

Merchants, Missionaries and Marauders: Trade and Traffic between Kyūshū (Japan) and Luzon (Philippines) in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries

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The Japanese Trade in the Philippines

Already before the arrival of the mission of Miguel López de Legazpi (1502–1572) in Cebú (1565) and the founding of the port-city of Manila, the Japanese were sailing to the Philippines in search of gold and forest products. Every year, following the seasonal cycle of the monsoons, they visited the indigenous settlements at the mouth of the northwestern streams of the island of Luzon: the Agno, Abra and Cagayan rivers. Even after the founding of Manila the Japanese continued to trade in other Philippine ports in order to buy deer hides, wax and honey directly from the natives. As a matter of fact, among the destinations of the “red-seal ships” (*shuinsen* 朱印船), besides Luzon (Manila), we also find the Visayas (密西那), with at least two licences issued at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and we know about the arrival of Japanese ships – as well as Chinese junks coming from Japan – to the coasts of Ilocos, Cagayan and Pangasinan.¹ The port of Ago, in the latter province, was known to the Spaniards as the “Port of Japan” (*Puerto del Japón*) from the early-1580s.²

The Japanese merchants sailed to the Philippine archipelago in March and October according to the summer and winter monsoons.³ They followed the sea route across the Straits of Taiwan and sailed near the Ryūkyū 琉球 Islands, passing Sakishima 先嶋 and Okinawa 沖縄. On their way back, the ordinary route was the same as the outbound, that led them to the Ryūkyūs until the Satsunan 薩南 Archipelago and then on to the provinces of Satsuma 薩摩 and Ōsumi 大隅. Their trade consisted mainly in Chinese goods brought by mer-

1 Murakami Naojirō 1966, 292f, 307f, 312, 325; Iwao Seiichi 1958, 107, 144; Chaunu 1960, 150-155; Gil 2011.

2 AGI, *Patronato*, 23, r. 9, f. 12v.

3 Morga 1997, 313.

chants of the provinces of Fujian 福建 and Guangdong 廣東 – silk, cotton, porcelains, ceramics, printed books, medicines, economic and aromatic plants, etc. –, Southeast Asian pepper and several products of the Philippine forests, like gold, deer hides, wax, sappan-wood, and civet cats. Deer hides were needed by the Japanese to craft armours and coats; wax was used as a resin to caulk ships; sappan-wood to dye cloth in red and turquoise colours. The glands of the civet-cats, on the other hand, released musk, a scented secretion used as a perfume. As for gold, it was necessary to finance the military campaigns of the daimyōs and to safeguard their wealth in case of a sudden loss of land.⁴ At the close of the sixteenth century it also became largely employed in arts, to decorate the expensive golden panels (*byōbu* 屏風) of the Kanō school, for example, or in architecture, to embellish houses, temples, sanctuaries and castles. Furthermore, the Japanese sailed to Luzon to buy the *Ruson tsubo* るそん[呂宋]壺, that is an old Chinese earthenware dating back to the late-Tang and Song dynasties that could be found under the muddy blanket of the Philippine coasts. The price of these pots could be exceptionally high, and aroused the wonder and astonishment of many foreign merchants who traded in Japan.⁵ Their roughness perfectly suited with the aesthetic ideals of the tea ceremony (*cha no yu* 茶の湯) and more in general with the Zen taste.⁶

In exchange for this, the Japanese carried to Luzon silver, that was sold principally to the Chinese, and a number of products destined to the Royal Hacienda of Manila: iron, lead, sulphur and (gun-)powder (pólvora), in addition to foodstuffs like wheat flour, rice and salted meat. Iron lacked in many areas of Island Southeast Asia and was considered a strategic product.⁷ All the goods that the Japanese carried to Manila have been carefully enlisted by Antonio Morga (1559–1636) in his renewed *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. These were principally manufactured silk, golden painted screens, lacquer boxes, furniture, side arms, etc.⁸ The Luzon trade was very profitable for the Japanese, since they did not pay anchorage duties and took advantage of a very low tax on imported goods.⁹

4 Boxer 1951, 112.

5 Carletti 1965, 99f; Iwao Seiichi 1958, 13.

6 From the Spaniards they bought principally wine, glasses and European rarities.

7 Reid 1988, 197–114.

8 Morga 1997, 311ff.

9 A 3% tax of *almojarifazgo* was introduced only in the mid-1580s. AGI, *Filipinas*, 27, n. 50, and n. 58, ff. 402r–403v.

Provenience of Japanese Merchants in Manila

The first encounter between the Spaniards and the Japanese took place in Manila, when the city was still the Muslim settlement of Maynilad, governed by the Tagalog natives known to the Portuguese as “Luções”.¹⁰ When the master of camp (*maestre de campo*), Martín de Goyti (d. 1575), visited the port in May 1570, he found there a group of merchants, very likely from Kyūshū, and among them a Christian called Pablo (Paulo), who was wearing a Jesuit hat (*bonete teatino*).¹¹

In the following years the Japanese started to visit Manila regularly and established a community of several hundreds of residents. By the early-1590s, there were almost 1,000 Japanese living in the outskirts of the city and in time the number continued to grow.¹² Most of these residents came from Kyūshū and many of them were probably escaping from the ceaseless wars and destructions of the *Sengoku* period (戦国時代, 1477–1603). The community of merchants coming from Japan grew rapidly year after year following the exceptional wave of Chinese vessels that plied between the ports of Fujian, Guangdong and the Philippines. According to the calculations of Pierre Chaunu, the number of Chinese junks bound to Manila in the 1570s–1580s increased from the nine ships in 1577 to the forty-six in 1588.¹³ This exceptional boom of the Chinese trade attracted the Japanese to the Philippines like bees to honey because of the profits that could be obtained by trading in silks, gold and porcelains in such a relatively near place. This is especially true for those port-cities that had a long tradition of trade with China, like Sakai 堺 for example, or those who hosted an overseas Chinese community, like Hakata 博多 and Hirado 平戸.

It is no coincidence that in 1587 a ship came to the Philippines from the latter port with a group of several Japanese merchants aboard. Once in Manila, these merchants left a declaration on the state of affairs in the “kingdoms of Japan” (*reynos de Japón*) addressed to the Bishop Domingo de Salazar (1581–1594).¹⁴ The most influential among them (*los más principales*) signed the document with their names written in Japanese characters and declared their provenience from the three port-cities of Hirado, Hakata and Sakai, from the capi-

10 Scott 1994, 194.

11 AGI, *Patronato*, 24, r. 17.

12 Blair and Robertson 1903, vol. 8, 100.

13 Chaunu 1960, 148–151. Cf. Gil 2011, 575f.

14 *Información que recibió el obispo del estado que tienen las cosas del Japón*, AHN, *Diversos-Colecciones*, 26, n. 9. Cf. Nakamura 1939, 110f; Álvarez-Taladriz 1978, 7–19.

tal, Kyōto 京都, and the provinces of Bungo 豊後 and Bingo 備後.¹⁵ Here is a table with their names, as they appear in the document, including their real identities, and the ports and provinces of provenience.

Hakata (Chikuzen)

Juan de Vera [とべら]	—
León [れわ] Giminso Ixcojiro	Isojirō 磯次郎

Sakai (Kinai region)

Juan [壽安] Yananguia Gueniemo	Yanagiya Genuemon 柳屋源右衛門
Juan [しゆ安] Josogiro	Yamamoto Hosojirō しゆ安・山本細次郎

Meaco (都 Kyōto) (Kinai region)

Gabriel [我分里 or 加分里] Yoyamon	Nagano Yoemon 長野與右衛門
Paulo [はうろ] Faranda Jiem	Harada Kiemon 原田喜右衛門

Hirado (Hizen)

Andrés [あでれ] Gonçalves Ambraya Yafachiro	Aburaya Yahachirō 油屋彌八郎
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Bingo

León [理安] Tacaua Niemo	Takaura or Takawa 高浦・高和仁右衛
Joaquín [常珍] de Vera	—

Bungo

Baltazar Garnal Yoxichica	Harutasa Yoshichika はるたさ吉近
Jerónimo [せらにも] Batanambe Zemoxero	Watanabe Zenshirō 渡邊善四郎

Attached to the declaration we find a list of the provinces of Japan in which, besides the number of Christians present in each of them, important strategic information is indicated, like the presence in Iwami – where the Portuguese went to trade, we read (*aquí vienen los portugueses*) – of a rich silver mine controlled by the powerful daimyō of Aki 安芸, Mōri Terumoto 毛利輝元 (1523–1625). With all probability, Joaquín de Vera, who came from Bingo province, was one of his agents or retainers. Still in the same declaration, the group of merchants not only explained to the Spaniards the state of Christianity in Japan and the social role of the Buddhist monks, but they went further giving information

15 From the way these Japanese traders wrote their Christian names in kanji and hiragana (はうろ [Paulo], あでれ [André], せらにも [Jerónimo], 壽安 [João] and とんしゆ安 [Dom João], れわ [Leão], 理安 [Leão] 常珍 [Joaquim], etc., are all spelled according to the Portuguese pronunciation) we can deduce that they had been baptized in Japan by the Jesuit missionaries.

about commerce, navigational instruments, coins and silver, as well. Two months later, Harutasa, Nagano and Yamamoto signed a petition asking for the dispatch of Franciscan and Dominican friars to Japan, stating that the Christian community of Kinai was eager to welcome the Franciscans “like angels from Heaven” (*los recibieran como a ángeles del cielo*).¹⁶ Three years later the same Japanese merchants submitted in Manila a new petition asking for the dispatch of Spanish missionaries. This time, in addition to Harutasa Yoshichika (“Yojechi” or “Yotechichi”) the request was submitted by Watanabe Zenshirō, Harada Kiemon and his retainer, or relative, Harada Magoshichirō 原田孫七郎.¹⁷ The latter would carry the first letter of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–1598) to the governor of the Philippines, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas (1519–1593, in office 1590–1593), two years later in 1592.¹⁸

As we can see, most of these merchants came from Kyūshū, from the provinces of Hizen 肥前, Bungo and Chikuzen 筑前, and there were even some from Kyōto and Sakai, two cities that had a long tradition of overseas trade, especially with China. During the second half of the sixteenth century, the great merchant families of Kinai started to invest their money in Kyūshū, in search of the trade of the “Southern Barbarians” (*Nanbanjin* 南蛮人), and established branches on the island.¹⁹ Most of the merchants who declared their origins from Sakai, Kyōto and the province of Bingo, in the Inner Sea, were probably agents who lived in Hirado, Usuki 臼杵 or Nagasaki 長崎. The latter port, located inside the territories of the Christian daimyō Ōmura Sumitada 大村純忠 (d. 1587), was controlled by the Jesuits for nearly twenty years from 1571 to 1587 – that is the year of Hideyoshi’s pacification of Kyūshū, when it passed into the hands of the central government. During this period the agents of many merchant families of Kinai and Hakata moved to Nagasaki to trade with the Portuguese, and we may assume that someone among Juan de Vera, León Isojirō, Joaquín de Vera, Takawa, Yanagiya and Yamamoto was residing in the port. The island of Hirado, on the other hand, where Aburaya Yahachirō came from, was the base of the maritime activities of many Chinese merchants and “pirates” who plied between China, Kyūshū and Luzon.²⁰ The local daimyō,

16 AHN, *Diversos-Colecciones*, 26, n. 9, ff. 10r-12v.

17 AHN, *Diversos-Colecciones*, 26, n. 12. The Italian Jesuit Alessandro Valignano states that the two Harada were both from Kyōto. ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.*, 31, ff. 35v and 40v.

