



HISTORIA OBSCURA:

THE PHILIPPINES IN 16TH AND 17TH CENTURY
PORTUGUESE SOURCES

VOLUME II

Paulo Jorge de Sousa Pinto
Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço
Pedro Pinto
Jeremy Roe

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Edited by

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National Historical Commission of the Philippines

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Historia Obscura: The Philippines in 16th and 17th Century Portuguese Sources,
Volume II.

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The Philippines in the Map of Asia (Anonymous, c. 1540). Cod. Guelf. 102 Aug. 2°.
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DOCUMENTO 34

Roteiro de navegação entre Malaca e Maluco, s.d. (c. 1548). Publicado em A. Fontoura da Costa, ed., *Livro de Marinha de Bernardo Fernandes (cêrca de 1548)* (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1940), 102–106. Original conservado na Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Lat. 153, fols. 38–43v.

p. 102:

E desde que passares esta baixa atrás escrita, que fores pelo boqueirão, verás dois ilheus, um grande e outro pequeno cheio de arvoredos esfarrapados e ao derredor dêles areia branca; então chegar-te-hás à ponta da ilha da banda do nordeste e verás, da banda do sudoeste, outros dois ou três ilheus. E assim mesmo olharás da banda do nordeste um ilheu cheio de arvoredo e ao derredor de si é praia de areia branca, que estará da ponta da ilha 6 ou 7 léguas.

Quando houveres de partir desta ilha para Mindanau avisa-te que não partas senão pela manhã; e desde que partires que vás sempre na gávea, porque desta ilha atrás escrita, até seres tanto avante como êste ilheu que te tenho dito, é tudo cheio de coroas e de baixas, de uma banda e da outra. E da banda do sueste, até ficar outro ilheu com uma coroa de areia branca comprida, e dêste ilheu a êste outro, que está da banda do Norte, haverá 3 léguas, e porém é cheio de coroas de areia.

E desde que partires desta ilha, para ires por entre os baixos, governarás a lessueste e às vezes a leste quarta do nordeste; e sempre andarás em cima do mastro, onde quer que vires água branca, guarda-te dela porque é tudo baixo.

E se porventura vieres de Mindanau, demandar de mar em fora, para conheceres a entrada dêstes baixos até te fazer a terra da maneira como três ilhas estão, governarás diretamente à do meio, até que descubras os ilheus da entrada dos baixos; então, se fizer claro, verás para a banda do Sul desta terra do meio o monte redondo que se chama São Tomé, a que os castelhanos chamam São Pedro; e também verás a par dêste ilheu que está da banda do Sul, uma ilheta comprida, que está no meio do boqueirão, que é a primeira terra que viste do mar em fora e verás a entrada da banda do Sul dela. E porém, como tenho dito, avisa-te que

quando embocares estes ilheus que andes sempre em riba do mastro, e não andes de noite porque te perdes, ainda que baixes o caminho vinte Ave Marias.

E desde que fores dos baixos tens muito bom fundo para surgires onde quiseres. Estes baixos estão em altura de 7 graus largos, então governarás a Leste, e porém não deixes de ter homem em cima do mastro, porque aí há lugares coroas e tem em cima de si 4 e 5 braças. E isto até que percas de vista a terra, o que será à vista de umas ilhas que se chamam de São Miguel e são quatro, e uma é grande e são quatro ou cinco pequenas e altas; e dar-lhes-hás seu resguardo, de maneira que passes da banda do Sul delas, e porém até te ficar um ilheu da banda do Sul, e haverá na rota do boqueirão de Borneu 26 ou 27 léguas, está em altura de 7 graus escassos.

E desde que fores avante destas ilhas não hás de achar fundo, porque tudo é alcantilado. E fazendo o teu caminho a Leste irás haver vista de umas ilhas, que estão em altura de 6 graus e $\frac{1}{2}$, que se chamam Ilhas de Santa Clara e isto porque as vimos no seu dia. Para conheceres estas ilhas, quando vieres de mar em fora, hás de ver um monte não muito redondo, que quer parecer que tem uma mesa em cima; desde que fores perto destas ilhas hás de ver outros dois ou três montes, que se fazem todos em uma ilha mais; ao longo desta ilha alta da banda do Norte vereis outros cinco ou seis poços, cheios de arvoredos; esta é a conhecida destas ilhas. De São Miguel a estas de Santa Clara há 25 ou 30 léguas.

Desde que fores tanto avante como estas ilhas, e que te ficarem ao sudoeste, governarás a lesnordeste e a leste quarta do nordeste, em 7 graus, a haver vista de uma ilha comprida e não muito alta. E da banda do Norte hás de ver dois ilheus altos, e mais da banda Sul destes ilheus hás de ver uma ilha pequena. E desde que fores dentro destes ilheus e desta ilha pequena, que ficarem da banda do Norte, então verás da banda de Leste uma ilha grande que se chama Tagima; e assim verás para a banda do nordeste uma terra alta que é a Ponta de Mindana.

Desde que fores dentro desta ilha grande da Ponta de Mindana por meio de ambas as terras hás de ver duas ilhas pequenas rasas, mais chegadas para a banda de Mindanau, e poderás ir por onde quer que quiseres delas; e porém olha por ti, porque correm as águas muito grandemente, que se não podem crer, e atiram para o sueste, e assim mesmo indo mais àvante de três ou quatro ilheus pequenos e altos, que estão à saída deste boqueirão. E porém se houveres de tomar o Pôrto de Mindanau avisa-te que te chegues para a banda dâ terra de Mindana, por caso

que te não esgarem as águas para o mar; e êste boqueirão, no meio dêle, está em altura de 6 graus e $\frac{3}{4}$, e haverá na rota destas Ilhas de Santa Clara a êste boqueirão de Tagima 30 léguas.

Se quiseres tomar o Pôrto de Mindanau, desde que partires dêste boqueirão governarás a oesnoroeste, ao longo da costa sempre, até que vejas uma terra que te demorarà a lessueste até háde parecer como ilha. Desde que fores tanto avante como esta terra que te háde demorar ao sueste, governarás então a Leste e a lesnordeste, pela enseada dentro, até que vejas a terra baixa donde está o Pôrto de Mindanau, mais chegado para a terra alta da banda do Norte. E porém tem aviso se quiseres fazer tua boa navegação, e quiseres ir cedo a Maluco, digo-te que te não metas na enseada porque não sei se poderás sair tão cedo como tu quiseres.

Para fazeres tua boa navegação, desde que partires dêste boqueirão de Tagima, governarás ao sueste quarta ao sul, e farás muito por ir a barlavento das Ilhas de São Gim, porque ventão os ventos sudoestes e oessudoestes. E se caso for que fores demandar em 3 graus, que está a ilha maior delas (e a mostra desta ilha te faz dois montes e no meio uma quebrada da banda do Norte) hás de ver dois ilheus grandes, um afastado do outro 5 ou 5 léguas, e à coroa da ilha hás de ver duas juntas. E mais para a banda de lesnordeste verás outros ilheus, e para a banda do Sul hás de ver outras três ou quatro ilhas pequenas, e da banda do Sul destas ilhas pequenas hás de ver uma ilha, que tem um pico muito alto; e esta ilha grande se chama Ilha Formosa, porque é uma ilha muito viçosa com muitas palmeiras, que se quere parecer ilha de Portugal. E porém o nome de tôdas estas ilhas se chamam de São Gim, e haverá na rota de Tagima 62 léguas.

Avisa-te para tomares a Ilha de Ternate à tua vontade faze muito em tôda maneira que passes por entre as Ilhas de Sião e as Célebes. E desde que partires de Tagima, ainda que vás haver vista da ponta das Célebes não erras nenhuma coisa, porque as águas correm a Leste e a lessueste; e se porventura te achares com esta ponta, que faz por amostra três montes redondos e um dêles é mais alto do que os outros, e tanto que os vires dali por diante podes governar a Leste e ires haver vista da Ilha do Meão, que está a 25 léguas das Célebes. E dali por diante pelo próprio caminho irás haver vista das Ilhas de Maluco, que são cinco ou seis montes redondos; e aquele mais na metade dêles, que mais sai fora por a banda de Oeste, aquele é Ternate, e logo hás de ver a carão dêle o Pico de Tidore que é o mais agudo de todos.

Desde que partires de Xobar [?] para Mindanau governarás a leste quarta do nordeste, até haveres vista das Ilhas Brancas; desde que fores tanto avante como elas hás de achar fundo de 10 ou 15 e 20 braças de vasa, e areia, e pedra, até que chegues entre a terra de Mindanau. Até aqui achareis fundo alto e correm as águas então em grande maneira que se não pode crer mais; e assim te avisa que te não passes da banda do Sul de Tagima, porque tudo é cheio de ilhas rasas e bancos muitos. E desde que fores à vista das ilhas rasas se faz dali por diante, até Tagima, um parcel que no mais baixo hás de achar 6 ou 7 braças; e chega-te a êste parcel até ao par da ponta de Tagima; e as águas correm aqui neste parcel do nornordeste ao sussudoeste, e isto por todo êste arquipélago até que chegues perto da Ilha de Borneu.

Hás de saber que desde Tagima até à Ilha de Borneu há sempre fundo se fores por 6 graus, ou por menos, e sempre [acharás] ilhas pequenas e ilheus baixos e ilheus que não têm arvoredos nenhuns, senão areia, e porém tem uma coisa que não hás de achar entre elas baixo nenhum que menos seja de braças. Êste parcel se faz das Ilhas de Polo para Tagima, hás de achar as mais das vezes pedra, e hás de passar a 4 ou 5 léguas.

DOCUMENT 34

Rutter for navigation between Malacca and the Moluccas, undated (c. 1548). Published in A. Fontoura da Costa, ed., *Livro de Marinha de Bernardo Fernandes (cêrca de 1548)* (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1940), 102–106. Original manuscript in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Borg. lat.* 153, fols. 38–43v.

The manuscript volume in which this rutter is conserved contains no trace of its original owner. Abel Fontoura da Costa established the convention of referring to this volume as the “Livro de Marinharia de Bernardo Fernandes [Bernardo Fernandes’s book of seamanship]”, as it includes a navigator’s diary by a pilot with this name, dated 1548, which is the latest date given in the manuscript. The section of this rutter presented here describes the route from the far northeast of the island of Borneo to the Moluccas, and it contains the earliest mention of what are today the Philippines to be found in this type of document.

p. 102:

And once you have passed the aforementioned shallows as you sail [around the island] into the sound¹, you will see two islets, one large and the other small covered in patches of woodland and surrounded by white sand; then [still navigating around the island] you will reach the point on its northeast side and you will see two or three more islets to the southwest. And from there, looking northeast you will also catch sight of an islet covered in woodland and surrounded by a white sandy beach, which will be 6 or 7 leagues from the point of the island.

When you have to leave this island for Mindanao, you are advised to leave only in the morning; and once you have departed always keep watch from the crow’s nest, because from this aforesaid island, until you have reached the islet I have mentioned to you the route is full of sandbars and shallows on either side.

And on the southeast side, until you reach another islet with a long white

¹ He refers to the channel between Pulau Banggi and Pulau Malawali, which is the navigational route recommended in this rutter.

sandbank, and it is 3 leagues from this islet to this other [islet], which is on the northern side, and it is surrounded by sandbars.

And once you have left this island, to make your way between the shallows steer east-southeast and at times east-quarter-northeast; and always proceed with a watch stationed at the top of the mast, wherever you see white water avoid those areas as it is all shallow.

And if by chance you are coming from Mindanao, sailing from out at sea to find the entrance [and make your way] through these shallows and come in to land where there are three islands, steer a course directly for the middle one, until you see the islets at the entrance to the shallows; then if it is a clear day, you will see on the southern side of the middle island the round mountain called *São Tomé*, which the Spaniards call *San Pedro*²; and level with this islet you will also see a long islet on the southern side, which is in the middle of the sound, and it is the first land that is seen from out at sea and you will see the entrance on the southern side of it. However, as I have said, I advise you that when you approach these islets you always proceed with a lookout posted on the mast, and do not sail by night because you will get lost even if you [only] traveled along this route for the time it takes to say ten Hail Marys.

And once you have passed the shallows you have plenty of deep water to anchor where you wish. These shallows are at a latitude of 7 wide degrees, then you must steer east, and from then on do not fail to have a man posted at the top of the mast, because there are places with sandbars whose highest points rise to a depth of 4 to 5 fathoms. And this [stretch of shallow waters] continues until you lose sight of [this is]land, which will be when you sight some islands called *São Miguel*, and there are four of them. One of them is large and there are four or five small, tall ones³; keep a distance from them so that you pass on the southern side of them, until you notice an islet on the southern side⁴, and it will be 26 or 27 leagues on the route from the sound of Borneo; it is barely 7 degrees latitude.

² Mount Kinabalu.

³ The island referred to as large, is evidently Mapun. The others must be Pamalikan, Bintut, Bohan and Mandah. See document 7, notes 11 and 12, and document 13, note 20.

⁴ He refers to one of the Muligi islands.

And once you have left these islands you will not be able to sound the depth because all [the seabed in this area] is very steep. And as you make your way east you will see some islands that are at a latitude of 6 and $\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, which are called the *Ilhas de Santa Clara* [St. Clare Islands], and this is because we [first] saw them on this saint's day⁵. To identify these islands when coming from out at sea, you have to look for a mountain that is not overly round and that seems to have a table-top summit; once you come closer to these islands you will see two or three other mountains, which together all form another island; along the north side of this tall island you will see five or six tree-filled hollows; this is how you will identify these islands. There are 25 or 30 leagues from *São Miguel* to these [islands] of *Santa Clara*.

Once you sail beyond these islands, and they lie to your southwest, steer east-northeast and east-quarter-northeast at a latitude of 7 degrees; you will sight a long island that is not very tall. And on the northern side you will see two tall islets, and then on the southern side of these islets you will see a small island. And once you have sailed between these islets and this small island, which will lie to the north, then you will see to the east a large island called *Tagima*; and thus you will see on the northeast side an area of high ground which is *Mindana Point*⁶.

Once you pass close to this large island with *Mindana Point*, in between both lands you will see two small flat islands, which are closer to the Mindanao side, and you will be able to go around them whichever way you wish; however, keep watch, because the currents are very strong, which is hard to believe, and they will pull to the southeast, anyway as you continue ahead there are three or four small, tall islets, which are at the exit of this sound. And if you wish to land at the port of Mindanao⁷, I advise you to arrive on the side facing *Mindana Point*, so you do not get swept out to sea by the current; and the middle of this sound is at a latitude of 6 and $\frac{3}{4}$ degrees, and it is 30 leagues along this route from these *Ilhas de Santa Clara* to this sound of *Tagima*.

⁵ It would seem that the pilot prepared this rutter around the time that the name of these islands changed to Santa Clara. The anonymous Portuguese planisphere conserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, dated c. 1545, includes this toponym. Later maps locate this toponym to the northeast of Jolo, which suggests an identification with the Pangutaran group of islands.

⁶ Or in other words, the tip of the Zamboanga peninsula.

⁷ The name of this port is not mentioned in any Portuguese source.

If you want to land at port of Mindanao, once you have left this sound steer west-northwest always along the coast, until you sight land that lies east-southeast and appears to be an island. Once you reached as far as this stretch of coast which ought to lie to the southeast, then steer east and east-northeast. Head into the inlet, until you see a low-lying stretch of land, which is where Mindanao port is, closer the high ground on the northern side. And so I advise you that if you want to take a good course and arrive early in the Moluccas, do not enter this inlet because I am not sure you will be able to leave as soon as you may wish.

To set a good course, once you leave this *Tagima* sound steer southeast-quarter-south, and do all you can to keep windward of the *Ilhas de São Gim*⁸, because the southwesterly and west-southwesterly winds blow. And were you to reach a latitude of 3 degrees, where the biggest of these islands is (and this island is identified by two mountains and in the middle a break between them on the northern side) [and] you will see two large islets⁹, about 5 or 5 [sic] leagues apart, and you must keep watch for two sandbars together on this island. And what is more on the east-northeast side you will see other islets, and on the southern side you should see three or four small islands, and on the southern side of these small islands you will see an island, which has a very high peak¹⁰; and this large island is called *Ilha Formosa*¹¹ [Beautiful Island], because it is a verdant island with many palm trees that seem like the island of Portugal. And all told, the name of all these islands is *São Gim*, and along this route it will be 62 leagues from *Tagima*.

Be advised that to reach the island of Ternate as you wish, you must in any case sail between the Islands of *Sião*¹² and the *Celebes*¹³. And once you leave *Tagima*, until you sight the point of the *Celebes* do not err from your course, because the currents run to the east and to the east southeast; and if by chance you find yourself at this point, which has as its markers three round mountains and one is taller than the others, and as soon as you see them ahead of you set a course to the east and you will sight the *Ilha do Meão*¹⁴, which is 25 leagues from the *Celebes*. And

⁸ Pulau Sangihe.

⁹ Pulau Nusa and Pulau Bukide.

¹⁰ This is the volcano known as Mount Karangetang.

¹¹ Pulau Siau.

¹² Siau Islands.

¹³ See document 7, note 1, and document 56, note 1.

¹⁴ Pulau Mayu.

from there along your designated route, you will sight the Moluccas Islands, which consist of five or six round mountains; and the one that is most in the middle of them, and which protrudes on the western side is Ternate, which faces the Peak of Tidore¹⁵, which is the steepest of them all.

Once you depart from *Xobar* [?] for Mindanao steer east-quarter-northeast, until you sight the *Ilhas Brancas*¹⁶ [White Islands]; once you get beyond them you will find 10 or 15 and 20 fathoms of depth with silt, and sand and stone until you arrive at the island of Mindanao. Up until this point you will find a good depth and the currents thus run in such way that you could hardly believe it; and so I advise you not to pass on the southern side of *Tagima*, because it is all full of flat islands and many banks. And as soon as you sight the flat islands there is from there on until *Tagima* one shoal that at its shallowest is 6 or 7 fathoms; and you will be at this shoal up to the point at *Tagima*; and the waters run here into this shoal from northeast to south-southwest, and this is for all this archipelago until you arrive close to the island of Borneo.

You must know that from *Tagima* to the island of Borneo there is always deep water if you sail at 6 degrees latitude, or lower, and [you will] always [find] small islands and low-lying islets, and islets that have no tree cover, only sand, and even so there is one thing, you will never find among them any shallows that have fewer fathoms. This shoal is found at the *Ilhas de Polo* [as you head] for *Tagima*, you will find stone most of the time, and you have to pass them at a distance of 4 or 5 leagues.

¹⁵ Mount Kie Matubu.

¹⁶ Unclear location.

DOCUMENTO 35

Roteiro de Malaca para o Bornéu e para Manila, anónimo, de 1595. Publicado em Léon Bourdon e Luís de Albuquerque, ed., *Le “Livro de Marinharia” de Gaspar Moreira* (Lisboa: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1977), 170–175. Original conservado na Bibliothéque nationale de France, Cod. Port. No. 58, fols. 103–106.

p. 170:

Viagem de Malaqua pera Borneo e pera Manilha

Partindo de Malaqua aos 12 de Julho de 1595, aos 15 do dito mez chegamos a Sanbaduja com vento sul e susueste.

E aos 19 do mes saymos de Sanbraduja, e aos 20 chegamos a Pedra Branca aonde vim fazendo caminho de leste e quarta do sueste e por lessueste com o vento susudueste.

Da Pedra Branca me fui saindo aos 21 pela manhã e aos 22 do mes vi a ilha de Pulo Gaja e tomei o sol – he hum grao e hum terço largo – sinco legoas pouco mais ou menos, e mandei governar por leste polas agoas yrem aynda pera o sul.

Aos 23 do mes amanheci com huma corda de algumas quinze ilhas ou mais, que estão doze legoas de Pulo Gaja. Tomei as pella banda do sul, e a que vi mais perto de mim hera huma ilha montuosa e grande, e da banda do sul tem um ilheo grande, que quem vem de barlavento fas como tres, e tanto que demorar ao nordeste e ao nonordeste fas como dous, e he tudo hum, e tem duas pedras pequenas pegado consigo.

Des que passey esta ilha, vi as outras muitas por gilavento, antre as quaes vi huma ilha que tem hum piquo muito alto e agudo, e pela proa se me ficarão duas ilhetas, e todo este dia gastei aly e a noite atras. E tanto que vim governando a lessueste pera yr por barlavento destas que me fiquavão pela proa, escasseo o vento, e deixei a da direita da proa, e governei a lesnordeste, e passei por antre esta

ilha que pela proa estava e huma das muitas de gilavento que mais perto estava della; e tem esta ilha das de gilavento junto a si hum ilheo muito alvo; e por alli não ha de que temer senão do que vires. Isto foi aos 24 dias do mes.

E logo aquela mesma boqua da noite me despedi delas com a proa por leste e quarta do sueste, e sendo o vento muito rijo mandei tirar as monetas, e assi vin toda a noite ate pela menhãa que forão 25 do mes, e mandei meter a moneta e vi por popa tres ilhetas.

E ao meo dia tomei o sol antre nuvens, e fiquei en hum grao e a dez legoas da cabeça de Borneo, e mandei governar a leste e a quarta do sueste porque a costa me demorava assi. Este dia vi muitas cobras.

Aos 26 do mes amanheci com huma ilha muito raza de obra de huma legoa de comprido, e tanto que a passei vi huma ilha pequena que faz como duas quebradas, e mais avante della mais duas ilhas que anbas querem parecer como lagartos; e mais ao nordeste huma ilha muito raza de obra de sinco legoas de comprido. Governey ao nordeste pera ir por gilavento dela e das outras tres porque a conhecy, que ja ali estive outra vez. He toda povoada e na ponta do nordeste tem huma pedra muito cagada dos passaros, que bota mea legoa da terra pouco mais ou menos, e ao mar dela mea legoa tem huma restinga.

Quem por aqui for dara este resguardo, e como for tanto avante como ella fara o seu caminho, porque dali a terra. Da primeira vez parti a boqua da noite e amanhecy na costa a barlavento de Tãojãopulo.

Aos 27 do mes a noite me despedi desta ilha atras, e como foi dous relogios da prima, se armou hum chuivo a loessudueste e nos deu com tanto inpeto que pareasia vir o mundo abaixo, e levantou tanto inpeto de mar que nos não deu mais lugar que governar ao som do mar, ja com a proa por leste e a quarta do sueste, e durou rijo como digo ate os quatro relogios da modorra, e daly ao dia foi abonçando; e pela menhãa amanhecy com huma ilha que esta ao mar de Tãojãosiri.

Oje que forão 29 do mes, tomei o sol en tres graos e dous terços, e demorvão os Milhanos a lessueste como dez legoas da terra; e oje 30 do mes en amanhecendo vymos a terra da ençada de Tãojãosiri e os Milhanos e nos acalmou o vento todo o dia e a tarde a virão todos claros.

E assi viemos correndo a costa com muitas calmas e chegamos a nove de agosto a baia de Borneo e estivemos surtos nella dous dias sen poder yr pera dentro por o vento ser sudueste.

E aos 17 do mes fizemos a vela pera ir ao desenbocadouro pera Manilha, e sendo en mea baia nos sorgimos.

Aos 18 do mes pela menhãa com o vento calmoso viemos surgir a noite no canal do enbocadouro; e oje 19 do mes desenboquamos e ymos correndo a costa buscando Pulo Tiga.

E a tarde o vimos e corremos toda aquela noite e passamos por Pulo Tiga no quarto de alva. Aos 20 do mes viemos correndo a costa nosso caminho buscando as ilhas de Sam Jeronimo; e aos 21 do mes amanhecemos antre o monte de Sam Pedro e as ilhas de Sam Jeronimo e corremos todo aquele dia e a noite seguynte com o vento bonança; e aos 22 do mes amanhecemos na cabeça de Borneo como quatro legoas da ilha de Sancta Maria, e andamos todo aquele dia junto della com o vento calma; e a noite nos entrou o terreno e viemos buscando a ilha de Malaua aonde amanhecemos e ymos correndo a de longo.

E indo tãoto avante como ella nos escasseo o vento e me botei pera banda do norte della aonde a fui correndo todo aquele dia e a noite; e outro dia 25 do mes amanheci de dentro da cabeça de Peragoa sinco ou seis legoas avante dela aonde vim correndo com o vento sueste.

E a derradeira de agosto chegamos a cabeça de Peragoa e tomei o sol onze graos hum sesmo; e aqui andamos com muitas calmas ate os tres de setembro, e ja não tinhamos agoa nenhuma nem que comer; e aos 3 no quarto de alva nos entrou o vento como oesssudueste e viemos correndo os Calamianes; e oje 6 do mes chegamos a Lubão e vou entrando por antre a ilha de Cabras e Lubão.

DOCUMENT 35

Rutter from Malacca to Borneo and Manila, anonymous, 1595. Published in Léon Bourdon and Luís de Albuquerque, eds., *Le “Livro de Marinharia” de Gaspar Moreira* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1977), 170–175. Original manuscript in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cod. Port. no. 58, fols. 103–106.

This rutter is included in an extensive collection of rutters compiled by Gaspar Moreira in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and it recounts a journey made in 1595. It must be one of the oldest rutters to describe a route between Malacca and Manila. The footnotes are based on those that accompany the edition of this document published in 1977.

p. 170:

Journey from Malacca to Borneo and to Manila

Leaving from Malacca on the 12th July 1595, on the 15 of the said month we arrived at *Sanbaduja*¹ with a south-southeast wind.

And on the 19th of the month we left *Sanbraduja*, and on the 20th we arrived at *Pedra Branca* [White Rock]² where I set a course east-quarter-southeast and east-southeast with a south-southwest wind.

I departed from *Pedra Branca* in the morning of the 21st and on the 22nd of the month I saw the island of *Pulo Gaja*³ and I took the sun – it was about one and a third wide degrees – five leagues more or less away, and I set a course east due to the currents that were still flowing southwards.

¹ Possible transcription error made by the copyist, instead of Singapore.

² A small island between the southernmost tip of the Malay peninsula and Pulau Bintan.

³ Pulau Kayuara, according to L. Boudon and L. de Albuquerque, or Pulau Dundum, according to Jorge Semedo de Matos (2018).

On the 23rd of the month, by dawn, I saw a string of some fifteen islands or more, which are twelve leagues from *Pulo Gaja*. I passed them on the southern side, and I saw that the one that was closest to me was a mountainous large islet, and on the southern side it has a large islet, which when seen from windward seems to be three [islets], and when you head northeast and north-northeast it seems to be two, and it is just one, and it has two small rocks very close to it.

Once I had passed this island, I saw many others to leeward, amongst which I saw an island that has a very high and pointed peak, and from the prow I saw two small islets, and I spent all this day and the night before there. And as soon as I began sailing east-southeast keeping windward of these [islands] that I sighted from the prow, the wind dropped, and I left the one [island] on the right of the prow, and set a course east-northeast, and I passed between this island that was ahead of the prow and one of the many on the leeward side, [the one] that was closest to it; and this island to leeward has a very white islet next to it; and along this section there is nothing to fear apart from what you might see. This was the 24th day of the month.

And then at nightfall that same day I left them behind us with the prow headed east-quarter-southeast, and as it was a very strong wind I ordered the bonnets to be lowered, and I sailed in this manner all night until the morning which was the 25th of the month, and I ordered the bonnets to be raised and I saw from the poop deck three islets.

And at midday I measured the sun amidst the clouds, and I calculated one degree and at ten leagues from the headland at the headland of Borneo, and I set a course east-quarter-southeast because the coast caused me to veer in this manner. During this day I saw many snakes.

On the 26th of the month at sunrise I saw a very flat island about a league long, and as I had passed it I saw a small island formed of two valleys, and further on from it another two islands, both of which seemed to look like lizards; and further northeast a very flat island about five leagues long. I set a course northeast keeping to leeward from it and from the other three because I knew it having been there before. It is populated all over and on the northeast point there is a white stone covered with many bird droppings, which protrudes half a league out to sea more or less, and there is a ridge half a league out to sea from it.

Whoever travels along here must keep watch for this, and when he gets as far as it he will be able to make his journey because from there on is land. The first time [I sailed this route] I left at nightfall and at sunrise was windward of the coast of *Tājāopulo*.⁴

On the 27th of the month I left this island behind me by night, and at two [sand] clocks [1 hour, 30 minutes per *relogio*] from Prime [first watch], a rainstorm came from the west-southwest and it hit us with such force that it seemed the world was sinking, and the sea became so rough that we had no choice but to follow the course set by the sea, now with the prow headed east-quarter-southeast, and the wind blew hard until four sand clocks from third watch and from then it subsided throughout the day; and at sunrise the following day I saw an island that lies out to sea from *Tājāosiri*.⁵

Today, which is the 29th of the month, I measured the [height of the] sun at three degrees and two thirds, and the *Milhanos*⁶ lie to the east-southwest some ten leagues from land; and today 30th of the month at dawn we sighted land, the inlet of *Tājāosiri* and the *Milhanos* and the wind dropped for the whole day and by the afternoon it all became clear.

And in this way we continued along the coast while being frequently becalmed and on the ninth of August we arrived at the bay of Borneo and we remained at anchor there for two days without being able to enter due to the southwest wind.

And on the 17th of the month we set sail to go down the channel to Manila, and as we were in the middle of the bay we anchored.

On the 18th of the month in the morning with a gentle wind we went on to anchor at night in the estuary channel; and today the 19th of the month we sailed out and ran along the coast in search of *Pulo Tiga*.⁷

⁴ Tanjung Puting.

⁵ Tanjung Sirik.

⁶ Reference to the Melanau ethnic group.

⁷ Pulau Tiga.

And we sighted it in the afternoon and we sailed on all that night and passed *Pulo Tiga* in the Quarto [fourth watch] after dawn. On the 20th of the month we continued on our route down the coast in search for the Islands of *Sam Jeronimo*⁸; and on the 21st of the month at dawn we were between the mountain of *Sam Pedro*⁹ and the islands of *Sam Jeronimo* and we sailed on all that day and the following night with a gentle wind; and on the 22nd of the month at dawn we reached the headland of Borneo and four leagues from the island of *Sancta Maria*,¹⁰ and we continued all that day alongside it with a calm wind; and at night the land wind rose and we went towards the island of *Malaua*,¹¹ which we sighted at dawn and sailed along.

And having gone as far ahead as that the wind fell and I took the northern side of it where I sailed along it all that day and night; and by the following day, 25th of the month, at dawn we had passed five or six leagues beyond the headland of *Peragoa*;¹² it we were sailing with a southeast wind.

And on the last day of August we arrived at the headland of *Peragoa*¹³ and I measured the [height of the] sun as eleven degrees and one sixth; and from here we sailed on, but were often becalmed until the third of September, and by then we had no water and nothing to eat; and on the 3rd at the *quarto* after dawn a wind rose from the west-southwest and we sailed on to the Calamianes; and today 6th of the month we arrived at *Lubão*¹⁴ and entered between the Island of *Cabras* and *Lubão*.

⁸ Identified as the Mantanani Islands by Jorge Semedo de Matos (2018). If this identification is sound, these islands must have changed their name since the time when the remainder of Magellan's fleet first visited them. See document 13, note 28.

⁹ Mount Kinabalu.

¹⁰ Balambangan or Banggi. See document 13, note 34.

¹¹ The name suggests this island may be identified with Malawali. However, in light of this ruttter's description given of the route taken from Manila to Brunei such an identification is evidently impossible. The island is perhaps Balabac.

¹² Palawan. In this case, the "Peragoa headland" is identified as being the southernmost tip of the island.

¹³ In this case, the "Peragoa headland" is identified as being the northernmost tip of the island.

¹⁴ Lubang.

DOCUMENTO 36

Roteiro de Manila para o Bornéu, anónimo, c. 1595 (?). Publicado em Léon Bourdon e Luís de Albuquerque, ed., *Le “Livro de Marinharia” de Gaspar Moreira* (Lisboa: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1977), 176–181. Original conservado na Bibliothéque national de France, Cod. Port. No. 58, fols. 106–110.

p. 176:

Roteiro de Manilha pera Borneo

Partindo da baía de Manilha em demanda de Lubão, o viras buscar com a proa pelo sudueste e a quarta de loeste, e veras huma ponta baixa que he onde esta o porto de Lubão.

A qual ponta a iras correndo, e no cabo della, como huma legoa afastado della, esta huma ilheta raza pequena a que chamão ilha de Cabra. Meter te has por antre ella e a ilha de Lubão e chegar te has mais alguma cousa a ilheta por cauzo de huma restinga que sae da ponta delgada de Lubão.

E se quizeres ir pelo mar desta ilheta, bem podes. Afastar te has della como huma legoa ao mar. Mas o bom he ir antre ella e Lubão.

E tanto que desenbocares por antre esta ilheta e Lubão, como digo, e vieres em demandar Peragoa, mandarás governar ao sudueste e a quarta de loeste quanto seja 40 legoas de Lubão ou huma boa sangradura.

E se o vento se fizer pelo noroeste, faras esta sangradura a loessudueste.

E se o vento reinar pelo nordeste, iras pelo caminho arriba dito, e tanto que te fizeres 40 legoas de Lubão faras o caminho do sudueste e do sul quanto seja outra sangradura; e se não vires a terra de Peragoa, mandarás governar pelo sul e a quarta de sueste e pelo susueste [*sic*], e o teu sol te ensinara.

E tanto que tomares vista da ilha de Peragoa, a iras correndo de maneira que vas quatro ou sinco legoas della ate que sejas na cabeça da ilha da banda do sudueste, e vigia te do baixo que esta na cabeça da ilha; e desta lonbada donde esta este baixo que atrás digo que ate a despedida da cabeça da ilha de Peragoa, he tudo terra muito baixa.

E querendo enbocar por antre a ilha de Malaua, teras avizo que avante da despedida de Peragoa veras tres ilhetas tãobem muito razas que vão correndo pera diante conforme a ilha de Peragoa, e a derradeira ilha destas tres he mais comprida que as outras duas; e logo avante desta mais comprida veras a ilha de Malaua que he mais alta e mais montuosa que nenhuma destas outras.

E querendo enbocar, enbocaras por antre esta ilheta mais comprida e a ilha de Malaua, e da banda da ilha de Malaua logo na entrada qualquer couza dentro esta huma ilheta pequena. Esta ha de ficar da banda de Malaua, e te meteras pelo meo do canal co a proa pelo susueste, e veras outras ilhetas pequenas pela proa, onde veras huma pequena e redonda que te ha de ficar da banda da mão direita. Olha que he toda rodeada de baixos.

E tanto que fores avante della qualquer couza, veras hum canal que se corre de nornordeste e susudueste e te meteras por elle com a proa pello susudueste. Deixando esta ilha redonda a mão direita, dar lhe has seu regardo. Pelo meo deste canal, daras resguardo a outra que te ha de ficar da banda da mão esquerda.

Tanto que tiveres passado esta ilha redonda, te chegaras mais a ilha de Malaua e a iras correndo quão quizeres de ponta a ponta.

E tanto que a passares pera vires tomar a cabeça de Borneo, viras gouernando ao sul, e por este rumo a viras tomar, que esta como oito legoas desta ilha de Malaua, e te ficarão as ilhas de Sancta Maria ao sueste, que são duas, huma alta e outra mais baixa e comprida, e estão junto huma da outra, e corre se esta comprida de lesnordeste e oessudueste.

Se não te quizeres meter por este canal que atras digo, e quizeres vir por fora de Malaua, avizo te que te ponhas de maneira que vas ao mar de Malaua duas legoas e mea pera tres.

E assi a iras correndo de longo com a proa pelo sul e pelo sul e a quarta do sudeste de forma que vas das duas legoas e mea pera tres, e com o prumo na mão.

E não te ponha medo nada do que vires pelo fundo, porque daras en alfaques, hum de sete braças e outros de seis, e logo daras en outros de sinco e quatro braças, e logo não acharas fundo, e en outros de dez e oito; e por isso não deixeis de fazer teu caminho, porque tanto que enparelhades com a despedida desta ilha de Malaua logo se acabão os alfaques. En todos elles não acharas menos fundo do que atras digo. Por tanto seguiras teu caminho a buscar a cabeça de Borneo como atras digo; e como deres nela e na costa a iras correndo de maneira que vas a terra das ilhas de São Jeronimo.

Estas ilhas de São Jeronimo são duas e pequenas, e estarão afastadas da terra de Borneo como duas legoas ou tres; e se quizeres passar ao mar dellas, bem podes afastando te dellas huma legoa ao mar; e mais ao mar como quatro ou sinco legoas veras huma ilha raza e comprida. Mas o bom caminho he vir a terra destas ilhas de São Jeronimo.

Tanto que passares estas ilhas de São Jeronimo, iras correndo a costa de longo a legoa e a legoa e mea della en demandar Pulo Tiga, a qual, como a vires, te ha de parecer como tres ilhas; mas des que fores perto, veras que he toda huma ponta, desvia te della quanto seja hum tiro de bon falcão porque desta ponta bote hum grande recife de pedras, e junto delle he alto.

E tanto que fores descobrindo huma praia de area que esta no meo deste Pulo Tiga, te tornaras a chegar a ilha e desviar te has da ponta da terra baixa de Borneo, a qual tem hum ilheozinho ao mar; e desta ponta sae huma grande restinga que vem contra a ilha de Pulo Tiga. Por tanto tem este resguardo.

E tanto que passares este Pulo Tiga pera ir pera Borneo, yras correndo a costa de longo a duas legoas dela, porque das quatro pera o mar bota huma restinga de mais de sinco legoas conforme vai a costa. Por tanto yras as suas legoas. E por este caminho yras tomar vista das ilhas que estão na baia de Borneo, e a primeira que vires he mais comprida que nenhuma das outras. E tanto que estiveres antre ella e a terra de Borneo e fores pera dentro da baia, veras duas ou tres ilhetas pequenas e redondas, as quais iras com a proa a ellas. Daras resguardo a hum ilheozinho que esta na terra de Borneo hum quarto ou seja mea legoa pouco mais ou menos.

E como fores tanto avante como este ilheozinho, yras de maneira que deixeis estas ilhetas redondas da banda da mão esquerda, e yras por antre ellas e a ilha mais comprida, e yras de forma que des resguardo a huma ponta raza que sae desta ilha comprida escontra a ilha redonda mais de dentro, porque bota huma restinga hum pedaço afastado. Por tanto yras mais arrumado a ilheta redonda.

E mais avante hum pouco veras hum ilheozinho muito [...]. Olha que tudo he rodeado de baixos e restingas. Desvia te delle hum pouco, ou antes desvies muito, porque pera dentro desta ilha redonda tudo são arrecifes muito peligrosos.

E como fores tanto avante como este ilheozinho, yras correndo como mea legoa conforme a ilha mais comprida vai correndo; e como fores no meo dela, te meteras pera dentro da baia com a proa pelo sudueste ate veres huma ponta de area muito delgada da banda de loeste. Desvia te dela porque bota huma restinga mais de huma legoa e vai correndo conforme a mesma ponta vai correndo. Logo e logo avante veras humas pesceyras. Iras junto a ellas, deixando as a mão direita.

E mais avante veras huma ponta delgada. Deixa la has a mão direita e yras surgir da banda de dentro dela hum pedaço e quão perto da terra quizeres; e na terra junto ao mar ha lagoas de agoa muito boa onde se pode fazer agoada.

DOCUMENT 36

Rutter from Manila to Brunei, anonymous, c. 1595 (?). Published in Léon Bourdon and Luís de Albuquerque, eds., *Le “Livro de Marinharia” de Gaspar Moreira* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1977), 176–181. Original manuscript in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cod. Port. no. 58, fols. 106–110.

This rutter does not appear to have been written in conjunction with the previous one. The compilation of rutters that Léon Bourdon and Luís de Albuquerque referred to as the “Livro de Marinharia de Gaspar Moreira” contains a rutter for the route between Brunei and Manila, and this is reproduced in the next document. The two documents must have been the outcome of the same voyage, the outgoing and return journeys.

p. 176:

Rutter from Manila to Borneo¹

Leaving from the bay of Manila in the direction of *Lubão*,² head your ship's prow southwest-quarter-west, and you will see a low point which is where the port of *Lubão* is.

Sail towards that point, and about a league away from its tip, there is a small flat islet, which is called *Cabra* Island. You must sail between it and the island of *Lubão* and you should stay a little closer to the small islet because of the ridge that protrudes from the narrow point of *Lubão*.

And if you want to sail on the seaward side of this small islet, so you can. Keep about a league away from it out to sea. But the best way is to sail between it and *Lubão*.

¹ About Borneo/Brunei, see document 2, note 1, and document 7, note 17.

² Lubang.

And as soon as you make your way between this small islet and *Lubão*, as I say, heading for *Peragoa*,³ once you are 40 leagues from *Lubão* or having made a good day's journey set a course southwest-quarter-west.

And if the wind blows from the northwest, you will make this day's journey heading west-southwest.

And if the wind holds to the northeast, you are to take the route stated above, and as soon as you are 40 leagues from *Lubão* set a course for the southwest and then south after another day's sailing; and if you do not see the island of *Peragoa*, steer a course south-quarter-southeast and then south-southwest [*sic*], and [the position of your] sun will show you.

And as you soon as you sight the island of *Peragoa* you will pass along it so that you sail five or six leagues until you come to the headland of the island on the southwest west side, and keep alert for a shallow that lies off the headland of this island⁴; and from this ridge, where the aforementioned shallow is, up until you leave the headland of the island of *Peragoa*⁵ behind you all the land is very low.

And if you want to sail between the island of *Malaua*,⁶ be advised that beyond the far edge of *Peragoa* you will see three small islets,⁷ which are also very flat, and they lie ahead beyond the island of *Peragoa*, and the last of these three islands is longer than the other two; and then beyond this longer island you will see the island of *Malaua* which is taller and more mountainous than any of the others.

And if you want to sail between them, do so between this longer small islet and the island of *Malaua*, and on the side of the island of *Malaua* there is a small islet⁸ a short distance into the channel. You must keep this on the *Malaua* side, and if you steer down the middle of the channel with your bow heading south-southwest, you will see other small islets from the prow, and you will see one small

³ Palawan.

⁴ This is one of the sandbanks near Cape Buliluyan.

⁵ He refers to the southwestern tip of the island of Palawan.

⁶ See document 35, note 11.

⁷ Identified by L. Bourdon and L. de Albuquerque as Bancalan, Mantangule and Canabungan.

⁸ Possibly, Secam.

round one⁹ which has to be kept on the right-hand side. Be alert as it is surrounded by shallows on all sides.

And as soon as you are a short distance past it, you will see a channel that runs from north northeast to south southwest and sail down it with your prow heading to south southwest. Keeping this round island to your right, stay well away from it. In the middle of this channel, keep away from another which you should have on your left-hand side.

As soon as you have passed this round island, you shall come closer to the island of *Malaua* and you can sail as close as you wish from point to point.

And as soon as you pass it you will head towards the headland of Borneo, continue sailing south, and will reach it on this course, [and] it is about eight leagues from the island of *Malava*, and the islands of *Santa Maria*¹⁰ will be to the southeast; there are two, one is tall, the other flat and long, and they are close to one another, and the long one runs from east northeast to west southwest.

If you do not want to take the channel as I say, and you want to sail further out [to sea] from *Malaua*, I advise you to sail two and a half or three leagues out to sea from *Malaua*.

And continue ahead in this manner with the bow heading south and south-quarter-southwest for two and half or three leagues keeping the plumbline to hand.

And do not fear what you see in terms of the depth, because you will encounter shelves, one of seven fathoms the others of six, and then you will come to others of five or four fathoms, and then you will not be able to sound the depth, and in others ten and eight; and this is why you must not cease to continue with your route, because as soon as you come to the far edge of this island of *Malaua* then the shelves come to an end. For all of these [sandbanks] you will not find less depth than I have said above. Therefore continue your route in search of headland

⁹ Possibly, Candamaran.

¹⁰ See document 13, note 34, and document 35, note 10.

of Borneo as I said above; and as you reach it and as you make your way along the coast you will sight the islands of *São Jeronimo*.¹¹

These islands of *São Jeronimo* consist of two small ones, and they are two or three leagues from the island of Borneo; and if you want to pass them out at sea, you can do so keeping a distance of one league out to sea; and four or five leagues further out to sea you will see a long flat island. However, the best route is to come to this island [of Borneo] from these islands of *São Jeronimo*.

As soon as you pass these islands of *São Jeronimo*, continue along the coast, keeping a league and then a league and a half out to sea, in the direction of *Pulo Tiga*,¹² which, as soon as you have in your sight should appear as three islands; but as you approach you will see it is all one point, steer away from it as soon as you are a good cannon's shot away from it because a large stone reef protrudes from this point, and the waters are deep alongside it.

And as soon as you sight a sandy beach that is in the middle of this [island of] *Pulo Tiga*, turn to approach the island and set a course to avoid the point of the low land of Borneo, which has a little islet out at sea; and from this point a large ridge protrudes and comes up to the island of *Pulo Tiga*. Therefore, pay attention to this.

And as you pass *Pulo Tiga* towards Borneo, continue two leagues out to sea from it along the coast, because four [leagues] out a large ridge sticks out into the sea for more than five leagues along the coast. Therefore, you will sail it length in leagues. And along this route you will sight the islands that are in the bay of Borneo, and the first one¹³ you will see is longer than any of the others. And as soon as you are between it and the island of Borneo and you are in the bay, you will see two or three small round islets,¹⁴ and steer your prow towards them. Be alert for a little islet that is quarter or a half league off the coast of Borneo more or less.

And as you come as far as this little islet, keep the round, small islets on your left-hand side, and sail between them and the longer island, and as you continue

¹¹ See document 13, note 28, and document 35, note 8.

¹² Pulau Tiga.

¹³ Labuan.

¹⁴ Pulau Papan, Pulau Daat and Pulau Balangkasan.

keep watch for a flat point¹⁵ that protrudes from this long island opposite the round island further on, because a ridge sticks quite far out. Therefore head closer to the round, small islet.

And further on you will see a very [...] little islet. Watch out because it is surrounded by shallows and sand ridges. Steer away from it slightly, or rather steer away a great deal, because close to this round island there are many dangerous reefs.

And as you approach this little islet, continue for half a league along as the longer island stretches; and as you reach the middle of it, steer the prow southwest into the bay until you see a very thin sandy point on the west side. Steer away from it because there a ridge protrudes for more than a league and it stretches along the point. Then further on you will see some fisheries. Sail past them keeping them on your right-hand side.

Further ahead you will see a narrow point. Keep it on your right-hand side and you will anchor just inside it and as close to land as you like; and onshore close to the sea there are lakes with very good water where you can take on water.

¹⁵ Hamilton Point.

DOCUMENTO 37

Roteiro de Bornéu para Manila, anónimo, c. 1595 (?). Publicado em Léon Bourdon e Luís de Albuquerque, ed., *Le “Livro de Marinharia” de Gaspar Moreira* (Lisboa: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1977), 182-189. Original conservado na Bibliothéque national de France, Cod. Port. No. 58, fols. 110–116v.

p. 182:

Roteiro de Borneo pera Manilha

Tanto que partires deste porto de Borneo pera Manilha com o terreno e fores saído pera fora da restinga, veras da banda do mar quatro ilhas, sc. tres pequenas e hua grãode não muito alta mas comprida. Yras direito com a proa nesta mais comprida, e como fores dous terços de legoa do meo dela, a iras correndo de longo por fundo de 13 braças e 12, e algumas prumadas acharas 9 e 8, mas poucas vezes; e assi yras a demandar o boqueirão pera onde has de entrar; e indo correndo a ilha de longo, como arriba digo, veras a lesnordeste huma ilha pequena, a qual he a primeira, que has de deixar pela banda de estibordo, e antes de chegares a ella, te ha de ficar hum ilheozinho da banda da mão esquerda, o qual tem muitos arrecifes darredor de si. Pera a banda do boqueirão por donde has de entrar, perto delle, ten huma baixa, que logo veras agoa verde en sima della, pelo que não he perigoza.

E assi entraras pera dentro pelo meo do canal de antre terra a terra, que por ahi he o bom caminho. Da banda da mão esquerda veras humas arvores compridas que querem parecer como aceprestes. Então te chegaras mais pera a terra de Borneo, porque desta ponta destas arvores bota huma restinga arrezoadada que vai correndo pera diante mais de mea legoa.

E como fores tanto avante ou mais de huma ponta que esta avante destas arvores que parecem ceprestes, a qual esta como huma legoa ou legoa e mea, ja estas fora deste canal, e então veras ao nordeste hum ilheo que te ha de ficar da banda da terra de Borneo. Afastar te has delle huma legoa ao mar, e por aqui yras por fundo de seis e sete braças, as vezes sera mesturada lama com area.

E avante deste ilheo da banda do nordeste delle, vai correndo huma restinga muito comprida. Tanto que este ilheo te ficar pela coadra, logo acharas fundo de dez, doze e treze braças.

E como fores avante dele quaze tanto avante como huma montanha não muito alta que esta na terra de Borneo, olha que bota huma restinga de duas e tres e quatro braças huma legoa e mea ou duas ao mar, e o teu prumo te ensinará.

E avante desta montanha que atras digo, na mesma terra de Borneo veras huma malha branca ao longo do mar, e como fores tanto avante como ella, então te poras de maneira que estejas huma legoa da terra antes pera mais que não pera menos; e como assi estiveres, mandarás governar ao nordeste correndo a terra a demandar Pulo Tiga.

Des que passares este boqueirão que atras fica ate Pulo Tiga, a duas legoas e mea e a tres da terra de Borneo pera o mar, tudo são baixos e restingas, humas de quatro e outras de tres e de duas braças, pelo que te vigiaras muito bem assi da banda do mar como da terra.

Como enparelhades com esta malha branca que atras digo e estiveres huma legoa da terra antes mais que menos, faras o caminho do norte a demandar Pulo Tiga. Quando o vires de longe, ha te de parecer como tres ilhas pegadas humas com outras; mas como fores chegando a elle veras ser toda huma.

Avizo te que não passes ao mar deste Pulo Tiga porque tudo são baixos, e o bom caminho he pela banda da terra delle; e tãobem te gardaras de huma ponta delgada que esta defronte deste Pulo Tiga a terra de Borneo, porque tudo he baixo. Pegado com esta ponta delgada esta hum ilheozinho pequeno. Desvia te della. E como fores hum tiro de falcão do meo da ilha pouco mais, veras huma restinga que sae desta ilha, a qual veras claramente, e gardar te has della; e perto della he alto.

Tanto que fores hum tiro de falcão antes mais que menos deste Pulo Tiga, y lo has correndo por fundo de 8 e 9 e dez braças ate seres fora delle, o qual tem na ponta da banda de fora, quando a despede, mais de hum tiro de falcão ao mar da ponta duas lages perto huma da outra, e logo agoa verde en cima, e ao longo delas he tudo alto. Han te de ficar estas duas lages da banda da mão esquerda.

Avizo te que desta ponta delgada que faz a terra de Borneo defronte de Pulo Tiga te vigies muito bem porque tudo he baixo que bota muito pera esta ilha de Pulo Tiga, pela qual rezão yras correndo Pulo Tiga a tiro de falcão pouco mais ou menos.

Des que passares este Pulo Tiga, te poras duas legoas da terra de Borneo e daqui mandaras governar ao nordeste e ao nordeste e a quarta do norte, correndo a costa, a qual tem alguns ilheos que estão lansados assi como vai a costa a mea legoa della; e yras ao mar della huma legoa antes mais que menos, governando pelo rumo que asima digo. Avizo te que não passes das tres legoas pera o mar porque Pulo Tiga bota huma restinga caminho do nordeste de quatro ou sinco legoas de comprido, pelo que yras huma legoa e mea ou duas correndo a terra, como atras digo, a demandar as ilhas de Sam Jeronimo, as quaes ilhas huma delas ten huma lonbada que faz por amostra tres montes baixos pequenos tão altos huns como outros. Des que fores perto delas, veras no meo de antre anbas hum ilheozinho redondo como hum pão. Estas se chamão as ilhas de São Jeronimo. Avera de Pulo Tiga a estas ilhas 18 ou 20 legoas. Podes passar pela banda do mar se quizeres, afastado das ilhas huma legoa; e se por la fores, veras ao mar huma ilha raza e comprida 4 ou 5 legoas.

Mas o bom caminho he passar por antre as ilhas de Sam Jeronimo e a terra de Borneo pelo meo, e ainda que te chegues pera qual quer das bandas não faça cazo. Aqui de frente destas ilhas a terra esta hum monte alto a que chamão o monte de São Pedro, o qual, quando faz claro, aparece estando surto no porto de Borneo. Daqui yras correndo a costa de longo ate veres as ilhas de Sancta Maria.

Se quizeres ir pera Manilha e quizeres atravessar destas ilhas de San Jeronimo, bem podeis governando pelo norte e a quarta do nordeste, e yras por este rumo a demandar Malaua, a qual he huma ilha alta e montuoza; e se quizeres ir pela banda do noroeste dela, yras de maneira que te ponhas duas legoas ao mar dela antes mais que menos, porque se fores por menos disso que digo, daras en alfaques, huns de seis sete braças, e logo daras en doze e quatorze, e outros de dez e outros de quatro, e logo não acharas fundo, e logo daras em 20 braças.

Vindo assi correndo as tres legoas pouco mais ou menos, vas bem navegado, e assi yras correndo esta ilha de Malaua ate que sejas tanto avante como a despedida da ilha.

E como estiveres tanto avante como a despedida da ilha, veras avante yr correndo outras ilhas. Não tens que fazer com ellas, e pela poroa veras a ilha de Peragoa, a qual he huma ilha alta.

Tanto que estiveres tanto avante como a ponta da ilha de Malaua, mandarás governar ao nordeste e a quarta do norte e ao nornordeste por dares resguardo a duas pedras que estão na cabeça de Peragoa como tres ou quatro legoas ao mar. Quebra o mar por riba delas quando ha vento, e quando não ha não aparecem e são mui perigozas.

As quaes pedras estão de frente de huma montanha comprida a modo de lonbada que he a primeira serra que esta na cabeça de Peragoa. Olha que esta serra he a primeira que esta na cabeça de Peragoa, e he comprida e lonbada. E logo avante dela esta outra serra mais alta e mais redonda. Por isso não te enganes. Estão estas pedras como tres ou quatro legoas da terra. Estão afastado [*sic*] huma das outra como mea legoa, e se acertares de dar antre elas, bem podes passar pelo meo, porque por ahi passei; eu as vi desta maneira, e o bom he vir bem ao mar como seis legoas, e dar lhe bom resguardo a esta ponta pera mais seguro. A terra tãobem bota alfaques. Portanto o bom he vir ao mar.

E se te apertar o vento e a mare ou tiveres neccidade de agoa, abocaras no canal, deixãodo as ilhas que te fiquavão pela proa a mão direita e outra ilha tãobem pequena a mão esquerda, que esta ja na despedida do canal, e logo veras a saida do canal pera o mar.

Tanto que fores fora do canal, iras governando ao nornordeste e ao norte e a quarta do nordeste ate seres avante da cabeça de Peragoa e ao mar sinco ou seis legoas, e isto por dares resguardo ao baixo que esta na cabeça de Peragoa.

Se tãobem quizeres vir pela banda do sueste de Malaua como digo, tãobem podes vir correndo a costa de Borneo ate a cabeça onde veras as ilhas de Sãota Maria, e tanto que as vires e estiveres junto delas, mandarás vigiar ao nordeste e a quarta do norte e veras a ilha de Malaua, a qual yras buscar por este caminho; e como fores junto a ella, tomaras teu concelho por que banda queres ir. Avendo vento rijo bom he ir pela banda do sueste porque tens abrigada con Malaua.

Tanto que passares esta cabeça de Peragoa, dando o resguardo ao baixo que digo, yras correndo assi de longo com a proa ao nordeste e ao nordeste e a quarta do norte porque se corre ilha nordeste e sudueste, de maneira que vas a sinco legoas e a quatro e a seis, quanto não perquas a ilha da vista.

E a cabeça desta ilha da banda do sudueste esta en nove graos e da banda do nordeste en onze graos e hum sesmo. Tanto que deres nesta cabeça da banda do nordeste, veras huma ilha alta com hum pico muito alto. Ali he a cabeça de Peragoa e se começo os Calamianes.

Estes Calamianes são huma corda de ilhas afastadas humas de outras humas duas legoas e outras huma e outras mea e outras menos, e são rodeadas de baixos; e tera esta corda destas ilhas mais de 25 legoas, e se correm da cabeça de Peragoa ao nordeste. O bom he desviar destas ilhas.

Tanto que estiveres na cabeça de Peragoa, governaras ao nordeste, viras dar en Lubo, e se o tenpo for tal que te não deixe vir ao nordeste, viras correndo estes Calamianes a sinco ou seis legoas deles. Ate dares na despedida destes Calamianes, correm as agoas muito pera lesnordeste e metem na enceeda de Demedara. Enfadar te has muito. Tanto que deres na despedida destes Calamianes, logo não veras mais terra pera lesnordeste. Mandaras governar ao norte e a quarta do nordeste e viras tomar Lubão; e avera destes Calamyanes a Lubão quinze legoas.

Tanto que estiveres en Lubão, que he huma ilha alta, yras correndo de longo, e no cabo da ilha veras huma ilheta raza que esta como mea legoa da ilha de Lubão. Ben podes passar antre ella e Lubão bem pelo meo de antre esta ilha raza e Lubão, mais chegado qualquer couza a ilha de Cabra, porque da ponta de Lubão bota huma restinga hum pouco ao mar, e por isso he bom chegar mais a ilha de Cabra; e tambem se quizeres vir ao mar da ilha de Cabra, bem podes.

Tanto que tiveres enbocado por antre a ilha de Cabra e Lubão e quizeres ir pera Manilha, governaras a lesnordeste. Yras dar de meo na baia de Manilha a qual tem na entrada da banda do noroeste huma ilha a que chamão Maribeles, e logo mais adiante hum pouco hum penedo redondo talhado a pique, a que chamão o Frade. Podes ir por huma ou por outra banda deste Frade, e abalroar com elle, que tudo he alto; e dahi governando ao nordeste e a quarta de leste pera a baia dentro, veras a cidade junto ao mar.

DOCUMENT 37

Rutter from Brunei to Manila, anonymous, c. 1595 (?). Published in Léon Bourdon and Luís de Albuquerque, eds., *Le “Livro de Marinharia” de Gaspar Moreira* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1977), 182–189. Original manuscript in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cod. Port. no. 58, fols. 110–116v.

This rutter corresponds to the route in the opposite direction described in the previous document. Léon Bourdon and Luís de Albuquerque have noted that this route is described in a more summary manner in the rutter dated 1595, published above as document 35.

p. 182:

Rutter from Borneo to Manila

As soon as you depart this port of Borneo¹ for Manila, and having sailed beyond the ridge, you will see four islands on the seaward side, namely, there are three small ones and a large one,² the latter not tall but long. And steer your prow towards this longest one, and when you are two thirds of a league from the middle of it, you will sail along it with a depth of 13 and 12 fathoms, and you will find 9 and 8 fathoms in some soundings, but only a few times; and you will steer for the sound which you must enter; and sailing along the island, as I said above, you will see a small island to east northeast, which is the first one, and you have to keep it to starboard, and before reaching it, you must keep watch for a very little islet on the left hand-side, which has many reefs around it. On the side of the sound through which you must enter, and close to it, there is a shallow, which you will see have green water above them, therefore they are not dangerous.

And you shall enter in this way down the middle of the channel with land on both sides, this is the good route. On the left-hand side you will see some tall trees that look like cypresses. Then sail closer to the coast of Borneo, because from the point with

¹ See document 7, note 17.

² Labuan.

these trees there is a protruding ridge which continues on ahead for over half a league.

And as you make your way ahead or beyond a point that is further on than these trees that look like cypresses, which is about a league or a league and a half, you will be out of this channel, and then you will see an islet to the northeast which you must keep to the side of the coast of Borneo. Keep one league away from it out to sea, and here you will find a depth of six and seven fathoms, and sometimes mud mixed with sand.

And beyond this islet on the northeastern side of it, there is a very long ridge. So when this islet is behind your poop, then you will find a depth of ten, twelve and thirteen fathoms.

And when you have sailed beyond it as far as a mountain that is not very tall on Borneo, be alert for a protruding ridge with a depth of three and four fathoms a league and a half or two leagues out to sea, and your sounding lead will indicate this to you.

And beyond the mountain I mentioned above, on the coast of Borneo you will see a white stretch along the sea, and once you pass it you must head one league away from land or more but not less; and having done this set a course northeast and follow the coast towards *Pulo Tiga*.³

Once you pass this sound which lies behind you until *Pulo Tiga*, two and a half to three leagues out to sea from the coast of Borneo it is all shallows and ridges, some [with a depth of] four fathoms and others three and two, so you must keep a good watch on both the landward as well as the seaward side.

