos* of silk, and later, another 50 *picos* “for sale at the end of the season” (Barreto, 2006, p. 140), through the city of Macau’s foreman (responsible for the sale of “*seda da armação*” from Macao in Nagasaki⁵), the Jesuit literate elite guaranteed the “*apoio financeiro dos moradores e mercadores de Macau*” (Barreto, 2006, p. 141). In exchange, they assured the “*serviços de elite intelectual e de diplomacia dos missionários*” (*Ibidem*).

Between 1593 and 1596 the Society of Jesus, despite the collaboration of merchants belonging to its circle of “*amigos*” (i.e., merchants who, similarly to

² BA, JA-49-IV-58, fl. 86.

³ AGI, Escribanía 403 A, fl. 56v.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ BA, JA-49-IV-58, fl. 88.

what had happened before the contract, negotiated on its behalf), had triggered a crisis in the partnership like that of 1589.

1589 was a year in which the crisis of the “*aliança estratégica*”⁶ between merchants and Jesuits was related to a struggle for power in Macau between two merchants of high standing in the city (Teixeira, 1967, pp. 289-93), belonging to the circle of “*amigos*” of the Society of Jesus – Domingos Monteiro and António Rebelo Bravo –, and Domingos Segurado in a context of opportunities generated by the union of the Iberian Crowns.

Domingos Segurado, who in 1589 held the position of captain-major of China (Teixeira, 1967, pp. 289), had opposed the Monteiro-Pinto, Rebelo-Araújo-Nasi and Cerqueira kinships, and to what he considered to be a Jesuit hegemony in the economic, social, and political life of the city (Teixeira, 1967, pp. 289), as they constituted a group that defended Portuguese hegemony in East Asia and Macau’s “*Europa/Ming China*”/Japan frontier condition (Barreto, 2006, p. 37).

Domingos Segurado and the other merchants belonging to the municipal government in 1589 were, as can be inferred from the fact that they were arrested (Teixeira, 1967, 289), after having resorted to a judge and Spanish soldiers during the conflict, in favor of Spanish interference in Macau, due to the opportunities that it provided relatively to zones of Spanish influence and integration on the American continent.

In addition to being the captain-major of China and councilor of the municipal government, Domingos Segurado had belonged in 1582 to the most important circle of power of the Macau mercantile oligarchy, made up of the “*eleitos*”.

A circle of power that between 1582⁷ and 1584 (the year in which, as can be seen from the “*carta de confirmação*”⁸ of the contract, from Viceroy Francisco Mascarenhas, of April 18, 1584, were the dominant elite⁹), was composed of five¹⁰ or six merchants of great economic power who were recognized as having experience in economic, social and political matters concerning Macao, and who, for that reason, were empowered with authority to represent the “*povo*” when sustenance and survival of the city were at stake.

Between 1593 and 1596 the Society of Jesus, when investing, in the name of its owners, money from Peru and Panama, which in 1589 had been confiscated

⁶ BA, JA-49-IV-58, fl. 89.

⁷ AGI, Patronato 24.R.60, fl. 2.

⁸ BA, JA-48-IV-58, fl. 86.

⁹ “*Concerto feyto entre o Padre Visitador; e o povo de Macao (...) em o qual se concertarão de manera que esta dito querendo prover a que não falte o sustentamento aos Padres, e para tirar todas as novidades, que acerca disto podem fazer os eleytos de Macao ...*”, *ibidem*.

¹⁰ AGI, Patronato 24.R.60, fl. 2.

and deposited at the College of St. Paul, disrespected, just as the group of merchants headed by Domingos Segurado in that year, the border condition of Macau.

Therefore, at stake was, between 1593 and 1596, not only the disrespect for the “concierto”¹¹ of 1578 (approved by the General of the Society of Jesus in Rome, Claudio Acquaviva, in 1582¹²) – after the Pope had given as an opinion that to the Jesuit mercantile activity “no se podia propriamente llamar trato pues se hasia por pura necessidade”¹³ – and the condition of frontier in Macau, but also the inscription of the Jesuits in the mercantile networks operating in the Western Indian Ocean and the Eastern Indian Ocean, resorting to a segregated minority in Portugal and in areas of Portuguese integration and influence in Asia.

The integration of the Jesuits in the mercantile environment had never been a peaceful matter, given the threat it constituted as competition, namely for merchants outside their network, operating in the axis Macau-Nagasaki-Siam, Malacca, Cochin and Goa. The very existence of the contract presupposed, as Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço pointed out, “rivalidade commercial, pois regularize uma situação de concorrência anterior” (Lourenço, 2016, p. 151). This despite the fact that the contract, according to Luís Filipe Barreto, formalized and reinforced the “presença mercantile da Companhia de Jesus” (Barreto, 2006, p. 141), having been confirmed on April 18, 1584 by the Viceroy of India, D. Francisco Mascarenhas, in 1585 by Alessandro Valignano, SJ, and by the general procurator of Japan, Father Miguel Soares¹⁴, and on April 29, 1589¹⁵ by the visitor in question and by the “*officiales de la Camera*”¹⁶ of Macau.

Through unexplored and unpublished documentation, we propose to problematize the economic activity of the Society of Jesus as a support for its missionary activity and reconstitute the mercantile network of Sephardic origin that was part of Macau’s sustenance and survival networks, to which it associated itself. We also propose to identify the social actors that made up the latter, signaling constant actions and models of cooperation between this network and the Jesuits.

¹¹ BA, JA-49-IV-58, fl. 88.

¹² *Ibidem*.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ ARSI, Jap-Sin 42, fl. 236, Barreto, 2006, p. 236-7.

¹⁵ BA, JA-49-IV-58, fl. 88.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, fl. 86.

1. A New Era of partnerships

In 1601, the Bishop of Funai, D. Luís Cerqueira, presided over an inquiry, required by the Inquisition of Mexico, regarding Rui Pires (Uchmany, 1986, pp. 85-103, Sousa, 2015) (father of two merchants of the Portuguese diaspora in Asia known as António Rodrigues and Manoel Fernandes, respectively), who was accused of “judaísmo” in Manila on 9 September 1596¹⁷. In that same year, the Inquisitors of Goa, António de Barros and Marcos Gil Frazão, wrote to D. António de Matos Noronha, Inquisitor General of Portugal, alleging that there were “muitas pessoas de nação na cidade de Macao”¹⁸. It was also the year in which the position of the Procurator of the “casa professa”¹⁹ of Goa, held by the “cristão-novo publico”²⁰ Gomes Vaz, SJ, found itself in jeopardy. This collective data allows us to address the issue of Macau’s social networks of maintenance and survival, and analyse the importance of the community of Sephardic origin.

