

The Martyrdom of Lorenzo Ruiz and his Companions

By the time this document goes to the press, the Holy See, through the Sacred Congregation for the Canonization of Saints, is examining the merits of the documentation presented for the Beatification Cause of Lorenzo Ruiz, "the Protomartyr of the Philippines", and his Companions, executed for the Christian faith in Nagasaki, Japan, in the fourth decade of the 17th century.

Independently from the outcome of the Cause, the document reprinted here¹ is of extraordinary historical importance for the knowledge of the Filipino Lorenzo, because it was written by two eyewitnesses of his martyrdom. For those who are little acquainted with the story of his life and for a better understanding of many passages of the present narrative, a few things must be said about him.

Lorenzo Ruiz, born in Binondo (Manila) between 1600 and 1610, was the son of a Chinese father and a Filipino Tagalog woman. Of his life in the Philippines the following bare facts are known: In his childhood he was an altar boy and a houseboy in the church and convento of the Dominican Fathers in Binondo. He received a good education from the same Fathers and became a good "escribano" or calligrapher. Later he joined the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary and led a pious, practical Christian life. He married and had two sons and one daughter.

In 1636, when he was about thirty years of age, he had the misfortune of being involved or accused of being involved in a

criminal case of uncertain nature. Probably a homicide was committed in Manila or in Binondo. The only hint that Lorenzo himself gives us is that he had a quarrel with a Spaniard, but he does not elaborate on this incident. Whether innocent or guilty, Lorenzo was sought by the authorities, and he was deeply worried that he would face a trial — or mistrial — with a possible sentence of death. Fearing the worst, he decided to leave the Philippines and succeeded in joining a group of four Dominican priests and a Japanese layman who most secretly left the country on June 10, 1636. At first, Lorenzo thought they were going to Macao, but the champan sailed for Japan and it reached the island of Okinawa on July 10.

Christianity was then undergoing one of the most terrible persecutions recorded in the history of the Church, which started in 1614 by a Decree of the *shogun* or supreme military ruler Tokugawa Yeyasu. The profession of the Christian faith was enough reason for anyone to be put to death, and the only alternative to death was apostasy, usually wrested by a great variety of refined tortures. The Japanese authorities were so resolved on stamping out Christianity from the whole empire that they were ready to break the lucrative commercial relations with the Portuguese of Macao after similar commercial intercourse with the Spaniards of the Philippines had been broken in 1623. The Portuguese were accused of complicity in bringing missionaries into the country aboard the galleons that yearly traded with Japan at the port of Nagasaki. Eventually, very soon, Japan closed its doors to the West, and closed would they remain for two centuries. The obsession of the Japanese about a possible complicity of Macao in smuggling missionaries or financial help for them is a constant recurrence in the interrogations of Lorenzo and his companions at the court of Nagasaki.

Landing in Okinawa, Lorenzo and his companions were arrested and thrown into prison. And after one year in jail they were transported to Nagasaki, where the ordinary tribunal for judging Christians was established. They arrived in two boats on different days. On September 13, 1637, there arrived three Dominican priests, namely, *Fr. Guillermo Courtet*, French, (in this document called *Fr. Tomás de Santo Domingo*, his adopted religious name), *Fr. Miguel de Aozaraza*, Spanish, and *Fr. Vicente Shiwozuka de la Cruz*, Japanese. On September 21 the

second group arrived, namely, *Fr. Antonio González*, Spanish and Superior of the missionaries, with *Lorenzo Ruiz*, the Filipino layman, and another layman, the Japanese *Lazaro of Kyoto* who was a leper. Frs. Antonio González and Guillermo Courtet had been professors at the college of Santo Tomás of Manila (now Pontifical University) and Fr. González, besides, was holding the office of Acting Rector of that institution at the time of his departure from the Philippines.

The document begins with the arrival of the first group on September 13 and proceeds to narrate the moving story of the trial, tortures and death of the six victims.

Relevance of the document

Although this document is of paramount importance for the six martyrs, it is even more valuable for Lorenzo Ruiz. The four Dominican priests can count on several other eyewitnesses of their martyrdom, and aside from that, their biographies can be based on various historical sources. In the case of Lorenzo, this may be the only first-hand narrative of his martyrdom that has been found so far, and it is one that throws relatively abundant light on his person, on his character and on his attitude in front of death.

Considering this importance, I shall make a few observations about the manuscript, its authors, date of composition and historical value.

The manuscript

The document was written in Portuguese. The *original* manuscript cannot be found today, but it surely was kept in Manila for some time in the 17th century. What we possess today is a *copy* of the original, which luckily has been preserved in the Central Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, ARSI) in a collection called *Jap. Sin.* All the documents of this collection, related to the history of the Jesuit Missions in *Japan* and *China*, belong to the 16th and 17th centuries. The present manuscript is placed between two Annual Letters or yearly reports of two Provincial Superiors of the Society of Jesus to their General Superior in Rome, one of the year 1632

and the other of 1644. But is it really a true copy? How did it come to be preserved in those Jesuit Archives?

Authenticity of the copy

Circumstantial evidence shows that the copy was made in Macao in November or December of 1637 by a secretary of Fr. Manuel Dias, Jesuit Visitor of the Province of Japan with residence in Macao. In November of that year a convoy of six Portuguese galliots — the annual convoy that traded between Macao and Nagasaki — returned to the Portuguese colony from Nagasaki bringing aboard over 900 men, some of whom had witnessed the martyrdom of Lorenzo and his companions, which had occurred two months earlier. Some unidentified member of the crew brought a narrative written by the two interpreters of the Nagasaki government with instructions to forward it to the Dominicans of Manila.

News of the existence of this narrative reached the ears of the Jesuit Provincial Visitor who lost no time in ordering his secretary to make a copy for the Superior General of the Society in Rome. Fr. Dias' interest in this document is understandable, because it contains some information about his confrere Cristobal Ferreira, whose fate and whereabouts in Japan had caused deep concern to Fr. Dias and to the Jesuits in general. As the narrative shows, one of the companions of Lorenzo, Fr. Antonio González, met Ferreira at the Nagasaki tribunal and conversed with him. It was important for Fr. Dias to collate this information with various contradicting reports received from Japan about the unfortunate Ferreira.

The *original* manuscript was brought to Manila in December of that year and served as the main source, though not the only one, for the *Relación* or narrative of the martyrdom written in 1638 by Fr. Domingo González, O.P. and printed in the same year.² Meanwhile, Fr. Dias' *copy* was handcarried to Rome by Fr. Antonio Cardim, S.J. who departed from Macao in that year 1638.³ That explains why such valuable manuscript is extant today at the Central Archives of the Society of Jesus.

The authors

The authors of this narrative sign as "Pero Roiz" and "Antonio Carvalho". The names are certainly Portuguese, and

there is no doubt that Roiz is an abbreviation of the family name Rodrigues.⁴ But the persons were Japanese who were employed as *jurubacas*⁵ or interpreters by the Nagasaki government.

We know, besides, that Pedro Rodrigues and Antonio Carvalho were Christian renegades who held the office of interpreters from 1635 to 1644, at least. Various 17th century documents⁶ and the scholarly studies of the best modern historians of the so-called Christian century of Japan (1549-1640), like Charles Boxer, J. F. Schutte and Hubert Cieslik⁷ have contributed to identify these interpreters beyond doubt. Although they were Christian renegades who had apostatized from the faith some years earlier, they were not ex-priests, because no document affirms that they were, and because in the present narrative they seem not to understand the Latin phrases pronounced in the tribunal by the ex-priest Tomás Araki.

