



RELAÇÕES ENTRE A PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA E O JAPÃO:
DO SÉC. XVI AOS DIAS DE HOJE

Organização: José Teixeira | Hiroaki Kawabata | Isabel dos Guimarães Sá

Capa: José Teixeira

Edição: Centro de Estudos Lusíadas da Universidade do Minho

© Centro de Estudos Lusíadas da Universidade do Minho

© Edições Húmus, Lda., 2019

End.Postal: Apartado 7081 – 4764-908 Ribeirão – V. N. Famalicão

Tel. 926 375 305

humus@humus.com.pt

Impressão: Papelmunde – V. N. Famalicão

1.ª edição: Dezembro de 2019

Depósito Legal n.º: 465593/19

ISBN: 978-989-755-451-3

Relações entre a
Península
Ibérica e o
Japão:
do séc. XVI aos dias
de hoje

日本イベリ
ア関係史:
時空をこえ
る16世紀か
ら現在

Organização de


José Teixeira
Hiroaki Kawabata
Isabel dos Guimarães Sá



Centro de Estudos Lusíadas
UNIVERSIDADE DO MINHO

Índice

- 9 Relações entre a Península Ibérica e o Japão: do século XVI aos dias de hoje
José Teixeira
- 15 António de Faria, one of the first Portuguese travellers to Japan
Isabel dos Guimarães Sá
- 31 Influences on the propagation of christianity to the ruling order of Japan during the transition from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period: a focus on Pledges to the shinto deities and Buddha
Mitsumasa Hattori
- 41 The final campaign to suppress christianity in Japan: the Urakami Yoban Kuzure campaign and the province of Nagoya
Otsuka Eiji
- 55 The images of the japanese held by japanese-learning students in Portugal
Tomoko Yaginuma
- 81 Diversidad lingüística y uso de la lengua portuguesa en los servicios públicos de Aichi
Miki Itoigawa
- 97 Tangible and intangible contexts of the city as a mediator of change: research experience between Iberia and Japan
Katsuyuki Takenaka
- 109 Thoughts on early intercultural contact in japanese literature
Rei Kufukihara
- 115 From weapons to relics. Phillip II's treasury according to a Japanese/Jesuitical source
Catarina Santana Simões
- 129 Para a libertação do "tabu crisântemo imperial", uma possibilidade de outro constitucionalismo japonês
Hiroaki Kawabata

- 
- 149 Literary background of Musashi Tsukaraha shiaino zu
(The battle between Musashi and Tsukahara),
a nishikie produced by Tsukioka Yoshitoshi
Hiroyuki Miyake
- 163 Da Europa até ao Brasil e ao Japão: a missão jesuíta
e as experiências com a acomodação cultural no século XVI*
Mariana Amabile Boscariol
- 185 Manifestation of people's will in medieval Japan: modality and thought*
Michio Kamikawa
- 197 The nasal symbols in MODVS *CONFITENDI et EXAMINANDI*
by the dominican missionary Diego Collado
Ai Kubozono
- 209 Uma carta do Japão de Luís Fróis
Sérgio Guimarães de Sousa
- 219 What is born of the encounters arising as people come and go:
The meaning of exchange
Yuichiro Naruse
- 231 As relações luso-nipónicas
Jun Niimi

António de Faria, one of the first Portuguese travellers to Japan

Isabel dos Guimarães Sá
Universidade do Minho *

Resumo:

O facto de o testamento de António de Faria estar depositado no Arquivo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Porto oferece a oportunidade de explorar o papel desempenhado por esta confraria e pelas suas congéneres na transmissão da propriedade dos portugueses que morriam nos territórios transoceânicos ao longo do século XVI.

Faria foi certamente um dos primeiros europeus a desembarcar no Japão. Um fidalgo de Lisboa, testou em Goa em 1548 depois de confessado e sacramentado por Francisco Xavier (canonizado em 1622), que partiria ele próprio para o arquipélago nipónico no ano seguinte. Embora Faria tenha deixado poucos vestígios em

アントニオ・デ・ファリーア——日本に渡った最初のポルトガル人の一人

要旨

ポルトのサンタ・カーザ救貧院古文書館にアントニオ・デ・ファリーアの遺言が保管されている事実は、16世紀に海の向こうで客死したポルトガル人たちの所有物を移送するにあたり、同院やこれと同様の組織が担った役割を発掘する機会を提供するものである。

ファリーアはまぎれもなく、日本に向かう船に乗り込んだ最初のヨーロッパ出身者の一人であった。リスボン出身の貴族であ

* Departamento de História e Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedade (CECS), Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade do Minho.

documentos oficiais, é uma das personagens principais da *Peregrinação* de Fernão Mendes Pinto, que o transforma em pirata e herói. O seu testamento refere-se a um escravo que lhe teria fugido no Japão, levando-lhe uma das suas espingardas. Como estas últimas constituíram um dos fatores da unificação do Japão, este trabalho reflete sobre o papel de episódios aparentemente inócuos nas grandes mudanças da História.