The “qualidad”²¹ of the witnesses was a key criterion for their selection by the Bishop, and the nature of their answers expose a multicultural, miscegenated, composite (by de presence of merchants and Jesuits) and mixed (by the presence of New Christians and Old Christians) social network. Two merchants – Francisco Rodrigues Pinto (“Hombre de bien”²², “Portugues”²³, “tenido por hombre de la Nacion”²⁴), as well as Manuel Rodrigues (“Portugues y Judio de nacion”²⁵) – unequivocally confirm the existence of a Sephardic community in both Macau and Nagasaki. The summoning of these merchants, as well as the subsequent acquittal of Rodrigues Pinto by the Bishop, reveal the intention to defy Frei Bernardo de Santa Catarina: “[Y] aunque este es hombre de la Nacion se le ha preguntado porq esto ssabe mejor deste negocio que se pesquisa”²⁶. A new Christian not expressly referred to as such, António Garcês de Miranda (Coelho, 2007, pp. 116-121). A merchant known to be “contra los

¹⁷ AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fls 443-477, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fls 66-66v., fls 136-142, Sousa, 2015, pp. 168-211, pp. 224-247.

¹⁸ Letter from António de Barros and Marcos Gil Frazão, Inquisitors of Goa to D. António Matos de Noronha, General Inquisitor of Portugal, Goa, 19.12.1596, Baião, 1930, II, p. 248, Lourenço, 2016, p. 156.

¹⁹ *Documenta Indica*, Letter from G. de Belmonte, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Acquaviva, Goa, 20.12.1593, vol. XVI, p. 581.

²⁰ *DI*, letter from Francisco Vieira, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 24.11.1596, vol. XVI, p. 858.

²¹ AGN, Inquisición, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fl. 136, Sousa, 2015, p. 226.

²² AGN, Inquisición, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fl. 136v., Sousa, 2015, p. 227.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ AGN, Inquisición, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fl. 136, Sousa, 2015, p. 226.

Judios de nacion”, Jorge Durões. Four Japanese (three of whom were *ôtonas* of the city of Nagasaki: Moro João, Sôyn Thome, and Tacaquy Luis) and their testimonies as reputable men of “mucha verdad”²⁷ were essential for the theory which the inquiry intended to prove. The first two witnesses were the only ones summoned; this was done in an affirmation of Portuguese hegemony in Japan during a period of crisis between Macau and Manila with crisis peaks reported in 1584, 1592, 1597, and 1598-1600, motivated by the Castilian advance into areas of Portuguese influence and integration in East Asia. Two Jesuits, Francisco Rodrigues, SJ and Ambrósio Fernandes, SJ. The particular classification applied to Manuel Rodrigues; the fact that the adjective “Judio” was used in eleven testimonies in the inquiry following the denunciation of Rui Pires in Manila to refer to men of Jewish origin who “judaizavam”; coupled with the admonition which D. Luís Cerqueira issued to Frei Bernardo de Santa Catarina²⁸, warning him that the narrative of miracles by Frei Juan de Santa Maria (which took place in Nagasaki according to the author in a *Relacion*, published in Madrid in 1599) could result in the “menosprecio de nuestra Santa Fee de los verdaderos milagros de Christo nuestro Senhor, y de los Santos y aun de la veneracion de los mismos siervos de quem se rifiren”²⁹ in the Japanese Christian community; all this provides a glimpse of how the aforementioned Bishop used the expression “Portugues y Judio de nacion” deliberately and provocatively.

The fact that Rafael da Costa, António Garcês de Miranda, and Francisco Rodrigues Pinto testified that Rui Pires (habitually) attended Mass seated by the main altar (a sign of his importance in the *Nanban* community); that he confessed and took communion; and that he and his sons “[c]orrião commumente com os demais portugueses”³⁰, shows that the inquiry conducted by D. Luís Cerqueira was intended to refute the theory prevalent in Manila that the adjective “*judeu*” (and as it was inferred, “*judaizava*”) was applicable to Rui Pires, and prove that he was, instead, a New Christian whose behavior was consistent with the norm, in the line of protection of this universe ascribed by the Inquisitor Rui Sodrinho de Mesquita to the Bishop of China, D. Leonardo de Sá³¹. The same accusation was made by the latter against Father Gomes Vaz and his fellow Jesuits, Jeronimo Javier, SJ, and Cristovão de Castro, SJ – all of whom officials of the table of the Holy Office – for having helped a “portugues

²⁷ AGN, Inquisición, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fl. 136, Sousa, 2015, p. 226.

²⁸ AGN, Inquisición, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fl. 135v., Sousa, 2015, p. 226.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ AGN, Inquisición, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fl. 142, Sousa, 2015, p. 246.

³¹ Lourenço, 2016, p. 123, *ibidem*, 2014, pp. 49-67.

converso”, who had been sentenced to 2,000 *pardaos*³², to be released from prison.

Despite the fact, that a “Judío de nação” was summoned to give evidence regarding Rui Pires, and notwithstanding the discrepancies between the two inquiries (Manila and Nagasaki, respectively), the vulnerable position of the Sephardic diaspora in the areas of Portuguese influence in East Asia was unequivocal.

In his *Summario de las cosas que pertenecen a la provincia de la India Oriental y al gobierno della*, written between 1577 and 1580, Alessandro Valignano pointed out to General Everardo Mercuriano that:

los que vienen de Portugal, primero se han de excluir totalmente todos los que participan de alguna raça de chystianos nuevos (...) porque comúnmente son estos tales no sólo tenidos entre los portugueses por infames, mas aun por judíos y chrystianos fingidos; (...) porque no solamente ellos son tenidos en tan mala opinión de los portugueses, mas la misma Religión pierde mucho de su reputación y crédito quando los recibe³³.