As you come alongside this white stretch that I have mentioned and you are one league more, but not less out to sea, you will set a northwards course for *Pulo Tiga*. When you see it from afar – it will look to you like three islands close to one another will appear, but as you approach it you will see they are all one.

I advise you not to head out to sea from this *Pulo Tiga* because it is all shallows, and the safe route is on the landward side of it; and avoid a narrow point that is in

³ Pulau Tiga.

front of this *Pulo Tiga* to the coast of Borneo, because it is all shallows. Very close to this narrow point is a small islet. Steer away from it. And when you are a little more than a cannon shot from the middle of the island, you will see a ridge that protrudes from this island, and you will see this clearly and must keep away from it; and close by there are deep waters.

So long as you are a cannon shot away, more but not less from *Pulo Tiga*, you will continue with a depth of 8 and 9 or ten fathoms until you are beyond it. Beyond the point on the outer side, as you leave it behind you, there are two flat rocks close to one another a cannon shot into the sea, and there is green water above them, and alongside them there are deep waters. You have to keep these two flat rocks on the left-hand side.

I advise you to keep a very careful watch around this narrow point on the coast of Borneo in front of *Pulo Tiga* as it is all shallows that extend towards this island of *Pulo Tiga*, which is why you must pass *Pulo Tiga* more or less a cannon shot away.

Once you have passed *Pulo Tiga* keep two leagues from the coast of Borneo and from here set a course northeast and northeast-quarter-north; sail along the coast, which has some islets along it that are about half a league out to sea; and keep a league or more but not less, out to sea steering the course I mentioned above. I advise you not to sail more than three leagues out to sea because a ridge protrudes from *Pulo Tiga* on the northeast route and it is four or five leagues long, so you must sail a league and a half or two out from the coast, as I say above, and head for the Islands of *Sam Jeronimo*,⁴ one of which has an outline which looks like three low small mountains each as tall as the others. Once you are close to them, you will see in the middle between them a little islet that is round like a breadroll. These are called the Islands of *São Jeronimo*. There are 18 or 20 leagues from *Pulo Tiga* to these islands. You can pass on the seaward side if you wish, keeping a league away from the islands; and if you go this way you will sight a flat long island 4 or 5 leagues out to sea.

But the best route is to pass between the coast of *São Jeronimo* and the coast of Borneo, and whichever side you want to take it does not matter. Here in front of these islands there is a high mountain on Borneo that is called the mountain of *São*

⁴ See document 13, note 28, and document 35, note 8.

Pedro,⁵ which on a clear day appears to rise up behind the port of Borneo. From here continue along the coast until you see the islands of *Santa Maria*.⁶

If you want to go to Manila and wish to cross from these islands of *São Jeronimo*, you can set a course north-quarter-northeast and this route will take you to *Malaua*,⁷ which is a tall mountainous island; and if you want to sail on the northwestern side of it, you should go in such a way that you are two leagues or more but not less out from it, because if you go any less than I say, you will encounter shelves, around six or seven fathoms deep, and then you will find depths of twelve and fourteen, and ten in some places and four in others, and then you will not find a depth, but later you will find 20 fathoms.

Coming this way continue for more or less three leagues, and you will be on a good course, and in this way you will run along the island of *Malaua* until you are so far ahead that you have passed the island.

And if you have gone as far as to put the island behind you, you will see other islands ahead of you. You do not have to have to approach them, and from the prow you will see the island of *Peragoa*,⁸ which is a tall island.

As soon as you get beyond the point of the island of *Malaua*, set a course northeast-quarter-north and to north-northeast in order to keep your distance from two rocks that are off the headland of *Peragoa* some three or four leagues out to sea. The waves break over them when there is wind, and when there is none they cannot be seen and are very dangerous.

These rocks are in front of a long mountain in the form of a hump which is the first on the upper end of *Peragoa*. Note that this mountain ridge is the first [that can be seen] on the headland of *Peragoa*, and it is long and ridged. And then further ahead there is another mountain ridge that is taller and rounder. So do not be deceived by this. These rocks are some three or four leagues from land. They are about half a league away from one another, and if you happen to head between

⁵ Mount Kinabalu

⁶ See document 13, note 34, and document 35, note 10.

⁷ See document 35, note 11.

⁸ Palawan.

them you can pass through the middle, because I went that way; I sighted them in this manner, and it is good to come well out to sea around six leagues, and keep a good distance from this point to be safer. Shelves also protrude from the coast. Therefore it is good to sail out to sea.

And if the wind strengthens and the tide becomes rough or if you need to take on water, head into the channel, keep the islands that had lain ahead of the prow to your right-hand side and also a small island on the left-hand side, which is just at the exit of the channel, and then you will see the way out of the channel back out to sea.⁹

As soon as you are out of the channel, set a course north northeast and north-quarter-northeast until you pass the headland of *Peragoa* and are five or six leagues out to sea, and do this to keep safe from the shallow that is on the headland of *Peragoa*.

If you also want to sail on the southeast side of *Malaua* as I have said, you can also sail along the coast of Borneo until you reach the headland where you will see the islands of *Santa Maria*, and as soon as you see them and are alongside them, set a course northeast-quarter-north and you will sight the island of *Malaua*, which you will reach on this route; and as you draw close to it, make a decision about which side you should take. If there is a strong wind it is best that you go on the southeastern side because *Malaua* provides shelter.

As soon as you pass the headland of *Peragoa*, taking precautions with the shallow that I have mentioned, you will carry on in this way along [the island] with your prow pointed northeast and to northeast-quarter-north because the island lies northeast southwest, whereby you will continue for five leagues and four and six, so long as you do not lose sight of the island.

The headland of this island on the southwest side is at a latitude of nine degrees and on the northeast eleven degrees and a sixth. As soon as you pass this headland on the northeast side, you will see a tall island with a very high peak. This is the headland of *Peragoa* and the Calamianes begin there.

⁹ This section of the rutter describes the route taken through the Bate Channel, which leads into the North Balabac Strait and passes between the islands of Secam and Mantangule.

These Calamianes are a string of islands, some two leagues from each other, others just one league, others half a league and others less, and they are surrounded by shallows; and this string of islands continues for 25 leagues from the headland of *Peragoa* to the northeast. It is best to avoid these islands.

As soon as you reach the headland of *Peragoa*, set a course northeast, and you will come to *Lubão*,¹⁰ and if the weather does not let you approach from the northeast, sail past these Calamianes [keeping] five or six leagues away from them. Until you are past the Calamianes there is a strong east-northeast current and it runs into the bay of *Demedara*.¹¹ You will be much challenged. Once you have passed these Calamianes, then you will not see more land to east northeast. Set a course north-quarter-northeast and you will come to *Lubão*; and there are fifteen leagues from these Calamianes to *Lubão*.

As soon as you reach *Lubão*, which is a tall island, continue on along it, and at the tip of the island you will see a flat small islet that is half a league from the island of *Lubão*. You can easily pass between it and *Lubão*; it is better to sail in the middle of the channel between this flat island and *Lubão* but steering somewhat closer to the *Cabra* island, because a ridge protrudes from the point of *Lubão* a short distance into the sea, and this is why it is good to come closer to the *Cabra* island; and also if you want to come from out at sea to the *Cabra* island, you can.

As soon as you have sailed between the *Cabra* island and *Lubão*, if you want to go to Manila, set a course east-northeast. You should enter the centre of the bay of Manila, which has in the entrance on the northwest side an island called *Maribeles*,¹² and then further on there is a sheer boulder, which is called the *Frade*.¹³ You can sail on either side of this *Frade*, and moor there with cables, as there is deep water on all sides; and from there set a course northeast-quarter-east to enter the bay, and you will see the city beside the sea.

¹⁰ Lubang.

¹¹ The original text likely reads “de medara”, which translates to “of Medara” (Mindoro). This toponym thus means “Bay of Mindoro”, that is, Paluan Bay.

¹² Name used for what is today, Corregidor Island.

¹³ El Fraile, at the southwestern entrance to the Manila Bay.

DOCUMENTO 38

Roteiro de Malaca para as Filipinas, anónimo, s.d. Impresso em Valentim de Sá, *Regimento da Navegação* (Lisboa: Por Pedro Craesbeck, 1624), 32v–35v.

Fol. 23v:

Derota de Malaca pera as Felipinas em Mayo.

Item 1 Partireis de Malaca pera a Ilha grande que està as 2. legoas & meya, ou pera a Ilha dos Limões, que està as 3. legoas mais ao mar de todas, & gouernareis do Porto de Malaca ao Susueste pera irdes por fora de todas ellas, & querendo ir por dentro, que sera antre a tèrra firma, & a Ilha dos Limões, bem podeis ir & vir porque por ahi he o nosso caminho que sempre se faz a ida, & a vinda em galiotas, & nauios de remo, o que não fareis em Naos grandes.

Item 2 Das ditas Ilhas ao Rio Muar ha 2. legoas & meya, tem por conhecida hum monte redondo cheo de aruoredado & na entrada he a terra mui baixa, & raza, no Sertaõ tem hũa serra mui alta, & aguda, a que chamaõ a serra da Rainha.

Item 3 Da Ilha dos Limões pera ires ao Rio de Muar gouernai ao Sueste, & ate ao monte de Padaõ, auerà 6 legoas, & não ha por aqui outra conhecida senaõ este monte, & tendo necessidade ir ao lugar desembarcai defronte do monte em hũa praya que tem.

Item 4 De Padaõ ao monte Fermoço, auera 5. legoas, & corre toda esta Costa Noroeste Sueste, & toma da quarta de Leste Oeste. Neste Monte Fermoço está o Rio grande, que os negros da terra chamaõ Carpaõ aonde vereis hũa serra alta que vem ter ao mar, que em toda esta Costa não ha outra, a qual tem hũa Baixa da banda do Norte.

Item 5 Querendo entrar neste Rio afastai uos da parte do Norte que tem Parcel, ireis a demandar a terra alta que por ahi he a entrada, & vereis ao pe desta serra hum Ilheo por onde he o Canal, entrai ao longo da Rocha, & o Ilheo por 5. 6. braças de fundo, & não ajais medo entrar dentro nelles & como passardes este Ilheo, achareis hũa ponta que està ja dentro no Rio que he hũa terra grossa & surgireis logo.

Item 6 Do Rio grande as Ilhas de Pulo Bicão ha 8 legoas, & corre se hum com outro Noroeste Sueste, & todo o mais Canal que fica atras da Ilha dos Limões ate estas Ilhas de Pulo picão corre ao rumo de Noroeste Sueste, & toma da quarta de Leste, & de Malaca Pulo Picaõ ha 20. ate 22. legoas, estes Ilheos sam 3. a saber hũa Ilha grande & 2. ilheos, tem agoa inda que pouca & a principal da agoa he a Ilha da banda de Leste.

Item 7 De Pulo Picaõ as Ilhas de Carimão auera 7. 8. legoas, as quais são mui altas, & tem grande enceada, deste Pulo Picão corre a Costa ao Susueste, & pera irdes a demandar a ponta de Tangamburro, aduerti que vai hum Paracel de vaza, & lança muito ao mar, o qual paracel està em meio caminho, & chegai uos aos Ilheos de Carimão ate que estejaes em meio caminho, & como aqui fordes vos achareis o fundo de 18. 20. braças bem ao longo da ponta, & daqui fareis vosso caminho, & se fordes a demandar o Canal sendo noite, bem podeis andar 2 legoas, & se não fostes por aqui surgi ate que amanheça.

Item 8 Da Ponta de Tangamburro a boca do Estreito auera 4. legoas & corre hũa com outra Leste Oeste, & como passardes a ponta de Tangamburro, vereis hum Rio pequeno, & logo mais adentro obra de legoa & meia, vereis outro Rio mui grande com hum Ilheo na boca, & a esta entrada chamaõ Sincapura a velha, & auante deste Ilheo obra de legoa & meia esta a entrada de Sincapura, & ainda que não a vejais não tenhais receio de ir a demandar terra, & tanto que passardes este Ilheo, ireis a demandar outra terra grossa que vereis pella proa, ireis ao longo della por 4. 5. braças, ate que vades dar na Boca do Estreito, & como por aqui chegardes auiso uos que não chegeis a outra banda das Ilhas, que por ahi he vosso caminho porquanto no meio desta entrada do Estreito està hũa Baixa roim, & não mostra senão em baixa mar de agoas viuas, & ireis sempre por meio deste Canal.

Item 9 Como passardes esta Baixa que está no meio da entrada, logo vos ireis chegando a terra do jatana, porque por ahi he o melhor caminho que pella banda do mar, por amor dos Baixos de pedra cubertos d agoa que se não podem ver, os quais estão logo como passardes hũa Ilha pequena, & ficão estas pedras defronte de hũa Barreira vermelha, que estão quasi em meio canal & tanto que passardes a primeira Baixa que atras digo, estar na entrada, logo vos ireis chegando a terra do jatana: e daqui por diante ireis por meio Canal até dar com outra terra a que chamão o Pagode dos Ilheos; & assim como ides por meio Canal, ireis dar com a

Ilha de area, que fica da banda de terra, quando vindes de Malaca, & chegando uos a ella ireis direito a terra, deixando o Canal & indo a via de Leste, & esta Ilha vos demorará ao Nordeste, a qual tem hũa terra alta & redonda ate o meio.

Item 10 E chegando a este Estreito indo sempre por meio Canal, no meio está hũa Baixa que logo a vereis, afastai uos della, & não tendo vento com que possais ir por meio Canal, tomai o batel pella proa, & mandareis rebocar a Nao, de modo que possa surgir auante: & as agoas tirão aqui muito por meio Canal, & afoitamente leuai a Anchora prestes com as vnhas derribadas que como disserem fundo, logo o deis sem nenhũa demora, porque he o Canal mui estreito, & se não se pode passar por aqui doutro modo.

Item 11 Indo por este Canal, & se não leuardes vento que possais surgir de fora: aduerti que como descobrires o mar da outra banda que será na Agoada, logo surgi em todo o caso porque se o não fizerdes vos perdereis sem remedio porquanto a agoa tira a Ponta da terra do jatana onde esta hũa Baixa em meio Canal ja sabida, em que se perdeo a Nao de Cristouão de Souza: & torno uos auizar que se não tiuerdes vento com que boteis logo fora que surgais.

Item 12 Por aqui no mais alto da saida deste Canal ha 3. 4. braças, & isto he ao longo da Ilha da Agoada, que vos ficará da banda do Sul, & ireis ao longo do Arrecife, porquanto por aqui he mui alto, & pello meio chegado a Baixa, ha 3. braças de baixa mar, & de prea mar 4. & querendo fazer Agoada, a fareis defronte deste estreito em hũa ençada que està na Ilha da banda do jatana, onde estão hũas pedras, & hũa praya de arca. Aqui està hum lugar n'hum Rio de agoa doce, aonde vos sairão Paraos a fazer Viniaga comuosco, & fareis Agoada.

Item 13 Deste Estreito ate hũa ponta de terra onde estão hũs Ilheos pequenos (que 2. delles tem aruoredo, e estão pegados com terra firme) ha 7. 8. legoas, & correm de Leste Oeste, & tomaõ da quarta do Noroeste Sueste, tudo he limpo, & auiso uos que sempre vades pella banda de Terra do jatana, porque por ahi he o bom nauegar, & guardai uos da banda do mar das Ilhas de Bintão, que he roim caminho, & roim fundo pera surgir, & roim tença pera as Anchoras, & antre as Ilhas tem Baixos, fazei muito como fordes por este caminho não passeis do meio delle pera a banda do mar, porque chamaõ as agoas aos boqueiroês dantre as Ilhas, & o melhor he ir por a banda de terra firme.

Item 14 E quando chegardes a este Rio do jatana, não vos chegeis muito a terra, que defronte esta hum Baixo de 2. braças que vem cerrar com terra da banda do Estreito de Sincapura, onde vereis hūas Barreiras vermelhas, & como passardes a boca do Rio, logo vos podeis chegar a terra assim de hūa banda como da outra, & não temais senão do que verdes, & querendo fazer Agoada na ponta destes Ilheos que acima digo, que são 5. ou 6. antes que chegueis a ponta surgi em 4. 5. braças, será tudo vaza onde achareis boa agoa.

Item 15 E se quizerdes passar por antre a pedra branca, & a Ilha de Bitão pera a Manilha, bem podeis que tudo he limpo, & alto junto a pedra Branca, & auizo uos que quando sairdes destes Ilheos que atras digo, que sam 3. penedos em triangulo, ireis ao longo delles obra de meia legoa, & dahi a duas legoas vereis a pedra Branca.

Item 16 Destes Ilheos pera a pedra Branca governareis a Leste & não vos chegeis a terra firme porque lança hum Paracel obra de 3. 4. legoas sempre ao longo de terra, & por aqui não nauegeis senão de dia, este Paracel vai fora da pedra Branca, obra de 2. legoas ou mais, ireis direitos a ella, & no mais baixo deste Paracel ha 2. 3. braças, & mais ao mar da pedra Branca ha 4. & 5. braças & posto que deis nellas não vos agasteis porque he o mais baixo fundo que tem, & ainda que pareça ser muito baixo, & arrebentar o mar nelle, falo a maré que vem rija de vazante, ou de enchente, & se fordes por dentro do Paracel achareis Alfaques ora baixos, ora altos, & vereis grandes Rolheiros por ali, que reuoluem area do fundo & vaza, que parecem serem Baixos, mas não o são porque o faz a maré que vai rija & não ajais medo deste Paracel que não he mais que o que atras digo.

Item 17 Desta ponta onde ficaõ os Ilheos começa a terra firme de ir a via do Norte, pouco mais ou menos, & he terra nem muito alta nem muito baixa, & por aqui tudo são enceadas não mui grandes.

Item 18 Da pedra Branca tomareis a derrota de Pulo Tingi caminho do Norte quarta do Nordeste, & auera neste caminho 15. legoas pouco mais ou menos: antes que chegueis a esta ilha obra de 2. legoas achareis hum Ilheo pequeno & redondo, que será tamanho como a Ilha das Naos, que està em Malaca, bem podeis ir sem risco a terra delle & auante deste Ilheo, vereis muitos pequenos, & pedras altas que vão sobre agoa: & querendo ir a terra de todos elles, & de Pulo Tingi, bem podeis

fazer, porque tendes bom caminho & limpo, & não ha de que temer senão do que virdes. Pulo Tingi he hũa ilha muito alta & redonda.

Item 19 De Pulo Tingi tomareis a derrota do Nordeste a ver a Ilha de Pulo Timaõ, & auerá no caminho 6. ou 7. legoas. Pulo Timaõ he hũa Ilha grande alta, & comprida de 4. ou 5. legoas, quando vindes de Malaca pera ella vereis dous picos altos sobre ella que parecem orelhas de Lebre como os picos que estão sobre o Achem, a qual està no Cabo de todas as Ilhas quando ides pera o Reino de Pao, que está em altura de 2. graos & 2. terços do Norte.

Item 20 De Pulo Timaõ tomareis a derrota do Nornordeste, em cata de Pulo Condor, que està junto a terra firme do Reino de Camboja & ha na derrota 115. legoas, pouco mais ou menos, & as Ilhas de Pulo Condor, sam 7 ou 8 mui viçosas de aruoredado, & de agoas mui boas, & deredor dellas ha boms surgidouros de 10. 12. braças & o fundo das Ilhas de Pulo Timaõ ate Pulo Condor, he de 30. 35. 40. braças, & como vos fordes chegando a Pulo Condor, ireis achando menos fundo o qual está em altura de 8. graos, & 2. terços, & pella banda do mar ha 20. braças, a qual derrota fareis em tempo de Noroestes Oestes, Oessudoestes, pera que vos não lancem nos Baixos de Borneo: porque em tempo de Suestes, & Lessuestes fareis de Pulo Timaõ hũa sangradura ao Nornordeste & o mais caminho ao Nordeste ate altura de 14. graos, que não he necessario ver a Pulo Condor quem vai pera Manilha, senão guardarse dos Baixos de Pulo Cecir.

Item 21 E aduerti que quando fordes de Pulo Timaõ pera Pulo Condor, com calma governai sempre por este Golfam ao Nordeste, porque tiraõ as agoas pera a Enceada de Siam & aconteceo ja fazendo a dita derrota no titolo atras, irem dar em hũa Ilha a que chamaõ Pulo Vbe que està 30. legoas a Oeste de Pulo Condor pera Patane, a qual Ilha he pequena, & tem fundo de 18. 17. braças & se vierdes aqui dar governai a Leste, que assi ireis tomar Pulo Condor, & sendo de dia vereis hum Ilheo pequeno antes que chegueis a Pulo Condor que està delle 6. Ou 7. legoas & não temais por ir junto delle por qualquer parte, & deste Ilheo vereis a Pulo Condor que he hũa terra comprida, & alta.

Item 22 Quando atrauessardes de Pulo Timaõ a demandar Pulo Condor, & fordes dar em agoa branca sabeis que ides leuados das agoas pera a Enceada de Siam: mandareis logo governar a Leste quarta do Sueste segundo vos achardes a

saber se tomardes 16. braças ainda estais em bom caminho pera irdes a demandar Pulo Condor, & se estiuerdes em 12. braças estareis mais dentro da Enceada, & fareis o caminho a Leste quarta do Sueste, pera o mar quanto puderdes ate que vos ponhais em fundo de 18. & 20. braças que por aqui he bom caminho.

Item 23 Quando virdes esta agoa branca não vos espanteis, leuai sempre o prumo na mão dando em calmas, & o mesmo fareis vindo pera Malaca, por que correm as agoas muito caminho do Sueste, aos Baixos de Borneo, & se vos lançarem pera la surgireis ate vos vir vento com que possais dar a vella, & Manoel de Brito com seu Piloto não querendo surgir foi la dar, onde correo risco de se perder, & por este caminho correm muito as agoas pera Malaca.

Advertencia

Adverti que de Pulo Timaõ pera a Manilha podeis gouernar hũa Sangradura ao Nornordeste, & o mais caminho ao Nordeste, sendo o vento Sueste, Lessueste, ate vos pordes em altura de 14. graos & meyo, mas de modo que quando vos achardes em altura de 1. graos ate 12. vos vigiareis dos Baixos que correm de Pulo Cecir ate os Baixos de Pulo Cambin, que todos vos ficaraõ a Oeste, & como fordes nos 14. graos gouernai a Leste em cata de Maribelles que he na boca da Baya de Manilha em 14. graos & meyo.

Item 24 Pulo Condor, está em altura de 8. graos, & 2. terços, daqui fareis o caminho pera a Manilha a Leste quarta do Nordeste, ate que vejais hũas Ilhas que estaõ nesta derrota couza de 35. legoas de terra firme, fazei pellas verdes ficando todas ellas ao Norte, & como as tuerdes passado obra de 1. ou 12. legoas fazei caminho do Nordeste ate altura de 14. graos & meyo, em que està o Porto de Manilha.

Item 25 Em toda esta derrota de Pulo Condor ate vos pordes na derrota do Nordeste, que acima digo, leuareis o prumo na mão, que elle he o Piloto, ficando uos todos os Baixos, que estão entre a terra de Champà, & a Manilha a mão esquerda: os ventos que por aqui ha sam Suestes, & Lessuestes, que vos lançaõ pera elles, & portanto vos vigiai ate a dita altura de 14. graos & meyo.

Item 26 Se por aqui fordes dar vista da Ilha de Mindoro, ou de Lubaõ, ireis ao Nordeste em cata da Manilha. A Ilha de Lubaõ ha terra montuozza lançaõ

de Noroeste Sueste, & do meyo della pera o Noroeste, he terra baixo [*sic*] & faz hũa ponta mui baixa que parece esporam de Galle, & a outra metade que fica ao Sueste, he terra alta, & grossa, & a ponta da Ilha de Mindoro, da parte do Nordeste, he mais alta que a de Lubaõ & podeis passar por antre hũa, & outra com Naos grandes, & tambem podeis passar pella parte do Noroeste, de Lubaõ chegando uos a elle que he limpo.

Item 27 Dezebocando por antre Mindoro, & Lubaõ governai ao Nornordeste a demandar a Baya de Manilha, & antes que chegueis a ella vereis hum Ilheo que està quatro legoas da terra a modo de paõ de asucar, a que chamaõ Fortum, entrai por antre elle, & a terra firme, ou por onde melhor vos parecer, conforme o vento que leuardes, & daqui vereis ao Nordeste, hũa Ilheta lançada de Noroeste, Sueste, a que chamaõ Mirabelis, podeis passar pella parte que quizerdes della conforme o tempo vos der lugar, fugindo de hũa terra alta que fica a parte do Sueste, a que chamaõ os Limbonos indo a ver Mirabelis governai ao Nordeste, pera dardes resguardo ao Rio de Cannas, que esta antes de chegar a Ponta de Saõ Gil, & logo vereis o Porto de Cabite aonde estão as Naos surtas, & pera que vos iustifiqueis se estais na Baya de Manilha, vereis ao Noroeste desta Ilha de Mirabeles hũa terra alta & grossa a que chamaõ Bartaõ, por antre a qual Mirabeles podeis entrar, defronte de Mirabeles està hũa pedra que arrebenta o mar nella, a que chamaõ o Frade, està de Mirabeles ao Sul como tres quartos de legoa.

DOCUMENT 38

Rutter from Malacca to the Philippines, anonymous, undated. Published in Valentim de Sá, *Regimento da Navegação* (Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeck, 1624), 32v–35v.

Compiled by the cosmógrafo-mor [chief Cosmographer] of Portugal, Valentim de Sá, along with various other rutters for the Indian and Pacific Oceans in 1624, this rutter must be one of the oldest rutters recording a route connecting Malacca and Manila. This rutter includes an alternative route to the one set out in the oldest dated rutter for a route between Malacca and Manila, which is dated 1595 and inserted in the “Livro de Marinharia de Gaspar Moreira”. Unlike this route, the 1595 one instructed vessels to reach Manila via Borneo.

Fol. 32v:

Route from Malacca to the Philippines in May

Item 1 Leave Malacca for the large island that is 2 and a half leagues away, or via the *Ilha dos Limões* [Lemons Island]¹, which is 3 leagues further out to sea than all [the others], and head south-southeast from the port of Malacca in order to sail beyond all of them. If you want to go by the inside route, which would be between the mainland and the *Limões* Island; you will be able to come and go because that is our route, and it is always taken for the departures and arrivals of galliots and oared boats, but you would not take it in large carracks.

Item 2 There are 2 and a half leagues from the aforesaid islands to the Muar River, take as reference a round tree-covered mountain,² and at the mouth [of the river] the land is low-lying and flat, amongst its highlands there is a very tall and pointed mountain ridge which is called the *Serra da Rainha* [the Queen's Mountain].

¹ This is one of the islands of the Water Islands: Pulau Besar, Pulau Undan or Pulau Hanyut.

² Identified by Léon Bourdon and Luís de Albuquerque as Bukit Muar.

Item 3 To reach the Muar River from the *Limões* Island steer a course to the southeast, and there will be 6 leagues to the *Padão* Mountain and there is no other landmark than this mountain, and in the event it is necessary to land there, disembark in front of the mountain on the beach there.

Item 4 From *Padão* to *Monte Fermo* [Beautiful Mountain]³ there are 5 leagues and this coast runs northwest to southeast Steer east-quarter-west. *Rio Grande* is to be found on *Monte Fermo*, which the local black people call *Carpaõ*,⁴ and you will see a tall mountain ridge whose slopes descend to the sea,⁵ and there is no other all along this coast, and there is a shallow on its northern side.

Item 5 If you wish to enter this river, keep away from the northern part, where there is a shoal, and head for the high ground, for therein lies the river mouth. You will see at the foot of this mountain ridge an islet where the channel is, enter between the rock, and the islet where there are 5 to 6 fathoms of depth, and do not fear passing between them and as you pass this islet, you will find a point that is on the river which is a solid bank of land, and then anchor.

Item 6 From *Rio Grande* to the *Pulo Bicão* Islands⁶ there are 8 leagues, and they lie northwest southeast of each other, and the rest of the channel from as far back as the *Limões* Island [and on] up to these *Pulo Picão* islands lies along a northwest-southeast course. Then steer one quarter to east; and from Malacca [to] *Pulo Picão* there are between 20 and 22 leagues. There are 3 of these islets, that is one large island and 2 islets, they have water, but little and the main source of water is the island on the east side.

Item 7 From *Pulo Picão* to the *Carimão* Islands⁷ there are 7 to 8 leagues; they are very tall and there is a large inlet. From *Pulo Picão* the coast runs south-southwest, and to reach *Tangamburro* point,⁸ I warn you there is silt ridge, and it protrudes a long way into to sea, the ridge is at the midpoint of the route Approach

³ Gunong Banang, is referred to in Portuguese sources as “monte Formoso”, which would become known as Mount Formosa.

⁴ Identified by Léon Bourdon and Luís de Albuquerque as the Batu Pahat River.

⁵ This is probably Bukit Segenting. As the rutter indicates, the mountain descends to the coastline has an island in front of it (Pulau Sialu).

⁶ As is seen below, this is also referred to as *Pulo Picão*. He refers to Pulau Pisang.

⁷ Karimun.

⁸ Tanjung Piai.

the *Carimão* islets when you are halfway into the journey, and as you arrive there you will find a depth of 18 to 20 fathoms along the point, and from here you will continue on your way, and if you wish to find the channel at night, you can either continue on for 2 leagues, and if you have not got there anchor until dawn.

Item 8 From *Tangamburro* point to the mouth of the strait there will be 4 leagues and they lie east-west from one another, and as you pass *Tangamburro* point you will see a small river and further along, about a league and a half, you will see another very large river with an islet at its mouth, and this river mouth is called *Sincapura a velha*, and ahead of this islet about a league and a half is the entrance to *Sincapura*,⁹ and even though you do not see it, have no fear about coming close to the coast. And as soon as you pass this islet you will head towards another large land-mass that you will see from the prow, and continue along it for 4 to 5 fathoms, until you get to the mouth of the strait, and if you come this way here I warn you not to go to the other side of the islands, as your route is here on this side, and in the middle of that entrance to the strait is a dangerous shallow, and it can only be seen at the low Spring tide; and always sail down the middle of this channel.

Item 9 As you pass this shallow that is in the middle of the entrance, you will approach the land of *Jatana*,¹⁰ as this way is a better route than along the seaward side because of the stone shallows covered in water that cannot be seen, which come later as you pass a small island, and these rocks are placed in front of a red cliff, and they are almost in the middle of the channel. And as soon as you pass the first shallow, which as I have mentioned already, as being in the entrance, you will then approach the land of *Jatana*: and from here on you will take the middle of the channel until you reach another land which is called *Pagode dos Ilheos* [Pagoda of the Islets]; and then as you go down the middle of the channel, you will come to the *Ilha d'Area* [Sand Island], which is on the landward side, as you come from Malacca; and when you get to it head straight for land, leaving the channel and heading east, and this island will lie on the northeast, and [the island] has high rounded ground in the middle.

⁹ This is one of the channels formed between the island of Singapore, on one side, and the islands of Sentosa and Brani.

¹⁰ Corrupted form of *Ujung Tanah* (Malay for Land's End, i.e. the southernmost tip of the Malay Peninsula). Refers to the territory of Johor.

Item 10 On arriving at this strait, always take the middle of the channel, in the middle is a shallow, which you should avoid as soon as you see it. And if there is no wind to make your way down the middle of the channel, place the longboat at the prow, and use it to tow the ship, so you can anchor further ahead: and the current here runs fast in the middle of the channel, and have the courage to keep the anchor ready with the grapnels removed, to drop it as soon as someone yells "bottom", then you can drop it without any delay, because the channel is very narrow, and you cannot pass through here by any other means.

Item 11 Follow this channel, and if there is no wind you can anchor outside it: be advised that as soon as you sight the sea on the other side, which will be on the *Agoada*, then anchor in any case because if you do not do so you will be helplessly lost because the current flows to the point on *Jatana* where there is a known shallow in the middle of the channel, on which the ship of Cristóvão de Sousa was lost: and again I warn you that if there is no wind with which to head out [of the channel] then anchor.

Item 12 Along this route, at the top of the exit from this channel there are 3 and 4 fathoms and [this depth is to be found] all along the *Ilha da Agoada*, which will be on your southern side, and continue along the reef, for along here it is very high, and in the middle having reached the shallow, there are 3 fathoms of shallow water, and 4 of open sea. If you wish to replenish your ships' water, in front of this strait you will find an inlet on the *Jatana* side of the island, where there are some rocks and an arch-shaped beach. Here there is a place on a freshwater river, where proas will come to trade with you, and you replenish your ships' water.

Item 13 From this strait there are 7 to 8 leagues until [you reach] a headland where there are some small islets (2 of which have trees, and they are very close to the coast, and they run from east to west, and heading northwest-quarter-southeast, there is a clear passage, and I advise you that you should always take the land side of *Jatana*, because it is good sailing there, and keep away from the seaward side of the *Bintão* Islands,¹¹ which is a dangerous route and a dangerous place to anchor, and a hazardous seabed for anchors, and amongst the islands there are shallows, do everything you can as you go along this route not to go

¹¹ Bintang. See document 5, note 7.

beyond the middle of the side that opens onto the sea, because the currents draw you into the sounds between the islands, and it is best to follow the mainland side.

Item 14 On arriving at the *Jatana* River¹², do not sail too close to land, as there is a shallow of 2 fathoms ahead that joins the land on the side of the Strait of Singapore, where you will see some red cliffs, and as you pass the mouth of the river you will later be able to reach land on either side, and have no fear of what you meet, and if you want to take on water on the point of these aforesaid islets, of which there are 5 or 6 before you reach the point anchor in 4 or 5 fathoms, it will be free of hindrances where you will find good water.

Item 15 And if you want to pass between the *Pedra Branca*,¹³ and the Island of *Bintão* en route to Manila, you can and the waters are clear and high up to the *Pedra Branca*. And I warn you that when you sail from the aforementioned islets, which are 3 boulders arranged in a triangle, you will sail about half a league along them, and from there after two leagues you will see the *Pedra Branca*.

Item 16 To reach *Pedra Branca* from these small islands, steer east and do not head for the coast because there is a shoal that protrudes for 3 to 4 leagues parallel to the coast, and do not sail here except by day. This shoal is 2 leagues or more beyond *Pedra Branca*, which you should sail directly to, and in the shallowest part of this shoal there are 2 to 3 fathoms, and further out to sea from *Pedra Branca* there are 4 and 5 fathoms; and in the event that you come into them do not worry because it is the shallowest stretch, and although it seems very shallow, and the sea breaks there, I am speaking about the strong ebb, or high tide, and if you enter the shoal you will find shelves, some low, some high, and you will see large whirlpools, that stir up the sand and silt on the seabed and reef so that they seem to be shallows but they are not because this is done by the fast-flowing tides. And have no fear of this shoal, which is nothing other than what I have said.

Item 17 It is from this point where the islets are that the mainland begins to turn towards the north, more or less, and it is a land that is neither very high nor very low, and from here on there are a continual series of inlets, although not very large ones.

¹² The Johor River.

¹³ The island keeps the same name today, and it is located on the eastern side of the Singapore Strait.

Item 18 From *Pedra Branca* steer a course for *Pulo Tingi*¹⁴ heading north-quarter-northeast, and this route is more or less 15 leagues: about 2 leagues before you arrive at this island you will find a small round islet, which is about the size of the *Ilha das Naos*¹⁵ that is in Malacca. You can land on it without any risk, and after this islet you will see many small ones and tall rocks that stick out of the water: and if you want to land at all of these, and at *Pulo Tingi*, you can easily do so, because you will have a good, clear route, and there is nothing to fear except what you can see. *Pulo Tingi* is a very tall and round island.

Item 19 From *Pulo Tingi* steer a course for the northeast to sight the Island of *Pulo Timão*,¹⁶ and it is a distance of 6 or 7 leagues. *Pulo Timão* is a large, tall, and long island about 4 or 5 leagues in length, when you come from Malacca, as you approach it you will see two tall peaks above it that look like a hare's ears, which are like the peaks that are above Aceh, which is at the end of all the islands when you go to the kingdom of *Pão*,¹⁷ which is at a latitude of 2 degrees and 2 thirds north.

Item 20 From *Pulo Timão* take the north-northeast route, in the direction of *Pulo Condor*,¹⁸ which is close to the coast of the Kingdom of Cambodia and it is a route of 115 leagues, more or less, and the islands of *Pulo Condor* are 7 or 8, very verdant with trees and very good water, and around them there are good anchoring places of 10 to 12 fathoms. And the waters from the Islands of *Pulo Timão* to *Pulo Condor* are from 30 to 35 to 40 fathoms, and as you make your way close to *Pulo Condor*, you will find less depth there, this is at a latitude of 8 degrees and 2 thirds, and on the seaward side there are 20 fathoms. You should take this route in the season of northwest-west and west-southwest winds, so that you are not driven onto the Borneo shallows: because in the season of southeast and east-southeast winds, from *Pulo Timão* you will steer for a day's journey north-northeast and then continue northeast to the latitude of 14 degrees, and it is not necessary to sight *Pulo Condor* if you are travelling to Manila, but instead be wary

¹⁴ Pulau Tinggi.

¹⁵ The sixteenth and seventeenth-century Portuguese chronicles place the *Ilha das Naos* in the bar of Malacca or two leagues from the city, which concurs with what is stated in this rutter, when it states that "it is in Malacca" ["está em Malaca"].

¹⁶ Pulau Tioman.

¹⁷ The sultanate of Pahang.

¹⁸ Côn Sơn Island.

of the shallows of *Pulo Cecir*.¹⁹

Item 21 And I warn you that when you travel from *Pulo Timão* to *Pulo Condor*, in calm weather always steer to the northeast of this gulf because the currents draw towards the inlet of Siam²⁰ and it happened already taking the aforesaid route as in the previous entry, you will come to an island called *Pulo Ube* which is 30 leagues west of *Pulo Condor* via Patani,²¹ and this island is small, and the water has a depth of 18 to 17 fathoms and if you come here steer to the east, and that way you will come to *Pulo Condor*, and if it is daytime you will see an islet before you get to *Pulo Condor* which is 6 or 7 leagues from it, and have no fear of sailing close to it on either side, and from this islet you will see *Pulo Condor* which is a long island with high ground.

Item 22 When you cross from *Pulo Timão* heading for *Pulo Condor*, and you encounter white water, know that you are being taken by the current [into the waters] towards the inlet of Siam: you then steer east-quarter-southeast, according to whether you find that you are in 16 fathoms then you are on a good route to reach *Pulo Condor*, and if there are only 12 fathoms you are further into the inlet, and you should steer a course east-quarter-southeast, as far as you can out to sea until you can get a depth of 18 to 20 fathoms for this is a good route.

Item 23 When you see this white water do not be alarmed, always keep the plumb-line lead to hand if you end up facing calms, and do the same when travelling towards Malacca, because the currents run a long way to the southeast, to the shallows of Borneo, and if you are drawn towards there, drop anchor until the wind comes up and you can set sail, and Manuel de Brito with his pilot not wishing to anchor did sail there, whereby he ran the risk of perishing, and on this route the currents run strongly towards Malacca.

¹⁹ Phú Quý.

²⁰ Gulf of Thailand.

²¹ See document 18, note 15.

Warning

Be advised that when travelling from *Pulo Timão* to Manila you can sail a day's journey to the north-northeast, and the rest of the journey northeast, if the wind is southeast, east-southeast, until you reach a latitude of 14 degrees and a half, but such that when you reach a latitude of 10 to 12 degrees you must be alert for the shallows that run along the coast of *Pulo Cecir* to the shoals of *Pulo Cambin*,²² all of which will be to the west of you, and when you get to a latitude of 14 degrees steer east towards *Maribelles* which is at the mouth of the bay of Manila at 14 degrees and a half.

Item 24 *Pulo Condor* is at a latitude of 8 degrees, and 2 thirds, from there head for Manila, east-quarter-northeast, until you sight some islands along this route about 35 leagues from the coast, make for the green ones [islands], leave them to the north, and from 10 to 12 leagues after having passed them head northeast to a latitude of 14 degrees and half, where the port of Manila is situated.

Item 25 All along this route from *Pulo Condor* until you take the route to the northeast, which I indicate above, keep the plumb-line lead to hand, this is your pilot, making sure that all the shallows that are to be found between the coast of Champa²³ and Manila remain on the left-hand side: the winds in this region are southeasterlies and east-southeasterlies so that they carry you with them, and thus you must keep watch until the aforesaid latitude of 14 degrees and a half.

Item 26 If on this route you sight the island of Mindoro or the *Lubão*,²⁴ you should be heading northeast in search of Manila. The island of *Lubão* has mountainous land that runs northwest-southeast, and from the middle of it heading northwest, there is low-lying ground and it forms a very low point that looks like a galley's rostrum, and the other half that runs to the southeast, is wide with high ground. And the point of Mindoro island, on its northeastern part, is higher than that of *Lubão* and you can pass between the two of them with large carracks, and you can also pass via the northwestern part of *Lubão*, coming close to it because everything there is clear.

²² Cù lao Xanh.

²³ See document 6, note 23.

²⁴ Lubang.

Item 27 Coming out from between Mindoro and *Lubão*, head north-northeast towards the bay of Manila, and before you arrive you will see an islet that is four leagues from the mainland like a sugarloaf, which is called *Fortum*,²⁵ enter between it and the mainland, or where you consider best, depending on the wind behind you, and from here you will see to the northeast, a small islet lying northwest-southeast. It is called *Mirabelis*,²⁶ you can pass on either side at the time that suits you, avoiding a tall stretch of coastline that is on the south-eastern part, which is called the *Limbonos*.²⁷ Going to *Mirabelis* set a north-easterly course, but be careful at the *Cannas River*,²⁸ which comes before you reach the *São Gil* point,²⁹ and then you will see the port of Cavite where the carracks anchor, and from where you can tell if you are in the Bay of Manila, because you will see to the northeast of this Island of *Mirabeles* a tall and wide stretch of coast called *Bartão*,³⁰ along which you can enter *Mirabeles*; in front of *Mirabeles* is a rock that the sea breaks on, which is called the *Frade*,³¹ it is to the south of *Mirabeles* about three quarters of a league.

²⁵ Fortune Island.

²⁶ See document 37, note 12.

²⁷ Limbones Island.

²⁸ Cañas River.

²⁹ Mistaken for “Sanglei”. Sangley Point.

³⁰ Bataan.

³¹ El Fraile.

DOCUMENTO 39

Roteiros de Brunei para Manila e de Manila para o Bornéu e Malaca, anónimo, s.d. Original conservado na Biblioteca Nacional de España, Mss. 3176, fols. 138–143v.

Viagem de Borneo pera Manilha

Partindo de Borneo pera Manilha veras ao mar 4. ilhetas 3. pequenas, e huma mais comprida e tirar^a direito a mais comprida ate que vejas o boqueirão por onde ás de dezebocar, e veras da banda de lesnordeste hum ilheozinho cheio de arvo[redo] que he redondo e há te de ficar da banda direita iras pello meio do canal de antre elle e a ilha comprida que te há de ficar da banda da mão esquerda, e desta ilha veras humas arvores compridas, e rallas^b como asiprestes iras pello meio do canal até te desviares destas arvores pera a terra de Borneo quanto seja huma legoa e meia e por aqui iras por fundo de 9. 7. e 6. brassas e logo veras ao nordeste hum ilheozinho aredeas [?]^c delle quanto seja huma legoa pouco mais ou menos porque bota huma restinga contra a ilheta e des que este ilheo te ficar pella quadra acharas fundo de 10. 12. brassas.

E des que fores avante delle tanto avante como huma montanha que esta na terra de Borneo junto ao mar afastar te ás ao mar huma ou duas legoas porque tem restingas de 3. 4. brassas e veras ao norte huma mancha branca ao longo do mar, e des que fores tanto avante como ella faras o caminho de nordeste a demandar Pulotiga. Pera conheceres este Pulotiga veras paresser 3. ilhas e sendo perto veras que toda he huma, e avizo te que te não chegues muito pera a terra de Borneo que tudo sam baixos nem pera o mar, nem passes ao mar deste Pulotiga porque sam baixos, e prassel.

^a In the other version of the this rutter, on fol. 115v: “tira” [head towards].

^b In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 115v: “huns ramos compridos e rallos” [some long and thin branches].

^c In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 115v: “afastar” [to keep away from].

Este Pulotiga deixaras pella banda de bombordo, e iras della hum tiro de falcão, e iras por fundo de 8. 9. brassas, e teras avizo que quando fores despedindo a ilha te vegies de duas pedras que bota a ponta que esta debaixo d'agoa, e ha sobre ellas duas brassas e huma, e 3. hinda que que [*sic*] vas meia legoa correndo a ilha de Pulotiga vas bem não te chegus [*sic*] muito pera a terra de Borneo que tem hum ilheozinho ao mar bota este parsel contra a ilha de Pulotiga, e ha sobre elle 3. 4. brassas e mais ha terra he menos fundo portanto iras a tiro de falcam ate meia legoa correndo a ilha de Pulotiga com vigilamsia de duas pedras que logo veras agua verde sobre ellas. Deste desembarcadouro de Borneo a Pulotiga avera 10.^d legoas.

Des que partires deste Pulotiga em demanda da ilha de São Jeronimo faras o caminho de nordeste e iras correndo a costa huma e duas legoas della, e não vas ao mar deste Pulotiga porque bota huma restinga pera diante assim como vai a costa de 4. legoas e por este caminho atras iras ver vista destas ilhas de São Jeronimo. Há deste Pulotiga as ilhas de São Jeronimo 25. legoas as quais ilhetas estão afastadas da terra bem ao pe do monte de São Pedro, e são pequenas e razas, tem huma lombada que fas por mostrar 3. montinhos baixos tam altos huns como os outros, e como fores perto dellas veras hum ilheo no meio redondo como hum pão. Podes passar quam perto dellas, e por onde quizeres porque tudo he alto.

Como estiveres 2. ou 3. legoas avante desta ilha de São Jeronimo poras a proa ao norte e quarta do nordeste em demanda de Malava. Este Malava esta das ilhas de São Jeronimo 5. legoas, e como estiveres 6. ou 7. legoas ao mar de Malava iras demandar Peraugoa com a proa ao norte, e ao norte pera a quarta do noroeste. Esta ilha de Peraugoa esta ao nordeste de Malava como 8. legoas se os tempos te botarem perto deste Malava como duas legoas ou menos acharas alfaques de pedra; passa, não temas velejando com todo pano que poderes por que passes a ilha depressa, e ha nestes alfaques fundo de 7. 8. 6. 5. 4. brassas e o menos fundo que ha em se acabando a ilha se acabão os alfaques e se o tempo for tam escaço que puramente botem sobre a ilha, e não e não [*sic*] tiveres tempo pera [vi]rar na outra volta surgiras com a ancora de pao porque se te achegares mais a terra do que assima digo daras em restigas.

^d Struck out: "12".

Veras em despedindo a ilha de Malava huma ilheta raza e redonda cheia de arvoredos, e mais avante vão corendo outras; afastar te ás dellas quanto seja 5. 6. legoas pera demandares Peraugoa, que a mais alta ilha e muntuoza que nenhuma das outras; poras a proa como digo ao norte, e a quarta do noroeste, e ao norte e se neste caminho deres com alguns alfaques não temas; iras demandar a cabeça de Peraugoa de modo que sejas 5. 6. legoas ao mar dellas por cauza de duas baixas que bota a esta cabeça de Peraugoa defronte de hus tres mamilotes que estão avante da primeira serra fas huma lombada comprida e logo avante estão estes 3. Montezinhos^e que fazem per amostrar desta maneira e noroeste, e sueste com elles estão estes dois baixos, e arebenta o mar sobre elles que he mui grande balize^f pera outros baixos que ao diante vão correndo.

[Desenho]

Entrada da banda de nordeste ou saída	4322	643
28	29 +++ 7 ++ 7 4 5 6 4 2 7 3	
	+++	
	+++	
	+++	

Noroeste sueste com estres tres mamillotes estão estas duas baixas, e avante 8. legoas estão est'outras baixas com estes alfaques no meio e a terra esta est'outro baixo.

^e In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 118: “mamilloteszinhos” [small hills].

^f In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 118: “baliza” [landmark].

E se te chegares junto a esta cabeça de Peraugoa que seja de 2. 3. brassas daras nisto que ves acima portanto he bom vir demandar estas baixas a 5. 6. legoas da ilha de Peraugoa que tomes vista destas duas baixas e vir te ás marcando por os 3. montezinhos da baliza. Estas baixas estão da terra melhoria de 4. 5. legoas, e inda que des em alguns alfaques não temas.

Tanto que tomares vista destas baixas que passares ao mar dellas que as vires arrebenatar logo poras a proa em terra de Peraugoa ate que sejas legoa e meia a duas della iras correndo a costa conforme ella vai ao nordeste, e as vezes a quarta do norte, ainda que não vejas estas baixas por ires muito ao mar, e emparelhares com a baliza dos 3. mamilotes noroeste, sueste com elles, vai te logo cometer^s a terra velejando com todo pano e se te achares com estas baixas abarbado que não possas ir ao mar dellas bem podes ir a terra dellas como meia legoa. E logo te iras a terra como asima digo ha legoa e meia e a 2. acharas fundo em duzentas e nove brassas he fundo de lama com mestura d'area, e cascalho, e lama com areia grossa.

E se te deixares ir avante destas duas baixas como 5. 6. legoas avante, e outras tantas da terra daras em outras baixas a legoa e meia huas de outras muito perigozas que arebentão o mar sobre ellas muito devagar e quando he grosso, portanto ainda que não vejas os baixos por ires muito ao mar tem vigilansia na baliza como estiveres noroeste, e sueste com ella ir te hás hum pouco mais avante pouco, e logo poras a proa na terra como asima digo.

Destas primeiras baixas que digo 8. legoas avante, e outras 8. ao mar de Peraugoa vão outros baixos maiores, e compridos, e muito perigozos, que correm do noroeste sueste e tambem arebentão mares sobre elles; avante desta baliza esta hum serra muito alta antes de hum quebrada grande que parece que passa o mar a outra banda como estiveres leste, ves te com esta serra alta logo te ficão as baixas ao noroeste ficas safo de todos os baixos os quais estão nesta cabeça de Peraugoa em 29. graos.

E tem tal vigilansia que te não apartes da costa das duas legoas ao mar ate 3. pello Rumo asima ditto do norde[ste], e as vezes a quarta do norte, ainda que seja noyte escura não te desviaras da terra mais do que digo pello rumo asima ditto.

^s In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 119: “meter” [head towards].

Este caminho se entende ate huma quebrada que esta a quarenta legoas da cabeça de Peraugoua em des graos e meio e destas baixas asima te vigia como digo porque tudo eu vy e corry.

Pera chnesseres esta quebrada em todo este caminho nã[o] ha outra como ella que pairesse que passa o mar da^h parte, a parte e da banda do nordeste tem huma serra grande que fas 4. piquos, que fas pairesser 3. sellas, e da banda do sudueste te[m] outra serra alta da banda da entrada da quebrada; [tem] 3. ilheos pequenos devididosⁱ huns dos outros muito juntos em todo este caminho não ha outros como elles; se nesta paragem te apartar^j o tempo travesia dizem que tem recolhimento dentro pera huma necessidade. E entra muito pera dentro e se neste caminho da primeira quebrada ate est'outra acharas^k hum alfaque de pedra não te espantes porque eu passei por sima delle.

E como aqui emparelhares nesta quebrada dos ilhe[os] veras 8. legoas pella proa huma sera alta e redonda mais que nenhuma outra afastada da terra; esta serra he huma ilha que esta avante da cabeça de Peraugoua como 4. legoas chama sse Lupatão não se deuide da cabeça de Peraugoua porque entre ella e a cabeça de Peraugoua tudo são ilhas aonde [eu] fis agoa. E pairesse ser toda a terra huma; aqui esta entre estas duas ilhas hum canal que passa a outra ba[nda] desta ilha de Lupatão pera o nordeste, e vai huma en[tra]da aonde esta o porto do Sarmento onde se cob[ram] os tributos; e ao sudueste de Lupatão esta out[ro] porto mais pequeno, este Lupatão esta em 11 g[ra]os e hum sesmo.

Deste Lupatão por diante comessão a correr os Calamea[nes] hum pedaço da terra ilhetas de comprido de 6. legoas que correm ao nornordeste, e no cabo fas hum morro alt[o] com outro pequeno ao pé que vay emparelhando com [elle] pairesse corquova de camello, e pairesse que o queimo[u] o fogo esta terra.

E logo avante vão correndo os Calameanes ma[is] dentro a lesnordeste ate a enseada de Mendouro^l [e] sam como 10. ou 12. ilhetas juntas humas d'outras

^h In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 120: “de” [from].

ⁱ In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 120v: “desviados” [diverted].

^j In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 120v: “apertar” [draws in].

^k In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 120v: “achares” [you will find].

^l In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 121v: “Mindouro”.

a legoa e meia e a terso sam redondos^m de baixos, [e] dizem que não ha hy agoa nellas e dizem que entre ellas ha ahy canaisⁿ; tem de comprido entre todas 12. ou 14. legoas; e logo vai avante a emseada de Mendouro. Tem avizo que correm as agoas nest[a] emseada pera lesnordeste, e se^o mete lá hum [na]vio tem muito trabalho porque ha ilhas d'ar[ea] alagadas, e baixos, e he necessario por a proa [ao] noroeste pera se livrar da enseada.

Se te achares nesta cabeça de Perauguoa, he bom at[rave]sar desta ilha de Lupatão como 8. legoas ao mar [com] a proa ao norte em demanda de Lubão por cauz[a dos] ventos que dam oeste^p e mais escassos e as agoas [c]orrem pera lesnordeste; este Lubão esta em altura de 13. graos E meio, e corre sse este Lupatão com Lubão norte sul. E toma a quarta do nordeste, e sudueste, e ha [n]a derrota corenta, e oito legoas.

Dipois que fores por este rumo a demandar Lubão he hum a [i]lha alta, e tem hum a terra baixa que corre contra o [no]rte nesta terra baixa que corre contra o norte [sic], nesta [te]rra baixa da banda do sudueste esta o surgido[ur]o e tem ao mar desta terra baixa hum a ilheta ra[za e] pequena, e comprida de meia legoa, e que se chama a ilha [de] Cabras; podes passar entre Lubão e a ilheta [pello m]eio do canal mais chegado algum tanto a ilheta [que] a terra de Lubão por dar resguardo a hum a restinga [p]equena que saie de Lubão. Esta ilheta esta meia legoa de terra abaixo de Lubão, e logo nesta terra, [a]baixo de Lubão junto a ponta esta a povoassão, e [ve]ras hum a crus alta, e se quizeres passar ao mar [de]sta ilha de Cabras pera ir pera a Manilha bem [po]des, ou ao mar da ilheta, ou entre ella e o [Lu]bão.

[E] logo mais ao sul veras Mendouro que he hum a serra [m]ais alta que a de Lubão, e não te emgane ir demandar [o a]lto de Mendouro cudando que he Lubão porque fica[ras] por dentro da enseada. Fas Lubão, e Mendouro [es]ta mostra.

^m In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 121v: “rodeados [surrounded]”.

ⁿ The text is different in the other version of this rutter, on fol. 121v: “e dizem que não ha nellas agoa, e entre ellas dizem aver canais” [and they say that there is no water there, and there are channels between them].

^o In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 121v.: “se ce” [if... itself].

^p In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 122: “oestes” [West].

Ilha de Cabras canal Lubão canal Mendouro enseada

[Desenho]

Se te asertar de^q botar o tempo junto a Mendouro iras [cor]rendo té veres hum canal por onde podes embocar [pera] ires para a Manilha; no meio deste canal estão duas ilhetas mais chegada a Lubão que a Mendouro por [onde] fica fazendo dois canais hum entre Lubão e as i[lhe]tas, e outro canal entre as ilhetas e Mendouro e e[ste] alto de Mendouro chama sse Calavite. Este cana[l] entre Lubão e as ilhetas he sujo por onde podes p[asar] antre Mendouro e as ilhetas porque tudo he alto [...], e quando embocares por elle por ires^r junto as il[hetas] que te hão de ficar da banda de Lubão. Deste can[al] à terra de Manilha ha 6. legoas, e na mesm[a] terra da Manilha defronte deste canal v[ai] correndo os baixos conforme a terra vai de [com]primento de 4. legoas contra a Manilha, e o [que] mais bota he dois terssos de legoa ao mar, e [a]caba ce a duas legoas antes que cheguem a hum ilheo[zi]nho que esta antes da barra da Manilha a qu[e] chamão Furtum^s. Estes baixos se chamão baix[os] de Tolle. Embocando por este canal de Men[dour]o porás a proa ao norte, e a quarta do nordeste iras dar antre Furtum e a Manilha, ja saf[o] dos baixos de Tolle, indo correndo estes baix[os] por fora iras por fundo de 8. brassas, lam[a] e cascalho.

Embocando pello canal da ilha das Cabras, ou por fora de[lla] daqui^t he a baia da Manilha e veras da banda do n[orte] no meio da baia huma ilheta a que chamão Maribedes^u [aon]de os castelhanos tem vegia, e entre este Maribedes e os Limbonis que te am de ficar da banda da mão direita be[m n]o meio da entrada tem hum furilham de pedra a que ch[a]mão Frade bem podes passar por huma e outra banda d[este] Frade porque tudo he alto mas o bom passar he por [e]ntre

^q In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 123: “de te” [from you].

^r In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 123: “faze por ires” [make your way].

^s In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 123v: “Fartum”.

^t In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 124: “aqui” [here].

^u In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 124: “Mirabelles”.

Maribedes e este Frade, e se ficares bella [*sic*]^v banda [do] norte de Maribedes tambem podes passar por en[tre] Maribedes e a terra de Batão que asim se chama be[m pe]llo meio canal.

Des que fores avante de Maribedes veras da banda da mão dire[ita hu]ma terra baixa, chama sse rio de Canas e Marigondo daqui [te] afasta pera o mar porque bota hum a restinga de pedra hum a legoa ao mar, e vay correndo conforme vias [*sic*] a costa como 4. legoas, e deste rio por diante vay correndo a pra[ia d']area e em passando este rio de Canas poras a proa ao [n]ordeste ate que vejas a praia d'areia chegar te ás a ella [ju]nto e iras correndo que tudo he alto, logo veras o rio de [Ca]bite mete te junto a ponta do areal pera entrares pera dentro, e surgiras.

Roteiro da Manilha pera Borneo e Malaca

[S]aindo dos Limbones, ou de Maribedes governaras a loeste [su]dueste em demanda de Lubam e como fores perto de Lubão [ira]s demandar o canal de entre Lubão e ilhas de Cabras [e da]ras resguardo as pedras que estão conforme vem a costa [de] Lubão contra a propria ponta de Lubão estão como meia le[go]a de terra pera o mar.

E desembocando por antre esta ilha de Cabras e Lubão, ou [quan]do não puderes desembocaras ao mar da ilheta governar[as] ao sudueste e a quarta do sul como 4. legoas.

E como tiveres este caminho andado poras a proa ao sul [e] daras em Peraugua, e como a vires iras correndo a 2. e 3. [legoas] ate que tomes vista da montanha alta ou dos 3. montes altos que estão quazi na despedida de Peraugua, e log[o] destes 3. montes pera diaante [*sic*] vay correndo a terra bai[xa d]a despedida de Peraugua.

Antes que chegues a estes 3. picos Como 10. legoas esta h[um] ilheozinho afastado que pairesse ter hum a arvore, em si[ma] deste ilheo ha baliza ha como 10. legoas.

^v In the other version of this rutter, on f. 124: “pella” [to].

E como aqui emparelhares tem grande vigilansia que c[omo] fores emparelhando com estes 3. montes que paressem [Orgamos] noroeste sueste com elle, e como 4. e 6. legoas ao mar [tem] grande vigilansia nas duas pedras, e vai te afastand[o pera] o mar como 6. ou 7. legoas e vas safo de baixos, [e se] fores a terra destas 2. pedras como huma legoa [ava]nte daras em alfaques muito rois.

Indo ao mar como 6. 7. legoas vas bem navegado e [a]vante da cabeça de Peraugoa como outras 7. [8. le]goas, e logo iras demandar Malava e guar[da] te de chegares ao mar della, ainda que no roteiro atr[as] digo que não venham ao mar desa Malava torno [a di]zer que vim ao mar no^w Malava como 7. 8. legoas achei o mar de Espanha porque me desgarrou o ven[to] e me botou fora de Malava, e achei o asim[a dito] e [ai]nda que [seja] de noite não tenh[as receio] nenhum desta cabeça de Peraugoa, viras com a proa digo [co]mo saires ao mar destas duas pedras que atras digo po[r]as a proa ao sudueste a demandar Malava por fora [co]mo digo de maneyra que vas 6. 7. legoas ao mar.

