

The dynamics of a shared periphery. Southeast Asia and the institutional relations between the Inquisitions of Mexico and Goa in the 17th century

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Abstract. In 1640, the secession of the Portuguese Crown from the Habsburg Monarchy put a halt to cooperation between the tribunals of the Iberian inquisitions, which, to varying degrees, had existed since the founding of the Portuguese Holy Office. Southeast Asia and East Asia never saw open warfare between Portugal and Spain, unlike what happened in the Iberian Peninsula. The caution shown by the Spanish Governors of the Philippines with regard to Portuguese outposts such as Macau and Borobos (Makassar)—informal establishments with different degrees of institutionalization—and the expectation that their inhabitants would declare allegiance for Philip IV allowed for the maintenance of informal communications between vassals of both Crowns. This situation created a favorable environment for the exchange of information and correspondence between the Inquisitions of Mexico and Goa when, in the Iberian Peninsula, such practices were interrupted. This paper intends to demonstrate how the configuration of the Iberian empires in Asia created conditions for the continuation of inquisitorial cooperation despite the Restoration wars between the two Crowns and the trade restrictions imposed after the end of the conflict.

Keywords. Cooperation, Goa Inquisition, Mexico Inquisition, Navigation.

Resumo. Em 1640, a secessão da Coroa de Portugal da Monarquia dos Habsburgo colocou em suspenso a prática de cooperação entre os tribunais das inquisições ibéricas que, a diferentes níveis, vinha ocorrendo desde a fundação do Santo Ofício português. No Sueste Asiático e na Ásia Oriental, não se verificou nunca uma situação de guerra aberta como na Península Ibérica entre Portugal e Espanha. A cautela evidenciada pelos governadores das Filipinas em relação a localidades como Macau e Borobos (Macáçar) – estabelecimentos informais e com graus de institucionalização diferenciados – e a expectativa de que os seus moradores se viessem a declarar por Filipe IV possibilitou uma comunicação informal entre vassalos declarados por Coroas distintas. Ao mesmo tempo, criou um ambiente favorável ao intercâmbio de informação e correspondência inquisitorial entre as Inquisições do México e de Goa quando, na Península Ibérica, tais práticas se encontravam interrompidas. Este artigo pretende demonstrar como a configuração dos impérios ibéricos na Ásia criou condições para a continuidade de uma cooperação inquisitorial apesar das guerras da Restauração entre as duas Coroas ou das proibições comerciais estabelecidas após o final do conflito.

Palavras-chave. Cooperação, Inquisição de Goa, Inquisição do México, Navegação.

When the Holy Office was established in Spain and Portugal in the last decades of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century, the Iberian monarchies that promoted this institution did not envisage its potential trans-continental transfer to the American or Asian continents. At the time of the foundation of the Inquisition in Castile and Aragon, between 1478 and 1480, Ferdinand and Isabella were yet to overcome the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada, while at the founding of the Portuguese institution, in 1536, the Portuguese presence in Asia was limited to a few scattered fortresses with no solid territorial base. Therefore, when the Inquisition of Goa was created some decades later, in 1560, followed by the Inquisitions of Mexico and Lima, in 1569 and 1571, neither Portuguese nor Spanish general inquisitors had foreseen the logistic challenges of conveying directives and maintaining communications between locations thousands of kilometres apart. To cover the oceanic distances that separated the tribunals from their farthest peripheries, the inquisitors often depended on mercantile routes linking distant territories¹. In the case of Asia, that meant coordinating institutional procedures that would take into account the specific meteorological conditions that regulated transoceanic navigation.

In this paper, we will discuss the specificities of the practices of inquisitorial communication and cooperation in Southeast and East Asia in light of the institutional framework regarding prisoner transfers and the exchange of correspondence between the Inquisitions of Spain and Portugal in the Iberian Peninsula. We will then proceed to analyse how Southeast Asia came to constitute a sort of “shared periphery” of the Goa and Mexico Inquisitions. We will contend that the disparities of institutionalization in the Portuguese and Spanish empires in Asia and the extended duration of institutional communications between the commissaries and their respective tribunals favoured the perception of Southeast and East Asian territories as rotating platforms in which inquisitorial justice could be upheld. As we shall see, the particularities of Iberian presence in the region facilitated the broadening of this pre-existing institutional culture of cooperation between Inquisitions even in times of war.

Since before the creation of the Portuguese Inquisition, the question of heretics fleeing from the Spanish inquisitorial tribunals was a subject for discussion for Charles V’s ambassador to Portugal (SOYER 2008: 204-205). After the introduction of the Holy Office in Portugal in 1536, both Inquisitions engaged in bidirectional communication at the highest level (MARCOCCI 2004: 105-106), and in the 1540s, the general inquisitors discussed the level to which cooperation between the tribunals should extend. Reluctance on the

¹ A reflexion on inquisitorial control over Portuguese territory from the theoretical framework of centre and periphery is presented in Bethencourt (1987).

Portuguese side to accept the transfer of prisoners to those Spanish tribunals in whose districts the criminal offences had originally been committed left the Inquisitions room to agree only on the exchange of legally binding information regarding the charges (*culpas*) against the defendants so that they could be admitted in court (LÓPEZ-SALAZAR CODES 2012: 230-231; MONTEIRO 2019: 94-96). The general inquisitor of Portugal, D. Henrique, generally opposed the transfer of prisoners, being open to that possibility only in those cases when the suspect had been previously detained by a non-Portuguese tribunal and escaped incarceration (LÓPEZ-SALAZAR CODES 2012: 227; MONTEIRO 2019: 96). Recent research on the matter by Ana Isabel López-Salazar (2012: 225-230) points to no formal agreement ever being signed, likely owing to this difficulty. In general terms, however, the convoluted beginnings of the Inquisition in Portugal and the need to consolidate the prestige of the new tribunal in Portuguese society likely led D. Henrique to prefer this cooperative framework². Thus began a practice of cooperation that was directed at facilitating the identification and apprehension of culprits without compromising the operative autonomy and authority of the tribunals themselves.

In the following years, questions regarding the transfer of prisoners allowed for a change in the nature of cooperation between the Inquisitions to take place (MONTEIRO 2019: 96). Towards the last quarter of the 16th century, the general inquisitors of Spain and Portugal agreed on an exceptional exchange of prisoners (LÓPEZ-SALAZAR CODES 2012: 231-232). In turn, this led the different tribunals on both sides of the border to directly manage such new occurrences, especially after the political union of Spain and Portugal (LÓPEZ-SALAZAR CODES 2012: 232). Even if prisoner transfers remained residual in the practices of inquisitorial cooperation, it was not an uncommon occurrence in the first half of the 17th century, until D. Antonio de Sotomayor, general inquisitor of Spain, decided in 1635 that all tribunals should consult the *Consejo de la Suprema Inquisición* and the general inquisitor on all extradition requests from the Portuguese Inquisition (LÓPEZ-SALAZAR CODES 2012: 240-242). Nevertheless, even on the eve of the Portuguese revolt of 1640 against the Habsburgs, and notwithstanding the context of the recent restrictions imposed by Sotomayor in Spain, relations between Inquisitions had were experiencing what López-Salazar referred to as “the golden age of

² The beginnings of the Inquisition's activity in Portugal were troubled by several years of tension and difficult negotiations with Rome on the tribunal's procedure and the definition of its jurisdiction. In particular, D. Henrique sought to ensure the preeminence of the Holy Office within the Portuguese ecclesiastical framework and to affirm the authority of the new institution (MARCOCCI 2004: 59-86; MARCOCCI and PAIVA 2013: 23-48).

cooperation [...] regarding prisoner transfers”, although the author considers this more a question of practical management than a policy coordinated at the highest level (LÓPEZ-SALAZAR CODES 2012: 238-239). In practice, the exchange of inquisitorial charges and genealogical enquiries at the request of inquisitors from the two kingdoms became so routine that the Iberian tribunals seemed to act as one judicial body (MONTEIRO 2019: 143, 193).

The cooperation of peripheries

These practices were, of course, facilitated by the relative proximity of the Iberian tribunals. In Asia, the sheer size of the districts and the distance between inquisitorial centres affected the process of communication in ways that were not comparable with the Iberian Peninsula³. Monsoon-regulated trade imposed a rhythm on institutional communications between the centre (the headquarters of the tribunal) and its peripheries, whichever they were. In Macau and Manila, the establishment of commissaries led to an annual, monsoon-regulated practice of correspondence with Goa and Mexico respectively (LOURENÇO 2020). Despite occasional obstacles to navigation (naval blockages, shipwrecks, forced arrivals), the process of communication was nevertheless very straightforward, as it involved a continuous, bi-directional communication between centre and periphery⁴. This was, of course, dependent on the availability of vessels and trustworthy couriers of both correspondence and prisoners. Should any of these situations be lacking, disruptions in communications were likely to ensue.