Consciously or subconsciously the authors reveal sympathetic Christian feelings and Christian mentality. They even manifest a high admiration for the fortitude of the martyrs, a fortitude the authors lacked in the supreme moment of facing death. Some of their phrases betray a Christian education: "Our holy faith", "Our Lady of the Rosary", "Our Lord called them to Himself"; hanged by the feet and buried in the pits, the martyrs were reciting "psalms", and "in this way they attained their glorious martyrdom"; the judges and executioners were "pharisees".

Japanese by nationality, ex-Christians and Portuguese-speaking, Pedro Rodrigues and Antonio Carvalho appear to be detached and unbiased persons, and it is known that in their long period of public service they were trusted equally by the Nagasaki government and by the Portuguese traders. They wrote the document in Portuguese, a language they handled with relative fluency but with occasional grammatical errors and with mixture of Spanish words. Actually they spoke both Iberian languages, though they most probably were more at home with Portuguese. In an effort to be faithful to the proceedings of the tribunal, these interpreters wrote several phrases as they were pronounced by the Servants of God, that is in Spanish, but a Spanish written with Portuguese orthography.

Date of composition

The document has no date, but doubtlessly it was written immediately after the martyrdom of Lorenzo and his companions, just in time for the galliots of Macao to carry it to its destination, the Dominicans of Manila. The martyrdom occurred on September 29 and the Portuguese ships sailed from the Nagasaki harbour on November 6.⁸ Thus the interpreters must have written the narrative between those two dates.

The ships arrived in Macao on November 15 as the Jesuit Provincial Fr. Manuel Dias informs us,⁹ and on December 27 the document was taken to Manila where, as it was said earlier, Fr. Domingo González, O.P. used it in 1638 for the writing of his *Relación* on the martyrdom, which depends almost exclusively, but not totally, on the information provided by this document.

Historicity

In the absence of an official court record on the trial of Lorenzo and his companions, the present document is the best narrative we can have at present. The authors are eyewitnesses of the events they describe, and they were in an excellent position to know every word of the interrogations. Besides, everything points out that they were totally honest. All these factors make the narrative historically reliable.

In the first place, the authors being Christian renegades they are supposed to be unbiased when praising the martyrs. They do praise the martyrs quite explicitly. On the other hand, they are as explicit in reporting the temporary apostasy of Fr. Vicente de la Cruz and of Lazaro of Kyoto. Secondly, they limit themselves to their job as interpreters, which explains the apparent muteness of the Japanese Fr. Vicente de la Cruz, who must have conversed with the judges in their own language. Thirdly, the style of the whole narrative is strikingly simple, straight, laconic, constantly keeping the dialogue form, and at times transcribing phrases in Spanish as they were pronounced. Fourthly, one of the authors, Antonio Carvalho, left track of his personal intervention when, at the interrogation of Lorenzo Ruiz, he refers to himself as "A.C.", his initials, a sign of carefulness and punctilliousness. And both interpreters, sticking to their jobs, are mainly concerned

with the proceedings of the tribunal, having little else to inform about events that occurred in prison, in the streets or at the place of martyrdom. However, their testimony about the glorious martyrdom is entirely clear and explicit, and well founded too, because their services as interpreters were needed even when the victims were hanged in the mortal torture.

The accuracy and veracity of the authors is further tested by the fact that they are correct about other data regarding the persons of the martyrs, their Superiors, their escape from Manila, the religious name of Fr. Courtet, etc. They only mistook the place of birth of Fr. Antonio González, which was not Valencia but León, Spain.

Unfortunately, the authors are not able to assure us about the final reconciliation of the Japanese layman Lazaro of Kyoto who had apostatized right at the beginning of the trial. They saw him die with the rest of the group, by they cannot be considered witnesses of his martyrdom. Luckily for Lazaro, his final reconciliation and martyrdom can be attested from other sources.

Perhaps no other martyr of this group benefits more from this narrative than our Lorenzo. Short as we are of biographical data about him, we can count on a certain abundance of detail about his death thanks to these two interpreters. Recorded in this narrative are Lorenzo's own words — admirable words — as well as a few traits of his character and his psychology, his fears and his doubts, and side by side and above all, the ingenuity of his faith and his exemplary courage and determination to keep that faith and proclaim his love for God at the cost of his life. We are indebted to these Japanese interpreters for the service they did to Lorenzo because, at the hour of the introduction of his Beatification Cause, they are playing the role of eyewitnesses of his martyrdom. Here lies the significance of this document. And even if the Beatification were not successful for whatever reasons beyond our judgement, the document will always have an

extraordinary historical importance that no other source so far discovered has had.

Our text

Taking into account the majority of the readers of *Philippiniana Sacra*, the original Portuguese text will not be offered here. The interested researcher can see it in the so-called *Positio*, cited in footnote 1 of this article, pp. 403-410. Instead, a Spanish version is given, also published in the same *Positio*, pp. 410-418.

The original Portuguese, difficult to read for its numerous abbreviations and its obsolete style and grammatical incorrections, was rendered into modern orthography by Miss Maria Luisa Falcao, Licentiate in Germanic Languages from the University of Lisbon. From that modernized text, I made the Spanish translation for *Positio*, a translation as literal as possible even sacrificing literary perfection.

To that Spanish version I now add a parallel English translation for the benefit of the vast majority of Filipino readers. I have tried to be faithful to the substance of the original text and, at the same time, to preserve its simplicity and unaffectedness. Occasionally, some words outside of the text are inserted between brackets for greater clarification of the sentence.

Some Japanese, Portuguese, Spanish or oriental words have been preserved as the authors wrote them, like *jurubaca* (interpreter), *buguio* or *bugyo* (governor), *shoya* or *Xoya* (government building, courtroom), *tono* (lord), *champan*, *escribano*, *lindeza*. In the English version, the term *Filipino* has been preferred to the term *indio* which was used in the Portuguese, as it was in vogue in the 17th century. And I have underlined the names of the six martyrs in order to help the reader finding more easily the intervention of each martyr in this dramatic narrative.

MARTIRIO DE LOS PADRES FRAY MIGUEL, FRAY TOMAS
FRAY VICENTE, FRAY ANTONIO, RELIGIOSOS DE SANTO
DOMINGO, Y DE LORENZO RUIZ, INDIO^{9bis} DE
MANILA, LOS CUALES VINIERON DE MANILA Y
LLEGARON A NAGASAKI EN 13 DE
SEPTIEMBRE DE 1637.

A las cuatro de la tarde del día arriba referido, desembarcaron los tres¹⁰ con las manos atadas atrás, vestidos a la española, y así los llevaron a la *Xoya*¹¹ donde los Gobernadores¹² les preguntaron qué hombres eran, a lo cual respondieron que [eran] religiosos de la Orden de su Padre Santo Domingo, todos tres, y que *el japonés* [i.e., Fray Vicente] había sido clérigo y tomara el hábito cuando quisieron venir a Japón.

Preguntaron cuánto tiempo hacía que partieron de Manila. Dijeron que un año.

Preguntáronles si sabían que había *faixequé*¹³ para no poder venir a Japón. Respondieron que no solamente sabían que había *faixequé*, sino que por todo el mundo se sabía, y que con todo eso, venían para salvar estas almas y mostrarles el camino de la salvación, así a los pequeños e inocentes como a los grandes y renegados.

Preguntáronles si sabían hablar japonés. Respondieron que no, que solamente *Fray Miguel* comenzara a aprender la lengua cuando quisiera venir para acá, entendía un poquito.