[De]s que partires deste Malava governaras ao sul e a quar[ta] do sueste a demandar a costa de Borneo, e como [esti]veres legoa e meia ou 2. della iras correndo de longo a demandar as ilhas de São Jeronimo, e se o vento não deixar ir a terra das ilhas de São Jeronimo [bem] podes ir ao mar della ate que tomes a terra de [B]orneo.

E como passares as ilhas de São Jeronimo iras demão[d]ar a ilha de Pilotoga [sic] e como emparelhares tem [vig]ilansia como atras digo das duas pedras que estão [na] entrada da ilha indo pera Borneo assi viras a tiro [de] falcão da ilha^x, e como a passares iras correndo a le[goa] e meia e 2. como o roteiro atras dis.

[E v]iras demandar o canal que esta antre as ilhas de [Bo]rneo dando resguardo a restinga que saie do ilheo [que es]ta na terra de Borneo, e asim mais a restinga que [saie] da ponta das arvores esfarapadas que te ham de [fica]r da banda da mão direita que he ja quando que[res] desembarcar [sic]^y por entre ellas e o ilheo

^w In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 126: “de” [from].

^x In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 126v: “veras a tiro de falcão a ilha” [you will see a falcon shot from the island].

^y In the other version of this rutter, on fol. 127: “dezebocar” [sail out of].

redondo [qu]e te ha de ficar pella banda da mão esquerda [que te] paresse pella proa, e por aqui iras por fundo de 6. e sete 8. 9. brassas. E como dezembocares o ilheo [re]dondo logo veras a baia de Borneo.

DOCUMENT 39

Rutters from Brunei to Manila and from Manila to Borneo and Malacca, anonymous, undated. Original manuscript in Biblioteca Nacional de España, Mss. 3176, fols. 138–143v.

There is another manuscript copy of this rutter in the same volume, folios 115v–129, but without the drawings contained in the version transcribed here. The volume's binding conceals a number of words in this version and these have been cross-referenced with the corresponding passages in the second copy. For the purposes of this publication we have transcribed only the sections between Borneo and Manila and Manila and Borneo. Given its more extensive description of the route, this rutter must have been produced later than the one conserved in the "Livro de Marinharia de Gaspar Moreira".

Route from Borneo to Manila

Departing from *Borneo*¹ for Manila you will see 4 small islets out to sea, 3 very small ones, and a longer one.² Steer directly towards the longer [islet] until you sight the sound through which you must make your way out to sea. And you will see a small, round tree-covered little islet on the east-northeast side, and you have to keep it on your right-hand side as you go down the middle of the channel between it and the long island, which you must keep on the left-hand side. And from this island you will see some tall trees, thin like cypresses; continue along the middle of the channel until you turn away from these trees towards the coast of Borneo, for about a league and a half, and here you will find depths of 9, 7 and 6 fathoms. Further on to the the northeast you will see a little islet, steer away from it when you are one league away from it more or less because there is a ridge alongside the small islet, and as soon as this little islet can be seen from the poop you will find depths of 10 or 12 fathoms.

¹ See document 7, note 17.

² Labuan.

And once you make your way beyond it as far as a mountain on the coast of Borneo that is close to the sea, keep a distance of two leagues out to sea because there are ridges with a depth of 3 or 4 fathoms. To the north you will see a patch of white across the sea, and once you are past it, you should set a course northeast for *Pulotiga*.³ To identify *Pulotiga* you will see 3 islands appear and as you draw closer you will see that they are all one, and I warn you not to sail too close to the coast of Borneo as it is all shallows, nor should you head out to sea from *Pulotiga* because there are shallows and shoals.

You must pass *Pulotiga* on the port side keeping a small cannon shot away, and you will find depths of 8 or 9 fathoms. Be advised that when you leave the island behind you keep watch for two rocks that protrude from the point that is beneath the water, and there is a depth of two and one and 3 fathoms above these two rocks. Even as you sail half league along the island of *Pulotiga* you would do well not to sail too close to the coast of Borneo, as there is a little islet out at sea from which protrudes a shoal opposite the island of *Pulotiga*, and above which there are depths of 3-4 fathoms, and closer to the coast it is shallower still. Therefore keep a small cannon shot and up to half a league [out to sea] while passing the island of *Pulotiga* and keep a close watch for the two rocks above which you will immediately see green water. It will be 10 leagues from the port of Borneo to *Pulotiga*.

On leaving *Pulotiga* in the direction of Island of *São Jerónimo*⁴ set a course northeast and continue along the coast one or two leagues out from it, and do not sail out to sea from *Pulotiga* because a ridge protrudes further ahead for 4 leagues and along this route you will sight the Islands of *São Jerónimo*. There are 25 leagues from *Pulotiga* to the Islands of *São Jerónimo*, and these small islets are some distance from the coast at the foot of Mount *São Pedro*,⁵ and they are small and flat. They have a ridge with 3 low little hills, which are all the same size. If you sail close to them you will sight an islet in the middle that is round like a loaf of bread. You can pass as close to these as you like, go wherever you wish as there is plenty of depth.

³ Pulau Tiga.

⁴ See document 13, note 28, and document 35, note 8.

⁵ Mount Kinabalu.

Once you are 2 or 3 leagues ahead of this Island of *São Jerónimo* steer the prow to north-quarter-northeast in the direction of *Malava*.⁶ *Malava* is 5 leagues from the Islands of *São Jerónimo*, and once you are 6 or 7 leagues out to sea from *Malava* head towards *Perauguoa*⁷ with the prow heading north, and north-quarter-northwest. This island of *Perauguoa* is 8 leagues northeast of *Malava*. If the winds blow you close to *Malava*, at around two leagues or less from *Malava* you will find stone shelves; do not be afraid and continue raising every sail you can so that you pass the island quickly, and the depth above these bars is 7, 8, 6, 5, 4 fathoms and that [is] as shallow as it gets. And once you pass the island the shelves will end. If the winds are so light that they only blow over the island and you do not have time to turn in a different direction you should anchor with the grapnel anchor because if you come any closer to the coast than what I have said before you will hit the ridges.

Moving past the island of *Malava* you will see a tree-covered, small, flat round islet,⁸ and others lie further one; keep away from them at a minimum distance of 5-6 leagues so that you may head towards *Perauguoa*, the tallest and the most mountainous islands, unlike the others; steer the prow as I say to north-quarter-northwest, and then north. If you come to some shelves along this route there is nothing to fear; you must steer for the headland of *Perauguoa* when you are 5, 6 leagues out to sea from them due to the two shallows that project from the tip of *Perauguoa* in front of three small round humps that are in front of the first mountain ridge that forms a long ridge and then in front there are these 3 little hills that look like this. Lying northwest and southeast to them there are two shallows, and the sea breaks over them which serves as a very large landmark for the other shallows that lie further ahead.

⁶ See document 35, note 11.

⁷ Palawan.

⁸ Ramos Island.

[Drawing]

Entrance or exit on the
northeast side

4322

643

28 29 +++ 7 ++ 7 4 5 6 4 2 7 3

+++

+++

+++

These two shallows lie northwest-southeast of these three little round humps, and 8. leagues further on there are more shallows with these sandbars in the middle and along the coast there is yet another sandbank.

And if you come close to this headland of *Perauguoa*, which has a depth of 2-3 fathoms you will hit what you see above. Therefore, it is good to steer for the shallows from 5, 6 leagues from the island of *Perauguoa*, as soon as you take sight of these two shallows and you should go along taking the 3 little humps as a landmark. These shallows lie along the coast for the best part of 4, 5 leagues, and although there are some shelves there is nothing to fear.

Then when you see these shallows turn the prow out to sea away from them so you see the water break over them, then turn the prow towards the coast of *Perauguoa* until you are a league and a half or two from it and continue along the coast as it runs towards the northeast, and at times a quarter from north, even if you do not see these shallows because you have gone far out to sea, and you run in a line – northwest-southeast – with the landmark of the 3 humps. Then steer towards land raising all the sails and if you run into difficulties with the shallows and cannot pass them on the seaward side you can easily pass them on the landward side at about half a league. And then steer towards land as I say above for a league and a half and after 2 leagues you will find a depth of two hundred and nine fathoms above a seabed of mud and a mixture of sand, gravel and mud with coarse sand.

And if you allow yourself to go some 5, 6 leagues beyond these two shallows, and a similar amount from the coast you will come to other shallows, which are a league and a half from each other, and they are very dangerous and the sea breaks very gently over them, and when [the sea] is high even if you do not see the shallows because you have gone far out to sea keep watch for the landmark. If you are north-west and south-east of it you have to go a little further on and then turn the prow to land as I say above.

From these first shallows, which as I say are 8 leagues ahead, and another 8 out to sea from *Perauguoa*, there are some more, bigger, longer and very dangerous shallows, which run northwest-southeast and the sea also breaks over them; ahead of this landmark is a very tall mountain ridge before a big valley and the sea seems to pass from one side to the other. When you are to the east, align yourself with this tall mountain ridge and the shallows will be to the northwest of you; you will be clear of all the shallows which are on the headland of *Perauguoa* at a latitude of 29 degrees.

And remain vigilant that you go no further than two leagues out to sea from the coast for up to 3 [leagues] along the aforementioned north-easterly route, and at times steer a quarter from north, even on dark nights do not turn more than I say from following the aforementioned course. And this route lasts until you reach a valley that is forty leagues from the headland of *Perauguoa* at a latitude of ten and a half degrees and as I say keep watch for the above shallows, because I saw and sailed through all of this.

So that you recognise this valley, through which the sea seems to pass from side to side, there is no other one like it along this route, and on the northeast side there is a large mountain ridge that has 4 peaks, and they look like 3 saddles, and on the southwest side there is another high mountain ridge alongside the beginning of the valley; there are 3. small islets separate from each other but very close, and along this route there are no others like them; and if the weather goes against you in this area they say that you can find shelter inside [this bay] in the case of necessity. And go a long way in, and if on the route from the first valley to the next one you come to a gravel bar have no fear as I passed over it.

And here as you line up with this valley between the islets from the prow you will see a tall and round mountain ridge that is 8 leagues away and it is higher than

any other from the ground; this mountain ridge is an island that is some 4 leagues from the headland of *Perauguoa* and it is called *Lupatão*,⁹ and it is not divided off from the headland of *Perauguoa* because between it [*Lupatão*] and the headland of *Perauguoa* there are many islands where I took on water. And it seems to be a single stretch of land; there is a channel that passes to the other side of this island of *Lupatão* to the northeast, and there is an opening at the port of *Sarmento* where the tributes are levied; and on the southwest of *Lupatão* there is another smaller port; *Lupatão* is at a latitude of 11 degrees and one sixth.

Continuing on from *Lupatão* the Calamianes begin, which is a stretch of small islets 6 leagues in length that extend north-northeast, and at the top [of this archipelago] there is a tall rock with another smaller one at its base which face each other one; it looks like a camel's hump, and it looks as if a fire razed this stretch of coast.

Then beyond the Calamianes continue further on sailing east-northeast up until the Mindoro inlet,¹⁰ and there are around 10 or 12 small islets all about a league and a half and a [league and a] third from each other; they are surrounded by shallows and it is said there is no water [to be found] on them and they say there are channels between them; altogether they are about 12 or 14 leagues in length; and then continue on to Mindoro inlet. Be warned that in this bay the currents flow in an east-northeast direction, and if a ship is caught in them it has a great deal of trouble due to the long sand islands and shallows, and is necessary to keep the prow headed northwest in order to steer clear of the bay.

If you find yourself at this headland of *Perauguoa*, it is best to cross from this island of *Lupatão* by steering 8 leagues out to sea with your prow headed north towards *Lubão*¹¹ because the westerly winds are scarce and the currents run east-northeast; *Lubão* is at a latitude of 13 and a half degrees, and *Lupatão* lies north-south to *Lubão*. And set a course quarter from northeast, and southwest, and this section of the route covers forty-eight leagues.

⁹ This is likely Linapacan Island.

¹⁰ Paluan Bay.

¹¹ Lubang.

Having followed this route on approaching *Lubão*, it is a tall island that has a low-lying coastline that runs to the north, and on the southwest of this low-lying coastline there is a harbour, and out to sea from this low coastline there is a small flat islet, which is half a league in length, and is called the Island of *Cabras* [Goats];¹² you can sail down the middle of the channel between *Lubão* and the small islet but steer slightly closer to the small islet rather than the coast of *Lubão* in order to avoid a small ridge that protrudes from *Lubão*. This small islet is half a league down the coast of *Lubão*, and then down this coast beneath *Lubão* there is a village close to the point, and you will see a tall cross and if you want to go out to sea from this Island of *Cabras* in order to go to Manila you can safely do so, or go out to sea from the small islet, or go between it and *Lubão*.

And then heading further south you will sight Mindoro which has a taller mountain ridge than that of *Lubão*, and do not be deceived into setting a course for the high ground on Mindoro thinking that it is *Lubão*, because you will end up in the inlet. *Lubão* and Mindoro look like this.

island of *Cabras* channel *Lubão* channel Mindoro inlet

[Drawing]

If you can take advantage of the winds at Mindoro continue on till you see a channel that you can sail down towards Manila; in the middle of this channel there are two small islets¹³ that are closer to *Lubão* than Mindoro, where they form two channels one between *Lubão* and the small islets, and another channel between the small islets and Mindoro and the high ground on Mindoro is called Calavite. This channel between *Lubão* and the small islets is dirty therefore you can pass between Mindoro and the small islets because it is deep everywhere [...], and when you sail down [the channel] as you pass the small islets you must keep them on the *Lubão* side. From this channel to the coast of Manila there are 6 leagues, and

¹² Cabra Island.

¹³ Golo Island and Ambil Island.

on the coast of Manila itself, in front of this channel the shallows run along the coast. These run for a distance of 4 leagues off Manila, and the one that protrudes the most extends two thirds of a league out to sea, and it ends two leagues before you get to a little islet that you will come to just before the harbour of Manila, which is called *Furtum*.¹⁴ These shallows are called the *Tolle* shallows.¹⁵ Sailing down this channel from Mindoro, steer the prow to the north-quarter-northeast, and you will make your way between *Furtum* and Manila, now clear of the *Tolle* shallows, and running along these shallows from the outside; you will find depths of 8 fathoms, [with a] mud and gravel [seabed].

Taking the channel from the Island of *Cabras* or from beyond it, from here there is the Bay of Manila and you will see from the north side in the middle of the bay a small islet called *Maribedes*,¹⁶ where the Castilians keep watch, and between *Maribedes* and the *Limbonis*,¹⁷ which you must keep on the right-hand side right in the middle of the entrance there is a stone formation called *Frade*¹⁸ and you can pass on either side of this *Frade* because there is plenty of depth, but it is best to pass between *Maribedes* and the *Frade*, and if you keep to the northern side from *Maribedes* you can also pass between *Maribedes* and the coast of *Batão*,¹⁹ as it is called, by sailing down the middle of the channel.

Having left *Maribedes* you will see a low-lying land on the right-hand side, which is called the *Rio de Canas*²⁰ and *Marigondo*,²¹ and from here keep out to sea because a stone ridge protrudes one league out to sea, and continues on along the coastline for some 4 leagues, and then from this river onwards there is a sandy beach. Once you have passed this *Rio de Canas* turn your prow to the northeast until you see the sandy beach [and] you should come in close and you can sail here because there is plenty of deep water, and then you will see the Cavite River [and] and steer into it next to the sandy point in order to enter, then anchor.

¹⁴ Fortune Island.

¹⁵ Today, Simo Banks.

¹⁶ See document 37, note 12.

¹⁷ Limbones Island.

¹⁸ El Fraile.

¹⁹ Bataan.

²⁰ Cañas River.

²¹ Maragondon.

Rutter from Manila to Brunei and Malacca

On leaving the *Limbones*, or from *Maribedes*, steer west-southwest in the direction of *Lubam* and as you come close to *Lubão* take the channel between *Lubão* and the Islands of *Cabras*, and keep away from the rocks that are there as the coast of *Lubão* runs towards the point of *Lubão* itself. They are out to the sea about half a league from the coast.

Making your way between this Island of *Cabras* and *Lubão*, or when you are not able to, sail out to sea from the small islet, set a course southwest-quarter-south for 4 leagues.

And when you have covered this route turn your prow to the south and you will come to *Perauguoa*, and when you see it you will continue 2 and 3 [leagues] until you sight the tall mountain or the 3 tall hills that are almost at the far end of *Perauguoa*, and then beyond these 3 hills lies the low-lying coastline at the far end of *Perauguoa*.

Around 10 leagues before you reach these 3 peaks there is a little remote islet that seems to have a tree, and the peak of this islet is a landmark, it is about 10 leagues away.

And as you line up along here keep careful watch as you sail past these 3 hills that look like church organs northwest-southeast to it, and keep very careful watch for the two rocks that are around 4 and 6 leagues out to sea, and keep some 6 or 7 leagues out to sea and you will be clear of the shallows, and if you head towards the coast from these 2 rocks about one league further on you will come to some very jagged shelves.

You will do well to sail out to sea for some 6 or 7 leagues, and before reaching the headland of *Perauguoa* another 7, 8 leagues and then head towards *Malava*, and ensure you reach it from out at sea, although in the previous rutter I said not to come out to sea from *Malava* I repeat I came out to sea from *Malava* some 7, 8 leagues and I came [like] into the sea of Spain because the wind took me and blew me beyond *Malava*, and I found what was said above; even though it is night have no qualms about this headland of *Perauguoa*, continue with your prow as I say as you head out to the sea from these two rocks that I mentioned before turn your

prow to the southwest and steer for Malava in the way I say by coming from 6 or 7 leagues out to sea.

Once you have left *Malava*, steer south-quarter-southeast and head for the coast of Borneo, and once you are a league and a half or 2 away from it continue sailing along it in the direction of the Islands of *São Jerónimo*, and if the wind does not let you sail in to land at the Islands of *São Jerónimo* then you can easily out to sea from them until you sight the coast of Borneo.

And as you pass the Islands of *São Jerónimo* head towards the island of *Pilotoga*²² [*sic*] and as you come alongside it keep watch as I said above for the two rocks that are to be found at the entrance to the island as you head towards Borneo, and in this way you will sight the island a falcon shot away, and as you pass it continue on one and a half leagues and [then] 2 as the rutter states above.

And continue on to the channel that lies between the islands of Borneo, while keeping away from the ridge that protrudes from the islet that is near the coast of Borneo, as well as the ridge that protrudes from the point with the windblown trees, which you must keep on the right-hand side, that is when you want to sail out between them and the round islet, which you have to keep on the left-hand side, so that it appear at your prow, and here you will find a depth of 6 and 8 or 9 fathoms. And as you come to the round island you will then see the bay of Borneo.

²² I.e., Pulo Tiga (Pulau Tiga).

DOCUMENTO 40

Roteiro de Pulau Tioman ou Pulau Aur para Manila, anónimo, s.d. Publicado em Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau; Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 359–361. Original conservado na Coleção de Castelo Melhor, fols. 18–19.

p. 359:

Roteiro de Pullo Timão pera Manilha ou de Pullo Laor

^a Partindo de Pullo Timão pera Manilha mandarás governar ao nordeste e a 4.^a de norte athe altura de cinco graos e meyo e como estiveres nesta altura mandarás governar ao nordeste franquo athe altura de 12 graos e as guinadas que deres neste caminho tem muita conta com ellas e seião pera o norte e como estiveres em altura de 12 graos mandarás governar a les nordeste athe altura de 13 graos e meio ou 13 hũ tersso, e por este caminho e altura iras ver Lubão ou Mindouro que são ilhas de Manilha e são ilhas altas halembro tte que ha do Mindouro he mais alta que a de Lubão e esta ilha de Lubão diguo esta ilha de Mindouro esta ao sueste de Lubão olharas pera o nordeste ao mar de Lubão, veras huma ilhazinha raza a que chamam a ilha das Cabras se quizeres pacar antre Mindouro e Lubão bem o podeis fazer e daquy iras a nordeste e veras Furtum que he huma ilha pequena e deyxas llas a tua mão direita e por este caminho yras ver Maribelles que esta na entrada da boca de Manilla e veras pera mão esquerda huma serra muito alta que he terra de Batão terra firme de Manilla como fores ver estas ilhas de Mindouro se não quizeres embocar iras adeixando as todas a mão direita como [*sic*] desta ilha das Cabras, mandarás governar a les nordeste e ao nordeste e a 4.^a de leste e por este caminho iras entrar pella bahia dentro que he diguo a mão direita e se quizeres emboquar digo passar por antre Lubão e a ilha das Cabras bem podeis mais o melhor e deixa llas todas a mão direita como asima diguo desta ilha das Cabras mandarás governar a les nordeste e ao nordeste e a 4.^a de leste e por este caminho iras entrar pella bahya dentro de Maribelles e sse for de noite emquanto não acharas [*sic*] fundo estas de fora iras asondando e tanto que acharas [*sic*] fundo

^a Margin note: “Ja” [already].

de 13 ou 12 braças estas de dentro que ho menos fundo que he he de 12 braças e tanto que entrases por Maribelles, veras hũ ilheo a que chamam o Frade.

Irás correndo a terra da mão direita, e veras hũ lancaselo day lhe Resguardo que botta hũ pareçel aquy se chamam [*sic*] o Rio das Canas quer seia de noite ou de dia governaras a leste a buscar as naos que estão na ponta de Cabytte e sse o vento for escaço athe ser de dia surgiras athe ver o dia.

Lembro tte que coando fiquares nos 13 graos e meio ou 13 e hũ terço as de ficar 60 ou 70 legoas das ilhas de Manilla e por isso se na cartta over menos mar sabaras [*sic*] que he falço emmendaras o ponto atras de Manila [*sic*] estando nos em 13 graos fiqueis 70 legoas das ilhas de Manilla.

Avizo tte que de 5 graos athe nove e meio as de ver muitos paçaros de muitos modos e muitos sinais que te não agastes porque vas bem navegado e se te derem calmarias as de multiplicar muito altura a razão he que correm as agoas pello canal dereito e quoando te prequatares as de estar safo dos baixos ainda que multiplique muito pello sol da lhe muito credito porque correm as agoas com muita força caminho de nortte por isso vay com cuidado como asima diz em altura de 9 graos e dous terços dey fee de 3 ou 4 ilheos escalvados e hũ delles he maior e botta mais afora que todos e botey ho prumo achey junto do ilheo couza de legua e meia 72 braças fundo vaza solta.

Advertencia

Quando fores de Pullo Timão pera a Manilha como no Roteiro trata pello nordeste e 4^a de nortte athe altura de cinco graos e depois pello caminho de nordeste e se porventura deres em fundo de 25 ou 30 braças que sera por ires chegado aos baixos de Pullo Sisy he vigia llos he porque vos as de ver e sse asim for teras avizo que tte vas chegado ao canal fazendo o caminho de les nordeste ou como tte parecer athe estares em fundo de 40 ou 50 braças pera riba emtão tornaras a teu caminho conforme o Roteiro que he de nordeste athe altura de 12 graos e de altura de 12 graos mandarás guovernar les nordeste athe altura de 13 graos e meio mandarás governar a leste em demanda de Lubão ou de Mendouro que são ilhas de Manilha e avizo tte que as agoas te andem bater muito por isso he bom yr a leste da altura arriba dita dos 13 graos e meio porque as agoas correm muito pera o nortte como asima tenho dito he sempre he bom tomar a balrravento porque depois posso arribar como me paresser tendo a costa ferrada.

DOCUMENT 40

Rutter from Pulau Tioman or Pulau Aur to Manila, anonymous, undated. Published in Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau and Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 359–361. Original manuscript in Coleção de Castelo Melhor, fols. 18–19.

The volume containing this rutter is a compilation of navigational rutters for the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and East Asia, which was created in the seventeenth century. The rutter described a route for sailing to Manila from Southeast Asia by crossing from the Island of Pulau Tioman or Pulau Aur and heading towards Lubang. There are two other versions, one conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cód. I-12,3,6, fols. 125–126 and the other in the Biblioteca da Casa do Cadaval, M – VI – 34 (972), fols. 81v–82.

p. 359:

Rutter from *Pullo Timão*¹ to Manila or from *Pullo Laor*²

Leaving from *Pullo Timão* for Manila, set a course northeast-quarter-north until you reach a latitude of five and a half degrees. And on reaching this latitude set a course straight northeast as far as 12 degrees latitude. And be very careful with the yawing you experience on this route, this will be towards the north. And on reaching 12 degrees latitude set a course east-northeast as far as 13 and a half or 13 and a third degrees latitude, and on this route and at this latitude you will sight *Lubão*³ or Mindoro, which are islands of Manila and they are tall islands and I remind you that Mindoro is higher than *Lubão*. And this island of *Lubão*, I mean the island of Mindoro is to the southeast of *Lubão*. Looking to the northeast in the sea around *Lubão*, you will see a small flat island called the Island of *Cabras*. If you want to pass between Mindoro and *Lubão* you can easily do so. And from

¹ Pulau Tioman.

² Pulau Aur.

³ Lubang.

here head northeast and you will see *Furtum*,⁴ which is a small island, and keep them on your right-hand side. And along this route you will see *Maribelles*,⁵ which is at the entrance to the bay of Manila. And you will see on the left-hand side a very tall mountain ridge, which is the region of *Batão*,⁶ the mainland of Manila. As you see the islands of Mindoro, if you do not want to enter there, keep them all to your right-hand side. From the Island of *Cabras*, set a course east northeast and northeast-quarter-east, and on this route you will enter the bay from [the seas around] *Maribelles*. And if it is night, until you cannot plumb the depth you are outside of it [the bay]. Keep plumbing the depth and as soon you find a depth of 13 or 12 fathoms you are inside [the bay]. 12 fathoms is the shallowest depth there. And as soon as you enter via *Maribelles*, you will see an islet called the *Frade*.⁷

Continue along with the coast on your right hand-side, and you will see an outcrop [of land]. Keep a distance from it as a shoal protrudes from it, here this is called the *Rio das Canas*.⁸ Whether it is night or day, set a course east in search of the carracks that are at Cavite Point, and if the wind is light, anchor until daybreak.

Remember that when you get to 13 and a half or 13 and one third degrees latitude you will be 60 or 70 leagues from the islands of Manila.

I advise you that from 5 to nine and a half degrees latitude you will see birds of many types and many signs, do not be concerned as you are sailing on a good course. And if you are becalmed you must multiply the height by a lot, the reason being that the currents flow directly through the channel and suddenly you will find yourself to be clear of the shallows even if you multiply a lot by the [position of] the sun, give it much credit because there are very strong currents that flow north, and this is why you must take care, as was said above, at 9 and two thirds degrees latitude keep watch for 3 or 4 barren islets, and one of them is larger and protrudes further than the others. And I used the plumb line about one and half leagues from the islet and found 72 fathoms with loose silt on the seabed.

⁴ Fortune Island.

⁵ See document 37, note 12.

⁶ Bataan.

⁷ El Fraile.

⁸ Cañas River.

Warning

When you go from *Pullo Timão* to Manila, as the rutter describes, on a course northeast-quarter-north as far as five degrees latitude, and then on a northeast course, and if by chance you find a depth of 25 or 30 fathoms, you will have arrived at the shallows of *Pullo Sisy*.⁹ Keep watch for them because you must see them. And if this happens, I advise you to get close to the channel, set a course east-northeast, or as you consider best, until you reach a depth of 40 or 50 fathoms. Then, return to your course as the rutter states which is northeast as far as 12 degrees latitude. And from 12 degrees latitude set a course east-northeast as far as 13 and a half degrees latitude. Set a course east and head for *Lubão* or *Medouro*,¹⁰ which are islands of Manila. And I advise you that the currents will flow strongly against you, and because of that it is good to head east, at the latitude stated above of 13 and a half degrees, because there are strong northerly currents, as I said above. It is also good to keep windward, because I will arrive as I see fit, having the coast on sight.

⁹ Phú Quý.

¹⁰ Mindoro.

DOCUMENTO 41

Roteiro de Manila para Macau, anónimo, s.d. Publicado em Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau e Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 361. Original conservado na Coleção de Castelo Melhor, fols. 19–19v.

p. 361:

Roteiro de Manilha pera Maquao em tempo de Brizas

^a Partindo de Maribelles em tempo de brizas, que he viagem billiquoza vay costeando a costa que não ha de te guardar senão do que vires com olhos da [*sic*] Batão a ponta de Bulinao iras correndo a costa de noroeste sueste; esta ponta de Bulinao yra corendo a costa athe teres vista do Cabo de Bogiador e da ponta de Bulinao o Cabo de Bugiador ay 60 leguoas e corre sse a costa nortte e sul e tendo a vista do Cabo, mandarás governar ao nor noroeste e yras com vigia por amor da ilha da Prata, que he ruy que esta em altura de 20 graos e meio e muito suia e tendo a ja passada iras teu caminho por nor noroeste e ao norte e a 4^a de noroeste com brizas he iras seguro porque nesta costa de China procura de tomar o barllavento e por ser como diguo tempo de brizas e asim iras seguro e tem pera tty que reinam os ventos norttes e noroestes; e sse fores tomar a ilha do Leme que he o boqueirão por donde entram os navios que vão pera Macao e por ambas as bandas dellas podes passar.

^a Margin note: “Ja” [already].

DOCUMENT 41

Rutter from Manila to Macao, anonymous, undated. Published in Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau and Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 361. Original manuscript in Colecção de Castelo Melhor, fols. 19–19v.

The volume containing this rutter is a compilation of navigational rutters for the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and East Asia, which was created in the seventeenth century. The rutter describes a route between Macao and Manila that can be sailed from January onwards, which is when another rutter recording the route in the opposite direction refers to the wind blowing from the east and east-southeast. There are two other versions conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cód. I-12,3,6, fol. 126v and in the Biblioteca da Casa do Cadaval, M - VI - 34 (972), fol. 82.

p. 361:

Rutter from Manila to Macao during the windy season

Leaving from *Maribelles*¹ during the windy season, which is a difficult journey, you are to make your way along the coast, which you do not need to mind, but only of what you sight with your eyes. From *Batão*² to the point of Bolinao you will follow the coast northwest southeast. From this point of Bolinao follow the coast until you sight *Bogiador* Cape. And from the point of Bolinao to the *Bugiador* Cape there are 60 leagues. This coast runs north south. And on reaching the coast of the Cape, set a course to north-northwest and keep watch for fear of the island of *Prata*³ which is dangerous, it is at a latitude of 20 and a half degrees, very dirty. And once you have passed it make your way north-northwest and north-quarter-northwest with the winds. And, as this is the coast of China, in order to travel

¹ See document 37, note 10. The version conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro reads “Manilha”.

² Bataan.

³ Pratas Reef.

safely endeavour to keep windward because, as I say, it is the windy season. And you will be safe sailing in this manner and you will have the prevailing north and northeasterly winds. And if you head for the island of *Leme*,⁴ it has a sound where ships can enter en route to Macao, and you can pass on either side of the island.

⁴ Dangan Island (擔桿島), of the eastern group of Wanshan archipelago (萬山群島).

DOCUMENTO 42

Advertência para quem for para Manila, anónimo, s.d. Publicado em Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau e Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 369. Original conservado na Coleção de Castelo Melhor, fol. 62v.

p. 369:

Adevertensia pera quem for pera Manilla

^a Quem for pera Manilla porse a tanto avante como Pulo Timão de feisão que te fique nordeste sudueste com elle e dahi mandaras governar ao nordeste athe 70 ou 80 legoas pouquo mais ou menos por dar resgoardo a emtrada dos baixos de Pullo Sisi e como estiveres de Pulo Timão as ditas 70, 80 legoas pello rumbo que digo de nordeste mandara<s> day por diante governar ao nordeste e a 4^a de norte athe altura de doze graos governaras a les nordeste athe se por em treze graos por diamte governara<s> a leste e por este caminho e derota yra<s> ver a ilha de Lubão ou a de Mindouro.

^a Margin note: “Ja” [already].

DOCUMENT 42

Warning for whoever sails to Manila, anonymous, undated. Published in Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau and Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 369. Original manuscript in Coleção de Castelo Melhor, fol. 62v.

The volume containing this rutter is a compilation of navigational rutters for the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and East Asia, which was created in the seventeenth century. The warning given concerns the existence of sandbanks close to Phú Quý. There is another version in the Biblioteca da Casa do Cadaval, M – VI – 34 (972), fol. 102.

p. 369:

Warning for those sailing to Manila

Whoever goes to Manila should sail beyond *Pulo Timão*,¹ so that you are northeast southwest from it. And from there set a course northeast for 70 or 80 leagues, more or less, so you can avoid the beginning of shallows of *Pullo Sisi*.² And when you have reached the aforesaid 70, 80 leagues from *Pulo Timão*, on the northeast course as I have said, give orders to continue onwards on a course northeast and a quarter from north, as far twelve degrees latitude. Set a course east northeast until you reach thirteen degrees latitude, and from there set a course east. And along on this route and course you will sight the island of *Lubão*³ or that of Mindoro.

¹ Pulau Tioman.

² Phú Quý.

³ Lubang.

DOCUMENTO 43

Roteiro de Macau para Manila, anónimo, s.d. Publicado em Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau e Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 370. Original conservado na Colecção de Castelo Melhor, fol. 62v.

p. 370:

Roteiro de Macao pera Manilha em Novembro na monção de norte

^a Partindo de Macao pera a Manilha que sera do meado nov[em]bro athe todo dezembro porque de Janeiro por diante ventão brigas [*sic*] que são leste e les sueste que não podes com elle fazer viagem e partindo como digo faras de maneira que saires com ventos nortes fixo e tomar a vista do ilheo Branco porque dahi he bom travesar por cauza das agoas que correm as agoas pera aloeste e a 4^a de sudueste que vão pera os baixos que estão em 17 graos e meio o caminho que fizeres tendo vista do ilheo Branco como digo sera de lle<s> sueste athe te pores norte sul com o Rio do Sal e se neste tempo não ouver norte não cometa<s> a viagem porque te ande levar as agoas pera os baixos e avizo te que tenha<s> muita conta com a agulha porque neste golfão nordestea e fas muito por não diseres [*sic*] de 18 graos e 2 terços porque aqui he o bom yr asim yras tomar a terra dos Lucõis os sinais desta terra são ver muitos saragasos alembro te que de meio de yaneiro não cometas a viagem porque ha grandes calmarias e as agoas corem muito pera os baixos e a mym me aconteseo com vento le [*sic*] sueste ir na volta de sul e fui ver os baixos de maneira que nelles cuidei de me perder porque esteve [*sic*] meia legoa delles em [*sic*] milagroamente livrou Deos noso senhor delles.

^a Margin note: “Ja” [already].

DOCUMENT 43

Rutter from Macao to Manila, anonymous, undated. Published in Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau and Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 370. Original manuscript in Coleção de Castelo Melhor, fol. 62v.

The volume containing this rutter is a compilation of navigational rutters for the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and East Asia, which was created in the seventeenth century. The rutter describes the route between Macao and Manila in November, when the winds blew from the north and northeast. There are two other versions, one conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cód. I-12,3,6, fols. 124v–125 and the other in the Biblioteca da Casa do Cadaval, M – VI – 34 (972), fol. 102.

p. 370:

Rutter from Macao to Manila in November during the northern monsoon

Leaving Macao for Manila, which will be from mid-November and throughout December, because from January onwards the winds are from the east and east southeast, and you cannot make this journey with them. And departing as I say, you will make your way with fixed north winds, and you are to keep watch for the *Branco* islet¹ because it is good to cross from there due to the currents that flow [there] to the west and a quarter to southwest, and which lead to the shallows that are at 17 and a half degrees latitude. The route that you will take, having sighted the *Branco* islet, as I say, will be to the east-southeast until you align [your ship] north-south to the *Rio do Sal*.² And at this stage if you lack the northerly wind, do not undertake this journey because the waters will carry you onto the shallows. And I advise you to take special care because in this gulf the compass will tilt

¹ Zhenyan Tou (針頭岩), which became known in western rutters as “Pedro Blanco”, a corrupted form of “Pedra Branca”, and it was also known as “ilhéu Branco”.

² Albert Kammerer locates the “Rio do Sal” in the Honghai Bay (紅海灣), while Charles Wheeler identifies it with the River Hai (韓江), which flows into the delta of what is today the district of Chenghai (澄海). according to Jan Huygen van Linschoten, Rio do Sal was a source of salt that was supplied to Guangzhou.

to the northeast. And do all you can not to go beyond 18 and 2 thirds degrees latitude, because this is where it is good to sail. Thus you will reach the land of the *Luções*.³ The landmark for this land is the great amount of sargassum. I remind you not to undertake this voyage from the middle of January because there are many becalmed areas and swift currents flow towards the shallows. And it happened to me with a southeast wind while on my journey to the south and I was taken towards the shallows and I nearly perished because I was half a league from them, and miraculously Our Lord God saved me from them.

³ I.e., the Philippines.

DOCUMENTO 44

Roteiro de Manila para Malaca, anónimo, s.d. Publicado em Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau e Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 370–371. Original conservado in the Coleção de Castelo Melhor, fols. 62v–63.

p. 370:

De Manilha pera Malaca

Partindo de Maribelles pera Malaca mandarás governar a loes sudueste 80 legoas pouquo mais ou menos e daqui mandarás governar ao sudueste athe altura de 7 graos e meio e por esta derota yras por meio canal que os baixos de Veragoa e os baixos de Pulo Sissi que botam ao mar e estão estes baixos em altura de 8 graos e meio e de altura de 7 graos e meio mandarás governar a loes sudueste a demanda da costa de Pão athe fundo de 25 ou 30 braças e do fundo de 30 braças mandarás governar ao sul a demanda de Pulo Timão os sinais atras dita e vendo a pella banda de nordeste fas os sinais que huma botada de nordeste sudueste e da banda de nordeste fas huma ponta delgada de meia pera o sudueste e terra grossa com algũas quebradas e o remate della e dous graos e meio a les sueste veras Pulo Laor e avizo te que mudando a derota dos 7 graos e meio e o vento for bonansa que guines pera loeste porque as agoas correm pera o sul, porque shaem [*sic*] da emseada de Sião e correm muito pera o sul e se não fores com cuidado te levarão pera fora de Bintão e não poderas tomar Pulo Timão e assim yras com cuidado e por com isto segurares tua viagem.

finis laus Deus

DOCUMENT 44

Rutter from Manila to Malacca, anonymous, undated. Published in Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau and Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 370–371. Original manuscript in Coleção de Castelo Melhor, fols. 62v–63.

The volume containing this rutter is a compilation of navigational rutters for the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and East Asia, which was created in the seventeenth century. The rutter describes a route between Macao and Manila for which the pilot had to set a course for Pahang from January onwards, which is when another rutter recording the route in the opposite direction refers to the wind blowing from the east and east-southeast. There are two other versions, one conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cód. I-12,3,6, fol. 126, and in the Biblioteca da Casa do Cadaval, M – VI – 34 (972), fol. 102v.

p. 370:

From Manila to Malacca

Leaving from *Maribelles*¹ for Malacca, set a course west-southwest for 80 leagues, more or less, and from there set a course southwest as far as 7 and a half degrees latitude. And along this route sail down the middle of the channel because [of] the *Veragoa* shallows and the *Pulo Sissi*² shallows that protrude into the sea. And these shallows are at 8 and a half degrees latitude. And at 7 and a half degrees latitude, set a course west-southwest and head for the coast of *Pão*,³ until reaching a depth of 25 or 30 fathoms. And at a depth of 30 fathoms set a course south and head for *Pulo Timão*.⁴ The aforesaid landmarks. And looking at the northeast side of it [*Pulo Timão*] you will see as landmarks a finger of land running from northeast to southwest. And on the northeast side there is a thin point in the

¹ See document 37, note 12.

² Phú Quý.

³ Pahang.

⁴ Pulau Tioman.

middle that runs southwest. It is a tall island with some valleys, and its tip is at two and a half degrees latitude. Looking east southeast you will see *Pulo Laor*,⁵ and I advise you if you change your course from 7 and a half degrees latitude, and if the wind is calm then steer to the west because the currents run south, because they come from the inlet of Siam⁶ and these southerly currents are strong. And if you do not take care, they will take you beyond *Bintão*⁷ and you will not be able to pass by *Pulo Timão*. And so proceed with care in this manner, and thereby you will be sure not to veer off course.

finis laus Deus

⁵ Pulau Aur.

⁶ Gulf of Thailand.

⁷ Bintang.

DOCUMENTO 45

Roteiro do Bornéu para as Molucas, anónimo, s.d. Publicado em Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau e Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 377–386. Original conservado na Colecção de Castelo Melhor, fols. 68v–73.

p. 377:

De Borneo pera Maluco

^a Quando partires de Borneo pera Maluco será com o terreno e como fores fora da restinga veras da banda do mar 3 ilhas pequenas e huma grande e não muito alto [*sic*] mas comprida yras com a proa no meo della desta mais comprida a demandar hum ilheo de arvoredos e redondo que esta defronte do meo desta ilha comprida. E como estiveres 2 terços de legoa delle iras correndo de longo por fundo de 10, 12 braças e algumas prumadas em 8 e assy iras a demandar o boqueirão por onde as de entrar.

Hindo assy correndo esta ilha como tenho dito veras a les nordeste huma ilha pequena a qual he a primeira que as de deixar a banda de estebordo e antes de chegar a ella te ha de ficar hum ilhote a banda esquerda que tem muitos arrecifes ao redor de ssey e pera a banda do boqueirão por onde as de entrar e perto delle tem huma baixa que logo veras a agua verde e assy entraras pera dentro meyo do canal d'ante terra e terra que por ahy he o caminho e da banda da mão esquerda veras humas arvores compridas que parecem asprestes dellas te desviasas e te chegaras pera a terra do Borneo porque destas arvores botam huma restinga que vai correndo pera diante mais de meia legoa e como fores tanto avante como huma ponta que esta avante destas arvores obra de legoa e meya ja estas fora desta restinga e veras ao nordeste hum ilheo que te ha de ficar da banda da terra de Borneo afastar te as delle huma legoa ao mar e por aqui hiras por fundo de 6, 7 braças as vezes sejam mesturado com vaza e as vezes com marca e avante deste ilheo da banda do nordeste vay correndo huma restingua muito grande e comprida.

^a Margin note: “Ja” [already].

Tanto que este ilheo te ficar pela quadra achara<s> fundo de 10, 12, 13 braças. E como fores quase tanto avante como huma montanha que não he muito alta que esta na terra de Borneo te afastaras dela huma ou duas legoas porque bota huma restinga de 2 ou 3 braças e por aqui iras governado ao nordeste e nordeste e avante desta montanha veras huma malha branca ao longo do mar como fores tanto avante como ella te poras huma legoa da terra.

Daquy mandaras governar ao nordeste ao longo da terra a demandar Pulo Tinga do boqueirão atras ate Pulo Tinga 2 legoas e 3 da terra tudo são restingas de 2 e 3 braças portanto tem boa vigia e todas te ficarão da banda do mar e pelo caminho de nordeste huma legoa da terra yras a demandar Pulo Tinga por fundo 10 athe 14 braças vaza e quando vires Pulo Tinga te parecerão 3 ilhas humas pegadas nas outras mas como fores chegando perto dellas logo veras que não he mais que so huma ilha e avizarte as que não vas ao mar della que tudo são baixos. E peguado com esta digo e pacaras pela banda da terra della então bem te guardaras de huma ponta delgada que defronte desta ilha de Pulo Tingua esta a terra de Borneo porque tudo he baixo e pegado com esta ponta delgada esta hum ilheo pequeno. Yras correndo a terra com a proa em Pulo Tingua athe seres hum tiro de falquão della esta ilha bota huma restinga hum pedaço que aparece claro e perto della alto.

Como fores hũ tiro de falquão de Pulo Tigua yla has correndo de longo por fundo de 8 e 9 braças ate ser fora della e a ponta da banda de fora quando a despendem tem mais de hum tiro de falquão afastado duas legoas perto huma da outra que logo se ve a agoa verde em ssima dellas e a<o> longo dellas he tudo alto antes de ficar estas duas legoas a mão esquerda e avizo te que desta ponta delgada que faz a terra de Borneo defronte de Pulo Tingua te vigia porque he muito baixo que bota muita pera a ilha pela qual rezão as de ir correndo a ilha hum tiro de falcão como tenho dito.

Como passares esta ilha de Pulo Tingua te poras da terra de Borneo duas legoas e mandaras governar ao nordeste e a quarta do norte correndo a costa a qual tem alguns ilheos ao longo que estão meya legoa da terra e yras ao mar delles huma legoa e mais avizo te que não paces de tres legoas pera o mar porque bota huma restinga de Pulo Ti[n]ga pera o nordeste que he 3, 4 legoas de comprido pelo que iras correndo ao longo da terra huma ou duas legoas afastado della a demandar as ilhas de São Jeronimo que são razas e estarão da costa 3, 4 legoas e huma dellas tem huma lombada em que fas tres morrinhos e baixos de huma

tamanha e como fores perto dellas veras no meo d'antre ambas hum ilheozinho redondo a vera de Pulo Tiga a estas ilhas de S. Jeronimo 18 ou 20 legoas bem podés passar pela banda do mar afastados das ilhas huma legoa e se for [sic] la fores veras huma ilha raza que esta ao mar 4 ou 5 legoas mas o <bem> he passar antre as ilhas e a terra do Borneo pelo meyo e ainda que tem e meos [sic] alguma couza pera alguma das bandas nom he nada e aqui defronte de [sic] ilhas de São Jeronimo esta hum monte muito alto que se chama de São Pedro o qual com tempo claro parece muitas vezes da barra de Borneo dizem que compassão [sic] estas ilhas de São Jeronimo que forem duas ou tres legoas avante della logo podem travessar pera as Manilhas outros dizem que defronte da ponta que faz a terra de Borneo aonde estão as ilhas de Santa Maria que estão ao mar da ponta de Borneo 3 ou 4 legoas a vera de São Jeronimo as ilhas de Santa Maria 10 legoas. Estando como digo antre as ilhas de São Jeronimo e a terra de Borneo mandarás governar ao nordeste correndo a costa a huma legoa e meia ou 2 della a demandar a ponta da terra do Borneo que he huma pontinha delgada d'arvoredo que querem parecer asiprestes e ao longo da ponta obra de meia legoa ao mar veras hum ilheo pequeno que bota huma restinga de ssy pera a banda de leste pouco mais ou menos de hum tiro de falcão. E veras da banda do mar tanto avante como esta ponta as ilhas de Santa Maria de que atras tenho falado das quais a primeira que mais perto esta desta ponta serão tres legoas e por aqui ao longo da costa huma legoa da terra veras alguns ylheos pequenos e se aqui nesta ponta quizeres segurar a lua como passares este ylheozinho e a restingua que faz pode<s> chegar a terra de Borneo da banda do sul aonde te pode<s> surgir obrigado [sic] em fundo de 10 athe 12. E por este caminho todo atras não se navega de noite nem daqui athe passar as ilhas de Sam Miguel porque tudo são baixos e restinguas.

Tanto que estiveres avante deste ilheozinho que esta na ponta de Borneo huma legoa poras a proa numa ilha pequena que esta mais pera leste de todas as ilhas de Santa Maria indo com a proa a leste e a leste e a quarta de sueste. E avizarte as que não andes de noite como tenho dito porque <se> fizeres te perderas sem falta.

E assy iras como digo a demandar esta ilha a leste e a leste e a quarta de sueste e avizarte as que nesta emseada que fas a costa de Borneo avante della em huma terra baixa esta huma malha branca e por meo canal esta huma baixa muita [sic] grande que tem meia braça de agoa em ssyma de ssy viziarte as della e assy yras demandar a ilha que digo a qual bota de ssy huma [sic] arrecefe pera a banda daloste hum tiro de falquão e chegarte as a ella hum tiro de camelete quanto fique

do arrecife hum tiro de espingarda porque ao longo della ha fundo de 20 braças e tanto que chegares a esta ilha hum tiro de camelete dela vigia te de humas baixas que estão pera a terra de Borneo no meo de canal quazi tanto com esta ilha meya legoa ao mar e como emparelhares com esta ilha obra de hum tiro de camelete della yras correndo todas as outras mais que estão avante della porque todo ao longo dellas he alto de 25 braças athe 30 yla as correndo athe tanto avante como huma emceada grande que esta avante das primeiras 4 ilhas e como fores tanto avante o meyo desta emseada olha pera a banda do mar contra a terra de Borneo e veras duas baixas que estão lamcadas caze leste oeste e de huma a outra hum tiro de falquão e a tiro da espingarda dellas ha 7 braças.

Como fores avante desta emceada 2 terços de legoa antes menos que mais e hum terço de legoa ao mar das ilhas ou meya legoa em fundo de 13, 14 legoas digo braças logo podes atravessar pera as ilhas de Jurdão de Freitas pondo a proa no meo da ilha e do meo pera a ponta do nordeste e indo por fundo de 12 inte 14 braças a demandar hum arrecife que bota a ilha de Jordão de Freitas de ssey pera o mar mais de hũ tiro de camelete o qual saye de humas ilhas que as costas o mar que estão muito pegadas com as ilhas de Jordão de Freitas e ao pe deste arrecife ha fundo de sinco braças em ssima huma.

Tanto que fores hum tiro de falquão deste arrecife ou de camelite yras correndo esta ilha de Jordão de Freitas de lo<n>go por fundo de 12 ou de 13 braças e avizo te que da banda do Borneo tudo he baixo e assy iras correndo esta ilha que esta pera a banda do sul. E avizo te que a tiro de camelete dela athe seres emparelhado com a proa da ilha que esta pera a banda do sul e avizo te que ao mar desta ponta esta huma baixa sobre ssey.

Tanto que pacares esta ponta da ilha de Jordão de Freitas e esta restinga, hiras com a proa a leste e a leste e a quarta do sueste e assy ora hireis com a proa no ilheo de Peixexil ora no boqueirão que esta antre elle <e> huma ilheta e assy hiras ora por 9 or por 10 e 12 braças a demandar este boqueirão e da banda do mar te han de ficar muitas restinguas. E a que mais perto estara de ssey sera hum tiro de quamelete ou de falcão e da banda do Borneo te ande ficar 2 ou 3 restinguas e hum ilheozinho d'area com humas arvores esfarapadas que quer parecer galle do qual has de passar hum tiro de falquão e os mesmos [*sic*] das restinguas que fiquão de sua banda. E assy hiras a demandar este boqueirão d'antre esta ilhota e o ilheo de Perexil esta ilha da banda de leste tem agoa.

Tanto que quizeres entrar neste boqueirão de Perexil te vigiaras de muitas restingas que tem no meyo os [sic] quais te ficarão todas da banda da terra do Borneo e assy sairás da banda de fora deste boqueirão governa<n>do nordeste e a quarta de lleste e a lles nordeste sueste com este ilheo te vigia das baixas que estão no meyo deste canal. E como estiveres leste este com elle ja estais fora dellas e assy iras governa<n>do ao nordeste e a quarta de leste e a lles nordeste como assim digo athe seres huma legoa e meya avante deste ilheo e aqui te ha de ficar huma restinga da banda do norte hum tiro de camelete de ti e por aqui acharas fundo de 12, 15 braças lama e area.

Tanto que a tiveres [sic] huma legoa e meya avante deste ylheo de Perexil logo mandarás governar a les sueste e por este caminho iras vendo dous [sic] coroa<s> d'area que te an de ficar da banda do Borneo as quais estão huma da outra perto de legoa e estão lançadas les sueste oes nordeste norte sul com a derradeira quoroa d'area huma legoa ao norte della estão 2 baixas que tem a agua em ssima de ssy muito verde estão lançada<s> huma com outra leste oeste e avera huma de outra meia legoa e pasaras ao sul della hum terço de legoa e assy iras por aqui governa<n>do a les sueste. E yras olhando o fundo dis ate 20, 22 braças lama e area.

Por este caminho yras a ver vista de hũ ilheo redondo que te a de demorar ao sueste e a quarta do sul passaras ao norte delle 3 legoas e pelo mesmo caminho de les sueste e sueste e a quarta de leste yras ver outro ylheo pequeno tambem redondo que quando começa a parecer parecem arvores e avera de huma e outra 3 legoas e pasara<s> delles 3 legoas afastado por aqui te hiras vigiando de algumas baixas que não tem em ssima de sy mais <de> 2 ou 3 braças d'agoa e pelo mesmo caminho yras ver outro ylheo pequeno que esta avante deste outro 2 legoas e tanto que vires mandarás governar a leste e a quarta do sueste ate seres norte e sul com elle como estiveres norte e sul com este ilheo 3, 4 legoas logo veras a les a [sic] nordeste a Ilha de Sam Miguel a qual faz por amostra quando de qua ve<n>s dous morrinhos como ylheos e como a vires mandarás governar a les nordeste a demanda la e assy como te fores chegando a ella a hiras descobrindo que he grande.

Aquy nesta traveça deste ylheo que esta ja fora dos baixos pera estas ilhas de Sam Miguel vão algumas ainda baixas que tem 3, 4, 5 braças de agoa e muitas vezes se não ve<e>m senão quando ya estão sobre ellas e antes que chegue a ylha

de Sam Miguel ao sueste della veras 2 ylheos que estão 2 legoas afastados desta. E como estiveres 2 legoas destes 2 ylheos e te demorarem ao nordeste ya estas fora de todos os baixos e podes dar a boa viagem aos baixos e podes andar de noite e antes não passara<s> destes ylheos huma legoa ao sul delles e ya aquy emparelhado com elles não ha fundo senão 50 legoas digo braças pera ssima aqui correm as aguas muito pera o sueste e norte sul com estes dous ylheos 4, 5 legoas ao sul delles esta hum ilheo pequeno redondo e bem feito.

Como estiveres com este<s> 2 ylheos yras governado a les<te> e a quarta de nordeste athe a derradeira ponta desta ylha de Sam Miguel trabalharas por que nesta paragem vas com o vento feito porque as aguas te não lance<m> pera o sueste com calmaria ou vento esquaço porque não he bom principalmente se for em 15 de outubro em diante desta derradeira ponta de Sam Miguel da qual faras por ir duas legoas della governaras ao nordeste se o vento te der lugar a primeira sangradura. E como tiveres andado 15 ou 20 legoas faras o caminho de les nordeste e yras a ver vista de Myndonao [*sic*] da qual a ponta do sul he muy alta e esta em altura de 7 graos e avera na derota de Sam Miguel a Myndanao 50 legoas.

E sendo cazo que não possas fazer o caminho sobredito por cazo dos ventos esquaços pelo caminho de leste iras ver humas duas ylhas razas compridas que estão em altura de seis graos e meyo e logo governaras por ssima destas ylhas razas 3 ou 4 piços altos em carreira e <o> do meo he mais alto esta he a ylha grande dos Solocos. Estara ao norte e toma da quarta do noroeste avera de Sam Miguel a estas ylhas razas e compridas de 3 legoas cada huma dellas avera de huma a outra 2 leguas e se for noite escura ou de temporal ou sarração muito levemente emcalhareis nellas das quais huma legoa dellas por banda do norte e limpo e se tem suzidade he muito perto della.

Avante destas 2 ylhas razas a les sueste dellas obra de huma legoa e meya ou 2 avante da <de>radera huma ylhetta pequena tambem raza de comprimento de meya legoa desta ylhetta caminho do nordeste bota hum parcel 8 ou 10 legoas o qual corre de nordeste sudueste e ha 3 ou 4 legoas de ilha he de 8, 10, 12 braças e a lugares se vê o fundo. E das 4 athe as sinquo legoas se perde o fundo e se torna a dar noutro parcel em que se ve o fundo muito claro e muito medonho o qual tem em ssima de ssy 5, 6 braças has de botar fora dele o qual he de coral e area grossa e alguma pedra pequena aqui correm as agoas pera o sueste e sueste [*sic*] e se for cazo que venhas a dar neste parcel não ayas medo surge logo athe que tenhas vento

pera te sair delle com a proa pelo norte ou nor nordeste e noroeste de maneira que te tornes afastar delle pera o mar seis ou sete legoas. E como ahy estiveres faras teu caminho ao nordeste e a quarta de leste a buscar a ilha de Myndanao. Desta ylha raza que bota este parcel a 9 ou 10 legoas pelo caminho de lles nordeste esta hũ ylheo alto e não muito grande e quazi redondo e logo yunto delle hum pouco avante veras outro mais pequeno quazy do mesmo feitio do grande que quer parecer tudo hum sendo dous estes dous ylheos são os que chamão orelhas de lebre mas não mostram este sinal senão depois que homem esta perto de Mindanao porque serão hum com outra e então faz parecer orelhas de lebre.

Antes que chegues a estes dous ylheos obra de 2 legoas veras 2 ou 3 pedras que querem parecer os ylheos hagudos e se estiver claro veras por ssima delles ao sueste huma ylha grande e não muito alto [*sic*] que se chama Tangia e assy iras ver avante destas pedras antre ellas e dous ylheos e duas ylhas razas e os ylheos deixaras tudo pela banda do sul e paçaras pela banda do norte de tudo isto porque por aqui he o caminho estas ylhas razas botão pela banda do norte huma restingua perto de huma legoa e depois que passares estas ylhas razas veras a leste e a les nordeste huma ylha alta que he Mindanao yras dereito a ella e assy veras da banda de leste destes ylheos que parecem orelhas de lebre ou ao sueste duas ylhas pequenas que estão antre elles e Tangia tambem dizem que podes passar por antres [*sic*] estes dous ylheos que parecem orelhas de lebre e huma ylha raza que esta perto delles mas o bem he não se meter la senão se for por cazo fortuito.

Esta ylha de Mindanao a ponta de leste [*sic*] esta em altura de sete graos menos hum terço e se quizeres fazer agoa nesta ilha de Mindanao a podes fazer tanto que passares a terra alta e fores entrando pela baya ao longo do mar hum tiro de espingarda ou de berço acharas 20 ou 30 braças de fundo pedragulho com area grossa e por aqui ate caldeira acharas 4 ou 5 ribeiras aonde podes fazer agoa mas o bom faze lla he numa ribeira que esta antes <que> chegues a ponta d'area que faz a caldeira obra de hum tiro de camalete e surgiras obra de hum tiro de berco em 20 braças.

Quando partires de Mindanao pera Mallugo [*sic*] sera de dia yras correndo a terra a hum tiro de berço ou de espingarda por fundo de 15 athe 20 braças se fores a tiro de espingarda tambem acharas 8, 9, 10, 12 braças e assy yras metendo por antre Mindanao e as duas ylhas razas que te ande fiquar a mão direita as quais estão avante da caldeira perto de huma legoa esta primeira ilha raza bota pela

banda de loeste hum parcel de pedra muito perigozo pera de noite de hobra de huma legoa e de dia logo parece agoa verde teras tanto [*sic*] que se for o vento calma não te bote agoa sobre elle estas ylhas estão afastadas de Mindanao 2 terços de legoa e quando fores antre ellas e Mindanao e fores hũ tiro de espingarda de Mindanao e não vas afastado das ylhas razas mais de hum tiro de camelete e assy iras saindo pera fora e quando quizeres despedir esta derradeira <das> ylhas Razas defronte de [*sic*] derradeira ponta della na terra de Mindanao esta hum rio de largura de hum tiro de falquão mais na entrada he muita baixa e logo da mão esquerda he alguma cousa mais alto e povoado dentro.

Esta derradeira ylha de banda de leste bota hum parcel mais de meya legoa de pedra e tem 4, 5, 6 braças vigia te delle e assy yras correndo a terra de Mindanao a tiro de espingarda ponta de huma ylha não muito alta digo como acima digo ate seres tanto avante como primeira ponta de huma ilha não muito alta nem comprida que esta peguada com a terra de Mindanao hum tiro de camelete por antre a qual he a terra de Mindanao se faz hum boqueirão que logo veras varar de mar a mar esta ylha e boqueirão que digo esta do Rio atras perto de huma legoa.

Tanto que fores tanto avante como esta primeira ponta desta ylha que faz boqueirão logo mandaras governar ao sueste a demandar hum ylheo grande que estara meya legoa da ponta de Tagima a qual tem hum ylheo muito pequeno redondo peguado concigo passaras ao longe do ylheo grande obra de hum tiro de falquão ou de berço que he tudo alto e da banda de leste deste ylheo obra de huma legoa e meya estão outros 2 ylheos grandes perto hum de outro os quais te an de ficar da banda de bombordo e assy hiras saindo por antre estes ylheos saindo pera fora e tanto que fores passando governaras ao sueste e a quarta do sul chegando te pera a ponta de Tamgima quanto seyas della huma legoa aqui correm muito as agoas de emchente e vazante.