This occurred, for instance, in the communications between Goa and the island of Ternate (Maluku archipelago) in the early 1630s. The commissary Andrés Simi reported in 1630 that he was unable to send prisoners to Goa because there were no ships bound to the fortress of Melaka. He was left with the option of

³ For a broader analysis of inquisitorial communications on a global scale see SOYER 2015: 331-353.

⁴ The topic of the Inquisition in the Philippines has experienced a resurgence in recent years, with many researchers focusing on individual cases and types of religious offences. This new tendency put an end to more than a century of effective indifference on the subject ever since the classic and century-encompassing work of José Toribio Medina (1899) and the short-lived attempts by F. Delor Angeles (1980) to renew interest in the field. Recently, Fernando Palanco Aguado (2022) authored a thematically and geographically more diversified general history of inquisitorial activity in the Philippines, providing a much-needed renovation to Medina's work which, unlike Palanco's, did not rely on the documents sent by the commissaries of the Philippines. As for Macau, this periphery of the Goa Inquisition has not attracted as much attention as the Philippines, likely owing to the scarcity of sources. At present, there is no monograph covering the entirety of inquisitorial activity in the city. Macau's location vis-a-vis the city of Goa, in connection with the need to provide a functional institutional framework to regulate offences to the faith by neophytes, led the Inquisition to broaden the abilities of local commissaries (LOURENÇO 2022: 72-81).

either sending them to Makassar—the main port of the Gowa-Tallo sultanate in Sulawesi, where a small Portuguese colony was based—, aboard infidel-manned vessels on which it was impossible to ensure the incarceration and delivery of the detainee, or to Manila, where a ship to Melaka might or might not be available to travel onwards to Goa⁵. The unavailability of official convoys between Goa and Ternate at this time played a part in delays in inquisitorial communication. In 1631, Simi reported that his fellow Jesuit, Father Manuel Ribeiro—who was the bearer of inquisitorial correspondence—had failed to arrive, a failure he posited as having to do with the lack of transportation from Makassar to Ternate⁶. His supposition indicates that such difficulties were common and might very well be the reason that for three years he received no letters from the Goa Inquisition⁷.

As mentioned, the tribunals were ill-equipped to oversee vast territories or to manage the challenges of communication from afar. While in the Iberian Peninsula, tribunals from Spain and Portugal managed to exchange correspondence directly between themselves, institutional relations between the Inquisition of Goa and Mexico likely never reached the same level of normalcy even after the dynastic transition following the death of King Henrique, the former inquisitor general, in 1580. It is not straightforward to retrace these practices of communication due to the loss of the archive of the Goa Inquisition following the tribunal's suppression⁸. We rely heavily on only one side of this institutional relation, owing to the preservation of much of the inquisitorial correspondence sent from Manila to Mexico. In these letters, there is evidence for the existence of different forms of cooperation between both tribunals over the century. Due to the large distances involved, inquisitorial agents of the peripheries of both districts played an essential role in managing and transferring inquisitorial papers across regions not fully controlled by either Portuguese or Castilian Crowns. This correspondence also points to some matters being decided locally, as a result of a direct correspondence between the peripheries of inquisitorial districts, indicative of operations that involved a greater degree of adaptation in the way matters of faith were handled in Southeast and East Asia.

⁵ See the letter of Andrés Simi, SJ, commissary of the Holy Office in Ternate, to the inquisitors of Goa, 06.04.1630, copied in the trial of Fr. João de Matos in the Inquisition of Goa, of 1634 in LOURENÇO 2012: vol. I, 171.

⁶ Letter of Andrés Simi, SJ, commissary of the Holy Office in Ternate, to the inquisitors of Goa, 20.04.1631, copied in the trial of Fr. João de Matos in the Inquisition of Goa, of 1634 in LOURENÇO 2012: vol. I, 173.

⁷ Letter of Andrés Simi, SJ, commissary of the Holy Office in Ternate, to the inquisitors of Goa, 02.06.1630 and 20.04.1631, copied in the trial of Fr. João de Matos in the Inquisition of Goa, 1634 in LOURENÇO 2012: vol. I, 172-173.

⁸ Miguel Vicente d'Abreu (1827-1883) published the letters exchanged between the viceroy of India and the Prince Regent (future John VI) discussing the criteria for the destruction of the Goa Inquisition's archive. See D'ABREU 1866: 288-293. More recently, a new article discussed the transfer of inquisitorial papers to Rio de Janeiro following the suppression of the Goa branch of the Holy Office (FEITLER 2018).

In 1604, Luís Fernandes, a Jesuit commissary of the Holy Office residing in Tidore, one of the Maluku islands, entrusted the apprehension and all further procedures in the case of one Álvaro Miguel to his homologue in Manila, Fr. Bernardo de Santa Catalina. The Jesuit would have been obliged to report the case to the Inquisition in Goa. However, seeing as Miguel was on his way to Manila, he informed Santa Catalina that, regrettably, he was unable to place him under arrest as he was already outside the fortress of Tidore (Archivo General de la Nación [henceforth, AGN], *Indiferente Virreinal*, caja 3436, exp. 19). He did not request that Miguel be sent back to Tidore. Instead, he seemed content with knowing that the suspect, who was accused of facilitating the Islamization of Christians, was to be tried regardless of the tribunal. The commissary of Manila forwarded the information to the Inquisition in Mexico, who nevertheless chose not to follow through on the accusation (University of Texas [henceforth, UT], *Benson Latin American Collection* [henceforth, BLAC], *W. B. Stephen Collection* [henceforth, WBSC], ms. 917: 466).

It should be noted that in the commissary of Tidore's decision, no consideration seems to have been paid to the general framework of institutional cooperation between the Inquisitions of Spain and Portugal, nor was the tribunal of Goa consulted on the matter beforehand. Since no answer from Goa would reach Tidore until the following year, the Portuguese commissary made an impromptu decision to inform his homologue at Manila of the case, hoping that he could succeed where he himself did not.

The fact that, at the time, both the Spanish and the Portuguese were ruled by the same dynastic house likely encouraged commissaries from the two inquisitorial districts to coordinate their actions. Despite prohibitions of trade between the two Iberian empires, the reality of the Iberian Union favoured the circulation of people and goods, effectively contributing to deeper, albeit complex, relations. It is clear, that commissaries recognized the possibility of carrying out their functions in a more coordinated manner. For instance, the commissary of Cebu, Fr. Martín de Zamudio, reported to the Inquisition of Mexico that his predecessor would issue an authorization to captains or masters of vessels travelling to Melaka or the Maluku Islands from Cebu to place any Portuguese subject under arrest if they displayed any actions contrary to the Catholic faith, delivering them to the commissary of the port of destination. The Inquisition of Mexico ultimately decided that such initiatives should not rest on the decisions of lay people such as captains and masters of vessels. Rather, they should produce their denunciations to the commissaries immediately upon arrival and let them decide on the proper course of action.

Suspect individuals were only to be placed under arrest in case of flight risk and as a last resort (UT, *BLAC*, *WBSC*, ms. 917: 450).

Regardless of these examples, local, non-agreed upon initiatives from the commissaries seem to have been the exception rather than the general rule. From what we could gather from extant documents, commissaries and other figures of ecclesiastical authority in Southeast and East Asia more often functioned as distributors of correspondence from one inquisitorial district to the other. One such example occurred at the beginning of the 17th century. In 1601, the Bishop of Japan, D. Luís Cerqueira, conducted an enquiry in Nagasaki at the behest of the Inquisition of Mexico. The tribunal was acting upon an accusation made by Tomé, a Japanese Catholic, against a family of Portuguese New Christians, the sons of one Rui Pires (Pérez, in Spanish documents), whom he accused of being Jews (SOUSA 2015). In 1599, the Inquisition had asked its commissary in Manila to request that his counterpart in Nagasaki conduct an enquiry into the lives of these men by interrogating witnesses. The tribunal specifically instructed the commissary to inform his Nagasaki homologue that it would respond willingly regarding any matter concerning the Inquisition of Portugal in its district (UT, *BLAC*, *WBSC*, ms. 917: 8-9). The untimely demise of the commissary left the instruction unattended, so it was not until Fr. Bernardo de Santa Catalina was nominated commissary in 1600 that the tribunal's orders were carried out. As there was no commissary in Nagasaki, the request was forwarded directly to D. Luís Cerqueira, who promptly conducted the enquiry. Even though Japan fell under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition of Goa, the Bishop sent the enquiries to Manila in October 1601 without consulting the inquisitors of his own district (SOUSA 2015: 226-228).