Preguntáronles si los mandara el Gobernador de Manila. Respondieron que no los mandara, ni él dijo sabía, por cuanto lo impediría o estorbara, y que sólo lo sabía su Prelado, y ellos, y

MARTYRDOM OF FATHER MIGUEL, FATHER TOMAS,
FATHER VICENTE, AND FATHER ANTONIO, RELI-
GIOUS OF SAINT DOMINIC, AND OF LORENZO
RUIZ, FILIPINO⁹ ^{dis} FROM MANILA, WHO
CAME FROM MANILA AND ARRIVED IN
NAGASAKI ON SEPTEMBER 13, 1637

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the above-mentioned day, the three¹⁰ disembarked, their hands tied at the back, dressed in the Spanish style, and in this way they were taken to the *shoya*,¹¹ where the Governors¹² asked them what kind of men they were; to which they answered that they were religious of the Order of their Father Saint Dominic, all three of them, and that the *Japanese* [i.e., *Fr. Vicente*] had been a secular priest and had taken the Dominican habit when they decided to come to Japan.

The Governors asked them how long it was since they had left Manila. The replied that one year.

The Governors asked them whether they had knowledge of the existence of the *faixequé*¹³ against the coming [of Christians] to Japan. They replied that not only they but everybody in the world knew about it, and nevertheless they came to ransom souls and to show them the way of salvation, to the small and innocent ones as well as to the adults and renegades.

The Governors asked them whether they knew how to speak Japanese. They answered that they knew not, and that only *Father Miguel*, who started to study the language when he was destined for Japan, understood a little.

The Governors inquired whether the Governor of Manila had sent them. They answered that the Governor did not send them, that he was not even aware of their departure, rather he would have objected or prevented it, if he had known of it. Their

no lo supieron sus mismos Hermanos, con recelo de que lo viniese a saber el Gobernador.

Preguntáronles con qué embarcación vinieron y quién los trajo. Respondieron que mandaron concertar una embarcación para venir, y que lo supo el Gobernador y que la mandó quemar y que, viendo esto, se metieron en un *champán*¹⁴ del mismo convento, y que en él vinieron, y que la gente que los trajo eran doce indios, y los demás chinos, y por todos veinte y tantas personas.

Preguntáronles quién era el piloto. Respondieron que el piloto era un fraile lego suyo que, antes de serlo, había sido hombre de mar y entendía de navegación, y se volvió a Manila en el *champán*. Estaban con temores y recelos del mal que el Gobernador de Manila les había de hacer, o poder ahorcarlos por haberlos traído.

Preguntáronles si de Japón les mandara llamar alguno por carta o recado que viniesen, que los agasajarían o favorecerían con limosnas, y si las habían de mandar por vía de Macao, o si los portugueses les favorecían para eso, o si traían (dinero) para gastar, o quién lo había de dar. Respondieron que ninguna persona los llamara, ni conocían ninguna ni tenían quién los hospedase, además que hacía poco que habían venido de España, y que cuando vinieron de sus tierras era con ánimo y propósito de pasar al Reino de Japón y de China a mostrarles la salvación y darles a conocer a Dios, pues de El no tenían conocimiento, y que para esto venían de sus tierras y no para quedarse en Filipinas, porque allí no tenían que hacer; ni de los portugueses sabían nada, ni de ellos esperaban nada. Y así venían para meterse en los montes y estar en ellos hasta ver si había algún cristiano o persona que los recogiese o amparase, para enseñar la doctrina cristiana y encaminar a esta gentilidad. Y que el gasto que traían era un *pan de oro*¹⁵ que él, Fray Miguel, traía en los zapatos, y una *mamila*¹⁶ que Fray Tomás traía, y otra *barra de oro*¹⁷ que Fray Antonio González, su Prior, que atrás venía, traía, hecha en cuatro pedazos, y que este oro era para la Comunidad. Y así [mismo] trajeron más de cien pesos de fuera para entretanto [*i.e. de mo-*

departure was known only by their Superiors and by themselves, and it was concealed from their confreres in the convent for fear that the plan could come to the Governor's knowledge.

The Governors asked them in what boat they had come and who brought them. They replied that a boat was being built for this voyage, but the Governor was informed and ordered the boat to be burnt; consequently, they readied a *champan*¹⁴ of their convent, and they came in it; and the crew was made up of twelve Filipinos, and the rest Chinese, over twenty persons all in all.

The Governors asked them who the pilot was. They answered that the pilot was a laybrother of their Order who, before becoming friar, had been a seaman and understood something about navigation, and he returned to Manila in the same *champan*. He and his companions had apprehensions and fears about the punishment the Governor of Manila would give them, even hang them for having transported them [the priests].

The Governors asked whether someone in Japan had invited them by letter or message to come, offering them shelter or help with alms; whether alms would come to them by way of Macao; whether the Portuguese would be ready to help them for that; whether they [the priests] brought any money or [expected that] someone would provide them with it.

They answered that nobody called them [to Japan], nor did they know anyone who would shelter them, for they had come from Spain only recently; and when they had left their lands their only intention and purpose was to pass to the kingdoms of Japan and China to preach salvation and the knowledge of God to their peoples, who ignored Him; they had come from their lands only for this and not to stay permanently in the Philippines, which was not their place of destination. They knew nothing about the Portuguese, from whom they expected nothing; and so, they came to hide themselves in the mountains and stay there until some Christian or other person might welcome and shelter them, in order to teach the Christian doctrine and lead these pagans to it. As for money, they brought a *pan de oro*¹⁵ which *Father Miguel* was bringing in his shoes, and a *manila*¹⁶, being carried by *Father Tomas*, and another *barra de oro*,¹⁷ which their Superior *Father Antonio* — who was left behind — brought, divided into four pieces; and all this money was for the whole group. Likewise, they brought more than one hundred pesos for the immediate

mento], los cuales gastaron en los Lequios. Y cuando se despidieron de su Padre Provincial, éste les dijo: Vayan, hijos, con la bendición de Dios, y cuando gasten ésto, de aquí a dos años les enviaré otros frailes y ellos les llevarán más socorro.

Preguntáron cómo se llamaban sus Prelados. Respondieron que Fray Domingo González era Provincial; el Padre Prior Fray Francisco Herrera, y el Prior que con ellos venía se llamaba *Fray Antonio González*. Y que un *indio*¹⁸ que venía con el dicho Prior venía engañado, porque era un mestizo en Manila y no podía andar [por] allí y por entender que ellos venían a Macao u otra parte donde iba a buscar su vida, y por ser grande escribano¹⁹ se metió con ellos y se hallaba engañado.

Preguntaron si traían otro traje para Japón fuera de aquel de español. Respondieron que traían quimonos que la Comunidad les diera, los cuales venían con el Padre Prior.

Dijéronles que nunca en Japón vieron Padres extranjeros como él, *Fray Tomás*,²⁰ que era francés, y así que debía venir para meterse con los holandeses, estar entre ellos y de allí hacer cristiandad. Respondió que nunca tal pensamiento tuvo, por cuanto los holandeses eran herejes y enemigos de la ley de Dios y muy mala gente, que ellos sólo venían para los japoneses, aunque fuese para vivir en los montes y de allí enseñar a los chiquillos e inocentes y a todos los demás encaminarlos para su salvación (y) a todas las gentes.

Preguntaron a *Fray Tomás* si era teólogo. Respondió que [era] teólogo y Lector, y que *Fray Miguel*, aunque no era Lector, era muy buen teólogo.