18 Bernard 1938, 122; Knauth 1972, 129f; Sola 1999, 47ff.

19 Takekoshi 1930, vol. 1, 367; Fukase Kōichirō 2007, 2.

20 Carioti 2014.

Matsuura Takanobu 松浦隆信 (1529–1599), had welcomed the visits of the first Portuguese ships around the mid-sixteenth century and his son, Shigenobu 重信 (1549–1614), as we are going to see, was the first daimyō to dispatch a diplomatic mission to Manila and to establish formal relations with the Spaniards. Usuki, at last, was with all probability the port of provenience of both Harutasa and Watanabe. It belonged to the Christian daimyō Ōtomo Yoshimune 大友義統 (1558–1610), whose father was the notorious “King of Bungo”, Don Francisco Ōtomo Sōrin 大友宗麟 (1530–1587). Yet, after the battle of Sekigahara (1600), it was assigned by Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616) to Inaba Sadamichi 稲葉貞通 (1551–1606), a minor daimyō who came from the province of Mino 美濃. Usuki became the usual destination of the ship that the Spaniards dispatched annually to Japan from 1602, following the trade agreements established between Tokugawa Ieyasu and the Philippine governors Tello and Acuña. Still, in addition to Hakata, Sakai, Nagasaki, Hirado and Usuki, there were the ports of the southern provinces of Satsuma and Ōsumi, controlled by the powerful Shimazu 島津 family (Kyōdomari 京泊, Akune 阿久根, Kushikino 串木野, Bōnotsu 坊津, etc.), and a number of smaller ports like Saeki 佐伯 (Bungo), Agata 県 (Hyūga 日向) and Nakatsu 中津 (Buzen 豊前) that were visited by the Spanish ships at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but it is not clear to which extent the local daimyōs invested in the Luzon Trade.

The Actors of the Hispano-Japanese Trade

Agents and Captains, Great Merchants and Daimyōs

Manila was visited twice a year by four or five Japanese ships (*somas* or junks)²¹ laden with silver and other goods destined for the Chinese and the Spaniards. On board of each ship, besides the officials, the captain and the pilots, there was a number of merchants – generally from ten to twenty men, according to the records of the Royal Hacienda – who went personally to the Philippines as agents of the great families of Kinai and the several daimyōs of Kyūshū. They represented the interests of their employers and worked together with other Japanese residing in the Philippines. Among the latter there were smaller merchants who had chosen to stay in Manila, and probably also in other ports of the archipelago, former-militaries, and overseas adventurers with a turbulent

21 Carletti 1965, 96.

past converted to local governors and protectors. Some of them acted as interpreters and used their language skills to facilitate the trade negotiations.²² The great merchants of Kinai and Kyūshū financed the voyages to Luzon with their gold and silver and entrusted the missions to several Japanese captains and agents, whose names appear in the customs records of the Royal Hacienda of the Philippines.²³

Of the captains who sailed to Manila at the end of the sixteenth century we know the names of Juan Faraz, Gruemo (Groimo, Goromeo [五郎衛門?]), Pedro Gómez, Paulo Yoyomon, Miguel Langasaque [長崎], and many others. Captain Juan Faraz sailed to Luzon in 1594, 1596 and in 1598. In April 1595, he was in Manila serving as interpreter for the Spaniards on the questioning of the utility of dispatching the Franciscan missionaries to Japan.²⁴ Paulo Yoyomon (or Yemo)²⁵ visited the Philippine capital in 1596, selling 347 *taels* [liang 兩] of copper to the Spaniards, whereas Pedro Gómez was there in 1598 with a quantity of hemp and iron. According to the registers of the Royal Hacienda, in 1599 the latter dispatched “in his name” (*en su nombre*) one Sebastián Zacarías, who also came as agent of another captain, called Luis “Mundi”. With all probability Pedro Gómez is the same “Don Gómez” who had visited Manila a few years before, in 1594. Captain Gruemo, on the other hand, was probably the emissary of Tokugawa Ieyasu who arrived in Manila in 1599 with a letter for Governor Tello.²⁶ There was also a certain Pablo Ungasaguara [Ogasawara 小笠原], who declared to be a native of Bungo from the “great province of Angoche” (*gran provincia de Angoche*) – he was in Manila in 1595²⁷ – and the

22 For example captain Juan Faraz and several Japanese merchants, like Benito Silveira, Pedro Garcés, Juan González, etc. BN, ms. 13.173, ff. 112r, 120r, 135v, 140r; Pérez 1918 (vol. 9), 180; 1921 (vol. 16), 198.

23 AGI, *Contaduría*, legajos 1202-1211, quoted in Gil 1991, 68, 77f, 82f, 90-93, 96-101, 143, 147, 242, 250; Murakami Naojirō 1966, 278-281, 298f, 310-317; Hayashi Fukusai 1967, vol. 4, 578ff.

24 Pérez 1918 (vol. 16), 180.

25 Hirayama Atsuko (the translator of Gil 1991) indicates this captain as Ōta Kiuemon 奥田木右衛門, but there is no evidence that proves it, not even in the Hispanization of his name. Gil 2000, 68.

26 Fr. Jerónimo de Jesús states that he was a samurai from Sakai (*cavallero japon, natural de Sacai*). Pérez 1928 (vol. 21), 314. Cf. Ribadeneira 1945, 528. Morga (1997, 166), instead, gives his name as Chiquiro (七郎?). Cf. Iwao Seiichi 1940, 277.

27 Pérez 1918 (vol. 9), 180.

captains Pedro Ryochin and Silvestre Rodríguez, two confidants of the Jesuits who carried Alessandro Valignano's letters to Father Antonio Sedeño S.I. in 1592.²⁸ In the same year, Ryochin sailed from Nagasaki with a Chinese junk whose pilot, after the name of "Iasque" [弥助?], came from Hirado.²⁹ Another Japanese captain, *principal del pueblo de Firando*, was Domingo Suinda (or Sainda) who visited Manila in 1595.³⁰ Two years earlier he had seen in Hirado the delegation of Fr. Pedro Bautista that was leading to Nagoya to meet Hideyoshi.³¹ Furthermore, Gerónimo Juárez, from Nagasaki, traded in Manila as well as in Macao 澳門, whereas Jacobo Juta, who testified to the death of the 26 «proto-martyrs» in 1597, sailed regularly to Luzon from the same port of Nagasaki.³² A few years later, in 1600, Yamashita Shichizaemon 山下七左衛門 (*Jamasta Citissamundo*), another Japanese captain from Kyūshū, run into the Dutch fleet of Olivier van Noort (1558–1627) off the coasts of Borneo. According to a Dutch report his ship was bound to Manila with a quantity of iron and flour supplies on board.³³

As for the Japanese captains who sailed to the Philippines at the beginning of the seventeenth century we know the names of Juan de Alcega, Antonio Gómez, Juan de Bustamante, Esteban Franco, Gerónimo Firanuya [平野屋], Jerónimo Gramayon, Pedro Groemon [五郎衛門], León Kizaemon [喜左衛門], etc.³⁴ The latter visited Manila in 1602 and again in 1608–1609.³⁵ He came from Satsuma and worked for the Shimazu clan.³⁶ Antonio Gómez, on the other hand, was there in 1603 and in 1604 to sell a quantity of iron and hemp for the Spanish warehouses. He had already been to Manila in 1601 on behalf of other four Japanese merchants. Alcega and Bustamante sailed to Lu-

28 RAH, *Muñoz*, 9/2665; ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.*, 31, ff. 35r-38r; AGI, *Patronato*, 46, r. 22.

29 Colín 1663, vol. 2, 50.

30 He must be the same captain "Domingo Firando" [Hirado] who came to Manila in 1598. AGI, *Contaduría*, 1205, quoted in Gil 1991, 82.

31 Pérez 1918 (vol. 9), 206f.

32 He was in Manila in 1598. Pérez 1921 (vol. 16), 198, 200f.

33 Ijzerman 1926, vol. 1, 113. Cf. Peri 1923, 17; Iwao Seiichi 1958, 168f; Iwao Seiichi 1940, 228.

34 In 1621 a Japanese captain by the name of "Wyamon" (Uemon 右衛門) sailed to Manila carrying a licence that had been assigned to William Adams (1564–1620). The Kentish pilot, who was known in Japan as Miura Anjin 三浦按針, was formally a retainer (*batamoto* 旗本) of the Tokugawa and one of the most trustworthy agents of the *bakufu*. Yet, as it may be expected, the merchants of the ship were not welcomed by the Spaniards "because they were friends to the English and Dutch". Cocks 1883, vol. 2, 187.

35 Aduarte 1640, vol. 1, 250f; AGI, *Contaduría*, 1208, quoted in Gil 1991, 143, 147.

36 Iwao Seiichi 1958, 121.

zon in 1602 and 1605, respectively, whereas Firanuya, Gramayon and Groemon did the same in 1607, 1609 and 1614. Most of these captains sailed from the ports of Nagasaki, Hirado, Usuki, and Kyōdomari, even though they came from Sakai, Kyōto / Fushimi, or Ōsaka. Such is the case of the two Harada, Kiemon and Magoshichirō, who are indicated as merchants of “Meaco” [都] and “Ximoguo” [下京], respectively.³⁷ Hirayama Joachim 平山常陳 [Jōchin], or Dias by his Portuguese pseudonym, was a Japanese merchant of Sakai who traded in Luzon at the turn of the 1610s in deer hides and other local products. His base of operations was in Nagasaki as were his principal associates. In 1622, Hirayama was condemned to death in this city for having carried aboard his junk two Spanish friars, Pedro de Zúñiga O.S.A.³⁸ (1580–1622) and Luis Flores O.P.³⁹ (1563–1622), who were trying to enter Japan disguised as merchants in spite of the anti-Christian edict promulgated by the Tokugawa *bakufu* in 1614.⁴⁰

Going through the records of the Royal Hacienda, we notice that many Japanese merchants had an Iberian-like surname, surely taken from their godfathers in Nagasaki and in Manila. We count at least four de Vera (León, Juan, Joachim, Diego), three González [Gonçalves] (Domingo, Sebastián, Juan), and several Gómez [Gomes] (Antonio, Ambrosio, Pedro, Luis),⁴¹ Rodríguez [Rodrigues], Díaz [Dias], López [Lopes], Garcés [Garcês], Vaez [Vaz] and Hernández [Fernandes]. These surnames may have been derived from a number of Portuguese great merchants trading in Manila like Vasco Dias, Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro (active between 1559 and 1587, died between 1587 and 1588), Pedro Gonçalves de Carvalhais, etc.⁴² Others correspond to the names of some Spanish officials in the Philippines who traded in Kyūshū and in Macao, and used their silver capital to finance the commercial missions of the *Sangleyes* to China

37 These were generic terms that could refer to the entire region of the capital. ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.*, 31, ff. 35v, 40v; Colín 1663, vol. 2, 98.