った彼は告解し、翌年にはみずから日本列島に向けて出立しようとするフランシスコ・ザビエル（1622年に列聖）によって秘蹟を授けられたのち、ゴアで遺言をしたためた。ファリーアが公的文書に残した足跡はわずかであったにせよ、フェルナン・メンデス・ピントによる『遍歴記』に登場する中心人物の一人であり、彼はそこでは海賊とも英雄ともされる。ファリーアの遺言は、彼のもとから一人の奴隷が逃げ出し、ファリーアが日本で所有していた鉄砲のうち1丁を盗み出したこと述べる。彼が所有していた鉄砲が日本の国家統一の要因の一つを成していたことからすれば、本稿は、何の変哲もないように思われる出来事が、歴史の大変動の中で果たす役割について考察するものである。

Abstract:

The fact that the last will of António de Faria can be read in the archives of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Porto gives the opportunity to explore the role of this confraternity and its counterparts in the transmission of the properties of the Portuguese who died overseas.

Faria was certainly one of the first Europeans to set foot in Japan. A nobleman from Lisbon, he drew his testament in Goa after being confessed and anointed by Francis Xavier, himself to travel to Japan the following year. Although Faria left few traces in official documents, he is one of the main characters of the *Peregrinação* by Fernandes Pinto. The former's will also refers to a fugitive slave who escaped him in Japan, stealing a shotgun from Faria. As shotguns were one of the factors behind Japanese unification, the paper discusses the role of seemingly innocuous episodes in historical change.

This essay explores one of the oldest last wills written in Asia which can be found among the funds of the historical archive of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Porto. It belongs to a man named António de Faria, and was drawn in June 1548^[1].

Before we explore this document, its presence in this institution must be explained. The Misericórdias were a set of confraternities with similar rules that were disseminated from 1498 onwards in most Portuguese cities and towns, as well as in the territories of oceanic expansion. In opposition to most confraternities, they were not under episcopal authority, but responded to the Crown, which was to approve their rules and settle internal disputes. The role of the Catholic Church was limited to the supervision of the religious cult. Although as confraternities the Misericórdias were bound by Catholic religious principles, benefiting from the donations of the believers who contracted the saying of masses (and sometimes charitable deeds to the poor), they could nominate chaplains and supervise masses independently from the bishops. As a result, the Misericórdias amassed a lot of property, either under the form of urban and rural rents, or as owners of public bonds (*padrões de juro*)^[2]. Their role of receivers of the property of the dead extended to the Portuguese who emigrated to the overseas territories. Although the Crown could appoint special officers to look after the inheritances of the dead or absent, the *provedores dos defuntos e ausentes*, the fact that there was an existing network of Misericórdias wherever there were Portuguese settlements favoured contacts among them, especially in what concerns the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*. The local Misericórdia of each factory would send the deceased's will to the Misericórdia of the capital of the *Estado*, Goa, which would then send it to Lisbon, that would in turn contact the local misericórdia of the testator's birth place^[3]. Wealth would then travel across the sea, under the form of cash or bills of exchange. Many documents pertaining to these emigrants have vanished over the years, especially in its

¹ Arquivo Histórico da Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Porto (henceforth AHSCMP), série H, banco 9, livro 3, fl. 1 [1548-06-02].

² On public bonds and their role in the finances of the Portuguese crown, see Joaquim Romero de Magalhães, «Padrões de juros, património e vínculos no século XVI». *Mare Liberum*, n.s 21-22 (2001), p. 9-24.

³ On Goa as a political centre to the Estado da Índia, see Catarina Madeira Santos, *Goa é a Chave de Toda a Índia. Perfil Político da Capital do Estado da Índia, 1505-1570*, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999.

pivotal headquarters, the Misericórdia of Lisbon, whose archive is severely depleted of documents dated before Lisbon's earthquake in 1755. However, some Misericórdias in Portugal keep track of the correspondence with their overseas counterparts, a rich array of sources that has been underexplored^[4].