This measure was intended to safeguard the Society against situations like the one that occurred in 1596 and resulted in Father Gomes Vaz being released from the office of Procurator of the “casa professa” of Goa. The fact that there were individuals who were being prosecuted for “*judaismo*” in Macau between 1582 and 1599 (Lourenço, 2016, pp. 130, 155) confirms a rather severe form of segregation. Twice, Rui Pires was accused by merchants who were active in the Macau-Nagasaki-Manila-*Nueva España* axis. The first time was an accusation levied by Bartolomeu Jorge in 1589 or 1590³⁴; the second time, in 1597³⁵, was by a collective in the context of two inquiries made in Manila. 1597 was also the year in which his “parente” (i.e partner), Diego Hernandez de Victória (Diogo Fernandes de Victória), was being investigated. However, the failure of the mission of João Gomes Fayo, who had been assigned the task of “prender todos los cristianos nuevos que judaizavam”³⁶ in Macau (despite the promise of “la mytad de los bienes al denunciador”³⁷) and which resulted in a “brega”; the trajectory of the other merchants who belonged to the minorities summoned by

³² *DI*, Letter from Manuel Dias, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Cláudio Acquaviva, Malaca, 27.6.1593, vol. XVI, p. 154.

³³ *DI*, Alessandro Valignano, SJ, *Summario de las cosas que pertenecen a la provincia de la India Oriental y al governo dela*, vol. XIII, p. 260.

³⁴ AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fl. 457, Sousa, 2015, p. 185.

³⁵ AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fls. 443-467, Sousa, 2015, pp. 170-197.

³⁶ AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fl. 457, Sousa, 2015, p. 185.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

D. Luís Cerqueira, as well as the nature of their presence in that part of the world; the matrimonial strategy of António Rebêlo Bravo and of Sebastião de Araújo (of which the Nasi were a part³⁸); the choice of Macau as the destination for a daughter of Mosén Belilla – “cabessa de todos los judios blancos de Cochín de Sima” – (baptized “con mucha solemnidad”³⁹) in order to “evitar los inconvenientes de su padre y parientes” and with a view to her being “bien ayudada”⁴⁰; all of the above clearly indicate that the Sephardic merchants were able to live normally in Macau, Nagasaki, and Siam.

This is evidenced by the summoning of the “Judio” Manuel Rodrigues by D. Luís Cerqueira, after the former’s part in an embassy to Toyotomi Hideyoshi, headed by Alessandro Valignano, SJ, in March 1591. This, and only this, allows us to explain that Manuel Luís – a merchant from Oporto with ties to the *parentela* (extended family) of the Monteiro/Pinto by intermediary of Domingos Monteiro and of António Monteiro Pinto, his brother-in-law – said in Manila (in the line of Salvador de Figueiredo) that Rui Pires “venia huyendo del fuego de la yndia”⁴¹ and had gone to Macau some 10 years previously.

1597 was also the year in which Rui Pires was detained in Manila was the same year in which António Garcês de Miranda was accused by the Castilian elites of the Philippines of having acted to the detriment of the crew of the galleon *San Felipe*. This led the Bishop of Japan, D. Pedro Martins, to defend him in a written statement⁴². While the incarceration of Rui Pires and other New Christians, e.g. Diogo Fernandes de Victória, undoubtedly involved economic interests, these episodes cannot be dissociated from the rivalry that existed in the two areas of Iberian influence in Asia, and especially from the policy of repression against those who – acting alongside the Jesuits in the Province of India, the Mission of Japan, and the Province of Peru – operated in a network in the West Indian Ocean, the East India Ocean, Southeast Asia, East Asia, Portugal, Mexico, and Peru. The Jesuits and New Christians involved between 1593 and 1596 operated in a contraband network of *reales de prata*; they also exported gold, “aljofre” and other products from Macau and Nagasaki to Goa and Cochín as a sideline of the contract of “armação” of 1578, effected between Alessandro Valignano, SJ, and the mercantile elites of “Porto do nome de Deus nas partes da China”. This was an option that, in 1593, implied expanding into untapped areas of the Indian subcontinent beyond the Macau-Japan-Siam axis:

³⁸ BA, JA-49-IV-66, fl. 92.

³⁹ *DI*, Letter from Francisco Cabral, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 25.11.1591, vol. XV, p. 661.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, fl. 461, Sousa, 2015, p. 190.

⁴² BL, Add. 9868, fls 2v-3, Frison, 2013, p. 157.

E daqui tambem procede não se contentar o Padre [Valignano] com a viniaga e mercancia que té agora se fez de Amacao pera Japão e Sião, crecendo de cada vez mais o emprego; senão que de tres annos a esta parte vem da China a Cochim e a esta cidade de Goa mui grosso emprego, que inda que venha embuçado debaixo do nome e marcas de outros, por derradeiro não há segredo e tudo se vem a saber, porque os mesmos o descobrem⁴³.

While, in 1583, Domingos Álvares wrote to the (Superior) General (of the Society), Claudio Acquaviva, describing the volume of business of the procuratorate of Macau in the plan of mediation with secular stakeholders, at that time under the tutelage of André Pinto, SJ, and his connection to Goa⁴⁴, done with the knowledge of his “superiores”⁴⁵, in 1593 – the year in which the priests Gomes Vaz, Jeronimo Javier, and Cristovão de Castro had helped a New Christian sentenced to pay a fine of 2,000 *pardaos* in Goa; and the departure of Gaspar Pinto da Rocha, who belonged to the *parentela* of the Monteiro/Pinto(s), as *capitão-mor* (Head Captain) in the voyage from Japan to Nagasaki) – the Company invested not only in 50 *picos* of silk that yielded 6,000 or 7,000 *pardaos*, but it also invested in gold and “aljofre” exported to Goa:

E tanto que ho mesmo Padre visitador me escreveu este anno, que empregou seis mil taéis em ouro e dobrou o dinheiro, que sam só no ouro doze mil pardaos, afora o mais emprego que cuidou que nam hé pouco, porque até pera aqui pera a India me disse o Padre Gil da Mata que trouxera, se bem me lembra, em aljofre dous mil taês empregados, que sam quatro mil pardaos, em que se ganhou a 25 por cento, affora outro emprego d’ouro em que se fizeram mais de [dez mil pardaos, de modo que nos ganhos em proprio lhe foram este anno 20] mil pardaos. E porque elle foi o que ho trouxe, a elle me remeto, ...⁴⁶

Smuggling gold in 1596, which was still ongoing in 1617, was a practice in which Vasco Dias and Duarte António had participated in 1592; both merchants

⁴³ *DI*, Letter from Francisco Cabral, SJ, to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 10.12.1596, vol. XVIII, p. 618.