38 I. e. Ordo Sancti Augustini.

39 I. e. Ordo Predicatorum, that is the Dominicans.

40 *Relación verdadera y breve del excelente martirio que onze religiosos de la sagrada Orden de Predicadores padecieron por Christo Nuestro Señor en el imperio del Japon los años de 1618 y 1622*, quoted in Hartmann 1965, 80. Captain Hirayama appears in the diary of Cocks as “Yoshen Dies” or “Yochian”, that is Jōchin 常陳. Cocks 1883, vol. 2, 221, 223. Cf. vol. 1, vi, vol. 2, 334 (Cocks’ letter of September 7, 1622). The Spanish friars were Pedro de Zúñiga and Luis Flores. See Boxer 1951, 345f; Hartmann 1965, 80ff.

41 One Luis Gómez is indicated in 1606 as the “governor of the Japanese” (*gobernador de los xapones*) residing in Dilao. AGI, *Contaduría*, 1207, quoted in Gil 1991, 443.

42 Sousa 2010; Sousa 2013.

and Japan. Accordingly, as already pointed out by Juan Gil, captain Juan de Alcega took his name after the Spanish general who would fight against the Dutch in 1610 at Playa Honda, whereas Don Juan de Bustamante was homonym to the accountant (*contador*) of the Royal Hacienda who registered the payments of the *almojarifazgo* tax.⁴³ Alonso Fajardo y Ocsaba, on the other hand, who was one of the chiefs of the Japanese community in Dilao and an agent of the powerful daimyō of Sendai, Date Masamune 伊達政宗 (*rey de Ojii* [奥州]; 1567–1636), bears the name of the Philippine governor, Alonso Fajardo de Tenca (d. 1624).⁴⁴

Still, a lot are registered in Spanish records only by either their Christian name – for example Domingo, Jorge, Tomé, Miguel – or their Japanese one. Such is the case of captains Esquemon, Jiduamo, Faimon (Fayamon), Viemon, Gayamon, and Antonio Matayamon, or of the merchants Mataimon, Chachaymon, Liamon, Quiamon, etc. As we can see, all these names end in *-mon* 門 or *-emon* 衛門, like most of the contemporary Japanese forenames did. Nevertheless, there are more bizarre “Hispanizations” such as Quechanu, Sontohan, Quesayrinon, Sumayaguren, León Daopan (a Chinese?), and the captains Osqueday and Juan Herhicayno. We should, however, consider that the names of these merchants were transcribed in Manila with a large error margin and it is quite difficult to determine the real identities of these persons. The Sakai born Nishi Sōshin 西宗真 (or Nishi Ruisu 西類子), for example, was known in Manila as Luis Melo, whereas the English called him Luis Billang, with several variants (Luis Vilango, Belange Lewes, Ruis, etc.).⁴⁵

Behind these several agents and captains, whose list is a very long one, there were the great merchant families of Kinai, from Kyōto, Sakai and Ōsaka, as well as those from Hakata and Nagasaki. In 1592/1593 (文禄ノ初年), Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued the first “red-seal licences” (*shuinjō* 朱印状) to trade in Southeast Asia, Indochina and the Philippines (Luzon), which were assigned to a number of merchants from Kyōto, Sakai and Nagasaki.⁴⁶ Among the latter there were

43 Gil 1991, 101. Colín 1663, vol. 1, 123; vol. 2, 235f. The *almojarifazgo* tax was a duty levied on imported goods. See Schurz 1959, 180f.

44 Gil 1991, 443.

45 Cocks 1883, vol. 1, 148, 287f, 289; vol. 2, 36. According to Gil (1991, 101), his Iberian surname may refer to the *capitão mór* Roque Melo Pereira, who was the winner of the Japan voyage in 1591. Cf. Boxer 1988, 55f.

46 Ōkubo Toshiaki 1955, 55; Berry 1989, 134f.

Suetsugu Heizō Masanao 末次平蔵政直 (d. 1630), who would hold the office of *Nagasaki daikan* 長崎代官 from 1619 until his death, and Itoya Zuiemon 糸屋随右衛門, who must have been the father of the homonym Itoya Zuiemon (1585–1650), a native of Kyōto, who sailed regularly to Southeast Asia at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁴⁷ In addition to captain Zuiemon, another member of the family, Itoya Kurōemon 糸屋九郎右衛門, plied the Nagasaki-Manila route in the 1610s.⁴⁸ In 1617, a year after Tokugawa Ieyasu's death and the freezing of the relations between Manila and Edo, one Miguel "Itoya", who provided the Spanish warehouses with iron and saltpetre, was with all probability an agent of the same family of Nagasaki, if not Zuiemon himself.⁴⁹ Suetsugu Heizō, on the other hand, invested his money in the Luzon Trade by means of his associates in Nagasaki. In 1622, captain Takagi Sakuemon 高木作右衛門, a member of the Council of the Elders (*Nagasaki toshiyori* 長崎年寄) and of the local association of raw-silk importers (*ito wappu nakama* 糸割符仲間),⁵⁰ sailed to Luzon on behalf of Heizō *dono* [殿] (*Feso dono*) and the daimyō of Shimabara 島原 Matsukura Shigemasa 松倉重政 (1574–1630) (*Boungo dono*).⁵¹

Several merchant families and great private traders of Kinai and Kyūshū built up part of their wealth at the turn of the sixteenth century thanks to the Luzon trade. The Sueyoshi 末吉, for example, obtained red-seal licences for the Philippines almost every year starting from 1604, when Tokugawa Ieyasu established the official records of the *shuinjō* (*chō* 帳).⁵² The only exception to these visits took place in 1608, because of the uprising of the Japanese residents in Dilao. In addition to the leaders of the family, Kanbei Yoshitaka 勘兵衛利方 (1526–1607) and his son Sonzaemon Yoshiyasu 孫左衛門吉康 (1569–1617), who appears in the records of the shogunate under the pseudonym of Hirano 平野, another member of the clan, Tanabeya Matazaemon 田那邊屋又左衛門, obtained two red-seal licences for Luzon in 1604 and in 1605.⁵³ His name, or possibly that of a member of his family, appears once again in 1611 in the records of the Royal Hacienda as "Tanabeya Choymo".⁵⁴ Sonzaemon's voyages to

47 Oka 2001, 38; Shapinsky 2006, 6.

48 Nakamura 1964, 28.

49 AGI, *Filipinas*, 37, n. 57.

50 It was established by the Tokugawa government in 1604.

51 Journal of the voyage of the ship Bull, quoted in Iwao Seiichi 1958, 75, 101–102.

52 "Ikoku goshuinchō" 異国御朱印帳; "Ikoku tokai goshuinchō" 異国渡海御朱印帳.

53 Murakami Naojirō 1966, 278. Cf. Peri 1923, 97f.

54 AGI, *Contaduría*, 1209, quoted in Gil 1991, 250.

Manila continued until 1612, year of the first anti-Christian measures promulgated by the Tokugawa *bakufu* against the Spanish friars in Edo and in Sunpu.

Other examples of wealthy merchants trading in the Philippines are Shimai Sōshitsu 島井宗室 (1539–1615), Naya Sukezaemon 納屋助左衛門 (active 1568–1612), and Itami Heizaemon Sōmi 伊丹平左衛門宗味. The former, a native of Hakata, collaborated with his townsman Kamiya Sōtan 神屋宗湛 – who was one of the Elders of the city – in the commerce of Chinese porcelains and pots bought in the Philippines.⁵⁵ The Sakai born Naya Sukezaemon (or “Luzon” Sukezaemon), on the other hand, made a fortune in the trade of the precious *Ruson tsubo* in the early-1590s. He supplied the “court” of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who was an estimator of the tea ceremony (*cha no yu* 茶の湯), to the practice of which these costly pots were destined. According to the *Taikōki* 太閤記 by Oze Hoan 小瀬甫庵 (1564–1640), Sukezaemon came back from the Philippines in 1594 with an amount of wax, musk and Chinese umbrellas (唐傘).⁵⁶ After a quarrel with Hideyoshi, he was forced to abandon Japan and ended up his days somewhere in Southeast Asia, probably in Cambodia.⁵⁷ Finally, Itami Sōmi, another native of Hakata, was known to the Spaniards as Don Pedro de León de Vera and lived in Nagasaki. He made his first commercial voyages to the Philippines in the 1590s, or probably even earlier, and, in 1595, he declared in Manila to be more or less thirty-one years old.⁵⁸ A few years later, in 1604, he was assigned a red-seal licence for Luzon by the Tokugawa *bakufu*.⁵⁹ Given his closeness to the Spaniards and a long experience in the Luzon trade, he was chosen as one of the delegates who travelled to Europe in 1613 with the Hasekura mission.⁶⁰

One particular case in the history of the trade relations between Japan and the Philippines is that of the aforementioned Nishi Sōshin/Luis Melo. Being a former member of the Ōmura family of Hizen, he started to sail to Manila in the first years of the seventeenth century, or maybe at the end of the sixteenth century.⁶¹ We find his name in the records of the Royal Hacienda in 1603, but he must have sailed to Manila earlier, since, already in 1602, he had financed the

55 Takekoshi 1930, vol. 1, 368; Tanaka 1961, 92–102.

56 Oze Hoan 1996, 472f.

57 Takekoshi 1930, vol. 1, 363f, 499; Peri 1923, 16.

58 Pérez 1918 (vol. 9), 202.

59 Murakami Naojirō 1966, 278.

60 Álvarez-Taladriz 1973, 12.