A *fidalgo* in the Far East and his last will

António de Faria is not a complete unknown to historians: he is the subject of a master's thesis, an entry in *wikipedia*, and even a novel, the latter written by Mario Rossetti (1915-2015), a commander of submarines during the Second World War^[5]. The historical sources used in this text have been read by other researchers such as Eugénio Andrea da Cunha Freitas, who wrote an article where he gave notice of this document for the first time, and also published its transcription^[6]. However, several years after these works, this source must be read under a new light, as the mention to Japan in this testament seems to have passed unnoticed.

Although the last will is kept in the archives of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Porto, the testator had no intention of donating whatsoever to the latter, as he left everything he owned to the Misericórdia of Goa, the city where he died. He was a *fidalgo*, and his parents, Simão de Faria and *dona* Filipa de Sousa are both mentioned in genealogical works; the family lived in Lisbon, where António was also born^[7]. How can it be explained that his last will is to be found in the archives of the Misericórdia of Porto?

⁴ João Miguel Fernandes, «Entre público e privado, entre a metrópole e o império: testamentos nas Misericórdias portuguesas». *Revista Portuguesa de História*, XLVII (2016), p. 215-235.

⁵ João Santos Cordeiro, *António de Faria: personagem da Peregrinação de Fernão Mendes Pinto*, Lisboa, Universidade Aberta, 2001; "António de Faria", https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ant%C3%B3nio_de_Faria, consulted 16 February 2017; Mario Rossetti, *Antonio de Faria pirata portoghese*, Milano, Ugo Mursia, 2009.

⁶ Eugénio Andrea da Cunha e Freitas, "António de Faria de Sousa, o da 'Peregrinação'", *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História*, 2ª série, vol. 20, 1991, p. 145-168.

⁷ His family is included in Manuel Felgueiras Gayo, *Nobiliário de Famílias de Portugal*, Braga, Pax, 1938-41, vol. V, p. 186 (Farias, § 142, n. 6 e 7) and vol. X, p. 475 (Souzas, § 240, n. 20 e 22). Cristóvão Alão de Morais, *Pedatura Lusitana*. 2ª ed., Braga, Carvalhos de Basto, 1997-1998, vol. VI, p. 262 (Farias, § 2, n. 6). However, none of these two genealogical studies include António among the children of the couple; he might be thus an illegitimate child, often ignored in such works. Zoltán Biederman and Andreia Martins de Carvalho suggested a second possible genealogy for this family, different from that proposed by Felgueiras Gaio and Alão de Morais, based

The content of the will must be considered first. Like many other testators, António de Faria drew his last wishes bedridden, in Goa, although he was lodged in the house of a man who had been a factor (*feitor*) in Melaka, by the name of Gonçalo Pires Darvelos^[8]. After the usual introductory sentences on behalf of the salvation of his soul (*encomendação da alma*), António wished his body to be buried in the convent of S. Francis, displayed in the bier of the Misericórdia and carried by the members of the brotherhood^[9]. No doubt the will was drawn at the last minute, because the notary approved it on the same day, referring that he had received communion and absolution. By the hands of none other than master Francisco “who was the rector of S. Paulo college”, that is, the would-be St. Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indies (canonized in 1622)^[10].

António de Faria declared that he did not have any mandatory heirs, and as such was free to dispose freely of his possessions: “I am not married, and I do not have either father, mother, son, daughter or ascendant heir that can inherit my assets by law”^[11]. However, he was heavily indebted.

upon the work by Braamcamp Freire, thereby linking Fernão Mendes Pinto to the Farias, who descended from Antão de Faria, king John II's chamberlain (Ansemo Braamcamp Freire, *Crítica e História. Estudos*, Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1996, p. 317). This is plausible, since there is a mention to a place called Samuel, located within the hinterland of Montemor-o-Velho. As shall be discussed later in this text, António de Faria also mentions land he inherited in that location. See Zoltán Biederman and Andreia Martins de Carvalho, “Home Sweet Home: The Social Networks of Mendes Pinto in Portugal”, in Jorge Santos Alves (dir.), *Fernão Mendes Pinto e a Peregrinação. Studies, Restored Portuguese Text, Notes and Indexes*, Lisboa, Fundação Oriente – Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 2010, vol. I, p. 52-53.