As was the case of the commissary of Tidore, no mention was made in this correspondence to the standing practices of collaboration between Inquisitions. Communication occurred on the premise that whichever commissary, prelate or ecclesiastical person received the requests would carry them out. Such cooperation was to be expected, on the one hand, because both Inquisitions existed under the tutelage of one king, and on the other hand, because of the shared understanding on the purpose and function of the ministry (*oficio*) of the inquisitors in Catholic societies, in that it demanded that those who were detrimental to collective redemption should be tried, regardless of the presiding tribunal⁹.

⁹ It is relevant to recall that the reality of Modern Inquisitions was the result of the increasing codification of a judiciary practice (the *inquisitio*) evolving into formal, organized tribunals under the auspices of Iberian kings. The Iberian Inquisitions—as well as its Roman counterpart—drew on a series of “bulls and papal dispositions, conciliar rulings and every canon and temporal laws issued to fight off heresy”, which surely favored the notion of shared ministry amongst the inquisitors belonging to different inquisitorial systems. See TORRES PUGA 2019: 33-54 (35).

A decade later, the aforementioned bishop of Japan functioned as the intermediary in the first recorded act of communication involving the inquisitors of Mexico and Goa, although this never led to a direct correspondence between tribunals, as all requests were managed by Cerqueira himself. The situation arose when the prelate received information that a New Christian called Francisco Vaz, presumably burned in effigy in Mexico and on the run from that tribunal, had been roaming through the Philippines, Nagasaki, Macau and Goa¹⁰. The inquisitors at Goa could not form a case based on the vague accusation that they received from Cerqueira, so they instructed the prelate to ask the Inquisition of Mexico for further information. Cerqueira's letter, written in March 1613, only reached the intended destination in January 1615 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 293, fols. 153-154v). The Inquisition responded hastily the following month asking for more information on Vaz (UT, BLAC, WBSC, ms. 917: 331-332). However, it was unaware that Cerqueira had died the year before and that the Tokugawa shogunate had ordered all missionaries to leave the archipelago. Those that remained did so in hiding, and the situation in Japan made it difficult for an ecclesiastical person to freely carry out any requests placed by the Inquisition. As far as we can tell, these acts of communication ended abruptly, and no more information was provided on Francisco Vaz.

Another example of cooperation involved the commissary of Manila, Fr. Francisco de Herrera, OP, and the governor of the bishopric of China, who was based in Macau. After receiving information from Manila on the possible double marriage of one Ginés Barroso, the Inquisition of Mexico instructed Herrera to request from the ecclesiastical authorities in Macau a copy of the certificate of Barroso's marriage there (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 484, fol. 600). As reported by Herrera, the couriers he entrusted his letters to in 1624 failed in their task. He explained this failure to the Inquisition of Mexico as due to the couriers' fear that they had not taken the right letters (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 341, fol. 310v)¹¹. Therefore, no reply came in 1625, and Herrera had to renew the request. The real explanation, however, was probably different. By 1624, the diocese of China had divided into two groups, each obeying a different governor of the bishopric. Fr. António do Rosário, a Dominican who had occupied the post until 1623, had been deposed and a Jesuit elected in his stead (PENALVA 2005: 539-568). Rosário had been the usual correspondent in Macau for the Inquisition of Goa since 1617—although not formally a commissary, as the

¹⁰ On Francisco Vaz see SOUSA 2018: 206-207.

¹¹ The original reads: "quicas por temer no lleuasen las cartas devidas" (perhaps fearing that they were not carrying the right letters).

tribunal decided to suspend nominations for this city for a period—, so it was to him that Herrera wrote (LOURENÇO 2016: 190-194). As the situation was not resolved by the time Herrera—also a Dominican—wrote, we can posit that either the Portuguese to whom the commissary of Manila entrusted the letters were not of Rosário's faction and did not recognise him as the competent ecclesiastical authority in Macau, and therefore chose not to deliver the letters, or that they felt unsure as to how to proceed. While commissaries and inquisitors expected and fostered cooperation between both inquisitorial districts, it is clear that social contingencies could make cooperation inefficient or unreliable.

The communication of centres

This straightforward and direct communication between peripheries came to an end after the secession of the Crown of Portugal from the Habsburg Monarchy. However, unlike the Iberian Peninsula—where communications between the two Inquisitions came to a halt—the tribunals of Mexico and Goa did not suspend contact in the wake of the Portuguese revolt of 1640¹². On the contrary, the ensuing state of war led to what seems to have been the first recorded direct communications between the Inquisitions of Mexico and Goa. Up until then, commissaries and other ecclesiastical authorities complied to requests from the tribunals and wrote on their behalf to the inquisitors of another district. One case changed this framework of cooperation.

In 1643, one short year after Macau formally declared its allegiance to the new Portuguese dynasty, thus formally extending to East Asia the state of rebellion against the Habsburg monarchy, the Inquisition of Mexico issued an arrest warrant against a New Christian believed to be residing in the Philippines (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 416-2, fols. 415-416; LOURENÇO 2016: 278, 280n88; MONTEIRO 2019: 227). The suspect was one Jorge de Montoya, who was born in Castelo Branco and lived in Andalusia (Cartagena and Seville) before leaving for New Spain around 1618 or 1619¹³. After staying in Mexico City and San Luis Potosí for more than a decade,

¹² Interruption of inquisitorial communications in the Iberian Peninsula was not, it would seem, decreed by the inquisitor generals themselves; rather, it was a consequence of the war of the *Restauração*. After the conflict began, some tribunals unsuccessfully attempted to forward correspondence from Spain to Portugal (MONTEIRO 2019: 213-220).

¹³ Record of the trial of Francisco Díaz de Montoya in the Inquisition of Mexico, session of 24.04.1645 (The Huntington Library [henceforth] HL, HM35119-Series 1, vol. 25, fol. 165. I'd like to express my gratitude to Jessica J. Fowler for bringing this document to my attention.

Montoya crossed the Pacific Ocean to settle in the Philippines in 1635 or 1636¹⁴. However, he was not to stay there. At some point, he relocated to Macau to act as a broker for his brother Francisco Díaz de Montoya and other Manila-based merchants. The Inquisition of Mexico issued an arrest warrant for both brothers, but only Francisco was living in Manila, where he was detained in July 1643 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 416-1, fols. 282-282v). Jorge remained safely in Macau, if only for a short time.

In 1645, Manuel Fernandes, commissary of the Holy Office in Macau, received word from the vicar of Makassar and other Portuguese subjects residing there that a *familiar* from the Holy Office had travelled to the island bent on securing Jorge de Montoya and another New Christian named Pedro de Guevara on behalf of the Inquisition of Mexico (LOURENÇO 2012: vol. II, 303; SOYER 2015: 337)¹⁵. In the Iberian Peninsula, inquisitorial agents would penetrate the border for distances of up to 4 leagues without consulting the tribunal of the bordering district in order to conduct enquiries regarding blood purity (MONTEIRO 2019: 115). Frequently, *familiares* of the tribunals from different kingdoms would also cross the border to receive and transport correspondence (MONTEIRO 2019: 55). Such practices, however, came to a stop when the war between Portugal and Spain broke out.

The fact that a *familiar* of the Holy Office from Manila was able to travel to the Portuguese settlement in Makassar to imprison a suspect reveals the extent to which the Asian setting differed from that of the Peninsula. The Portuguese settlement of Makassar had grown under the protection of its sultan over the course of the 17th century. Its population increased after the fall of Melaka to the United East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, VOC) in 1641, when several refugees relocated there. As a result of this, Makassar became the centre of the bishopric of Melaka's government, and an *ouvidor* (special jurisdiction magistrate) with jurisdiction over Portuguese subjects was nominated by the viceroy in 1641 (BORGES 2005: 178-179). But the Spanish in the Philippines also enjoyed steady relations with the Sultanate, coming to

¹⁴ See the record of the trial of D. Margarita de Rivera in the Inquisition of Mexico, session of 13.10.1643. HL, HM35119-Series 1, vol. 25, fol. 161. D. Margarita de Rivera stated that "she knows, heard and saw that seven or eight years ago one Jorge de Montoya travelled to the Philippines" ("saue vio y oyo que abra siete v ocho años que passo a las Yslas Filipinas vn Jorge de Montoya").