61 Iwao Seiichi 1958, 187, 276f.

construction of a church, administered by the Franciscans, in the quarter of Dilao.⁶² After obtaining his first *shuinjō* in 1607, he sailed to Manila almost every year from 1609 to 1618, selling iron, copper, saltpetre and hemp. Then, in the following years, he became the most influential provider of these articles to the Philippine capital and started to send his own agents to Manila. In 1619 and in 1620, for example, captain Simón Fori and the Japanese merchant Francisco de Guevara carried several quantities of iron and saltpetre *en nombre del capitán Luis Melo*.⁶³ The diary of the factor of the English East India Company Richard Cocks (1566–1624) states that captain “Luis Vilango” reached Nagasaki from Manila in 1616 with the Spanish trader Miguel de Salinas. They informed the residents of the sudden death of Governor Juan de Silva (1609–1616) in Singapore. One year later, he sailed to Nagasaki to bring the news of the Spanish victory against the Dutch in the second battle of Playa Honda.⁶⁴

As for the Kyūshū daimyōs, those who carried on trade with the Philippines were principally the Matsuura, Ōmura and Shimazu, but also the Hosokawa 細川 (in Nakatsu), Katō 加藤 (Takase 高瀬), Inaba (Usuki), and several other families. The Lords of Hirado were surely the most active of the group and took part in the Luzon trade since its beginnings. Matsuura Shigenobu was the first daimyō to establish a formal relationship with the Spaniards in the mid-1580s and to send an embassy to Manila, asking for the dispatch of Christian missionaries to his territories. In 1592, on the occasion of the mission of Harada Magoshichirō to Manila, Shigenobu wrote a letter to Governor Dasmariñas, in which he explained to the Spaniards that he had nothing to do with Hideyoshi’s request of vassalage, and that he just wanted to keep “friendship” (*amistad*) with them.⁶⁵ In the following years, the Matsuura continued to invest in the Luzon trade and started a profitable collaboration with Shimai Sōshitsu and the Chinese “pirate” Li Dan 李旦.⁶⁶ In 1594, captain Juan Faraz traded in

62 Gil 1991, 450.

63 AGI, *Contaduría*, 1208, quoted in Gil 1991, 445.

64 Cocks 1883, vol. 1, 148, 289.

65 AGI, *Filipinas*, 18B, r. 2, n. 12.

66 The aforementioned Aburaya Yahachirō (alias Andrés González) who was fluent in Spanish (*ladino en la lengua castellana*) and a friend to the Franciscans, was probably their principal agent in Manila at the end of the 1580s. Pérez 1918 (vol. 9), 188.

Manila on behalf of Domingo “Firandoya” [平戸屋],⁶⁷ who must have been a merchant of Hirado and an agent of the Matsuura.⁶⁸ Thirteen years later, in 1607, Shigenobu, who died in 1614, was the first and only daimyō to obtain a red-seal licence for Luzon from the Tokugawa *bakufu*.⁶⁹

The Matsuura embassy of 1585, of course, could not be left alone in the panorama of alliances and antagonisms between the daimyōs of the *Sengoku* Period. Also their bitter rivals, the Ōmura of Hizen, sent an embassy to Manila from Nagasaki in 1586, with a group of eleven Japanese Christians. The group carried a letter of the Jesuit Provincial Gaspar Coelho (d. 1590) who was in search of military help against the Shimazu.⁷⁰ According to the governor Santiago de Vera, these men were the first Japanese to come to Manila “in peace” (*son los primeros japones que de paz an venido*); they asked for the dispatch of Franciscan missionaries to Hizen and declared that their lord, Ōmura Sumitada Bartolomé (Dom Bartolomeu) was ready to help the Spaniards in their military campaigns in East and Southeast Asia. This, in effect, is what the Augustinian friar Francisco Manrique declared in a letter of 1588, where it is written that four Christian “kings” (*reyes*) from Kyūshū, who presumably were Ōtomo Sōrin, Arima Harunobu 有馬晴信 (1567–1612), Konishi Yukinaga 小西行長 (1555–1600) and our Don Bartolomé, would send their soldiers to fight in Borneo, Siam, the Moluccas, or even against China.⁷¹

The Shimazu, on the other hand, were probably trading in the Philippines already before the arrival of Legazpi and his men to Maynilad, and almost certainly participated in the Luzon branch of the *Bahan* trade since its inception. Nevertheless, they established a formal relationship with the Spaniards only in 1601, that is fifteen years after their neighbours in northern Kyūshū.⁷² According to the Dominican historian Diego Aduarte (1569–1637), some ships came from Satsuma during that year with a number of Japanese Christian merchants aboard. Among them there was a certain Juan Sandaya, who might be the same

67 According to Hirayama Atsuko, this name can refer to the Hirano branch of the Sueyoshi family, instead. Gil 2000, 44.

68 AGI, *Contaduría*, 1202, quoted in Gil 1991, 61.

69 Murakami Naojirō 1966, 281.

70 The armies of the powerful lords of Satsuma had conquered most part of Southern Kyūshū and were now ready to advance in Bungo and Hizen. Hall and McClain 1991, 343–347; Murdoch and Yamagata 1903, 219–225.

71 AGI, *Filipinas*, 6, r. 6, n. 61; AGI, *Filipinas*, 18A, r. 5, n. 31, 32; AGI, *Filipinas*, 79, n. 17.

72 According to Fr. Jerónimo de Jesús the Shimazu had asked to Hideyoshi the conquest of Manila in the early 1590s. AGI, *Filipinas*, 29, n. 52.

Juan Sabuya registered in the records of the Royal Hacienda in 1603.⁷³ Sandaya met the Prior of the Dominicans, Father Francisco de Morales, and arranged with him the dispatch of missionaries to Satsuma.⁷⁴ The following year a ship captained by the already mentioned León Kizaemon arrived in Manila with a letter from the *bushō* 部将 (*maestre de campo*) “Tintionguen”, written in October 1601 on behalf of Shimazu Yoshihiro 島津義弘 (1535–1619).⁷⁵ In this short dispatch, the “King of Satsuma” (*rey de Satzuma*) stated that he was waiting for the arrival of the friars with “great pleasure” (*gran contento*). Accordingly, in the summer of 1602 a group of Dominican friars sailed on to Satsuma to spread the gospel to the Japanese of that province. In those years the Shimazu were trying to counterattack the political offensive of Tokugawa Ieyasu who had just established his leadership across the Japanese archipelago after the victory in the battle of Sekigahara (1600). Soon after the founding of the Edo *bakufu* (1603) he would start to concentrate the foreign trade in the ports of Hirado and Nagasaki, thus excluding the Shimazu from the Luzon trade and its benefits. Even though the Dominicans spoke about Yoshihiro’s “great desire” (*deseo grande*) to meet them, it is clear how the interest of this powerful daimyō had much more to do with temporal affairs than with spiritual issues; and it is relevant that after more than fifty years of Jesuit evangelization in Kyūshū the province of Satsuma was still far away from Christianity. Accordingly, once they arrived in Kyūshū, the friars were confined in the distant island of Koshiki (Koshikijima 甕島), where the Shimazu thought of entertaining them until the arrival of the Spanish ships. Yet, when these ships started to visit the other ports of Kyūshū, particularly in the provinces of Bungo and Hizen, the Shimazu expelled all the missionaries from their territories and started a persecution against the Christians.⁷⁶

In addition to the Matsuura, Ōmura and Shimazu there were still a lot of Japanese lords who participated in the Luzon trade. Konishi Yukinaga and Katō Kiyomasa 加藤清正 (1561–1611) were two of the most influential generals of Kyūshū and had a great political power. The first one was known to the Spaniards as Don Agustín, by his Christian name, whereas the second appears

73 AGI, *Contaduría*, 1206, quoted in Gil 1991, 97. Cf. Iwao Seiichi 1940, 228.

74 Aduarte 1640, vol. 1, 251.

75 The name Tintionguen, as appears in Aduarte’s *Historia*, is an Hispanization of the name Tinti(?) and the Buddhist title *hōgen* 法眼.

76 Aduarte 1640, vol. 1, 325–332. The Dominicans built a church in Kyōdomari only in 1606, and were expelled as soon as they started to spread the gospel among the Shimazu’s retainers. Aduarte 1640, vol. 1, 256.

in Spanish sources as “Gentio”, the “Captain General” (*capitán general* [*sōshiki-kan* 総指揮官]) of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (“Taicosama” 太閤様).⁷⁷ Konishi Yukinaga took part in the Luzon trade at the beginning of the 1590s and held a correspondence with Governor Luis Pérez Dasmariñas.⁷⁸ Katō Kiyomasa, on the other hand, sent him a letter in 1592, on the occasion of Harada’s mission to Manila, in which he explained the reasons of Hideyoshi’s request of vassalage and the way to acknowledge the Japanese primacy in the region.⁷⁹ Later on, in 1596, Kiyomasa wrote another letter to the new Philippine governor Francisco Tello de Guzmán (in office from July, 1596 to May, 1602), asking for the establishment of formal relationships with the Spaniards, and the following year one of his vessels sailed to Manila carrying an amount of flour and silver.⁸⁰ After Sekigahara, the Katō were assigned the territories in the north of Higo province that belonged to Konishi Yukinaga.⁸¹ Yet, in spite of this loss, it seems that the Konishi family maintained its share in the Luzon trade, since Konishi Chōzaemon 小西長左衛門 obtained three red-seal licences for the Philippines in 1607, 1609 and in 1614.⁸²

Furthermore, among the *bushi* 武士 there were also a few officials of the government: two *bugyō* 奉行 of Nagasaki – Terazawa Hirotaka 寺沢広高 (1563–1633, in office 1592–1602) and Hasegawa Gonroku Morinao 長谷川権六守直 (in office 1615–1625); the *daikan* 代官 of Fushimi Hasegawa Sōnin *hōgen* 長谷川宗仁法言 (1539–1606), and the already mentioned Suetsugu Heizō.⁸³ Terazawa Hirotaka took part in the Luzon trade at the beginning of the 1590s and wrote a letter to Governor Tello in 1602;⁸⁴ Hasegawa Sōnin (1539–1606), on the other hand, was the person in charge of the Philippine affairs, along with Harada Kiemon, under the government of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He was known to the Spaniards as “Funguen”, after his Buddhist title (法言), and played an important role in the events that followed the shipwreck of the galleon *San Felipe* in 1596. Naya Sukezaemon had been one of his agents for the purchase of

77 AGI, *Filipinas*, 6, r. 9, n. 144; AGI, *Filipinas*, 18B, r. 2, n. 12.

78 As well as with his son Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, who was *interim* governor from 1593 to 1595. Álvarez-Taladriz 1973, 131f; ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.*, 13 II, f. 315v.

79 AGI, *Filipinas*, 18B, r. 2, n. 12.

80 AGI, *Filipinas*, 6, r. 9, n. 140; Nakajima 2008; Iwao Seiichi 1940, 228; Gil 1991, 78.

81 Yukinaga was executed for having fought at Sekigahara against the Tokugawa.

82 Murakami Naojirō 1966, 280, 298, 314.

83 The *bugyō* and the *daikan* were local governors that controlled the port on behalf of the central government.

84 AGI, *Filipinas*, 19, r. 3, n. 36.

the highly-rated *Ruson tsubo* in the early 1590s.⁸⁵ Gonroku Morinao, at last, obtained his first red-seal licence for Luzon in 1610.⁸⁶ Once he assumed the post of *Nagasaki bugyō* in 1615, he became very close to the Spaniards who were trading in the port. In 1621, on the occasion of the process to the Spanish friars Pedro de Zúñiga and Luis Flores, who had secretly come to Japan aboard captain Hirayama's ship, he took sides with the missionaries against the accusations made by the Dutch and the English in front of the authorities of the Tokugawa *bakufu*.⁸⁷ Clearly enough, Hasegawa had his reasons to defend the friars; reasons that had much to do with the Luzon trade and with his associates in Manila.