⁸ Each factor was appointed by the king as his representative and higher authority within each Portuguese trading post (*feitoria*) of the *Estado da Índia*. They regulated commerce and received custom taxes.

⁹ As providers of funeral litters the Misericórdias staged high profile funerals, which were to be attended by the members of the brotherhood, therefore marking the social status of the deceased.

¹⁰ “... reitor que foi do colégio de S. Paulo ...”, AHSCMP, série H, banco 9, livro 3, fl. iv.

¹¹ “... não sou casado nem tenho pai nem mãe nem filho nem filha nem herdeiro ascendente nem descendente que possa herdar minha fazenda directamente”. AHSCMP, Série H, banco 9, livro 3, fl. 5. According to Portuguese law, only family members within vertical lines were to be considered mandatory heirs; if the deceased was married, the wife/husband was entitled to half the estate (*Ordenações Manuelinas*, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984, livro IV, título LXXV, «Como o padre e madre herdão ao filho, e nom o irmão. E da molher que casou sendo de idade de cincoenta anos», p. 191-195; *Ordenações Manuelinas*, livro IV, título LXIX, «De como o marido e a molher socedem huu ao outro», 178 e *Idem*, título. VII, «Como a molher fica em posse e cabeça de casal per morte de seu marido», 23-26.

The list of his creditors is long, and they shall not be all named here. It included several persons who lived in Portugal but should inherit money from their dead relatives in Asia. This was a common procedure, which can be found in other last wills, the testator declaring the place in Portugal where such people lived. In Faria's case, he owed money to a man in Pombal and another one in Elvas. These were small sums, but, like other testators, he felt that he should reimburse the inheritors of the deceased. This formed part of a code of honour than can be detected in last wills: in order to alleviate one's sins, the testator had to settle his debts, giving instructions to the executors in order to pay them. Faria was familiar with the local Asian potentates, as he declared he owed money to the king of Sunda and a *xabandar*^[12]. He also mentioned Melaka, the port of call on the way to the Far East, and the *prata do peso*, that is, the weighed silver that served as currency in China.

However, Faria travelled further east, to Japan, as he stated in his last will that while he was there several of his slaves had escaped. Charles Boxer affirmed that the first documented trip of the Portuguese to Japan dates back to 1542-1543^[13]. Faria's will is dated 1548, and there is no doubt that he can be included among the first Portuguese that disembark at the Japanese archipelago. As such, his trip to Japan (we do not know if he went there more than once) was undertaken some years before the Portuguese crown transformed the route into a monopoly around the 1550s, allocating the annual trip to Japan to a captain general.

The assets of António de Faria, however, were not all located in Asia. He owned property in Portugal and this is the reason why his last will can be found in the Misericórdia of Porto. It consisted of some marshes (*pauis*), located in Montemor-o-Velho, as well as a slave named Francisco whom he declared to be with his brother Lourenço de Faria, who lived in the hinterland of this town.

¹² The kingdom of Sunda occupied the western part of the island of Java. Xabandar, a word of Persian origin, designated the administrator in chief of a maritime port (or even places located on the margins of large rivers). He issued navigation permits and operated as intermediary between the local government and foreign merchants, arbitrating conflicts and acting as judge. Cf. Peter Borschberg (ed.) and Roopanjali Roy (translator), *The Memoirs and Memorials of Jacques de Coutre. Security, Trade and Society in 16th and 17th-century Southeast Asia*, Singapore, NUS Press, 2014, p. 342-343. See also Luís Filipe Thomaz, "Malaca e as suas comunidades", in Idem, *De Ceuta a Timor*, Lisboa: Difel, 1994, p. 518.

¹³ C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*. Manchester, Carcanet Press, 1993 [1st ed. 1951], p. 23.

The Misericórdia of Goa should inherit the lands as well as the slave, as it was the sole heir to Faria's will, but its members were aware of the difficulties involved in their management from such a long distance. The confraternity abstained from taking possession of these assets and receiving the corresponding income. As such, it made a formal donation of both land parcels and slave to the Misericórdia of Porto, in a formal charter of donation between living persons (*doação entre vivos*).