Se de Mindanao quizeres passar antre as ylhas razas e Tamgima bem o podes fazer que e mais largo de duas legoas e alto mas vigiarte as de [*sic*] parcel de pedra que assim digo que esta primeira ilha raza bota pera a banda do loeste obra de huma legoa e como a tiveres passado yras antre a ylha raza e Tangima tanto de hua como da outra governado ao sueste e a quarta e a les sueste a demandar o ilheo grande que tem ilheo pequeno pegado conssigo que esta mais perto de Tamgima do qual passaras hũ tiro de berço ou falquão que te fique pela banda d'estebordo e

ay digo e assy yras pera fora por antre elle e os outros dous grandes que te an de ficar da banda de bombordo e pelo caminho de sueste e a quarta do sul te hiras athe chegando pera a ponta de Tamgima obra de huma legoa.

E sendo cazo que quando pasares por antre as ylhas razas e Tamgima e não poderes passar pela banda de norte deste ylheo grande que esta chegado a Tagima porque he alto digo que tem outro pequeno consigo bem podes passar antre elles e Tagima porque he alto aos [*sic*] chegares [*sic*] a ylheo quando pudies e não a ylha de Tamgima este caminho d'antre as ylhas razas e Tagima ha fundo de 30 ate 50 braças pedra he o melhor passar antre Mindanao e as ylhas razas que se aja mais detença de hum dia.

Como fores tanto avante como esta ponta de Tagima huma legoa a leste della faras o caminho do sueste a demandar a ponta do Selebres e yras aver vista de huma ylha alta raza e redonda não he muito grande que se chama o Manado avera de Tagima <a> esta ylha do Manado 80 legoas esta ylha do Manado esta afastado a costa das Selebres 3 ou 4 legoas a leste desta ylha do Manado 3, 4 legoas digo 2 ou 3 legoas estão duas ylhas pequenas e pera a banda do nordeste e les nordeste veras humas ylhas altas e a quem [*sic*] esta pera o nordeste tem hũ piquo alto que se chamão os Siaos e a que esta pera a [*sic*] les nordeste faz tres montes que se chama Panguisar avera de huma e a outra 5, 6 braças digo legoas e desta ylha Panguisar pera o sul obra de hua ou 2 legoas esta huma ylha baixa que tem hum piquo agudo muito bem feito que se chama Biaro.

Do Manado faras o caminho de leste a 3 ou 4 legoas da costa a demandar a ponta de Selebres que fas humas queimadas e pela terra dentro veras 3 piquos altos todos em carreirase e do meo mais alto e mais agudo esta ponta dos Selebres esta em altura de 2 graos e olha que correm nesta travessa de Tangima pera os Selebres a leste e a les nordeste as aguas como fogo.

Se for cazo que vas ver estas ylhas dos Siaos e Panguissara e Biaro com vento que tem [*sic*] não der lugar pera ir buscar a ponta dos Selebres bem podes passar antre os Siaos e Panguissara e mais chegado aos Siaos <qu>e <d>e Panguissara porque de Pangičara pera o sudueste obra de huma legua e meya bota huma restinga grande en que na mayor parte della quebra o mar vigiarte as della e tãobem por antre Pangičara e Biaro podes passar que he limpo e bom.

E se for caso que vas por algum destes boqueiroins como fores faras o caminho do sueste pera yres demandar Maluquo e da ponta do Selebres faras o caminho de les sueste e yras ver huma ylha pequena que se chama os Meaos faras muito por pasares antre ella e os Cafres que são 2 ou 3 ylheos que estão 3 ou 4 legoas dos Meaos pera o sul.

Como passares esta ylha dos Meaos faras o mesmo caminho a les sueste demandar a ilha de Tarnate e veras 3 ou 4 montes altos. E o de Tidore he mais agudo que he mais agudo que o de Tarnete he mais groço e cheo e bota mais ao mar que os outros de Ternate ao nordeste veras huma ylha pequena que se chama Yres e veras da banda do norte hum monte grande sobre a terra digilolo [*sic*] e outro pequeno o grande se chama Grãomoquanora e o pequeno Liole e se quando fores a demandar Ternete quando esta claro ao longo se quer parecer com a ylha de Tarnete [*sic*].

DOCUMENT 45

Rutter from Brunei to the Moluccas, anonymous, s.d. Published in Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau and Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 377–386. Original manuscript in Coleção de Castelo Melhor, fols. 68v–73.

The volume containing this rutter is a seventeenth century compilation of navigational rutters for the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and East Asia. The rutter describes a route between Brunei and Ternate. The first part of the rutter is similar to the first part of a rutter between Brunei and Manila (see document 39), albeit with longer instructions. There are two other versions, one conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cód. I-12,3,6, fols. 84–93v and the other in the Biblioteca da Casa do Cadaval, M – VI – 34 (972), fols. 104–107. The version in Rio de Janeiro contains a number of passages not included in the other two versions.

p. 377:

From Borneo to the Moluccas

When you leave *Borneo*¹ for the Moluccas it will certainly be with the land breeze. Once you have sailed beyond the ridge, out at sea you will see 3 small islands and a large one, and it is not very tall but long.² Head your bow to the middle of the longest island and then set a course for a tree-covered round islet that is in front of the middle of this longer island. And when you are 2 thirds of a league from it you will be sailing along it with a depth of 10, 12 fathoms and at times with soundings of 8. And following this route you will come to the sound that you have to enter.

Sailing along this island in the way that I have said you will see to the east-northeast a small island, which is the first that you have to keep to starboard. And before you reach it you have to keep watch for a tiny islet on the left-hand side that

¹ See document 7, note 17.

² Labuan.

has many reefs around it. On the side of the sound that you have to enter there is a shallow close by, and you will see the green water straight away. Thus you have to enter along the middle of the channel; between the two coasts which is your route. On the left-hand side you will see some tall trees that look like cypresses. From them turn away in order to approach the coast of Borneo, because from these trees there is a protruding ridge which continues on ahead for over half a league. And when you reach as far ahead as a point that is further ahead of these trees, about a league and a half away, you will be beyond the ridge. You will see an islet to the northeast which you must keep on the same side as the coast of Borneo. Keep a league away from it out to sea, and here you will find a depth of 6, 7 fathoms at times, the waters will sometimes be mixed with silt and at times this is seen on the surface. And beyond this islet on the northeastern side there is a very large and long ridge.

As soon as you sight this islet behind the poop you will find a depth of 10, 12, 13 fathoms. And when you are almost as far as a mountain that is not very tall, which is on the island of Borneo, keep one or two leagues away from it because there is a ridge 2 or 3 fathoms. And from here set a course northeast and north-northeast. And beyond this mountain you will see a white stretch along the sea. When you reach it sail a league out from land.

From here set a course northeast following the coast in the direction of *Pulo Tinga*.³ There are 2 leagues from the above sound to *Pulo Tinga*, and 3 from the coast. There are many ridges 2 and 3 fathoms, therefore keep watch. And you will find them all on the seaward side. And on the northeast route one league from land head for *Pulo Tinga* with a depth of 10 and up to 14 fathoms with silt [below]. And when you sight *Pulo Tinga* 3 islands will appear that are all very close to one another, but as you draw closer you will see there is only one island. And be careful not to sail to the sea of it as there are many shallows. And close to it, I mean to say, and you shall pass it on the landward side. Then you should keep watch for a narrow point that lies in front of this island of *Pulo Tinga*, which protrudes from the coast of Borneo, and it is all shallows. There is an islet very close to this narrow point. Follow the coast with the prow headed for *Pulo Tinga* until you are a small cannon shot from it. A section of a ridge protrudes from this island, which appears clear and high nearer to it.

³ Pulau Tiga.

When you are a small shot from *Pulo Tinga* continue along it [the island] with a depth of 8 and 9 fathoms until the point that you pass it, and the point at the [island's] end, when you leave behind you, is more than a falcon's shot in length. Keeping two leagues away from one and the other, you will see green water above them and it is deep all the way along. You must keep these two leagues on the left-hand side and I advise you that you must keep watch around this narrow point that protrudes from the coast of Borneo in front of *Pulo Tinga*, because the water is too shallow, and it [the point] protrudes towards the island, which is why you must keep a small cannon shot away as you make your way past the island, as I have said.

As you pass this island of *Pulo Tinga* keep two leagues from the coast of Borneo and set a course northeast-quarter-north and follow the coast, along which there are some islets that are half a league from the mainland. And sail out to sea a league away from them. And also be advised not to go further than three leagues out to sea because a ridge protrudes from *Pulo Tinga* out to the northeast, and it is 3, 4 leagues in length, whereby you must follow the coast at one or two leagues distance from it and head for the islands of *São Jeronimo*,⁴ which are flat. They are 3, 4 leagues from the coast. And one of them has an outline which forms three peaks and three valleys all the same size. And as you approach them you will see a little round islet between them. There are 18 or 20 leagues from *Pulo Tinga* to these islands of *São Jerónimo*. You can pass on the seaward side keeping one league away from the islands. And if you take that route you will see a flat island that is 4 or 5 leagues out to sea, but the good course is to pass through the middle [of the channel] between the islands and the coast of Borneo. And if you have any concerns about either side there is nothing. Here in front of the islands of *São Jeronimo* there is a very tall mountain that is called *São Pedro*,⁵ which on clear days can often be seen from the harbour of Borneo. Some say that having passed these islands of *São Jeronimo*, which are two or three leagues ahead of it, then you can cross towards the *Manilhas*.⁶ Others say that [the good course for Manila is by sailing from the] islands of *Santa Maria*⁷ which are in front of the point formed by the coast of Borneo, and they are 3 or 4 leagues out to sea from the Borneo point. There are 10 leagues from *São Jeronimo* to the islands of *Santa Maria*. Being

⁴ See document 13, note 28, and document 35, note 8.

⁵ Mount Kinabalu.

⁶ I.e., the Philippines.

⁷ See document 13, note 34, and document 35, note 10.

as I say between the islands of *São Jeronimo* and the coast of Borneo, set a course northeast and follow the coast but staying a league and a half or two leagues out from it in order to reach the point on the coast of Borneo, which is a tiny narrow point with trees that look like cypresses. And at the end of the point, about half a league out to sea, you will see a small islet from which a ridge protrudes on the east side for more or less a cannon shot. And on the seaward side, as soon you pass this point, you will see the islands of *Santa Maria*, which I spoke of above, the first of which is closest to this point and is three leagues away. And here along the coast you will see some small islets a league from land. And if here at this point you want to be safe by moonlight, as you pass this little islet and the ridge it forms, head for the coast of Borneo on the southern side, where you can anchor safely with a depth of 10 up to 12 [fathoms]. And along this route do not sail the parts described above by night, nor from where you are until you pass the islands of *Sam Miguel*,⁸ as there are shallows and ridges everywhere.

As soon as you are one league ahead of this little islet that is on the point of Borneo, set your prow towards a small island that is further to the east of all the islands of *Santa Maria*, set your prow to the east and east-quarter-southeast. And I advise you not so travel by night as I have said because if you do you will be lost if anything goes wrong.

And continue as I have said and head for this island to the east and east-quarter-southeast. And in this inlet formed by the Borneo coast, remain alert as ahead of it on a low-lying land there is a white stretch [of water], and in the middle of the channel there is a very large area of shallows that have half a fathom of water above them. Be on your guard for this, and you should head for the island I have mentioned and from which a reef protrudes the distance of a cannon shot on its west side. And you shall approach it up to a small cannon shot, and remain an arquebus shot away from the reef, because along it there is a depth of 20 fathoms. And as soon as you are a small cannon shot away from this island keep watch for the shallows that are near to the Borneo coast, in the middle of the channel almost as far out as this island is half a league out to sea. And as you come a small cannon shot away alongside this island you can continue on past the others ahead of it because all of them have a depth of 25 and up to 30 fathoms. And continue on until you come as far as a large inlet that lies beyond the first 4 islands. And as you are

⁸ See document 7, notes 11 and 12, and document 13, note 20.

halfway past this inlet, look out to the seaward side away from the Borneo coast and you will see two areas of shallows that lie almost east to west from each other. And they are a cannon shot away from one another. And an arquebus shot away from them is 7 fathoms.

Once you are 2 thirds of a league beyond this inlet less rather than more, and a third or half a league out to sea from the islands there is a depth of 13, 14 leagues, I mean fathoms, then you can cross over to the islands of *Jordão de Freitas*,⁹ where you should set your prow for the middle of the island and from the middle head for the point on the northeast and you will have a depth of 12 to 14 fathoms; head for the reef that protrudes out to sea from the island of *Jordão de Freitas* for over a small cannon shot. [The reef] protrudes through the seaward coasts of some islands very close to the islands of *Jordão de Freitas*. And there is one fathom [of clear water] above this reef, which is five fathoms high from its base.

As soon as you are a small cannon shot away continue along past this island of *Jordão de Freitas* with a depth of 12 or 13 fathoms. And I advise you that on the Borneo side it is shallow everywhere. And in this way pass this island that is on the southern side. And I advise you [to keep] a small cannon shot away from it until your bow is alongside the island that is on the southern side and I advise you that in the sea around this point there is a shallow.

And once you pass this point on the island of *Jordão de Freitas* and this ridge, set your prow to the east and east-quarter-southeast. And thus you will sail with your prow toward the islet of *Peixexil*¹⁰ and then in the sound that is between it [and] a smaller islet. And on this course to reach this sound you will sail through first 9 then 10 and 12 fathoms. And on the seaward side there will be many ridges. And the closest one should be a small cannon shot away. And on the Borneo side as you go there will be 2 or 3 sand ridges and a tiny islet formed of sand with some battered trees, and it looks like a galley, and which you must pass a small cannon shot away from it. Do the same for the sand ridges on that side. In this way you will reach the bay between this small islet and the islet of *Perexil*. This island has water on the east side.

⁹ Pulau Malawali.

¹⁰ Uncertain location.

As soon as you decide to enter this *Perexil* sound, keep watch for the many ridges in the middle, which will be all on the Borneo side. And thus you will sail out of this sound on a course northeast-quarter-east, and keep watch for the shallows lying east-northeast southwest to this island, which are in the middle of this channel. And when it lies east-west of you, you will have passed them [the shallows] and you should set a course northeast-quarter-east and east-northeast, as I said above, until you are a league and a half ahead of this islet, and here you must keep a ridge on the north side a small cannon shot away. And here you will find a depth of 12, 15 fathoms of mud and sand.

Once you are a league and a half ahead of this islet of *Perexil*, then set a course east-southeast and along this route you will see two sandbars, which you must keep on the Borneo side of you, and they are close to a league apart. And they lie east-southeast west-northeast and north-south to the previous sandbar. There are 2 areas of shallows a league north of them which have very green water above them. They lie one beside the other east-west and there is another half a league away. And you should pass the southern side of them a third of a league away and continue on a east-southeast course. And you will find a depth of 20, 22 fathoms of mud and sand.

Along this route you will sight a round islet, which will be to the southeast-quarter-south, you will pass it 3 leagues to the north and as you keep on the same course, east-southeast and southeast and a quarter from east you will see another small islet that is also round and when it comes into sight it will look like trees. And there will be 3 leagues from one to the other and keep 3 leagues distance from them as you pass. Along here keep watch for some shallows that have no more than 2 or 3 fathoms of water above them. And on the same route you will see another small islet that is another 2 leagues ahead of this one. And as soon as you see it, set a course east-quarter-southeast until you align north-south to it. When you are north-south to this islet, then after 3, 4 leagues you will see to the east-northeast the island of *Sam Miguel*, which has as a marker two hills as islets [that are visible] coming from here [following this route]. And when you sight it set a course east-northeast to reach it, and as you approach it you will see that it is big.

Here, while passing this islet which is beyond the shallows, there are some further shallows that have 3 and 5 fathoms of water as you head to the islands of

Sam Miguel, and very often they cannot be seen until you are right above them. And before you reach the island of *Sam Miguel*, to the southeast of it, you will see 2 islets¹¹ that are 2 leagues away from it. And when you are 2 leagues away from these 2 islets in such a way that they lie to the northeast of your position you will be past all the shallows and having bid them farewell you can travel by night. And do not pass these islets a league to the south of them as alongside them there is no depth, only 50 leagues I mean fathoms above them. Here there are strong currents that flow to the southeast. And lying north-south to these two islets, there is a small round, well-formed islet 4, 5 leagues to the south of them.

When you reach these 2 islets set a course east-quarter-northeast to the furthest point of this island of *Sam Miguel* and endeavour to make your way past this area with the wind behind you so that the currents do not take you southeast in calm weather or light winds because this is not good. Principally go this way from 15th October onwards. From the final point of *Sam Miguel*, from which you must remain two leagues away, set a course northeast if the wind permits for the first day's sailing. And when you have covered 15 or 20 leagues set a course east-northeast and you will sight Mindanao, whose southernmost point is very high. And it is at a latitude of 7 degrees. And there are 50 leagues along this route from *Sam Miguel* to Mindanao.

And in the event you cannot follow the aforesaid course due to light winds, on the route to the east you will see two long flat islands that are at a latitude of six and a half degrees, and then set a course towards 3 or 4 high peaks in a row which are [visible] above these islands. And the one in the middle is the tallest. This is the large island of the *Solocos*.¹² It will be to the north and head a quarter from northwest. There are 3 leagues from *Sam Miguel* to these long flat islands, and there are 2 leagues between each of them and if it is a dark night or stormy or fog sets in, you shall find yourself in shallow sea. A league away from them it is clear to the north. And if you sight any murky water you are very close to them.

Beyond these two flat islands to the east-southeast and a league and a half or 2 leagues ahead of the last island there is a small islet that is also flat and half a

¹¹ Muligi Islands.

¹² I.e., Jolo. "Solocos" must refer to the inhabitants of the Sulu archipelago and be derived from the ethnonym Suluk.

league long. From this small islet on the northeast course a shoal protrudes for 8 or 10 leagues, and it runs from northeast to southwest and the island runs for 3 or 4 leagues with 8, 10, 12 fathoms and in places the seabed can be seen. And from 4 up to five leagues the depth is lost and there is another shoal where the seabed can be seen and it is very clear and very rugged and it has 5, 6 fathoms above it. You have to sail beyond it, and it is made of coral and coarse sand and some small stones. Here the currents flow to the southeast and southeast [*sic*]. And if you come across this shoal there is no reason to be fearful. Anchor until there is sufficient wind to leave it with your prow pointing north or north-northeast and northwest so that you can sail six or seven leagues away from it out to sea. And once you are there, set your course northeast-quarter-east in the direction of the island of Mindanao. 9 or 10 leagues on this east-northeast course from this flat island with the shoal there is a tall, but not very big and almost round islet. And then close to it further ahead you will see another smaller one almost the same shape as the big one, and it looks like one but is two [islets]. These two islets are called the *Orelhas de Lebre* [Hare's Ears],¹³ but they appear like this only when you are close to Mindanao, because they are side by side and look like hare's ears.

2 leagues before you get to these islets you will see 2 or 3 rocks that seem like pointed islets. And if it is clear you will see a large and not very tall island beyond them to the southeast, which is called *Tangia*.¹⁴ And as you go you will see two rocks and two small, flat islands beyond and between these rocks, and keep the islets on the south side and pass on the north side of all these, because this is the route. A ridge protrudes about one league from the north side of these flat islands, and after you pass these flat islands you will see a tall island to the east and east-northeast, which is Mindanao. Head straight for it and you will see on the east side or to the southeast of these islets, which look like hare's ears, two small islands that are between them and *Tangia*. They also say you can pass between these two islets that look like hare's ears and a flat island that is close to them, but it is best not to go that way, unless it be by chance.

The eastern [*sic*] point of this island of Mindanao is at a latitude of one third less than seven degrees. And if you want to take on water on this island of Mindanao you can do so. As soon as you pass the high ground and make your way

¹³ This corresponds to what is today the Sangbay Islands.

¹⁴ I.e. Tagima, present-day Basilan.

into the bay keeping an arquebus or small cannon shot out to sea you will find 20 or 30 fathoms of depth with large stones and coarse sand. And through this course until the *Caldeira*¹⁵, you will find 4 or 5 streams where you can take on water, but it is good to do this in a stream that is found before you reach the sandy point that forms the *Caldeira*, a small cannon shot away. And you can anchor a short cannon shot away in 20 fathoms.

When you leave Mindanao for the Moluccas it should be daytime. And you will follow the coast a short cannon or arquebus shot away with a depth of 15 up to 20 fathoms. If you are an arquebus shot away you will also find 8, 9, 10, 12 fathoms. And so you will make your way between Mindanao and the two flat islands,¹⁶ which you have to keep on the right-hand side, and they are beyond the *Caldeira* about a league away. A shoal protrudes from the west side of this first, flat island and it is very dangerous by night, it is about a league in length, and by day green water can be seen. You should be careful that if the wind is calm you do not allow the current to draw you to it. These island are 2 thirds of a league from Mindanao, and when you sail between them and Mindanao keep an arquebus shot away from Mindanao, and do not go further than a small cannon shot away from the flat islands. And in this way you will find your way out. And when you want to sail past the last of the flat islands, in front of the furthestmost point of the Island, on the coast of Mindanao there is a river¹⁷ a small cannon shot wide, but the entrance is very shallow, and later on the left hand side it is a somewhat deeper¹⁸ and inhabited.

¹⁵ The documents concerning the expedition led by Ruy López de Villalobos refer to “Punta de Cabite” [Cabite Point] as a port of call for the Portuguese when sailing from Malacca, or en route to the Moluccas. In this rutter, the place used to take on water is linked to the term “caldeira”. The first Spanish attempt to establish a military base on the Zamboanga Peninsula began with the construction of the fort that became known as “La Caldera”, whereby the place chosen for this fort must have been the same as that frequented by the Portuguese.

¹⁶ He refers to the Santa Cruz Islands, in the Zamboanga Strait.

¹⁷ This must be the River named “Yfoso” that is included in the Zamboanga engraving on the map of the Philippines by Murillo Velarde in 1734.

¹⁸ In Cód. I-12,3,6, fols. 91v–92, the phrase ends as follows: “which is called *Asambagão* [i.e. Zamboanga], and inland it is peopled by blacks that come to trade with us and they say that inland there is a freshwater river, but I am not certain of this”.

A stone shoal protrudes from this last island on the east side, it extends over half a league and has 4, 5, 6 fathoms. Keep watch for this and continue following the coast of Mindanao an arquebus shot away from the point of a not very tall island,¹⁹ as I say above until you are beyond the foremost point of an island that is neither very tall nor long, which lies close to the coast of Mindanao, a small cannon shot away, and between it and the coast of Mindanao a sound is formed and then you will see the waters flowing through this island and sound that I am referring to, which is about a league on from the river²⁰ I mentioned before.

And as soon as you get beyond the first point of this island, which forms the sound, then set a course southeast and head for a large islet that is about half a league from the point of *Tagima*, which has a very small round islet very close to it.²¹ Sail past the large islet a small cannon shot away, and it is deep everywhere. And on the east side of this islet about a league and half away there are another 2 large islets²² close to one another, which you must keep on the port side. And in this way you will make your way between these islets and find your way out. And as soon as you have made your way through, set a course southeast-quarter from south, steering closer to the point of *Tagima*. When you are half a league from it there are strong flood and ebb tides.

If you want to sail from Mindanao between the flat islands and *Tamgima* you can easily do so, and it is wider two leagues and deeper, but keep watch for the stone shoal which I have mentioned above that protrudes from this first island on the west side for a league. And when you have passed it you will sail between the flat island and *Tamgima*, as near to one as to the other, by setting a course southeast-quarter and east-southeast, and head for the large islet that has a small islet close to it, which is closer to *Tamgima*, and which you should pass a small cannon shot away and you should keep it on the starboard side. And there, I mean to say, and so you will make your way out between it and the other two large islets and you must keep them to the port side. And you shall follow on this route southeast and the quarter south until getting closer to the point of *Tamgima* by about a league [from it].

¹⁹ Tictabon Island.

²⁰ In Cód. I-12,3,6, fol. 92, the river is named “Sambangão”.

²¹ Coco Island and Little Coco Island.

²² Langil and Sibago Islands.

And in the event that when you pass between the flat islands and *Tamgima* you cannot pass on the north side of this large islet, which is close to *Tangima*, because it is deep, I mean to say, it has another small [islet] alongside it. You can easily pass between them and *Tangima* because it is deep and you should get close the islet when you can and not the island of *Tamgima*. This route between the flat islands and *Tamgima* has a depth of 30 and up to 50 fathoms with a stone seabed. It is best to pass between Mindanao and the flat islands even if it takes more than one day.

As you go one league beyond this point of *Tagima* and east of it, set a course southeast and head for the point of *Selebres* [Celebes], and you will sight a tall, flat round island. It is not very big. It is called *Manado*.²³ There are 80 leagues from *Tagima* to this island of *Manado*. This island of *Manado* is 3 or 4 leagues from the coast of *Selebres*. To the east from this island of *Manado* 3, 4 leagues, I meant to say, 2 or 3 leagues there are two small islands and to the northeast and east northeast you will see some tall islands, and the one on the northeast side has a high peak which is called the *Siaos*,²⁴ and the one on the east-northeast side has three mountains and is called *Panguisar*.²⁵ There are 5, 6 fathoms, I mean leagues between one and the other. 1 or 2 leagues south from this island of *Pangusar* there is a low-lying island that has a very sharp well-formed peak that is called *Biaro*.²⁶

From *Manado* set a course east for 3 or 4 leagues out from the coast heading for the point of *Selebres*, there are shoals of sardine and inland you will see 3 tall peaks all in a row. And the one in the middle is the tallest and most pointed. This point of *Selebres* it is at a latitude of 2 degrees. And be alert that the currents run like fire when crossing from *Tagima* to *Selebres* to the east and east-northeast.

In the event that you approach these islands of *Siaos* and *Panguissara* and *Biaro* with a wind that does not allow you to head for the point of *Selebres*, you can easily pass between *Siaos* and *Panguissara*. And sail closer to *Siaos* than *Panguissara*, because a league and a half southwest from *Panguissara* a large ridge protrudes and the waves break over most of it. Keep watch for it. And you can also pass between *Panguissara* and *Biaro*, which is clear and safe.

²³ On the northeast tip of the island of Sulawesi.

²⁴ He refers to Pulau Siau and the islands directly east of it.

²⁵ Pulau Tahulandang. See document 20, note 8.

²⁶ The island has maintained the same name.

And in the event that you sail through some of these sounds, as you do set a course southeast and head for the Moluccas. And from the point of *Selebres* set a course east-southeast and you will see a small island called *Meaos*.²⁷ You will do well if you pass between it and the *Cafres*²⁸ which are 2 or 3 islets that are 3 or 4 leagues from *Meaos* to the south.

As you pass this island of *Meaos* keep to the same east-southeast course and head for the island of Ternate and you will see 3 or 4 tall mountains. And that of Tidore is the most pointed and it is more pointed than that of Ternate, which is broader and thicker and protrudes further out to sea than the others on Ternate. To the northeast you will see a small island that is called *Yres*,²⁹ and on the north side there is a large mountain on the land of Jailolo and another small one. The big one is called *Grãomoquanora* and the small one *Liole*.³⁰ And when you set a course for Ternate if it [the weather conditions] is clear ahead it can seem like the island of Ternate.

²⁷ Pulau Mayu.

²⁸ Pulau Gureda, Pulau Tifore.

²⁹ Pulau Hiri.

³⁰ In Cód. I-12,3,6, fol. 93v, the large mountain is named “Dagomo Canara” and the small one is named “Geilolo”.

DOCUMENTO 46

Roteiro de Macau para Manila, de 13 de Maio de 1636. Publicado em Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau e Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 394–399. Original conservado na Colecção de Castelo Melhor, fols. 89–91v.

p. 394:

Roteiro de Macao pera Manila feito no mez de Abril a 13 de Mayo em 636

^a A desacete de abril que hera quinta feira parti da bara de Macao no navio Santo Antonio pera Manila de que era senhorio Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho, e capitão mayor, e feitor Lourenço de Lix Velho e desemboquei por Monte de Trigo com o vento norte, e dahi mandey governar caminho do sueste ate me por nordeste sudueste com a ilha dos Ladrois e daqui me foi esquesando o vento ate a noite cheguei assim le<s> sueste muy tezo mandey virar na volta da terra toda noite e quando amanhessi defronte de Monte de Trigo, e fui me recolher em huma ilha que se chama dos Merus emboquey por antre ilha de Sam Mecho e huma ilha grande, e outras pequenas que estão no meyo do boqueirão com fundo que achei forão quatro e sinco brassas e meia e tres braças e meia vaza e tanto que chegares a estes ilheos pequenos desviei me deles e da [sic] lhe resguardo e mandey governar caminho les sudeste ate te pores tanto avante com huma ponta da areia que esta na ponta da ilha dos Merús e o fundo por aqui tres braças e meia, vaza areia e tres braças se quizeres abrigar te do leste tem boa abrigada em mey<o> a ilha, que he tudo limpo, e isto que eu tenho escrito sondey por curiosidade, e se quizeres abocar por antre ilheo que esta em por meio de canal e a ilha de Merú acharas o mesmo fundo que eu por aqui dezemboquey.

A vinte e dous de Abril parti desta ilha dos Merus pera seguir a minha viagem pera Manila com o vento sul e su sudueste, e tanto que estava desembocado, das ilhas mandey governar caminho de sueste e a quarta de leste, e por este caminho

^a Margin note: “não” [no].

foi [sic] ao mar da ilha dos Ladrois obra de quatro legoas, e a vera na derota, da ilha de Merús a de Ladrois nove legoas a qual está em altura de vinte e dous graos e hũ terço largos, e daqui mandey governar caminho de sueste a quarta do leste, ate me por em altura de vinte e hum graos e meyo, e achey que as agoas não tinham virado ainda, e hiam pera o sul, e daqui mandei governar caminho de sueste pera dar resguardo ao baixo de prata, o qual esta em altura de vinte graos e meyo largos e a vera na derota da ilha dos Ladrois a<o> baixo de prata, quorenta legoas pouco mais ou menos, e daqui mandey governar caminho de sueste a quarta de leste, e os sinais que aqui achey por este caminho forão pássaros tinhosas, e gavies, e alcatrasas [sic], poucos com a bariga branca, e o vento que por aqui achey forão suis e suestes, suduestes bonancas, e daqui fui governando caminho de sueste a quarta de leste, e pelo sol que tomey achei que as agoas hiam pera sudueste em altura de dezanove graos e hum sesmo, e fiquei leste oeste com o cabo de Buziador, e daqui mandei governar caminho de le<s> sueste, contudo me tinham agoas pela barba, até chegar em altura de desaceis graos e meio largos, e daqui mandei governar, caminho de leste, com vento bonancas e muitos rolheiros de agoa, e fui tres dias caminho de leste a buscar terra com bonansas ate o cabo dos tres dias a tarde dey com muito peixe de corssa e hum bambu, a meyo dia, estaria da costa dez ou quinze legoas, entrou a virasão por noroeste, e vim caminho de leste, ate meya noite, que vi a terra a qual terra era emceada de Pangasinay e vi fogo caminho de sueste que era na terra de Bulinao e tãobem achei outros sinais antes que chegasse a essa terra, cobras pintadas peixes chachoras, bunitos e marguais, alembro te, que vires estes sinais em altura de decaseis graos e meyo largo entenderas, que estais perto da costa, vai com muito boa viagem visto ser a terra que se ha de demandar, rasa, e a conhessensa desta terra, se vieres por desaceis graos e meyo, largos, se não trouxeres boa vigia que estas ariscado a hir, pola banda da emceada, de Pangasinay que tem de dentro dose legoas de bocaina, de Bulinao a terra grossa de Panguasinai a conhecenca della, he de norte sul, e se deres nesta ponta alembro te, que he terra grossa, e junto ao mar acharas duas ilhas cubertas de arvoredos; huma mais grande e a outra mais pequena e daqui se estiveres meia bocaina veras caminho de sueste, veras huma terra mui alta, a qual demora a sueste, e o su sueste, e aruma se noroeste, e oeste, e a ponta que bota pera o sueste vay beber ao mar, e o proprio faz o que bota pera o noroeste, e vem vindo ver ao mar; faz muitas ilhas pequenas e demonstra como boqueirão, que he a terra que vem corendo, pera Bulinao.

Se estiveres em meia baia de Pangasinay pera Bulinao, que te demore Bulinao ao sudueste, que por alguma necessidade seja necessario dar fundo bota o prumo

acharas sesenta bracas, vaza solta, e acharas sincoenta e sinco bracas, e tanto que vieres chegando a terra de Bulinao iras achando menos fundo e tanto que chegares a trinta braças acharas areya grossa, e quascalho athe vinte e sinco braças, e dahi pera a terra eu sondey aqui achey isto que aqui digo, e daqui pera terra, as de dar em pedra, e ate demorar a terra de Bulinao ao sudueste, e a conhecenca desta terra, he huma terra muy raza, e algumas partes tem praias de areya, e outras partes parese lagadissa, e logo daqui viras corendo, pera o noroeste olharas ao mais alto mato que achares ahy hé Bulinao, e no principio deste mais alto da terra acharas hum boqueirão não o entres por elle, que he baixo logo irás mais pera o noroeste, acharas outro adonde he barra, de Bulinao, e se quizeres entrar nela, iras buscar a terra do norte, sul pera vires corendo, a rastinga [*sic*] caminho do sul, pera averes de entrar, dentro, e o fundo, que por aqui achares oito, nove, dez brasas dose, leva ancora leste [*sic*], bem aferada, amara ao pe, porque tudo he pedra e quando fores pera dentro alembro te que as <de> deixar a ilha a mão esquerda, e leva lestes [*sic*] cabos pera dares espia, pera toares pera dentro a surgir aonde sorgem os navios que aqui vem os mais dos annos que eu quando vim no navio Santo Antonio, em seiscentos e trinta e seis vim aqui ver esta terra, e vi tudo isto bem verdadeyramente, e daqui de Bulinao se vay corendo huma lingoa da [*sic*] terra delgada, que vay beber ao mar, se vieres por aqui desvia te da restinga de Bulinao, que o fundo que dizem que ha nela quatro sinco seis sete oito, bracas, e na ponta desta terra se vieres do norte, a verás cortada, em duas ilhas não he mais que huma, que aparta da terra antre ela e a terra firme não pode, passar embarcassão nhuma e se passares por aqui day resguardo a esta ilha huma legoa e meia, e vay com o prumo na mão, e eu quando vim aqui passei obra de huma legoa e meia, dela ao mar, e botey por curiosidade o prumo achey vinte e seis bracas areia meuda, e tudo isto por aqui vim de noite, com prumo na mão ate me por norte e sul, com esta ilha e logo daqui se vay corendo a terra pera o sul a conhecenca hé hum tabuleyro raso e pola terra dentro vão serras baixas ate as Duas Irmãs vay corendo terra bera, mar rasa, baixa e corese norte sul a quarta de nordeste, e sudueste, e assim se core esta costa, e vindo corendo esta terra baixa que vem de Bulinao antes que chegues acharás huma ponta e algumas praias d'areya e da ponta pera leste se mete huma emceada, pera a serra que estão [*sic*] pela terra dentro, e logo desta ponta, pera o sul obra de huma legoa veras hua ilha pequenina redonda e tem duas arvores ao redor dela, a ver ao mar toda he areia branca e aruma com as Duas Irmãs norte e sul, e avera desta ilha a primeira Irmã duas legoas, e logo esta Irmã tem de comprimento obra de duas legoas e no meio tem huma arvore mais alta que as outras que estão <ao> longo dela, e pela banda daloeste tudo he praia de areia, e aviso te que se passares

por aqui que não te chegues a ela, passaras obra de legoa e meia ao mar irás bem navegado, da banda do norte e sul, corta se a pique a ponta desta Irmã a outra avera meia legoa, e alembro te que antre huma e outra, tudo he carão e a redor da ilha iras afastado dela, como assima digo, e se por alguma necessidade que tenha de agoa, na ponta desta ilha rasa, da banda de norte dizem que ha agoa, e a conhecensa destas Irmãs estando noroeste e sueste com ellas olharas pera o sueste e veras huma sera que vay corendo a terra dellas, e corta se a pique pera banda de sul e vay corendo outras seras altas pera Marsingula avera na derrota de Bulinão as Duas Jrmãs dose legoas, e eu passey por aqui a sete de Maio com ventos susueste e le<s> sueste, e leste e noroeste, e norte, a conhecenca de Marsingula has de vir corendo a costa de norte e sul na ultima sera da ponta que hé mais alta, que ha ate aqui e antes que chegues a ella obra de duas legoas ahi esta Marsingula que he huma ilha pequena avera na derota de Duas Jrmãs a Marsingula quatro legoas e meia o porto de Marsingula tem duas ilhas e ahi he a bar<r>a, e se quizeres entrar por alguma necessidade nella as de hir buscar a terra do norte e vir correndo a restinga da banda da mão esquerda e assim entraras por quatro e seis bracas d'agoa e iras dar fundo a terra desta ilha coberta da [sic] arvoredos, e logo daqui olharas por o nordeste e veras a povoação, e logo daqui mais pera o sul esta esta ilha rasa que he a rastinga que bota huma rastinga pera o sul, e isto he de areia e logo veras aqui terra baixa ao phe da serra, e dobrando esta serra, que atras digo e logo se mete a costa pera o sueste, pera a praia funda e a conhecenca della he tres emceadas em serras altas e na ultima praia de areya que he <a> mais alta serra que aqui hay ao pe della esta ilha de Capões a conhecenca della rendenda [sic] e faz huma quebrada grande no meio não passa o mar huma banda nem outra, e advirto que pola banda da terra tem rastinga de carão, e não se pode passar antre ella e a terra o navio e de [sic] banda daloeste tem huma rastinga pera o sueste obra de meia legoa ao mar e aruma se o resife a susueste com a ilha e daqui olharas pera o nordeste, e pera les nordeste, pera huma quebrada que tem na serra tem huma bareira vermelha, e logo pera o sueste vão corendo outras serras adonde se chama a ponta do Frade, que tem huns ilheos ao mar, obra de huma legoa da terra e estão defronte de huma enceada, avera de Marsingula a ilha de Capões dose ou treze legoas, e logo desta ponta se mete emseada de Mariuma, pera dentro adonde dizem que la dentro ha muito bom surgidor terra de huma ilha pequena, que esta na enceada, avera de Capões aos Porcos quatro ou sinco legoas, e logo daqui se vai corendo a terra de Batão a conhecenca dela e huma serra, alta avera na derota dos ilheos a que chamão nos porcos a primeira terra de Batão oito legoas, a qual serra alta bota huma ponta por parte do sul como huma proa de gale e no mais alto da

serra faz hua quebrada, e logo pera parte da terra vay fazendo dalgado tãobem ao pe desta ponta de Batão na primeira ençada, que faz se quizeres, por amor do leste, dar fundo podes que acharas muito bom fundo de vinte e sinco bracas e trinta, areia meuda e lama, obra de duas partes de huma legoa ao mar e daqui vai recolhendo a terra, pera o nordeste, a terra da ponta de Batão que esta nordeste sudueste, com Maribeles, tanto que chegares a ella logo se mete a terra, caminho de norte, e a conhecença de Maribeles, he huma ilha redonda e tem hum ilheo pequeno que se chama Frade aloeste de si obra de meia legoa, e bota esta ilha pera os Limbones pouca da terra rasa, que o mar de huma banda e outra, e tem hum ilheo redondo, na ultima parte da terra, de sueste, e assim se vieres a buscar esta ilha, que atras digo de mar em fora obra de huma legoa deste ilheo caminho de susueste, acharas fundo, de sesenta e sinco bracas e sincoenta, o fundo he vaza, que eu esta viagem que fiz dei fundo em sincoenta bracas, e alembro te que aqui não te as de chegar muito ao Limbones, porque ha rato de pedra he hum ilheo que assim digo que esta entre Limbones e Maribeles, que he da terra mesmo de Maribeles, e demorava me a norte a quarta de noroeste quando aqui dei fundo, e advirto te que se vieres corendo esta terra de Batão ou de Mariuma e vieres com brisas que se chama leste aqui olha não andes muito tempo de parte de Batão em ti reinando o vento pelo les nordeste e nordeste vay te a buscar Furtuum ou os Limbones, que la sempre polas tardes se chama o vento a sueste, pola mayor parte com agoaseros e assim entrares mais depressa na baya indo como assim tenho dito todolos dias a tarde buscar os Limbones e daqui faz o melhor que te parecer, e avera de Batão a Furtuum oito legoas, e aruma se acaso norte sul com Batão e toma no d'este sudueste e a conhecença de Furtuum he huma ilha redonda, e tem huma quebrada a modo de huma cela no meio e corta se a pique avera de Furtuum a Lubão dez legoas aruma se leste oeste e toma de nordeste e sudueste, e avera de Furtuum a Limbones sinco legoas e logo como fores perto de Maribeles obra de huma legoa ao sudueste, esta hum ilheo que chamão no Frade se quizeres passar antre elle e Maribeles bem no podes fazer, porque tudo he fundavel e antre os Limbonis e Maribeles esta outro ilheo que chamão no Frade tãobem que eu quando aqui vim a dez de Maio estes forão os ventos que aqui achei nesta baia logo se quizeres abocar pela bochachiqua antre Batão e Maribeles, ou por antre Maribeles e Limbones contanto que abocaras pelos boqueirois a meio canal que tudo he fundavel, e daqui se vieres de Macao se quizeres ir descaregar ao pustigo de Santa Luzia mandai governar caminho de nordeste guinaras pera leste e iras dereito ao pustigo de Santa Luzia surgir em sinco bracas ou quatro e meia ou donde te parecer, e se vieres de Maribeles, pera ires a Cabite, mandarás governar caminho

de nordeste a quarta de leste ate rio de Canas por amor de huma rastinga que bota legoa e meia ao mar e a conhecenca deste rio de Canas he huma terra rasa e tem hay huma estancia e dahi iras caminho de leste, a buscar a ponta de Sangles adonde logo veras as naos e a ponta de Cavite e iras sorgir adonde te bem parecer e quando vieres por aqui não vades de oito bracas a terra porque as de dar na rastinga de [sic] rio de Canas. JESUS e sua bendita may nos ayude e nos de a viagem sempre como qual eu fiz que cheguei a 13 de mayo no pustigo de Sancta Luzia em 636 annos.

DOCUMENT 46

Rutter from Macao to Manila, 13 May, 1636. Published in Jorge Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e rotas portuguesas no Oriente nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau and Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 394-399. Original manuscript in Colecção de Castelo Melhor, fols. 89–91v.

This rutter records the voyage made between 17 April and May 1636 by the ship Santo António on a voyage between Macao and Manila. The rutter is unsigned, and its author has been identified by Jorge Semedo de Matos as Francisco Pires, who wrote a number of other rutters included in this volume. The rutter presents the most complete description of a voyage along the west coast of Luzon, and as far as the bay of Manila.

p. 394:

Rutter from Macao to Manila written in the month of April to 13th May 636

On the seventeenth of April, which was a Thursday, I left Macao harbour for Manila aboard the ship *Santo Antonio*, which belonged to Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho¹ and captain-major and factor Lourenço de Liz Velho² and I left via *Monte de Trigo* with a north wind, and from there I set a southwest course until I came to sit northeast-southwest by the *Ilha dos Ladrões* [Island of Thieves]. And from there the wind gradually fell until nightfall. I arrived in that way keeping to a very straight east-southeast course. I gave orders to steer round the island during the night and I was in front of *Monte de Trigo* at daybreak, and I went to

¹ Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho was the owner of the ship the *Santo António*, on which the author of this rutter served as pilot. In 1629, in Goa, he and four partners bought the monopoly on voyages to Japan and Manila from the Viceroy Dom Miguel de Linhares, Count of Linhares and Viceroy of *Estado da Índia*, and they gained considerable wealth from this venture. In 1636, Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho prepared the aforementioned ship in Macao to sail to Manila.

² Lourenço de Liz Velho was one of the most prestigious merchants in Macao, and he was part of the city's commercial elite. On this voyage he continued to serve as captain-major and factor.

take shelter on an island that is called *dos Merus*. I entered between the island of *São Mecho* and a large island and other small ones, which are in the middle of the sound, which I found to be a depth of four and five and a half fathoms and three and a half fathoms with silt below. And when you come to these small islets: I turned away from them and kept well away from them and I gave orders to set a course east-southeast: until you pass a sandy point which is the tip of the *Merus* Island. And the depth here is three and half fathoms with silt and sand below. There will be three fathoms. If you want to take shelter from the east [wind] there is good protection in the middle of the island, which is all clear, and this and as I just wrote I took a sounding out of curiosity. And if you want to sail between the islet that is in the middle of the channel and the *ilha de Merus* you will find the same depth, and I sailed this way.

On the twenty-second of April I left the *Merus* Island to continue my journey to Manila. There was a south and south-southwest wind, and as soon as I had left the islands I set a course southeast-quarter-east. And along this route I came to the sea of the *Ilha dos ladrões*, which was four leagues away. And the route from *Ilha dos Merus* to *Ilha dos Ladrões* is nine leagues, which is at a latitude of twenty-two and a third wide degrees. And from here I ordered a course to be set southeast-quarter-east until I reached a latitude of twenty-one and a half degrees, and I found that the currents had not turned yet and they continued to flow southwards, and from here I ordered to be set a course southeast to be safe from the *Prata* shallow,³ which is at a latitude of twenty and a half wide degrees. And there are forty leagues more or less on the route from *Ilha dos Ladrões* to the *Prata* shallow. And from here I ordered a course to be set southeast-quarter-east. And the signs that I found along this route were birds, noddies, ospreys and albatrosses, few with a white breast. And here I found the wind to be southerlies and southeasterlies, calm southwesterlies. And from here I set a course southeast-quarter-east, and having measured the sun's position I noted that the currents flow southwest at a latitude of nineteen degrees and a sixth. And I kept east-west of Cape of *Buziador*,⁴ and from here I set a course east-southeast. However, the waters were very high around me, until I reached a latitude of sixteen and a half wide degrees. And from here I set a course east with mild winds and many whirlpools of water. And I sailed for three days eastwards in search of land with

³ Pratas Reef.

⁴ Cape Bojeador.

mild winds, until after two or three days I came across many [Pacific] sardines and a bamboo shark. At midday I was ten or fifteen leagues from the coast, and a fresh breeze from the northwest blew up and I sailed east until midnight, when I sighted land, which was the inlet of Pangasinan⁵ and I saw fire on the southeast route, which was on the coast of Bolinao. And I also saw other signs before reaching this island, coloured snakes, mackerel, tuna and *marguais*. I remind you that on seeing these signs at a latitude of sixteen and a half wide degrees, you will know you are close to the coast. Continue to make good headway on sighting this island, which you must head towards, it is flat and this is how you will identify it. If you reach sixteen and a half wide degrees and are not alert you risk sailing along the side of the inlet of Pangasinan which is 12 leagues in width. From Bolinao to the large land of Pangasinan the way to identify it is that they lie north-south of each other. And if you come to this point remember that it is a large coast and just by the sea you will find two tree-covered islands. One is bigger and the other smaller. And from here, if you are half way through the inlet to the southeast you will see a very tall island, which lies to the southeast and south-southeast, and it runs from northwest and west. And the point that protrudes to the southeast lies well out to sea, and the same does [another] one that protrudes to the northeast, and it extends out to sea. There are many small islands that form a long strait, which is the land the leads towards Bolinao.

If you are halfway through the bay from Pangasinan heading for Bolinao, in a way that Bolinao lies to the southwest, and if for any reason you need to anchor, drop the plumbline and you will find sixty fathoms with silt and you will find fifty-five fathoms. And as soon as you come near to the land of Bolinao, you will find less depth, and as soon as you reach thirty fathoms you will find coarse sand and gravel, up until twenty-five fathoms. And from there to the coast I measured the depth and I found what I have said, and from here to the coast you will find stones [on the seabed], and until you sight the coast of Bolinao to the southwest and you will identify this coast as it is very flat and some parts have sandy beaches and elsewhere it seems to be marshland. And then from here you will head northwest, keep a lookout for the highest copse of trees you can find and that will be Bolinao. And at the beginning of the highest part of the coast you will find a sound. Do not enter it as it is shallow. Then head further northwest and you will find another which is Bolinao harbour. And if you want to enter, you must approach from the

⁵ Lingayen Gulf.

north-south direction so that you run alongside the shoal towards the south so that you can make your way in. And the depth here you will find is eight, nine, ten fathoms, twelve. [Using a] light but well-tethered anchor ensure it is well fixed to the seabed because it is all stone. And when you head inside, remember that you have to have the island on your left-hand side, and use light cables as mooring ropes as you go into anchor where the ships anchor that come here most years moor. When I came in the ship *Santo Antonio*, in [the year] six hundred and thirty-six, I came to see this island and I saw that all of this is quite correct. And from here from Bolinao there is a thin tongue of land that sticks out into the sea. If you come this way, avoid the ridge at Bolinao which they say has a depth of four, five, six, seven, eight fathoms. And on the headland of this island, if you come from the north, you will see it split off into two islands, but there is only one, and no ship can pass between its coast and the main island. And if you go this way keep a league and half away from this island, and keep the sounding lead to hand. And when I travelled this way I kept a league and a half away from it out to sea and out of curiosity I cast the sounding lead and found twenty-six fathoms of depth above fine sand, and all this while sailing at night, with the sounding lead to hand until I was north-south of the island. And then from here the island runs south and it is identified by a flat plain, and inland there are low-lying mountain ridges. As far as *Duas Irmãs* [Two Sisters]⁶ the coast runs flat and low-lying by the sea, and it runs north-south a quarter from northeast and southwest. And this is the way this coast runs. And following this low-lying land that you see from Bolinao before you arrive you will find a point and some sandy beaches, and from the point towards the east there is an inlet⁷ beneath the mountain ridge which lies inland. And then from this point to the south about a league away you will see a small round island⁸ and it has two trees on it, along the sea shore. Everywhere [in the island] is white sand and it lies north-south with *Duas Irmãs*. And there are two leagues from this island to the first sister of *Duas Irmãs* [island]. And this sister is two leagues long, and in the middle there is a tree that is taller than the others alongside it. And there is a sandy beach all along its western shore. And I advise that if you sail this way do not approach it. You should pass it a league and a half out to sea, and then you will be on a good course. There are cliffs along the northern and southern shores. There is half a league from the tip of this sister to the other. And I remind you that

⁶ Along the coast of Zambales, to the west of the mouth of the Nayom River.

⁷ Dasol Bay.

⁸ Culebra Island.

between them everywhere is beset [with danger] and you must keep your distance from the island as I have said above. And if for any reason you need to collect water, they say there is some on the northern point of this flat island. And to identify these *Irmãs*, when you are sailing northwest-southeast of them, you will sight a mountain ridge to the southeast [of *Duas Irmãs*] that runs along them and it ends in cliffs on its southern side. And continuing on to *Marsingula*⁹ there are other high mountain ridges. The route from Bolinao to *Duas Irmãs* is twelve leagues. And I sailed along this route on the seventh of May with winds from the south-southeast and east-southeast, and east and northwest and north. You will identify *Marsingula* as you sail along the coast north to south in the last mountain ridge on the point that is higher than any other up to now. And before you get there, about two leagues, there lies *Marsingula*, which is a small island. It is four and a half leagues along the route from between *Duas Irmãs* to *Marsingula*. The port of *Marsingula* has two islands and the harbour is there. And if for any reason you have to enter [into the harbour] you need to head north of it [*Marsingula*] and sail along the ridge on the left-hand side, and you will enter with four to six fathoms of water, and have a sufficient draught. This island is covered in woodland and from here look to the northeast and you will see the village, then from here further south lies this flat island where the ridge is, the ridge protrudes to the south. And it is formed of sand. And then you will see low-lying land at the foot of the mountain ridge. And coming round this mountain ridge that I have mentioned before the coast runs to the southeast towards the large beach.¹⁰ And it is identified by the three inlets beneath high mountain ridges, and the last of these sandy beaches is by the tallest mountain ridge here. At its foot is the *Ilha de Capões*.¹¹ It can be identified by its round shape [?] and it forms a large valley in the middle. Do not sail on either seaward side, and I advise you that the landward side is beset [by danger] with a ridge, and a ship cannot pass between it and the land. And on the western side there is a ridge towards the southeast, which protrudes about half a league out to sea, and the reef lies south-southeast from the island. And from here look northeast and east-northeast, towards a valley that is in the mountain ridge which has a red cliff. And then to the southeast there are other mountain

⁹ Masinloc.

¹⁰ Playa Honda (Zambales), a place known for the naval battle that took place between Juan Ronquillo and Joris van Spilbergen in 1617.

¹¹ He refers to Grand Capon, one of the Capones Islands.

ridges that run towards what is called *Ponta do Frade*,¹² which has some islets out at sea about half a league away, and they are in front of an inlet. There are twelve or thirteen leagues from *Marsingula* to *Ilha de Capões*. And then from this point, the *Mariuma* inlet¹³ turns inwards, where they say that further there on is good anchorage at a small island found within the inlet.¹⁴ There are four or five leagues from *Capões* [Capons] to the [islets of] *Porcos* [Pigs],¹⁵ and the coast of *Batão* continues on from here.¹⁶ It is identified by a high mountain ridge. The route from the islets we call *Porcos* to the first land of *Batão* covers eight leagues. A point protrudes from the south of the latter mountains, like the prow of a galley, and there is a valley in the highest part of the ridge of mountains. And then it gets thinner on the land side. Also at the foot of this point of *Batão*, in the first inlet, because of the east wind, you can anchor if you wish to, and about two parts of a league out to sea you will find a very good depth of twenty-five to thirty fathoms, fine sand and silt. And from here the land of the point of *Batão* turns to the northeast, which lies northeast-southwest with *Maribeles*.¹⁷ As soon as you reach it then the land turns to the north, and you will identify *Maribeles* by a round island and it has a small islet that is called the *Frade*¹⁸ about half a league to the west, and from this island a small flat stretch protrudes in the direction of *Limbones*,¹⁹ with the sea on both sides, and it has a round islet on the far end of the land on the southeast. And so if you are in search of this island I describe there are sixty-five to fifty fathoms. The seabed is silt. When I made this journey I found the depth to be fifty fathoms. And I remind you that here you must not sail close to *Limbones* because there are some rocks. And an islet I mentioned between *Limbones* and *Maribeles*, which belongs to the same land as *Maribeles*, lies to the north-quarter-northeast, when I took the depth here. And I advise you that if you come sailing along the coast of *Batão* or *Mariuma* and encounter winds that are

¹² This point is included in maps by João Teixeira Albernaz. He must be referring to Sampaloc Point or the southern tip of Silanguin Cove, as a group of six small, rocky, steep islets lying about 0.75 of a mile southwest of Silanguin Island (to the west of Silanguin Cove) are called Los Frailes.

¹³ Subic Bay.

¹⁴ There are two islands in Subic Bay: Chiquita Island and Grande Island.

¹⁵ Los Cochinos, today, Palomonti Rocks.

¹⁶ Bataan.

¹⁷ Corregidor Island. See document 37, note 12.

¹⁸ In fact this is La Monja.

¹⁹ Limbones Island.

called easterly take care here not to continue for too long in the area around *Batão*; should the wind blow from the east-northeast and northeast, head towards *Furtuum*²⁰ or Limbones, where in the afternoon and evening there is always a wind blowing to the southeast mostly with storm rains, and thus you will enter the bay more quickly. Sailing as I have said above on any day in the afternoon [you can] head for Limbones and from here do what you consider best. And there are eight leagues from *Batão* to *Furtuum* and it lies north-south with *Batão* and come into it from the east-southwest. And *Furtuum* is identified by a round island and it has a valley in the form of a saddle in the middle and it forms a sheer drop. There are ten leagues from *Furtuum* to *Lubão*,²¹ they lie east-west [from each other] and sail northeast-southwest, and there are five leagues from *Furtuum* to Limbones. And as you come close to *Maribeles*, about a league to the southwest there is an islet they call the *Frade*. If you want to sail between it and *Maribeles* you can because there is plenty of depth. And between Limbones and *Maribeles* is another islet also called *Frade*.²² When I came here on the tenth of May these were the winds that I found in this bay. Then if you want to enter through the *bocachica*²³ between *Batão* and *Maribeles* or between *Maribeles* and Limbones so long as you enter through the middle of these channels there is sufficient draught. And from here, if you come from Macao and wish to unload at the wharf of *Santa Luzia*, you should set a course northeast, veer off to the east and you will continue straight to the wharf of *Santa Luzia* to anchor in [a depth of] five or four and a half fathoms, or where you consider best. And if you come from *Maribeles* to go to Cavite, you should set a course northeast-quarter-east as far as *Rio de Canas*, owing to a ridge that protrudes a league and a half out to sea. The *Rio de Canas* is identified by a flat area of land and it has a dock. And you should set a course east to reach *Sangles Point*,²⁴ where you will find the carracks and Cavite Point. And you can anchor where you consider best. And when you come here do not go below eight fathoms inland because you will strike the ridge at the *Rio de Canas*. May JESUS and his Blessed Mother help us on our voyage, may it always be like the one I made when I arrived on 13th May at the wharf of *Santa Luzia* in [1]636.

²⁰ Fortune Island.

²¹ Lubang.

²² El Fraile.

²³ Or rather, canal.

²⁴ Sangles Point, on the northeastern tip of the Cavite Peninsula.

DOCUMENTO 47

Roteiro de Nagasaki para Manila, de Pedro de Palacios, s.d. Original conservado na Coleção de Castelo Melhor, fols. 81–82.

Roteiro de Nangasaque para Manilla de Pero de Palacios

^a Partindo da ilha dos Cavallos governa[r]eis ao sudueste 4.^a aloeste em demanda de Mexuma averá na derrota .28. legoas, e tanto que vire[s Me]xuma governai caminho de susudueste cousa de 60. legoas, e como as tiveres andado governai a sudueste quarta do sul, e por esta derrota ireis ver a ilha dos Reys, que está em altura de .25. graos, e .25. minutos, são tres ilhas en treangulo, as duas mayores estão nordeste, sudueste hũa em a outra cousa de tres legoas afastada hũa da outra, e a outra he pequena está com a mayor leste oeste pouca distancia, e sendo cazo, que antes de veres os Reys, vires hum ilheo, sabeí que he o ilheo dos Passaros, o qual está lesnordeste oessudueste em a ilha do [sic] Reys couza de .10. legoas.

Da Ilha dos Reys governai caminho de susudueste, e por esta derrota ireis ver Ayama a qual vos ficar da banda de bombordo, e se vires o ilheo dos Passaros, como acima digo, fareis o caminho ao sudueste 4.^a do sul, e por este caminho ireis ver a mesma ilha de Ayama, e da banda de loeste vereis outra ilha, que se chama Tubarão averá de hũa a outra 12. legoas. E da ilha de Ayama governai ao sudueste 4.^a do sul, cousa de .15. legoas, e logo tornai ao susudueste, e por esta derrota ireis ver Tabaco Migel, o qual vos ficar pella banda de estibordo está em altura de .21. grao, e .2. terços; De Tabaco Migel ou Penha Furada governai ao sul, e por este caminho ireis ver as Ilhas dos Babuianes, que estão em .21. grao, e hum $\frac{1}{4}$. O primeiro indo de Tabaco Migel, he grande e alto, e core se de nornordeste susudueste, e como tiveres passado os Babuianes governai ao sul, cousa de .20. legoas, e o mais caminho ao sul 4.^a do sueste, e por esta derrota ireis ver o Cabo de Buxiador, que está em .19. graos de altura.

^a Margin note: “Ja” [already].

Do Cabo de Buxiador governai ao sul, até Abiga, e de ahy governareis ao sul 4.^a do sudueste até passares a ponta de Bulinao. E de Bulinao governai ao sul até passares as Duas Irmãs, que são duas ilhas, que estão .6. legoas de Bulinao, e a terra dellas, se não pode passar, e como as passares governai ao sul 4.^a do sueste, correndo sempre a costa, e dai resguardo a hūas lages, que estão defronte de Mansinglo ao mar meya legoa, ou mais, e daqui ireis tomar a Ponta do Frade, e desta ponta até a Serra de Batan ireis correndo a costa, por cauza dos ventos, nordestes até Maribeles.

DOCUMENT 47

Rutter from Nagasaki to Manila, by Pedro de Palacios, undated. Original in the Coleção de Castelo Melhor, fols. 81–82.

This rutter must have been written in the later sixteenth or early seventeenth century when relations between Manila and Japan were growing stronger. There is another version in the Biblioteca da Casa do Cadaval, M – VI – 34 (972), fol. 109v, published in Carlos Francisco Moura, “Os roteiros do Japão do Códice Cadaval”, Studia 34 (1972): 190–191.