¹⁵ The vicar of Makassar was António Fernandes. By 1642 he was already acting as receiver of the Macau commissaries' correspondence destined to the Inquisition of Goa. See the testimony of Jerónimo da Silva before Fr. Gaspar de Carvalho, OP, vicar general of the bishopric of China, 08.09.1642 (Arquivo Nacional/Torre do Tombo [henceforth ANTT], *Tribunal do Santo Ofício* [henceforth TSO], *Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício* [henceforth CGSO], maço 35, no. 3.

dispute VOC hegemony as providers of clove, which they had access to due to their presence in the Maluku archipelago, and in turn securing food supplies from Makassar (VILLIERS 1990: 170; SÁNCHEZ-PONS 2020: 305, 309). Therefore, both Portuguese and Spanish vessels continued to dock at Makassar, despite the Habsburg crisis.

Jorge de Montoya was married in Macau to a *mestiza* woman named Maria de Azeredo, and Pedro Henriques de Guevara had recently travelled to the city in September 1644 from Cambodia¹⁶. Manuel Fernandes informed the inquisitors at Goa of the impending departure of Guevara to Kochi, and that Montoya, who owed money to the Spanish in Manila, had surreptitiously boarded a galleon leaving for Goa¹⁷. Although he couldn't detain Montoya in the name of the Holy Office, as he had no specific accusation to lay against him, Fernandes nevertheless, and to keep him in Macau, ordered his incarceration on the grounds of the unresolved debts¹⁸. In this letter, Fernandes asked the inquisitors for advice on what to do with Montoya, for he had been advised by his ecclesiastical advisors in Macau (two of them notaries of the Holy Office there) not to imprison this New Christian on the sole authority of the arrest warrant of the Inquisition of Mexico. He obviously changed his mind, because we know that Montoya entered the Inquisition's prison at Goa in April 1646, and that the arrest warrant was expressly mentioned as Fernandes' cause for sending him (ANTI, TSO, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. no. 16700, fol. 7).

Manuel Fernandes probably made use of the prerogative to place a suspect under arrest in cases where there was flight risk, which since 1632 was the only prerequisite whereby a commissary of the Holy Office was authorised to take such initiatives (FEITLER 2008: 142; LOURENÇO 2016: 276, 282). We will never know if Jorge de Montoya would have been sent to Manila were the political situation in the Iberian Peninsula different. The relations between Macau and Manila had grown tense since 1642, when a party of Spanish representatives that had gone to Macau to secure the obedience of the city to Philip IV had been detained by local authorities (PENALVA 2005: 859-866). The situation only escalated after the Portuguese confiscated Spanish assets and expelled all "Castilians" living in Macau in 1644. In this context, there seems to have been little room for Fernandes to coordinate with Manila's inquisitorial

¹⁶ See the record of the trial of Jorge de Montoya in the Inquisition of Goa, session of 14.05.1646 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 366, exp. 4, fol. 89v) and the letter of Fr. Manuel Fernandes, commissary of the Holy Office in Macau, to the Inquisition of Goa, 03.12.1645 (LOURENÇO 2012: vol. II, 303).

¹⁷ See the letter of Manuel Fernandes, commissary of the Holy Office in Macau, to the Inquisition of Goa, 17.12.1645 (LOURENÇO 2012: vol. II, 304).

¹⁸ *Ibidem*: 304.

authorities even if he so desired. As it happened, Montoya was sent to Goa, and to our knowledge no request was made by the commissary of Manila or the Inquisition of Mexico for his person. The inquisitors in New Spain, having been informed by his commissary in Manila that Montoya was out of his reach in Macau, continued his trial *in absentia* and condemned him to burn in effigy in 1649 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 416-1, fol. 27v; HL, HM35119-Series 1, vol. 25, fols. 147-179v).

Meanwhile, in Goa, Montoya's trial lasted 5 years, a lengthy period that should be attributed to the peculiar circumstances of his arrest and incarceration. Having sent only the Mexico Inquisition's arrest warrant with the culprit, the commissary of Macau left the Inquisition with no evidence to undertake a trial, and no accusation on which to base its procedure. Therefore, the inquisitors of Goa requested that the commissary of the Holy Office of Manila and the inquisitors of Mexico send further information on the suspect. Montoya arrived at Goa on April 2, 1646. The inquisitors issued a request on the 24th of the same month (HL, HM35119-Series 1, vol. 25, fols. 178). With that, a direct act of communication from tribunal to tribunal took place.

The request was sent alongside a letter dated two days later to the inquisitors of Mexico, as well as another one sent to the commissary of Manila that had instructed the *familiar* to arrest Montoya in Makassar¹⁹. However, this correspondence took an unusually long time to reach Mexico City. It was only on March 9, 1650, four years after the letters were dispatched, that they were delivered to the tribunal²⁰. Inquisitorial correspondence suffered from the interruption of Manila-Acapulco navigations between 1646 and 1648 due to naval pressure from the VOC and to the grounding of ships in the Philippines (BERTHE 1994: 301-302; ISORENA 2015: 72). It is uncertain when the Goa inquisitors' correspondence reached Manila. The commissary did not send it in the *Encarnación*, the galleon which managed to resume communications with Acapulco in 1648; in that case, the inquisitors would have received the letter in 1649. It was most likely the *Nuestra Señora de Guía*, dispatched in the same year, that carried the news on Montoya's trial in Goa (Archivo General de Indias [henceforth, AGI], *Filipinas*, 31, N. 23).

Upon receiving the letter, the inquisitors of Mexico replied promptly, sending

¹⁹ The letters of the inquisitors of Goa to Fr. Domingo González, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, and to the inquisitors of Mexico, dated 24.06.1646 and 26.04.1646, respectively, are enclosed in the trial of Jorge de Montoya (HL, HM35119-Series 1, vol. 25, fols. 175-176).

²⁰ The date of reception was inscribed at the top of the letter of April 26, 1646.

a summary of the accusations against Montoya they had in their archive²¹. The information was sent to Manila in 1650, where the local commissary dispatched it to Goa along two routes in the securest way possible. As we have already seen, commissaries did not take security lightly when it came to the transfer of inquisitorial papers. In 1630s Maluku, Andrés Simi had preferred delaying the dispatch of letters or detainees rather than sending them on non-Catholic owned vessels. In the 1650s, forwarding inquisitorial documents beyond the Philippines to the Goa Inquisition meant transferring sensitive papers to rebels against the Habsburg Monarchy, across heretic-dominated seas, in a region where both parties might meet without the question of fidelity to Philip IV being addressed until once again they entered the more reliable channels of inquisitorial communication: if, owing to VOC pressure in Southeast Asian waters, such channels were still in existence.

In Manila, the commissary Fr. Francisco de Paula laid out a scrupulous plan to ensure a transfer of papers that guaranteed safe delivery to a trusted party in a way that would avoid military confrontations between Portuguese and Spanish forces. Two routes were chosen to carry out this operation. One copy of the documents was entrusted to João Gomes de Paiva, described as “persona de toda satisfação” (a trustworthy person), a Portuguese merchant settled in Manila who remained loyal to Philip IV after 1642 and who conducted regular journeys to Makassar²². As Paiva was preparing for yet another voyage to the Portuguese settlement, Paula requested a sworn statement from Paiva committing himself to deliver the documents to Fr. Sebastião de São José, a Dominican who acted as commissary of the Holy Office of the Goa Inquisition in Makassar (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 458, fol. 205)²³. In his absence, or in that of his eventual successor, the papers were to be given to Francisco Vieira de

²¹ See the letter of the Inquisition of Mexico to the Inquisition of Goa, 21.03.1650 (HL, HM35119-Series 1, vol. 25, fol. 178).

²² His presence in the Philippines is recorded since at least 1641, when the officials of Manila’s *Contaduría* recorded a deposit made on his behalf by Captain Francisco Fernández. Towards the end of the decade, the *Contaduría* officials recorded the payment of taxes associated with his voyages to Makassar, also indicating him as captain and/or owner of his own vessel. The trust placed in him by the government of the Philippines was such that he was entrusted with the supply of the Ternate fortress in Maluku in 1654 (AGI, *Contaduría*, 1221, fol. 552v; AGI, *Contaduría*, 1229, fol. 154v, 157v; AGI, *Filipinas*, 22, R. 7, N. 25). On João Gomes de Paiva see SÁNCHEZ-PONS 2020: 314. Some of this data was collected in the context of the project *Prosopografia das Comunidades Lusófonas residentes e de passagem nas Filipinas* (Prosopography of resident and temporary Lusophone Communities in the Philippines) (1582-1654) at CHAM – Centre for the Humanities, of the Faculdade de Ciencias Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa and of the Universidade dos Açores, funded by the Portuguese Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, coordinated by Elsa Penalva.