This document is dated October 1554, a few years after Faria's death, and the purveyor and brothers of the Misericórdia of Goa explained themselves in the following manner: "as mercy here [in Goa] and there [Porto] is one and only in the heavens, and there are as many needs there, perhaps even more, than those here"¹⁴. This period is telling, because it stated that the mercy was everywhere the same; more, that the needs of the poor in metropolitan Portugal could be more severe than those of Goa.

We do not know if the Misericórdia of Porto ever took serious action in order to receive those assets, because they were never integrated in the inventories of its property. They might have been sold immediately after reception, but most sources of the confraternity are missing for the sixteenth century¹⁵. Maybe the confraternity never took possession of them, but the reluctance of the Misericórdia of Goa in receiving assets from the mainland must be noted. It was not always the case, because there were examples, even if rare, of persons living in Goa (or in other cities of the *Estado da Índia*) who received rents from their inheritances in Portugal¹⁶.

António de Faria as a fiction hero

Except for his last will, no other official documents referring to Faria have been found, but his memory is preserved in an improbable place: the *Peregrinação* by Fernão Mendes Pinto, where he is the most important "pirate"

¹⁴ "porquanto a misericórdia de cá e de lá toda é uma nos céus e as necessidades de lá serem tantas e mais que as de cá". AHSCMP, série H, banco 9, livro 3, fl. 7.

¹⁵ For instance, the minutes of the meetings of the ruling board (*mesa*) of the Misericórdia of Porto have vanished. Those available in its archive start only in 1559.

¹⁶ Such as Maria Rebelo Bravo, resident in Goa, who inherited an indentured estate in the Douro region from her father, António Rebelo Bravo, who had died in the *Estado da Índia*. AHSCMP, série H, banco 3, livro 5.

of the whole work. The afore mentioned Eugénio Andrea da Cunha Freitas, a dedicated historian of the Misericórdia of Porto, signalled his presence in the *Peregrinação* for the first time, deconstructing the idea, expressed by Aquilino Ribeiro and António José Saraiva, that António de Faria never existed, and was a mere *alter ego* of Mendes Pinto himself^[17]. In fact, Faria occupies more than a hundred pages of the *Peregrinação*, and there can be no doubts that he existed in real life, although Mendes Pinto transformed him into an intermediate character between fiction and truth^[18]. In fact, Pinto's narrative does not agree with the historical sources: in the *Peregrinação* Faria disappears off the coast of China during a typhoon, which the author situates in 1542, but Faria's last will was written in 1548 in Goa, where he died^[19]. Some of the episodes where he took part in the *Peregrinação* might have been ascribed to him in a fictitious form. According to some authors, the *Peregrinação* consists of a conglomerate of stories, some of them experienced in person, and others that the author had heard others tell. Rui Loureiro, in particular, considers the *Peregrinação* a conglomerate of scattered episodes that the narrator placed in the first person with the purpose of creating an illusion of credibility, his considerable field experience conferring them verisimilitude^[20]. What does the *Peregrinação* tell us about António de Faria?

Faria did not have any post in the administration or in the defence of the Portuguese presidia, and acted by himself, in the margins of the law, in an activity between trade and piracy. A freelance pioneer, who, together with other men, among them the Jesuit missionaries and anonymous adventurers, contributed to the creation of new maritime routes to European merchants: in this case, commerce between China and Japan, in which the Portuguese acted as intermediaries, using Melaka as an important pivotal seaport.

Privateering was legitimized by religious war: to a Christian, and very conveniently to Faria, someone who followed the law of Mahomet was a

¹⁷ Eugénio Andrea da Cunha e Freitas, "António de Faria de Sousa, cit", p. 145-168. Freitas referred to António José Saraiva, *Fernão Mendes Pinto ou a Sátira Picaresca da Ideologia Senhorial*, Lisboa, Jornal do Foro, 1958 and to Aquilino Ribeiro, *Portugueses das Sete Partidas*, Lisboa, Bertrand, 1969, pp. 223-248.

¹⁸ Faria is dealt with in numerous pages of the *Peregrinação*. Cf. Jorge Santos Alves (dir.), *Fernão Mendes Pinto cit.*, vol. II, p. 124, 130-260, 369.

¹⁹ Cf. report of António de Faria's disappearance in Jorge Santos Alves (dir.), *Fernão Mendes Pinto cit.*, vol. II, cap. 79, p. 260.