⁴⁴ “Custumão os Padres, que de Goa partem pera Japão, trazerem algum dinheiro de pessoas amigas nossas pera em a China se empregar, e os Padres que trazem isto a carreguo tem cuidado de correrem com os feitores das naos a lhe paguarem os fretes daquele dinheiro. E por serem as partes muitas, cujo he aquelle dinheiro, causa inquietação en aquella casa da China e os nossos Padres parecem mais feitores ou procuradores, pollo trabalho que nisto levão.”, letter from Domingos Álvares, SJ, to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Malaca, 28.12.1583, *DI*, vol. XIII, p. 474.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ *DI*, Letter from Francisco Cabral, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Cochim, 15.12.1593, vol. XVI, p. 520.

were incorporated in the Macau-Nagasaki-Manila-*Nueva España* axis, “aparentados” i.e., related to each other through partnership and to the Peruvian Juan de Solís⁴⁷. The death of the second merchant after his arrival in the Philippines via Seville occurred during the command of the *capitão-mor* (Captain major) of the voyage from Japan, Roque de Mello Pereira, and in the course of a conflict generated by Juan de Solís in Nagasaki – one of the merchants who had arrived in Macau in 1590 in a ship from Peru, which counted among the procurators of the “*armação*” two Jesuits, Father Felipe Leandro and Brother Gonzalo Belmonte, alongside 200,000 *pardaos* of *reales de prata* to be invested in the Portuguese settlement in the province of Guangdong⁴⁸ – displeased Toyotomi Hideyoshi, thereby undermining the Society of Jesus. Duarte António, who, like Vasco Dias, “*bendier[a] su oro libremente*”⁴⁹ through the mediation of Alessandro Valignano, SJ, in Nagasaki, wrote in a letter addressed to the Visitator, SJ:

[...]pido a V. Paternidade me haga merced como siempre me ha hecho de mandar que ese oro y plata se me este alla y si pudiere vender el oro por lo menos los diez y seis panes de la limosna y fuera deso valia de dos mil taeis por el preçio que se hallare aun que sea a ciento y veynte taeis receuiere en esto grandissima merced [...]⁵⁰.

Considering that it was during the mandates of the Bishop of Japan, D. Pedro Martins⁵¹ and that of the viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, that the three Inquisitorial trials for “*judaismo*” in Macau in the 1590s took place, it is worth pointing out that António Garcês seemed to have avoided the New Christian stigma, which in itself reveals his power – which had been consolidated after the deaths of his brother Francisco Garcês de Miranda, of António Rebêlo Bravo, and that of Domingos Monteiro – but also of this self-referential group in Macau. He is the only one who mentions that Rui Pires was “*asmatico*”, an indication of their proximity⁵². Manuel Rodrigues, Francisco Rodrigues Pinto, as well as António Garcês de Miranda belonged to a network of “*amigos*” or “*parentes*” (i.e. partners) of the Jesuits and the mercantile elites of Macau and Nagasaki. In the case of Garcês de Miranda, whose presence in “*China*” dates to

⁴⁷ ARSI, Jap-Sin 31, fls 5-5v.

⁴⁸ *DI*, Letter from Francisco Cabral, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Cochim, 15.12.1593, vol. XVI, p. 520.

⁴⁹ ARSI, Jap-Sin 31, fl. 6v.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, fl. 43.

⁵¹ *DI*, Letter from General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva to Bishop of Japan D. Pedro Martins, vol. XV, p. 816.

⁵² AGN, Inquisición, vol. 263, exp. 1U, fl. 142, Sousa, 2015, p. 246.

1572 (or, most likely, earlier), he was still there in 1621⁵³. The presence in 1592 of the first merchant in Western Asia, a combatant in the war in Korea, went back twenty years⁵⁴. By 1601, the year in which he was summoned by D. Luis Cerqueira to testify as a witness, he had been in Nagasaki for about 28 years⁵⁵. This is a period that confirms the right conditions for him to stay in Macau and in the *Nanban* community, his economic power, even after the commission of João Gomes Fayó and of the mandate of the *capitão-mor* of the voyage to Japan, Roque de Mello Pereira, who, according to an enslaved person from Bengala, wanted to detain Rui Pires for the same reason. Pires was, as inferred by the testimony of Rafael da Costa, a “parcero em trato” of the Society of Jesus, as was Diogo Fernandes de Victória, the “regidor” of Manila, “parente” of João de Oliveira, who counted António Rebelo Bravo and António Garcês de Miranda among his procurators⁵⁶. Rafael da Costa alleged that Rui Pires and his sons “tratavão” with the Jesuit priest António Lopes. This was why Lopes asked Tacaquy António to allow him to sail to Hirado, where Rui Pires had a Japanese mercantile network associated with his *parentela* that gave him access to Manila. According to Pero de Solis, “muchos dezian que conoçian a parentes suyos en langasac [Nagasaki]”⁵⁷; he also alleged that Diego Jorge and Vilela Vaz, both “judios”, had met “a sus parientes que eran tambien judios”⁵⁸, in a reference to a *parentela* of exclusively Sephardic origin, comprised of “christianos fingidos” which, according to Jorge Durões, effectively segregated so-called Old Christians. The fact that Rui Pires belonged to a network of this nature brings us to the inquiry into the actions of Duarte Gomes Solis in the State of India, an order given by Phillip II in 1591 to the viceroy Matias de Albuquerque, for excluding other merchants from “sua rede de negócios, constituída apenas por cristãos-novos” (Coelho, 1994, p. 224), similarly to Francisco Lopes d’Elvas and Simão Garcia. In the same fashion, the year 1587, which was when Rui Pires arrived in Macau, coincided also with his stay in Goa. The fact that Duarte Gomes Solis was welcomed by the governor Manuel de Sousa Coutinho – by whom he was “muito aceito” and whom he “ajudava nos negócios assim particulares como gerais” (Coelho, 1994, p. 171), and who was the same person who supported António Rebelo Bravo and Domingos Monteiro, siding with the Society of Jesus in Macau in 1589 in the fight for power against Domingos or

⁵³ BA, JA-49-V-4, fl.11, Penalva-Lourenço, 2009, p. 326.

⁵⁴ ARSI, Jap-Sin 31, fl. 59v.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶ AGI, Filipinas 34, N. 65, Letter from João de Oliveira to Diogo Fernandes de Victoria, Canton (Guangzhou), 22.11.1584, fl. 652v.

⁵⁷ AGN, Inquisición, vol. 237, exp. 1U, fl. 458, Sousa, 2015, p. 187.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*.