Rutter from Nagasaki to Manila by Pero de Palacios

Departing from *Ilha dos Cavallos*¹ sail southwest-quarter west in the direction of *Mexuma*.² The route will cover 28 leagues. On sighting *Mexuma* steer a course of south-southwest for 60 leagues, and on completing this steer southwest-quarter-south. Along this route you will see *Ilha dos Reys* [Island of the Kings],³ which is at a latitude of 25 degrees and 25 minutes; there are three islands arranged as a triangle. The two larger ones lie northeast-southwest from one another, and they are three leagues apart from each other. The other island is smaller and it lies a short distance east-west of the large one. In the event that before sighting *dos Reys*, you see an islet, you should know that this is called *Ilheo dos Passaros* [Islet of the Birds],⁴ which lies on an east-northeast west-southwest route around 10 leagues from *Ilha dos Reys*.

¹ A rutter from Nagasaki to China was printed in 1624 in a collection entitled *Regimento da Navegação*, and it states that the *ilha dos Cavalos* lies “da banda de Facundo” [off Facundo], which is possibly Fukuda (福田村). It cannot be identified with any certainty.

² Meshima (女島).

³ According to Léon Bourdon, *Ilha dos Reis Magos* is the name given to the Yaeyama Islands (八重山列島) and the Miyako Islands (宮古列島). Dutch maps, which draw on Portuguese traditions, associate this toponym exclusively with Miyakojima (宮古島).

⁴ Unclear location.

From *Ilha dos Reys* set a south-southwest course, and along this route you will see *Ayama*⁵ on the port side, and if you see the *Ilheo dos Passaros*, as I have said, you should steer southwest-quarter-south, and along this route you will see the same *Ayama* Island and to the west you will see another island, which is called *Tubarão* [Shark]⁶ and there are 12 leagues between one and the other. And from *Ayama* Island steer southwest-quarter-south for 15 leagues, and then turn to the south-southwest, and on this course you will see *Tabaco Migel*,⁷ which you will find on the starboard side at a latitude of 21 degrees and 2 thirds. From *Tabaco Migel*, or *Penha Furada* steer south, and along this course you will see the Babuyanes Islands, which are at a latitude of 21 degrees and one quarter. The first en route from *Tabaco Migel*, is large and high, and it lies north-northeast to south-southwest. Having passed the Babuyanes, steer south for some 20 leagues, and for the rest of the route sail south-quarter-southeast. Along this route you will sight the Cape of *Buxiador*,⁸ which is at a latitude of 19 degrees.

From the Cape of *Buxiador* steer south until you reach *Abiga*,⁹ and from there steer south-quarter-southwest until you pass the points of Bolinao. And from Bolinao steer south until you pass *Duas Irmãs* [Two Sisters],¹⁰ which are two islands, that are 6 leagues from Bolinao. And you cannot sail through the landside, and after you pass by these [two islands] steer south-quarter-southeast, and always keep to the coast. From there watch out for some flat rocks,¹¹ which are in front of Mansinglo half a league, or more, out to sea, and from there head for *Ponta do Frade*.¹² From this point to the mountain ridge of *Batan*,¹³ due to the northeasterly winds, you should stay close to the coast as far as *Maribeles*.¹⁴

⁵ Unclear location.

⁶ Unclear location.

⁷ For its location on seventeenth-century Dutch maps this seems to be what is today Green Island (綠島), off the southeastern coast of Taiwan.

⁸ Cape Bojeador.

⁹ Vigan.

¹⁰ Dos Hermanas.

¹¹ Sailing directions for the entrance to the Masinloc Bay refer to the existence of a shoal that extends about 0.6 mile NNW from Alupihing Point (Salvador Island, in the entrance to the bay).

¹² See document 46, note 12.

¹³ Bataan.

¹⁴ See document 37, note 12.

DOCUMENTO 48

Roteiro de Pulau Aur para Manila, por Manuel da Luz, s.d. Original conservado na Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cód. I-12, 3,6, fols. 135v–136v.

Roteiro de Pulo Laor para Manila, de Manuel da Luz

Logo que chegares a Pulo Laor que he huma ylha que estará a sueste de Pulo Timão 4. legoas mandarás governar ao norte té a 4.^a do norte ate a altura de 5 graos e por todo este caminho acharás alguns sinais.

Tanto que chegares aos 4. graos largos mandarás governar ao nordeste e por altura de 6. graos acharás muitos sinais e passarinhos da terra e não temas destes sinais porque sempre he geral nesta passagem. E como chegares a altura de 7. graos largos pelo caminho assim do nordeste estares perto do embocadouro dos baixos de Pulo Sisym e dos baixos de Peragoa.

E sendo cazo que nesta altura de 7. graos não aches fundo mandareis governar ao nordeste e a 4.^a do norte e se achares fundo de 50 ate 60. braças mandarás governar ao nordeste per amor que estás chegado a Pulo Sisym. E por esta derrota de nordeste hirás ate altura de 13 graos e meo que he altura de Lubão. Por todo este caminho a y muito passaro pelo que não temas. E leva sempre boa vigia no goropes porque te importa muito. E por este canal tenho passado 4 veses. E achei que este caminho he canal era de nordeste sudueste e as agoas correm sempre pera os baixos de Pulo Sisi mas o teu prumo te ensinará.

E como chegares altura de 13 graos e meo mandarás governar leste em demanda de Lubão ou Mindoro as quaes estão noroeste sueste huma com a outra. E por qualquer embocadouro que vejais nestas ylhas te podes meter e não temas. Esta ylha de Mindoro he alta e grande: está ao sueste de todas. E aviso te que quando fores em demanda de Lubão ou Mindouro e te faltar a terra pelo teu ponto não te emfades porque a ylha de Manilha está mais a leste do que apontão nas cartas.

Como estiveres da banda de dentro de Lubão e Mindoro e te achares por aqui de noite surge até o 4.º d'alva que farás a vella governarás a lesnordeste e logo verás as terras de Manilha que hé amagotada e lhe chamão os Limbones e indo correndo o cabo na volta do norte verás hum ylheo que se chama Furtum e por qualquer banda delle podés passar e pello prumo acima deles nordeste hirás ver a Maribelles e por qualquer parte podés passar. A terra da mão esquerda de Maribelles são as terras de Batão. E da terra da banda do sul de Maribelles verás hum ylheo que chamão Frade e por qualquer banda delle podés entrar pera dentro. Esta ylha de Maribelles tem hum porto pela banda de fora a modo de ferradura donde dizem pode entrar naos.

De Maribelles pera Cabite governarás a leste 4ª o nordeste vigiando de huma terra rasa que verás a que chamão Rio de Canas que bota hum prancel no mar. E logo avante desta ponta verás Cabite. E aos [sic] naos aqui podés surgir por ser melhor que no tempo em que vás não he bem hir a Manilla por amor dos vendavais que ventão neste tempo.

DOCUMENT 48

Rutter from Pulau Aur to Manila, by Manuel da Luz, undated. Original manuscript in Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cód. I-12,3,6, fols. 135v–136v.

The volume containing this rutter is a compilation of navigational rutters for the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and East Asia, which was created in the seventeenth century. It is conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. This collection of rutters contains the most complete known collection of Portuguese rutters for the Philippines. This rutter proposed a route similar to that recorded in other rutters that begin their route in Pulau Aur or Pulau Tioman.

Rutter from *Pulo Laor*¹ to Manila, by Manuel da Luz

Once you arrive at *Pulo Laor*, which is an island that will be 4 leagues southeast of *Pulo Timão*,² you are to steer north-quarter-north until [you reach] a latitude of 5 degrees and all along this route you will find a number of landmarks.

Once you get 4 wide degrees [of latitude] you are to steer northeast and at the latitude of 6 degrees you will find many landmarks and small native birds, and do not be alarmed by these signs because they are commonplace along this route. And taking the aforesaid route from the northeast as you sail further north of 7 wide degrees you will be close to the mouth of the *Pulo Sisym*³ shallows and those of *Peragoa*.

And in the event that on reaching the latitude of 7 degrees you lack sufficient depth give orders to steer northeast-quarter-north, and if you come to water depths of 50 to 60 fathoms you are to give orders to steer northeast because you are approaching *Pulo Sisym*. And continue along this northeast course until you reach a height of 13 and a half degrees, which is the height of *Lubão*.⁴ Along all this route

¹ Pulau Aur.

² Pulau Tioman.

³ Phú Quý.

⁴ Lubang.

there are many birds so there is no need fear. And always have a good lookout on the bowsprit because this is very important. And I have passed down this channel 4 times. And I found that on this route the channel ran from northeast to southwest and the currents always flow towards the shallows of *Pulo Sisi* but your plumbline lead will guide you.

And on reaching a height of 13 and a half degrees give orders to steer east for *Lubão* or Mindoro which lie northwest and southeast of one another. And do not fear you can enter any opening you come across in these islands. This island of Mindoro is large and high: it is to the southeast of the others. And I forewarn you that when you steer for *Lubão* or Mindoro and you do not sight land at your position do not be concerned as the Island of Manila is further east than indicated on the maps.

Should you pass *Lubão* and Mindoro at night anchor until the fourth watch, then set sail and steer east-northeast and then you will see the jagged coastline of Manila and they call it the Limbones. Then continue sailing around the cape and on rounding the north you will see an islet that is called *Furtum*,⁵ and you can pass it on any side. From there take the plumb [and] head northeast above them and you will see *Maribelles*⁶ and you can pass on any side. The land of *Batão*⁷ is on the left-hand side of *Maribelles*. And off the land to the south of *Maribelles* you will see an islet called *Frade*⁸ and you can enter [the bay] from either side. This island of *Maribelles* has a port on the outer side in the form of a horseshoe, which they say carracks can enter.

From *Maribelles* to Cabite you must steer east-quarter-northeast while keeping watch for a flat stretch of coast that they call *Rio de Canas*,⁹ which creates a shoal in the sea. And beyond this point you will see Cabite, and the carracks. You can anchor here as it is better, as at the time you will be travelling it is not a good season for travelling to Manila due to the strong winds that blow at this time.

⁵ Fortune Island.

⁶ See document 37, note 12.

⁷ Bataan.

⁸ El Fraile.

⁹ Cañas River.

DOCUMENTO 49

Roteiro de Cavite para a Ponta de Nasso, por Manuel da Luz, s.d. Original conservado na Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cód. I-12,3,6, fols. 136v–137v.

Derrota da Ponta de Cabite pera a Ponta de Nasso por a contracosta de Mindouro em tempo de brizas

Partindo da Ponta de Cabite por a contracosta de Mindoro governarás ao sudueste 2. legoas pouco mais ou menos ate passar a primeira ponta grande que se segue avante da Ponta de Cabite e tendo a passado algum tanto logo della vos deixareis hir ate estar duas legoas ao mar. E daqui mandareis governar ao sueste 4.^a de leste, tendo advertencia de hir sempre 2. legoas da costa correndo de longo e tendo andado como 8. legoas da Ponta de Cabite vereis huma abra grande que faz a terra de Mindouro e no meo desta abra hé terra alguma couza chaã. E tanto que chegueis a ella vereis huma ponta que fas dous morros pequenos ao mar que aquelle que está mais fora parece ylhote. Desta ponta está o principio de huma emseada que 2. legoas teraá de ponta a ponta e a ponta que faz alta emseada pera a parte do sueste parece tão [sic] que lança huma ylheta raza ainda que prezumo que não hé. Daqui saem os Baixos de Mãoburão que sairão mais de huma legoa ao mar. Passareis por ellas 2. Legoas da terra e logo que estiveres passado vos podereis chegar perto da terra de Mindouro que tudo hé limpo e assym hireis correndo 5. ou 6. legoas ate chegar ao remate da ylha que hé a ponta que chamão de Ehelim adonde vereis 2. o 3. ylhetas razas as quaes deixareis por bombordo vossa mão esquerda apartando vos dellas mais de huma legoa porque lanção de ssi prancel. E como passares governareis ao sueste e se quiseres segurar vos em que não deis nos baixos que estão 7. legoas destas ylhas da ponta de Ehelim governareis em saindo dellas ao sueste 4.^a ao sul. E assi ireis a vista de humas ylhetas rasas e a que está ao sueste bota os baixos de nordeste e sudueste. E hindo dando resguardo a estas ylhas como digo vos deixareis hir fazendo caminho de sueste e se fores mais alguma couza a balravento não vos pese porque levais seguramente a viagem. E assim hireis a ver a Ylha de Panay e ireis porlongando huma legoa ou 2. della ate dareis vista de huma ylheta que está na Ponta de Naço que hé adonde remata a costa de norte sul a qual hireis correndo e della se corre a volta de leste e podes passar por antre ella e a terra como não leveis navio que demande mais de 3. braças

e por meio o canal tanto da ylha como da terra firme hestando defronte de humas cazas ou camarinas que logo verás darás fundo nas braças que te parecer e tem por sinal defronte da ilha em a ponta que faz a terra se divide huma arvore que parece huma vella e outras duas ylhetas que estão a leste della que digo não podes passar por antre ellas e a terra. E estão pera mais perto das duas [?] que a outra. E tãobem vem huma arvore [...] defronte dellas divida que parece duma [?] a outra e não tanto em a Ponta de Nasso. A y bom fundo e não ha de que temer a arvore que está na ponta do sueste são duas huma junto a outra e [...] junto as duas ylhas de leste que assim digo hindo com [?] [...] no cabo dellas da parte de oeste há hum baixo que sae hum tiro de funda da mesma ylheta a que darás resgoardo e logo te chegarás pera hum rochedo negro em a mesma terra e vai correndo ate o cabo delle adonde verás as cazas ou camarinas e podes dar fundo adonde te parecer.

DOCUMENT 49

Rutter from Cavite to Naso Point, by Manuel da Luz, undated. Original manuscript in Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cód. I-12, 3, 6, fols. 136v.–137v.

The volume containing this rutter is a compilation of navigational rutters for the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and East Asia, which was created in the seventeenth century. It is conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. This collection of rutters contains the most complete known collection of Portuguese rutters for the Philippines.

Route from Cavite Point to Naso Point¹ when going via the other side of Mindoro for the windy season

Leaving from Cavite Point along the opposite coast of Mindoro steer southwest for 2 leagues more or less until you pass the first large promontory which follows on from Cavite Point, and not long after having passed it head 2 leagues out to sea. From here steer southeast-quarter-east, and ensure that you follow the coast remaining always 2 leagues from it, and having travelled 8 leagues from Cavite Point a large bay opens out along the coast of Mindoro and in the middle of this bay the coastline is a fairly flat. And on reaching this you will see a point formed by two small rocks out to sea, and the one that is further out seems to be a small islet. This point marks the start of an inlet that is 2 leagues from point to point, and the high point that forms the inlet² on the southeastern side seems so [*sic*] that it creates a flat small islet, although I presume it does not. From here the *Mãoburão* shallows³ are to be found, which extend for more than a league out to sea. You will pass them 2 leagues from land and then once past them you can sail close to Mindoro, which is all clear and you will continue for 5 or 6 leagues until you arrive at the tip of the island that is a point called *Ehelim*,⁴ where you will see

¹ Geographical feature on the southeast of Panay.

² Paluan Bay.

³ Mamburao Reef, which lies southeast of Mamburao Bay.

⁴ This must be one of the geographical features close to Ilin Island, which lies southwest of Mindoro.

2 or 3 flat, small islets⁵ which you should pass on the port side, left hand side, and keep more than a league away from them because there is a shoal nearby. And as you pass it steer southeast and if you wish to be sure of not running into the shallows that are 7 leagues from these islands, as you leave them at *Ehelim* Point steer southeast-quarter-south. Taking this route you will see some flat small islets, and to the southeast of them is where the shallows start, which run from northeast to southwest⁶. And taking care to keep away from these islands as I say, you will head southeast, and if you drift a little more to windward do not worry as you will be following the route correctly. You will then sight the Island of Panay, and you should sail along its coast one or two leagues out to sea until you sight an islet that is off Naso Point, which is where the north-south coast ends. Sail along it and [then the coast] turns east and you can pass between it and the coast [of Panay] so long as your ship's draught needs no more than 3 fathoms, and when you find yourself in the middle of the channel for the island, as well as the mainland in front of some houses or huts which you will then see anchor at the depth you think fit. And it has a marker in front of the island in the point off which lies a tree in the shape of a sail and two small islets to the east of it. And I say you cannot pass between them and the land. And you are closer to the two [?] than the other. And you will also see a tree [...] in front of them divided so that it seems to be on one [?] the other and not so much on Naso Point. There is deep water [.....] and do not fear the tree that is on the southeast point [.....] there are two [islets] one alongside the other and [.....] alongside the two islands to the east which I say above going [.....] towards the end of them, to the west there is a shallow which rises up a slingshot's height from the same islet which you must keep clear of and then you will arrive at a black rock formation on the same coastline, and sail on until it comes to an end from where you will see the houses or huts, where you can anchor where you think fit.

⁵ Ilin Island and Ambulong Island.

⁶ He refers to Panagatan Cays.

DOCUMENTO 50

Roteiro de Manila para Oton, s.d. Original conservado na Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cód. I-12,3,6, fols. 139–139v.

Roteiro de Manilha pera Otom

Saindo de Maribelles huma legoa ao mar farás o caminho do sul e por esta derrota hireis ver huma ylha alta que está lansada de leste oeste: se chama Mindouro e antes que chegues a ella 4. legoas farás o caminho de lessueste como 6. legoas. E como as tiveres andado verás huma ylha não muy grande mas alta que se chama Ylha de Coza [?] e ficar te á esta ylha da banda do bonbordo e passarás amtre ella e Mindouro e como a tiveres andado 2. legoas verás outra ylha não muy grande que se chama a Ilha Verde e deixá la ás pola banda de bombordo avante della [...^a] 2. legoas. Verás 4. ou sinco ylhas pequenas que se chamão [.....] podes passar por antre ellas por qualquer banda que [.....] caminho acima dito a lesueste hirás correndo esta yl[ha] ate derradeira ponta groça que vireis que se chama a Ponta de Dom[elim e] tanto avante como a Ponta de Domelim governarás ao sueste, a dar fee de outra ylha que se chama de Maesso de Campo e deixá la ás pella banda de estibordo. E pella mesma derrota acima do sueste 5. ou 6. legoas verás huma ylha comprida que está lansada de norte sul. Chegai vos a ella como conta de huma legoa a qual se chama a Ylha das Taboas.

E tanto avante como a Ylha das Taboas governarás ao sul ate fim della e logo verás outra ylha baixa e pequena que se chama Combir e pelo mesmo caminho verás o remate da Ylha de Panay por huma parte norte e sul e no acabamento della se corre de leste oeste cousa de 8. ou 9. legoas e esta hé a cidade de Otom.

^a This lacuna and those that follow are the result of a round hole in the upper part of the page.

DOCUMENT 50

Rutter from Manila to Oton, undated. Original manuscript in Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cód. I-12,3,6, fols. 139–139v.

The volume containing this rutter is a compilation of navigational rutters for the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and East Asia, which was created in the seventeenth century. It is conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. This collection of rutters contains the most complete known collection of Portuguese rutters for the Philippines. This singular rutter proposes a route to the northeast of Mindoro and along the western edge of Panay.

Rutter from Manila to Otom

Leaving from *Maribelles*¹, once you are one league out to sea set a course south and along this route you will see a tall island that runs from east to west: it is called Mindoro and 4 leagues before reaching it, set an east-southeast course for 6 leagues. As you continue you will see a not overly large island, but with higher ground. It is called Island of *Coza*²[?] and take care that you pass this island on your port side, and you will pass between it and Mindoro, and having gone a further 2 leagues make sure you see another not very large island that is called *Ilha Verde* [Green Island]³ and pass it on the port side before you reach it [...⁴] 2 leagues. You will see four or five small islands that are called [.....] you can pass between them on either side that [.....] aforesaid east-southeast route you will sail alongside this il[sland.....] until finally you will sight a broad point called *Dom[elim*⁵] Point [and] before reaching *Domelim* Point steer southeast. On sighting another island called *Maesso de Campo*⁶ pass it on your starboard side. Along the same route southeast

¹ See document 37, note 12.

² Maricaban Island.

³ Green Island.

⁴ This lacuna and those that follow are the result of a round hole in the upper part of the page.

⁵ Dumali Point.

⁶ Maese de Campo or Sibale Island.

southeast for 5 or 6 leagues you will see a long island that runs from north to south. It is called Island *das Taboas*⁷ and keep a distance of one league from it.

And as you reach the Island *das Taboas* steer southwards until you have passed it. Then you will see another low small island called *Combir*,⁸ and along the same route you will see the northern tip of the island of Panay, which runs north to south on one side, and on reaching the end of it, [the coast] runs from east to west for 8 or 9 leagues and this is the city of Oton.

⁷ Tablas Island.

⁸ Carabao Island.

DOCUMENTO 51

Roteiro da Ponta de Nasso para La Caldera e Ternate, s.d. Original conservado na Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cód. I-12,3,6, fols. 137v–139.

Roteiro da ponta do Nasso pera a Caldeira

Partindo da ponta do Nasso governarás ao sueste e hirás ver a Ylha de Negros que está 12 legoas da Ponta do Nasso e estando 2. ou 3. legoas della a hireis correndo caminho do sueste como 4. ou 5. legoas e daqui governareis caminho do sul e hireis ver a ponta de Gualera em a Ylha de Mindanao averá na derrota 24 legoas.

Da ponta de Gualera mandarás governar ao sul correndo a costa ate a ponta do sueste desta ylha que he adonde começo a emseada da Caldeira averá da ponta de Gualé a ponta da Caldeira 18. legoas. Tanto que passares esta ponta verás huma emseada a terra de Caldeira. Podes dar fundo se tiveres a maré contra vós. E antes de chegar a esta ponta da Caldeira se for de dia descobrireis 2 ylhetas ponta agudas que chamão orelhas de lebre. E demorão ao sudueste 4. ou 5. legoas da Caldeira e da banda do sul destas há outras ylhas pequenas razas que vão correndo ate huma ponta de huma ylha grande que verás ao sul atravessada a qual se chama [Ta]gima e fas estreito com a terra da Caldeira ao modo de estreito de Zibaltar. Averá da terra de Caldeira a estas Ylhas de Gima .5. legoas corresse noroeste sueste.

Em descobrindo a emseada da Caldeira como tenho dito verás [?] huma ylheta raza mais de 1. Legoa ao sueste ainda que parece que hé huma são duas e cheas d'arvoredo. E não se pode passar antre huma e a outra. Da que está mais a oeste sae hum parcel huma legoa ao mar. A parte de Tagima podes passar antre estas ylhas e a terra de Mindanao se pode passar mas mais seguro e pella banda do sul dellas cheg[a]ndo vos pera a ylha de Tagima donde há menor corrente e bem fundo pera surgir que não achareis. Hindo por a costa de Mindanao e em todo este estreito achareis fundo achareis de 18 ate 4 braças e este he o prancel que tenho dito e o fundo em parte hé cascalho groço e lama e chegando vos a Mindanao hé tudo pedra.

[E] passando a Caldeira e estas ylhas que digo verás ao sueste huma ylhetta redonda que está perto de Tagima e tem hum ylhote pequeno junto mui bem podes passar por qualquer parte dellas que quizeres porque hé muy fundavel. E logo verás a leste della 2 ylhas pequenas que se chamão as Duas Irmãs. Tãobem podeis passar por a banda que quizeres. E dellas e [sic] não faço menção de outras Ylhas razas que estão da banda do nordeste das Duas Irmãs porque pera hir por Maluco não tens necessidade de chegar te a ellas.

Partindo da ponta de Tagima ou das Duas Irmãs que tudo hé hum governarás ao sueste 4.^a de leste ainda que Tagima se corre com Sião ao sueste 4.^a ao sul segundo a esperiencia tem mostrado. Mas porque as correntes e o vento que soe a ser sempre escasso [?] e agulha nordestea alguma cousa hé necessario dar estas 24 de resguardo e nesta derrota hé bem hir a balravento e hir ver [.....] de Sião averá na derrota [?] de Tagima a Sião 85. legoas, e se fores como digo ver a São Guivazar a qual hé huma ylha grande e a terra alta deitada de nornordeste e susueste e da banda do sul lanssa terra [.....]. E nesta ponta fas 9. ou 10. ylhetas que vão correndo ate Sião 10. legoas. Pode se passar por antre estas ylhas e tudo se corre norte sul. E logo verás a ylha de Sião a qual hé alta e tem da parte do norte hum vulcão e outros 2. ou 3. mais pequeninos do meo pera o sul. E na parte do sul tem 2. ou 3. ylheos. Polla banda do noroeste tem huma ilheta legua e mea a qual se chama Ylha das Gualinhas. E pola banda do leste tem hum [.....] e da banda do soeste [?] tem outro mais ambos riquos [?]. E ao sul de Sião obra de 3. Legoas está outra ylha a qual se chama Tagolanda e não he mui grande e por ella e Sião podes passar porque he o mais em caminho que há.

Daqui deste canal governarás ao sueste 4.^a de leste e irás a dar [...] de huma ylha não muy grande a qual se corre toda por huma a que chamão os Meãos Passuras [?]. Polla banda do norte dellas averá na derr[ro]ta dos Meãos ao Sião 20. legoas. E pella banda do sul della está outra ylha 6. legoas do Meãos. Chama se os Tumares [?].

Desta paragem dos Meãos [?] estando antre [?] dellas como digo farás o caminho do sueste 4.^a de leste e o mar faz gr[o]ço que abate o navio. Governarás alguma cousa pera balravento pera segurar a navegação mas o bom he seguir o caminho da mesma 4.^a de leste por amor do inemigo que está gove[rnan]do da banda do norte de Ternate ainda que leves o vento fresco e mui [.....].

E como chegareis a estas 3. ou 4. legoas da ylha de Ternate acharás o vento mais calmo e se fará mais largo. E em descobrindo a ylha de Ternate não vás com a proa a balravento da ylha senão apertando vos tudo aquillo que [.....] vos der lugar ainda que vos demore a ilha a loeste, [...] e [.....]] as na[o]s do inimigo junto a huma ylhota que se chama Ires e esta pella banda do [.....] de Ternate mea legoa da terra. Ternate fas hum vulcão grande e descoroado em çima e duas legoas mais ao sueste verás outro agudo [?] a qual he a ylha de Tidore.

A ordem que aveis de ter pera hir demandar Ternate he amanhecer com os Meãos que estão 16. [?] legoas de Ternate. Em amanhecendo nesta paragem tereis ferrado todas as vellas antes que aclare o dia. E poreis boa vigia nos topes e vendo que não aparece nao de inimigo largareis a sevadeira e traquete a meo mastro e deixai vos hir pera Ternate com boas vigias no tope que com estas vellas que digo mais depressa se descobrirá a nao de ynemigo que o nosso navio posto que seja pequeno. E em se querendo por o sol ferrareis o traquete e a sevadeira e vigias muito bem e tanto que for escuro largareis quantas vellas tiveres e precurar antes do dia de emtrar emtre estas forsas como acima digo.

E sendo caso que vos acalme o vento ou esquacee ou por dar resguardo ao porto do inimigo e não poderes tomar a ylha de Ternate vos deyxareis hir na volta de Tidor porque he melhor tomar porto numa das nossas forças que não arriscar vos a ficar fora porque poderá sayr alguma nao de malayo a dar vos em que emtender advertindo que o que mais importa nesta viagem he ter mui grande cuidado e fazer o que acima digo. Na emtrada está a cidade de Ternate da banda do sul da ylha. Em chegando a ella a hireis correndo ate chegar a hum baluarte pequeno que se chama de Nossa Senhora que he o que está mais a leste da cidade e defreonte delle he o bom sorgidouro.

DOCUMENT 51

Rutter from Naso Point to La Caldera and Ternate, undated. Original manuscript in Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cód. I-12, 3, 6, fols. 137v.–139.

The volume that contains these instructions consists of a compilation of navigational rutters for the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and East Asia. It was produced during the seventeenth century and is conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. This collection of rutters contains the most complete known collection of Portuguese rutters for the Philippines. Having reached La Caldera, the description provided in this rutter is similar to the version of the route between Borneo and the Moluccas which is also included in this codex, although there are some alterations in terms of the toponyms used.

Rutter from Naso Point to La Caldera

Leaving from Naso Point steer southeast and you will sight Negros Island which is 12 leagues from Naso Point and when you are 2 or 3 leagues away continue southeast for 4 or 5 leagues, and from there steer south and you will sight *Gualera* Point¹ on Mindanao Island. The route will take 24 leagues. From *Gualera* Point steer a course south and follow the coast until you reach the southeastern tip of this island, which is where *Caldeira* inlet² begins, it will be 18 leagues from *Gualé* Point³ to *Caldeira* Point. As soon as you pass this point you will sight an inlet on the coast of *Caldeira*. You can anchor here if the tide is against you. And before reaching *Caldeira* Point, if it is day you will see 2 pointed small islands that are called the *Orelhas de Lebre* [Hare's Ears].⁴ And they lie 4 or 5 league to the southwest from *Caldeira* and on the southern side of these there are other small flat islands that lead to the point of a large island that you will see stretching across to the south which is called *Tagima*⁵ and it forms a strait with the landmass

¹ Quipit Point.

² See document 45, note 15.

³ The same as Galera Point.

⁴ See document 45, note 13.

⁵ Basilan.

of *Caldeira* and this is similar to the strait of *Zibaltar*.⁶ There should be 5 leagues from *Caldeira* to the Isles of *Gima* sailing northwest southeast.

On sighting the bay at *Caldeira* as I said before, you will see [?] a flat small islet over 1 league to the southeast, although it seems like one there are two and they have thick tree cover. And it is not possible to pass between them. A shoal extends one league out to sea from the one further to the west. On the *Tagima* side you can pass between these islands and the landmass of Mindanao, but it is safer to sail along the southern side of them, by sailing closer to the island of *Tagima*, where there is less of a current and you will not find a better stretch of deep water to anchor in. Continuing along the Mindanao coast and all along this strait you will find 18 to 40 fathoms of depth, and this is the shoal I have mentioned, and the seabed is partly thick gravel and silt, but as you reach Mindanao it is all stone.

As you pass *Caldeira* and the islands that I mention, you will see to the southeast a round small islet that is close to *Tagima* and there is a little islet close by, and you can very easily pass by on any side of them that you want because the water is very deep.⁷ And then you will see 2 small islands to the east of it that are called *As Duas Irmãs* [the Two Sisters].⁸ Again, you can pass by any side that you wish. And I will not mention the other flat islands beyond them, which are on the northeast side of the *Duas Irmãs* because to travel to the Moluccas you do not need to go as far as them.

Sailing from *Tagima* Point or the *Duas Irmãs* is all the same, and you must steer southeast-quarter-east for the whole route, even though *Tagima* aligns with *Sião*⁹ to the southeast-quarter-south as experience has shown. However, because the currents and the wind which tend to be always limited [?] the compass tilts northeast is necessary to keep these 24 clear and on this course it is best to keep windward and to continue until sighting [...] from *Sião* there will be 85 leagues in the route from *Tagima* to *Sião*, and if you follow this route, as I say towards *São Guivazar*, which is a large island and the coast is high which lies from north northeast and south-southwest and on the southern side protrudes a landmass,

⁶ I.e., Gibraltar.

⁷ Coco Island and Little Coco Island.

⁸ Langil and Sibago Islands.

⁹ Pulau Siau.

which sticks out [.....]. And at this point there are 9 or 10 small islets that stretch as far as *Sião* for 10 leagues. You can pass between these islands and together they run northsouth. And then you will see the island of *Sião*, which has high ground and has a volcano to the north, and another two or three smaller ones from the middle towards the south. And in the south there are 2 or 3 small islets. On the northeast side there is a small islet a league and a half away which is called *Ilha das Gualinhas* [Island of Chickens]. On the east side there is a [.....] and on the southeast side [?] there is another, but both are rich [?]. And 3 leagues to the south of *Sião* is another island which is called *Tagolanda*,¹⁰ and it is not very big, and you can pass between it and *Sião* because it is most direct route there is.

From here in this channel steer southeast-quarter-east and you will continue [.....] from a not very big island, and it runs as if it was [only] one and it is called the *Meãos Passuras* [?].¹¹ To the north of them there will be in the route from *Meãos* to *Sião* 20 leagues. And to the south is another island 6 leagues from *Meãos*. It is called *Tumares* [?].¹²

From this layover at *Meãos* [?] being between [?] them as I say head southeastquarter-east and the sea becomes rough and makes the ship drift. Steer a roughly windward course in order to stay on route but it is better to keep to the same route a quarter-east owing to the enemy that rules the north side of Ternate even though you are able to sail with a fresh breeze and very [.....].

And as you reach 3 or 4 leagues from the Island of Ternate you will find the wind calmer and you will go more slowly. And on sighting the Island of Ternate do not steer the prow to windward of the island rather opening everything that [.....] that you can, even if you keep the island to the west stay [.....] and [.....] the enemy carracks close to a small islet that is called *Ires*¹³ and this [.....] side of [.....] of Ternate half a league from the coast. Ternate has a [...] large flat-topped and two leagues further southeast you will see another one, which is peaked [?], in the Island of Tidore.

¹⁰ Tahulandang. See document 20, note 8.

¹¹ Pulau Mayu.

¹² Pulau Gureda.

¹³ Pulau Hiri.

The route you have to take to reach Ternate is to set sail at dawn from *Meãos*, which is 16 [?] leagues from Ternate. At this layover at dawn you will furl all the sails before the light of day. And keep a careful watch from atop the mainmasts, and if you see no enemy carracks set the spritsail and foremast at half-mast and sail on towards Ternate, while keeping a careful watch on the mast heads as with these sails I assure you an enemy carrack will be revealed faster than our vessel even if it is smaller. And when the sun sets, furl the mainmast and spritsail and keep a very good watch and as it grows darker drop as many sails you have and endeavour to slip between these forces before daybreak as was said above.

And in the event you are becalmed or the wind drops, or to avoid the enemy port, and you are not able to land at the Island of Ternate you will allow yourself to tack back to Tidore, because it is better to come into port in one of our strongholds, than to risk remaining outside because a ship from the *Malayo*¹⁴ could come out and engage you I warn you that what is most important in this journey is to be very careful and to do what I state above. The city of Ternate is on a bay on the south side of the island. On arriving there you will sail on until you reach a small bastion that is named after Our Lady. It is that which is furthest on the most easterly side of the city and in front of it there is good anchorage.

¹⁴ This is reference to the VOC fortress in Ternate, called "Malaio" after the name of the village where it was built.

DOCUMENTO 52

Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, Vol. 2 (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1979), 165-168, 496, 750-751, 756-757, 760, 890-891.

Liv. VI, Cap. VIII, p. 165:

E vêdo Fernão de magalhães que Aluaro de mezquita não vinha não ho quis mais esperar por se não gastarem os mantimentos, & tornou-se por aquele estreito por ôde saio ao mar oceano: & a boca por ôde sayo achou que estaua em cincoêta & cinco graos de norte a sul pera a parte do sul, & dali mādou Fernão de magalhães que fossem buscar a linha equinocial, porque sabia pelas cartas mesiuas de Francisco serrão, & pelas cartas antigas de marear que Maluco jazia naquele paralelo da equinocial: & diminuindo na altura ate se poer debaixo dela nauegou por ele cinco meses sem achar Maluco, do que assi ele como seus pilotos & ho astrologo se agastarão muyto, porque segūdo se despois achou pelos nossos quando tomarão hũa destas naos na ilha de Ternate. Affirmouse Fernão de magalhães com ho astrologo & pilotos da frota que tinham tanto andado de leste a oeste despois que sayrão do estreito que erão saydos do limite de Castela, & que entrauão ja muyto polo de Portugal. E com temor de toparem gente nossa, & tambem com muyta necessidade dagoa, acordarão de deixar a derrota que leuauão, & nauegarão pera a parte do norte ate que se poserão em dez graos, & ali acharão hũ arcepelago de muytas ilhas: e tomādo ali terra virão que a gente tinha paraos em que nauegaua, & trazia muyto ouro nos braços & nas orelhas, & que ho resgatauão por ferro: e daqui a cincoêta legoas forão ter a hũa ilha chamada Maçana que tinha rey, que fazendolhes muyta honrra e gasalhado os leuou a outro rey doutra ilha chamada Cubo cujo vassalo era, que recebeo com muyta honrra a Fernão de magalhães, & lhe fez muyt bõ tratamento: principalmēte despois que soube como era capitão mór dũ senhor tamanho como ho Emperador, de quem Fernão de magalhães fez que se fizesse vassalo, & mais ho fez tornar christão & a sua molher, & a seus filhos com muytos do seu reyno, & pos lhe nome dom Fernando: & por seu consentimento soy [sic] edificada hũa igreja da avocação de nossa Senhora da vitoria em que se celebraua ho officio diuino. E estando nesta amizade, el rey rogou a Fernão de magalhães que ho ajudasse contra outro rey

seu vezinho senhor de hũa ilha chamada Matão que lhe não queria obedecer, e sobrisso tinhão ambos guerra. E por el rey ser vassalo do Emperador, Fernão de magalhães lhe deu a ajuda que lhe pedia, e pelejou duas vezes com ho rey de Matão, & dambas lhe matou muyta gente. E não querendo com tudo obedecer a el rey de Cubo pelejou coele outra vez, & desta foy morto & desbaratado: porque el rey de Matão tinha mandado fazer muytas couas cheas destrepes no lugar onde auia de ser a batalha, que em se começando de dar fez que fugia com sua gente. E Fernão de magalhães contêtandose coisso os não seguio, & recolhendo sua gente dão os immigos nele, & dão coele nos estrepes onde matarão a ele & a Duarte barbosa, & a Ioão serrão com vinte tantos homens, & os outros se recolherão aos bateys, e metendose nas naos se tornarão para a ilha de Cubo.

Capítulo IX – Da treyção que el rey de Cubo fez aos Castelhanos em que matou muytos deles, & de como escaparão fugindo. E do que passarão ate chegarem aa [sic] ilha de Tidóre, hũa das ilhas de Maluco

Tornados os Castelhanos aa [sic] ilha de Cubo, & vendose desemparados do seu capitão moor [sic], & de quem os guiasse pera onde auião de ir quiseranse tornar dali. Ao que Ioão carualho piloto da nao de Ioão serrão acodio, dizendo que não fizessem hũa couardia tamanha como aquela, & que oulhassem em quanta obrigação lhes ficaria ho Emperador se lhe descobrissem Bãda & Maluco: por isso que ho descobrissem que ele os leuaria lá. E animados todos coisto, determinarão de prosseguir auante, & deranlhe a capitania da nao. E standose apercebendo pera tornar a sua viagem, mandou el rey de Maatão ameaçar el rey do Cubo que iria sobrele, e ho destruyria se não matasse os Castelhanos & lhe não tomasse as naos. E como ele estaua amedrontado pola morte de Fernão de magalhães & dos outros ouue medo ao ameaço, & prometeo a el rey de Matão de lhe fazer o que queria: o que logo pos em obra, & pera isso fingio fazer hũa grande festa em que conuidou os capitães da frota & os principais dela, pera lhes dar hum banquete, porque doutra maneyra os não podia tomar juntos, porque depois da morte de Fernão de magalhães hião poucas vezes a terra por conselho de Ioão carualho: que quãdo soube que erão conuidados pera ho banquete, & que ho querião receber lhes rogou muyto que ho não fizessem, porque tinha por sem duuida que aquilo era treição. E por muytas rezões que lhes deu pera ho ser, não quiserão se não ir a terra: mas ele não quis ir, nem que fosse ninguem da sua nao, & mandou levar as Ancoras, saluo hũa sobre que ficou, & esta apique pera se levar logo se fosse necessario. E estando os Castelhanos comendo debaixo de hũas aruores com grande festa & el

rey coeles, da neles a gente del rey armada & matarão trinta & tantos, & outros se acolherão as naos que estuão perto. E poderanno fazer porque João carualho mandou desparar algũas peças dartelharia, de que os immigos auendo medo não seguirão os Castelhanos, que despois desembarcados por se verẽ que erão tão poucos que não abastauão pera tres naos queimarão hũa delas, baldeando nas outras o que leuauão, & partiranse por esse mar desesperados de saluação, porque João carualho com quanto lhes prometera que os leuaria a Maluco, nem sabia ondeestaua [*sic*], nem pera onde auia de nauegar: & sem leuar certa rota nem via se foy por esse mar onde a ventura ho leuasse, & foy ter a hũa ilha chamada Puluã so senhorio del rey de Borneo, onde tomarão dous homens que os leuarão aa ilha de Borneo: & mandarão dizer a el rey cujas erão aquelas naos & que trazião muytas mercadorias pera tratar se lhes desse licença pera sairem em terra, & coela sairão, mãdado el rey receber os dous capitães hõrradamẽte & cõ grande festa. E leuadas mercadorias a terra assentarão feytoria, & da hi a dous dias amanhecerão darredor das naos trezentos & tantos paraos, & parecia que pera lhe tomarẽ as naos. O que eles entendendo se fizerão logo á vela, & derão em cinco jungos que estauão no porto de que tomarão tres em que acharão muyta riqueza que leuauão de Malaca dôde erão, & catiuarãlhe toda a gête. E feyto isto foranse a hũa ilha pouoada que está afastada do porto, onde lhe el rey de Borneo mandou logo pedir os catiuos, mandandolhe dous Castelhanos da feytoria: dizendo que lhe não mandaua os outros porque ficauão oulhando pola fazenda da feytoria. E deranlhe os catiuos, mandandolhe dizer que lhe mandasse os Castelhanos que lá estauão: & por ho recado tardar hũ dia cuydarão os Castelhanos que lhe queriam fazer treição, & por isso requererão a João carualho que se partissem, & assi ho fizerão deixando os companheiros em terra com a fazenda, & forão ter a hũa ilha despouoada onde derão pẽdor ás naos por andarem muyto abertas. E dali forão ter a outra ilha chamada Mindanao, & despois a outra que auia nome Sanguim. E andando perdidos & sem saber õdestauão nem esperança de ho saber nunca: & crendo que se chegaua sua [*sic*] fim toparão com hũ júgo da China que hia de Maluco: & auẽdo fala dele por acenos souberão que auião de tornar atras da derrota que leuauão, & tomarão pilotos que os leuarão á ilha, de Tidore, hũa das ilhas de Maluco, onde chegarão na [*sic*] fim Doutubro de mil & quinhentos & vinte hũ:

[...]

De como dom Iorge de meneses e Fernão de la torre mandarão pedir socorro hũ á India & outro á noua espanha

Vendo dõ Iorge que Fernão de la torre não queria a paz cõ as cõdições que ele apõtaua não a quis: posto que foy cõtra ho parecer de Gõçalo gomez & doutros que forão coele, que dizião que deuia daceitar a paz sê se dar a metade da ilha de Maquiẽ, mas dom Iorge não quis porque lhe parecia aquilo couardia: & vêdo que não fazia a paz, & que a guerra auia dir em crecimêto: & entendêdo em Gonçalo gomez quão pouco ho auia dajudar a ela quis mãdar pedir socorro a Malaca & á India assi de gente como de fazenda pera a feytoria que janã auia nhũa por se gastar toda como chegou, & mais pera mãdar por Simão de vera que queria mandar em hũ nauio os autos e estormêtos que tirara de dõ Garcia pera ho fazer prender antes que se fosse pera Portugal, & determinou que fosse no nauio cayado que estaua carregado de crauo. E dadas as cartas em que escreuia ao capitão de Malaca & ao gouernador da India quanto acontecera despois de ser capitão da fortaleza, partiose Simão de vera no nauio que digo. E chegado á ilha de Mindanao foy morto com quantos leuaua polos da terra que lhe tomarão ho nauio, ou se perdeo porque nũca mais pareceo, & assi não ouue effeyto o que dõ Iorge queria. E sabêdo Fernão de la torre como dõ Iorge mandara Simão de vera a pedir socorro a Malaca & á India sobre lho Gõçalo gomez leuar tão bõ creio que queria destruir de todo os Castelhanos, & pera tãbẽ ter gête com que se defendesse, acordou cõ conselho de mãdar pedir socorro aa noua espanha, escreuendo ao gouernador dela o que passaua, & que alem da gête darmas lhe mãdasse officiaes pera fazer hũa fortaleza de que tinha necessidade grãdissima por não ter em que se recolhesse.

[...]

Liv. VIII, Cap. CXII, p. 750:

De como os Reys das ilhas de Maluco jurarão de fazer guerra a Tristão datayde

Atras fica dito a guerra que Tristão datayde fez a el rey de Bachão, do que ele ficou tam escandalizado, que ainda que fez paz não perdia ho escandalo, porque lhe lêbraua quamanho [*sic*] seruidor fora sempre del rey de Portugal, & quam leal, & com quanta diligencia acodira sempre á fortaleza em todas suas necessariidades [*sic*], & verse por derradeiro tam mal galardoado de Tristão dataide, tomoulhe mortal odio & desejou sua destruyção, & queixouse aos outros reys das ilhas de

Maluco, que por també estarem muyto escãdalizados ainda que ho dissimulauão: ho escandalo daquele lhe fez renouar ho seu. E despoys que per recados teuerão algũa inteligẽcia acerca de se vingarem.s. El rey Cachil dayalo, que fora de Ternate, El rey Cachil Catabruno de Geylolo, El Rey Cachi mir de Tidore, & el rey de Bachão, onde todos juntos, alegou cada hũ largamente as causas que tinhão pera serẽ ãmigos não somente de Tristão dataide, mas de todos os Portugueses, & procurarẽ sua total destruyção, & assi ho jurarão todos quatro sobre hum Moçafo, que he ho liuro de sua seyta, & por sua cabeça, & polos ossos de seus passados, de se leuãtarem cõtra a fortaleza, & fazerlhe tanta guerra ate que a tomassem, & matassem Tristão dataide, & quantos Portugueses esteuessem nela, ou os deitassem fora da terra. E sendo caso que ho não podessem fazer por a fortaleza ser socorrida, que então cortarião & queimarião as aruores do crauo daquelas ilhas, & as da noz & da maça & todo outro aruoredo de fruyto, & despouoarião as ilhas, & se irião morar a outras, porque os Portugueses perdessem a esperança de tornar mais a elas, & sobristo perderião todos as vidas & os estados. E ho mesmo juramento fizerão vinte dous hirmãos destes reys, & assi de terẽ isto em muy segredo. E logo ali foy ordenado que os da ilha de Ternate auião de ser os primeyros que auiã de começar esta guerra: & que ate eles não irẽ bem cõ ela por diante, não auião os reys das outras ilhas de bolir consigo. E ho çamarao tambem foy nesta liga, & ainda que não foy presente, deu pera isso seu consentimento. Que posto que deuia muyto a Tristão dataide, que de nada ho fizera tamanho senhor, era mouro, que naturalmente sam desleays. E ali foy també ordenado, que fizessem crer a Tristão dataide que nas ilhas dos Celebes & Macaçares, & na de Mindanao auia ouro, que as mandasse descobrir, & ele com cobiça ho faria: & como a isso auia de mãdar gente lhe ficaria pouca pera se defender, pelo que aueria pouco que fazer em ho tomar. E que os da cidade de Ternate serião os primeyros que se leuãtassem, & a despouoarião, porque os Portugueses não podessem ter mantimẽtos: & lhes fizessem coisso mais guerra. E ho çamarao fingiria que lhe pesaua daquele leuantamento, & que não era sabedor dele: & se faria grande amigo de Tristão dataide, & ficaria coele pera espia, porque mayor guerra faria em descobrir aos ãmigos seus segredos do que ordenasse cõtreles que em pelear contrele.

Capitolo CXIII – De como os mouros de Ternate despouoarão a cidade

Isto assi ordenado, fizerão saber a Tristão dataide, que erão chegadas a Geylolo certas corasoras, que vinhão da ilha de Mindanao em que acharão muyto ouro,

com o que ele se prouocou a mandar descobrir, & mandou a isso hum Ioão de canha pinto em hũ nauio, que a foy descobrir, & tendo descuberta parte dela, foy com tempo ter a outra ilha que estaa [*sic*] ao mar desta, que se chama Siriago: & tendo necessidade de fazer nela agoada, fez paz com a gente da terra, sangrandose ele & el rey, & bebêdo hum ho sangue do outro, & desta maneira fica feita a paz. E auêdo os da terra por muyto firme conuersauão com os Portugueses, & hião ao nauio sem medo. E determinãdo Ioão da canha de se ir, deitou hũ dia mão de quãtos da terra estauão no nauio pera os catiuar, & algũs fugirão deitandose ao már, & estes forão dizer a el rey a treyção que lhe os Portugueses fizerão, que logo mandou deitar sua armada ao már, em que mandou meter sua gente pera hir tomar o nosso nauio, cõtra quem foy a velas, & a remos, tirãdo tantas frechadas & arremessos, & com tamanhas gritas, que Ioão de canha com medo mandou cortar as amarras, & dar ás velas e fugio. E ho que pior foy que lhe ficou a artelharia do nauio, que com hum temporal deitou ao már. E vendo os mouros que o não podião alcãçar tornarãse. E por isto que lhe os Portugueses fizerão crerão todos os males que os da ilha de Maluco contauão deles. E escapando Ioão de canha daqui, acabou de descobrir a ilha de Mindanao, em que não achou ouro, & tornou-se pera Ternate. E por aquele anno ser a moução do crauo, não quis Tristão datayde mandar mays descobrir os Celebes nem Maçares, porque ãdaua muy ocupado em fazer nauios pera carregar de crauo, cõ outras pessoas que tinhão nele parte.

[...]

Cap. CXVI, p. 756:

Do espantoso feyto que fez dom Ioam de Mamoia

El rey Cachil dayalo ja antes disto á petição dos Ternates estaua apoderado de toda a ilha de Ternate, & outra vez obedecido por rey: & tinha mãado fazer gente de guerra a Mindanao & a Banda, mandando dizer ho pera que: & como determinaua de tomar os Portugueses, & a causa porque. E sendo lâ este recado, acertou de jr a Banda hum jungo de hũ Portugues chamado Lopalvarez, que os Bandanese tomarão, matando quãtos Portugueses hião dentro. E tomada a artelharia & outras armas, mandarão tudo a el rey Cachil dayalo, que muyto ledo ho mandou dizer a el rey de Geylolo com quem naquele tempo acertou destar hũ Castelhana que fora lingoa na fortaleza, que auia nome Manhoz, que lá fora ter,

não soube a que: & como este hia da nossa fortaleza, de que el rey desejava saber nouas, deulhe hũa escraua & quatro aneys douro: & preguntandolhe despois por nouas de Tristão dataide, disselhe dele mil males.

[...]

Cap. CXVIII, p. 760:

De como fez Tristão datayde prosseguindo a guerra. E de como Frâncisco de sousa tomou Turutoo

Neste tẽpo chegou a Ternate hũ fidalgo chamado Simão sodré, em hũa carauela cõ socorro a Tristão dataide que ho mandaua dô Esteuão da gama capitão de Malaca: & foy por Borneo, & logo a pos ele chegou Ioão da canha pinto de descobrir a ilha de Mindanao. E com a vinda destes dous capitães ficou Tristão datayde muyto ledo, por trazerẽ gẽte, de que tinha grande necessidade pera se defender daqueles reys que esperaua que fossem cercar a fortaleza: do que eles estauão bê fora, que não se atreuião a isso, por não terem tiros pera darem bateria, nem saber pera ho mais, & por isso determinarão de lhe fazerem guerra guerreada por mar, & tomar os Portugueses com fome.

[...]

Cap. CC, p. 890:

E neste tẽpo forão ter a Ternate dous yrmãos Macaçares de nação, que estão em Ternate & sendo gẽtios, inspirados de nosso Senhor se fizerã Cristãos, & foy seu padrinho Antonio galuão, cujo nome tomou o mais velho & o mais moço ouue nome Miguel galuão, que bautizados se forão á jlha do Macaçar donde erão naturaeis [*sic*], & dahi tornarão a ver Antonio galuão, cõ hũa armada carregada de sandalo & algũ ouro & armas, & outras mercadorias, que disserão a Antonio galuão que auia nas jlhas do Macaçar & dos Celebes, onde folgarião muyto de terẽ trato com os Portugueses, & se lá fossem se farião muytos Christãos, & pera o serem vinhão algũs mancebos fidalgos, a que logo foy dada agoa de bautismo. E ouuyndo Antonio galuão as nouas desta terra folgou muyto, assi por se alargar nela a fee [*sic*] de Christo, como pera os Portugueses fazerẽ seu proueito: & logo ordenou de mandar lá hũ caualeiro chamado Francisco de crasto casado, homẽ muyto pera

isso, a que deu hũ regimento que assentasse amizade cõ os reys daquelas terras, & trabalhasse por se tornarẽ Christãos, pera ho que lhe deu muytas peças que lhes desse de presentes, & que tudo fosse por bem. E despachado Francisco de crasto partio de Ternate em Mayo, & aos vinteseis de Junho chegou a hũa jlha dos Celebes chamada Chedigão, que está em doze graos & dous terços, cujo rey & pouo erã gentios, & assentou logo amizade com el rey vendose no mar, & ambos se sangrarão nos braços, e hũ bebeo o sangue do outro, & dahi a poucos dias se fez el rey Christão, muyto contra vontade dos do seu conselho, & foylhe posto nome dom Frãcisco, & foy bautizarse dentro ao nauio, que não quis Francisco de crasto yr a terra, & assi se fizerão Christãos tres yrmãos del rey & sua molher & hũ filho, & cento & trinta fidalgos, & muytos do pouo. E passados vinte dous dias que Francisco de crasto gastou nisso partiose, deixando em todos muyta soydade, & dali foy ao longo da jlha de Mindanao, & chegou a hum rio ondestaua hũa cidade chamada Soligão cujo rey se fez Christão, & foylhe posto nome Antonio galuão, & coele recebeu agoa de bautismo a Raynha & duas filhas, & bẽ cento & cincoenta pessoas outras. E depois se fizerão na mesma jlha Christãos el rey de Butuão, a que chamarão dom João o rey grande, el rey de Pimilara que tãobem se chamou assi, el rey de Camiguy a que poserão nome dô Francisco. E assi receberão agoa de bautismo suas molheres, filhos, & yrmãos, & muyta parte de seus vassalos, assi dos nobres, como do pouo. E querendo Francisco de crasto passar desta jlha á do Macaçar, foylhe o vento tão contrayro, que mil vezes esteue perdido, pelo que os que yão coele não quiserão que passasse por diante, & o fizerão tornar a Ternate, leuando muytos filhos daqueles que se tornarão Christãos, pera lhe ser insinada a doutrina christã [sic] & a nossa lingoa, o que Antonio galuão fazia com grande cuydado, & os criaua como filhos.

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Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, Vol. 2 (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1979), 165-168, 496, 750-751, 756-757, 760, 890-891.

The Portuguese chronicler Fernão Lopes de Castanheda lived in India from 1528 to 1538, having accompanied Nuno da Cunha, the Governor of Estado da Índia, on his voyage there. In Goa he would have met some of the survivors from Fernão de Magalhães' expedition, who were then en route to Europe. On his return to Portugal, Castanheda settled in Coimbra, where he served as a civil servant in the city's university. Between 1551 and 1561 he published various volumes of his História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses in Coimbra, a detailed chronicle of the Portuguese presence in the orient during the early decades of the sixteenth century. Various sections of Castanheda's work address the interactions between the Portuguese and the Moluccas and the islands of Mindanao in considerable detail.

Book VI, Ch. 8, p. 165:

Seeing that Álvaro de Mesquita¹ was not coming, Fernão de Magalhães decided not to wait any longer, so as not to use up their supplies. And so he turned down that strait and sailed into the open sea. He thought the entry to that strait was at fifty-five degrees south, and from there Magalhães gave orders that they head for the equator because he knew from Francisco Serrão's² letters to him and from the old nautical charts that the Moluccas were found on the equator. Heading north

¹ Álvaro de Mesquita was a cousin of Fernão de Magalhães and he sailed with the expedition that left Seville in 1519. The following year, in South America, he captained one of the ships of an expedition, during which the crew mutinied, took him prisoner, and began sailing back to Spain. He later returned to Portugal.

² The Portuguese, Francisco Serrão, travelled to India in 1505, where he performed duties in the Portuguese fleets that were establishing bases across the *Estado da Índia* during that period. In 1512, he took part in the expedition sent to Malacca via the Moluccas archipelago. After his vessel had been shipwrecked, he managed to reach the island of Ternate, where he lived until his death in 1521. He was a friend of Fernão de Magalhães, who he wrote letters to from Ternate, but these have not been conserved.

to reach the equator, he sailed for five months without reaching the Moluccas, which frustrated both Magellan himself, his pilots, and his astrologist³ as we later discovered from our compatriots who took one of these ships at the island of Ternate. Magalhães confirmed with his astrologist and the pilots of the fleet that they had sailed so far west after they left the strait that they had left the demarcation of Castille and crossed far into the domains of Portugal. Worried about coming across any Portuguese, and in great need of fresh water, they decided to abandon their current course and sailed north until they were ten degrees above the equator, and there they found an archipelago of many islands. They landed there and saw that the local people had proas in which they sailed and wore a lot of gold round their arms and as earrings, which they would swap in return for iron. Fifty leagues from there they docked at an island called *Maçana*⁴ that had a king who, showing them great honour and giving them provisions, took them to the king of another island called *Cubo*,⁵ who was his overlord, and who received Magalhães with great honour and treated him well. This was largely after he found out he was the captain-major of such a great ruler as the Emperor.⁶ Magalhães made this king a vassal of the emperor and converted him to Christianity along with his wife, children, and many of his subjects. He gave him the name Dom Fernando and with his permission a church was constructed dedicated to Our Lady of Victory where the divine liturgy could be performed. With this alliance in place, the king asked Magalhães to assist him in battle against the king of the neighbouring island of *Matão*⁷ who refused to obey him and thus brought about war between them. Because the king was now a vassal of the emperor, Magalhães granted him the support that he requested and fought against the King of *Matão* on two occasions, both times killing many of the latter's men. But that king still refused to obey the King of Cubo and fought against him a further time, and on this occasion he was routed and killed. The cause of this was that the King of *Matão* had ordered many trenches containing pointed stakes to be dug in the area where the battle was to take place. As the battle commenced he made out that he was fleeing with his men. Magalhães was pleased with this and did not follow them. However, as he gathered his men, the enemy pounced and

³ The cosmographer on Fernão de Magalhães's expedition was the Sevillian, Andrés de San Martín, who is referred to as an "astrologist". He died in Cebu in 1521 during a confrontation with the inhabitants of this island.

⁴ See document 13, note 10.

⁵ Cebu.

⁶ Reference to Emperor Charles V.

⁷ Mactan.

forced them back onto the caltrops where they killed Magalhães, Duarte Barbosa,⁸ and Juan Serrano⁹ along with more than twenty other men. The survivors retreated to the boats and once back aboard the carracks headed back to the island of *Cubo*.

Ch. 9 – Concerning the betrayal of the Spanish by the King of *Cubo*, how he killed many of them and others escaped by fleeing and what happened to them before they arrived at the island of Tidore, one of the Moluccas Islands

Having returned to the island of *Cubo*, and finding themselves without their captain-major or someone to guide them to where they needed to go, the Castilians wanted to leave that place. Here João Carvalho,¹⁰ pilot of Juan Serrano's ship, weighed in saying that they ought not be so cowardly and should think about what would be due to them from the Emperor if they discovered Banda and the Moluccas. He said thus that they should discover these places and that he would take them there. Encouraged by these words, they decided to press on and elected him the captain of the ship. Just as they thought that they were about to recommence their journey, the King of *Matão* sent threats to the King of *Cubo* saying that he would attack and would destroy him if he did not kill the Castilians and take their ships from them. The death of Magalhães and the others made him frightened by the King of *Matão*'s threat, so he promised the King of *Matão* that he would do what he wanted. He quickly put this into action, pretending to hold a large feast to which he invited the captains and other important men from the fleet. He could not manage to get them all together otherwise because on João de Carvalho's advice they had rarely gone on land following Magalhães's death. Indeed, when he learned that they had been invited to the banquet and wanted him to attend he urged the others not to go, suspecting without a doubt that treachery was afoot. Yet, despite all the reasons he gave for it being a trap, they were reluctant to not go ashore; but he did not want to go, nor did he want anyone else from his ship to go, and so he ordered the anchors to be raised, just leaving one to hold their position and readied the ship so they could leave at a moment's notice, if it became necessary. While the Castilians feasted with the king under some trees with great festivity, the king's men, armed, attacked them and killed more than thirty of them, the others managing to escape to the nearby ships. They were able to do this because João Carvalho ordered the cannon to be

⁸ See document 11, note 13.

⁹ See document 11, note 7.