²⁰ Rui Loureiro, "Mission Impossible. In Search of the Sources of Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação*", in Jorge Santos Alves (dir.), *Fernão Mendes Pinto cit.*, vol. I, p. 254.

target to slaughter and vice-versa. And Faria was a good Catholic, willing to fight mercilessly the enemies of faith, torturing or killing them, and looting their property. Such actions did not scandalize most of his contemporaries, but they require critical distance from historians. Faria wandered the coasts of Southeast Asia, sometimes going up its rivers, his ship full of “on and off slaves”, plunder and expectations of ulterior wealth. Particularly interesting is the episode narrated by Mendes Pinto, in which the Portuguese men who lived in Liampó (Ningbo) awarded Faria with a triumphal entrance in the town and a solemn mass in its church after he defeated his archenemy, the pirate Coja Acém^[21].

It must be mentioned that Faria and Mendes Pinto seem to have benefitted from the same social connections. Pinto would have been born in the area of Montemor-o-Velho, where Faria possessed a family inheritance (the same that the Misericórdia of Goa would later place at the disposal of the Misericórdia do Porto). Zoltán Biederman and Andreia Carvalho stated that Mendes Pinto benefitted from this network of protection both in Portugal and during his years in Asia^[22].

Slavery in the Far East: the example of Faria's slaves

In his will, António confessed openly that he did not have the money to pay for his many debts, and he listed several slaves whose sale might help to settle them. However, the status of these men and women was diversified. The variation is so extensive as to deserve systematization. The table is long and perhaps fastidious, but it offers the advantage of allowing immediate readership.

²¹ Jorge Santos Alves (dir.), *Fernão Mendes Pinto cit.*, vol. II, pp. 229-233.

²² Zoltán Biederman & Andreia Martins de Carvalho, “Home Sweet Home: The Social Networks of Mendes Pinto in Portugal, in Jorge Santos Alves (dir.), *Fernão Mendes Pinto cit.*, vol. I, p. 41-42.

Table 1: Slaves in António de Faria's last will (1548)

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	Age	Future	Price/other information[23]
1. Janeura	F	Black	-	To be sold	At Pedro Cardoso's house (Goa)
2. Guiomar Madura	F	Java	-	To be freed (<i>alforriada</i>)	
3. António	M	Macassar[24]	Boy	To be sold	
4. Bastião	M	Macassar	Boy	To be sold	
5. António	M	Gujarat	Boy	To be sold	
6. Luís	M	Malabar	Boy	To be sold	
7. Pedro	M	China	Boy	To be given to master Francisco	1,5
8. Rodrigo	M			<i>Idem</i>	1,5
9. Fernando	M	China	-	<i>Ib.</i>	2
10. António[25]	M	China		<i>Ib.</i>	
11. A black man	M	China		<i>Ib.</i>	He is not Christian
12. Isabel	F	Black "China"		<i>Ib.</i>	7,5
13. Unnamed	F	"China"	Girl	<i>Ib.</i>	30 'lápys'[26]
14. Pedro	M	China	Small boy	<i>Ib.</i>	4
15. Lourenço	M	China	Child	<i>Ib.</i>	1,5
16. Diogo	M	China	Boy	<i>Ib.</i>	They cost nothing
17. Simão	M	China	Boy	<i>Ib.</i>	Id.
18. António Pires	M	China	Boy	<i>Ib.</i>	<i>Ib.</i>

²³ Price currency in *cruzados* from Melaka, equaling to 360 réis each.

²⁴ Term refers to Makassar, a port city in southwest Sulawesi.

²⁵ "o qual me mandaram uns chinás para trocar por outro o qual fugiu e este ficou". AHSCMP, Série H, banco 9, livro 3, fl. 3.

²⁶ The meaning of the word has not been found.

19. Francisco	M	China		<i>Ib.</i>	<i>Ib.</i>
20. e 21. Unnamed. Slave and wife	M+F	Pegu[27]		Escaped in Melaka	
22. Unnamed	M	Macassar		Left behind in Melaka	
23. "Negra" (Black)	F	Siamese		Escaped in Melaka	She did not belong to him
24. Brianda	F			To be freed	
25. Isabel	F			To be freed	Brianda's daughter
26. Cristóvão,	M			To be freed	Brianda's son
27. Lucrecia	F			To be freed	At Lopo de Faria's house
28. Joana	F			To be freed	At Lopo de Faria's house

Source: AHSCMP, série H, banco 9, livro 3, fl. 1 onwards [1548-06-02].