Diogo Segurado – plus the fact of having raised impediments for the “projecto de visitaçãõ inquisitorial à China” (Lourenço, 2016, p. 149) of the Inquisitor Rui Sodrinho de Mesquita, all this suggests that these three merchants as well as the Jesuits belonged to the same network. It is interesting that Duarte Gomes Solis twice mentions in this *Discursos sobre lo Comercio de las dos Indias* that he has letters from the “obispo del Iapon, y China” (Solis, 1943, p. 107). Letters mentioning the price of silk in the Philippines (Solis, 1943, p. 106). The “parentesco” between Francisco Lopes d’Elvas and Domingos Monteiro in 1591⁵⁹ – the year in which Duarte Gomes Solis was imprisoned and as such occurring during the mandate of viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque (Coelho, 1994, pp. 171, 194) – corroborates this hypothesis. Duarte Gomes Solis held the position of “feitor do contrato da pimenta e de correspondente dos grandes mercadores de Lisboa, nacionais e estrangeiros: João Batista Lita, Revelasco, Fugger e Welser” (Coelho, 1994, pp. 171, 194).

In the late 1580s and early 1590s, the marriage market of Macau was ennobled by the daughters of João Baptista Nasi (Catarina Nasi and Antónia Nasi) and of Mosen Belilla respectively, and the city attracted New Christian and Jewish capitals. It is worth noting that Juan de Solis (whose connection to Pero de Solis and Duarte Gomes Solis is a topic of research to be pursued) had partnered with a “grego” and an “arabio”⁶⁰ in 1592, and also that the Society of Jesus had been careful to avoid giving rise to any ill feelings on the part of the Belilla clan in Mattancherry.

There is a Jesuit connection to the Sephardic mercantile networks which intersects with the West Indian Ocean, the East Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia, and East Asia; it is not explained by the existence of New Christians in their midst (particularly in the extensive and complex Province of India), such as Luís Almeida, SJ, Henrique Henriques, SJ; Gomes Vaz, SJ; Duarte de Sande, SJ; Afonso Vaz, SJ; Afonso de Castro, SJ; Luís de Almeida, SJ; Pero Gomez, SJ; Garcia Garcez, SJ; António Vaz, SJ; and Hernando Núñez, SJ, which, although important for the cohesiveness and efficacy of the network resulting from the association of the Society of Jesus to merchants belonging to this self-referential group.

After 1578, the year in which the contract of “armação” between the Jesuit scholarly elite and the mercantile elites of Macau with access to power was celebrated, the financial paradigm of the Society of Jesus changed after the Visitor Alessandro Valignano appointed André Pinto, SJ, and João de Castro, SJ, as procurators of the Mission of Japan in Macau and Nagasaki. The experience of André Pinto, SJ, in the mercantile world, especially in the markets

⁵⁹ AHSCMP, Série H, banco 6, Livro 17, fl. 281.

⁶⁰ ARSI, Jap-Sin 31, fl. 25.

of Canton after 1564, was decisive (Loureiro, 1996, pp. 117-129). He was a Jesuit who had been raised in “India” and belonged to the same self-referential group from Oporto and the Douro region that António Rebelo Bravo, Domingos Monteiro, Diogo Fernandes de Victória, and, probably, João de Oliveira and António Garcês de Miranda belonged to, in the same way that Father Gomes Vaz belonged to the self-referential group of New Christians. This is an identity (or, more accurately, one of the “identities”, as a general rule in the Portuguese diaspora in Asia⁶¹) which weakened it at the time of the discussion over his exoneration in the context of the investigation about the *reales de prata* invested between 1593 and 1596⁶². Investment made in goods exported from Macau and Nagasaki to Goa with the connivance of Father Miguel Soares, procurator of Japan in “China”, were later forwarded “secretamente” by “letra” from India to the “Reino” to “seus constituintes, que erão os senhores deste dinheiro”⁶³ by Father Filipe Leandro, one of the two Jesuit procurators in Peru. A type of operation similar to the one that Duarte Gomes Solis would come to propose in 1622 taking into account Mexico⁶⁴. It was in this context that (Superior) General Claudio Acquaviva, with the acquiescence of Alessandro Valignano, yet against the will of the Provincial Francisco Cabral, ordered that Father Gomes Vaz be released from the office of procurator of the “casa professa” of Goa. The procurator, through his New Christian identity, was the link between the Society of Jesus on the one hand, and the transoceanic and trans-Asian Sephardic mercantile network on the other. Through his success in the “trato en

⁶¹ The identity of the merchants we have been studying was, as a general rule, plural. Due to naturalness, nationality, religion, culture of origin, acculturation, and because merchants were linked to more than one Asian City. It was common for merchants to have long stays in Macao, for example, but have the status of “casado” or family in another city.

⁶² *DI*, Letter from Francisco Cabral, SJ to João Álvares, SJ, Goa, 10.12.1596, vol. XVIII, pp. 620-624.

⁶³ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁴ “Y será contrato [contract proposed by the ambassador of Persia on silk produced in that country] agradable a Dios en satisfacion de sus seruicios, e de otros contratos en que se les ocasionò perderse las naues sin contrastes de la mar, y com vn million de oro, que por via de Mexico en dos años fuesse a las Filipinas, empleandose en cobre, y loiias, y seda en la China, y dandose a los hōbres de negocios para que iuesse esto administrado por sus ordenes, se les auia de obligar a los hombres ricos de la ciudad de Lisboa, que fuessen fiadores de sus correspondiētes, que estan en la ciudad de Goa, y estos elegendo otros para la ciudad de Macao, y Malaca, com que hagan libros de caja de todo lo que entrare en su poder, siruiendose su Magestad de ser mercader, com mandarles entregar en dos años el dicho millō de oro de reales, para que dellos hagã empleos susodichos en la China, e en Malaca de calain, y especerias de macia, clauo, y nos, y otros infinitos géneros que ay en la China, vnos que sirven para la India, y los de Malaca que siruen para la India, y para Vrmus;” Solis, 1943, p. 107.