Nanbanjin 南蛮人 and *Kakyō* (*Huaqiao* 華僑)

Of great importance was also the role of the foreigners, especially of the Portuguese. Among them, Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro, a New Christian from Lisbon, was surely one the most influential.⁸⁸ In just three years, from 1585 to 1587, it seems that he invested about 60,000 *ducados* to support the Christian daimyōs in Kyūshū against their "gentile" enemies. This was especially so for Dom Pro-tásio Arima Harunobu who, according to Fr. Francisco Manrique, had become a "great Lord" (*gran Señor*, that is a *daimyō* 大名, lit. "great name") principally because of Landeiro's help and financial support.⁸⁹ This reputable private trader participated actively in the Luzon trade from his base in Macao and dispatched ships to Manila and Nagasaki. One of these ships, for example, sailed to Japan from China in 1582 carrying aboard the Jesuit Father Alonso Sánchez (d. 1593),⁹⁰ while another one, captained by António Garcês, hosted the Franciscan friars Juan Pobre Díaz Pardo and Diego Bernal, who would meet Matsuura Shigenobu and his son, Takanobu 隆信 (?–1637), in Hirado.⁹¹ Landeiro's nephew, Vicente, sailed to Manila in 1584, and there were still other relatives sailing back and forth across the China Seas on behalf of the family.⁹² Other two Portuguese men of the sea with a long experience in the Philippine trade were Vasco Dias and Manoel Luís. The former was already sailing to Japan in the late-1580s. Resident in Manila, he traded in Kyūshū with merchants from

85 Valignano 1998, 270.

86 Murakami Naojiro 1966, 299.

87 Boxer 1951, 345f.

88 AGI, *Patronato*, 53, r. 2; Colín 1663, vol. 1, 286ff.

89 AGI, *Filipinas*, 79, n. 17.

90 Yet, it was shipwrecked off the coast of Taiwan.

91 Boxer 1951, 44f.

92 AGI, *Filipinas*, 79, n. 17.

Bungo, Hirado and Hakata, like the Ogasawara, Aburaya and Itami. Fr. Pedro Bautista described him in 1595 as a truthful man (*persona muy honrada*) who had helped the missionaries a lot, during their first years in Japan.⁹³ The latter had lived in Malacca and Macao before moving to Nagasaki.⁹⁴ In 1595, on the occasion of the questioning made in Manila on the utility of dispatching the Franciscans to Japan, he declared to be still a resident of Macao. At that time he was about fifty-five years old with twenty-five years of experience on the China-Japan route. In 1594, he carried three letters of Fr. Pedro Bautista to Governor Dasmariñas and continued to trade in Manila in the following years along with his associates in Macao and Nagasaki.⁹⁵

Captain Miguel Roxo de Brito (d. 1597) was still another Portuguese private merchant who traded in the Philippines.⁹⁶ In 1595, he was accused by the Spanish authorities at Manila, of having sold some pieces of artillery to the Muslims in exchange for a quantity of spices, that he probably sold in Hirado the following year.⁹⁷ Once in Japan, Brito received from Fr. Martín de la Asunción (1566/1567–1597) a booklet (*cuaderno*) with the two relations that the future martyr wrote against the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, and that would motivate, in 1598, the publishing of Valignano's *Apología*. According to Jesuit sources, the Portuguese merchant was ready to sail back to Europe across the East Indies, but ended up his days in Nagasaki just a few months later because of a sudden illness.⁹⁸ Captain Pedro González de Carvajal – or better to say Gonçalves de Carvalhais, by his Portuguese name⁹⁹ – accompanied the embassy of Fr. Pedro Bautista to Hirado and then to Nagoya in 1593. This Portuguese captain, resident in Manila and a confidant of Governor Dasmariñas, was chosen for this delicate mission because of his long experience of trade in Kyūshū.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, António Garcês (or Antonin, 安當仁からせす)

93 Gil, *Hidalgos y samurais* (1991), 116; Pérez 1916 (vol. 6), 226; 1921 (vol. 16), 195f; Álvarez-Taladriz 1973, 14.

94 Peri 1923, 37.

95 Pérez 1916, 218 (vol. 6); 1918 (vol. 9), 184; AGI, *Contaduría*, 1205, quoted in Gil 1991, 90.

96 Boxer 1979, 175ff.

97 He sailed aboard a ship belonging to captain Vasco Dias.

98 AGI, *Filipinas*, 29, n. 60; Álvarez-Taladriz 1973, 22–25.

99 “Un hombre portugués [...] Pedro Gonzáles de Carvallais, y nosotros llamábamose de Carvajal”, Schilling and Lejarza 1934, 504.

100 AGI, *Filipinas*, 6, r. 7, n. 110; Colín 1663, vol. 2, 78. Still another Portuguese captain, Jorge Pinto Barbosa, sailed with the same group in 1593. At that time he was just 21 years old. The following year he carried a number of Franciscans to Nagasaki, and with all probability continued to ply the Luzon-Kyūshū route all through the 1590s. Pérez 1918 (vol. 9), 195ff; 199ff.

traded in Manila and Macao. He was close to the Jesuits and a resident in Nagasaki. At the beginning of the 1580s, he was already active on the Macao-Nagasaki route and, as we said, sailed to Kyūshū in 1584 with the two Franciscan missionaries Juan Pobre and Diego Bernal.¹⁰¹ In 1596, at the time of the *San Felipe* incident,¹⁰² he hosted in his house the general of the galleon Matías de Landecho, and then accompanied the Jesuit Father João Rodrigues (around 1561/1562–1633) to the capital to organize an audience between Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Bishop Pedro Martins S. I. (1591–1598), who had just arrived in Japan.¹⁰³ Garcês was recommended to Tokugawa Ieyasu directly by Governor Pedro Bravo de Acuña (in office from May 1602 to June, 1606) and received a *shuinjō* for Luzon almost every year from 1604 to 1609.¹⁰⁴

From 1610, the name of another Portuguese captain, Bartolomé Medina – *Marutoro Meteina* まるとろめていな or *Nanbanjin Merina* 南蛮人めりな –, starts to appear in the records of the red-seal licences and is indicated as the “Lord of Luzon” (呂宋ノしんによろ [*Señor/Senhor*]).¹⁰⁵ He took part in most of the Spanish missions to Japan between 1602 and 1606 and participated in the loading of the cargos. In 1607, he paid in Manila some 130 pesos of taxes for an amount of goods that he had carried from Japan.¹⁰⁶ A few years later, in 1615, we find him in the port of Hirado, paying a visit to the new English factor Richard Cocks with a group of Iberian soldiers and merchants, among whom Álvaro Muñoz and Miguel de Salinas.¹⁰⁷ Probably he was coming back from a trade voyage to the Philippines, since he had received a *shuinjō* in February and, accordingly, he must have sailed to Manila in spring. Captain Manoel Gonçalves, on the other hand, a resident in Nagasaki, was sailing to Manila around the mid-1610s. He received trading licences for Luzon in 1616, 1618, and 1621. On the occasion of his second voyage back to Nagasaki (1618), he carried with him several Spanish missionaries, among whom the Dominican Father Angelo Orsucci (an Italian from Lucca, in Tuscany; 1573–1622), the Augustinian Pedro

One Jerónimo Barbosa, a Japanese merchant whose name appears in the registers of the Royal Hacienda of 1601 could be his godson.

101 Fróis 1982, 286; Boxer 1988, 45.

102 The Manila Galleon *San Felipe* arrived shipwrecked on the coast of Shikoku 四国, in the province of Tosa 土佐, in the autumn of 1596. Its cargo was seized by the Japanese, and went in the hands of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. See Matsuda Kiichi 1972.

103 Pérez 1921 (vol. 16), 181, 184, 208; 1922 (vol. 17), 53, 75; Cooper 1974, 113.

104 AGI, *Filipinas*, 79, n. 47; Morga 1997, 226.

105 Murakami Naojirō 1966, 314ff.

106 Gil 1991, 114.

107 Cocks 1883, vol. 1, 43.

de Zúñiga, the Franciscan Diego de San Francisco, and a few other future martyrs.¹⁰⁸ Two years earlier, one of the passengers hosted aboard his junk had been the Japanese mariner Ikeda Yoemon 池田與右衛門, then author of a treaty on the Iberian Art of Navigation known as the *Genna kōkaiki* 元和航海記.¹⁰⁹ The name of captain Manoel Gonçalves appears in this book as “Manueru Gonzaro” 萬能恵留・権佐呂.¹¹⁰

Still, there were a lot of Portuguese captains who plied between Luzon and Kyūshū, and this was especially so at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The records of the Royal Hacienda give the names of Francisco Martín (or Martínez), Domingo González, Bernardo López, Pedro Faría, Melchor de Contreras, Diego de Vera, Gervasio Garcês, Roque Merino, Figueredo, Jerónimo and Vicente Díaz.¹¹¹ Yet, it is difficult to determine if they were really Portuguese or simply Japanese captains with a Portuguese name.

Among the foreign traders there were also a few Italians, and, at least in the first years of the intercourse, a number of Mexicans and Peruvians. Valignano gives the nationality of a certain Marco Antonio as a merchant from Finale Ligure (*natural del Final*), a port that fell into the possessions of the Spanish Crown.¹¹² Another Italian who lived in Nagasaki and was said to be a “Spaniard” was Pasquale Benito (or “Bonita”, “Benois”, etc.). He sold a quantity of ambergris to the English in 1616, but, as a rule, he worked as an informer for the East India Company.¹¹³ His relationship with the Spaniards in Manila is not clear, but according to Cocks, he could be “an espie” of the Philippine government. The same can be said of another Italian, the Genoese Andrea “Bulgaryn”, who visit-

108 Pagès 1869, 387ff. This must be the same “Gonsalva’s junk” that carried Li Dan’s son (Augustin “Iquan” 一官) from Manila to Nagasaki in 1618. Cocks 1883, vol. 2, 60.

109 Iwao Seiichi 1958, 155f; Sugimoto and Swain 1978, 178f; Shapinsky 2006, 17.

110 Iwao Seiichi 1958, 169. Though Iwao Seiichi describes him as a Spaniard (イ ス パ ニ ア 人), there is no evidence that proves it.