The usual miscegenation between the Portuguese men and their slaves needs to be referred to. António declared that his Javanese slave Guiomar Madura, now living in another men's house, Lopo Vaz de Sequeira, had a daughter that some claimed to be his; he manumitted her but emphasized in his will: "she is not my daughter and I do not consider her as such"^[28].

It is also interesting that Faria referred to his Chinese and Siamese slaves as blacks (*negros*), a designation that did not certainly take their skin colour into consideration, but was metonymically applied to all slaves, or at least to those who possessed dark skin.

Faria used some of those slaves to pay his debts, whilst others were manumitted in the will, but there is a substantial group that was bequeathed to master Francis. The majority of the Chinese slaves António de Faria owned were handed over to him, who "should do with them whatever he wishes,

²⁷ Corresponds at present to the city of Bago, in Burma. It was then the capital of a kingdom that encompassed areas now belonging to this country, as well as Thailand and Laos. The Portuguese went there to buy foodstuffs, as well as costly commodities, especially rubies. See Borschberg, *The Memoirs and Memorials cit.*, p. 374.

²⁸ "não é minha filha nem por tal a tenho". AHSCMP, Série H, banco 9, livro 3, fl. 3.

in order to discharge my conscience”^[29]. The number of such slaves totalled thirteen, eleven males and two females. Which use did the future St. Francis Xavier give them? Probably they would be trained as *línguas* (interpreters) in order to work as aids in missionary work, a hypothesis that needs verification^[30].

Because most slaves were meant to pay his debts, António was careful to declare how much he had paid for them, sometimes absurd low prices. The most expensive one had cost him 7,5 Melaka *cruzados*, the same as 2.250 reais; at this time, in Lisbon, a stonemason earned 60 reais a day^[31]. Table 1 documents the high mobility of slaves to the point that in some cases it was difficult to assert to whom they truly belonged. Some lived in other persons’ houses, suggesting that Faria was a temporary resident in the city when he drew his will.

A variety of situations in what concerns their acquisition is also depicted. Faria stated that some of them had been free (“they cost me nothing”), probably corresponding to kidnapped or vanquished enemies; other had sold themselves to him^[32]; and others were the offspring of slave women, their fathers unspecified.

Apparently, all Faria’s slaves (see table 1) were young, teenagers or smaller children^[33]. It is no wonder that Fernão Mendes Pinto declared himself in the *Peregrinação*’s prologue, maybe with exaggeration, that he had been captive 13 times and 17 times sold^[34]. António de Faria almost makes us believe this was true. The condition of slave must have been eminently volatile: today a slave, tomorrow a free man/woman, or in the hands of another owner.

²⁹ “...que faça deles o que lhe bem parecer, para descargo de minha consciência.” AHSCMP, Série H, banco 9, livro 3, fl. 3v.

³⁰ As is well known, Xavier travelled to Japan in 1549 and died in 1552 trying to get to mainland China.

³¹ *PWR-Portugal. Prices, Wages and Rents in Portugal 1300-1900*: (http://pwr-portugal.ics.ul.pt/?page_id=56), consulted 19 June 2016.

³² Further on in this last will, after having enumerated all his slaves, António de Faria, mentioned Pedro, “moço china”, as having sold himself for seven *cruzados*. As there are two Chinese slaves with the same Christian name, we cannot assert to which of them Faria referred to.

³³ They are referred to as *meninos* and *meninas* (boys and girls), that is, children, whereas *moços e moças* should be in their teens.

³⁴ Although in the end of the text Mendes Pinto declared that he had been sold sixteen times. Jorge Santos Alves (dir.), *Fernão Mendes Pinto cit.*, vol. II, p. 29 e 96.

A slave who ran away with a shotgun

Mention to weapons in Faria's last will is also consonant with the contents of Mendes Pinto's narrative. There is a *roqueira*, an artillery device that rocketed stone projectiles, six spears, two knives, as well as two *terçados* and a Japanese knife, as well as four shotguns. Faria had back in Melaka two *manchuas*, one bigger and a smaller one. One of the four shotguns was in the hands of his slave Diogo, who had escaped^[35]. The story that he tells in the last will is the following:

“... while I was in Japan a *nacoda*^[36], a Chinese boy from Hompedo ran away and in turn helped this slave [Diogo] to escape and took him in his company. The said *nacoda* took and stole from me 3.100 taels of silver, of which 1.200 belong to other persons and 900 are mine. I therefore command that the Misericórdia of this city [Goa] which is to be my heir and executor, should make all the efforts to receive this money, and spend it in whatever sees fit. The said *nacoda* above mentioned lives in Chinchéu^[37] in a place called *Simcuu* [adapted]^[38].