¹⁰ See document 11, note 10.

fired and the enemy were afraid of their artillery so did not pursue the Castilians. Nevertheless, they realised when they disembarked that there were so few of them that they could not man three ships, so set fire to one of them and transferred all its cargo and provisions to the other ships. They left without hope of salvation, as despite João Carvalho's promise that he would take them to the Moluccas, he did not know their location, nor how to get there. Without a defined route they sailed this sea wherever fortune took them and found themselves at an island called *Puluá*¹¹ in the realm of the King of Borneo, where they took two men who would take them to the island of Borneo. They ordered these men to inform the king whose ships they were and that they carried a lot of merchandise to trade if they were granted permission to come ashore. With that permission granted, they left, beseeching the king to welcome the two captains honourably and with great fanfare. After merchandise had been taken to shore, they set up a trading post. Two days later at dawn three hundred or so proas appeared around the ships, such that it seemed they were there to attack them. Realizing this, they quickly opened their sails and attacked five junks that were in the harbour and took three of them, which contained many riches that had been transported from Malacca, which was where these ships had come from, and they took all on board as captives. Having done this they headed for an inhabited island that lies at some distance from the port, whither the King of Borneo soon sent a request for the return of the captives, sending two Castilians from the trading post and saying that he was not sending the others because they were watching over the goods at the trading post. They sent the king the hostages they had taken, sending word that he should send back the Castilians who were still ashore in return. The reply took a day to arrive, which made the Castilians suspect that they were going to be betrayed. For this reason they pressed João Carvalho to leave, and so they did, leaving behind their countrymen on the shore with their goods. They made for an uninhabited island where they took on ballast for the ships as they were sitting very high in the water. From there they went to an island called Mindanao and then continued on to another that was known as *Sanguim*.¹² They were lost, not knowing where on earth they were and without a hope of ever finding out. Believing their end was nigh, they ran into a Chinese junk that had come from the Moluccas, and communicating with that vessel through signs they learned that they needed to go back the way they had come. They took on board pilots who would take them to Tidore, one of the Moluccas Islands. They arrived there at the end of October 1521.

¹¹ Palawan.

¹² Pulau Sangihe.

[...]

Book VII, Ch. 75, p. 496:

How Dom Jorge de Meneses and Fernão de la Torre requested help, one from India and the other from New Spain

Dom Jorge,¹³ seeing that Fernão de la Torre¹⁴ did not wish to come to an agreement on the terms that he had suggested, stopped seeking peace since it was against the opinion of Gonçalo Gomes¹⁵ and others who were with him, who said he should assent to peace without being given half of the island of Makian, but he thought that this seemed a cowardly way to proceed. So, seeing that peace was not possible and that the hostilities were set to increase, and realising that Gonçalo Gomes would not help him, he sent a request to Malacca and to India, asking for both men and goods for the factory, as those had all been used up since arriving. Moreover, he wanted to send a message via Simão de Vera¹⁶ that he wished to send the documents and legal papers concerning Dom Garcia¹⁷ in order to arrest him before he went back to Portugal. He decided that this would be done within the disguised ship that was loaded with cloves. He handed the letters he had written to the captain of Malacca and the governor of India about all that had happened since the beginning of his captaincy of the fortress to Simão de Vera who set off in the aforementioned ship. He arrived at the island of Mindanao but was either

¹³ Jorge de Meneses, a Portuguese nobleman who was captain of the fortress of Ternate between 1527 and 1530.

¹⁴ Fernando de la Torre, one of the survivors of the fleet led by García de Loaysa, which left Spain in 1525 and followed the route taken by Fernão de Magalhães, while seeking to establish a regular route to the Moluccas, where one of the ships docked in 1526.

¹⁵ Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo, a Portuguese who served as provost of Ternate in 1528, and he later devoted himself to the cloves trade.

¹⁶ Under-provost of the Portuguese fortress of Ternate.

¹⁷ Dom Garcia Henriques left Malacca in January 1522 for Banda, where he was informed of the presence of the Castilian fleet in the Moluccas. He proceeded to Ternate in the company of António de Brito, who was to take over as the captain of the fortress there. In 1525, he returned again to Ternate, where he served as captain between 1526 and 1527. His period of government was turbulent, and he came into conflict with his successor, Dom Jorge de Meneses, to whom he refused to hand over authority.

killed there, along with all the men on his ship, by locals who took the ship or else it was wrecked as he was never seen again. Dom Jorge therefore did not get what he wanted. Fernão de la Torre learning that Dom Jorge had dispatched Simão de Vera to seek help from Malacca and India, and moreover knowing that Gonçalo Gomes was making preparations and that Meneses wanted to completely rout all the Castilians, wanted to have men with whom he could defend his own position and so agreed with his council to send for help from New Spain, writing to the governor in a letter about everything that had gone on. He requested both soldiers and craftsmen who could build a fortress of which he had dire need given he had nowhere to retreat to.

[...]

Book VIII, Ch. 112, p. 750:

How the kings of the Moluccas decided to wage war against Tristão de Ataíde

Earlier we described how Tristão de Ataíde¹⁸ waged war against the King of Bacan¹⁹. That king was so aggrieved by it that even though he agreed to peace he never got over it, because he recalled that he had always been such a good and loyal servant of the King of Portugal, diligently helping the fortress [of Ternate] with anything that was needed. He found himself so poorly recompensed for this by Tristão de Ataíde that he nurtured a mortal hatred of that captain and sought to bring about his downfall. He complained to the other kings of the Moluccas, who had been equally scandalized by what happened, although they had hidden it, which made his anger all the greater. After they learned through some letters of some intelligence that would help them avenge themselves, King Kaicil Dayal²⁰ of Ternate, King Kaicil Katarabumi²¹ of Jailolo,²² King Kaicil Mir²³ of Tidore, and

¹⁸ Tristão de Ataíde was captain of the Portuguese fortress of Ternate between 1533 and 1536.

¹⁹ Island of Bacan or Bachan (or *Bachão*), one of the islands in the Moluccas archipelago to the south of Ternate and Tidore.

²⁰ *Cachil* (from the Malay *kaicil*) is the title of the rulers of the Moluccas. Kaicil Dayal ruled in Ternate between 1529 and 1533, and again in 1536.

²¹ Kaicil Katarabumi was regent (1530-1534) and then king (1534-1552) of Jailolo.

²² See document 19, note 21.

²³ Kaicil Mir ruled in Tidore between 1526 and the 1550s.

the King of Bacan, all got together and each listed all the reasons that they had for being the enemy not only of Tristão de Ataíde, but of all the Portuguese, and sought their complete defeat. They each swore on a *Moçafó*,²⁴ the holy book of their faith, on their own heads, and on the remains of their ancestors that they would attack the fortress and persist until they took it, kill Tristão de Ataíde, and slaughter all the Portuguese in there or else banish them from their lands. In the event that they could not take the fortress, because backup arrived, they would fell and burn all the clove trees on those islands, along with the nutmeg and mace trees and any other fruiting trees, and they would abandon the islands and go and live elsewhere, so that the Portuguese would lose all hope of returning to them and would thereby lose all their lives and lands. Twenty-two brothers of these kings made the same pact and swore to keep it a secret. It was soon agreed that the forces of the island of Ternate would be the first to start this campaign and the other kings were only to get involved if this did not go well. The Samaraw²⁵ was also part of this plot, and even though he was not present, he agreed to it. Even though he owed much to Tristão de Ataíde, who had made him a great lord from nothing, he was a Moor and so was naturally disloyal. It was then also arranged that they would make Tristão de Ataíde believe that there was gold to be found on the islands of the *Celebes*²⁶ and of the *Macaçares*²⁷ and Mindanao so that he would order for them to be discovered, and would do so out of greed. He would thus send men away from the fortress, leaving few behind to defend it, and it would be easy to take it. The inhabitants of the city of Ternate would be the first to rise up and would abandon the city, so that the Portuguese would have no provisions and this was another way that they would wage war against the Portuguese. The Samaraw would then pretend that he was very concerned about this uprising and that he had no part in it. He would thus make himself a great friend of Tristão de Ataíde and would stay in the fortress as a spy, as they would better defeat the Portuguese by knowing their secrets and what they had planned against them, than by battling him.

²⁴ *Moçafó* (from the Arabic *mushaf* in Portuguese sources refers to the sacred book of Islam, the Qu'ran).

²⁵ Kaicil Samaraw, governor of Ternate in 1536.

²⁶ See document 7, note 1, and document 56, note 1.

²⁷ See document 6, note 3.

Chapter 113 – How the Moors of Ternate abandoned the city

Just as was planned, they informed Tristão de Ataíde that some *korakoras*²⁸ had arrived in Jailolo from the island of Mindanao, where they had found a lot of gold, which prompted Tristão de Ataíde to order this island to be discovered and he sent one João da Canha Pinto²⁹ in a ship to do so. Having discovered part of it, he docked at a neighbouring island called *Siriago*.³⁰ He needed to take on water there and so made peace with the local people, making a blood oath with the king, where each drank the blood of the other, thereby establishing peaceful relations with them. Thinking that this pact was very solid, the locals conversed with the Portuguese and went aboard their ship without any trepidation. But one day, deciding to depart from there, João da Canha seized all those who were on his ship to take them as captives. A few managed to escape by throwing themselves overboard and went to inform their king of the treachery of the Portuguese. The king soon gave the order for his fleet to take to the sea in which he sent men to capture our ship. They set out in oared and sailing vessels, firing so many arrows and projectiles and releasing such cries that João da Canha told his men to cut their hawsers, raise the sails and flee out of fear. The worst thing was that he had no artillery as he threw it overboard in a storm. Realising that they would not be able to catch the Portuguese, the Moors turned back. As a result of these actions, they believed all the bad things that they had heard about the Portuguese from the people of Ternate. After escaping, João da Canha discovered the island of Mindanao, on which he found no gold, and returned to Ternate. At that time it was the clove monsoon³¹ so Tristão de Ataíde did not order the discovery of the *Celebes* or Makassar because he was preoccupied by building ships to be loaded with cloves, as others were who were also involved in the clove trade.

[...]

²⁸ From the Malay *korakora*, a typical flat-bottomed vessel used in the Moluccas, that is propelled with oars, but can also be equipped with a sail.

²⁹ João da Canha Pinto, a Portuguese navigator who explored the coast of the island of Mindanao in 1535.

³⁰ Sarangani Island.

³¹ The expression “clove monsoon” [*monção do cravo*] would refer to the time of the year and the wind that favoured sailing from the Moluccas to India.

Ch. 116, p. 756:

Concerning the astonishing feat accomplished by João de Mamoia

The King Dayal, by petition of the islanders, had before all this become lord of the whole island of Ternate and was once more obeyed as king. He ordered soldiers to be sought from Mindanao and Banda and the reason he had ordered this to be made known, and that he wanted to rout the Portuguese and why. Following this order, the junk of a Portuguese called Lopo Álvares went to Banda and the Bandanese took the boat and killed all the Portuguese who were on board. They sent all the artillery and weapons they found aboard to King Dayal. He was very happy with this and ordered for a message to be sent to the King of Jailolo. At that time, this king had with him a Castilian, called Muñoz, who had been an interpreter in the fort, and who had ended up there and nobody knew why. Because he had come from our fort, about which the king wanted information, he gave him a slave woman and four gold rings and asked him for information about Tristão de Ataíde, about whom this man reeled off a litany of criticisms.

[...]

Ch. 118, p. 760:

How Tristão de Ataíde pursued the war and how Francisco de Sousa took Turutu

At this time a noble called Simão Sodré³² arrived in Ternate with a caravel bringing aid to Tristão de Ataíde, sent by Estêvão da Gama,³³ the captain of Malacca. He came via Borneo and shortly after he arrived João da Canha Pinto returned from discovering the island of Mindanao. Tristão de Ataíde was very happy with the arrival of these two captains as they brought men which he badly needed so he could defend the fort from those kings who he expected were going to besiege the fort. They were not in fact going to do this, and did not dare to, because they did not have ammunition for an artillery attack, nor the requisite

³² Simão Sodré was in India from the 1520s onwards. In 1535, he travelled to the Moluccas archipelago under the orders of his relative Estêvão da Gama, captain of Malacca.

³³ See document 17, note 1.

knowhow, and so decided to wage a naval war and to conquer the Portuguese by starving them.

[...]

Ch. 200, p. 890:

At this time arrived in Ternate two brothers, who were heathens from Makassar and who were in Ternate and were inspired by Our Lord to become Christians. Their godfather was António Galvão³⁴ and the eldest brother took his name and the younger one took the name Miguel Galvão. After they were baptized, they went to the islands of Makassar, which was where they came from, and from there they came back to see António Galvão with a fleet loaded with sandalwood, some gold, weapons, and other merchandise, which they had told António Galvão existed in Makassar and the *Celebes* and which islands would be delighted to trade with the Portuguese. They said that if the Portuguese went there many would become Christians and, indeed, some young nobles came with them in order to become Christians, and they were very soon baptized with holy water.

António Galvão was delighted by this information about these islands, because of the prospect both of spreading the faith of Christ and of the Portuguese making a profit. He then sent a gentleman called Francisco de Castro³⁵, a *casado*, who was the perfect man for the job, instructing him to make diplomatic ties with the kings of that region and to endeavour to convert them to Christianity. He sent Castro with various items to give them as presents so that everything would go smoothly. With these orders Francisco de Castro left Ternate in May and on the 26th June reached one of the islands of the *Celebes*, called *Chedigão*,³⁶ which is located at 12 $\frac{2}{3}$ degrees. The king and the people were heathens and the king quickly agreed

³⁴ See documents 16 and 57 for a short biographical information on António Galvão.

³⁵ Francisco de Castro explored the coast of the island of Mindanao in 1538. See document 20, note 11.

³⁶ Unclear location. The account given of the same journey by Diogo do Couto places this island, albeit with a different name, in a location 100 leagues from Ternate, which suggests it may be identified as Sarangani. However, the latitude indicated here is not compatible with this identification. See document 61, note 10.

to a pact. They met each other on the sea and they both cut themselves on their arms and drank the blood of the other. A few days after that the king became a Christian, very much against the will of his advisors, and he was given the name Dom Francisco. He was baptized on the ship because Francisco de Castro did not want to go ashore. In addition, three brothers of the king, and his wife, one of his sons, 130 nobles, and many of the people became Christians. Having spent 22 days on this task Francisco de Castro departed, much to the sadness of everyone, and from there he sailed along the coast of Mindanao and arrived at a river where there was a city called *Suligão*,³⁷ whose king became Christian, and was given the name António Galvão, and his wife, two daughters, and a good 150 other people were baptised. On the same island the following kings then also became Christians: the King of *Butuão*,³⁸ who was called Dom João, the Great King; the King of *Pimilara*,³⁹ who was called by the same name; and the King of *Camiguy*,⁴⁰ who was given the name Dom Francisco. And their wives, children, brothers, and many of their subjects, both noble and more humble, were baptised. As Francisco de Castro tried to leave that island and head to Makassar the wind was so against him that he got lost countless times and thus those who were with him did not want him to journey onwards but rather made him return to Ternate, taking many of the children of those who had become Christians to be instructed in Christian doctrine and in our language, a task which António Galvão performed with the upmost diligence, raising these children as his own.

³⁷ Probably a reference to Surigao, in the northeast of Mindanao.

³⁸ Butuan, in the northeast of Mindanao.

³⁹ Uncertain location, presumably on the northeast coast of Mindanao.

⁴⁰ Island of Camiguin, facing the north coast of of Mindanao.

DOCUMENTO 53

João de Barros, *Ásia*, ed. Hernâni Cidade e Manuel Múrias (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1946), Década III, 293-295, Década IV, 56, 59, 63.

Década III, Liv. V, Cap. X, p. 293:

Do que Fernão de Magalhães passou em sua navegação do Mar do Ponente até chegar à Ilha Subo, onde mataram a êle e a principal gente da sua armada; e do que mais sucedeu aos que ficaram

Tanto que Fernão de Magalhães se viu no Mar do Ponente, porque andava tam furioso como o oriental donde vinha por causa da frialdade do clima, mandou navegar contra a Linha Equinocial pera se meter no quente; e como achou os mares mais brandos, pôs a proa em Aloesnoroeste per espaço de quatro meses. E sendo obra de mil e quinhentas léguas da bôca do estreito, segundo sua estimação, e em altura de dezoito graus da banda do Sul, acharam ùa pequena ilha, que foi a primeira terra que viram depois da saída do estreito, a que puseram nome Ilha Primeira. E daí a duzentas léguas ao Noroeste, desta em altura de treze graus, acharam outra que seria de ùa légua, em a qual fizeram pescaria; e polos muitos tubarões que nela havia, lhe chamaram dos Tubarões. E porque êle, Fernão de Magalhães, sabia que as Ilhas de Moluco estavam debaixo da Linha Equinocial, desta Ilha dos Tubarões foi navegando até se meter nela. Cursando tanto per êste rumo que levava, que, de lhe parecer que tinha escorrido as Ilhas de Maluco, (ca, segundo sua Carta, passava de cento e oitenta graus de longura), passou-se da banda do Norte em altura de quinze graus e meio, a ver se achava algûas ilhas ou terra das que nós navegamos, pera tomar língua e saber em que paragem era, já como homem que tinha perdido a estimação do lugar em que podia ser. Na qual paragem achou um número de ilhas pequenas, e daí, por serem desertas, foram subindo té altura de vinte e um graus, desejando achar algûa terra firme, e fazendo interrogações sôbre isso ao astrólogo Andrés de San Martin, porque, como já lhe falecia a conta e rezão do marear, leixando a astronomia, convertia-se à astrologia.

Finalmente, porque êle andou per aqui tornando a deminuir da altura de ilha em ilha, como dizem, às redes – em ùa parte lhe matavam homens, em outra lhe furtavam o batel, e se aqui recebiam mantimentos, ali afrontas e perigos – veo ter

a ùa ilha chamada Subo, onde acabou seus trabalhos.

A qual ilha está em altura de dez graus da parte do Norte, e terra em roda de dez ou doze léguas, onde acharam outro e tanto gasalhado no Rei gentio dela, que veo Fernão de Magalhães a o querer fazer cristão, o que êle aceitou, bautizando-se com sua mulher e filhos e mais de oitocentas pessoas, e isto mais por artifício do que havia mister dêle, que por devação [*sic*] ou eleição de melhor estado. E o caso foi êste:

Como onde há vezinhança logo há competência, êste Rei, a que êle, no bautismo pôs nome D. Fernando, acertou de ter por vezinho outro Rei com quem andava em guerra, contra o qual êle lhe pediu ajuda, pois era já feito christão e chamado Fernando, do seu nome. Fernão de Magalhães, polo comprazer, meteu-se neste negócio de guerra; e però que houve duas vitórias do Rei imigo de D. Fernando, quando veo a terceira, com duas ciladas que lhe armaram os imigos, foi necessário os castelhanos recolherem-se aos batéis E primeiro que se salvassem, foram mortos Fernão de Magalhães e o astrólogo Andrés de San Martin e um Cristóvão Rabelo, português, com outros seis ou sete homens, a vinte sete dias do mês de Abril, de quinhentos e vinte e um.

O qual tempo e lugar de suas mortes não alcançou o astrólogo Andrés de San Martin, pôsto que pelo ascendente de sua partida e per algúas interrogações que lhe Fernão de Magalhães fizera, êle lhe tinha dito que naquele caminho lhe via um grande perigo de morte. Parece que levava errados os números das Tavoas do Almanaque per que se regia, como êle dizia e adiante veremos em algúas operações que fêz de oposições de planetas como a Lúa, pera saber a distância do meridiano de Sevilha ao lugar onde as tomava.

Sôbre êste grande desastre sucedeu outro, que os meteu em maior confusão; e foi que os Reis imigos vieram fazer paz entre si, com tal que o Rei Fernando trabalhasse para os matar a todos. E porque não pôde mais, acolheu vinte dos principais, em que entravam os capiães [*sic*] Duarte Barbosa, João Serrão, e com simulação de lhes dar um banquete, foi do vaso da morte, do qual feito escapou sòmente vivo João Serrão.

Êste foi trazido à praia com as mãos atadas à vista das naus, o qual deu nova do caso, e que o traziam ali pera o resgatarem por dous berços de metal e algúa pólvora. E però que os castelhanos se pusessem em um batel chegados um

pouco à praia, onde os índios estavam com êle, a quem havia de fazer a entrega, começaram a pedir mais, entretendo os castelhanos de maneira que, temendo êles algũa traição, sem terem de ver mais com João Serrão, nem com as palavras que êle dizia pera os mover a piedade, se recolheram à nau. E quando viu que o leixavam naquele estado, porque João Lopes Carvalho, o português, ficou ali por principal cabeça, disse contra êle:

- Ah! Compadre, mal vos demande Deus minha morte, pois me não quereis livrar dela!

E então pediu que por amor de Deus que não esbombardeassem o lugar, por o não matarem logo, se com os tiros fizessem algum dano, ca se tornariam a êle.

Os castelhanos, partidos dali o primeiro de Maio de quinhentos e vinte e um, que foi o dia em que lhe aquêceu esta má fortuna, foram ter a ùa ilha dez léguas desta; e feito alardo da gente que tinha, por terem perdidos cinqüenta homens na ilha, e outros per o caminho, acharam-se per todos cento e oitenta pessoas. E havido conselho, porque não podiam navegar três naus, queimaram ùa; e per as duas repartiram a gente; e de ùa chamada a Vitória fizeram capitão um João Sebastião, que era mestre da mesma nau, e da outra o piloto João Lopes Carvalho, o qual depois foi tirado do cargo e prêso por algũas cousas que não aprouveram aos castelhanos, por ser homem vicioso. E esta prisão foi em a Ilha Burneo, tendo já passado por Mindanau e por outras ilhas, onde os quiseram matar; e em lugar dêle fizeram capitão a um João Bautista, que era mestre da mesma nau.

[...]

Década IV, Liv. I, Cap. XVI, p. 56:

Partido D. Jorge de Malaca com pilotos mouros, que tinham notícia daquela carreira, indo costeando, entrou pelo Estreito de Singapura, que é de largura de um tiro de berço, e tam baxo, que em muitas partes não tem de fundo seis braços, e muitas restingas que entram ùas per outras. Aqui achou que a terra fazia uns cotovelos, de maneira que era necessário ter grande tento para se navegar. Chegando a ùa ilha que chamam Pedra Branca, que é mui demandada dos pilotos daquelas partes, fez sua derrota à ilha que os da terra chamam Pulugaia, que quer dizer Ilha do Elefante, pela figura que mostra em seu aspecto.

Daqui per outras muitas ilhas, de que aquele mar é muito sujo, chegou à de Borneu, ao porto da cidade, que está em cinco graus de altura da parte do Norte; e depois de mandar presentes a el-Rei, e el-Rei a ele, fez seu caminho per entre muitas ilhas e restingas, que estão na paragem de Borneu em sete graus, cousa muito perigosa e que se não pode navegar senão de dia, com um marinheiro na gávea vigiando os baxos, sem ter mais notícia deles que a que assinala a água onde branqueja, chegou à Ilha de São Miguel, que os da terra chamam Caguahão, e passou à Ilha Mindanau, e foi per entre ela e a Ilha Taguima, que é além deste canal, onde se D. Jorge já havia por salvo do perigo dele. E como aqui os ventos e as águas em Outubro e Fevereiro cursam muito contra Leste, e os pilotos não fossem muito certos, escorreram à Ilha do Moro, a que também chamam Batochina, ao longo da qual jazem as ilhas de Maluco, fim da sua jornada, e andando pela parte do Norte para tomar esta Ilha do Moro, sem os ventos que vinham per cima dela lhe darem lugar, foi visto per aqueles que de suas naus deram as novas a D. Garcia.

[...]

p. 59:

Com estes autos e instrumentos, e com cartas que D. Jorge escreveu ao capitão de Malaca, em que lhe dava relação dos sucessos de Maluco e lhe mandava pedir socorro de gente, mandou Vicente da Fonseca à pressa em um navio após D. Garcia, escrevendo também e requerendo da parte del-Rei e da sua a qualquer capitão que em Banda estivesse enviado de Malaca, que tomasse a D. Garcia o navio que levava contra seu mandado, e o prendesse. E enviou Gomes de Sequeira (a) buscar mantimentos às Ilhas de Mindanau, o qual, desgarrado com um temporal, descobriu muitas ilhas juntas em nove para dez graus da parte do Norte, que dele se chamaram as Ilhas de Gomes de Sequeira.

[...]

Cap. XVIII, p. 63:

Não havia mais que doze dias que passara esta desgraça, quando chegou Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo, de Banda, com cuja vinda os Portugueses ficaram mui contentes; e per o navio que ele tomara a D. Garcia mandou logo D. Jorge recado a Malaca per Simão de Vera per via de Borneu, o qual se perdeu em as

Ilhas de Mindanau. Os Castelhanos aprestaram também o navio de Saavedra para o mandarem com recado à Nova Espanha, e o carregaram com quarenta bares de cravo; e para crédito da galeota que tomaram aos Portugueses, levava Saavedra consigo Fernão Moreira, patrão da Ribeira, Jácome Ribeiro, comitre, e um escrivão da fortaleza e alguns outros que foram cativos na galeota; e porque o piloto de Saavedra era morto, levou ele em seu lugar a Simão de Brito Patalim, que era prático na arte de navegar, ao qual, querendo D. Jorge castigar por culpas que tinha, se lançou com os Castelhanos, com dous outros Portugueses, como também se lançavam os Castelhanos com os Portugueses quando seus capitães os queriam castigar.

Partiu Saavedra para a Nova Espanha a 14 de Junho, e, fazendo sua derrota, foi tomar a Ilha Hamei, cento e setenta léguas de Tidore, onde surgiu para se prover de água e lenha.

DOCUMENT 53

João de Barros, *Ásia*, ed. Hernâni Cidade and Manuel Múrias (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1946), Decade III, 293-295, Decade IV, 56, 59, 63.

The Portuguese chronicler João de Barros served as factor of the Casa da Índia, in Lisbon, the royal entity that coordinated the crown's ties with the orient. In parallel he compiled documents on the Portuguese presence in Asia, and between 1552 and 1563 he published three Décadas da Ásia in Lisbon, which recounted the history of the activities undertaken by the Portuguese in the orient during the first half of the sixteenth century. In various parts of his work he addresses the Moluccas archipelago.

Decade III, Book V, Ch. X, p. 293:

On what Fernão de Magalhães experienced on his voyage from the Western Sea to the Island of Cebu, where he and the principal men of his fleet were killed; and what further happened to the survivors

As soon as Fernão de Magalhães found himself in the Western Sea, because he was moving as furiously as the easterly from where he had come owing to the coldness of the climate, he ordered a course towards the Equinoctial Line to come into the warmer waters; and as he found the seas milder, he pointed the prow west northwest for a time of four months. And being a distance of one thousand-five-hundred leagues from the mouth of the strait, according to his estimation, and at a height of eighteen degrees south of the equator, they found a small island, that was the first land that they came to after they had departed from the strait, and which they gave the name *Ilha Primeira* [First Island].¹ And from here two hundred leagues to the northwest, at thirteen degrees, they found another that would be one league long, in which they fished; and because of the many sharks there, they named it *dos Tubarões*.² And because he, Fernão de Magalhães, knew that the Moluccas were beneath the Equinoctial Line, he sailed from this *Ilha dos Tubarões* [Shark Island] in order to reach it. In this way following this course, it

¹ See document 13, note 6.

² See document 13, note 1.

seemed to him he had sailed past the Moluccas Islands (here, according to his chart, he was crossing 180 degrees longitude, he went to a height of fifteen and a half degrees north to see if he could find some islands or land to which we sail, to get his bearings and find out in which location he was, now like a man who has lost his sense of which place he could be in. In which location he found a number of small islands, and from there, they carried on moving up to twenty-one degrees, desiring to find some land, and consulting the astrologist Andrés de San Martín³ about this, because, as he [Magalhães] had already lost the thread and reasoning of navigation, by leaving astronomy, he turned to astrology.

Finally, because he came here while unskilfully making his way south island by island, groping around as they say – in one part some of their men were killed and in another part their skiff was stolen, and if here they received provisions, there [they received] affronts and perils – he came into an island called *Subo*,⁴ where he ended his days.

This island is at a height of ten degrees north, with a land mass encompassing ten or twelve leagues, where they found so much and more hospitality from the gentle King of that island,⁵ that Fernão de Magalhães came to wish to make him a Christian, which he accepted, being baptized with his wife and sons and more than eight hundred people, and this more for artifice since he had need of him [Magalhães], rather than devotion or the choice of a better state. And the case was this:

Wherever there are neighbours, so there is competition, this King, to whom he [Magalhães] gave the name D. Fernando at his baptism, claimed he had as his neighbour another King with whom he had been at war, against whom he requested help, since he had already become a Christian and was called Fernando, after him [Magalhães]. Fernão de Magalhães, in order to satisfy him, put himself in this business of war; and, even though he had two victories over the King who was D. Fernando's enemy, when he came to the third [battle], because of two traps the enemies mounted against him, it was necessary for the Spaniards to regroup at the skiffs. And before they were able to save themselves Fernão de Magalhães, the

³ See document 52, note 3.

⁴ Cebu.

⁵ He refers to Raja Humabon.

astrologist Andrés de San Martín, and Cristovão Rebelo,⁶ a Portuguese, were killed with another six or seven men, on the twenty-seventh day of the month of April, fifteen-hundred and twenty-one.

The astrologist Andrés de San Martín never predicted the time and place of their deaths, though by the ascendent of their departure and some questions Fernão de Magalhães had asked him, he had said that on that path he saw a great danger of death for him. It seems that there were errors in the numbers of the Tables of the Almanac by which he reckoned. This he acknowledged and later we will see in some operations that he made of the oppositions of the planets with the Moon, in order to know the distance from the Seville meridian to his own location.

On top of this great disaster followed another, that put them in a great disarray; and it was that the enemy kings came to make peace among themselves, with the effect that the King Fernando worked towards killing all of them. And because he could not do more, he hosted twenty of the most important [of Magalhães' company], which included captains Duarte Barbosa,⁷ Juan Serrano,⁸ and pretending to give them a banquet, it was a vessel of death, from which deed only Juan Serrano emerged alive.

He [Serrano] was brought to the beach with his hands tied in sight of the ships, which provided news of the event, and he was brought here so that the Castilians would ransom him for two short metal cannon and some gunpowder. And though the Castilians got into a skiff, as soon as they came near the beach, where the Indians were with him [Serrano], whom they were to hand over, they began to demand more. They were dealing with the Castilians in such a way that, fearing some treachery and paying no mind to Juan Serrano, nor the words he said to move them to pity, they withdrew to the ship. And when he saw that they were leaving him in that state, because the Portuguese João Lopes Carvalho,⁹ remained there as chief pilot, he cried out to him:

⁶ Cristóvão Rebelo, a Portuguese mariner who served under Fernão de Magalhães and died during the confrontation with the inhabitants of the island of Mactan. It is still speculated today whether he might have been related to Magalhães.

⁷ See document 11, note 13.

⁸ See document 11, note 7.

⁹ See document 11, note 10.

“Ah, comrade, you will be held to account for my death before God, since you did not wish to save me from it!”

And then he asked them for the love of God not to bombard the place, in order not to kill anyone, for if their shot damaged anyone, they would turn on him there.

The Castilians, having left there on the first of May, fifteen hundred and twenty-one, which was the day on which this ill fortune happened to him, they came into an island ten leagues from this one.¹⁰ And having done a muster of the men onboard, because they had lost fifty men on the island, and others along the way, they found they were one hundred and eighty men in total. And having held a council, because they could not crew three carracks, they burnt one; and divided the remaining men between the two; and they made Juan Sebastián¹¹ captain of the *Victoria*, he was master of the same ship and of the other the pilot João Lopes Carvalho, who was later relieved of this position and taken prisoner for some things of which the Castilians did not approve, because he was a corrupt man. And this imprisonment was on the island of Borneo, having already passed Mindanao and other islands, where they wanted to kill them; and in his place they made one João Bautista¹² captain, who was formerly master of the same ship.

[...]

Decade IV, Book I, Ch. XVI, p. 56:

D. Jorge [de Meneses],¹³ having left Malacca with Moorish pilots, who knew this route following the coast, entered by the Strait of Singapore, that is the width of a cannon shot, and very shallow, that in many parts is not even six fathoms deep, and there are many shoals, some of which are joined. Here he found that the land made some bends, in a manner that meant it was necessary to take great care. Coming into an island which is called *Pedra Branca*,¹⁴ which is much frequented

¹⁰ Probably a reference to the island of Panglao, which lies to the south of the island of Bohol.

¹¹ Juan Sebastián Elcano. See document 11, note 9.

¹² Giovanni Battista de Ponzoroni; see document 11, note 3.

¹³ See document 52, note 13.

¹⁴ See document 35, note 2.

by the pilots of those parts, he navigated his course to the island that those of this land call *Pulugaia*, which means *Ilha do Elefante* [Elephant Island], after the figure that is shown in its form.

From here through many other islands, with which the sea is much littered, he arrived at the Island of Borneo, at the city's port,¹⁵ that is at five degrees north; and after sending presents to the king, and the king to him, he made his journey between many islands and shoals, that are in the region of Borneo at seven degrees, a very dangerous place and one that he could not navigate but by day, with a mariner in the crow's nest watching out for the shoals, with no more warning of them than that signalled by white water. He arrived at the *Ilha de São Miguel*,¹⁶ that those of the land call *Caguahão*,¹⁷ and passed to the Island of Mindanao, and went between it and the Island of *Taguima*,¹⁸ and it lies across this channel, [after which] D. Jorge held himself to be safe from its dangers. And as here the winds and the waters in October and February run greatly against the East, and the pilots were not very certain, they ran towards the Island of Moro, that is also called *Batochina*,¹⁹ along the length of which lie the islands of Moluccas, at the end of his journey. And going along the northern part to come into this Island of Moro, without the winds blowing over it allowing him to do this, was seen by those who gave news of his ships to D. Garcia.²⁰

p. 59:

With these legal statements and affidavits, and with letters that D. Jorge wrote to the captain of Malacca, in which he gave an account of the events which took place in the Moluccas and he asked for reinforcements, he sent Vicente da Fonseca²¹ at full speed in a ship after D. García. He also wrote to and requested

¹⁵ I.e., Brunei.

¹⁶ See document 7, notes 11 and 12, and document 13, note 20.

¹⁷ Mapun.

¹⁸ Basilan.

¹⁹ See document 6, note 11.

²⁰ Garcia Henriques. See document 52, note 17.

²¹ Vicente da Fonseca, who served as captain of the fortress of Ternate in the Moluccas archipelago between 1531 and 1533.

on the King's part and his own that any captain who had been sent from Malacca to Banda should take the ship that D. García was sailing against his orders from him, and arrest him. And he sent Gomes de Sequeira²² to pick up provisions from the islands of Mindanao, who, blown off course, discovered many islands in a group at nine to ten degrees north, which are called the *Ilhas de Gomes de Sequeira* after him.

[...]

Ch. XVIII, p. 63:

Fewer than twelve days after this disgrace Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo²³ arrived from Banda. With this the Portuguese were very content; and by the ship he had taken from D. García, D. Jorge then sent word to Malacca with Simão de Vera²⁴ taking the Borneo route, but he got lost in the Mindanao Islands. The Castilians also prepared Saavedra's²⁵ ship to send it with a message to New Spain, and they loaded it with forty *bahars* of cloves; and as surety for the galliot that had been seized from the Portuguese, Saavedra took with him Fernão Moreira, a master shipbuilder, Jácome Ribeiro, a boatswain, and a scrivener from the fortress and some others who were captives in the galliot; and because Saavedra's pilot had died, he brought in his place Simão de Brito Patalim,²⁶ who was proficient in the art of navigation, and as D. Jorge, wished to punish him for certain faults, he made off with the Castilians, along with two other Portuguese, just as the Castilians made off with the Portuguese when their captains wished to punish them.

²² Gomes de Sequeira, a Portuguese pilot who in 1527 or 1528 sailed as far as the islands that bear his name, but were later named the Caroline Islands, in the western Pacific Ocean.

²³ See document 52, note 15.

²⁴ See document 52, note 16.

²⁵ Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón; See document 14 and document 25, note 14.

²⁶ Simão de Brito Patalim was a Portuguese trader, who was in the Moluccas in 1528. He was captured by Fernando de la Torre, one of the captains of García de Loaisa's expedition. He later escaped but was recaptured by the Castilians, who executed him in Tidore.

Saavedra left for New Spain on 14th June, and on his route, he came into the *Ilha Hamei*,²⁷ one hundred and seventy leagues from Tidore, where he stopped to take on water and wood.

²⁷ Probably a reference to the Admiralty Islands, or Manus Islands, located to the north of Papua New Guinea.

DOCUMENTO 54

Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia* (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1975), Vol. II, 630-632, Vol. III, 726-727, 730, 732-733, Vol. IV, 283-285.

Vol. II, Cap. XIV, p. 630:

Então o Magalhães, com os tres nauios que tinha, se foy polo rio dentro, porque correo passante de cem legoas, e sayo da outra banda ao mar largo, onde lhe deu leuante á popa, com que correrão mais de cinco meses sem amainar, e forão dar em humas ilhas despouoadas, e em huma d'ellas acharão gente seluagem, que viuia em couas debaixo do chão. Forão a outra ilha que lhe dauão ouro por peso de ferro, com que recolherão muyto ouro; e a gente de boa condição, que tinhão Rey; gente bem tratada, que tinhão guerra com outros visinhos que mais podião; polo que o Rey se fez christão com toda' sua gente, porque o Magalhães o ajudasse contra seus imigos. Ao que se offereceo o Magalhães, e com a gente armada e com os da terra foy dar nos imigos, de que matou muytos, e lhe queimou o lugar; e os imigos ouuerão ajuda d'outros, e muytos vieram pelejar com o Magalhães, que os desbaratou, e lhe correo o alcanço muyto longe. O que fizeram com manha, porque tinhão ciladas de gente metida no mato, que vendo os castelhanos cansados sayrão a elles e matarão muytos, e outra cilada sayo do mato a tomar os bateys, que estauão na praya sem gente: ao que sayo o Rey, e pelejou com elles e defendeo os bateys e colheo a gente.

O Rey fogido, vendose assy desbaratado, tratou traição com o Rey christão, e fez com elle concerto de casamento com sua filha, e com suas juras que morrendo elle, que era já velho, tudo lhe ficaria, e viuerião sempre amigos; porque os castelhanos se auião de hir, e se o nom fizesse pera sempre lhe faria a guerra; e ysto com condição que lhe auia de dar modo como matasse os castelhanos. O que o Rey christão, como homem bestial, consentio na traição, e fez grande festa e banquete com trinta homens, os mais honrados bem vestidos; onde estando no banquete folgando, entrarão os imigos armados, que matarão o Magalhães e todos os castelhanos, que nenhum escapou, e o Serrão despirão, e o arrastando o leuarão á praya, onde o justicarão e matarão arrastado.

Os que estauão nas naos, vendo o mal da terra, que contarão os marinheiros que forão nos bateys, aleuantaram antre sy por capitão o Carualhinho, piloto da capitaina, a que todos obedecerão; o qual mandou despejar hum das naos que fazia muyta agoa, e lhe mandou pôr fogo no meo do mar, porque os da terra nom se aproueitassem do ferro, e fez capitão da nao do Serrão a hum Gonçalo Gomes d’Espinosa, que era parente do estrolico, que tambem morreo com o Magalhães, que nom adiuinhou o mal que lhe veo.

As duas naos se partirão d’aquy, correndo per antre muytas ilhas, e forão ter em hum que tinha muyta canella muyto fina. D’aquy, correndo muytas ilhas, forão ter á ilha de Borneo, onde no porto acharão muytos junços de mercadores de todas as partes de Malaca, que neste Borneo fazião grande escala, onde o Carualhinho mandou presente ao Rey de pannos de grã e seda de côres, e outras cousas, com que o Rey muyto folgou, e lhe fez muyta honra, e deu seguro que vinte dias estiuessen na terra, que assy era costume dar as gentes nouas a primeyra vez que vinhão ao porto, em que podião comprar e vender francamente quanto quigessem [*sic*]. Mas o Rey, sabendo as muytas fazendas que tinham as naos, lhe armou traição pera os matar, e tomar as naos; a qual traição o Rey concertou com jáos que estauão no porto em grandes juncos, e pera o effeito o Rey fez muytas honras aos que hião a terra, e mandaua ás naos muytos refrescos, e licença que estiuessen no porto quanto quigessem. Do que o Carualhinho somou sospeita, e mandou ter boa vigia de dia e de noite, e nom consentio que fossem a terra senão hum ou dous homens; o que vendo o Rey mandou rogar ao Carualhinho que lhe mandasse seu filho, que leuára o presente, porque seus filhos meninos, que o virão chorauão polo vêr. O qual elle lhe mandou muyto bem vestido, com quatro homens, os quaes chegando onde estaua ElRey os mandou prender; o que sabido do Carualhinho suspendeo as amarras, e com a gente armada foy abalroar hum junço que estaua carregado com muyta gente pera partir; no qual entrarão e roubarão muyto ouro e riqas peças, e tomarão hum filho d’ElRey de Lução, que era capitão do junço e d’outros tres que estauão no porto, que viera nêlles a casar com hum filha d’este Rey de Borneo. No qual acharão riqas cousas d’ouro e pedraria, que trouxera pera suas vodas; onde acharão tres moças de estremada fremosura, que o Carualhinho recolheo, dizendo que as leuaria ao Emperador; com que todos folgarão. Mas elle o nom fez assy, que dormio com ellas, com que os castelhanos estiuerao pera o matar; mas elle partio com os castelhanos tão largo forão amigos, porque elle se concertou com o noiuo que com os seus fogisse de noite, como fogirão, e por yssso lhe derão muyta riqueza de pedraria, e de noite se forão a nado, e o Carualhinho fez que dormia, e acordou

queixandose com os da vigia. Mas os castelhanos entenderão a manha, e tomarão o Carualhinho e o prenderão em ferros, e lhe tomarão quanto tinha, e aleuantarão por capitão a hum João Bautista, mestre da nao, porque sabia de piloto.

D'aquy partirão e forão ter a Maluco, a Ternate e Tidore, onde leuarão aos Reys os presentes que o Magalhães trazia pera elles lemitados, que lhe fizerão grandes honras e bons gasalhados, porque tambem, derão aos regedores, e aos Reys derão embaixada da parte do Emperador, dizendolhe suas grandezas, com que ambos logo obedecerão e derão sua vassalagem pera sempre, assentando tratos e preços das vendas e compras, com que em terra assentarão feitorias e começarão 'ajuntar crauo, que lhe acodia muyto porque os castelhanos dauão o que lhe pedião, que tinham as mercadorias sobejas; com que erão senhores da terra.

[...]

Vol. III, Cap. LXXXVI, p. 726:

O Rei de Bachão era muy magoado do mal e destroição que lhe fizera Tristão d'Atayde, sendo elle sempre muy fiel amigo dos portugueses e d'ElRey de Portugal, ajudando tanto nas guerras e necessidades da fortaleza; o qual se queixando com os outros Reys das ilhas derrador de Maluco, que todos estauão danificados de Tristão d'Atayde, per seus recados se ajuntarão todos na ilha de Tidore com ElRey, onde se ajuntou ElRey Cachil Dayalo, e o Rey de Geilolo, e cada hum dixee suas enjurias e males que Tristão d'Atayde e os portugueses tinham feito; polo que todos fizerão firmes juramentos, em seus moçafos e sepulturas de seus passados, todos fazerem a guerra á fortaleza, até a destroirem e matarem e catiuarem todolos portugueses, com que nunca mais em Maluco ouvesse portugueses; e sobre tudo morto o capitão Tristão d'Atayde com grandes justiça. E que sendo caso que nom pudessem isto acabar, vindo secorro á fortaleza, cortassem todolas aruores do crauo e do çagu, e todolas aruores de fruyto, que estiuesses em lugar que os portugueses se pudessem aproueitar, e elles se despouoarião das ilhas, e se hirião a outras terras, que nunca mais tornassem. E n'estes juramentos forão todolos irmãos, e tios, e sobrinhos d'estes Reys, que n'isto terião todo segredo até seu tempo. E foy assentado que os da ilha de Ternate fossem os primeiros. Ao que o Çamarao, regedor que fizera Tristão d'Atayde, tambem foy na consulta, e se conuidou que meteria em cabeça ao capitão que nas ilhas dos Celebes e Macaças auia ouro, que as mandasse descobrir; o que logo faria, porque era cobiçoso, e mandando gente lhe ficaria mais pouca na fortaleza,

pera elles melhor a tomarem; e que os de Ternate se despouoarião, per modo que os portugueses nom ouvessem mantimento, que era a principal guerra que lhe deuião fazer; e que o Çamarão ficasse com o capitão, como bom amigo fazendo boas diligencias, em modo que o capitão d'elle se fiasse; e seria espia, que lhe mandaria os auisos do que o capitão ordenasse.

Isto assy fulminado, fez o Çamarão crer ao capitão lhe viera recado que a Geilolo erão chegadas corocoras de Mindanao, e macaçares, que trazião ouro; do que cobiçoso o capitão, mandou logo hum João de Caminha em hum nauio, que foy á ilha de Mindanao e a descobrio, e fez assento de paz, lambendo o sangue d'ElRey, que tirou com huma ventosa, e assy o Rey lambeo o seu: com que os da terra ouverão a paz por tão segura que hião ao nauio a resgatar muyto ouro. Do que cobiçoso João de Caminha, querendose partir, colheo muytos dentro no nauio, a que tomou muyto ouro e catiuou; e outros se deitarão a nado, que forão bradar a ElRey, que logo com muyta diligencia mandou sayr ao mar sua armada com muyta gente, que forão a tomar o nauio, tirando muyta artelharia e frechas sem conto; do que João de Caminha se receou e cortou as amarras e fogio, porque nom tinha artelharia, que a deitara ao mar com huma tromenta que passara no caminho. Com isto crerão os mouros todolos males que dizião dos portugueses de Maluco.

E logo o capitão se acupou a recolher o crauo que tinha per fóra, pera o carregar. Vendo os Reys que o capitão nom mandaua fóra nauios, todavia o Çamarão muyto dizia ao capitão do muyto ouro que auia nos Celebes e no Macaçar; ao que acodio o capitão, e mandou hum Jorge d'Atayde, seu parente, e Diogo Farinha, que fez capitães, em duas armadas em que leuarão portugueses. O que vendo os ternates, que ficauão poucos portugueses na forteleza, lhe pareceo tempo. Pelo conselho de Çamarão despejarão todos suas molheres e fato, e se meterão em corocoras, e se forão pelo mar agardar hum batel que trazia madeira de hum mato, onde a andaua cortando hum Vicente Correa, mestre que fazia hum nauio; e toparão o batel, e matarão quatro portugueses e os arabios remeiros, de que hum só fogio que foy dar a noua; com que logo todos os da cidade fogirão, nom ficando nenhuma gente nas casas. Ao que acodio o capitão, e alcançou alguns mouros honrados, com que falou que se nom fossem, que os desagruaria se alguem lhe tinha feito agrauo; mas elles nada lhe responderão e se forão: a que o capitão nom quis fazer mal, porque lhe pareceo que era menencoria, e se tornarião 'amansar, que já assy o tinham feito.

[...]

p. 730:

O Cachil Dayalo estaua já obedecido pelos ternates e aleuantado outra vez por Rey e tinha já mandado buscar gente pera esta guerra a Mindanao e a Bandá, com dizer o pera que, que era tomar a forteleza e portugueses, e todos matar, dizendo a causa porque o fazia, fazendo escramação de seus males. Sendo este recado em Bandá acertou de chegar ahy hum junco de hum Jorge Aluares, que os de Bandá tomarão, e matarão os portugueses que nõlle [*sic*] hião e com' artelharia e armas e fazenda o mandarão a Cachil Dayalo, que visto por elle o mandou dizer a El Rey de Geilolo com muyto prazer. Onde acertou d'estar hum castelhano a que ElRey perguntou por nouas da forteleza e do capitão, elle disse que os portugueses estauão muy mal com o capitão, que era máo, e que se ajudauão na guerra era por saluarem as vidas, e que estauão em grande falta de mantimentos, e que o capitão nom esperaua senão que elle lhos dêsse; e que os ternates já estauão de guerra, e que nunque [*sic*] farião paz, que o capitão queria fazer, mas que elles nom querião, porque o capitão auia de os prender a todos.

[...]

p. 732:

Tristão d'Atayde quis mostrar aos mouros o pouço que os temia, e ajuntou cem homens, que leuou, em que leuou seus amigos de que confiou, que foy hum Baltesar Vogado, Jorge de Brito, Antonio Pinto, Anrique Jorge, Antonio Teixeira, todos bem armados; e foy dar em hum lugar huma legoa da forteleza, em que estauão muytos mouros, fortificados com muytas tranqueiras e estacadas com cauas, e muyto pelejarão; mas os nossos tanto aprofiarão que os entrarão e matarão quantos acharão, sem a nenhum darem vida, indaque se entregauão. E o logar foy queimado, donde os nossos trouxerão algum pouço mantimento que acharão; mas dos nossos morrerão dous, e muytos feridos: com que se tornaram á forteleza; de que os mouros ficarão muy magoados pela perda d'este lugar. O capitão nom sentia senão a falta dos mantimentos. N'este ensejo chegou a Maluco Simão Sodré, em huma carauela que dom Esteuão mandou de Malaca a secorro, que foy pela via de Borneo, que fez grande esforço na forteleza; e logo d'ahy a poucos dias chegou João da Cunha Pinto, que fôra descobrir Mindanao. Com a chegada d'estes navios, que a carauela leuou cincoenta homens, ficarão os da forteleza descansados.

[...]

Vol. IV, Cap. XXII, p. 283:

Como de Seuilha partio huma armada de castelhanos no anno de 543 pera hir a Maluco, onde chegou; e o que com elles passou dom Jorge de Crasto, capitão de Maluco

E porque neste anno presente de 543 se passou esta cousa me pareceo rezão aquy a escreuer, que he a seguinte, que em junho deste anno partio de Seuilha huma armada de castelhanos, de cinco naos e huma galé, e por capitão mór desta armada hum Ruy Lopes de Vilhalobos, com a qual nauegando polo mar d’Espanha Noua, e pola parte do sul, foy tomar em huma ilha chamada Mindanão, a que elles puzerão nome Antona, que he sete legoas de Maluco, onde a gente da terra com elles tiuerão guerra e matarão alguns; e porque estas gentes erão nossos amigos os nom querião consentir na terra e pelejarão com elles. Do que se forão a queixar a Maluco a dom Jorge de Crasto, que lá era capitão, o qual auendo seu acordo mandou hum messigeiro aos castelhanos, que foy hum Antonio d’Almeida, e per elle mandou hum requerimento ao capitão d’armada, dizendo que a gente daquella ilha se lhe viera queixar de males que lhe fizerão; que lhe fazia a saber que aquella terra em que estauão era d’ElRey de Portugal, por estar dentro de seus lemites, e que por tanto na terra nom podião estar sem sua licença, porque estauão em sua jordição e sô sua capitania; e que lhe nom dizia mais que isto porque nom sabia a causa de sua vinda ally, se fôra por tempo fortoyto ou por erro de nauegação; e que se com fortuna ally aportarão, e hião pera outra parte, que repousassem embora, e nom fizessem mal na terra, e se lhe comprisse alguma cousa pera su’armada estaua prestes pera lhe fazer todo seruiço e ajuda que pudesse, por serem vassallos do Emperador, intimo amigo e irmão d’ElRey de Portugal; e que elle mandaria cartas ao Rey da terra que por seu dinheiro lhe déssem tudo que ouvesse na terra; e do que tiuessem necessidade, se o nom ouvessem na terra; lho mandassem dizer, e que de boamente faria o que pudesse. E que se ally erão vindos a buscar aquella terra pera nella fazerem assento e trato, que tal nom podião fazer, nem elle lho auia de consintir, e lho auia de defender, porque todas aquellas ilhas estauão sô seu mando e obrigação; e que indaque dissessem que erão terras dos limites do Emperador que muyto menos por isso podião entrar nellas, porque hião contra a postura e a quebrauão, que era posta d’antre o Emperador e ElRey de Portugal, de trinta annos, que nada auia d’entender nas cousas de Maluco senão acabados os

trinta annos, que inda nom era passado a metade do tempo; porque se antes d'elle acabado n'isso quigesse entender, primeiro auia de tornar a Portugal tresentos mil cruzados, que polo partido lhe forão dados. Que por tanto por todas as vias n'aquella terra nom podião fazer trato nem assento, saluo mostrandolhe prouisão d'ElRey nosso senhor pera isso; que se a trazião lha mandassem mostrar, que elle nom cria que ally viessem sem ella, porque sem ella erão tredores ao Emperador, fazendo cousa tanto contra sua verdade, o que elle muyto aueria por mal; polo que nom cria senão que elles erão cossairos, e vinhão aleuantados; que por tanto lhe pedia que de sy lhe mandassem rezão, pera elle saber o que auia de fazer.

Foy com esta mensagem o dito Antonio d'Almeida, e primeiro de chegar pedio seguuro, o qual lhe logo mandou o capitão mór d'armada, pera sempre em quanto andasse nas mensagens e o recebeo com honra, e vendo a mensagem que lhe daua, auendo seu acordo, respondeo tambem por escrito, dizendo que elle era vindo com aquella armada per mando de Antonio de Mendoça, Visorey da Noua Espanha, a quem o Emperador tinha dado o descobrimento das terras e mares do ponente, o qual o mandára com aquella armada 'o dito descobrimento, com grande defesa que em nada de Maluco tocasse nem nauegasse; o que elle assy tinha muy bem guardado, porque sempre nauegára polos limites do Emperador e não d'ElRey de Portugal, e aquella terra em que estaua era da demarcação do Emperador, e separada e muy alhêa das ilhas do crauo, que era Maluco, onde elle nom tocaria, porque em todo guardaria seu regimento; que esta era a rezão que de sy lhe daua, a qual deuia d'auer por muy boa, pois que o era. E com isto outras muytas rezões e cumprimentos de boas palauras, que tudo deu por assinado. O que visto por dom Jorge lhe tornou a mandar outra mensagem, respondendo em todo miudamente como compria; a que o castelhano tornou a responder, concordando [*sic*] que em nada tinha errado em vir ally e assentar trato, e por tantas rezões como lhe tinha dado nom deuia de n'isso mais debater, mas que lhe aprouvesse que estiuesses como irmãos em muyta paz, até que d'Espanha ou de Portugal viesse o que n'isso fizessem. E contendendo n'estes debates veo o tempo da monção que os nauios de Maluco partião pera' India, nos quaes dom Jorge mandou recado ao Governador do que passaua, para que mandasse o que n'isso faria, que já com os castelhanos fôra pelejar se soubera o que n'isso acertaua ou erraua; o que nada faria sem seu mandado. Chegada esta noua a Malaca logo correo pola via de Choromandel, e veo ao Governador muyto tempo antes que chegassem os nauios de Malaca. No que o Governador proueo, e mandou a Maluco Fernão de Sousa de Tauora, como adiante contarey.

DOCUMENT 54

Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia* (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1975), Vol. II, 630-632, Vol. III, 726-727, 730, 732-733, Vol. IV, 283-285.

The Portuguese chronicler Gaspar Correia lived in India between 1512 and 1563. During this lengthy period he compiled material to write the Lendas da Índia, a vast chronicle of the Portuguese expansion across the Orient during the first half of the sixteenth century, which remained in manuscript form until being published in the nineteenth century. The information provided by Gaspar Correia does not always concur with that provided by other printed chronicles from the period, which has given rise to the idea that he provided imaginative versions of the events he recounted. Nevertheless, the Lendas da Índia contains a range of relevant information that is not found in contemporaneous sources. In various sections Gaspar Correia discusses the history of the Portuguese presence in the Moluccas.

Vol. II, Ch. XIV, p. 630:

Then Magalhães, with the three ships he [still] had, sailed upriver travelling on for over a hundred leagues until he came out on the other side, [emerging] into open seas, where he had an easterly wind to the stern, with which they continued for more than five months without striking sail, until they landed at some uninhabited islands. On one of these [islands], they found savages who lived in caves under the ground. They went to another island where they were given gold for the weight of iron, on which basis they were able to amass a large amount of gold; [these were] people who were well-governed, had a king, and were well mannered and they were at war with some neighbours who were more powerful than they were; and for this reason, the king became a Christian along with all his people, so that Magalhães would assist him against his enemies. And Magalhães offered to do this, and with some armed men and the local people from that land, he went to attack the enemy and killed a great many of them and burned the place where they were; and the enemies received help from some other men, and a large number came to fight against Magalhães, who defeated them and his range was very long. One cunning thing that they did was to hide some men in the bush who were to ambush them. And when they saw the Castilians getting exhausted, they

leapt out and killed a lot of them, and in another ambush they sprang out of the bushes to take the longboats which were on the shore, unmanned. At this point, the king appeared and fought with them and defended the longboats and captured the men.

And once the king had fled, seeing that he had been thus defeated, he plotted an act of betrayal with the Christian king and made an agreement for the latter to marry his daughter, swearing oaths to the effect that, being already aged as he was, everything would be left to him [the Christian king] on his death, and they would live as friends forever more; because the Castilians would leave and if he did not do this, he would make war on him forever; and [all of] this was on the condition that he provide him with a means of killing the Castilians. And the Christian King, being a vile man, agreed to this act of betrayal and arranged a great feast and a banquet for thirty men, the highest ranking and most well-dressed among them; and while they were rejoicing at the banquet, their armed enemies burst in upon them, and they killed Magalhães and all the Castilians and no-one escaped, and they stripped Serrano naked and dragged him to the beach, where they sentenced him and, having dragged him there, they killed him.¹

When the men in the carracks saw the terrible things happening on shore, which they were told about by the sailors who had gone in the longboats, they got together and appointed Carvalhinho,² the flagship's pilot, as the captain, whom they all obeyed; and he ordered them to empty out one of the carracks which was shipping a lot of water, and he ordered them to set fire to it out at sea, so that the locals could not make use of the iron [it contained], and he gave the captaincy of Serrano's carrack to one Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa,³ who was related to the astrologist,⁴ who had died along with Magalhães, and who did not foresee the sad fate that befell him.

¹ Gaspar Correia combines various separate episodes, and particularly: the confrontation between Fernão de Magalhães and his companions with the inhabitants of Mactan, where the captain was killed; and, the banquet offered to the members of the expedition on the island of Cebu, which resulted in the death of around thirty of the Europeans.

² João Lopes de Carvalho. See document 11, note 10.

³ See document 11, note 23.

⁴ Andrés de San Martín. See document 52, note 3.

The two carracks departed and sailed through a great many islands, heading towards one which had a large amount of very good quality cinnamon. From here, sailing through many more islands, they headed for the island of Borneo, where they found a large number of merchant junks in the port, coming from all parts of Malacca. And they stopped over for a long time in this Borneo, where Carvalhinho sent a present to the king of some carmine red fabrics and coloured silks and other things, which the king was delighted with, and he did him great honour and gave him a safe-conduct for the twenty days he was ashore there, as was custom for them to do with newcomers on their first visit to that port, where they could buy and sell freely as much as they wanted. But when the king found out about the large quantity of goods that they were carrying on the carracks, he hatched a treacherous plot to kill them and capture their carracks. And the king planned this act of betrayal with some Javanese who were in the harbour in large junks and with this in mind, the king bestowed great honours on the men who came ashore and sent lavish refreshments out to the carracks and authorisation for them to remain in port as long as they wanted. This made Carvalhinho suspicious and he ordered a close watch to be kept both day and night, and he did not allow more than one or two men to go ashore; and when the king noticed this, he ordered that Carvalhinho be requested to send him his son, who had brought the gift, because his own young children who had seen him, were clamouring to see him [again]. And he [Carvalhinho] sent him [his son] to him, very well dressed with four other men, and when they reached the king, he ordered them to be taken prisoner; and when Carvalhinho learned this, he cast off the moorings, took some armed men and grappled a junk which was loaded with a lot of people ready to leave. And they boarded it, and stole a large amount of gold and [other] valuable items and captured a son of the King of *Luçãõ*⁵ (who was the captain of that junk and of another three that were in the harbour), as he had travelled with them for his marriage to a daughter of this King of Borneo. In this [junk], they found rich articles of gold and precious stones, which had been brought for his wedding; and they found three young women of very great beauty who were seized by Carvalhinho, saying that he would take them back to the Emperor: at which all the men were happy. But he did not do this, he slept with them himself, at which the Castilians were ready to kill him; but he shared [the bounty] with the Castilians so generously that they made their peace, because he had agreed with the bridegroom that he and his men could escape by night, as they did, and

⁵ See document 11, note 20.

[in return] for this they gave him a wealth of precious stones, and they swam away at night and Carvalhinho pretended to be asleep and then scolded the men on watch duty when he woke up. But the Castilians spotted the trick and took Carvalhinho and threw him in irons and took away everything he had, and appointed the former master of the carrack, one Giovanni Battista,⁶ as captain because he had skills as a pilot.