111 AGI, *Contaduría*, 1205-1211. Cf. AGI, *Filipinas*, 19, r. 2, n. 25 (or AGI, *Filipinas*, 35, n. 44, f. 779v).

112 Colin 1663, vol. 2, 67. At the turn of the sixteenth century, there were not a few Italians visiting the East Indies, and many of them, especially from the Kingdom of Naples, the Duchy of Milan and the other Spanish territories of Northern Italy, took Castilian names as they served the militias of the Crown or sailed aboard the galleons as mariners and captains. Bertuccioli 1980.

113 Cocks 1883, vol. 1, 126; vol. 2, 14.

ed Hirado in 1613 and was said to be a spy of the Spaniards.¹¹⁴ Still there were a few Italian private traders who sailed to the East Indies in search of good businesses and a hint of adventure. In the mid-1590s the Florentine Francesco Carletti (1573–1636) reached the Philippines via Mexico and visited Japan and China before sailing back to Italy across the Portuguese Indies. From the written memories of his voyage around the world we get some information on trade and navigation between Japan and the Philippines at the close of the sixteenth century. In 1597, Carletti sailed to Nagasaki aboard a Japanese ship and once in the harbour he saw the horrible scene of the exposure of the corpses of the twenty-six “proto-martyrs” on the crosses.¹¹⁵

As for the Americans, we know Juan de Solís, a Peruvian merchant who reached Satsuma in 1592 with the Jesuit visitor Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), and captain Eduardo Antonio, a Mexican who had sailed directly from Acapulco. At the time of Fr. Juan Cobo’s mission to Japan, the latter was building a ship in Kyōdomari with which he intended to visit China (Canton) and then sail back to Mexico.¹¹⁶ Yet, we should consider that after the union of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal, because of the agreements between Philip II (1556–1598) and the Portuguese Cortes, no private merchant from the Americas was allowed to trade in Japan, in China, or in any other place that fell within the Portuguese sphere of influence. Nevertheless, in spite of these prohibitions, the latter continued to trade in Asia by means of a number of agents residing in the Philippines. They did not abandon their ambitions to open the Japanese ports to the Mexican ships, as it is clear from the capitulations arranged between Rodrigo de Vivero (1564–1636, in office from June, 1608 to April 1609) and Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1610.¹¹⁷

Last but not least, there were quite a few traders from China, some of whom collaborated with the Dutch and the English East India Companies, as well. Unfortunately, we still have very few information on the activities of the so-called *Sangleys*¹¹⁸ between Japan and the Philippines, and on their presence

114 Satow 1900, 171f.

115 Carletti 1965, 105f.

116 Iwasaki Cauti 1992, 111–155; Álvarez-Taladriz 1940, 660; Guzmán 1891, 552.

117 AGI, *Filipinas*, 193, n. 3; Knauth 1972, 195; Sola 1999, 114–120. S. a. Iaccarino 2013.

118 This term has raised long debates about meaning and origin among scholars investigating China’s maritime history. The most probable explanation has been provided by James Chin (2010, 187).

away from the capital in other ports of the archipelago. We know the names of Gonzalo Aiten, who sailed to Manila from Japan in 1599, and Alonso Sauyo, the owner of a ship that came from Japan in 1598.¹¹⁹ The presence of Chinese merchants plying between Manila and the island of Hirado is attested by the letter of Matsuura Shigenobu to Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, in which the former refers to the Chinese ships that came to his port from the Philippines to trade.¹²⁰ The only *Sangley* to appear in the records of the red-seal licences is Lin Sanguan 林三官 (Rin Sankan), who obtained a license in 1606.¹²¹ Yet, there were still a lot of Chinese sailing to the Philippines: a certain Siguan (Higo Shikan 肥後四管), for example, who is quoted in the diary of Cocks as a rich “China[man]” trading in Manila, or the notorious Li Dan with his several associates, agents and relatives.¹²²

Among all these foreign merchants there were also a few Spaniards from the Philippines who broke through the imaginary line of demarcation of the Portuguese sphere of influence in Asia and visited Japan at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1602, the government of Manila started to dispatch an annual ship to the “Land of the Rising Sun”, as a defensive measure against Japanese pirates and the never settled ambitions of some daimyōs who had in mind the conquest of Luzon and Taiwan. The Spaniards saw these commercial missions as the only way to appease Tokugawa Ieyasu and to grant his wish to establish an alliance with them. This alliance, or “friendship”, was necessary to cut off the influence of the Dutch and to contrast any potential enemy in the region.¹²³ The Spaniards, between 1602 and 1609, dispatched at least six official missions to Japan. The various ships that sailed from Manila visited the ports of Kyūshū, especially Usuki, as well as Ōsaka 大坂 and Uraga 浦賀, in the region of Kantō 関東. Such captains as Francisco Moreno Donoso, Juan Bautista de

119 AGI, *Contaduría*, 1205, quoted in Gil 2011, 579. Sauyo held the office of governor of the Chinese Parián from 1599 to 1602. Gil 2011, 666.

120 AGI, *Filipinas*, 18B, r. 2, n. 12.

121 Murakami Naojirō 1966, 279.

122 Cocks 1883, vol. 2, 21, 28. Siguan obtained a red-seal licence for Luzon in 1618. Cocks 1883, vol. 2, 83. In the same year another Chinese merchant sailed from Cagayan to Hirado with a quantity of wine and seaweeds. According to Cocks, he received an English flag and a letter of favour from Cocks, “at request of [the] China Captain [Li Dan]”. Cocks 1883, vol. 2, 21.

123 On this and other topics related to diplomacy and trade see the author’s PhD dissertation, Iaccarino 2013.

Nole and Nicolás de la Cueva became acquainted with the route Manila-USuki and started to visit other ports as well. The Spanish captains went to harvest profits where the missionaries of the three Mendicant orders had sowed the verb. According to a written complaint of Treasurer Juan Sáez de Hegoen, dated 1607, besides the ship that was annually sent to bring the presents and the letters to shōgun Tokugawa Ieyasu (known to the Spaniards as the “Emperor” Daifusama 内府様), three or four private vessels were dispatched as well, laden with Chinese raw silk, Moluccan pepper and Philippine products.¹²⁴ This kind of trade continued in the following years. The Spanish “ambassador” Domingo Francisco, for example, was in Shimonoseki 下関 at the end of October 1613 and then moved to Nagasaki where he probably set sail to Manila.¹²⁵ The Biscayan captain Pablo Garrocho de la Vega, on the other hand, visited Hirado in June 1615 to bring a letter to the head of the English factory in Japan, Richard Cocks. On this occasion, he gave him a pair of crimson silk stockings as a gift.¹²⁶ Later, in august, the same captain sent to the English factor fourteen ounces of ambergris by means of one of his agents, the aforementioned Álvaro Muñoz (“Munos”, “Munios”, etc.), a “suttel Castellano and a tyme observer” according to Cocks.¹²⁷ In 1621, Muñoz sailed with a galliot to Manila but was casted away somewhere in the Ryūkyū Islands. This ship belonged to the *capitão mór* of the Nagasaki voyage, Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho (governor of Macao 1617–1618 and 1621–1623).¹²⁸ Still there were in Nagasaki not a few of such kind of Spanish agents and factors: the Castilian Juan de Liébana, for example, one Álvaro González (“Gonsales”), Bartolomé de la Rocha, Diego Fernández Rigote, Juan “Comas”,¹²⁹ and a few soldiers as well: the alférez “Tuerto”,¹³⁰ Gil de la Barreda, and an old man called Reales.¹³¹

Another private trader residing in Nagasaki was “Emmanuel Rodrigos” who is often quoted in the diary of Cocks. The name of this Spanish captain appears in the records of the Royal Hacienda as Manuel Rodríguez Navarro, who was the owner of the ship that reached Manila in 1621, thus escaping the blockade

124 AGI, *Filipinas*, 20, r. 1, n. 11.

125 Satow 1900, 174, 178.

126 Cocks 1883, vol. 1, 7.

127 Cocks 1883, vol. 1, 41, 265. Cf. Boxer 1951, 350, 491.

128 Cocks 1883, vol. 2, 172.

129 Satow 1900, 178.

130 That is blind in one eye.

131 We also find a few Germans working side by side with the Spaniards in Nagasaki: one Marcus, for example, and “Christophell the Alman”. Cocks 1883, vol. 1, 43, 150.

of the Anglo-Dutch fleet of defense. He traded in the Philippine capital on account of a certain “Matías dono [殿]”, who must have been a Japanese merchant or a samurai.¹³² Lastly, Hernando Jiménez (“Harnando Ximenes”) was a confidant of the English in Hirado who had previously served in Bantam as interpreter for the Dutch.¹³³ Two of his relatives, or supposed relatives, who visited the island of the Matsuura in November 1616, were said to be Andalusian.¹³⁴

Christianity and the Kyūshū daimyōs

In *The Christian Century of Japan* (1951), the English historian Charles Ralph Boxer stressed the existence of a close connection between God and Mammon, pointing out the fake and miserable conversions of many daimyōs who just wanted to gain the trade of the Portuguese.¹³⁵ This was because the latter were the only foreigners allowed to trade in China – via Macao – and had easy access to a number of products from Southeast Asia, India and Africa.

Sustained by the voyages of the “Black ships” (*kurobune* 黒舟) from Namban 南蛮, Christianity had put down roots in Japan and was spreading its influence across the archipelago. This was especially so for the island of Kyūshū, where the Jesuits had established their missions and built several churches, a seminar and a college. Soon the missionaries of the three mendicant orders who were in the Philippines (Augustinians, Dominicans and Franciscans) started to press the Holy See to get the permission to break through the Portuguese sphere of influence in Asia and to help the Jesuits to spread the gospel in China, Indochina and Japan. Yet, besides the general interest of the Japanese in foreign religions and cultures and the sincere conversion and faith of some Kyūshū daimyōs, such as Ōtomo Sōrin or Konishi Yukinaga, most of them got close to Christianity with an utilitarian approach: to gain the trade of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, and to limit the influence of the Buddhist monks by pro-

132 AGI, *Contaduría*, 1210, quoted in Gil 1991, 445. The captain and the pilot of his ship were other two Spaniards, whose names are recorded in the *Tsūkō ichiran* as “Espírito” (エスピリト) and “Harasho” (ハラシヨ), respectively. Hayashi Fukusai 1967, vol. 4, 591f. See Iwao Seiichi 1958, 275, 350. There is no clear evidence of a Japanese warlord baptized as Matías, nor there were any Spaniards with this name living in Japan (unless this Matías was in reality the Dutch captain Matias van den Brook).

133 Cocks 1883, *passim*; Satow 1900, 59.

134 Cocks 1883, vol. 1, 220f. Their family could pertain to a branch of the Portuguese Ximenes d’Aragão. Boyajian 1993.

135 Boxer 1951, 79, 93ff.

moting a new foreign religion.¹³⁶ Accordingly, as far as the Luzon trade is concerned, we can identify three principal reasons for the initial success, though ephemeral, of the Spanish friars in Japan. First of all, their connections with the Japanese merchants who traded in the Philippines; then their ability in promising the opening of trade relations with Manila and Acapulco to several daimyōs; and finally their role as mediators in all the affairs related to the Philippines and the Spanish trade. In fact, the missionaries treated the letters exchanged between the Philippine governors and the Japanese authorities, helped the two parts to create a mutual trust and led all the diplomatic missions from Japan to Manila, Mexico or Madrid.