António de Faria thus entrusted the Misericórdia of Goa with the task of taking care of his affairs after his death, in this case of collecting money that had been allegedly stolen from him.

The slave Diogo, as we have seen, had escaped in Japan. Maybe it is relevant to note that he had one of the four shotguns owned by Faria in his

³⁵ *Terçado* - short sword with a wide blade. See Raphael Bluteau, *Vocabulario portuguez & latino: aulico, anatomico, architectonico...* Coimbra: Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesu, 1712-1728, vol. 8, p. 107. *Manchua* corresponded to a small ship used in Portuguese India. Bluteau, *Vocabulario cit.*, vol. 5, p. 282 and vol. 9, p. 13.

³⁶ *Nacoda* is a Persian word that designates the master or owner of a ship. Borschberg, *The Memoirs and Memorials cit.*, p. 330.

³⁷ Zhangzhou, in the Fukien coast (at present in the Chinese province of Fujien).

³⁸ “Item digo e declaro que a mim me veio um moço meu que se chama Diogo de que atrás faço declaração que estando eu em Japão me fugiu um *nacoda* moço China que se chama Hompedo o qual me fez fugir o dito escravo e o levou consigo o qual *nacoda* me levou e roubou e me levou três mil e cem taéis de prata, dos quais são de partes mil e duzentos taéis e os mil e novecentos são meus mando que se faça diligência pela misericórdia desta cidade de que é minha herdeira e testamenteira e ela o haja para fazenda aquilo que lhe bem parecer, o qual *nacoda* acima dito vive no Chinchéu num lugar que se chama *Simcuu*”. AHSCMP, Série H, banco 9, livro 3, fl. 4v.

possession: "... three shotguns and one that is out of this group which is in the hands of the said young man who is called Diogo"³⁹.

This is mere presumption, but what if this shotgun was one of the first that the Japanese managed to replicate and improve, in one of the most important transfers of technology that took place in the Early Modern period? As is well known, this weapon allowed for the process of political unification of Japan, transforming fragmented units at the hands of autonomous military leaders into a vast empire⁴⁰.

What conclusions can we draw from this episode? How can we go from a triviality – the loss of a shotgun in Japan – to a relevant analysis from the historical point of view?

Faria's last will reminds of the episode of the *Peregrinação* in which a Portuguese man, Diogo Zeimoto, had sold his shotgun to a Japanese lord, which was rapidly copied and replicated in thousands⁴¹. It is not relevant whether Faria's slave Diogo or Diogo Zeimoto left it in Japan, or even other unrecorded men. But the same cannot be said about the dynamics of change. The passing moment is fleeting, but apparently trivial episodes can be at the root of profound societal changes. In this case, the advent of the shotgun in Japan during the first decade of the Portuguese presence, an event of the utmost importance in world history. That is, this episode reminds us that single inescapable moments in time, apparently innocuous, have consequences to whose magnitude social actors seem unaware.

Chronology – António de Faria

1537: Fernão Mendes Pinto's departure to India.

1542: Francis Xavier's arrival in Goa.

1542-3: First documented Portuguese voyage to Japan.

1548-06-02: António de Faria's last will in Goa, after having received the last sacraments by master Francisco (St. Francis Xavier).

³⁹ "...três espingardas e outra que assim está fora destas é deste moço acima nomeado que se chama Diogo". AHSCMP, série H, banco 9, livro 3, fl. 5.

⁴⁰ About the importance of shotguns in the political unification of Japan, see João Paulo de Oliveira e Costa, 'Japão', in A. H. de Oliveira Marques (dir.), *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, 1º vol, tomo II, Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2000, p. 399.

⁴¹ Jorge Santos Alves (dir.), *Fernão Mendes Pinto cit.*, vol. II, cap. 134, p. 440-442.

1554-10-27: The members of the Misericórdia of Goa donated to the Misericórdia do Porto the assets inherited from Faria, which were located in Portugal;

1558: Fernão Mendes Pinto returned to Portugal, where he would write the *Peregrinação*.

1583: Death of Fernão Mendes Pinto.

1614: First edition of the *Peregrinação*.