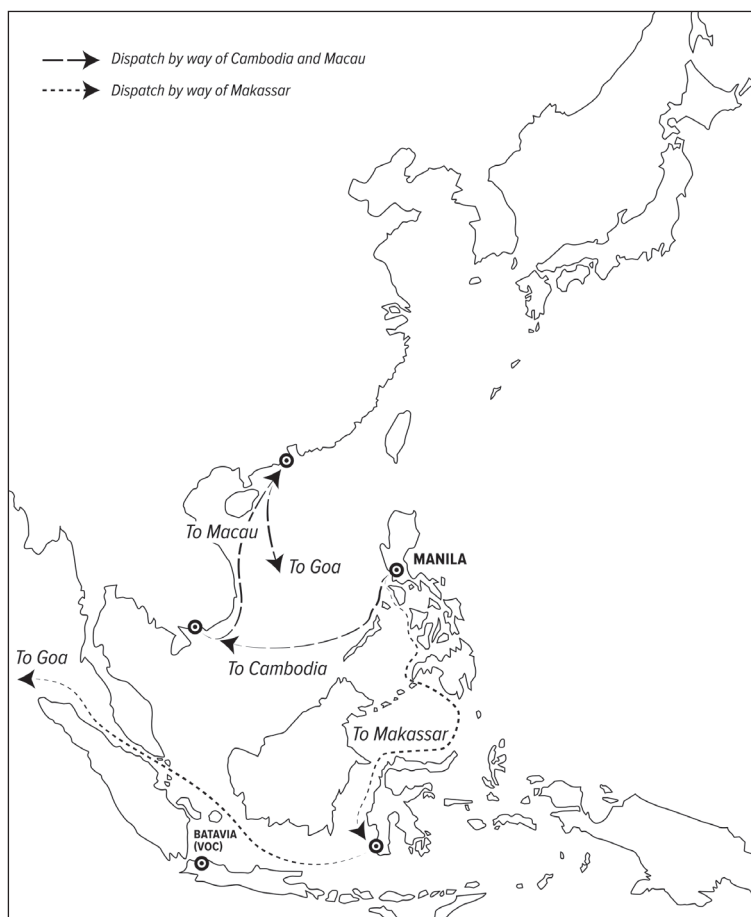
²³ See the sworn statements by João Gomes de Paiva and Diego Enríquez de Losada before Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, dated 14.01.1651 and 08.02.1651, published in the appendix (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 458, fols. 205-205v).

Figueiredo, a Portuguese merchant with connections to Macau and Goa who had made Makassar the centre of his commercial enterprises²⁴. Another route went the way of Cambodia, where the Spanish had established a shipyard as part of their strategy to counter the VOC's naval power in Southeast Asia²⁵. This second copy was entrusted to Diego Enríquez de Losada, who was serving as the *cabo* in the Spanish enterprise to build a shipyard in Cambodia. Enríquez de Losada arrived in the Philippines in 1617 and later lived in Macau for two decades, before being expelled with his family after refusing to pledge his loyalty to John IV of Portugal (AGI, *Filipinas*, 118, N. 2). Diego, who had risen to commercial prominence in the years prior to his expulsion, certainly knew who to entrust the papers to in Cambodia. And while we don't know who that person was, we do know that the intended destination was to be the commissary of the Holy Office in Macau, who was supposed to forward the documents to the Inquisition of Goa (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 458, fols. 205-205v)²⁶.

²⁴ Since March 15, 1650, Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo had obtained a patent of *familiar* of the Holy Office of Goa. By January 1651, news of this achievement had reached Asia, as Figueiredo was mentioned in that capacity in João Gomes de Paiva's sworn statement before Fr. Francisco de Paula, as well as a Knight of Order of Christ. This in itself represented an added guarantee of his reliability for the commissary, who could choose him as a courier for inquisitorial documents. For Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo, a Portuguese, to be chosen, however, it means that he was already known in Manila as someone trustworthy. In fact, he is already mentioned in *Contaduría* records as captain and owner of a ship arriving from Makassar since at least 1636. As Charles Boxer demonstrated, Figueiredo did not sever ties with Manila after the events of 1640, as he functioned as the Sultan's agent in his commercial relations with the Philippines. On Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo see BOXER 1967; BAPTISTA 2013; PENALVA 2020. See also the habilitation of Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo in the Holy Office, 1650. ANTI, TSO, CGSO, *Habilitações*, mç. 6, doc. 260; AGI, *Contaduría*, 1218, fol. 130v.

²⁵ At least since 1649, the Governor of the Philippines considered the convenience of having a shipyard in Cambodia because of the abundance of wood, iron and especially of people to work there, since the natives of the Philippines were strained to the limits. Diego Fajardo, Governor of the Philippines, to Philip IV, 31.07.1649 (AGI, *Filipinas*, 9, R. 1, N. 6). For more details see VALDEZ-BUBNOV (2019: 96-97).

²⁶ See appendix.



Map 1. Dispatches of inquisitorial correspondence from Manila to the Goa Inquisition (mid-17th century).

Only one of these routes was successful in ensuring the transfer of the documents from the Inquisition of Mexico, much to Montoya's chagrin²⁷. The Inquisition of Goa, which had decided to conclude his trial in 1651 after half a decade had passed since it had tried to contact the Mexico tribunal, reopened the case after receiving accusations against him²⁸. After the new trial ended in

²⁷ We don't know which was the successful route. In the letter they sent to their counterparts in Mexico, the inquisitors of Goa only mentioned that they "received the letter of Your Lordship of March 22, 1650, along with the accusations against Jorge Dias de Montoya by only one dispatch (*via*)". See the letter of the inquisitors of Goa to the inquisitors of Mexico, 09.01.1654 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 366, exp. 4, fol. 88).

²⁸ See the summary of the trial of Jorge de Montoya in the Inquisition of Goa. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 366, exp. 4, fol. 89; MONTEIRO 2019: 228.

1653, the inquisitors of Goa returned the favour to their counterparts in Mexico by sending a summary of Montoya's confessions implicating suspects living in Mexico City. They wrote a new letter in 1654 containing the summary of Montoya's trial, very likely the same one that the commissary of Manila mentioned he was sending to the inquisitors in Mexico in 1655 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 366, exp. 4, fol. 88; AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 603, fol. 387v). However, both the galleon *Nuestra Señora de la Victoria* and the *patache* that sailed in the same year were forced to return and the information only reached the tribunal in March 1657 (A.G.I., *Filipinas*, 31, N.40)²⁹. The gesture merited yet another reply from the inquisitors of Mexico, presumably expressing their gratitude to their counterparts in Goa (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 1548, fol. 40)³⁰.

The Montoya affair did not put an end to Mexico-Goa communication. As the war between Portugal and Spain progressed in Europe, another case of cooperation between the inquisitions of Goa and Mexico took place, one on which documentary evidence is scarcer. It pertains to a Flemish man called Jorge de Luna y Sersanders turned *Capucho* friar in Goa and later Propaganda Fide missionary in 1654. In 1658, Luna y Sersanders, now called Fr. Jorge de Santa María, reached the Philippines via Makassar aboard a *champan* of the aforementioned João Gomes de Paiva³¹. A victim of rumours and suspicions that he was an English spy in Manila, Santa María was to face a trial at the *Audiencia* of Manila. The commissary reported to the Inquisition of Mexico that the *Capucho* was on his way to China to conduct an enquiry on the missions of the Society of Jesus in the Middle Kingdom and that the speculations against him had been diffused through Jesuit circles³². However, upon seeing the accusations against Santa María sent by the commissary in 1659, suggesting fraudulent priesthood, communication with heretics, possession of heretical books and an unwillingness to live in religious houses, the Inquisition of Mexico

²⁹ See also the translation of the summary of the trial of Jorge Dias de Montoya in the Inquisition of Goa (A.G.N., *Inquisición*, vol. 366, exp. 4, fol. 102). In 1657, the *Nuestra Señora de la Victoria* would have yet another trying journey that forced it to arrive at Guatemalan coasts and to remain there for two months until being able to travel to Acapulco (PINZÓN RÍOS 2022).