Among the three mendicant orders, the Franciscans were surely the most active. In the 1580s, they were assigned to take care of the Japanese community of Dilao, and in the early-1590s, they settled in the region of Kinai 機内 (in Kyōto, Fushimi 伏見, and Ōsaka), where they built churches and hospitals. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, they had reached Sunpu 駿府 and Edo 江戸, the two political centres of the Tokugawa government. The slow penetration of the mendicant orders in Japan had started in 1582, when two Franciscan friars, the former merchant Juan Pobre Díaz Pardo and his companion Diego Bernal, visited Hirado and met the Matsuura for the first time. Two years later, they came back to the island with the Augustinian Father Francisco Manrique and met there a Jesuit *dōjuku* 同宿 (that is a catechist) from India by the name of Gonzalo García, who joined the Spanish group and sailed with them to Manila. It was probably him who gave to the Spaniards the first precious information on the trade conducted by the Portuguese in Japan, indicating the best way to proceed in the conversion of the Japanese.¹³⁷ The following year, 1585, as previously said, the Matsuura dispatched an embassy to Manila, and the Ōmura did the same in 1586. During his second stay in Kyūshū, in effect, Juan Pobre visited Dom Bartolomeu Sumitada in his castle,¹³⁸ and a few years earlier, in 1582, the same friar had met some of his retainers in Canton – as well as those of the powerful Ōtomo Sōrin – who told him that their lord was ready to welcome the friars in his territories.¹³⁹ Accordingly, when Harada Kiemon reached Manila in 1593 with some of the members of the Cobo Mis-

136 A typical example of this kind of approach is the alliance that Oda Nobunaga established with the Jesuits at the end of the 1570s.

137 Bernard 1938, 109.

138 ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.*, 22, f. 121.

139 Álvarez-Taladriz 1973, 60.

sion, he submitted a petition in which he enlisted the names of ten Franciscans to be dispatched to Japan: among them, as we might expect, in addition to the Custodian of the Order, Pedro Bautista Blásquez, there were the two former merchants, Juan Pobre and Gonzalo García.¹⁴⁰

Still in 1602, Fr. Pedro de Burguillos described the island of Hirado as a “province of many Catholics” (*provincia de muchos católicos*) who had been abandoned by the Jesuits because of their contrasts with the Matsuura clan.¹⁴¹ From his standpoint, the friars had to fill a hole in the work of evangelization of Japan that the Fathers of the Company of Jesus had indirectly created by antagonizing themselves with the lords of Hirado, and the lure of trade, needless to say, was the best way to achieve their goal. After the opening of Japan to the mendicant orders, the Spanish friars were firstly sent to Bungo (Usuki), Satsuma and Hirado, three places where the Jesuits had not established a relationship with the local rulers. As for the Ōmura, in spite of the embassy of 1586 and their willingness to welcome the Franciscans in their territories, they saw the arrival of the Dominicans in Kuchinotsu 口之津 only after the Shimazu had expelled them from Satsuma in 1608. The election of Kuchinotsu was justified by its proximity to Nagasaki and to the strongholds of Christianity in Arima and Shimabara. The Franciscans, on the other hand, favoured the arrival of the Spanish ships in the region of Kinai, principally in Ōsaka and Wakayama 和歌山. As we said, they had been explicitly invited to this area at the end of the 1580s and had established their mission there already in 1593. As for the Augustinians, they moved to the province of Bungo, on the eastern coast of Kyūshū. At the beginning of the 1590s the followers of the rule of St. Augustine of Hippo, who had been the first to settle in the Philippines, were more interested in China than in Japan, and had concentrated their efforts towards the evangelization of the Celestial Empire.¹⁴² The declaration on the state of affairs in Japan, of 1587 – whose first subscriber, not by chance, was Harutasa Yoshichika, a merchant from Bungo province – had explicitly asked for the dispatch of Dominican friars, but since the latter were formally invited to establish a mission in Satsuma, it is possible that the Augustinians took their place in Bungo.

Accordingly, following their entry in Japan in 1602, the Augustinians founded their first convent, consecrated to the Holy Spirit, somewhere in Bun-

140 Colín 1663, vol. 2, 65f.

141 Pérez 1928 (vol. 21), 321.

142 Gil 2011, 124.

go (Funai?), and afterwards established their base in Usuki.¹⁴³ Here, there were already several Christians, since the port had been evangelized by the Jesuits when the province was still in the hands of Ōtomo Sōrin. Later on, the missionaries reached Saeki, where they founded the little monastery of San Joseph.¹⁴⁴ The daimyōs of these two ports, the already mentioned Inaba Sadamichi (d. 1606) and Mōri Takamasa 毛利高政 (1556–1628) took advantage of the *Nanban* trade by hosting the Spanish missionaries. Usuki, in particular, was the place where the ships from the Philippines arrived with more regularity after 1602. Sadamichi chose to be baptized in 1604, thus cementing the relations with the Spanish captains and with the Christian community. Later on, the Augustinians reached also the northern area of the province of Hyūga, and founded the church of Saint Nicolas from Tolentino in the port of Agata 県 (*Angata*, near Nobeoka 延岡). The lord of the port, Takahashi Moto-tane 高橋元種 (1571–1614), accepted the entrance of the Gospel in his territories and it is likely that he also promised to be baptized by the friars.¹⁴⁵ Such promises of conversion, as we have seen, were also made by Matsuura Takanobu and Shimazu Yoshihiro. Many daimyōs, vassals, retainers, or even the authorities of the government, favoured Christianity and its ministers from the Philippines in order to seek profits for themselves and their associates. Katō Kiyomasa, for example, in his letter to Governor Tello of 1596, excused himself for not having been baptized yet. In his own words, to help the Jesuits – who he probably thought of being the same as the friars – and to convert to their spiritual “law” (*ley* 法) were necessary prerequisites to establish a relationship with the Spaniards and to trade in Manila.¹⁴⁶

Becoming a Christian, needless to say, was a good way to facilitate the intercourse and to establish mutual trust. This is the principal reason why the great majority of Japanese merchants trading with the Spaniards were Christians and had an Iberian name. When visiting Manila, most of them could also assume a fake Christian identity in order to facilitate the practices of trade and receive favours. As a matter of fact, these merchants had to deal not only with the local missionaries who administered the overseas communities, but also with the highest religious authorities of the archipelago, who invested their money in the Galleon trade and financed the voyages of the ships plying between Manila and

143 San Agustín 1975, 704, 713; Sicardo 1698, 44. Cf. Pages 1869, 56.

144 Hartmann 1965, 47.

145 Sicardo 1698, 136.

146 AGI, *Filipinas*, 6, r. 9, n. 140.

Acapulco by means of brotherhoods and charitable foundations.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, according to a medieval practice, the most influential suppliers took the name of their protectors with the sacrament of the confirmation. It goes without saying that having an influential godfather in Manila meant to get an advantage in comparison to the other merchants. This was especially true for the chiefs of the Japanese local communities, *Nihonmachi* 日本町, of Dilao and San Miguel. The already mentioned Alonso Fajardo y Ocsaba, who came to Manila in 1620 on behalf of “his lord” (*su señor*), Date Masamune, is indicated in the registers of the Royal Hacienda as a “Governor of the Japanese [of Manila]” (*gobernador de los japones*) and his godfather must have been Don Alonso Fajardo de Tenca, who held the office of Governor General of the Philippines from July 3, 1618 to July 1624.¹⁴⁸

Luzon’s *Bahan* Trade

The expression “*Bahan* trade” (*comercio de bafan*), found in Luís Fróis’ *Historia de Japam*, mainly refers to the robberies, raids, and pillages conducted by the Japanese pirates of Kyūshū, principally from the provinces of Satsuma, Ōsumi, Hizen and Chikuzen.¹⁴⁹ About the mid-sixteenth century, at the climax of the Sengoku Period (1477–1603) and with the spread of the *wakō*’s 倭寇 activities in the China Seas, some groups of these fearful marauders moved to the Philippines and established their bases in Luzon. Because of the closeness to the Chinese coasts, the island was a suitable location from where to launch attacks on the provinces of Guangdong and Fujian, and to carry on traffics with Indochina and the Ryūkyū Islands. These were probably the early days of the Philippine branch of the *Bahan* trade, and the birth in Luzon of the inseparable trinity between war, trade and piracy.¹⁵⁰

The Spaniards met a first band of *wakō* off the coasts of Pangasinan in 1572, when captain Juan de Salcedo run into three Japanese pirate vessels near the town of Nacarlán. This is not far from the city of Agoo, where – as we said earlier – merchants and marauders from Kyūshū obtained gold and deer hides from the natives.¹⁵¹ Still, besides the Chinese pirate Lin Feng 林鳳 (alias “Lima-

147 Schurz 1959, 162, 165-172.

148 AGI, *Contaduría*, 1210, quoted in Gil 1991, 445.

149 Fróis 1976, 46; See Hall and McClain 1991, 255f. The term *Bahan* may refer to Hachiman 八幡, the god of war in Shintō.

150 Hall and McClain 1991, 235.

151 San Agustín 1975, 381.

hón”) who attacked Manila in 1574 and moved his temporary base into the Gulf of Lingayen,¹⁵² a certain “Taifuza” established a permanent settlement in Aparri, near the mouth of the Cagayan River.¹⁵³ According to Spanish records, this “brave Japanese” (*valiente japon*) was the leader of a community of 1,000 men who had arrived from Japan “with the intention of settling down” (*benían con intento de poblar*) and were still waiting for the arrival of other countrymen.¹⁵⁴ This happened in 1581, three years after the battle of Mimigawa 耳川 (1578) and the rise of the Shimazu family as the dominant power in Kyūshū.¹⁵⁵ The lords of Satsuma, as a matter of fact, were among the most convicted participants to the *Bahan* trade. Their ports had hosted in the 1560s the bases of several Chinese pirates, such as Chen Dong 陳東 and Xu Hai 徐海 (d. 1556), whose bands were made up of many Japanese from Kyūshū.¹⁵⁶ The pilot of the ship that carried Hideyoshi’s ambassador, Harada Kiemon, to Manila in 1592 was said to have pillaged the coasts of Cagayan just a few years earlier.¹⁵⁷ This ship had sailed from Kushikino and part of its crew probably came from the Shimazu’s domains. In 1601, Tokugawa Ieyasu had arrested and condemned to death in Satsuma sixty-one Japanese pirates because of their raids in the Philippines, but according to a letter of Bishop Cerqueira S. I. (1598–1614), despite these severe measures, the province continued to have its presence of pirates.¹⁵⁸

As for the Matsuura, it is renowned that they actively participated in the *Bahan* trade and improved their business by hosting the wealthiest marauders of the China Seas in their territories.¹⁵⁹ A certain captain Juan Gayo, who took part in the Conspiracy of Tondo in 1588,¹⁶⁰ was said to be a retainer of the “King of Hirado” (*criado del rey de Firando*). He had come to Manila the year before to trade, but his real intentions, according to Spanish sources, were to

152 His «right-arm» was a Japanese brigand by the name of Sioco (Shogo?). Colín 1663, vol. 1, 135-139, 159f; San Agustín 1975, 404-436.