Preguntáronle si en Manila hicieron seminario para enseñar la lengua japonesa, y si ordenaron a muchos japoneses, y si algunos sacerdotes pasaron de Manila para China, para de allí venir a Japón en *cabaia* y *monean* (sic).²¹ Respondió que el seminario se comenzó y que se ordenaron algunos sacerdotes, y que no sabía de ninguno que pasase a China.

needs, which they spent in the islands of Leguios. And when they bade farewell to their Superior Provincial [in Manila], he said to them: Go, my sons, with God's blessing, and when you had spent this money I will send other Fathers two years from now, who will bring more help to you.

The Governors inquired what the names of their Superiors were. They answered that the Superior Provincial was Father Domingo González; their Father Prior, Father Francisco de Herrera; and the Superior who was coming with them, *Father Antonio González*; and that a *Filipino*¹⁸ who was accompanying said Father Prior [Antonio] was not aware of the destination, because he was a mestizo from Manila who could not stay there, and, thinking that the Fathers were going to Macao or somewhere else where he could make a living because he was a good *escribano*,¹⁹ he embarked with the Fathers, and he was mistaken.

The Governors inquired whether they brought another dress to use in Japan aside from their Spanish dresses. They replied that they brought *kimonos* which the Community had given them, and *Fr. Antonio* was bringing them.

The Governors said that they never saw in Japan foreign priests like him, *Father Tomás*,²⁰ who was French, and so it was presumed that he came to communicate with the Dutch, live among them and spread Christianity from their place. He [Father Tomas] answered that he never had that thought, because the Dutch are heretics and enemies of God's law and very bad people; that they [the priests] only came [to Japan] for the Japanese if only to live in the mountains and to teach the little and innocent ones and other people, and lead them all to their salvation.

The Governors asked *Father Tomás* whether he was a theologian. He replied that he was a theologian and a Lector, and that *Father Miguel* was a very good theologian too, though not a Lector.

The Governors asked him whether a seminary for the teaching of Japanese was founded in Manila, and whether many Japanese had been ordained priests, and whether some priests had passed from Manila to China with the intention of coming to Japan in *cabaia* and *monean*.²¹ He answered that a seminary was started, and some [Japanese] were ordained priests, but he did not know of any who had passed to China.

Se ha de entender que estas preguntas fueron hechas en la *Xoya*, las cuales tocan a su venida, a la hora que desembarcaron. Y las demás fueron hechas cuando los martirizaron. Y hechas las preguntas en la *Xoya*, luego los mandaron a la misma hora al martirio del agua, donde estuvieron hasta la noche.

Estando en la *Xoya* antes de ir para el martirio, enseguida cayó [*i.e.* apostató] *Fray Vicente* el japonés. Estando en la misma *Xoya*, a estas preguntas acertó a estar presente Tomás,²² el cual, viendo hablar a *Fray Miguel* tan resuelto, le dijo Tomás unas palabras en latín, a lo cual *Fray Miguel* respondió:

— Vuestra merced que habla latín, debe entenderlo; debe ser vuestra merced renegado; habló bien, pero habló muy mal.

Se escabulló Tomás y no habló más ni apareció más delante de ellos, ni él ni ninguno de los otros renegados.

Llevaron a todos tres al martirio del agua hasta la noche, y después los llevaron a la cárcel donde quedaron todos tres juntos con grillos y esposas en las manos y amarrados por los cuellos. Y a la mañana los volvieron a llevar otra vez al martirio donde, desde la mañana hasta la noche, estuvieron dándoles tragos de agua, con que se dieron a cada uno por tres veces aquel día, haciéndoles preguntas, en el cual dicen que gastaron más de quinientas balsas de agua, y luego volvieron a ponerlos en la cárcel de la misma manera.

Y al otro día volvieron a darles otra vez tragos de agua como el día anterior, y luego los colgaron por los pies, con la cabeza hasta el cuello en una balsa de agua, que es otro modo de [darles] tragos. Y sacados fuera, les sentaron con los pies juntos amarrados y las manos atadas en cruz adelante, y los verdugos fueron metiendo por entre las uñas y la carne de todos los dedos unos alambres tan gruesos como las agujas de hacer medias, y los metieron hasta pasadas las uñas, dejando fuera lo demás del alambre. Y luego un verdugo, con un palillo tocaba los alambres como resgueando una guitarra para mayor tormento.

Todos estos tormentos sufrían los dos españoles²³ con mucho alborozo y ánimo, diciendo muchas cosas, hablando con Dios, y en voz alta ofreciéndole aquel poquito a cuenta de lo mucho que por ellos padeció; y *Fray Miguel* muy sonriente y muy alegre y

Let it be understood that these questions regarding their trip were asked at the *shoya* right after their landing. The other questions were asked when they were given torment. When the interrogation at the *shoya* was over, the priests were sent to the water torture, which they underwent until night.

When they were still in the *shoya*, before going to the torture, the Japanese *Father Vicente* soon apostatized. Also at the *shoya* during the interrogation, a certain Thomas²² happened to be present there. Seeing *Father Miguel* speaking resolutely, he [Thomas] said a few words in Latin, to which *Father Miguel* answered:

— You must understand Latin, for you speak it. You must be a renegade. You have spoken good Latin, but what you said is very wrong.

Thomas sneaked out of the courtroom, and he did not speak nor appear again, neither he nor any other renegade.

They [the ministers] took all three [priests] to the water torture until night, and then the priests were carried to prison where they were left together, fettered, handcuffed and fastened by the necks. Next day, they were brought back to the torture chamber, where from morning to night, they made them drink water. Each one suffered this torment three times that day, while questions were asked to them; and it is reported that five hundred buckets of water were consumed. And then they were brought back to jail in the same manner.

Next day, they were made to drink water again, as in the previous day, and, after that, they were hanged by the feet, plunging their heads until the neck in a bucket of water, which is another way of forcing in drafts of water. Then, brought outside, they were made to seat down, with their feet fettered and their hands tied in front; and the executioners began to thrust long needles — like the ones used for making embroidery — between the nails and the flesh of every finger, deep beyond the nails, the rest of the needles showing outside. And then, to add greater torment, an executioner would strike the needles with a little stick as if playing the guitar.

The two Spaniards²³ suffered these torments with great courage and joy, saying many things, speaking with God, and loudly offering that little [torment] in payment of the much that God had suffered for them. And *Father Miguel*, smilingly, joy-

animado, diciendo muchas lindezas,²⁴ y lo mismo *Fray Tomás*, que siempre hablaba con la Virgen del Rosario. Sólo *el japonés* [*i.e.*, *Fray Vicente*], como había apostatado, a ése le atormentaban para confesar alguna cosa que supiese. Nunca le oyeron llamar a Dios ni a la Virgen porque creía escapar de la muerte, sólomente gemía y lloraba, y fue necesario, para que le metiesen los alambres, más de treinta personas solamente para él, y para los demás una sola persona, diciendo éstos que era poco aquel martirio, que les hiciesen más.

Dijéronles varias veces, en el martirio, que renegasen, a lo que respondieron muchas cosas con mucha cordura y con mucho más favor [*sic*]. *Fray Miguel* estaba con tanto ánimo y fervor que, estando medio muerto, hablándole sobre eso, cobraba ánimo y aliento para responder con mucho espíritu y calor.

Entretanto, preguntaron los Gobernadores a los *jurubacas* y demás ministros si les habían dicho que renegasen. Dijéronles:

— Señor, decir a estos hombres que renieguen es como una medicina que se da a un hombre que está muerto para tornar a revivir, porque de muertos se tornan vivos, cobran espíritu para responder vigorosamente.