la India”, despite “tenido para con los forasteros en buena opinión, aunque es hombre de la nación”⁶⁵ for being “cristiano nuevo muy conocido de todos, porque es de padre y madre sin tener ninguna mestura de cristianos viejos”⁶⁶, the procurator had to be neutralized vis-à-vis the complaints of merchants from outside the network on the one hand, and the repression at the hands of the viceroy Matias de Albuquerque on the other, especially because the procurator was the very person who, according to the viceroy, gave “dinero a responder aun por más del justo precio”⁶⁷. This act was not unrelated to an accusation hanging over Alessandro Valignano, SJ, made by one of the merchants from Peru (one of four procurators responsible for the “*armação*” of the ship), claiming that the dividends from the sale of the goods in which the *reales de prata* had been invested had only benefitted the Society of Jesus, this being the reason why “se embarcava pera Portugal a fazer queixume ao conselho supremo de Madrid deste dinheiro e pedir-lhe mandem tornar seus ganhos”⁶⁸. The case was even more serious because it involved another financial operation which was, as a general rule, effected by the Sephardic community in whose network, according to the viceroy, the procurator of the “*casa professa*” de Goa was involved:

E como o Viso-Rey tinha visto as grandes murmurações, queixumes e poeyra que nestes dous ou tres annos ouve nesta cidade de tão grossos empregos, como o P.e Valignano tinha mandado pelo P.e Gil da Mata, e troixe consigo, quando agora fará dous annos veyo da China, a muita copia de fazendas que este anno lhe vierão, as quais não bastou virem embuçadas debaixo dos nomes de outros pera se deixar de saber, descobrindo-as os mesmos que as trazião, como fizerão os outros annos. E por o mesmo P.e Alexandre e o P.e Manoel Diaz, seu companheiro, entenderem no meneo dellas e em darem huma soma de milhares de pardaos a ganhos aos xarafos, que são cambiadores, o qual dinheiro dentro desta casa professa se recebia e se pagava [...]⁶⁹.

Reales de prata were among the most profitable products in the Asian financial market, surpassing the gold “*venezianos*” which was in circulation in

⁶⁵ *DI*, Letter from Alessandro Valignano, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 6.12.1595, vol. XVII, p. 428.

⁶⁶ *DI*, Letter from Alessandro Valignano, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 14.12.1583, vol. XIII, p. 247.

⁶⁷ *DI*, Letter from Alessandro Valignano, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 1.12.1596, vol. XVIII, pp. 591-592.

⁶⁸ *DI*, Letter from Jeronimo Javier, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 10.11.1595, vol. XVI, p. 791.

⁶⁹ *DI*, Letter from Francisco Cabral, SJ to João Álvares, SJ, Goa, 10.12.1596, vol. XVIII, p. 620.

Asia after Ormuz, or “xerafins de plata baxa, o santomés”: “[...] para la China no vale la moneda de la India, sino estos reales y assí comprarlos, es comprar plata más que aver dinero”⁷⁰. Put in circulation when the ships arrived from Portugal in September⁷¹, they were bought and then sold after the April monsoons⁷². In 1593, numerous New Christian merchants were part of the network of “amigos” or “parentes” of the Jesuits: “Perché di ordinario si radunano et vengono tutti principale di essi di questa città, che sono molti, alla casa professa trattare li suoi negotii, praecipue con il P. Gomez Vaz...”⁷³. The activity of this Jesuit (Gomez Vaz), who was all too involved in the “trato”, is described in relation to the investment he made of a loan of 3,000 *pardaos* he had received from Brother Gonzalo Belmonte in 1592. The loan was intended to cover the payment of a bill of exchange by the Mission of Japan that was overdrawn in a year when, according to the “Judio” Manuel Rodrigues, “faltarão tres viagens”⁷⁴, a *nau* (ship), as well as a junk. Father Laerzio gives a general account of this a year later:

[L]i domandò li desse imprestito tre millia pardai. Il Fratello ce lo diede et il Padre li portò a un mercante, christiano novo suo amico et celi diede a guadagno, con li fare il mercante una scrittura, nella quale diceva che li daria di guadagno a ondici per cento, et cossi fu fatto.⁷⁵

In 1594, Father Jeronimo Javier explained this type of financial operation – which hitherto was unknown to some Jesuits – to (Superior) General Claudio Acquaviva with a view to finding out if it was lawful for the Society of Jesus to carry out this kind of activity⁷⁶. He thus addressed the fact that the financial

⁷⁰ *DI*, Letter from Jeronimo Javier SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 10.11.1597, vol. XVI, pp. 790-791.

⁷¹ *DI*, Letter from Francisco Cabral, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Cochim, 15.12.1593, vol. XVI, p. 520.

⁷² *DI*, Letter from Jeronimo Javier, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 10.11.1594, vol. XVI, pp. 790-791.

⁷³ *DI*, Letter from A. Laerzio, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 28.11.1593, vol. XVI, p. 454.

⁷⁴ ARSI, Jap-Sin 31, fl. 61.

⁷⁵ *DI*, Letter from A. Laerzio, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 28.11.1593, vol. XVI, p. 454.

⁷⁶ “V. P. vea se acertando a tener la casa o colegio mil o dos mil ducados en outra moneda, podrá trocarla en esos reales o comprarlos com ella y, guardaándalos hasta Abril, tornarlos a trocar por la moneda de la tierra o venderlos por ella, y llevar aquellos ocho o diez por ciento que subiendo en el precio se ganen. (...) Acertara a tener un procurador doz mil ducados agenos como en deposito (non en rigor de deposito que no se pueda tocar), y entretanto se ofrece este acierto destes reales: si será licito comprarlos y tornarlos a vender y

paradigm of the Society had been altered, and which, he envisaged, could become a problem, which, indeed, it did.

Between 1593 and 1596, the Jesuits triggered a crisis in the partnership with the mercantile elites of Macau when they disrespected the contract of “*armação*” of 1578; the contracts of 1584 and 1589, incidentally, were similarly disrespected. The increasing investment made under the orientation of Alessandro Valignano, as well as the extension of the Society of Jesus’ areas of operation in the financial plane, which was contested by merchants from outside their network, was repeatedly questioned by the Provincial Francisco Cabral, accused by the viceroy Mathias Aires of (allowing) “*los padres hazían trato en la India*”:

[A]lem dos 60 mil pardaos de reales que pagou aqui ao P.e Leandro, por outros tantos que lhe mandou dar do dinheiro dos castelhanos, me disse Baltezar Coelho, que hé hum homem honrado e rico, casado nesta cidade que há muitos anos está na China e muito nosso amigo, e o principal feitor que corre com esta fazenda de Japão e sabe bem o que tem: que afora do que veo empregado cá ficava de cabedal lá trinta mil taes, que fazem 60 mil pardaos. (...) quam pouco necessaria hé tam grossa mercancia, nam somente nas partes da China mas ainda nestas da India [...] ⁷⁷