And from here they departed and headed for the Moluccas, to Ternate and Tidore, where they brought the kings the gifts that Magalhães had designated for them, and they [the Castilians] gave them great honour and made them very welcome, because they also gave [presents] to the officials. And to the kings they also made an embassy on behalf of the Emperor, telling them how great he was, at which they both then offered their obeisance and pledged their perpetual vassalage, making an agreement on trade and on sale and purchase prices. And then, they established factories on shore and began to amass cloves, which was very convenient for them [the kings] because the Castilians gave them what they asked [for it], and they had surplus merchandise; and this made them masters of the region.

[...]

Vol. III, Ch. LXXXVI, p. 726:

The King of Bachan was greatly angered by the harm and destruction that Tristão de Ataíde⁷ had visited upon him, as he had always been a very faithful friend to the Portuguese and to the King of Portugal, helping out both with wars and with the needs of the fortress; and he shared his grievances with the other kings of the islands around the Moluccas, all of whom had also suffered harm at the hands of Tristão de Ataíde. After they had received his messages they all assembled on the island of Tidore, with its King, and the King Kaicil Dayal⁸ and the King of Jailolo⁹ came there too, and each of them stated his offences and the wrongs that Tristão de Ataíde and the Portuguese had done; and because of this, they all swore

⁶ Giovanni Battista de Ponzoroni. See document 11, note 3.

⁷ See document 52, note 18.

⁸ See document 52, note 20.

⁹ See document 19, note 21.

firm oaths on their Qur'ans and on the graves of their ancestors, that they would all wage war on the fortress until they destroyed it and killed or captured all the Portuguese, so that there would be no Portuguese in the Moluccas ever again; and the captain Tristão de Ataíde, especially, was to be killed in a fitting manner. And if they could not achieve this, in the event that the fortress was assisted [by Portuguese reinforcements], they were to cut down all the clove and sago trees, and all the fruit trees that were growing in that place and that the Portuguese might be able to make use of, [so] that they would abandon the islands and go elsewhere, and never come back again. And all the brothers, uncles and nephews of these kings took part in the swearing of these oaths, and they were to keep all of this a secret until the time came. And it was agreed that those on the island of Ternate would be the first [to act]. At this point, the Samaraw,¹⁰ whom Tristão de Ataíde had made ruler, also joined the consultation and he offered to put it in the captain's head that there was gold on the *Celebes*¹¹ and the *Macaçares*¹² islands, so that he should order them to be discovered. And he would immediately do this, because he was a greedy man, and if he dispatched men [for this purpose] he would then have very few left at the fortress, all the better for them to capture it; and the men on Ternate would abandon it, so the Portuguese would have no provisions, which was the principal means by which they were to wage war; and the Samaraw was to remain with the captain, in the guise of a good friend performing his duties well so that the captain would come to trust him. And he would act as a spy and keep them informed of the captain's orders.

Once he had hatched this plot, the Samaraw convinced the captain that he had received a message from Jailolo that some *korakoras* had arrived from Mindanao and Makassar who were bringing gold; since the captain had a lust for gold, he immediately dispatched one João de Caminha¹³ in a ship and he went to the island of Mindanao and discovered it. And he made a pact of peace drinking some of the king's blood, which he drew with a sucker, and the king drank his. As a result of this, the native people believed their peace to be so securely guaranteed that they went to the ship to trade large quantities of gold. And this inflamed the greed of João de Caminha and when he was about to set sail, he herded a large number of

¹⁰ See document 52, note 25.

¹¹ See document 7, note 1, and document 56, note 1.

¹² See document 6, note 3.

¹³ Reference to João da Canha Pinto. See document 52, note 29.

them into the ship, took a great deal of gold from them, and took them prisoner; and some others threw themselves overboard and swam ashore, where they complained vociferously to the king, who took immediate action sending his fleet out to sea with a large contingent of men who set off to capture the ship, hurling a barrage of shot and innumerable arrows. João de Caminha took fright at this, cut the moorings and fled because he himself did not have any artillery, having thrown it overboard in a storm that he had sailed through *en route*. After this, the Moors believed all the horrible things that were being said about the Portuguese in the Moluccas.

And then the captain [Tristão de Ataíde] spent some time gathering together the cloves that he still had on other islands, in order to get them loaded up. And when the kings saw that the captain was not sending ships out, the Samaraw started up again, telling the captain about how much gold there was on the *Celebes* and in Makassar; and the captain responded to this by sending one Jorge de Ataíde, a relative of his, along with Diogo Farinha, who he appointed as the captains of two fleets carrying Portuguese men. And when the Ternateans saw that there were not many Portuguese men left in the fortress, they spotted their moment. When the Samaraw gave the word, they sent away all their women and their goods, climbed into *korakoras* and put out to sea in order to lie in wait for a longboat which was bringing timber from a forest, where one Vicente Correia, a master who was building a ship, was felling it; and they intercepted the longboat and killed four Portuguese men and the Arab oarsmen, only one of whom escaped to tell the tale; after this, all the people in the city fled, with not a single person remaining in their house. At this point, the captain came and established contact with some high-ranking Moors and told them that he would give them redress against anyone who had harmed them, on condition that they did not leave. But they did not say a word to him and simply departed. And the captain did not want to punish this because he believed that it was merely a passing humour and that they would come round again as they had done in the past.

[...]

p. 730:

Kaicil Dayal now commanded the obedience of the Ternateans and was regarded as [their] king again, and he had already sent to Mindanao and Banda

to muster men for this war, having told them that its objective was to capture the fortress and the Portuguese, and kill them all. And he told them the reason why he was doing this and reported all their wrongdoings. When this message reached Banda, he ascertained that a junk carrying one Jorge Álvares had arrived there and the Bandanese had captured it and killed the Portuguese men who were travelling in it, and they sent it, along with [its] artillery, weapons and goods, to Kaicil Dayal who was very happy to tell the King of Jailolo about it, when he saw it. He ascertained that there was a Castilian there [in Jailolo], whom the King asked for information about the fortress and the captain, and he said that the Portuguese had very bad relations with the captain, who was nasty and that if they were assisting in the war, they were only doing so to save their own lives. And they were in great need of supplies, and the captain's only hope was that he [the King of Jailolo] would give them to them. And the Ternateans were now at war, and would never make peace, which the captain wanted to do but they did not, because the captain would then take them all prisoner.

[...]

p. 732:

Tristão de Ataíde wanted to show the Moors how little he feared them and he called together one hundred men whom he brought, and these included his trusted friends, who were: one Baltasar Vogado, Jorge de Brito, António Pinto, Henrique Jorge and António Teixeira, all of them well armed; and he went to a spot one league from the fortress, where there were a large number of Moors behind fortifications consisting of a great many palisades and stockades, with trenches and a fierce battle ensued; but our men fought so doggedly that they broke through and killed everyone they found, without sparing a single life, even of those who surrendered. And the place was then burned, and from it they brought the few supplies they found; but [only] two of our men died, and many were injured, and after this they returned to the fortress. And the Moors were very distressed by the loss of this place. The captain's only regret was the lack of supplies. In the midst of this conflict, Simão Sodré¹⁴ arrived in the Moluccas, in a caravel which Dom Estêvão had sent as assistance from Malacca, sailing the route via Borneo, and this

¹⁴ See document 52, note 32.

raised their spirits in the fortress considerably; and then, a few days later there arrived João da Cunha Pinto,¹⁵ who had gone to discover Mindanao. And with the arrival of these ships, including the caravel which brought fifty men, the men in the fortress felt more at ease.

[...]

Vol. IV, Cap. XXII, p. 283:

About how a Castilian fleet departed from Seville in the year 1543 to go to the Moluccas, where it arrived and the experiences of Dom Jorge de Castro, the captain of the Moluccas, with them

And because these events happened in this present year of 1543, I felt it was right to set it down here, and it is as follows: in the June of this year there departed from Seville a Castilian fleet consisting of five carracks,¹⁶ and a galley, with one Ruy López de Villalobos¹⁷ as the captain-major of this fleet. Sailing out to sea from New Spain and heading southwards, he made his way to an island called Mindanao, which they named *Antona*,¹⁸ which is seven leagues from the Moluccas, and where the local people made war on them and killed some of them; and because these peoples were our friends they did not want to allow them ashore and fought with them. So for this reason, they went to the Moluccas to complain to Dom Jorge de Castro,¹⁹ who was the captain there. And having accepted their complaint, he sent the Castilians a messenger who was one António de Almeida.²⁰ And he sent a request via him to the captain of the fleet, saying that the people of that island had come to him to complain about the harm they had done to them, and that he was making him aware that that land they were on belonged to the King of Portugal,

¹⁵ I.e., João da Canha Pinto. See document 52, note 29.

¹⁶ The expedition led by the Spaniard Ruy López de Villalobos left Mexico in late 1542 and arrived in Mindanao the following year.

¹⁷ See document 19, note 2.

¹⁸ Actually, it was named Antonia. However, unlike the text says, the name Antonia was given to Sarangani, not Mindanao, which was called Cesaria instead. See document 19, note 9.

¹⁹ See document 19, note 1.

²⁰ See document 19, note 6.

because it was within his demarcation, and therefore, they could not be on that land without his [Dom Jorge's] permission, because they were within his jurisdiction and under his captaincy. And he was not going to say anything more than that because he did not know the reason why they had gone there, and whether it was owing to the vagaries of the weather or a navigational error. And if they had put in there by chance and were actually heading somewhere else, they should rest there and do no harm in that area, and if there was anything needed for the fleet, he was ready to lend every service and assistance that he could, because they were vassals of the Emperor, the close friend and brother of the King of Portugal²¹; and he would send letters to the local king of that land, so that he [Villalobos] would be given, at his [Castro's] own cost everything that that land had to offer and they might need. And if did not have it in that land, they should send to him and let him know, and he would gladly do what he could. And if they had gone there to seek out that land in order to establish a base there and conduct trade, they could not do this, nor would he allow them to do it, and [indeed] he would forbid them to do it because all of those islands were under his command and responsibility; and even if they were claiming that these lands lay within the Emperor's demarcation, this was all the more reason for their not entering them, because that would be contravening and violating the agreement which had been signed between the Emperor and the King of Portugal, for a period of thirty years, [according to which] nobody should intervene in the affairs of the Moluccas until those thirty years had elapsed, and not even half that time had gone by yet. Because if he [the Emperor] did want to intervene there before this had elapsed, he would first have to repay Portugal the three hundred thousand *cruzados* which had been given to him in this transaction. And therefore, there was no way in which he could either settle or trade in that land, unless he showed him a decree from the King our lord, [authorizing him] to that effect. If they did have it they should show it to him. He did not believe that they would have gone there without it, because if they did not have it, they would be traitors to the Emperor in doing something that ran so very counter to his honest reputation, and upon which he would look unfavourably. And so he [Dom Jorge] would have to consider them nothing but privateers who were coming to stir up trouble. And so he was now asking him to give an account of himself, so that he would know what to do.

²¹ The King of Portugal, John III, was brother-in-law to Emperor Charles V; they were married to one another's sister.

The aforesaid António de Almeida went to deliver this message, and before he arrived, he asked for a safe-conduct, which the captain-major of the fleet then sent him, for whenever he came to deliver messages. He received him with honour, and once he had read the message he brought him and reached a judgement, he also replied in writing to say that he had come with that fleet on the orders of Antonio de Mendoza,²² the Viceroy of New Spain, to whom the Emperor had granted the discovery of the lands and seas of the West and that he had given him command of the aforesaid discovery, along with that fleet, whilst expressly prohibiting him from sailing through or even approaching any part of the Moluccas; and he had kept to this very assiduously, because he had always sailed within the Emperor's limits and not those of the King of Portugal, and that land where he [now] found himself, lay within the demarcation of the Emperor, and was separate and very far from the clove islands which were the Moluccas, which he would not even approach, because he intended to obey his instruction in every particular. And this was the account that he was giving of himself and that it should be considered perfectly honest, because it was. And to this he added some further explanations and finely worded compliments, and he delivered all of this in a signed document. And when Dom Jorge had read it, he sent another message back again, replying to it all in great detail, as was fitting; to which the Castilian wrote back to him, concluding that he had done nothing wrong in going there and establishing trade, and that for all the reasons that he had already given him, he should not discuss this matter any further, but rather it should please him that they be as brothers in perfect harmony, until word arrived from Spain or from Portugal as to what they were to do about it. And while they were engaged in these debates, the monsoon season came around, when the Moluccas ships departed for India, and Dom Jorge used them to send a message to the governor about what was happening, so that he could send word as to what he would do in this situation; although he was ready to fight the Spanish, he was unsure whether it was right or wrong to do so and he would do nothing without his [the governor's] orders. When this news reached Malacca, it travelled on via the Coromandel Coast, and reached the governor a long time before the ships arrived from Malacca. At which point, the governor appointed and dispatched Fernão de Sousa de Távora²³ to the Moluccas, as I will recount shortly.

²² See document 19, note 11.

²³ See document 28, note 1.

DOCUMENTO 55

“Historia das Ilhas de Maluco”, anónimo, atribuído a Gabriel Rebelo, 1561. Publicado em Artur Basílio de Sá, ed., *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, Vol. 3 (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955), 193–343 (197–200). Original conservado na Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Cód. 923.

p. 197:

No quarto anno, que foi na era de 1543, lhe veo nova por alguns negros, que estavam castelhanos na ilha de Mindanao; a qual não fez pequeno movimento no coração dos portuguezes, por o grande que sentirão nos naturaes, que geralmente são amigos de novidades, ainda que veo por negros que a davão doutros.

Dom Jorge se fez prestes, e mandou a sabe-las duas coro-coras, em que hia Antonio de Almeida, filho bastardo, que dizia ser do Contador-mór; o qual, com muito trabalho e revez, na viagem, por mares não sabidos nem uzados ate ali, daquellas embarcações; mas como tomou a costa do Mindanao, correndo por ela, foi ter a hum porto, chamado Sarramguam, aonde achou a novidade da armada, da qual era geral Ruy Lopes de Villalobos, pessoa de muita authoridade, ainda que não de tanta fidalguia, segundo os seos; do qual foi bem recebido o nosso enviado com lhe dar o Geral, primeiro, seguro de si e seus capitães e alferes e cabos de esquadra e gente de Real; e os seus forão muito espantados de verem os nossos tão longe e por tão defferentes caminhos e em partes tão remotas e polo consequinte do trajó; porque, naquelle tempo, era de pouca pluma; que, do pe ate o joelho, levarião descuberto, e assim convinha ao uzo das embarcações.

Recebido o embaixador, juntamente com a boa pratica, apresentou huma carta de D. Jorge, a modo de requerimento, na qual se continha a duvida e pouca certeza que tinha de sua vinda; mas sendo certa, pedia lhe mandasse dizer a cauza; e se vinha enviado as ilhas de Maluco, ou se era ali aportado com contraria fortuna, porque, sendo assim, o proviria com o necessario.

Ao que respondeu Ruy Lopes, por escripto, agradecimentos de bom offerecimento, e que não vinha mandado as ilhas de Maluco, mas a descobrir as do Poente; mostrando em sua resposta maior audacia do que tinha poder, porque ja tinha muito menos do que trouxera.

Havida licença se tornou Antonio de Almeida, bem despedido, e troxe nova do que vira e ouvira, e da qualidade de gente e navios; os quaes são duas navettas pequenas, e dous galiarcinhos, [*sic*] e huma fusta grande, que chamavão gallee, e outra pequena, bargantim. Os capitães são o Geral D. Monso (Alonso) Manrique, Bernaldo de la Torre, Pero Ortiz de la Rueda.

Trazião grande sombra de exercito, porque, e assim, todos se chamavam capitães, e assim vinhão muitos officiaes da fazenda de el-rey, como da de D. Atonio [*sic*] de Mendonça vice-rey da Nova Espanha, cuja a dita armada era.

Dadas estas novas, e outras vulgares, que commummente os novamente vindos folgão dar, ou, por melhor dizer, acrescentar, foi bem recebido, e assi, porqe leve que contar, com que desenfadava a huns e cançava a outros.

Ordenou logo Dom Jorge fazer hum baluarte de pedra e cal no canto do muro, sobre o mar, onde esteve outro de madeira; e assim começou a fortificar o muro, que era mui fraco, com estacada de vigas, para entulhar de terra; e com estes trabalhos se passava o embrulhado tempo, no qual mandou outras duas coro-coras, em que hia por capitão Belchior Fernandes Correa, seu criado; porque Antonio de Almeida não faltou quem murmurasse, avendo que aprazoava (bem), e vinha muito afeiçoado aos Castelhanos; e com ocasião de seus trabalhos, mandou D. Jorge a Belchior Fernandes, o qual partio em forte tempo, e assim monção contraria.

Passou, e deu seu recado, por escripto, com ponta dazedo de requerimento, e protesto, no que lhe offerecia o provimento necessario para a gente e armada, vindo-se á fortaleza, se vinhão desbaratados. E doutra maneira, não entrasse nas ilhas de Maluco, e suas terras, por rezão de contracto e pazes feitas entre os reys, protestando pelas mortes, e perdas, serem á conta do geral; o qual respondeu que a todo o seu poder entraria nellas, por lhe ser defezo por Sua Magestade, e que sómente era vindo a descobrir o Poente, por mandado do vice-rey da Nova Espanha.

E com estas e outras palavras, por escripto, foi despedido Belchior Fernandes, ò [sic] qual lhe trouxe hum marinheiro portuguez, e pellejou com alguns lugares visinhos da armada, e cuidando os naturaes que todos eraão castelhanos; fizeram-lhe dali por deante sempre guerra; a qual, e alguma que dantes tiverão, lhe foi causa de muitas dezaventuras [sic] de mortes, de trabalhos, de fomes e doenças; porque chegarão a o comer bichos, cobras, ratos, e os couros das caixas, e cebo, ainda que a alguns não seria novo.

Rodearão Mindanao, buscando portos de paz, e sem os poderem achar, perderão huma das naus e o bergantim, e entre humas ilhas visinhas hum dos galliõeszinhos, chamado S. Jorge. E tomando daqui ocasião de perdidos, dissimuladamente em modo de desgarrados, segundo muitos, mandou o Geral a Pero Ortiz de la Rueda, capitão da que se chamava Galle, meter-se em Geilolo, que são cinco legoas da nossa fortalleza. E vinha por seu piloto Antão Corço, que sabia muito bem o porto, por ter ja ali vindo em outra armada de castelhanos.

DOCUMENT 55

“Historia das Ilhas de Maluco”, anonymous, attributed to Gabriel Rebelo, 1561. Published in Artur Basílio de Sá, ed., *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, Vol. 3 (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955), 193–343 (197–200). Original manuscript in Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Cód. 923.

Artur Basílio de Sá attributed this work to Gabriel Rebelo, the factor and chief-provost of Ternate, who witnessed many of the events related to the Ruy López de Villalobos’ expedition, which are recorded here. Of the three manuscripts attributed to Gabriel Rebelo, this is considered to be an initial version of what would become known as Informação das Cousas de Maluco.

p. 197:

In the fourth year, which was the year 1543, news came via some black men that there were Castilians on the island of Mindanao, which caused no small alarm in the hearts of the Portuguese on account of the very great unease which they sensed among the native people, who usually welcome idle talk, even if it comes via black men passing it on second hand.

Dom Jorge¹ prepared himself and sent two *korakorás* to look into the matter. One of these was carrying António de Almeida,² said to be the bastard son of the chief accountant. He suffered great toil and misadventure on the voyage, through seas not previously known or sailed by that kind of vessel, but once he reached the coast of Mindanao he sailed along it and headed for a port called *Sarramguam*.³ There, he received news of the fleet, of which Ruy López de Villalobos⁴ was the general. From what his own men say of him, [he is] a person of great authority if not of such good breeding. Our ambassador was well received by him and he was given a safe-conduct straightaway by the General and his captains, lieutenants,

¹ Jorge de Castro. See document 19, note 1.

² See document 19, note 6.

³ Sarangani.

⁴ See document 19, note 2.

corporals of the squadron and nobles of the King's household; and his men were truly astonished to see our men so far [from home], having sailed by so many different routes and in such remote parts and [to see] their clothing as a result; because there was not much call for finery in that climate. They were usually bare from below the knee, and this was normal and practical onboard ship.

Once the ambassador had been received, according to the proper protocol, he presented a letter of request from Dom Jorge, which expressed his doubts and uncertainty about whether he [Villalobos] had actually gone there or not. Since this was now confirmed to be the case, he wanted to know the reason why; had he been sent to the Moluccas, or had he been driven to put in there by some chance misfortune, because if the latter were the case, he would provide him with what was necessary.

Ruy López responded to this in writing, conveying his gratitude for the kind offer, and [stating] that he had not been dispatched to the Moluccas, but rather to discover the Islands of the West; in his reply, he displayed more audacity than power, because his forces were already far less than those he had come with.

Having taken his leave, António de Almeida departed, with great ceremony, and brought news of what he had seen and heard, regarding the state of the men and the ships, which were: two small vessels, two small galleons, one large foist which they called a galley and one other small ship, a brigantine. The captains were General D. Alonso Manrique,⁵ Bernaldo de la Torre,⁶ and Pero Ortiz de la Rueda.⁷

They had a definite air of the military about them, as they all went by the title of captain, and a large number of officers of the royal treasury had also come, as well as [those of] D. Antonio de Mendoza,⁸ the Viceroy of New Spain, whose fleet this was.

⁵ See document 20, note 21.

⁶ Bernardo de la Torre served as captain of the galleon *San Jorge*.

⁷ Pedro Ortiz de Rueda served as captain of the galliot *Santiago*, also referred to as the *San Cristóbal*.

⁸ See document 19, note 11.

Once this news had been transmitted, along with other more minor business, of the kind that returning messengers tend to enjoy communicating, or to be precise, elaborating upon, he was well received because he had a great deal to tell them, and he entertained some people with this and bored others.

Dom Jorge then ordered a stone bulwark to be constructed on the seaward-facet of the wall [of the fortress], where there had previously been a wooden one. And he thus set about fortifying the wall, which was very weak, with a stockade of wooden beams, which were to be filled with earth; and the time leading up to the rainy season was occupied with these works. During this period, he sent another two *korakoros*, carrying Belchior Fernandes Correia,⁹ who was in his service, as captain, because there was a lot of talk about António de Almeida, claiming that he had been too amenable and had returned on very good terms with the Castilians; and while he was getting his [fortification] works completed, Dom Jorge dispatched Belchior Fernandes, who departed in adverse weather conditions with a contrary monsoon.

He [Fernandes] managed to sail through it and deliver his message of protest and request, written with a slightly acerbic note, in which he [Castro] offered him [Villalobos] the necessary supplies for his men and his fleet if they came to the fortress in a genuinely desperate state. Otherwise, he was not to enter the Moluccas, and their territories, on account of the treaty and the peace agreement signed by the kings, and he protested that any deaths and losses would be the general's responsibility. To which he [Villalobos] replied that he would do everything in his power not to enter them, because he had been forbidden to do so by His Majesty and he had come only to discover the West, on the orders of the Viceroy of New Spain.

With these, and other words, in a written document brought to him by a Portuguese sailor, Belchior Fernandes was sent on his way. And he fought with several villages that were close to the [Castilian] fleet, and since the native people believed that they were all Castilians, they waged constant war upon them thereafter. And this, along with another dispute which they had had previously, caused them terrible trials and tribulations of death, hunger and disease: because they were driven to eat creatures such as rats and snakes, as well as the leather on

⁹ See document 19, note 13.

their crates and tallow, although that would not have been anything new to some of them.

They rounded Mindanao, looking for friendly ports but were not able to find any. They lost one of their carracks and a brigantine and one of the small galleons, called *San Jorge*, sailing between some islands nearby. And they took advantage of the leeway that is granted to those who are lost and pretended they had been [accidentally] blown off course, (so many people said), so that the General could send Pero Ortiz de la Rueda (the captain of the vessel they called a galley) into port at Jailolo,¹⁰ which is five leagues away from our fortress. And Antão Corço,¹¹ went as his pilot, and he knew that port very well, because he had been there before with another Castilian fleet.

¹⁰ He refers to the seat of the sultanate of Jailolo.

¹¹ See document 24, notes 8 and 9.

DOCUMENTO 56

“Informaçam das cousas de Maluco”, por Gabriel Rebelo, c. 1561–1569. Publicado em Artur Basílio de Sá, ed., *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, Vol. 6 (Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical, 1988), 163–294 (201-202, 212-213, 218, 223-225, 287). Outrora na biblioteca particular de Charles R. Boxer.

p. 201:

O arcepelaguio dos Çelebes demora a loeste de Maluco; e, segundo parece, a nele maior quantidade de ilhas; começa na grande ilha dos Çelebes, em que a muitos reis e vaquas bufaras e cabras, e muitos mantimentos; e acaba em Çebu e Matão, junto de Mindanao; e ainda avante a muita quantidade de ilhas incoñhitas.

Em muitas partes deste açepelago a fama de muito ouro, asi de minas, como colhido nos rios, particularmente na ilha de Macagua; e em a enseada de Butão e Mindanao, aonde a outrosi muita e boa canela; e na do Soluquo, grandes perolas, mas não as sabem colher, nem aproveitar-se delas. Em muitas partes são senhoreados do rei de Borneo; e em outras, do de Ternate e Tidore; e doutras vão e nosa fortaleza, onde vivem de pescar e fazer fio de arame.

Facilmente se convertem a nosa santa fe, e geralmente são çiveis e atreçoados; husão peçonha em suas armas, que mata em vinte e quatro horas, inchando os companhões; andão encachados, causa de os terem por bem despostos.

Limão os dentes, que lhe fiquão agudos de cima somente, e os fazem pretos, e as orelhas tão compridas, com humas arguolas de estanho, que trazem no burauquo, que lhas fazem chegar aos peitos; e pintão-se mourisqua e louçamente; o cabelo cortado nas fontes e o demais atado ao toutiço ou coroa; as testas batidas pera tras e pera cima, como que fazem os rostos agigantados; usão em seus membros genitais cascaveis de cobre, como Pegus; e outros, humas argolas de qualquer metal, de grosura dum delgado dedo, da banda de fora lavradas e com huns meios botões, ou outra cousa que roçe sem ferir, tudo fundido na mesma peça, a qual fechão com hum torno de metal, no mesmo membro, por hum burauquo que nele

trazem, e asi usão com as mulheres, metendo-o morto. Em algumas partes da ilha dos Çelebes ha mancebias pubricas de homens, que usão por cima e por baxo.

E tem sandalo, e aguila, e dai perto a muito e bom fero na ilha de Benguia; tem pequenas povoações, mas de muita jente, porque em cada casa mora toda huma geração; pendurão a roda delas as cabeleiras dos que matão na guera, os quaes cortão em roda todo o couro e carne da cabeça, ate ao casquo, por cima das sobrançelhas e orelhas; e asi dizem que viveo huma molher do Buro, muito tempo, mas esta crueza não e geral em todas as partes. Tem arvores, cuja sombra e fina peçonha da banda do ponente, quando por ela pasão, mas cura-se este dano com a do levante.

[...]

p. 212:

E, com os tres navios, pasou o estreito ao outro mar, a que pos nome Pacifico; e dai foi ter as ilhas de Çebu e Matão, que estão em dez graos escasos, junto de Mindanao, onde foi morto com alguns dos suus, peleiando com o rei de Matão, imiguo do de Çebu, que tinha feito cristão; e os da armada elegerão, em seu lugar, a Joam Serão, piloto-mor; e outros dizem a Joam Lopes Carvalho, que outrosi era piloto-mor; de maneira que o Joam Serão foi convidado do rei de Çebu, com pasante de vinte e sinquo omens dos principaes, e ali forão mortos, por treição do rei cristão, induzido de hum escravo que ficou do Magalhães, a quem o Serão tinha escandalizado.

E os navios se fizerão a vela e elegerão os officiaes e soldados, por seu geral, a João Sebastião del Cano, mestre dum; e outros dizem que a Joam Lopez Carvalho, e depois o tirarão e fizerão e João Sebastião del Cano; do modo que, por serem pouquos, queimarão a peor nao e a jente dela meterão nas duas, e forão ter a Borneo, donde derão volta e forão sorgir a Tidore, a oito de Novembro de mil e quinhentos e vinte e hum anos.

[...]

p. 218:

Avendo vista de Mindanao, foi jurado por capitão o Martim Iniguez de Carquiçano, e loguo prendeo em feros na varanda o Bustamante, ate que consentio e jurou como todos os outros. E toda esta enformação me deu Pero de Ramos, biscainho, omem de muita verdade, que foi na mesma naao.

[...]

p. 223:

Neste tenpo ordenou Dom Antonio de Mendonça, viso-rei da Nova Espanha, mandar a Maluquo outra armada sua, em que tinha parte Dom Pedro de Alvarado, adiantado da provincia de Guatimala, trezentas leguoas do Mexiquo, que ouvera de ir por geral dela, se não faleçera, saindo dum cavalo, deçendo dum penhol, na conquista da Nova Galiza; pelo que ficou toda ao viso-rei, que mandou por geral dela a Rui Lopez de Vilhalobos, pessoa de mais autoridade que fidalguia.

Trazia seis navios, a saber, huma naveta chamada Santiago, em que ele ia, e tres galeõeszinhos: Santo Antonino, de que era capitão Francisco Marinho; e São Joanilho, de que era capitão Dom Alonso Manriques; e São Jorge, em que ia Bernaldo de la Tore; e huma galeota, em que ia Pero Ortiz de la Rueda; e huma fusta, de que era capitão Dioguo Martel; nos quaes ião trezentos e cinquenta homens com os maritimos.

E partirão do porto de Navidad na Nova Espanha, dia de Todos os Santos, de quinhentos e corenta e dous. E, navegando ao ponente, pasarão por algumas ilhas das povoadas; e a primeira que tomarão foi a dos Coraes, aonde sorgirão, dia de Santo Estevão; e se levarão, o dos Reis, de 1543; e forão tomar a ilha de Mindanao, aonde estiverão trinta e dous dias; donde se levou o geral e foi sorgir na ilha de Saranguão, a quatorze de Abril do mesmo ano.

Capitulo 6 – Da nova que veio a Dom Jorge de Castro desta armada e do que por causa dela fez.

Esta nova dos Castelhanos foi dada a Dom Jorge de Castro, a qual não fez pequeno abalo e alvoroço nos Portugueses, por o grande que sentirão nos da terra, que geralmente são amigos de novidades; e ainda que lhe veio por Negros, que a

davão doutros, mandou saber a certeza por Antonio de Almeida, (filho bastardo que dizia ser do contador-mor), em duas coracoras que com muito trabalho chegarão a ilha de Sarangão, junto de Mindanao, aonde acharão a dita armada. E, avido seguro de seu geral, foi Antonio de Almeida bem recebido, asi dele como dos da armada, que não ficarão pouquo espantados, asi da novidade das coracoras como do traje daquele barbaro tempo, e daquele encontro tão remoto do seu e noso natural. E, juntamente com o envite de boa seja a vinda, lhe deu Antonio de Almeida huma carta de Dom Jorge, em que dizia a duvida e que estava e a pouqua certeza que tinha de sua vinda; mas que, sendo çerta, lhe pedia lhe mandase dizer a causa; e se vinha enviado a Maluquo ou ali aportado com fortuna, pera o prover do neçesario.

Ao que Rui Lopez respondeo com agradecimentos, e que vinha somente a descobrir o Ponente. E, avida licença do geral, se tornou Antonio de Almeida a dar novas da gente que trazia e muitos ofeçiaes do exercito e da fazenda del-rei e da do viso-rei e çinco frades agostinhos e outros tantos cleriguos.

Dadas estas novas e outras, que commumente os novamente vyndos acreçentão, foi bem recebido e melhor murmurado, avendo que vinha afeiçoado aos Castelhanos; e, com achaque do seu pasado trabalho, mandou Dom Jorge a Belchior Fernandez Corea, seu criado, com outro recado; o qual partio com duas coracoras e achou a armada em Mindanao, no porto de Camarião. E, avendo seguro, deu seu recado por hum requerimento e protesto, no qual lhe ofereçia Dom Jorge de Castro o provimento neçesario pera a armada, vindo-se pera a fortaleza; e doutra maneira, requeria ao geral não entrasse nas ilhas de Maluquo e suas terras.

O qual respondeo que a todo seu poder não entraria nelas, por lhe ser defeso por Sua Magestade; e, dando as graças do ofereçimento, foi despedido Belchior Fernandez, o qual lhes trouxe hum Gonçalo Fernandez, marinheiro algarvio.

E pelejou com hum luguar, doze legoas da armada, onde andavão certos soldados colhendo arroz, sem lhe querer falar, chamando-o. E, cuidando os Negros serem todos Castelhanos, derão-lhe dali por diante muito trabalho de guera e fome, ate chegarem a comer toda a imundiçe de bichos, por o qual lhes foi forçado, segundo depois derão a entender, yrem-se como desguerados a Maluquo, como se dira adiante.

Chegado Belchior Fernandez, deo nova que depois que Rui Lopez viera a Saranguão, se perdeu Santo Antonio e a fusta, saindo do mesmo porto; e São Jorge, perto da baia de Camarião.

Daqui foi São Joanilho e a galeota a tomar mantimento as ilhas de Dabuio e Felipinas, donde partio o São Joanilho pera a Nova Espanha, a vinte e sete de Agosto de 1543, em que ia Bernaldo de la Tore por capitão; e Gaspor Riquo, algaravio, piloto-mor, por piloto. E a galeota desguerou a Geilolo, em que ia por piloto Antão Corço, genooos que ja la for a em outra armada; a qual foi bem recebida do rei, não tanto por caridade (por carecer dela) quanto pelo interesse de aver algumas coisas e anojar a Dom Jorge.

[...]

p. 287:

E, se alguma duvida ha nesta parte, proçede algumas vezes de culpas alheias, porque [o sultão de Ternate] diz que ninguem entende melhor o serviço del-rei que ele, que e rei, e lhe usurpão seu mereçimento, atreboyndo-o a si, diante a magestade real, desfazendo todos nele, por fazer em si; pelo que são demenoidos seus serviços e multiplicados seus queixumes, sem avertirem quanto importa telo quieto e desagrado, por o muito que monta aquela fortaleza, pois sem ela caira o Estado da India em grande demonuição, particularmente se for em poder dos Castelhanos, que dali ão todas as drogas, a saber: o cravo e a noz e maça, de Banda; pimenta, de Jaoa; sandalo, aquila, de Timor e Macaçar; canela, de Mindanao e da Jaoa; gingivre, calangua, pimenta longa, tamarinho, açafão, da tera; canas pera fazer açuqar, salitre, enxofre, madeira, fero, estopa, breo, azeite; não falta nela nem em Borneo e per outras ilhas, muita pedraria, aljofar, perolas, canfora, tartaruga e ouro; e pera a prata, cobre, azougue, pedra ume, vermelhão, seda e outras mercadorias riquas, não lhe fica Japão e a China tão afastados como he em seus corações a cobiça destas cousas; e nos dos Maluqos, verem-se livres dos Portugueses.

DOCUMENT 56

“Informaçam das cousas de Maluco”, by Gabriel Rebelo, c. 1561–1569. Published in Artur Basílio de Sá, ed., *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, Vol. 6 (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical, 1988), 163–294 (201–202, 212–213, 218, 223–225, 287). Previously in the private library of Charles R. Boxer.

Artur Basílio de Sá classified this manuscript as one of the contemporaneous copies of the work written by Gabriel Rebelo, and he considered its historical value to be superior to that of two other extant versions of his work. The excerpt from this work is Gabriel Rebelo’s geographical description, which includes some of the islands that form part of what is today the Philippines, as well as accounts of the contact that the different Castilian fleets that sailed the Southeast Asian seas maintained with the archipelago.

p. 201:

The *Celebes* Archipelago¹ lies to the west of the Moluccas, and it seems that there are a great many islands there, starting with the large island known as *Celebes*,² where there are a many kings, cattle, buffalo and goats, and plenty of provisions, and ending with Cebu and *Matão*,³ next to Mindanao, and even before [you get to] these, there is a large number of unknown islands.

Many parts of this archipelago are rumoured to contain large quantities of gold, both from the mines, and extracted from the rivers, particularly on the island of *Macaga*,⁴ and in the inlet of *Butão*⁵ and Mindanao, where there is also plenty

¹ In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese used the place name “Celebes” to refer to the group of islands located to the west of the Moluccas and that extended to what is today the Philippines.

² Specifically, the island of Sulawesi. See document 7, note 1.

³ Mactan.

⁴ See document 13, note 10.

⁵ Butuan.

of good cinnamon. And in the Bay of *Soloquo*,⁶ there are large pearls but they do not know how to harvest them or make use of them. Many places are ruled by the King of Borneo, and others are dominions of the Kings of Ternate and Tidore, and from some others, where they live off fishing, and making wire thread, they come to our fortress.

They are easily converted to our holy faith, and they are generally well mannered and treacherous. They use poison on their weapons which kills in twenty-four hours and swells the testicles; they wear loincloths, which they consider a fitting garment.

They file their teeth to a sharp point, but only the upper ones, and they blacken them, and they stretch their ear lobes with tin rings which they wear in the pierced hole, until they hang down to their chests. And they paint their bodies in an elaborate Moorish fashion. They wear their hair cut short over the forehead and then the rest is tied up at the back of the head or the crown. Their foreheads slope up and backwards, which gives the impression that their faces are very long. In their genitals they wear little copper bells, like the *Pegus*⁷ do. And others wear rings, made of any metal, [which are] the width of a slim finger, finely worked on the outer edge and with button-like devices on them, or some other thing which has the effect of rubbing without hurting, all cast as a single piece, which they then close with a metal peg, through a hole which they have [pierced] in that same member, and this is how they use it with their women, and they introduce it while [it is] flaccid. In some areas of the *Celebes*, male concubinage is practiced quite openly, and they do it both above and below.

They have sandalwood and eaglewood, and close by there is a great deal of high quality iron on the island of *Benguia*.⁸ They have small villages which are heavily populated because each house has a whole generation living in it. They hang around them the scalps of the people they have killed in war, and they cut

⁶ Jolo.

⁷ He refers to the inhabitants of Pegu (Bago). The term was also used in the sixteenth century to refer to the population of what is today, Myanmar. See document 5, note 2.

⁸ Unclear location. This could be Pulau Banggai, an island belonging to the archipelago with the same name in the Gulf of Tolo.

round all the skin and flesh of the head right down to the skull, above the eyebrows and ears, and they say that one woman from Buro lived like this for a long time, but this cruel practice is not common to all areas. They have a kind of tree which produces a subtle poison if you walk under its evening shadow from the west, but the harm done can be cured by the morning shadow from the east.

[...]

p. 212:

And with the three ships, he [Magalhães] passed through the strait to the other sea which he named the Pacific; and from there he went to the islands of Cebu and *Matão* which lie at barely 10 degrees next to Mindanao, where he was killed along with some of his men, fighting with the King of *Matão*, the enemy of the King of Cebu whom he had made a Christian. And in his place, the men from the fleet selected Juan Serrano,⁹ a pilot-major and some other men chose João Carvalho,¹⁰ who was also a pilot-major. So Juan Serrano was invited as the guest of the King of Cebu with more than twenty-five of his highest ranking men, and there they were killed in an act of betrayal by the Christian King who had been incited to it by a slave, who had belonged to Magalhães and whom Serrano had angered.

And these ships set sail and the officers and soldiers appointed as their General, Juan Sebastián Elcano¹¹ who was the master of one of them. And some of the others had chosen João Lopes Carvalho, and then they removed him and appointed Juan Sebastián Elcano. And because their numbers were now so reduced, they burned the carrack that was in the worst state, and the crew from that one boarded the other two and headed to Borneo, which they sailed around before anchoring off Tidore on eighth November of fifteen twenty-one.

[...]

⁹ See document 11, note 7.

¹⁰ See document 11, note 10.

¹¹ See document 11, note 9.

p. 218:

Within sight of Mindanao, Martín Iníguez de Carquizano¹² was sworn in as captain, and they shackled Bustamante¹³ in irons in the gallery, until he agreed and swore his oath like all the others. And I was told all of this by Pero de Ramos,¹⁴ a Basque and a very trustworthy man, who was on the same carrack.

[...]

p. 223:

At this time, the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza,¹⁵ ordered another fleet of his to be sent to the Moluccas, and Don Pedro de Alvarado¹⁶ had a share in it. He was the governor of the Province of Guatemala which is three hundred leagues from Mexico, and he was meant to have gone as its [the fleet's] general, if he had not died falling from a horse, coming down a rocky escarpment during the Conquest of New Galicia, so the whole fleet fell to the viceroy. And he sent as its general, Ruy López de Villalobos,¹⁷ who was a person of more authority than good breeding.

He took six ships, namely: one small ship called the *Santiago* in which he himself travelled, and three small galleons: the *Santo Antonino* which was captained by Francisco Marinho,¹⁸ the *São Joanilho* which was captained by

¹² Martín Iníguez de Carquizano took part in the 1525 expedition to the Moluccas led by García Jofre de Loaisa as chief-bailiff, and he was sworn in as captain-general of the fleet prior to his death.

¹³ Hernando de Bustamante was one of the survivors from Fernão de Magalhães fleet, and he later took part in the expedition led by Loaisa. Following disputes with Martín Iníguez de Carquizano over the fleet's management after the deaths of Loaisa and Juan Sebastián Elcano, Bustamante was detained on the orders of Iníguez de Carquizano. He later died in Goa in 1533.

¹⁴ See document 25, note 19.

¹⁵ See document 19, note 11.

¹⁶ See document 19, note 8, and document 20, note 22.

¹⁷ See document 19, note 2.

¹⁸ In another, less reliable, copy of Gabriel Rebelo's text, he is mistakenly called Francisco de Souto. His name was in fact Francisco Merino.

Don Alonso Manrique,¹⁹ and the *São Jorge* which was captained by Bernaldo de la Torre²⁰; and one galliot which was carrying Pedro Ortiz de la Rueda,²¹ and a foist captained by Diego Martel.²² They were carrying a total of three hundred and fifty men, including the sailors.

And they departed from the port of Navidad in New Spain on All Saints' Day, fifteen forty-two. And they sailed west, past some uninhabited islands and the first one they landed at was dos *Coraes*,²³ where they anchored on Saint Stephen's Day; and they raised anchor on the Feast of the Epiphany [6 January] 1543 and headed for the island of Mindanao where they stayed for thirty-two days. And here the General raised anchor and went to anchor off the Island of *Saranguão*²⁴ on the fourteenth of April of the same year.

Chapter 6 – About the news of this fleet that reached Dom Jorge de Castro and what he did as a result

This news of the Castilians was conveyed to Dom Jorge de Castro.²⁵ It caused no small amount of upset and commotion among the Portuguese, because of the impact they sensed among the native people, who usually welcome idle talk. And even though it reached them via black men who were passing it on second hand, he sent António de Almeida²⁶ (said to be the bastard son of the chief accountant) to find out, taking two *korakor*s which struggled laboriously to reach the island of *Sarangão* next to Mindanao, where they found the said fleet. And once he had obtained a safe-conduct from its General, António de Almeida was made very welcome, both by him [Villalobos] and by the men of the fleet, who were astonished in no small degree, by the news from the *korakor*s, the type of clothing [they were wearing] in that hostile climate and by that they were wearing] in that hostile climate and by that they were meeting so far from their native land and ours. And

¹⁹ See document 20, note 21.

²⁰ See document 55, note 6.

²¹ See document 55, note 7.

²² In the documents related to the expedition led by Ruy López de Villalobos he is referred to as Juan Martel.

²³ See document 29, note 1.

²⁴ Sarangani.

²⁵ See document 19, note 1.

²⁶ See document 19, note 6.

at these words of welcome, António de Almeida handed him a letter from Dom Jorge, in which he expressed his concerns and reasons for his uncertainty about his [Villalobos] arrival. But since he clearly had, his [Almeida] request now was that he [Villalobos] should let him know the reason why: if he had been sent to the Moluccas or if he had made landfall there purely by chance, in order to provide him with what was necessary.

Ruy López responded to this by thanking him, and stating that he was there with the sole intention of discovering the West. And with the General's leave, António de Almeida went back to deliver news of the men that he [Villalobos] was carrying, and the large number of army officers, as well as officials of the royal and viceregal treasuries and five Augustinian friars along with the same number of clerics.

Once he had delivered this news and other matters of the kind that recently-arrived messengers tend to tack on, he was received well and gossiped about even better, since people claimed that he had come back on friendly terms with the Castilians. And displeased by his previous work, Dom Jorge sent Belchior Fernandes Correia,²⁷ who was in his service, with another message. And he departed with two *korakor*s and found the fleet at Mindanao, in the port of *Camarião*.²⁸ And once he had obtained a safe-conduct he delivered his message which consisted of a request and a protest, in which Dom Jorge de Castro offered him whatever provisions he needed for the fleet, if he came to the fortress. Otherwise, he was requiring the General not to enter the Moluccas Islands and their territories.

To this he replied that he would do everything in his power not to enter them because he had been forbidden to do so by His Majesty; and once he had thanked him for the offer, Belchior Fernandes took his leave and was accompanied back by one Gonçalo Fernandes, a sailor from the Algarve.²⁹

And he started a fight with a village twelve leagues away from the fleet, where some soldiers were collecting rice and refused to speak to him when called. And since the black men believed they were all Castilians, they caused a great deal of

²⁷ See document 19, note 13.

²⁸ Unclear location.

²⁹ The southernmost region of Portugal.

trouble from that point on, attacking them and starving them out, until they were driven to eat all manner of vile creatures, on account of which they were forced, as they later gave to understand, to head to the Moluccas claiming they had gone off course, of which more follows below.

When Belchior Fernandes got back, he delivered the news that after Ruy López had gone to *Saranguão*, the *Santo Antonio* had been lost, as had the foist when it was leaving that same port, and also the *São Jorge*, near the Bay of *Camarião*.

From there, the *São Joanilho* and a galliot had gone to take on supplies, in *Dabuio*³⁰ and *Felipinas*,³¹ and the *São Joanilho* had set sail from there for New Spain on the twenty-seventh of August 1543 with Bernaldo de la Torre as captain, and Gaspar Rico³² (a native of the Algarve and a pilot-major) as pilot. And the galliot had gone off course to Jailolo, carrying Antão Corço,³³ a Genoese, as pilot, who had been there before with a previous fleet. And it was made very welcome by the king, not so much as a matter of kindness (because he did not have much of that) but rather because he was interested to see what he could get out of it and to aggravate Dom Jorge.

[...]

p. 287:

And where there is concern in this regard, it sometimes proceeds from the misdeeds of others, because he [the Sultan of Ternate] says that no-one understands the interests of the King [of Portugal] better than he, because he is king as well, and his merits are usurped by those who thus arrogate them to themselves, assuming precedence over him before his Royal Majesty, and and criticising him [the Sultan] in order to gain more credit. And therefore his services [to the King of Portugal] are diminished and his grievances are multiplied, with no regard to how important it is that he should remain at peace with no causes for conflict, on account of the importance of that fortress. Because without it the *Estado da Índia*

³⁰ I.e., Abuyo (Abuyog) in Leyte. See document 27, note 12.

³¹ See document 19, note 20.

³² See document 27, note 11.

³³ See document 24, notes 8 and 9.

would fall into significant decline, particularly if it were to come under the power of the Castilians because the spices all flow from there, namely: cloves, nutmeg, mace from Banda, pepper from Java, sandalwood and eaglewood from Timor and Makassar, cinnamon from Mindanao, and from Java: ginger, galangal, long peppers, tamarind, turmeric, canes to make sugar, saltpetre, sulphur, wood, iron, oakum, pitch and oil. There is no shortage on Borneo, nor on other islands too, of precious stones in large quantities, seed pearl, pearls, camphor, tortoiseshell and gold. And [as] for silver, copper, mercury, alum stone, cochineal, silk and other rich merchandise, Japan and China are not so very far away [especially considering] the desire in their hearts to possess these things; as it is in the hearts of the Moluccans, to see themselves free of the Portuguese.

DOCUMENTO 57

António Galvão, *Tratado dos Descobrimentos*, 3^a ed., ed. Visconde da Lagoa e Elaine Sanceau (Porto: Livraria Civilização, 1944), 76, 83, 171, 193, 219, 224, 256, 274, 279.

p. 76:

E porque os môres descobrimentos & mais compridos foram por mar feytos, principalmête em nossos têpos, desejey saber quaes foram os primeiros inuentores disto depois do deluuio. Hûs escreuem que os Gregos, outros dizẽ que os Fenicios, outros querem que os Egipcios, os Indios nam consitem [*sic*] nisso. Dizendo que elles foram os primeiros que nauegarão, principalmente os Taybencos. A que agora chamamos Chins, & alegam pera isso serem ja senhores da India, at ho Cabo de boa esperãça, & a ilha de sam Lourẽço por ser pouoada delles ao lôgo da praya y os Iaos, Timores, Selebres, Macasares, Malucos, Borneos, Mindanaos, Luçoes, Lequios, Iapões, & outras Ilhas que ay muytas & as terras firmes dos Cauchenchinas, Laos, Siamis, Bremas, Pegus, Arracões, ate Bengala: & alem disto a noua Espanha, Peru, Brazil, Antilhas, & outras cõjuntas a ellas, como se parece nas feições dos homens molheres, & seus costumes, olhos pequenos, narizes rombos, e outras proporções que lhe vemos. E chamarẽ agora a muytas destas ilhas & terras Batochinas, Bacochinas, que querẽ dizer terras da China.

[...]

p. 83:

Tambem dizem que na India & terra do Malabar que he tamanha & tam pouoada foy ia tudo mar, ate o pè da serra: & que o Cabo de Camorim, & a ilha de Ceilão era tudo hũa cousa, & a ilha de Samatra que fora pegada cõ a terra Malaca, por hûs baixos de Capasia, & jûto dela está hũa ylhetta que não ha muito que ella y a terra firme tudo era hũa cousa. Ptolomeo em suas taboas põe esta terra de Malaca ao Sul da linha, em tres ou quatro graos d altura, ficando agora a ponta della, que se chama Ojentana em hum grao da banda do Norte (como se ve no estreito de Singapura,) onde cada dia passam pera à costa de Syão, & China, onde esta a ilha

de Aynão, que tambem dizem que foy junta cõ a terra da China que Ptolomeo assenta da parte do Norte muyto alem da linha, ficando agora mais de vinte graos della da parte do Norte, de maneira que asi Asia como Europa, ambas agora estam desta banda.

Bem podia ser que nos tempos passados, a terra de Malaca & China fossem acabar alê da linha da banda do Sul, como Ptolomeo as pinta, porque pegaria aa ponta da terra Dojentana cõ as ylhas de Bintão, Banqua, e Salities, que ha por ali muitas, & seria a terra toda mocixa: & assi a ponta da China, com as ylhas dos Luções, Borneos, Lequios, Mindanaos, & outras que jazẽ nesta corda, que tambem tem por opinião aindagora, que a ylha de Samatra foy pegada com o Iaoa, pello canal de Sunda, & a ylha de Baly, Anjane, Simbaba, Solor, Hogaleao, Maulua, Vintara, Rosolanguim, & outras que ha nesta corda & alturas, todas foram pegadas cõ a Iaoa & a terra hũa, & assi o parece á quẽ as vee de fora, porque indagora ha nestas partes ylhas tão juntas hũas cõ as outras, que parece tudo hũa cousa, & quẽ passa per antrellas, vay tocãdo cõ a mão os ramos do aruoredo dhũa banda & outra. E nam ha muyto tẽpo que ao Leuante das ylhas de Bãda se fundiram muitas: & tambẽ dizẽ agora que na China se alagarã mais de sesenta legoas de terra: por onde se não deue auer por muito o que Ptolomeo & outros antigos deixará escripto, que tambem eu deixo por tornar a meu proposito.

[...]

p. 171:

Antonio Dabreu & os que com elle hiam, tomaram sua derrota contra o norte dhũa ylhetta que se chama o Gumuapè; porque do mais alto della corre sempre, e de contino ate o mar ribeiras de fogo, cousa muito pera ver. Daqui foram aa ylha de Burro, & Damboino, & costearam a costa daquella que se chama de Muar Damboino, surgiram em hũ porto, que se diz Guli Guli, saltaram em terra, tomaram hũa pouoaçam que ali estaua, & acharam nas casas homẽs mortos dependurados: porque comem carne humana, onde queimaram a nao em que hia Francisco serrão por ser ja velha, & foram ter a banda que estaa em oito graos da parte do Sul, dõde carregaram de crauo, noz & maça, & hũ junco que Francisco Serram aqui comprara. Dizẽ que nam muito lõge destas ylhas de Banda ha hũa em que senã cria senã cobras, & as mais nũa coua que tem no meo, hũas grandes & outras pequenas, andão sêpre enroladas, mas nã se deue dauer por muyto, tanto

como os da terra, fazêdo disto espãto pois os nossos deixarã escrito que junto das ilhas de Mayorca & Menorca auia hũa que se chamaua Eufuria, ã que auia muita câtidade destas bichas, nã as auendo ã totalas outras ilhas jũto cõ ellas.

No anno de 512 partiram de Banda pera Malaca, & nos baixos de Lusopino, se perdeo Francisco Serram cõ o seu junco, donde se tornou a ilha de Mindanao cõ IX ou X portugueses que cõ ele hia, & os reis de Maluco mãdarã por eles estes foram os primeyros Espanhoes que viram as ylhas do crauo, que jazem da linha contra ho Norte em hum grao, onde estiueram sete ou oyto annos. Antonio Dabreu fez seu caminho pera Malaca, deixando descuberto todo aquelle mar & terra nomeadas.

[...]

p. 193:

Neste mesmo anno de 1519 a dez de Agosto partio Fernam de Magalhães de Seuilha com cinco vellas pera as ilhas de Maluco, foy costeando a costa do Brazil ate ho Rio da Prata, que era ja descuberto por parte de Castella, da qui por diãte fez o Magalhães seu descubrimento, & chegando a hum rio que pos nome de sam Iuliam que esta em corenta & noue graos, meteose dentro, onde enuernaram, passaram grande frio pollas neues & geadas que auia muitas: os homẽs daquella terra dizem que sam de grande estatura & força, & que tomão outro qualquer pellas pernas & quebram pello meo como se fosse hũa galinha, mantẽse em caça & fruta, poseran lhe nome os Patagones, & os Brazis lhe chamão Morcas.

No anno de 520 & entrada do mes de Setembro, que começa o veram naquella terra, saíram do rio tendo ja hum nauio perdido, com os quatro chegaram ao estreito que chamão do Magalhães, que esta em cincoẽta & dous graos & meo, donde se tornou hũa nao pera Castella, de que era capitam & piloto Esteuão gomez do porto Portugues, com as tres forã seu caminho por hũ grande mar ermo, a que chamarã pacífico, sem verẽ terra nẽ ilha pouuada ate treze graos daltura da parte do norte, que fora ter ás ilhas pouoadas, a que poseram nome dos prazeres, & dahi ao Archipeligo de são Lazaro, & em hũa ylha que se diz Sebu, & nata, foy o Magalhães morto & sua nao queymada as outras duas forã a Borneo, & dahy a Mĩdanao & de pedra ã pedra ás ilhas do crauo, deixãdo outras muitas descobertas que nã aponto, por auer muytos escritores deste caminho.

[...]

p. 219:

Neste anno de 525, estando dom Iorge de Meneses capitam de Maluco, elle dom Garcia anriquez mandara hũa fusta descobrir contra ho norte, hya por capitã della Diogo da rocha, & piloto Gomez de sequeira, que depois andou por piloto na carreira da India, em noue ou dez graos d altura, acharam hũas ilhas juntas, andaram por antrellas: poseram lhe nome as Ylhas de Gomez de sequeira por ser o primeiro piloto que as descobrio, donde se tornaram aa fortaleza, por derredor da ilha da Batachina do moro.

[...]

p. 224:

Neste anno de 27 sabêdo Fernam cortez polo petaxo, como frei Garcia de loais era passado ás ilhas do crauo, mandou fazer tres nauios prestes para jrem em sua busca: & descobrir aquele caminho da noua Espanha ate Maluco, & hia por capitã mor delles Aluaro ssauedra, Cerom seu primo pessoa muyto pera isso, partio dia de todos os sanctos de de [sic] Siuantaneio que se agora chama sam Christouam, que está em vinte graos da parte do norte: chegaram às ilhas que o Magalhães pos nome dos prazeres: e dahi foram às que Gomez de sequeira descobrira, por nam saberem isto lhe poseram nome dos Reys pellas verem aquelle dia, aqui ficaram a Sayauedra dous nauios, de que nunca mais ouue noua nem recado, & de ilha em ilha foram ter a de Sarangam, onde resgataram dous ou tres Castelhanos por setenta cruzados, da companhia de Loais que se por aly perderam.

[...]

p. 256:

No mesmo anno de 538 mandou Antonio galuam, que estaua por capitã em Maluco cõtra a norte hũ nauio, & capitã dele Frãcisco de castro, cõ regimêto que fizesse quantos christãos podesse, por ser dalgũs daquelas partes requerido pa isso, & o mesmo Antonio galuão ter muitos feitos .s. dos celebres Macasares, Amboynos, Moros Morotax, & Mídanao, & outras que descobrio acima dellas,

tomará seis Reys agoa de baptismo cõ molheres, filhos, vassalos, & o mais deles mandou Antonio galuã por nome Ioannes, em memoria do terceiro que em Portugal reynaua, tanto trazia na sua.

Os Portugueses & Castelhanos que por estas ylhas andaram, contaam que auia nellas porcos, que além dos dêtes que tinhã na boca, lhe sayã outros dous pelos focinhos, & outros tâtos por detras das orelhas, & tinhã de cõprido palmo & meo. E auia hũa aruore que o meo dela que estaua cõtra o oriête, era muy medicinal, & cõtra toda peçonha, o outro meo da aruore que estaua cõtra o ponête he muy peçonhêta, & o fruto daquela bãda o qual he todo como tramosso, & se faz delle mais forte peçonha que ha na redõdeza, & assi se dizia que auia outra aruore que quẽ comia seu fruto estaua doze oras fora de si, & fazia cousas de homem sem siso, quando tornaua nem daua nenhum acordo disso, & auia hũs cangrejos da terra que quẽ os comia, tambẽ estaua certas oras da mesma maneira. Assi deziã os da terra que auia ahi hũa pedra que quẽ se assentaua nela criãua potra, os homẽs destas ylhas douram os dentes, & atrauessam sua natura cõ hũa barra douro ou prata, & nas pontas rebatem hũas rosas, com que ensaguentam hũa molher toda.

[...]

p. 274:

No anno de 542 em mes Doutubro, mãdou o viso rey dõ Antonio ás ylhas de Mindanao, Cebu & Nata, õde Magalhães fora morto hũa armada de seis velas, quatrocêtos ou quinhêtos soldados nelas, & outros tâtos Indios da terra: & por capitã môr Ruy lopez de Vilhalobos seu cunhado, pessoa de muita estima. Partiram do porto do Natal, que està em vinte graos ao norte, vespera de todos os sanctos gouernaram a loeste, & á quarta do Sudoeste em dezanoue graos ouueram vista da ylha de sancto Thomas que Fernam de grijaluarez descobrira. Mais a diante em dezasete graos viram outra, a que poseram nome a Nublada. Dahi foram a outra que chamam Roca partida. A tres dias de Dezẽbro acharam hũs baxos de seis ou sete braças de fundo. A vinte & cinco deste mes viram as ylhas que Diogo da Rocha, e Gomez de Sequeira & Aluaro Sayuedra descobrirã, poseram nome dos Reis por a verẽ em seu dia. E ao diante acharam outras em dez graos, todas em roda: e da mesma maneira surgirã nelles, & tomaram agoa e lenha. Neste mesmo ãno de 542 foy desbaratado em Peru dom Diogo dalmagro por Vaca de Castro.

No anno de 543 em mes de Janeiro se fizeram aqui à vella com toda a armada, & oueram vista dalgũas ylhas, de que sahiram paraos & calaluzes com gête, & traziam nas mãos cruces, & os saluaram com bõs dias matalotes, de que ficaram marauilhados por se verem de Castella tam alongados, e homẽs naquella terra cõ cruces, & saudarẽ nos em lingoa Espanhol, & traziam diuisa que pareciam sentirem algũa cousa da nossa sancta fe catholica, por nam saberem que auia muytos della que Francisco de Castro por mandado de Antonio Galuam baptizara, hũs lhes chamam as ylhas das Cruces, & outros dos matalotes.