Y lastimándose algunos de los japoneses de lo mucho que padecían, les dijeron:

— ¿Para qué vinisteis a morir y a pasar esto?. — Lo que entendiendo *Fray Tomás* llamó a los *jurubacas* y les dijo:

— Oigame, esté atento a lo que le digo. Nosotros no vinimos a Japón a morir, sino a predicarles la fe de Dios y a enseñarles la salvación, y no a morir, sino a encaminarlos y dar la vida por Dios. Entiéndame, de esta manera ha de entender esto, y no a morir, como dicen.

Acabado este día de martirio, preguntáronles si habían comido, a lo que *Fray Tomás* dijo que no tenía ganas de comer, y *Fray Miguel* respondió que: — No queremos comer, hagan cuenta que hemos comido, y sólo queremos dar la vida por Dios. — Y hacía tres días que no comían.

En veinte y uno de dicho mes, a las diez horas de la mañana, llegó el Padre *Fray Antonio* con el *indio* y el *japonés* que con él

ful and enlivened uttering many *lindezas*,²⁴ and *Father Tomas* doing the same, continuously conversing with our Lady of the Rosary. Only the *Japanese* [i.e. *Father Vicente*], as he had apostatized, was given torment to make him declare whatever he knew. He was never heard calling God or the Virgin because he still hoped to escape death; so he only cried and lamented, and more than thirty persons were needed to thrust the needles in his fingers, while only one person was enough for the other two [priests], and these two kept saying that the torment was little and they asked for more.

During the tortures the Governors asked them several times to apostatize, to which the priests answered saying many things with great wisdom and with greater courage. *Father Miguel* was so high-spirited and so enraptured that even though he looked like dead he revived briskly at the mention of apostasy and answered with great spirit and force.

Meanwhile, the Governors asked the *jurubacas* and the other ministers whether they had told the priests to apostatize. They answered:

— Sirs, to tell these men to apostatize is like a medicine given to a dying man in order to instill life, because they turn alive from dead and regain strength to answer vigorously.

And some of the onlooking Japanese, pitying them for the much they suffered, said to them:

— Why did you have to come to die and undergo all this? — *Father Tomas*, having understood it, called the *jurubacas* and told them:

— Listen to me, be attentive to what I will say. We did not come to Japan to die, but to preach God's truth and to teach the way of salvation; not to die, but to lead the people and to give our life for God. Let this be understood in this way; not to die as they say.

When this day of martyrdom was over, the Governors asked them whether they had eaten anything, to which *Father Tomas* said that they were not hungry; and *Father Miguel* answered:

— We do not want to eat; you can imagine that we have eaten; we only want to give our lives for God.

In fact, they had not taken any food for three days.

On the twenty-first day of the said month [i.e. September], at ten o'clock in the morning, there arrived [in Nagasaki]

venía,²⁵ los cuales fueron luego llevados a la *Xoya*, donde les fueron hechas preguntas de esta manera delante de los Gobernadores, estando a ellas presente Cristóbal Ferreira y dos de los clérigos renegados.

Y preguntáronle qué hombre era y cómo se llamaba. Respondió que [era] religioso de la Orden de Santo Domingo, y que se llamaba *Fray Antonio González* y [era] Prelado de los tres religiosos que delante habían venido, y de los demás que viniesen de su Orden.

Preguntáronle si conocía el *faixequé* que había para no venir a Japón. Respondió [que] a qué efecto le hacían aquella pregunta, porque si era respecto a la fe, que solamente venía a encaminarles y mostrarles el camino de su salvación, y cuán engañados iban, y por aquí otras cosas semejantes, a las cuales, preguntando los Gobernadores lo que decía y diciéndoles qué,²⁶ le mandaron callar, y que respondiese a lo que le preguntaban.

Preguntaron si el Gobernador de Manila sabía que venían al Japón o si [lo sabían] los portugueses, o si por su vía de ellos le había de venir algún sustento. Respondió que el Gobernador no sabía nada, ni menos los portugueses.

Preguntáronle si traía algunas cartas, porque sus compañeros habían dicho que había de traerlas. Respondió que traía una escrita por tres vías²⁷ para un religioso renegado que estaba en Nagasaki, puesto que no era de su Orden, a lo que respondió Cristóbal Ferreira: ..

— Yo soy. — Le dijo:

— Ahí la tenéis. — Y dióle la carta escrita por tres vías en español, y otra de cuatro bandas escrita en latín, que dijo era para los Gobernadores, y todas escritas por él. Y luego fue haciendo una predicación sobre nuestra santa fe, a lo que los Gobernadores se indignaron y le mandaron para el tormento del agua, a él y al japonés y al indio de su compañía.

En el tormento del agua dijéronle que renegase, porque así habían hecho sus compañeros; no había de renegar él antes.

Father Antonio with the *Filipino* and the *Japanese* who accompanied him.²⁵ They were immediately taken to the *shoya*, where, in the presence of *Cristóbal Ferreira* and two of the renegade priests, they were asked the following questions before the Governors:

They [the Governors] asked [*Father Antonio*] to state his name and declare his profession. He answered that he was a religious of the Order of Saint Dominic; that his name was *Father Antonio González*; and that he was the Superior of the three religious who had arrived ahead of him and of the others of his Order who would eventually arrive in the future.

They asked him whether he had knowledge of the *faixeque* forbidding [missionaries] to come to Japan. He answered by inquiring about the meaning of the question, because if it referred to matters of Christian faith, he had come to Japan to show to the people the way of salvation and the errors in which they lived, and other things of this kind; for which the Governors, after knowing from the interpreters *what*²⁶ he was talking about, ordered the Father to shut his mouth and to respond strictly to the questions.

They inquired whether the Governor of Manila knew that they were coming to Japan, and whether the Portuguese knew of this, and whether he expected to receive help from them. He answered that the Governor knew nothing, and the Portuguese even less.

They asked him whether he brought some letters, because his companions said he was bringing them. He answered that he was bringing one letter, written in three copies,²⁷ for a renegade religious who was in Nagasaki, who was not of his Order. To this *Cristóbal Ferreira* said:

— I am he. — [*Father Antonio*] said:

— There you have it. — And he gave to *Ferreira* the letter written in Spanish in three copies; and he also handed another letter in four pages written in Latin, which he said was for the Governors; and all of them written by him. And then, he begun to preach about our holy faith; to which the Governors felt indignant, and ordered the ministers to send him to the water torture, and with him, his companions the *Japanese* and the *Filipino*.

During the water torture he was told to apostatize because his companions had done it earlier; he would not be the first. He

Respondió con muchas palabras y amonestaciones de fe que les hacía. Y después de sacarle del tormento, le mandaron los Gobernadores a la casa del mismo tormento, donde estaba todavía una imagen de Nuestra Señora y de Santo Domingo y otros santos, y [mandaron] que, delante de él, los verdugos pisasen con los pies una imagen, como hicieron, [junto a] la cual trajeron al mismo *Fray Antonio*,²⁸ lo que viendo el Padre, atado se lanzó a tierra sobre la imagen para besarla, diciendo muchas cosas, lo que viendo los fariseos, le dieron una bofetada, y uno de ellos dijo:

— Bien ves que pisan con los pies aquella imagen, con que el pecado que en ello hubiere caerá sobre vos, pues os atrevisteis y quisisteis venir acá para esto. — Respondió:

— Vos habláis como fariseos y eso es malicia vuestra. — Y luego le dijo para qué había venido él, que era para que se salvarsen y conociesen a Dios.

Y luego pusieron al *japonés* en el tormento, el cual ya había renegado en la *Xoya* luego que llegara.