Between the late 1580s (the period when António Rebelo Bravo’s daughters were born in Macau) and 1596, the Jesuits had connections to the *parentelas* of the Monteiro-Pinto, the Rebelo-Araújo-Nasi, Garcês, Viegas, and the Coelho. The first four, “*aparentadas*” to each other, belonged, in the case of the Monteiro-Pinto, Rebelo and Garcês, to the group of merchants from Oporto and the Douro region, and whose presence in the respective lineage in the Indian subcontinent dated back to 1548 and 1510 in the case of the first and second, and to 1504 in the case of the third. The Garcês had connections to Malacca, India, Oporto, Medina, Armenia, Amsterdam, Peru, Mexico, and Brazil. Many of the merchants who operated from Macau and Nagasaki, such as Domingos

ganar ay dozientos ducados? Tiremos escândalo y negociación própria, y que nada desto se haga por nuestra mano sino de amigo fiel, etc. Solamente dudemos de la negociación. Más digo, acertaré a tener dos mil ducados o quatro de los quales agora non tengo necessidade hasta daqui a un año. En esto tiempo doilos a un mercader amigo que los busca e digole: “Señor, doi esto, darméis lo que quisiéredes.” Y el mercader gana para sí veinte o treinta por ciento, y al cabo de año torname mi dinero com cinco o seis por ciento más. Para los seculares ay sus reglas de justificación, no trato desto si nos será lícito a nosotros tomar alguna cosa a este título.”, DI, Letter from Jeronimo Javier, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 10.11.1594, vol. XVI, pp. 790-791.

⁷⁷ DI, Letter from Francisco Cabral, SJ to General of the Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 17.12.1596, vol. XVIII, p. 693.

Monteiro, António Rebelo Bravo, Gaspar Viegas, and Baltazar Coelho, maintained ties with Goa, Cochin, and other Asian powers, as was common in the Portuguese diaspora in Asia.

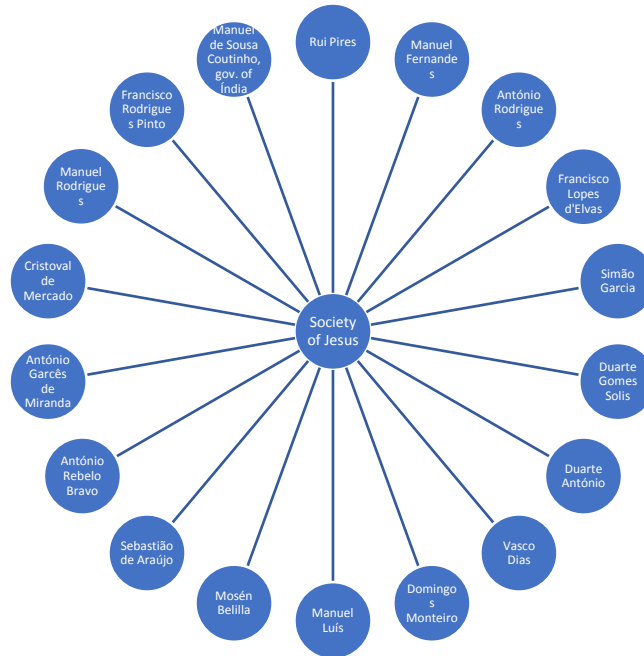


Figure 1. “Amigos” and “parentes” of the Society of Jesus between 1587 and 1605.

The association of the Sephardic merchants with the Society of Jesus through their economic power, and their importance as links to both Ormuz and to the Ottoman Empire (as well as to international wholesale trade), were essential to strengthen the networks of sustainability and survival of Macau and of the Jesuit mission in Asia. This is why the embassy of twelve “portuguezes” headed by Alessandro Valignano, SJ, included, apart from Álvaro Monteiro – a relative of Domingos Monteiro who, in 1592, was the scribe on the ship of Gaspar Pinto da Rocha, the *capitão-mor* in the trip to Japan, cousin of the first⁷⁸ – Giovanni Baptista Bonaçina (“[o milanese que] viera da India com o padre Visitador [...] acompanhando a dita embaxada”⁷⁹) as well as Gaspar Munis Barreto, Manuel Rodrigues, and António Garcês de Miranda. These were merchants who were part of a network that included “agentes” of the Society of Jesus that Alessandro Valignano, SJ, knew how to expedite, as evidenced by the words of António Garcês de Miranda in the inquiry of 1602, and whose underlying theory implied his disavowal:

⁷⁸ AHSCMP, Série H, banco 6, Livro 17, fl. 281v.

⁷⁹ ARSI, Jap-Sin 31, fl. 68.

“[...] pedião [os jesuítas] seus gasalhados e os comprauão aos capitaens das naos e ainda metião terceiros, e que elle (...) o fora hum vez entre o padre Visitador Alexandre Valignano, e o capitan Enrique da Costa [...]”⁸⁰.

The connection between the “Judio” Manuel Rodrigues, “casado e morador” in Nagasaki since the late 1570s or early 1580s and one of the men of trust of the Jesuits, who kept in his house “mujtas cousas, pera se fazer presentes e dadiuas”⁸¹ on the one hand, and António Garcês de Miranda on the other, came about through Ignacio Moreira, the merchant whose *cursus honorum* included the position of “eleito” in the oath of loyalty to Phillip II of Spain on 18 December 1582⁸² in Macau and who, in 1590, was the guarantor of the Peruvian Juan de Solis⁸³.

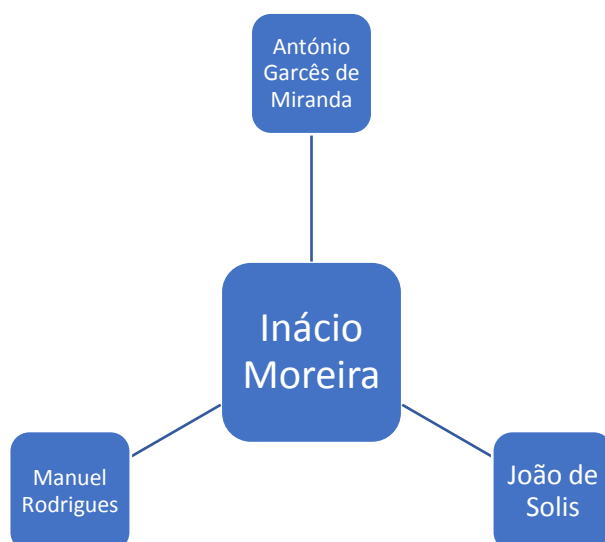


Figure 2. Link between António Garcês de Miranda, Manuel Rodrigues and João de Solis through Inácio Moreira.