³⁰ The book where this letter was copied is much too damaged and little can be discerned from its content other than the topic and addressee. There are several irregularities in the folio numbers. Folio 40 is marked as such, despite being, actually, fol. 44.

³¹ See the enquiry to Fr. Jorge de Santa María, OFM, by Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 16.05.1659 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 446, fol. 355); also, the enquiry to João Gomes de Paiva, by Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 11.05.1661 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 446, fols. 389-389v).

³² See the letter of Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, to the Inquisition of Mexico, 24.05.1659 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 446, fols. 351-351v).

decided to arrest him on March 16, 1660³³. On that same day, a decision was made to, once again, contact the Inquisition of Goa. In this letter, the inquisitors mentioned the previous act of communication that had taken place on February 28, 1658, whereby they thanked their colleagues at Goa for having sent the information on Montoya (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 598, exp. 25, fols. 338 and 348-348v). They also sent a report (*relación*) on Santa María that should be used in Goa to interrogate the witnesses on his life³⁴.

We know nothing of how the transfer of papers was managed in Manila at this time. João Gomes de Paiva was in Manila in May 1661, when he testified before Fr. Francisco de Paula on Santa María's case, so he may have been one of the couriers, possibly even, once again, through Makassar. The Sultanate had suffered a defeat against the VOC the previous year, with one of the conditions imposed by the ensuing treaty being the total expulsion of the Portuguese from Borrobos. However, Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo, by then a *familiar* of the Holy Office for a decade, was still active in Southeast Asia, even remaining in Makassar for some years, flouting the terms of the treaty³⁵. The *Nossa Senhora da Conceição e São Domingos Suriano*, a ship partially owned by Figueiredo and the Society of Jesus, which reached Goa in March 1662 (BOXER 1967: 33), may well have been the vessel that transported the inquisitorial correspondence of Fr. Francisco de Paula. The inquisitors of Goa began their inquiries in April 1662, a year after the commissary of Manila received the order to send the letter from the Inquisition of Mexico over to the Portuguese tribunal³⁶.

³³ Accusation of Fr. Pedro de Aguirre before Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 03.03.1659 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 446, fols. 352-352v); Enquiry to captain Martín Gutiérrez de Figueroa by Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 04.03.1659 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 446, fols. 353-354); Order of Don Miguel de Poblete, archbishop of Manila, to request the ecclesiastical papers of Fr. Jorge de Santa María, OFM, 03.03.1659 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 446, fols. 358-357); Ruling of the Inquisition of Mexico on the case of Fr. Jorge de Santa María, OFM, 16.03.1660 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 446, fols. 356-357); Arrest warrant of Fr. Jorge de Santa María, OFM, 18.03.1660 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 446, fols. 373-373v).

³⁴ See the *Relación* on Fr. Jorge de Santa María, OFM, sent by the inquisitors of Mexico to the inquisitors of Goa, 1660 (A.G.N., *Inquisición*, vol. 598, exp. 25, fols. 339v-339v).

³⁵ João Gomes de Paiva was still engaged in trading activities between Manila and Makassar, as evinced by his testimony before Fr. Francisco de Paula (see, above, fn 31). After the VOC defeat of the Makassar Sultanate in 1660, however, connections between Manila and Borrobos suffered from the new *statu quo*. And while the Sultan resisted to carrying out the order, leading many Portuguese to remain in the settlement for some years, Iberian trade in Makassar declined and eventually came to a halt after the destruction of the Portuguese settlement in 1667 (BORGES 2005: 190-192; SÁNCHEZ PONS 2020: 318). As for Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo, he remained with his family in Makassar until 1664, when he finally left the island, ultimately relocating to Larantuka (Flores Islands, in present-day Indonesia) (BOXER 1967: 29-47), so he may have operated the distribution of inquisitorial letters in some way, once again. See the enquiry to João Gomes de Paiva, by Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 11.05.1661 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 446, fols. 389-389v).

³⁶ See the interrogations by the inquisitors of Goa on the life of Fr. Jorge de Santa María, OFM, 25.04.1662-26.04-1662 (AGN, vol. 598, exp. 25, fols. 340-345).

The inquisitor of Goa sent the documents on two separate occasions: one after October 1662 and the other after January of the following year³⁷. Both reached the commissary of Manila in different moments. He, in turn, forwarded the documents to the Inquisition of Mexico in two consecutive years, 1664 and 1665 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 1548, fols. 85v-86). Sadly, we know nothing of the choices regarding the routes and couriers that would move the papers across the Indian Ocean and the Southeast Asian seas. We can only say that this communication concluded in 1666, with the inquisitors in Mexico writing to thank their counterparts in Goa. By then, however, Fr. Jorge de Santa María had already died, in Manila in August 1661, without even having taken his voyage across the Pacific Ocean.

Even though Portugal and Spain were still in a state of formal war—in fact, the 1660s saw an increase of military confrontations in the Iberian Peninsula—the tacit arrangement of non-aggression in Asia favoured the continuation of inquisitorial communications. At the end of the war, in 1668, the Inquisition of Mexico received another bundle of papers from Goa. However, we know of this only by a succinct mention on a letter sent to the commissary of Manila, and the content of the papers is unknown (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 1548, fol. 129).

The transfer of inquisitorial prisoners in Asia

The last known case of inquisitorial cooperation in Asia during the 17th century is the one where this symbiosis between districts is at its most efficient. After Francisco de Acha Ribeiro, a Sri Lankan *mestizo* who converted to Calvinism, was arrested in the Portuguese settlement in Ayutthaya (Siam) in 1684 by the local vicar, Salvador Fernandes, he was forwarded to the commissary of the Holy Office of Macau, António de Morais Sarmento. Fearing that his Calvinist associates would set him free in Melaka once the vessel crossed the Straits on route to Goa, Sarmento kept Acha Ribeiro in Macau, reporting the case to the inquisitors. The following year, the inquisitors of Goa wrote to their counterparts in Mexico, stating that they had decided to order their commissary in Macau to send the prisoner to Manila so that he might be sent to Mexico to be tried by the Inquisition there (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 675, exp. 3, fol. 329). With this in mind, the inquisitors of Goa took every measure to ensure that the tribunal of Mexico had all means at its disposal to conduct the

³⁷ The copies of the interrogations are dated October 17, 1662, and January 19, 1663 (AGN, vol. 598, exp. 25, fols. 358v and 346).

trial. They prepared copies of recorded statements of accusation against Acha Ribeiro collected in Hooghly and Goa to send to Mexico, as well as a copy of the original recorded accusations made against him in Siam (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 675, exp. 3, fol. 334-338v, 339-343v and 345-352v).

This time, another route and agent were chosen for the transfer of these sensitive documents. The Portuguese colony in Makassar was no longer an option since it had dispersed in 1668 as a consequence of the defeat of the Sultanate to the VOC. On the other hand, as peace between the house of Braganza and the Habsburgs had been signed in that year, direct relations between Macau and Manila were steadily reviving, if not without difficulties³⁸. Although official trade would not be authorized by Charles II until 1690, vessels from Macau were again calling at Manila in the years before official licence³⁹. Therefore, the inquisitors of Goa opted to send the papers to their commissary in Macau, where Francisco de Acha Ribeiro was being detained. In March 1686, António de Morais Sarmiento wrote to the inquisitors of Mexico, informing them that he was sending the prisoner to Manila, along with as the rest of the documents⁴⁰. Acha Ribeiro boarded one of the two *pataches* that docked at Cavite that year, either that owned by Vicente Ribeiro de Sousa or that of João Baptista Pereira (GIL 2011: 627).

In the meanwhile, the Goa Inquisition ordered further enquiries at Ayutthaya, Madrastapatan (Madras, now Chennai), Hooghly and Macau. These were sent in consecutive years between 1686 and 1688, proof of the inquisitors of Goa's commitment to seeing the case through⁴¹. It's likely that the remainder of the documents also reached Manila via Macau, as we know was the case of the papers from Ayutthaya and Madras sent in 1686⁴². Another possibility is a direct arrival from Goa, although Juan Gil did not register other entries of Portuguese ships in the years between 1687 and 1696 in the *contaduría* records (GIL 2011: 628-635). Nevertheless, communications with Portuguese territories were maintained during this period. In 1690, upon being informed

³⁸ As reported by the viceroy of India in 1677, the Governor of the Philippines prohibited trade to any ships sailing from Macau after authorising it on a previous voyage. See the letter from Luís de Mendonça Furtado, viceroy of India (ceasing), to D. Pedro, regent of Portugal. 26.01.1677 (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, *Conselho Ultramarino, Índia*, caixa 54, doc. 126).