Preguntáronle si sabía si los portugueses favorecían a estos Padres, o si por su vía les venían limosnas. Respondió que él hacía años que estaba en Manila, y todos los años iban navíos de Macao a Manila, y que podía ser que de Manila les mandasen [ayuda] por vía de los portugueses; lo que viendo los Buguios que él respondió, le sacaron del tormento y le recogieron en un aposento, donde le fueron tomando confesión sobre esto. Y no dijo cosa probable ni en forma, por donde se entendió que fuera miedo.²⁹

Y tornaron a atormentar al *indio* que estaba viendo atormentar al *Padre* y después al *japonés*. Llamó [*Lorenzo Ruiz*] al *jurubaca* A.C. (*sic*),³⁰ y le dijo:

— Lléguese aquí cerca, que le quiero decir una cosa en secreto. — Y llegándose, le dijo:

— Quisiera saber, si renegando, me han de dar la vida. — Respondió el *jurubaca*:

— Esto debieras de preguntar delante de los *tonos* de la *Xoya*, a lo que yo no puedo responder. — Y siendo el mismo *jurubaca* llamado a la *Xoya* para saber de las respuestas que ellos habían

answered with a long discourse admonishing them in matters of faith. And after having been withdrawn from the torment he was sent by the Governors to another chamber in the same building, where they kept an image of Our Lady and of Saint Dominic and other saints; and the Governors ordered the ministers to trample on one of the images in front of *Father Antonio*,²⁸ which they did. As *Father Antonio* saw that, manacled as he was, he rushed himself on the floor over the image to kiss it, saying many [pious] things. The pharisees seeing this, they slapped him, and one of them said:

— You have seen how they have trampled on that image; whatever sin is in that will fall upon you, because you dared to come here for this. — *Father Antonio* answered:

— You speak like pharisees, and the malice was yours. — And then he proceeded to explain why he had come, that is, for the people to be saved and to know God.

After this, they put to the torture the *Japanese*, who had apostatized soon after arriving in the *shoya*.

The Governors asked him whether the Portuguese lent help to the Fathers, or alms would come to the Fathers through the Portuguese. He answered that he had been in Manila for years, and every year ships arrived in Manila from Macao; and it could be possible that some help were sent from Manila through the Portuguese. The *Bugyo*, having heard this answer, withdrew him from the torment, and brought him to a certain room, where he [i.e. Lázaro] was further interrogated about this. But he did not say much relevant and to the point, a clear sign that he had apostatized out of fear.²⁹

Then they turned to torture the *Filipino* who was witnessing the torments of the *Father* and of the *Japanese*. He [Lorenzo Ruiz] called the *jurubaca* A.C.³⁰ and told him:

— Come close here, because I want to tell you something in secret. — And when he was near, *Lorenzo* said to him:

— I would like to know whether they will grant me life if I apostatized. — The *jurubaca* answered:

— You ought to ask this before the *tonos* of the *shoya*, because I cannot answer that. — The *jurubaca* was called to the *shoya* to report on the answers given by them [the victims] during

dado en el tormento, dio el *jurubaca* cuenta a los Gobernadores de lo que el *indio* le dijera. Respondieron los Gobernadores:

— Tiene razón, pobrecillo. — Y no respondieron más. Y tornando luego el *jurubaca* a la *Xoya*, y viendo [le] el *indio* otra vez, sin saber lo que había pasado con los Gobernadores, le llamó y le dijo:

— Señor, aquello que yo dije anteriormente, [lo] dije como ignorante y sin saber lo que decía. Yo soy cristiano, y esto profeso hasta la hora de mi muerte, y por Dios he de dar la vida, y aunque no vine a Japón a ser mártir, sino por no poder estar en Manila, mas por cristiano y por Dios he de dar la vida, y así hagan lo que quieran.

Y así fue atormentado con todos los demás. Y todos tres fueron llevados a la cárcel, donde fueron metidos en la cárcel de sus compañeros y en la misma prisión, y sólo los separaba un tabique de tabla delgada.

A 23 [*de septiembre*] volvieron a poner en tormentos al Padre *Fray Antonio* y al *indio*, y al *japonés* su compañero para que dijese o confesase alguna cosa. Y llevando al Padre *Fray Antonio* al tormento, que fue dentro de la misma cárcel, dijo:

— Yo estoy con grande fiebre; pero vamos, que no es nada para lo que debemos a Dios. —Y los Padres sus compañeros, le dijeron:

— Padre Prior, ánimo. — A lo que respondió:

— Sí, Padres míos .

Y luego le pusieron en el tormento. Y viendo los fariseos la grande fiebre con que estaba, y los esputos de sangre que lanzaba después de los tormentos que le habían dado, le mandaron sacar y encerrar. Estando toda la noche con fiebre y sintiéndose flaco, allá hacia la media noche pidió al carcelero un poco de vino, que el carcelero le dio, con que duró hasta la madrugada, [en] que Nuestro Señor le llamó para sí y para darle el premio de lo que por El tenía padecido. Y así amaneció muerto a los [días] 24, hablando siempre con sus compañeros, puesto que estaban separados por unas tablillas delgadas y mal puestas.

the torture, and he reported to the Governors about the words of the *Filipino*. The Governors answered:

— He is right, poor little thing. — And they said nothing more. And when the *jurubaca* returned to the *shoya*, and the Filipino saw him again, without knowing what had been said by the Governors, he [Lorenzo] called the *jurubaca* and told him:

— Sir, what I said previously I said it like an ignorant, without knowing what I was saying. I am a Christian, and this I profess until the hour of my death; and for God I shall give my life; and although I did not come to Japan to be a martyr but because I could not stay in Manila, however, as a Christian and for God, I shall give my life. And so do with me as you please.

So he was given torment like the others. And the three of them were carried to the jail and imprisoned in the same place of their companions, and only a thin wooden partition wall separated them.

On the 23rd [of September] the ministers again put to the torture *Father Antonio* and the *Filipino* and the *Japanese* their companion, [the latter] to say or confess something. And when *Father Antonio* was being carried away to the torment, which was administered somewhere inside the jail, he said:

— I have high fever, but let us go, for this is nothing compared with what we owe to God. — And the priests his companions said to him:

— Courage, Father Prior. — To which he answered:

— Yes, my Fathers.

And immediately he was given torture. And when those pharisees realized the high fever he had, and saw the clots of blood he vomited, cause by the great torments they had given him, they ordered him to be withdrawn and locked up in prison. The whole night he was feverish and he felt very weak; and about midnight he asked the jailer to give him a little wine. The jailer complied, and with that [little wine] he survived until dawn, when our Lord called him for Himself to reward him for having suffered for Him. And so, on the 24th, at daybreak, he was dead, to the end having been conversing with his companions, because they were separated from him by wooden boards, very thin and badly set.

Sacado del tormento el Padre *Fray Antonio*, pusieron al *indio*, el cual, llamado para el tormento, dijo:

— Yo, qué tengo que decir, ni yo lo sé. ¿Para qué me andan atormentando? Ateme (*sic*) antes y no anden con esto.³¹ Yo soy indio, hijo de chino y de india, tengo dos hijos y una hija, y estoy casado. No puedo andar por Manila por haber tenido una pendencia con un español. Vine con estos Padres sin saber a a donde iban para librarme de Manila y cuando llegamos a Japón quise volver en el mismo *champan*. Y por decirme que (el *champan*) había de tornar a la Isla de Formosa, me dejé quedar con los Padres, porque habían de colgarme en la isla de Formosa.

Dijéronle los Buguios:

— Así pues, si os conceden la vida, ¿renegaréis? — Respondió:

— Eso no, porque soy cristiano, y he de morir por Dios, y por El he de dar muchos miles de vidas si las tuviera. Y así hagan lo que quieran.