⁸⁰ ARSI, Jap-Sin 21-II, fls 80v-81v.

⁸¹ ARSI, Jap-Sin 31, fl. 60v.

⁸² AGI, Patronato 24.R.60, fl. 2.

⁸³ ARSI, Jap-Sin 31, fl. 44.



Figure 3. Five merchants who formed part of the embassy to Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1591, led by Alessandro Valignano, SJ.

In 1598 in Manila, Rui Pires declared that he had “por via del padre Antonio Lopez de la Compañia de Jesus en el xapon le bienen çiento y cinquenta pesos que los dio a Cristoval de Mercado marido de doña Francisca de Guzman”⁸⁴. The presence of the “Alferes” Mercado who was part of the network of “amigos” of the Jesuits, who testified with António Garcês de Miranda in their favour in an inquiry carried out in Nagasaki regarding Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s seizure of the galleon *San Felipe* – referred to 1597. Rui Pires belonged to the same network and was in the “sombra” (protection) of the Society of Jesus in Nagasaki. Another constant in 1609 and between 1616 and 1621, such as the involvement of Francisco da Gama (a merchant who was active in the Macau-Goa-Manila-*Nueva España* axis⁸⁵) Luís Carcês de Figueiredo, the “cristão-novo” (New Christian) merchant from Santarém whose power enabled him to correspond “directamente com a Mesa do Santo Ofício” (Lourenço, 2016, p. 186), evaded reporting to the Inquisition of Goa that had been ordered by the bishop of China, D. Frei João Pinto da Piedade in 1613, and achieved the favourable intervention of the Inquisitor, Gonçalo da Silva, bishop of Malacca, who maintained that a second inquiry was unjustified (Lourenço, 2016, p. 186), instigated for the first time in 1607 – and of Catarina Nasi and João Baptista

⁸⁴ AGN, Inquisición, exp. 1U, vol. 237, 470, Sousa, 2015, 202.

⁸⁵ LUL, BPL 876.

Inace (a distortion of “Nasci”/Nasi), that the following excerpt from the former to the Visitator Francisco Vieira in Manila shows that the relationship between Luís Garcês de Figueiredo and the Society of Jesus was of a contractual nature and bore similar characteristics to that of António Garcês de Miranda:

Bem não quizera tornar de novo a magoar a Vossa Reverencia na materia da prata do ouro; mas como se moverão couzas de novo, que apontarei a Vossa reverencia brevemente, me he forçado dar conta a Vossa Reverencia do que pertendo; e pr.^o que de dar minha tenção, saberà Vossa Reverencia como João Baptista Inace [Nasi] andava em demanda com a Companhia sobre o mesmo ouro. No cabo do tempo, que a demanda durou, disse João Baptista, que o Padre Provincial se concertara com elle, e lhe dera certa prata, e assim não foi a cauza por diante⁸⁶

The cases of Luís Garcês de Figueiredo, João Baptista Nasi and Catarina Nasi reported to 1609 are related to the change in the Jesuit financial paradigm in the late 1580's. It's what explains the priests Jeronimo Rodrigues, Manuel Barreto, Celso Confalonero, Diogo Pinto and Vicente Ribeiro:

(...) procurador de fazendas alheas que misturam o dinheiro de suas partes com o seu, não he obrigado a pagar a seus constituintes de certo e limitado dinheiro senão daquele que melhor lhe vier a este, e a suas partes, como na verdade no principio começamos a pagar vinte e sete mil, duzentos e corenta e seis taeis do dinheiro dos castelhanos que em Japão estavam o qual tomamos a onzena pera isso, e não do dinheiro que se fez das fazendas (...) ⁸⁷.

In the “[m]emoria do dinheiro e ouro que leuo de partes para heu beneficiar e o que leuo para entregar que tira em folha aparte” of one of the ledgers compiled by Francisco da Gama (annotated between 1618 and 1621)⁸⁸ – who was part of the same network as Ferdinand Cron and Saraswat Govinda (Subrahmanyam, 1994, pp.183-184) – the biggest sums correspond to the Society of Jesus. A list with the heading “dinheiro e ouro que levo para entregar”⁸⁹ mentions the “fisico João Pereira”⁹⁰, probably a New Christian, as well as 2,200 pesos and “32 taes douro”⁹¹ of the Jesuits. Continuity was given to the financial pattern that had been inaugurated in the decade of the 1580s. This is confirmed

⁸⁶ BA, JA-49-V-5, fl. 214v.

⁸⁷ ARSI, Jap-Sin 16-II, fl. 293v.

⁸⁸ LUL, BPL 876, fls 14-14v.

⁸⁹ LUL, BPL, 876, fl. 15.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*.

by the “tytolo de Francisco Fernandes mestre do pataxo do filho de Luis de Lemos”⁹², which has the following annotations:

enbarcarão os padres da Companhia des sacos de Crauo com sete picos e sesenta cates a entregar ao padre procurador da Companhia de Goa⁹³

enbarcarão os ditos padres des sacos com os mesmos picos pouco mais ou menos a entregar a Mateus Vseta⁹⁴

enbarcou o padre procurador da Companhia hum caixão do suqure⁹⁵

enbarcarão os ditos huã petaca de miudesas e leua alguã tartaruga⁹⁶

Vicente Henriques da Paz and Bertholomeu Soares, two merchants affiliated with the Malacca-Macau-Nagasaki axis in 1617, were also part of the Jesuit “parentela”. The surname of da Paz, described by the Procurator of Goa, Father Bartolomeu de Sequeira as “o nosso amigo” (born in Porto), points to the Duarte da Paz and to his son Tomé Pegado da Paz, both with connections to the Ottoman Empire (Tavim, 2003, pp. 212-215).



Figure 4. Network of investors from Goa, Malacca and Macao who resorted to the Society of Jesus between 1609 and 1621.

⁹² *Ibidem.*

⁹³ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁴ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁵ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁶ *Ibidem.*

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4. Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Rui Loureiro for his bibliography recommendation and for generously translating the introduction to this work. I am grateful to Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço for the documents Jap-Sin 16-II, fls 293-294 and by reference bibliography to which we would hardly have access. I also thank Nunziatella Alessandrini for taking the time to complete this work.

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Il presente volume è stato pubblicato online il 31 dicembre 2021 in:

This volume has been published online on 31st December 2021 at:

<http://rime.cnr.it>

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