³⁹ Juan Gil identified a return of ships from Macau to Manila in 1672, then regularly between 1683 and 1686 (GIL 2011: 618-629).

⁴⁰ See the letter of Fr. António de Morais Sarmiento, commissary of the Holy Office in Macau, to the Inquisition of Mexico, 23.03.1686 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 675, exp. 3, fols. 330-330v).

⁴¹ See the letters of the inquisitors of Goa to the inquisitors of Mexico, 09.05.1686, 25.04.1687 and May 1688 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 675, fols. 358-358v, 366, 382).

⁴² Manuel Gonçalves Guião, inquisitor of Goa, to the Inquisition of Mexico, 09.05.1686 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 675, fol. 366).

by the inquisitors of Mexico that Acha Ribeiro had died at sea in the vessel bound to Acapulco in 1688, the commissary of Manila conducted an enquiry on their orders on the subject, which he also sent to the Inquisition of Goa. He reported having sent information on a vessel that was heading there directly, as well as on a vessel bound for Macau⁴³. On that occasion, the commissary, now Fr. Baltazar de Santa Cruz, also sent the letters written in 1689 by the inquisitors of Mexico to their counterparts in Goa and the commissary of Macau. Fr. Baltazar referred to the difficulties of collaborating with the Inquisition of Goa, stating that “Portuguese vessels don’t arrive here, firstly because they are not allowed to, and secondly because I don’t believe they have a single one in all India”⁴⁴.

After the fall of Makassar, it seems clear that the role of redistributor of institutional communications between the Inquisitions of Goa and Mexico fell on Macau. Commissaries nominated by the Inquisition of Goa in Southeast Asia were far from being stable, and by 1685 Macau had the longest standing commissariat east of Melaka. This tribunal was certainly aware of the fragility of its institutional representation in the region, and of the way it contrasted with the institutional density of the commissariats in the Philippines. The limitations of Portuguese power in the region on the one hand, and the varied nature of the *Estado da Índia* there, with several semi-institutional settlements, on the other, favoured inquisitorial cooperation that included the transfer of prisoners to the more institutionally consolidated side, that of the Philippines. When one considers the resistance with which the topic of the transfer of prisoners was met with in the Iberian Peninsula, it is not only striking that the Inquisition of Goa transferred Acha Ribeiro, but also that the decision was validated by the general inquisitor himself, D. Veríssimo de Lencastre. In 1687, he informed his inquisitors in Goa that they had done well in moving the prisoner to Manila (ANTI, TSO, CGSO, livro 102, fols. 32v-33).

Acha Ribeiro did not fare better than Fr. Jorge de Santa María. In 1686, the governor of the Philippines commandeered the galleon *Santo Niño* that had been supposed to travel to Acapulco for military purposes, with the result that only a *patache* was left to undertake the journey. As a result, the commissary decided to not risk sending Acha Ribeiro, due to the uncertainty as to whether the smaller vessel could complete the voyage⁴⁵. In the letter he wrote

⁴³ Fr. Baltazar de Santa Cruz, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, to the Inquisition of Mexico, 09.06.1690 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 675, exp. 3, fol. 365).

⁴⁴ The original reads: “Barco de Portugueses no llega aqui, lo uno por la prohibicion Y lo otro porque no Juzgo que lo tienen proprio en toda la india”.

⁴⁵ In fact, it did not conclude the journey. Unable to reach the Marianas, the Portuguese pilot Pedro Simões de Carvalho decided to return to the Philippines (CALVO 2016: 112-114).

to the Inquisition of Mexico in 1687, Fr. Baltazar was still not sure whether his prisoner could embark as the ship was still being prepared to fend off possible attacks⁴⁶. It did sail, but after a disastrous journey it had to return to the Philippines, unable to complete its course (CALVO 2016: 118-121). It would not be until 1688 that another ship completed the journey to Acapulco. Acha Ribeiro, however, never made it to New Spain. After four years in the custody of one commissary or another, he perished on route to Acapulco on December 8. The inquisitors of Mexico reported his death to the commissary of Manila, to the Inquisition of Goa and to António de Morais Sarmiento (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 650, fols. 137v-138v). The news reached Goa at some point in 1690. In April of that year, the inquisitors of this city wrote to Fr. Baltazar de Santa Cruz, who had forwarded the correspondence from Mexico on November 1689, that with Acha Ribeiro's death "all [these affairs are] concluded, and concluding as Your Paternity confirms, it seemed to us that the tribunal of Mexico did not require an answer"⁴⁷.

Concluding remarks

Relations between the peripheries of different imperial inquisitorial districts still require in-depth studies with regard to how these centres communicated with each other, what constraints limited effective cooperation, or even whether such willingness to engage in collaborative actions occurred in border complexes such as those of Brazil/Rio de la Plata. In Asia, partly because of the convergence and complementarity of interests between the Portuguese and Spanish during the sixty years of the Iberian Union, and partly because of the contingent (Macau) or protected (Makassar) nature of the Portuguese settlements in the region, the Philippine authorities favoured a strategy of non-aggression against the Iberian rebels, since military occupation would not guarantee the continuity of Spanish interests in those territories. In this way, cooperation between Inquisitions benefited from the existence of a neutral space in which to carry out the transfer of inquisitorial documents. Spaces such as Makassar or Cambodia functioned as a buffer zone, as if shared territories that allowed for the extension of cooperative

⁴⁶ See the letter of Fr. Baltazar de Santa Cruz, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, to the Inquisition of Mexico, 09.06.1690 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 675, exp. 3, fol. 331).

⁴⁷ See the letter of the Inquisition of Goa to Fr. Baltazar de Santa Cruz, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 07.04.1690 (AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 675, exp. 3, fol. 396): "se acaba tudo, acabando tambem como V. P. nos certifica, nos pareceo não necessitaua aquella Tribunal de Mexico de reposta".

initiatives between peripheries, something reflected in decisions such as that taken by the commissary of Tidore in 1604.

The insurmountable difficulties the Goa Inquisition faced in ensuring communications in its district favoured a rapprochement of the different peripheries with the inquisitorial authorities of the Philippines. The distance of the tribunals from the main conflict points between the Habsburgs and the Braganza created the conditions for inquisitors to request information from tribunals bound to kingdoms that were at war with each other. The fragmented island geography of Southeast Asia provided the necessary conditions for collaboration between distinct Inquisitions to take place, while elsewhere on the planet, war prevented it. The institutional peculiarities of the Iberian presence in Southeast Asia thus generated a kind of “shared periphery” during the war period, a space within which inquisitorial agents could circulate and operate. After the signing of peace between Portugal and Spain, the retraction of Portuguese power in the region led to even closer cooperation between the Inquisitions of Mexico and Goa. The institutional practices of communication in the unique Asian confines of the Iberian Inquisitions reflected, as such, a remarkable and autonomous framework of collaboration.

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Archivo General de Indias, *Filipinas*, 22, R. 7, N. 25 (Letter from Juan de Bolívar y Cruz, *fiscal* of the Manila *Audiencia*, to Philip IV, 19.07.1655).

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Archivo General de Indias, *Filipinas*, 31, N. 40 (Letter from the Manila *Cabildo* to Philip IV, 15.07.1656).

Archivo General de Indias, *Filipinas*, 118, N. 2 (Summary of Francisco Enríquez de Losada's services to the Crown, 08.06.1680).

Archivo General de la Nación, *Indiferente Virreinal*, caja 3436, exp. 19 (Letter from Luís Fernandes, SJ, commissary of the Holy Office in Tidore, to Fr. Bernardo de Santa Catalina, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 12.08.1604).

- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 293, fols. 153-154v (Letter from D. Luís Cerqueira, SJ, bishop of Japan, to the Inquisition of Mexico, 21.03.1613).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 341, fol. 310v (Certificate by Fr. Francisco de Herrera, OP, to the Inquisition of Mexico, s.d. (c. July 1626)).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 366, exp. 4, fols. 88-101 (Partial copy of the trials of Jorge de Montoya in the Inquisition of Goa, copied in 1654).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 416-1, fols. 27-27v (Fr. Francisco de Herrera, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, to the Inquisition of Mexico, 04.08.1643).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 416-1, fols. 282-282v (Copy of the inventory of the assets of Francisco Dias de Montoya, 09.07.1643).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 416-2, fols. 415-416 (Arrest order against Jorge de Montoya issued by the Inquisition of Mexico, 10-01-1643).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 446, fols. 349-606 (Trial of Fr. Jorge de Santa María, OFM, by the Inquisition of Mexico, 1659-1661).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 446, fols. 355-355v (Interrogation to Fr. Jorge de Santa María, OFM, by Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 16.05.1659).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 446, fols. 389-389v (enquiry to João Gomes de Paiva, by Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 11.05.1661).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 458, fol. 205 (Sworn statement by João Gomes de Paiva before Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 14.01.1651).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 458, fols. 205-205v (Sworn statement by Diego Enríquez de Losada before Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 08.02.1651).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 484, fols. 599v-600 (Letter from the Inquisition of Mexico to Fr. Francisco de Herrera, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 15.03.1624).
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- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 603, fols. 387-388 (Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, to the Inquisition of Mexico, 16.07.1655).

- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 650, fols. 137v-138 (Letter from the Inquisition of Mexico to the Inquisition of Goa, 17.03.1689).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 650, fol. 138 (Letter from the Inquisition of Mexico to Fr. António de Morais Sarmiento, commissary of the Holy Office in Macau, 17.03.1689).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 650, fols. 138-138v (Letter from the Inquisition of Mexico to Fr. Baltazar de Santa Cruz, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, to the Inquisition of Goa, 17.03.1689).
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- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 1548, fols. 37-41v (The inquisitors of Mexico to Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 27.02.1658).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 1548, fols. 85v-86 (Letter from the inquisitors of Mexico to Fr. José Paternina Samaniego, OSA, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 06.03.1666).
- Archivo General de la Nación, *Inquisición*, vol. 1548, fol. 129 (Letter from the inquisitors of Mexico to Fr. José Paternina Samaniego, OSA, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 05.03.1668).
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- ms. 917 (Letter from the Inquisition of Mexico to Fr. Juan Maldonado, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, 28.02.1598), 7-10.
University of Texas, *Benson Latin American Collection, W.B. Stephen Collection*,
ms. 917 (Letter from the Inquisition of Mexico to Fr. Martín de Zamudio, OSA, commissary of the Holy Office in Cebu, 30.01.1601), 447-451.
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ms. 917 (Letter from the Inquisition of Mexico to D. Luís Cerqueira, SJ, bishop of Japan, 28.02.1615), 331-332.
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Appendix

Copy of the sworn statements by João Gomes de Paiva and Diego Enríquez de Losada, before Fr. Francisco de Paula, OP, commissary of the Holy Office in Manila, from January 13 to February 18, 1651 (copy made on July 10, 1651). AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 458, fols. 205-205v.

[fol. 205]

Testimonio del despacho de el pliego de esta Ynquisicion
Para la de la çiudad de Goa –

En la Ciudad de Manila y Sala del despacho, en treçe dias del mes de Henero de mill y seyscientos y cinquenta y un años el Reuerendo Padre de Prouincia Fr. Francisco de Paula Comissario del santo officio de esta Ciudad de Manila: dixo que por quanto los muy Jllustres Señores Jnquisidores Appostolicos del Santo Officio de la Jnquisicion de la Ciudad de Mexico y sus Reynos nos remitieron vn pliego de Cartas duplicado para el Tribunal del Santo Officio de la Jnquisicion de la Ciudad de Goa y nos ordenan y mandan, que en la primera ocasion lo remitamos con persona segura. Y por quanto el Cappitan Juan Gomez de Payua, persona de toda satisfaçion Vezino de esta Ciudad de Manila, esta de partida en su patache San Juan para el Reyno de Macazar donde al pressente solo ay commercio con estas Jslas: le ordena, y manda, se entregue de vn pliego Jntitulado Al Tribunal del Santo Officio de la Jnquisicion de la Ciudad de Goa, guarde nuestro Señor. Primera via. Jnquisicion de Mexico = Goa que es de tres dedos de alto, y esta sellado por de fuera con el sello del Santo Officio Y llegado que llegue al dicho Reyno de Macazar le entregue al Reuerendo Padre Fr. Sebastian de S. Joseph, de la Orden de Señor Santo Domingo Comissario del Santo Officio y por su ausencia, a la persona que tubiere dicha comision, y por la de ambos al Cappitan Francisco Viera de figueredo Caballero del habito de Christo, porque assi combiene al seruicio del Santo Officio Y para que con todo cuydado, y Vigilancia, lo haga, se le ordena, y manda lo haga, pena de que sera castigado a voluntad de los Señores Jnquisidores; y asi mesmo se le ordena, y manda, que de dicho pliego, dexe vn rezibo por duplicado. Assi lo proueyó, y mandó = Fr. Francisco de Paula. Paso ante mi. Fr. Jacintho Altamirano Notario.

En catorçe dias del mes de Henero, de mill, y seiscientos y cinquenta y un años. Yo el pressente Notario notifique El Auto desta otra parte a la persona del Capitan Juan Gomez de Payua Y auiendole oydo, y entendido, dixo, que

esta presto para obedecer lo que se le manda, y que antes de irse rezibira dicho pliego, y dara las Cartas de Pago. Testigo el Padre Fr. lorenço de Veyntemilla, y el Padre Fr. Antonio de Barros. Juan Gomez de Payua. Fr. Jacintho Altamirano. Notario de que doy fee.

El Cappitan Juan Gomez de Payua, Vezino desta Ciudad de Manila, que al pressente esta de partida, para el Reyno de Maçazar, en su Patache llamado San Juan. Digo que Reciuí del Reuerendo Padre de Prouinçia Fray Francisco de Paula Comissario del Santo officio desta Ciudad de Manila, Vn pliego de Cartas, intitulado Al Tribunal del Santo Officio de la Jnquisicion de la Ciudad de Goa guarde nuestro Señor &.^a Primera Via = Jnquisicion de Mexico = Goa. Que es de tres dedos de alto. El qual guardando el orden del dicho Reuerendo Padre Comissario entregare en Macazar, al Comissario del Santo Officio el Reuerendo Padre Fr. Sebastian de S. Joseph, y por su ausencia, al que tubiere, o hiziere vezes de Comissario del Santo Officio Y por la de ambos, al Capitan Francisco Biera de Figueredo Caballero del habito de Christo familiar del Santo Officio para que qualquiera de los dichos, ayan, y reziban dicho Pliego, y le remitan con todo cuydado al tribunal del Santo Officio de la Jnquisicion de la Ciudad de Goa, con persona segura, y de toda satisfaccion Y asimesmo, me obligo (dandome el Señor salud, de entregar otra Carta pequeña, para dicho Padre Comissario, y por ausencia, al Cappitan Francisco Viera de Figueredo Caballero del habito de christo, familiar del Santo Officio y por la de ambos a la persona que tubiere officio de Comissario del Santo Officio de todo lo qual traere Registo, como se me ordena, y manda. Y lo firme de mi nombre, en catorçe dias del mes de Henero, de mill, y seyscientos y cinquenta y vn años. Juan Gomez de Payua. Pasó ante mi. Fr. Jacintho Altamirano Notario.

El Cappitan Diego Henrriquez de Lozada, Cabo superior de la gente de Mar, y guerra, que al pressente Va al astillero que se ha de hazer en el Reyno de Camboja: Digo que rezebi del Reuerendo Padre de Prouincia fr. Francisco de Paula de la Orden de Predicadores, Comissario del Santo Officio en esta Ciudad de Manila, vn pliego de tres dedos de alto, intitulado Al Tribunal del Santo Officio de la Jnquisicion de la Ciudad de Goa &.^a guarde Nuestro Señor 2.^a via. Jnquizicion de Mexico Goa Y sellada con el sello del Santo Tribunal de la Jnquizicion El qual, Juntamente con vna carta de dicho Padre Comissario rotulada al comi[ss]ario del Santo Officio de la Jnquizicion de la Ciudad de Macan guarde nuestro Señor llebare a mi cargo, y dandome el Señor salud, en llegando al // [fol. 205v] dicho Reyno de Camboja, procurare en la primera ocasion remitirlo a dicha Ciudad de Macan con persona segura tomando rezibo, y guardando el orden que para este effecto llebo. Y para que conste di esta firmada de mi nombre, oy diez, y ocho dias del mes de Febrero, mill, seys-

cientos çinquenta y vn años. Diego Enrriquez de Lozada. Ante mi Fr. Jacintho Altamirano, Nottario.

Concuenda con su Original, que queda en el archiuo, de donde se saco fiel, y verdaderamente De que doy fee, y Verdadero Testimonio. Manila, diez de Jullio de mill, y seyscientos y cinquenta y vn años.

Fr. Juan Fortunio
Nottario