153 His name appears also as “Taizufu”, “Tayfuzu” or “Zaizufu”. San Agustín 1975, 541.

154 AGI, *Filipinas*, 6, r. 5, n. 53.

155 Hall and McClain 1991, 340.

156 Ptak 1994, 289, 295. Cf. Machira Fusaaki 2004a.

157 AGI, *Patronato*, 25, r. 50; Colín 1663, vol. 2, 64.

158 AGI, *Filipinas*, 27, n. 35, f. 213r; AGI, *Filipinas*, 6, r. 9, n. 175; Uehara 2006, 7.

159 The Chinese pirate Wang Zhi 王直, for example, known as the “King of Huizhou”, established a base in Hirado with some 2,000 men under his command. Caroti 2006, 75, 79f; Ptak 1994, 287ff.

160 The Tondo Conspiracy was a plot against the Spaniards hatched by the Tagalog natives of the area around Manila.

help the natives to drive the Spaniards away from the Philippines and collect tributes from them.¹⁶¹

The Chinese pirate Li Dan 李旦 (d. 1625), known to the Iberians by his Christian name of Andrea Dittis, was probably the principal protégé and trade partner of the Matsuura at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁶² Li was strictly connected to the Luzon trade and one of his sons regularly plied between Manila and Hirado in the early-1610s. He is said to have been one of the “Governors” of the Chinese community of the Parián, and then, after being condemned by the Spaniards, to have fled to Hirado around 1606 or 1607. Li Dan was hosted there by the Matsuura family and, in 1613, started a very profitable trade with the Japanese branch of the English East India Company. An entry in the diary of Richard Cocks, of March 8 (“shonguach [正月] 25”; i. e. March 18, according to the Gregorian calendar), 1621, tells us that he had just entrusted two “letters of advice”, or passports,¹⁶³ to the “China captain” (Li Dan) to be delivered to the officials of the English fleet off the Manila Bay on the occasion of the voyage of one of his junks to Cagayan and Pangasinan.¹⁶⁴ In the following year, the Fujianese pirate saw part of his goods confiscated by the *bakufu*, because of the discovery of four Spanish friars aboard one of his ships that had sailed to Satsuma from Cagayan.¹⁶⁵

Notwithstanding the condemn of 1606/1607, it seems that Li Dan kept his influence among the Spaniards of Manila and continued to trade in Luzon by means of his family members.¹⁶⁶

Mechanisms of the Luzon Trade

As we have seen so far, the daimyōs of Kyūshū and the great merchant families of Kyōto, Sakai, Ōsaka, Hakata and Nagasaki traded in the Philippines by means of several agents, who could be relatives, retainers, former-vassals, *Nan-*

161 AGI, *Filipinas*, 18A, r. 7, n. 47; Blair and Robertson 1903, vol. 8, 123f.

162 Iwao Seiichi 1958a.

163 Massarella and Tyler 1990.

164 Cocks 1883, vol. 2, 146.

165 Cocks 1883, vol. 2, 334. In 1616 other two junks came to Hirado from Cagayan. Cocks 1883, vol. 1, 150.

166 We know for example of his business with the Biscayan captain Garrocho, who sold in Hirado principally ambergris and Castilian wines. Cocks 1883, vol. 1, 9.

banjin, Chinese “pirates”, adventures and merchants of all sorts.¹⁶⁷ The mechanisms of the Luzon trade were very similar to those of the commerce between China and Manila. According to Morga, the several *somas* and junks that sailed every year from the Celestial Empire to the Philippine capital carried “great merchants [*gruesos mercaderes*], the owners of the goods, with servants [*criados*], and the agents [*fatores*] of other merchants who remain[ed] in China”.¹⁶⁸ Surely enough, the latter were members of the local gentry, who lived in the provinces of Fujian and Guangdong. In Japan, instead, they were the daimyōs and the great merchants of Kinai and Kyūshū. A good example of the mechanisms of the Luzon trade is provided by captain Manuel Rodríguez’s voyage to Manila of 1621. In addition to him, the pilot and the other officers of the ship, there were several Japanese merchants who shared the costs of the voyage and invested their money in the crossing, each one with its own quota.¹⁶⁹ Among these merchants, as we said earlier, there was also Nishi Sōshin, who bought a number of Chinese pots and porcelains. Nishi visited Manila at least eleven times between 1603 and 1618, and by the end of the 1610s had become the principal supplier of iron, lead and sulphur to the Spanish warehouses. In 1617, he obtained more than 10,000 *pesos* as a payment for goods he had bought in Japan on behalf of the Philippine government.¹⁷⁰ Just like the “great merchants” from China indicated by Morga in his *Sucesos*, by 1619, he had become rich and probably old enough to stay in Japan, and thereupon started to dispatch his agents to Manila. By doing this, he followed the example of the more influential traders of Kyūshū and Kinai, who had built up their fortunes on the overseas voyages and the *Nanban* Trade. Yet, not all the Japanese captains who sailed to the Philippines had such success. Many of them and most of the merchants who came aboard their ships made their voyage to Luzon only once in a lifetime. This was partly due to the kind of goods that they sold, since the most expensive and valuable products, such as (gun-)powder, sulphur, saltpetre, etc., because of their strategic importance, tended to be monopolized by stronger groups of merchants who formed together guilds (*za* 座) and associations (*nakama* 仲間). Furthermore, at that time, the voyages across the China Seas

167 The presence of so many agents is the principal reason why we do not find a concordance between the names of the receivers of the red-seal licences issued by the Tokugawa *bakufu* and those of the Japanese merchants enlisted in the records of the Royal Hacienda.

168 Morga 1868, 337; Morga 1997, 312.

169 Hayashi Fukusai 1967, vol. 4, 591f; Iwao Seiichi 1958, 274f.

170 AGI, *Contaduría*, 1208, quoted in Gil 1991, 440.

were too high a risk for the smaller traders, and only a few of them were willing to sail more than twice or three times.

The Japanese captains, as well as the Portuguese and the Chinese seafarers, plied the Kyūshū-Luzon route also on account of the Spanish merchants in Manila. Bartolomé Medina, for example, was indicated in 1616 as the usual agent of the influential dean and president of the Audiencia, Andrés de Alcaraz (in office from April, 1616 to July, 1618), who was the head of the Philippine government for two years after the death of Governor Juan de Silva (in office from April 1609 to April, 1616) in 1616. Alcaraz traded with the Japanese principally in Chinese silks and did business with several merchants residing in Manila.¹⁷¹ Among the latter, the Luso-Mexicans were the most active. Diogo Fernandes Vitória, for example, a native of Porto who moved to Manila from Mexico in 1580, invested his money in Japan, China and Southeast Asia, and made a fortune thanks to the voyages of the Manila galleons to Acapulco. Among his associates we find the Portuguese captain Manoel Luís, Governor Dasmariñas, and several other agents and investors.¹⁷² Still a lot of Mexicans took residence in Manila around the 1620s–1630s so as to run their businesses in Asia with the Japanese, Chinese, Indochinese and Malay merchants.¹⁷³ We know about the existence of companies between Spaniards and Chinese with the aim to buy products of the Asiatic continent as well as similar forms of participation between the Portuguese citizens of Manila and the Japanese of Nagasaki.¹⁷⁴ In 1610, the gifts destined to Tokugawa Ieyasu and his son Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (r. 1606–1623) were bought in China by means of a private company set up by two Spanish captains and one “Tante”, a Chinese merchant residing in the Parián.¹⁷⁵ By the mid-1620s, this kind of companies had become very common in Nagasaki, where the Portuguese ended up in accumulating unsolvable debts with their Japanese associates and creditors.¹⁷⁶ In conclusion, what is revealed is a very complex structure of collaboration and dependence between several actors, and the Kyūshū-Luzon route, needless to say, was just one segment of a much more extended and sophisticated network.

171 AGI, *México*, 2488, ff. 189r-191v; Gil 1991, 441.

172 AGN, *Inquisición*, t. 162; Boyajian 1993, 76ff.

173 Boyajian 1993, 237f.

174 Boyajian 1993, 77. Cf. Colín 1663, vol. 3, 648f.

175 Gil 2011, 174–178.

176 Boyajian 1993, 234f.

Conclusions

To sum up, we have seen how by the end of the sixteenth century there was a growing number of Japanese, Chinese, and Portuguese merchant ships plying between the ports of Kyūshū and the coasts of Luzon. These ships, that were not only destined to Manila, sailed across the China Seas and beyond, and linked the Philippines with China – Fujian, Guangdong and Macao – the Ryūkyū Islands, and the Japanese ports of Nagasaki, Hirado, Kyōdomari, Usuki, and many others. The Spaniards started to dispatch their own ships to Japan only at the beginning of the seventeenth century after an invitation of Tokugawa Ieyasu. Between 1602 and 1609, an official ship belonging to the Spanish Crown was sent annually to Japan to greet the shōgun Tokugawa Ieyasu and his son Hidetada. Yet, from that date on, several Spanish private merchants started to sail to Kyūshū with their own ships and they continued to sail to Japan at least until the end of the 1610s.

At the same time, the citizens of Manila, the members of the Audiencia, military personnel, religious institutions, even governors, participated in this unofficial and formally “illegal” trade with a quota, and then reinvested the profits in the voyages of the Manila galleons. Part of their investments was on behalf of the great merchants of Mexico and Peru who were in turn associates of other families in Lisbon and Seville.

The Japanese, on the other hand, gave up their voyages to Manila at the time of the third shōgun, Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (r. 1623–1651), but continued to invest in the Luzon trade with their silver capital by means of the Portuguese (through Macao) and the Chinese. Yet, by the 1620s the Japanese had already lost their interest in the Philippines, partly because of the trade regulations imposed by Tokugawa Ieyasu in the early years of his government, and partly due to the competition of new port-cities located on the Indochinese Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago.



Map: Part of the *Chōi ichiran*, focusing on the southeast coast of China, Japan, the Ryūkyū, and the eastern section of Southeast Asia

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- AGI = *Archivo General de Indias*. Seville (Spain)
 AHN = *Archivo Histórico Nacional*. Madrid (Spain)
 ARSI = *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*. Rome (Italy)
 BN = *Biblioteca Nacional*. Madrid (Spain)
 RAH = *Real Academia de la Historia*. Madrid (Spain)

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