Mandaron los Gobernadores que no le diesen tormento. El Padre *Fray Antonio* le dijo, yendo para el tormento:³²

— Hijo, si sabéis alguna cosa contra nosotros, decidla y salváis la vida. — Y esto dicen que fue ponerle a prueba en la constancia de la fe.³³ A lo que respondió que no sabía nada, y que le matasen porque no quería la vida.

El *japonés* que vino con el Padre *Fray Antonio* dijo en este mismo día en el tormento que dentro de un año había de venir al Japón el Padre Fray Diego Collado³⁴ que estaba en Manila, con unos seis Padres.

En veinte y siete de este (mes), llevaron al martirio, a tener en la cuevas, los tres religiosos, a saber, *Fray Miguel*, *Fray Tomás* y *Fray Vicente* japonés, el cual ya se había levantado [*i.e.*, *reconciliado, revocado su apostasía*], y con ellos el *japonés seglar* y el *indio* que en su compañía vinieron, los cuales iban a caballo con una mordaza en la boca para que no pudiesen hablar. Los tres religiosos iban con media cabeza rapada, de la parte izquierda desde atrás hasta la frente, por arriba y de lado teñida con

After withdrawing *Father Antonio* from the torment, it was the turn of the *Filipino*, who, upon being called for the torment, said:

— Me, what shall I say. I do not know what to say. Why are you tormenting me? Kill me, and stop asking questions.³¹ I am a Filipino, son of a Chinese father and a Filipino mother. I am married and have two sons and one daughter. I could not stay in Manila because I had a quarrel with a Spaniard. I came with these Fathers without knowing where they were going to, in order to escape from Manila. And when we reached Japan I would have liked to return in the same champan. But when they told me that [the champan] would stop over in Formosa, I decided to stay here with the Fathers, because I would be hanged in Formosa.

The *Bugyo* said to him:

— Therefore, if we grant you life, will you apostatize? — He answered:

— That I will not do, because I am a Christian, and I shall die for God, and for him I will give many thousands of lives if I had them. And so do with me as you please.

The Governors ordered not to give him torment. *Father Antonio* told him as he was going for the torture:³²

— Son, if you know something against us, say it, and you will save your life. — And it is reported that he said this in order to test his [Lorenzo's] constancy in the faith.³³ To which he [Lorenzo] answered that he knew nothing, and that they could kill him because he did not want life.

The *Japanese* who came with *Father Antonio* said on this day, during the torment, that one year thence Fr. Diego Collado,³⁴ who was in Manila, would arrive with some six Fathers.

On the twenty seventh of this [month], they [the Judges] took to the martyrdom of the *cuevas* [gallows on the pit] the three religious, namely, *Father Miguel*, *Father Tomás*, and *Father Vicente* the *Japanese* who had already revoked his apostasy, and with them the *Japanese* layman and the *Filipino* who had come in their company. All were riding on horseback, with their mouths muzzled to prevent them from talking. The three religious had one side of their head shaven, from the back to the forehead on the left side, and the top and one side painted with red

almagre, dejando la otra mitad con cabello, y esto por escarnio. Y no nos consta que se hubiese levantado [*i.e. reconciliado*] el *japonés seglar* que había caído.³⁵ En las cuales cuevas estuvieron todos cinco tres días, al fin de los cuales los mandaron sacar. Hallaron muertos al *indio* y al *japonés seglar*, y a los tres religiosos vivos, a los cuales cortaron las cabezas. Puesto que *Fray Vicente* estaba ya tan flaco que no se pudo poner de rodillas, caído de bruces se la cortaron. *Fray Miguel* y *Fray Tomás*, de rodillas, todavía con mucho ánimo y mucha fe y constancia, despidiéndose uno de otro, se las cortaron, y en esta forma pasaron su glorioso martirio.

Era *Fray Tomás* francés de nación, y *Fray Miguel* vizcaíno,³⁶ y *Fray Antonio* de Valencia,³⁷ y *Fray Vicente* de Nagasaki, y el *indio* se llamaba *Lorenzo Ruiz*.

Estuvieron estos religiosos con tanto ánimo en las cuevas que, dentro de ellas estaban diciendo salmos y otros respondiendo. Y oyendo los verdugos que les vigilaban, pareciéndoles que les llamaban para alguna cosa, abrieron las cuevas y les preguntaron si querían alguna cosa, a lo que respondieron:

— No queremos nada y os pedimos perdón de seros ocasión del trabajo que tomáis por nosotros.

Pero Roiz.³⁸

Antonio Carvalho

ochre, leaving the hair of the other side intact; and all this to ridicule them. And we are not certain whether the fallen *Japanese* layman had revoked his apostasy.³⁵

All of them stayed in the said pits for three days, at the end of which, the Judges ordered them to be withdrawn. The *Filipino* and the *Japanese layman* were found dead, while the three religious were alive; and they were beheaded. *Father Vicente* was so weak that he could not stand on his knees, and so they cut his head as he lied hedlong on the ground. *Father Miguel* and *Father Tomás* were beheaded as they were on their knees, bidding farewell to each other with great courage, faith and constancy; in this way they passed their glorious martyrdom.

Father Tomás was French, *Father Miguel*, viscayan,³⁶ and *Father Antonio* from Valencia,³⁷ and *Father Vicente* from Nagasaki, and the *Filipino* was called *Lorenzo Ruiz*.

The religious remained in the pits with such valour that they were praying psalms, some intoning and others responding. The guards, on hearing them, and believing that the victims were calling them for something, opened the pits and asked them whether they wanted something, to which they answered:

— We want nothing, and we ask you pardon for being the cause of the trouble you have taken on account of us. — *Pero Roiz*,³⁸ *Antonio Carvalho*.

FOOTNOTES

¹ This document was printed for the first time in its Portuguese original, with a Spanish version, in *Nakasakien. seu Macaonen. seu Manilen. Beatificationis seu declarationis martyrii Servorum Dei Dominici Ibáñez de Erquicia, O.P. et XVI Sociorum... Positio super introductione Causae et martyrio ex officio concinnata*, Rome 1979, pp. 403-418.

² DOMINGO GONZALEZ, O.P., *Relación del ilustrísimo martirio de los Padres Fray Antonio González, Vicario Provincial, Fray Guillermo Courtet, Fray Miguel de Aozaraza y Fray Vicente de la Cruz, religiosos de la Orden de Santo Domingo, y dos compañeros suyos seglares*, Manila 1638. Reprinted with an English version in *Philippiniana Sacra*, XII, January-April, 1977, pp. 130-221.

³ Cf. J. F. SCHUTTE, S.J., *Introductio ad Historiam Societatis Jesu in Japonia*, Rome 1968, pp. 260-261.

⁴ Two 17th century Jesuits, Jerónimo Rodrigues and Joao Rodrigues Girao, writing from Nagasaki and Macao respectively, signed their family name with the abbreviation "Roiz", as can be seen in extant autograph letters: Letter of Fr. Jerónimo to the Superior General, Nagasaki, March 20, 1616 (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.*, 16 I, fol. 306v); letter of Fr. Joao to Fr. Gabriel Matos, Macao, January 25, 1616 (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.*, 16 II, fol. 292v).

⁵ The word *jurubaca*, some times written in different contemporary documents as *jurubaca* and *jurubassa*, derives from the Malayan *juru-bahaza*, which means "master of speech", and is defined by the Portuguese dictionary as "ancient interpreter in Malaysia and in the Far East" (Cf. C. BOXER, *A Portuguese Embassy to Japan (1644-1647)* London 1928, p. 10; ANTONIO DE MORAIS SILVA, *Grande Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*, Lisboa 1949-1959, VI, p. 97).

⁶ Cf. A. CARDIM, S.J., *Relacao da gloriosa morte de quatro Embaixadores portugueses da cidade de Macao*, Lisboa 1643; also, *Declaração do martirio do P. Fr. Thomas da Ordem de Sancto Augustinho*, published by G. S. VELA, OSA, *Mártires agustinos del Japón*, in *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Americano*, XVII (1922), p. 57.

⁷ Cf. C. BOXER, *The Great Ship from Amacon*, Lisboa 1963, p. 328; and of the same author, *The Embassy of Captain Goncalo de Siqueira to Japan in 1644-1647*, Macao 1938, pp. 119, 129, 141; H. CIESLIK, S.J., *The case of Christovao Ferreira in Monumenta Nipponica*, XXIX, Spring 1974, p. 27.

⁸ Cf. C. BOXER, *The Great Ship*, p. 153.

⁹ Letter of Fr. Manuel Dias, Macao, November 17, 1637, quoted by J. F. SCHUTTE, *Introductio ad Historiam Societatis Jesu in Japonia*, pp. 368-369.

^{9bis} The word *indio* was applicable to all natives of the Indies, both the Spanish Indies of America and the Philippines and the Portuguese Oriental Indies. Only in a loose sense it was used to mean the Chinese of the Philippines. When Lorenzo says of himself a little later "I am an indio", he was identifying himself more as a Filipino than as a Chinese.

¹⁰ That is, Frs. Miguel de Aozaraza, Tomás de Santo Domingo (Guillermo Courtet) and Vicente de la Cruz, as the text will show later.

¹¹ *Xoya* or *Shoya* was the seat of the government of Nagasaki, where the tribunal was located with an adjoining torture chamber.

¹² In 1637 two persons jointly governed Nagasaki by appointment of the *shogun* or supreme ruler of Japan. They were Sakakibara Hida-no-kami and Baba Saburozayemon. They acted as civil governors, heads of police and court judges, and they were called *bugyo*.

¹³ *Faixaque* derives from the word *hashike* which means champan, small boat, but it was used by the Portuguese in the sense of *order, edict, prohibition* (cf. BOXER, *The Great Ship*, p. 324).

¹⁴ *Champan*, boat used in Japan and in China for transportation, usually along rivers

¹⁵ *Gasto*, expenses, i.e. money for the expenses. — *Pan de oro* (Port. *Pao de ouro*), currency used in the Far East trade. Fr. Sebastián de Almeida, Visitor of the Society of Jesus, mentions this currency in a letter to the Superior General, Macao, November 17, 1677: "One *pan de oro* of 10 *taeles* of Macao is bought in Macao variously at 105 *taeles* and at 120 and at 125 each *pan de oro* (Cf. J. F. SCHUTTE, S.J., *Monumenta Historica Japoniae*, Rome 1975, p. 1096).

¹⁶ *Manila* or *manilla* (Port. *Manilha*) must have been another monetary unit, the value of which we have not been able to find.

¹⁷ Although we do not know the value of a *barra de oro* (gold bar), historian Diego Aduarte, O.P. says that a *barra de plata* (silver bar) was equivalent to 43 Spanish *reales* or 43 *taeles* (*Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas*, ed. Madrid 1962, II, p. 407).

¹⁸ That is, Lorenzo Ruiz.

¹⁹ *Escribano*. In the more technical sense of the term it meant *notary*; but it had the additional meaning of *calligrapher*, one who renders documents in good penmanship. The latter was probably the profession of Lorenzo.

²⁰ "Fray Tomás", i.e., Fr. Tomás de Santo Domingo, adopted religious name of Fr. Guillermo Courtet. With a few exceptions, all the missionaries that preached the Gospel in Japan in the 16th and 17th centuries were Portuguese and Spaniards and a minority of Italians. With reference to them, Fr. Tomás, who was French, was taken as an "extranjero", foreigner, by the governors of Nagasaki

²¹ *Cabaia*, "from the Arabic *Kabaya*, light silk, a kind of light cloth used by the Arabs and other oriental peoples" (A. MOREIRA SILVA, *op. cit.*, II, p. 667). We have not been able to find the meaning of the word *monean*, which appears in the original Portuguese text.

²² Tomás Antonio Araki, a Japanese secular priest, who after having studied in Rome, returned to Japan in 1615. Arrested in 1619, he renounced his faith and spent the rest of his life in the service of the Nagasaki government. He died in 1646. Some contemporary reports hint that he was reconciled before his death (cf. SCHUTTE, *Monumenta*, p. 1130; CIESLIK, *op. cit.*, p. 29)

²³ That is, the Spaniard Fr. Miguel and the Frenchman Fr. Tomás (Courtet).

²⁴ Fr. Domingo González, in his *Relación* on the martyrdom, gives us the "lindzas" or mystical phrases reportedly pronounced by Fr. Miguel as he saw the blood dropping from his fingertips: "Oh, qué lindos claveles..." (Oh, pretty carnation, etc.) (See the *Relación* in *Philippiniana Sacra*, XII, January-April 1977, p. 162).

²⁵ This Japanese is Lázaro of Kyoto, whose name does not appear in the title of the document nor throughout the text.

²⁶ The original Portuguese says "*a quem*", *to whom*, but it does not make sense. The Judges wanted to know *what* (*qué*) things were being said, and therefore the interpreters repeated *what* was said.

²⁷ "Por tres vías", by three ways. Fr. Antonio had in mind to have the copies handcarried by three different messengers, in order to assure the arrival of at least one.

²⁸ From the original Portuguese it is not clear whether the image was brought in front of Fr. Antonio or whether the priest was taken to place where the image was kept.

²⁹ The meaning is this: It was understood that the confessions of the Japanese Lázaro were caused only by the fear of the tortures.

³⁰ "A.C." in the original Portuguese. Evidently these are the initials of Antonio Carvalho, one of the authors of the document.

³¹ The word "ateme" in the original Portuguese is of obscure meaning. One probable interpretation is "mátenme" (kill me), or perhaps Lorenzo was asking to be handtied ("átenme) before the application of the torture.

³² It is not clear in the original whether it was Fr. Antonio or Lorenzo who was being taken to the torture.

³³ The original Portuguese says: "Foi pó-lo apalpar na constância da fe". The word "apalpar" is of difficult interpretation. Perhaps it is the hispanism "a palpar", "a probar" (to put to test), and the meaning of the phrase would be this: Fr. Antonio wanted to put Lorenzo to test in the constancy of his faith.

³⁴ Fr. Diego Collado, O.P., was a missionary in Japan from 1619 to 1622. In the latter year he was sent to Spain as Procurator of the Dominicans of the Philippines. In 1635 he came back to Manila with an expedition of 23 Dominicans, with whom he intended to found an institute exclusively dedicated to the missions of Japan and China (cf. H. OCIO, O.P., *Compendio de la Reseña biográfica de los Religiosos de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas*, Manila 1895, pp. 83-84).

³⁵ This phrase is clear in the Portuguese original, and the Spanish translation is literal. The authors only state that they are ignorant of the fact of Lázaro's conversion, they do not know, they have not been informed. But from the *Relación* of Fr. Domingo González (*Philippiniana Sacra*, XII, January-April 1977, p. 178) based on this document and on other witnesses of the martyrdom we know that Lázaro retracted his apostasy and was reconciled in jail.

³⁶ In those times, all Basques were called "vizcaínos". Fr. Miguel was a Basque, not from the province of Vizcaya but from that of Guipúzcoa.

³⁷ The interpreters were not well informed on this point. Fr. Antonio was not a native of Valencia but of León, Spain.

³⁸ I.e. Pedro Rodrigues.

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