Neste mesmo anno de 543, o primeiro de feureiro ouue Ruy lopez vista daquella nobre ilha de Mindanao, em noue graos daltura, nam pode dobrala, nem surgir como desejaua, porque os Reys Christãos & pouo della lho defenderam, por terem dado a obediência a Antonio galuam, que elles muuto estimauam, & nam queriam anojalo cinco ou seis Reys que tinham tomado agoa de baptismo. Vendo Ruy lopez ysto, & o vêto contrairo, foy se ao longo da costa buscar algũ abrigo, & em quatro ou cinco graos daltura acharam hũa ylha pequena, a que os da terra chamam Sarangum: & tomada per força, em memoria di Viso rey que os la mandaua, poseram lhe nome Antonio, onde esteueram hum anno, socederam lhe cousas dignas de serem escritas, nam me meto antre ellas por serem mais historicas que descobrimento.

No mesmo anno de 543 em mes Dagosto mandou ho Geral Ruy Lopez a Bernaldo dela torre em hum nauio á noua Espanha dar conta a dõ Antonio de mēdoça o que la passara. Forã ter aa ylha de Syria, gaonata, Bisaya, & outras que ahi muytas em onze & doze graos da parte do Norte, por onde o Magalhães andara, & Francisco de Castro dera saude perpetua a muytos que por aly se baptizaram, & hos Castelhanos lhe poseram nome as Filipinas, em memoria do principe de Castella. Tomaram mantimento, agoa, & lenha, & se fizeram à vella: foram algũs dias em Léste vento a popa, ate que lhe foy escasseando, & se poderam porto do Tropico de Cancro [*sic*]: em XXV do mes de Setẽbro virã hũas ylhas, a que poseram nome Mal abrigo. E alẽ delas descobrirão as duas yrmãas: & mais auante quatro, a que chamarã os Balcones. A dous Doutubro ouuerã vista da Forfana: & alem della ha hũ penedo alto, que deita fogo por cinco partes.

Hindo assy em xvj graos daltura setecẽtas legoas donde partirã segũdo o que lhes pareciã, por nã acharẽ tẽpo arribarã as ylhas Felipinas, oueram vista de seis ou sete, mas nam surgirá nellas: acharam em hũ archipelago de ylhas bem pouoadas

de gente, que estam em quinze ou dezaseis graos daltura, aluas, bẽ despostas molheres mais fermosas & ataiadas que ha naquellas partes, com muitas joyas douro, que era sinal auello na terra. Auia tãbẽ nauios de remo de quarenta & tres couados ã cõprido, duas braças & mea de largo, & o taboado de v dedos ã grosso, & dizia que nauegauã nelles pa a China, que se la quisessem hir, que lhes dariam pilotos pera yssos, que nam erã mais que cinco ous [sic] seis dias de caminho.

Tambẽ vierã a elles paraos & calaluzes bẽ laurados & guarnecidos: & os señores vinhã assêtados ã alto, & por baxo certos negros de cabello reuolto, como por estado: pergũtando dõde os ouuerã? Respõderam que de hũas ylhas. Iunto de Sebuemantam auia muitos, de que se os Castellanos marauilhauam, porque dali a mais de trezentas legoas, nam auia gentes pretas, por onde parece que nam sam naturaes da Clima, se nam ha os em manchas pella redondeza, como qualquer outra casta: porque assi os ha nas ylhas de Nicober & Andamam, que estam no golfam de Bengala, & dali a quinhentas legoas nam sabemos gentes pretas. Valboa tambem conta que hindo descobrir ho mar da outra banda do Sul, que em hũa certa terra que se chama Cauça, achou gente preta de cabello frisado, nam os auendo em toda a Noua Espanha, nem em Castella do ouro, nem nas terras do Peru, a que elles chamam Noua Castella.

[...]

p. 279:

No ano de 545 em mes de Ianeyro, chegou Ruy Lopez de Vilhalobos geral dos Castelhanos á ylha do Moro & cidade de Samofo: foy bem recebido dos Reis de Geilolo, & Tidore, & gente da terra: por Antonio galuam ser ja partido, que deu assaz de trabalho ao capitam dom Jorge de Castro, segũdo parece que lhe socedeo, & aos Portugueses que cõ elle estauam, & muyto gasto à fortaleza.

No mesmo ãno de 545 tornou mandar Ruy lopez de Vilhalobos da ylha de Tidore, onde ja estaua da parte do Sul outro nauio pera a Noua Espanha, capitam delle Ynhigo ortiz de Roda, piloto Gaspar Rico, natural Dalmada: foram ter aa costa dos Papuas, correram na toda, & como nam sabiam que por ali andava Sayauedra, adquiriram assi esta honra & descobrimẽto, por a gente ser preta & de cabelo reuolto, poseram lhe nome noua Guinea, por ser ja perdida a memoria de Sayauedra, que assi faz tudo o que nam alumea a escriptura.

No anno de 545 em mes de Junho, partio hum junco da cidade de Borneo, em que hia hũ Portugues que se chamaua Pero fidalgo, arribaram com tẽpo contrairo, ao norte acharam hũa ylha de noue ou dez graos ate vinte e dous daltura, a que chamam dos Lucões, por assi auerẽ nome os habitadores della, pode ter outros, & assi seus portos que indagora nam sabemos. Corre se de Nordeste a Sudoeste: jaz antre Mindanao & a China, diz que foram ao longo della dozentas & cinquẽta legoas, em que a terra era fresca & bẽ assombrada, & contam que dam ali dous pesos douro por hum de prata, ainda que he muy vezinha da terra da China.

DOCUMENT 57

António Galvão, *Tratado dos Descobrimentos*, 3rd ed., ed. Visconde da Lagoa and Elaine Sanceau (Porto: Livraria Civilização, 1944), 76, 83, 171, 193, 219, 224, 256, 274, 279.

António Galvão was captain of the Portuguese fortress of Ternate between 1536 and 1540, where he undertook a prudent political strategy that led to an improvement in relations with the island's sultan and other rulers in the Moluccas. The Tratado dos Descobrimentos [Treatise on the Discoveries] is the first work by a Portuguese chronicler to recount the history of the maritime exploration and the discovery of the world from antiquity up until the sixteenth century. As would be expected, the author highlighted the voyages made by the Portuguese and Castilians.

p. 76:

Given the greatest and most extensive discoveries were made by sea, largely in these times, I wanted to know who were the major authors of this since the great flood. Some say that it was the Greeks, others the Phoenicians, others the Egyptians. The peoples of the Indies do not agree with any of these opinions. They say that they were the first who navigated the seas, and specifically the *Taybencos*, whom we now call the Chinese. They claim as proof that they are already the overlords of the Indies as far as the Cape of Good Hope and that Madagascar was populated by them all along the coast, as was Java, Timor, the *Celebes*,¹ Makassar,² the Moluccas, Borneo, Mindanao, *Luções*,³ the *Lequios*,⁴ Japan and many other islands as well as the continental territories of Cochinchina,⁵ Laos, Siam, Burma, Pegu,⁶ Arakan, all the way to Bengal; and even beyond this they populated New

¹ See document 7, note 1, and document 56, note 1.

² See document 6, note 3.

³ See document 2, note 2.

⁴ See document 5, note 4.

⁵ See document 5, note 3.

⁶ See document 5, note 2.

Spain, Peru, Brazil, the Antilles, and other lands adjoining them, as can be seen in the appearance and customs of these men and women, who have small eyes, round noses, and other visible traits of Chinese influence. They refer to many of these islands and territories as *Batochinas*, or *Bacochinas*, which means “lands of China.”

[...]

p. 83:

They also say that in India and in Malabar, which is very large and densely populated, that the sea once went all the way up to the foot of the mountains. It is also said that Cape Comorin and the island of Ceylon were once contiguous and that the island of Sumatra was connected to Malacca, by the Shallows of *Capasia*,⁷ and nearby there is a small island, which was connected to the mainland not long ago. On his charts, Ptolomy placed this land in Malacca, below the equator by three or four degrees, but we know now that the tip of this land, which is called *Ojentana*,⁸ lies at one degree north (as is the case with the strait of Singapore), and boats travel daily from there to the coast of Siam and China, where there is also the island of Hainan, which they say also was once joined to the Chinese mainland, which Ptolomy had put very much to the north of the equator, and now we know it is 20 degrees north, showing that Asia and Europe are both in the same hemisphere.

It could well be that, in the past, Malacca and China extended south beyond the equator, as Ptolomy depicted, because the tip of *Ojentana* would touch the islands of *Bintão*,⁹ Bangko, and *Salities*,¹⁰ and there are many islands there, and it would all be all solid land, and thus China would connect to the islands of the

⁷ Sandbanks in the Strait of Malacca; no precise location is given.

⁸ Ujung Tanah. The tip of the Malay Peninsula, more commonly referred to as Johor. See document 38, note 10.

⁹ Bintang. See document 5, note 7.

¹⁰ Vague reference, which might refer to Selayar Island in the Riau Archipelago, but it probably refers to a form of “Seletes”, a generic designation that the Portuguese used to refer to the communities in this archipelago and the Singapore Strait, who were typically referred to by the name *Orang Laut*.

Luções, Borneus, Lequios, Mindanaos,¹¹ and others that lie at this distance. There is also an opinion that is still current that the island of Sumatra was linked to Java along the Sunda Strait, and the islands of Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Solor, Lomblen, Alor, Wetar, Pulau Romang and others at these coordinates were all connected with Java and formed one landmass, which is how it seems to someone seeing this region as an outsider because there are still today many islands that are so close to each other that it seems they are not islands, and if you go between them you can touch the branches of trees on two different islands at the same time. Not long ago many islands to the east of Banda merged and they say today that China extended more than 60 leagues in this direction. All this proves that the writings of Ptolomy and the ancients should be taken with a pinch of salt, but now I leave them behind to return to my subject matter.

[...]

p. 171:

António de Abreu¹² and those who were travelling with him sailed north around a small island called Gunung Api¹³ because from the island's peak endless streams of fire flowed into the sea, which was quite something to behold. From there they went to the islands of Buru and Ambon and tacked along the coast of an island called *Muar Damboino*¹⁴ and anchored at a harbour called *Guli Guli*.¹⁵ They went ashore and took over a village there where they found dead men hanging in the houses, because the locals ate human flesh. Here they burned the ship that Francisco Serrão¹⁶ had been sailing in because it was old. Next, they sailed to eight degrees latitude, where they loaded up a junk with cloves, nutmeg, and mace that

¹¹ I.e., the inhabitants of Mindanao.

¹² Portuguese captain who commanded a fleet which, on the orders of Governor Afonso de Albuquerque, left Malacca in 1511 on a mission to reach the Moluccas. Having undertaken a reconnaissance of a number of islands in the Indonesian Archipelago, he reached Ambon and the Banda Islands, but his fleet was scattered and he had no choice but to return to Malacca due to the poor state of his ships.

¹³ *Gunung api* is "volcano" in Malay; the information refers to the volcano on Naira, one of the Banda Islands.

¹⁴ Probably Seram.

¹⁵ Gulegule, port on the far south-eastern side of Seram.

¹⁶ See document 52, note 2.

Francisco Serrão purchased there. Rumour has it that there is an island not far from the Banda Islands where only snakes live, and most of them dwell in a single cave at the centre of the island where both large and small go about tangled up together. We should not make such a fuss of this, as the people in that land do, because we also have written records that describe an island very close to Majorca and Menorca, called Eufuria, where a great multitude of these creatures could be found and yet there were none on any of the neighbouring islands.

In the year 1512, they left Banda and headed for Malacca and on the Lucipara shoals Francisco Serrão was wrecked with his junk, whence he returned to the island of Mindanao¹⁷ with nine or ten Portuguese. The kings of the Moluccas sent for them, being the first Spaniards¹⁸ who had reached the Clove Islands, which lie one degree north of the equator. They stayed there seven or eight years. António de Abreu made his way to Malacca, having discovered all this area of ocean and land mentioned above.

[...]

p. 193:

On the 10th August 1519 Fernão de Magalhães set sail from Seville for the Moluccas with a fleet of five ships. He sailed along the coast of Brazil as far as the River Plate, which had already been discovered by Castile, and from there he began his discovery, reaching a river, which he named the *San Julián* which is at 49 degrees latitude, and he sailed into the rivermouth where they wintered. They endured a bitter winter on account of the frequent snow and ice. They say that the people of that region are very strong and tall in stature, so much so that they can pick a man up by his legs and tear him in half like he were a chicken. They live off fruit and what they can hunt. They were named the Patagonians, but the Brazilians call them Morcas.

¹⁷ Dubious information that does not concur with other sources for the journey made by Francisco Serrão.

¹⁸ The term “Espanhóis” [Spaniards] was at that time used in the broad sense of “Hispânicos” [Hispanics, i.e., from the Iberian Peninsula] and not in the narrower sense it has today, for which the term used then was “Castelhanos” [Castilians].

At the beginning of September of 1520, when Summer begins in that land, they left the river already one ship down. With the four remaining vessels, they reached the straits which became known as the Straits of Magellan, which lie at fifty-two and a half degrees. At this point one ship returned to Castile, which was captained by a Portuguese called Estevão Gomes do Porto. Three ships then made their way into the open sea, which they called the Pacific, and did not come across an inhabited island until they were 13 degrees above the equator, where they docked at a set of inhabited islands that they called *dos Prazeres* [Pleasure Islands],¹⁹ and from there they sailed to the St Lazarus archipelago. It was on an island called Cebu and *Nata*²⁰ that Magalhães was killed and his ship was burned. The remaining two ships went to Borneo and then on to Mindanao and bit by bit they made their way toward the Clove Islands, discovering many new islands which I will not mention here because many writers have written about this voyage.

[...]

p. 219:

In 1525, when Dom Jorge de Meneses²¹ was captain of the Moluccas, Dom Garcia Henriques²² sent a foist to discover lands to the north. Diogo da Rocha captained this ship and Gomes de Sequeira was his pilot, who later piloted ships on the *Carreira da Índia*. At 9 or 10 degrees they found a set of islands close together and sailed between them. They named them the *Gomes de Sequeira* Islands,²³ as he was the first pilot to discover them, and then they returned to the fort by way of the island of *Batachina do Moro*.²⁴

[...]

p. 224:

¹⁹ António Galvão is mistaken in this passage. The islands in question were referred to as the “îles Infortunées” [Unfortunate Islands]. See document 13, note 1.

²⁰ Mactan.

²¹ See document 52, note 13.

²² See document 52, note 17.

²³ See document 53, note 22.

²⁴ Halmahera. See document 6, note 11.

In 1527, Hernán Cortés²⁵ learned from the pinnace how Friar García de Loáisa had managed to reach the Clove Islands and so he ordered that three ships be prepared to go in search of him and to discover that route between New Spain and the Moluccas. Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón,²⁶ Cortés's cousin, was chosen as the captain-major, a fitting person for the task. He departed on All Saints Day from Zihuatanejo, which is now known as St. Christopher and which lies at 25 degrees north of the equator. They reached the islands that Magalhães had named *dos Prazeres* and from there they journeyed to the islands that Gomes de Sequeira had discovered, but unaware of this they dubbed them the *Dos Reys*²⁷ because they arrived there on Epiphany. There Saavedra lost two ships of which he never heard again. They went from island to island until they reached *Sarangam*,²⁸ where they paid 70 cruzados for the release of three Castilians, who had belonged to the crew of Loáisa who had been lost in that region.

[...]

p. 256:

Also in 1538, António Galvão,²⁹ who was then captain of the Moluccas, sent a ship northwards, captained by Francisco de Castro,³⁰ with the instruction to convert as many to Christianity as possible, having been asked by some from that region to do so and because António Galvão himself had managed to convert many Christians, namely in *Celebes*, Makassar, Ambon, Halmahera, Morotai, and Mindanao, and on other islands that he had also discovered six kings had been baptized along with their wives, children, subjects. He called most of the kings *Ioannes* in memory of John III who was King of Portugal, because his thoughts were so much with the king.

The Portuguese and Castilians who travelled around these parts say that you can find boars there that, beyond the teeth in their mouths, have two tusks that come out of their snouts and others that come out from behind their ears and that

²⁵ See document 14, note 1.

²⁶ See document 14 and document 25, note 14.

²⁷ See document 31, note 1, and document 53, note 22.

²⁸ Sarangani.

²⁹ Reference is made to the author himself.

³⁰ See document 20, note 11, and document 52, note 35.

are about a span and a half in length. There was also a tree there of which the side that faces eastwards was medicinal and a cure against all poisons, but the other half that faces west was very toxic, and the fruit of that side of the tree, which is just like a bean, makes the most deadly poison on earth. There was also another tree and it is said that if you eat the fruit from that tree you would go out of your mind for twelve hours and you would act like a madman, but when you came back to your senses you would have no recollection of any of this. There were also land crabs, which if eaten, would have the same effect for several hours. The people of that region also said that there was a stone which would make you suffer a hernia if you sat on it. The men of this region also gild their teeth and they pierce their penises with a gold or silver bars and put barbs on the end of them which makes a woman bleed a lot.

[...]

p. 274:

In October of 1542, the Viceroy Don Antonio³¹ sent a fleet of six ships to the islands of Mindanao, Cebu, and Mactan, where Magelhães died, with some 400 or 500 soldiers and about the same number of local Indians. The captain-major was Ruy López de Villalobos,³² his brother-in-law, a man who was greatly esteemed. They departed from the harbour of Navidad, which is 20 degrees to the north, on the eve of All Saints Day, sailing to the west, and in the southwest quadrant at 19 degrees they caught sight of the island of *Sancto Thomaz* that had been discovered by Hernando de Grijalva.³³ Further ahead at 17 degrees they could see another island, which they named *La Nublada*. From there, they went to another island called *Roca Partida*.³⁴ On the 3rd December they reached shallows only six or seven fathoms deep. On the 25th of that month they reached the islands that Diogo da Rocha, Gomes de Sequeira, and Álvaro Saavedra had discovered and had called the *Dos Reis*³⁵ because they were first seen on Epiphany. Beyond these islands at 10 degrees they found more islands that formed a circle and they dropped anchor

³¹ Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain. See document 19, note 11.

³² See document 19, note 2.

³³ Reference to the journey undertaken to explore the coast of Mexico by Hernando de Grijalva in 1533. See also document 25, note 15.

³⁴ *Santo Tomás*, *La Nublada* and *Roca Partida* refer to various islands in the Revillagigedo Archipelago in Mexico.

³⁵ See document 31, note 1, and document 53, note 22.

and took on water and wood. In the same year of 1542 Don Diego de Almagro was slain at the hands of Vaca de Castro.³⁶

In January of 1543 they set sail with the whole fleet and caught sight of some islands, from which came proas and keluluses with people aboard and they held crosses in their hands and greeted them saying “Good day, fellow travellers!”, which left them stunned given they were so far from Castile. The people of that land, who held crosses, greeted them with words of Spanish and they bore signs that suggested they knew something of our Holy Catholic faith. Not knowing that Francisco de Castro, on the instructions of António Galvão, had baptized many there, some of the Spaniards called these islands *Ilhas das Cruzes* [Islands of Crosses], and others *dos Matalotes* [Islands of the Fellow Travellers].³⁷

On the 1st February of that same year, Ruy López caught sight of the noble island of Mindanao, which lies at 9 degrees latitude, but he could not weigh anchor nor go around the island as he wished to because the Christian Kings and the people of the island resisted them having sworn obedience to António Galvão, whom they held in high esteem. There were about half a dozen kings there who had been baptized and did not want to displease Galvão. Seeing this was the case and that the winds were against him, Ruy López headed along the coast to find shelter somewhere, and at about 4 or 5 degrees latitude he came upon a small island which the locals called *Saranguam*. He took the island by force and named it *António*³⁸ in honour of the viceroy who had sent them there. They stayed there a year and many things happened to them that are worthy of being written about, but I am not going to delve into them as they are more matters of history than to do with discoveries.

Later that year in August, captain general Ruy López sent Bernaldo de la Torre³⁹ in a ship to New Spain to inform Don Antonio de Mendoza of all that

³⁶ At the battle of Chupas, on 16th September 1542, in Ayacucho, Peru, where the rebel forces of Diego de Almagro were defeated by the troops led by Cristóbal Vaca de Castro.

³⁷ Reference is made to Fais Island, in the Ulithi group of atolls, located in the Caroline Archipelago.

³⁸ She was in fact baptised “Antonia”. See document 19, note 9.

³⁹ See document 55, note 6.

had happened. They went to the islands of *Syria*,⁴⁰ *Gaonata*,⁴¹ *Bisaya*,⁴² and many others that lie at 11 or 12 degrees North of the equator, where Magalhães had once been and where Francisco de Castro had given eternal life to many there who had been baptized. The Castilians named the islands *as Filipinas*⁴³ in honour of the prince of Castile. They took on provisions, wood, and water there before setting sail. They headed east for a few days with a tailwind, until the wind died down, and they reached the Tropic of Cancer. On 25th September they spotted some islands, which they named *Mal Abrigo* [Poor Shelter]. Then they discovered *As Duas Irmãs* [The Two Sisters], and beyond those a further four islands that they called *Os Balcones* [The Volcanoes].⁴⁴ On 2nd October they caught sight of *Forfana*⁴⁵ and beyond that island a high rock that spewed fire from five different places.

Sailing at 16 degrees latitude 700 leagues from where they had departed, as it seemed to them, because wind was against them, they went back to the Philippine Islands. They saw six or seven of the islands, but did not weigh anchor. They found themselves in an archipelago of well-populated islands, at about 15 or 16 degrees latitude, where the women were pale, well proportioned, and much more beautiful and dressed-up than most in those parts, wearing much gold jewelry, which was a sign there was gold to be found in that region. They also had oared boats 43 cubits in length, 2.5 fathoms wide, and with boards five fingers width in thickness. They said that they would sail in these boats to China, and if they wanted to go there they would offer pilots who would take them there and it would only be five or six days travel.

Proas and keeluses that were well-built and well-decked out came to them. The lords would sit up high and below them there would be certain black men with frizzy hair, indicating their condition. They were asked where these men came from and received the reply that they came from some islands near Cebu and Mactan, where there were many people who looked like this. The Castilians marvelled at this because there were no black people for more than 300 leagues.

⁴⁰ Probably Samar.

⁴¹ Possibly one of the Camotes Islands.

⁴² See document 16, note 7.

⁴³ See document 19, note 20.

⁴⁴ References to the diverse islands of the Bonin (or Ogasawara) archipelago in Japan.

⁴⁵ Unknown location, perhaps Iwo Jima.

In light of this it seems that they are not natives of this climate, but can be found in pockets all around the world, like other races, given that they can be found in the islands of Nicobar and Andaman in the Gulf of Bengal, and they too are 500 leagues from any other black people that we know of. Balboa also reports that when he discovered the South Sea that in a land called *Cauça* he also found black people with frizzy hair, despite not finding them in New Spain, or in *Castela do Ouro*,⁴⁶ or in Peru, which they call New Castile.

[...]

p. 279:

In January of 1545, Ruy López de Villalobos, the captain general of the Castilians, arrived at the city of *Samofó*⁴⁷ on the island of *Moro*.⁴⁸ He was well received by the kings of Jailolo and Tidore, as well as by the people of that land. António Galvão had departed, which left much work for the captain Dom Jorge de Castro,⁴⁹ who seems to have succeeded him and to the Portuguese who were with him and by the great sums spent on the fortress.

Later that year Ruy López de Villalobos sent another ship southwards from Tidore to New Spain with Iñigo Ortiz de Roda⁵⁰ at the helm and Gaspar Rico,⁵¹ from Almada, as his pilot. They reached the coast of the Papuas and explored it all, and not knowing that Saavedra had been in those parts, they took the honour of finding and discovering it. As the people there were black and had frizzy hair, they named this land New Guinea, for the memory of Saavedra had been forgotten as happens with anything that writing does not bring into the light.

In June of that same year, a junk departed from the city of Borneo carrying a Portuguese called Pêro Fidalgo on board. They were blown off course by contrary winds and to the north found an island that stretches from about 9 or 10 degrees

⁴⁶ *Castilla de Oro*, name given in the early sixteenth century to part of Central America.

⁴⁷ See document 19, note 15.

⁴⁸ Halmahera. See document 6, note 11, and document 53, note 18.

⁴⁹ See document 19, note 1.

⁵⁰ His actual name was Pedro Ortiz de Rueda. See document 55, note 7.

⁵¹ See document 27, note 11.

to 22 degrees latitude, which is called *dos Luções*,⁵² as it is what the inhabitants of that island are called. It may have other names, as well as harbours, which we still do not know about. It runs from North East to South West and lies between Mindanao and China. They say that they sailed 250 leagues along it and that the land was pleasant and well-sheltered, and they say that there they trade two measures of gold for one of silver, even though the island is very close to mainland China.

⁵² The size of Luzon, as described in the text, is exaggerated. In 2003, José Manuel Garcia proposed that this description of the island in fact corresponded to the geography encountered between Palawan, Luzon and Taiwan, but under adverse conditions which thus gave the impression that these islands were just one. António Galvão's account of the voyage made by Pêro Fidalgo was incorporated into Portuguese cartography. The oldest known depiction of a very large coast of *Luções* dates from the same year in which the *Tratado* was published. (MRL)

DOCUMENTO 58

“Tratado de las Yslas de los Malucos y de los Costumbres de los Indios y de Todo lo Demas”. Publicado em Artur Basílio de Sá, ed., *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, Vol. 6 (Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1988), 5-162 (19, 25, 36–37, 101–103, 107–108). Original conservado no Archivo General de Indias, Sevilha, Patronato, 46, R. 29.

p. 19:

As parreiras tem duas podas: huma em Fevreyro; e outra, em Setembro; todo o anno estão com folhas e huvas, humas colhidas e outras naçadas. Trouxe-as Amtonyo Galvão de Malaqua na era de mil quinhentos trimta e seis. Tomou-as a terra por filhas, que em nenhuma parte se dão milhor; em seis meses se fazem tão grosas como huma perna; e asy mamdo aqui trazer jaquas, barcas e giraçais de Mimdanao, e douriões de Bachão; e tudo prantou, ainda que aquy a muitas diversidades de fruitas; e de todas, poucas quantidades.

[...]

p. 25:

Ha muitos inhames de castas, cores, desviadas as ervas de Portugal, he perraxil do mar, mamjericão, salsa, bredos, ortelam, coentros, emdros, berinjelas de duas castas: humas, das ortas; e outras bravas, que comem com seladas; sebolas meudas, alhos e rabãos, favas, ervilhas, grãos, feijões, lentilhas, pepinos, melões que Amtonio Gualvão mamdou trazer de Mimdanao.

[...]

p. 36:

Capitulo treze. Como aquy vierão ter as primeiras naos e per omde as quaes forão as que levarão cravo, primeiro; huma fabula que comtão, domde hos seus reys desenderõ.

Estando asy, vierão aquy ter naos ou jumquos, por Borneo; forão as primeiras que nestas ilhas se virão e por aquy fezerão sempre seu caminho.

Huns dyzem que erão Chins, outros querem que foçem malaios he jaos; nom se sabem detriminar, pera verdadeiramente vos emformar; hos mays se acostão aos chins, e asy parece ser verdade, porque eles, segumdo se dys, forão senhores das Indias e seus archipelaguos ou, ao menos, as navegarão, comtratarão, como se mostra polos hedeñiços que neles estão, he imda aguora vem a Mimdanao, Borneo, Malaqua, Ceylão. E estes e outros reinos tem o seu çelo, que he o fom, nem por esta terra nom corre outra moeda senão ha sua, por nom aver cobre nem costumão ha fazer de nenhuma cousa; e á aquy, as primçipais, a que chamão Batachinas, como he Batachina do Moro e a de Muar e o Maquasar.

[...]

p. 101:

Neste tempo, em Portugual, hum cavaleiro, que se chamava Fernão de Magualhães, se dezaveo dell rey sobre sertas cousas que pedia a el rey, e alguns dizem que a primcypal era moradia, e pasou-se a Castela para Emperador Carlos, que aguora reyna. Ho qual fez huma armada e o mamdou a Maluquo por capitão mor.

Partio na era de mill e quinhemtos e dezanove, a vimte dias do mes de Setembro, de São Luquas de Barrameda, com çimquo naos a demamdar as Canarias, Dia de São Miguell, que erão vimta nove do mes, forão nelas, e estiverão quatro ou cinco dias; e dahi forão na volta do Brazill e tomarão refresco no Ryo de Janeiro, que esta em vimta tres graos, e costeando a costa ate ho Ryo da Prata, omde esteverão a dous dias de Fevereiro da era de mill e quinhemtos e vimte, e dahi fezerão sua viagem, imdo sempre ao lomguo da terra palpamdo toda bahia, rio e porto e emseada, por ver se achavão por omde pasassem a outra parte; no qual camynho houve amtre eles grandes dezavemças, e discordias e se lhe levarão tres naos e com hasas trabalho chegou hum cabo que esta em cimquoemta e dous graos, ha vimta hum do mes de Outubro, a que poserão nome das Virgens, polo verem em dua de Santa Husula e avamte desta altura, tres ou quatro leguoas, acharão ha boqua do estreito por omde pasarão. Era de cem leguoas em comprido, corre-se de leste hoeste e da outra parte nom levava ja mais, Fernão de Magualhães, de tres naos, porque huma se perdeo e outra fogyo.

Correrão çinquo meses ou seis a loes noroeste, sempre vemto popa, e acharão huma ilha em dezanove graos e outra em quatorze e a outra em treze; e asy correrão ate a lynha. Pasarão da parte do norte, ate se porem em doze, treze graos, imdo guovernamdo a loeste. Seis ou sete dias do mes de Março de quinhemtos e vimte hum tomarão humas ilhas muyto povoadas; na mesma volta, forão ter a Mindanao e dahi a humas ilhas que dizem Matão; e sobre um luguar que chamão Nata, omde Magalhães sayo em terra, foy morto com çimquoemta ou sesemta homens, a vimte sete dias de Abril; e fizerão os Castelhanos dous capitães mores: hum era Duarte Barbosa, portugues; e o outro, castelhano.

Estes sairão em terra, ha hum comvite, e matarão-nos, com vimte çimquo ou trimta homês. E estes mortos, levamtarão ho Carvalhinho, que era piloto, por governador; e o meirinho-mor da armada, que se chamava Guomçalo Guomez de Espinosa, capitão doutra nao. Comtarão gente que tinhão, e acharão çemto oyto homens, amtre feridos e doemtes. Por nom se treverem navegar as tres naos, queymarão huuma [*sic*]. Com asas trabalhos e desaventura forão ter a Maluquo, a oyto dias do mes de Novembro, era de mill e quinhemtos vimta hum.

Sorgyrão em Tidore, receberão muyto bom guazalhado del rey dele e semtarão os preços do cravo caro, porque foy como os da terra quyserão; que hum portugues que ahi estava, quamdo se vio com eles, lhes dise ho emguano que receberão, e aqui carregarão as naos de cravo.

Estamdo para partir, abrio a capitanya huma agoa e mamdarão em outra nao, que partio vimte dous dias do mes de Dezembro, era de mill e quinhemtos vimte hum.

Foy a Buro tomar mamtimentos e dahi a Timor e ao cabo de Boa Esperança se foy para Sevilha; e a outra descarregou e derão querena, e nisto faleçeo Carvalhinho que era piloto dela; com mestre e piloto se fizerão a vela e forão demamdar a Nova Espanha. Partirão a dezaseys de Abrill, e nom poderão tomar terra e forão a norte comtra China, ate coremta e dous graos, segumdo dizem, se vão mill e quinhemtas leguoa de Maluquo; e aqui lhe faltarão mamtimentos. Tornarão com mastos quebrados; era capitão dela Guomçalo Guomez de Espinosa. E destas naos deixarão em Tidore cimco castelhanos, para fazerem fazemda; e hum deles se foy a Banda.

[...]

p. 107:

E na era de mill quinhentos vimta çinquo partio outra armada, mamdada pelo Emperador Carlos de Castela, do porto e vila de Acunha, em que hya por capitão Frei Graçya de Loays, comendador da Ordem de São Johão. Levava quatro naos e dous gualeões he hum patas bisquainho de remo. Diz que hião nestas velas quatroçemtos [*sic*] e çinquoemta e sete homens de armas.

Forão ter a boqua do estreito de Magualhães e dahy arrybarão dous a Castela e outro se perdeo na emtrada; e quamdo forão da outra parte nom avya mais que a nao capitanya e os dous gualeões e o pataz. Deu-lhe hum temporal, que se apartarão huma das outras: o pataz foy ter a Nova Espanha, e hum dos qualliões se perdeo jumto de Maluquo, na ilha de São Gym, e o outro numqua mais se soube.

Ha capitanya foy a Mindanao e dahy a Samafo, que he uma çidade da Batachina do Moro, e dahi a Tidore, o primeiro dia de Janeiro de quinhentos vimte sete, com çemto e dezasete homês, na era de mill quinhentos vimta seis.

DOCUMENT 58

“Tratado de las Yslas de los Malucos y de los Costumbres de los Indios y de Todo lo Demas”. Published in Artur Basílio de Sá, ed., *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, Vol. 6 (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1988), 5-162 (19, 25, 36–37, 101–103, 107–108). Original manuscript in Archivo General de Indias, Seville, *Patronato*, 46, R. 29.

A treatise by an anonymous author on the Moluccas that consists of two main sections. The first, consisting of 25 chapters, provides descriptions of the islands accompanied by information on their geography and botany, as well as their inhabitants and their social practices and customs. In the second part the author traces the history of the exploratory voyages undertaken by the Portuguese, their arrival in India and the Moluccas up to the time of António Galvão's period of office as captain of Ternate.

p. 19:

The grape vines are pruned twice a year: once in February and again in September. They stay in leaf and produce grapes all year round, some of which are harvested while others are left to bud. António Galvão¹ brought them from Malacca in the year 1536. They adapted very well in this land because they are the best to be had anywhere. In a period of six months they grow as thick as a leg. He also had jackfruit, *barcas* and prime quality rice brought here from Mindanao and durians from Bacan; and he planted everything, even though there is a great variety of fruits here, and all of them in small quantities.

[...]

p. 25:

There are lots of yams, their varieties and colours quite unlike the plants in Portugal, and there is sea fennel, basil, parsley, beets, mint, coriander, dill, eggplants

¹ See document 57.

of two kinds, some that are cultivated and others that grow wild, which they eat with salad vegetables: shallots, garlic and radishes, broad beans, peas, chickpeas, runner beans, lentils, cucumbers and melons which António Galvão had brought from Mindanao.

[...]

p. 36:

Chapter Thirteen. On how the first carracks came here and where the ones that were carrying cloves first went; a tale they tell about where their kings came from.

This being so, some carracks or junks came here [the Moluccas] via Borneo. They were the first that anyone on these islands had ever seen, and they always came by this route.

Some say they were Chinese, whereas others hold that they were Malay and Javanese; there is no way of knowing for sure, to give you a really true picture. Most people tend to think they were Chinese, and this seems to be true because, from what they say, they were masters of the Indies and their archipelagos, or at the very least, they sailed around them and traded there, as is evident in the [style of] buildings that are found there. And they still come to Mindanao, Borneo, Malacca and Ceylon today. These and other kingdoms have their own [distinct] stamp which is the *fom*,² and nor does any coinage other than theirs [the Chinese] circulate in this land because they have no copper, nor do they tend to make it from anything else. And they have their principal [territories] here which they call *Batachinas* such as *Batachina do Moro*,³ the one of Muar⁴ and *Maquasar*.⁵

[...]

² A Chinese coin and unit of weight corresponding to 1/10 of a *caixa* (see document 7, note 19).

³ See document 6, note 11.

⁴ On the Malay Peninsula, just south of Malacca.

⁵ See document 6, note 3.

p. 101:

During this period, a knight called Fernão de Magalhães disagreed with the King in Portugal about certain things that he was asking the king for, and some say the main issue was his pension, and so he passed into the service of Castile and the Emperor Charles, who is reigning now. And he [the Emperor] assembled a fleet and sent him to the Moluccas as its captain-major.

He set sail on 20th September 1519 from Sanlúcar de Barrameda with five carracks to call in at the Canary Islands, on St. Michael's Day, and on the 29th of that month they arrived and remained there for four or five days. And from there, they set off round Brazil and took on fresh supplies in Rio de Janeiro, which is at twenty-three degrees, travelling along the coast as far as River Plate, which they reached on 2nd February 1520. And from there they set off on their voyage, sailing always close to land and trying every bay, river, harbour and inlet, to see if they could find a place to get through to the other side. On their way, there were major disagreements and disputes among them, and three of the carracks mutinied and with great effort, on the 21st October, they reached a cape which is at fifty-two degrees which they called *das Virgens* [Cape of the Virgins], because they first sighted it on St. Ursula's Day, and three or four leagues before this latitude, they found the mouth of the strait, which they travelled through. It was one hundred leagues in length running from East to West, and Fernão de Magalhães was now sailing with only three carracks from the other side, because one had been lost and another one had absconded.

They sailed for five or six months in a west-northwest direction, with the wind always to the stern and found an island at nineteen degrees, and another one at fourteen degrees and another one at thirteen. And in this way they sailed up to the equator. They crossed over to the northern side, until they were at twelve or thirteen degrees, still setting a course westward. On 6th or 7th of the month of March of 1521, they came across some islands that were heavily populated. In this same leg of the voyage they went to Mindanao and then some islands that are known as Mactan. And in a place that they call *Nata*,⁶ where Magalhães went

⁶ The author's imprecision is signalled by his use of Mactan (*Matão*) to refer to a group of islands and Nata for the specific place where Magalhães was killed. Contrast this information with document 57, note 20.

ashore, he was killed along with fifty or sixty men on the 27th of April. And the Castilians appointed two captains-major. One was Duarte Barbosa⁷ who was Portuguese, and the other one was Castilian.

And they went ashore in response to an invitation, and they were killed along with twenty-five or thirty men. And since these men were now dead, they made Carvalhinho⁸ who was the pilot, the governor. And the chief-bailiff of the fleet who was called Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa⁹ was made the captain of the other carrack. They counted the number of men they had and it came to a total of a hundred and eight men, including those who were injured and sick. And because they did not dare to [try and] sail all three carracks, they burned one. And through great toil and misadventure, they eventually reached the Moluccas on the 8th November in the year 1521.

They anchored at Tidore and were warmly welcomed by the king and they agreed high prices for the cloves because that was what the local people wanted. One Portuguese man who was there told them, when he met them, that they had been tricked and they loaded their carracks up with cloves here.

When they were ready to leave, the flagship sprang a leak, and they sent off the other carrack which set sail on 22nd December in the year 1521.

It went to Buru to take on supplies and from there to Timor and via the Cape of Good Hope, to Seville. And they unloaded the other one [the *Trinidad*] and careened it [to clean and repair the hull] and Carvalhinho, who was the pilot, died at this point. With a master and a pilot, they set sail for New Spain. They left on 16th April and they could not make landfall and headed northwards in the direction of China, reaching as far as forty-two degrees, from what they say, and one thousand five hundred leagues from the Moluccas. And there they ran short of supplies. They returned with broken masts. The captain was Gonçalo Gomez de Espinosa. And they left five Spaniards on Tidore, from [the crew on] these carracks, to make money there, and one of them went to Banda.

⁷ See document 11, note 13.

⁸ See document 11, note 10.

⁹ See document 11, note 23.

[...]

p. 107:

And in the year 1525, another fleet set sail, dispatched by the Emperor Charles of Castile, from the port city of A Coruña, with Friar García de Loaísa,¹⁰ a commander of the Order of St. John, as its captain. It included four carracks, two galleons and one oar-driven Basque pinnace. They say that four hundred and fifty-seven men-at-arms sailed in these vessels.

They headed to the mouth of the Strait of Magellan and from there two of them headed back to Spain and another was lost at the entrance [of the strait]. And when they reached the other side, the flagship, two galleons and one pinnace were all that was left. They ran into a storm which separated them from each other. The pinnace headed back to New Spain, and one of the galleons was lost near the Moluccas on the island of *São Gym*¹¹ and nothing was ever heard again of the other one.

In the year 1526, the flagship went to Mindanao and from there to *Samafo*¹² which is a city on *Batachina do Moro*, reaching Tidore with one hundred and seventeen men on the 1st January 1527.

¹⁰ See document 14, note 2.

¹¹ Pulau Sangihe.

¹² See document 19, note 15.

DOCUMENTO 59

Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação*, ed. Jorge dos Santos Alves, Vol. 2 (Lisboa: Fundação Oriente, 2010), 66, 69–70, 96, 101, 189, 196–197, 471, 477, 479, 493, 496, 595, 639–640, 749.

Cap. XVI, p. 66:

Como este Rey Bata partio de Turbão para o Achem, & do que fez despois que se vio com elles

Logo ao outro dia partio el Rey deste lugar de Turbão para o Achem, que erão dezoito legoas, & leuaua em sua companhia quinze mil homens, de que sós os oito mil erão Batas, & os mais Menancabos, Lusões, Andraguires, Iambes, & Borneos, que os Principes destas nações lhe mandarão de socorro, & quarenta Alifantes, & doze carretas de artilharia miuda de falcões & berços, em que entrauão dous camellos, & huma meya espera de bronzo com as armas de França, que se ouue de huma nao que no anno de 1526, governando o estado da India Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, foy aly ter com Franceses.

[...]

Cap. XVII, p. 69:

Do mais que o Rey Bata fez despois do successo deste dia

O Rei Bata teue cercada esta cidade por espaço de vinte & tres dias, dentro dos quais fizerão os inimigos duas saydas, & numa dellas não ouue cousa notauel que se possa contar, porque não ouue mais que dez ou doze mortos de ambas as partes; mas como as victorias, & os bons successos das guerras tem por costume darem animo & ousadia aos victoriosos, algumas vezes se acontece fazerense os fracos com isto tão ousados que de todo perdem o receyo, & não duuidão cometer cousas que de sy são arduas & difficultosas, & ainda que leuão algumas avante; todavia em algumas tambem se perdem.

[...]

p. 70:

E ficando com isto ambos quietos mais quatro dias, apareceu huma menham no meyo do rio contra a parte do Penacão huma armada de oitenta & seis vellas, com grande regozijo de tangeres & festas, & com muytos estendartes & bandeiras de seda, que aos Batas meteo em grande confusão, por não saberem o que era, porem as suas espias tomarão aquella noite cinco pescadores, os quais metidos a tormento confessarão que era a armada que o Rey Achem auia dous meses tinha mandado a Tanauçarim, porque tinha guerra co Sornau Rey de Sião, na qual disserão que vinhão cinco mil homens Lusões, & Borneos, gente toda escolhida, & por Capitão mòr delles hum Turco por nome Hametecão, sobrinho do Baxà do Cayro. O Rey Bata pondo em conselho isto que lhe tinhão dito estes pescadores, lhe aconselharão os seus que em todo caso se deuia de tornar, visto não estar o tempo para elle poder esperar mais huma hora, assi porque o poder do inimigo era ja então muyto mayor que o seu, como pelo socorro que ainda esperaua de Peedir, & de Paacem, em que se affirmaua que vinhão dez naos de gente estrangeyra. Determinado el Rey neste parecer, se partio logo aquella noite seguinte, bem triste & descontente, pelo mau successo daquella empresa, & por leuar menos dos seus passante de tres mil & quinhentos homens, a fora outros tantos feridos, & queimados da mina.

[...]

Cap. XXVI, p. 96:

Da armada que o Achem mandou contra el Rey de Aaru, & do que lhe socedeeo chegando ao Rio de Paneticão

Passado este tempo da minha infirmitade, Pero de Faria me mandou logo chamar á fortaleza, & me perguntou pelo que passara com el Rey de Aarum, & como, & onde me perdera, & eu lhe relatey por extenso todo o successo da minha viagem & perdição, de que elle ficou assaz espantado. Porem antes que trate de outra cousa me pareceo necessario dar relação do fim que teue esta guerra dos Achens, & em que parou o aparato da sua armada, para que fique entendida a razão do pronostico, & do receyo em que tantas vezes com gemidos & suspiros tenho

apontado por parte da nossa Malaca, tão importante ao estado da India, quanto (ao que parece) esquecida daquelles de quem com razão diuera ser mais lembrada, porque entendo que por via de razão, de duas ha de ser huma, ou destruyrse este Achem, ou por seu respeito virmos nos a perder toda a banda do Sul, como he Malaca, Banda, Maluco, Çunda, Borneo, & Timor, a fora no Norte, a China, Iapão, Lequios, & outras muytas terras & portos em que a nação Portuguesa, por seus tratos & comercios tem o mais importante & mais certo remedio de vida que em todas as outras quantas são descubertas do cabo de boa esperança para diante, cuja grandeza he tamanha que se estende a terra por costa em distancia de mais de tres mil legoas, como se poderá ver nos mapas & cartas que disso tratão, se sua graduação estiuer na verdade. E tambem nesta perda (que Deos por sua infinita misericordia nunca permitirá que aja, por mais descuydos & peccados que aja em nos) se arrisca perderse a alfandega do Mandouim da cidade de Goa, que he a melhor cousa que temos na India, por que nos portos & ilhas atras nomeadas consiste a mayor parte do seu rendimento, a fora a droga de crauo, noz, & maça, que de là se traz para este reyno. E do mais que pudera dizer a cerca disto, como testemunha de vista, não quero tratar aquy mais, porque isto somente me parece que basta para se entender a grande importância deste negocio, & entendida, não duuido que se lhe darà o remedio que parecer necessario. E com isto me torno a meu proposito. Este tyranno Rey Achem foy aconselhado pelos seus, que se queria tomar Malaca, por nenhuma maneyra o poderia fazer cometendoa de mar em fora, como ja por seis vezes tinha tentado no tempo de dom Esteuão da Gama, & de outros Capitães atras passados, senão com se fazer primeyro senhor deste reyno de Aarum, & se fortificar no rio de Paneticão, donde as suas armadas podião continuar de mais perto a guerra que lhe pretendia fazer, porque então ficaua muyto pouco custoso fechar os estreitos de Cincapura & de Sabaom, & tolher que as nossas naos passassem ao mar da China, & Çunda, & Banda, & Maluco, por cujo respeito poderia tambem facilmente auer á mão toda a drogaria daquelle arcipelago, para ficar assi effectuado o nouo contrato que por meyo do Baxà do Cayro tinha assentado co Turco. Este conselho pareceo tão bom a el Rey, que aprouandoo pelo melhor & mais acertado, mandou aperceber huma frota de cento & sessenta vellas, de que a mayor parte erão lancharas, & galeotas de remo, com alguns calaluzes da Iaoa, & quinze nauios dalto bordo, com mantimentos & monições, & nestas embarcações meteo dezassete mil homens, os doze mil de peleja, & os mais, gastadores & chuzma: & nos de peleja entrauão quatro mil estrangeiros, Turcos, Abexins, Malauares, Guzarates, & Lusões da ilha de Borneo, & por general do campo hia hum Heredim Mafamede, cunhado do mesmo Rey,

casado com huma sua irmam, & Governador do reyno de Baarrós. Esta frota chegou toda a saluamento ao rio de Puneticão, onde então el Rey de Aarù estaua fortificando a tranqueyra, de que ja atras fiz menção, na qual tinha comsigo seis mil homens Aarùs, sem mais outra mistura de gente, assi por elle ser muyto pobre, como por a terra não ter mantimentos, de que se pudessem sustentar.

[...]

Cap. XXVIII, p. 101:

Do que passou no Reyno de Aaru depois da morte del Rey, & de como a Raynha foy a Malaca

Morto este desauenturado Rey de Aarù da maneyra que tenho dito, & toda a sua gente desbaratada, logo a cidade & o reyno todo foy tomado muyto facilmente, & o Heredim Mafamede general da frota, reparou, & fortificou a tranqueira de todo o necessario á segurança do mais que tinha ganhado. E deixando nella oitocentos homens dos milhores da armada, & por Capitão delles hum Mouro Lusão, por nome Çapetù de Raja, se partio com todo o mais peso da gente para o Achem, onde se disse que o tyranno Rey lhe fizera muyto sobejas honras, pelo bom successo de aquella empresa, porque sendo antes (como ja se disse) somente Governador & Bendara de reyno de Baarròs, lhe deu titolo de Rey, & se chamou daly por diante Soltão de Baarròs que he o proprio nome de Rey entre os Mouros.

[...]

Cap. LVII, p. 189:

Como encontramos no mar huma embarcação pequena de pescadores em que hião oito portugueses muyto feridos, & da conta que elles derão a Antonio de Faria da sua desaventura

[...]

Despois que neste porto do Chincheo estiuemos noue dias nos saimos delle, leuando ja em nossa companhia trinta & cinco soldados mais, destas cinco naos, a que Antonio de Faria fez bom partido, & seguimos nosso caminho na

via do reyno de Liampoo. E auendo ja cinco dias que nauegauamos com ventos ponteyros, vellejando às voltas de hum bordo no outro, sem podermos surdir auante, huma noite ao quarto da prima encontramos hum paraoo pequeno de pescadores em que vinhão oito Portugueses muyto feridos, dos quais os dous se chamauão Mem Taborda, & Antonio Anriquez, ambos homens honrados, & ricos, & de muyto nome naquellas partes, & por isso os nomeey a elles particularmente; & assi estes como todos os outros vinhão tão destroçados que era cousa piadosa velos. Chegado este paraoo ao junco de Antonio de Faria, elle fez logo recolher dentro estes oito Portugueses, os quais em subindo acima que o virão se lhe lançarão todos aos peis, & elle os recebo com muyta afabilidade & gasalhado acompanhado de assaz de lagrimas, pelos ver rotos, nùs & descalços, & banhados no seu proprio sangue. E vendoos daquela maneyra lhes perguntou pela causa de sua desauentura, & elles lha contarão com mostras de muyto sentimento, dizendo, que auia dezassete dias que tinhão partido de Liampoo para Malaca, com proposito de passarem á India, se lhe a monção não faltasse, & que sendo tanto auante como o ilheo de Çumbor os cometera hum ladrão Guzarate, por nome Coja Acem, com tres juncos & quatro lanteaas, nas quais sete embarcações trazia quinhentos homens, de que os cento & cinquenta erão Mouros Lusões, & Borneos, & Iaos, & Champaas, tudo gente da outra costa do Malayo, & pelejando com elles desde a huma hora até as quatro despois do meyo dia, os tomara com morte de oitenta & duas pessoas, em que entrarão dezoito Portugueses, a fora quasi outras tantas que leuara catiuas, & que no junco lhes tomara de emprego seu & de partes mais de cem mil taeis. E juntamente com isto lhe contarão outras particularidades tão lastimosas, que a alguns dos circumstantes que as ouuião se enxergou bem nos olhos a dòr & magoa que tinhão delles. Suspenso ficou Antonio de Faria & pensatiuo hum grande espaço, imaginando no que aquelles homens lhe tinhão dito, & virandose para elles lhes disse, peçouos senhores que me digais, ja que essa briga foy tal como me contastes, como foy possiuel escapardes vós mais que os outros? A que elles responderão, despois de termos pelejado às bombardadas obra de huma hora ou hora & meya, os tres juncos grandes nos abalroarão cinco vezes, & das grandes pancadas que nos derão, nos abrio o nosso huma grande agoa pela roda de proa, & tão grossa, que com ella nos hiamos ao fundo, a qual foy a principal causa da nossa perdição, porque querendoa tomar, nos era forçado baldear muyta fazenda para yrmos dar com ella, & occupando nisto a gente, apertauão os inimigos com nosco de maneyra, que para nos defendermos nos era tambem forçado deixarmos o que faziamos por acudirmos acima, & estando nos neste trabalho, & com a mor parte da gente ferida, & alguns tambem ja mortos,

se ateou o fogo em hum dos seus juncos, & pegando no outro que estaua junto delle, lhes foy forçado largarem as abalroas para se desempeçarem hum do outro, o que não puderão fazer tanto a seu saluo por muyto que nisso trabalharão, que hum delles não ardesse até o lume da agoa, & toda a gente delle se lançou ao mar, de que se afogou a mayor parte, neste tempo acabou o nosso junco de assentar sobre a estacada das pesqueyras que estauão junto do arrecife antes que cheguem â boca do rio onde agora está o pagode dos Siames. E tanto que o perro do Coja Acem, que era o que nos tinha aferrado, nos vio daquella maneyra, entrou de romania com nosco com huma grande soma de Mouros todos armados de couras & sayas de malha, & em chegando nos derrubarão, logo dos nossos passante de cinquenta, em que os dezoito forão Portugueses, & nós, desta maneyra que nos vossa merce vê assi feridos & queimados, por não termos nenhum remedio, nos lançamos a huma manchuma que tinhamos atracada por popa do nosso junco, na qual prouue a Deos que nos saluamos sós quinze pessoas, de que ja ontem morrerão as duas, & as treze que milagrosamente escapamos, vimos da maneyra que vossa merce no vé, oito Portugueses, & cinco moços nossos, & fugindo nesta manchua por entre a estacada & a terra, nos fomos sempre cosendo cos penedos, para que não pudessem elles chegar a nós, & acabando as lanteaas de recolher os seus que andauão ainda na agoa, se forão com grande grita & muitos tangeres ao nosso junco no qual embaraçados com a cubiça da presa, prouue a nosso Senhor que isso foy causa de nos não seguirem. E sendo neste tempo ja quasi Sol posto, se meterão pelo rio dentro com festa de muytos tangeres & apupadas como quem triunfaua dos miseraueis de nos. Antonio de Faria lhe disse então, segundo isso ahy deuem de estar agora dentro nesse rio, pois vão tão destroçados como dizeis, & parece me que nem o vosso junco, nem o outro que estaua abalroado co que se queimou lhe podem seruir para nada, & no outro grande com que vos elle abalroou, alguma gente lhe auieis de matar & ferir, a que elles ambos responderão, que muyta gente lhe matarão, & muyta lhe ferirão. Antonio de Faria então tirando o barrete, cos joelhos no chão, as mãos aleuantadas, & os olhos no Ceo, disse com assaz de lagrimas: Senhor Iesu Christo, assi como tu meu Deos es verdadeyra esperança dos que em ty confião, eu mais peccador que todos os homens te peço com muyta humildade em nome destes teus seruos, cujas almas tu remiste co teu precioso sangue, que nos dés esforço & victoria contra este inimigo cruel matador de tantos Portugueses, o qual eu, co teu fauor & ajuda, & por honra do teu santo nome determino de yr buscar como ategora tenho feito, para que a mãos destes teus seruos & fieis soldados pague o que ha tanto tempo que nos deue, ao que todos os que estauão presentes em hum voz responderão, a elles co nome de

Christo, porque o perro pagarà a noueado o que deue assi a nòs, como a estes pobres companheyros. E dando com este feruor huma grande grita, marearão as vellas em popa para o porto de Lailoo que ficaua atras oito legoas, ao qual por conselho que sobre isto se teue, Antonio de Faria se foy aparelhar para esta briga que esperaua de ter com este cossayro, em busca do qual, como atras fica dito, tinha gastado tanto tempo, sem até então poder ter nouas delle em nenhum porto de quantos correra.

[...]

Cap. LIX, p. 196

Como Antonio de Faria pelejou co cossayro coja acem, & do que com elle lhe socedeo

Pellejando nós pelo rio acima com vento & maré que nosso Senhor então nos deu, em menos de huma hora chegamos onde os inimigos estauão, que até este tempo nos não tinham ainda sentido, mas como elles erão ladrões & se temião da gente da terra pelos males & roubos que aly cada dia lhe fazião, estauão tão aparelhados, & tinham tão boa vigia, que em nos vendo, tocarão hum sino muyto apressadamente, ao som do qual foy tamanho o rumor & a reuolta da gente, assi da que estaua em terra como da que estaua embarcada, que não auia quem se ouuisse com elles.

[...]

p. 197:

Vendo então os Capitães das nossas duas lorchas (os quais se chamauão Gaspar Doliueyra, & Vicente Morosa) o tempo disposto para effeituarem o desejo que trazião, & a inueja honrosa de que ambos se picauão, arremeterão juntamente a ellas, & lançandolhe muyta soma de panellas de poluora, se ateou o fogo em ambas de maneyra, que assi juntas como estauão arderão até o lume da agoa, com que a mayor parte da gente se lançou ao mar, & os nossos os acabarão aly de matar a todos ás zargunchadas, sem hum só ficar viuo; & somente nestas tres lorchas morrerão passante de duzentas pessoas; & a outra que leuaua o Capitão morto tão pouco não pode escapar, porque Quiay Panjão foy tras ella na sua

champana, que era o batel do seu junco, & a foy tomar ja pegada com terra, mas sem gente nenhuma, porque toda se lhe lançou ao mar, de que a mayor parte se perdeu tambem nuns penedos que estauão junto da praya, com a qual vista os inimigos que ainda estauão nos juncos, que podião ser até cento & cinquenta, & todos Mouros Lusões, & Borneos, com alguma mistura de Iaos, começarão a enfraquecer de maneyra, que muytos começauão ja a se lançar ao mar. O perro do Coja Acem que até este tempo não era ainda conhecido, acudio com muyta pressa ao desmancho que via nos seus, armado com huma coura de laminas de citim cramesim franjada douro que fora de Portugueses, & bradando alto para que todos o ouuissem, disse por tres vezes, lah hilah hilah lah Muhamd roçol halah, o Massoleymões & homens justos da santa ley de Mafamede, como vos deixais vencer assi de huma gente tão fraca como são estes cães, sem mais animo que de galinhas brancas & de molheres barbadadas? A elles, a elles, que certa temos a promessa do liuro das flores, em que o Profeta Noby abastou de deleites aos daroezes da casa de Meca, assi fará oje a vòs & a mim se nos banharmos no sangue destes cafres sem ley, com as quais malditas palauras o diabo os esforçou de maneyra, que fazendose todos num corpo amoucos, tornarão a voltar tão esforçadamente, que era espanto ver como se metião nas nossas espadas. Antonio de Faria então bradando tambem aos seus lhes disse, à Christãos & senhores meus, se estes se esforçao na maldita seita do diabo, esforcemonos nós em Christo nosso Senhor posto na Cruz por nós que nos não ha de desemparrar por mais peccadores que sejamos, porque em fim somos seus, o que estes perros não são. E arremetendo com este feruor & zelo da fé ao Coja Acem como quem lhe tinha boa vontade, lhe deu com huma espada dambalas mãos que trazia huma tão grande cotilada pela cabeça, que cortandolhe hum barrete de malha que trazia, o derrubou logo no chão, & tornandolhe com outro reuès lhe decepou ambas as pernas de que se não pode mais aleuantar, o qual sendo visto pelos seus, derão huma grande grita, & arremetendo a Antonio de Faria se igualarão com elle huns cinco ou seis com tanto animo & ousadia, que nenhuma conta fizerão de trinta Portugueses de que elle estaua rodeado, & lhe derão duas cutiladas com que o tiuerão quasi no chão, o que vendo os nossos, acudirão logo com muyta pressa, & esforçandoos aly nosso Senhor o fizerão de maneyra que em pouco mais de dous credos forão mortos dos inimigos aly sobre o Coja Acem quarenta & oito, & dos nossos quatorze somente de que sos os cinco forão Portugueses, & os mais moços escauos muyto bons Christãos & muyto leays. Ia neste tempo os que ficauão começarão a enfraquecer, & se forão retirando desordenadamente para os chapiteos da proa, com tenção de se fazerem ahy fortes, a que vinte soldados dos trinta que estauão no junco do Quaiy Panjão

acudirão com muyta pressa, & tomandoos de rosto antes que se senhoreassem do que pretendião, os apertarão de maneyra, que os fizerão lançar todos ao mar, com tamanho desatino que huns cahião por cima dos outros. Animados então os nossos co nome de Christo nosso Senhor por quem chamauão continuamente, & com a vitoria que ja conhecião, & com a muyta honra que tinham ganhada, os acabarão aly de matar, & consumir a todos, sem ficarem delles mais que sós cinco que tomarão viuos, os quais depois de presos & atados de peis & de mãos, & lançados embaixo na bomba para com tratos se lhe fazerem algumas perguntas, se degolarão às dentadas huns aos outros, com receyo da morte que se lhes podia dar. E estes tambem forão feitos em quartos pelos nossos moços, & lançados ao mar, em companhia do perro do Coja Acem seu Capitão & Caciz mayor del Rey de Bintão, & derramador & bebedor do sangue Portuguez, como se elle intitulaua nos começos das suas cartas, & publicamente pregaua a todos os Mouros, por respeito do qual, & pelas superstições da sua maldita seita era delles muyto venerado.

[...]

Cap. CXLIII, p. 471:

Do que mais passamos atè chegarmos a Liampoo, & da informação desta ilha Lequia

[...]

p. 472:

Os habitadores de toda esta terra são como os Chins, vestem linho, algodão, & seda, com alguns damascos que lhe trazem do Nanquim. São muyto comedores, & dados às delicias da carne, pouco inclinados às armas, & muyto faltos dellas, por onde parece que será muyto facil conquistallos, em tanto que no anno de 1556. Chegou a Malaca hum Portuguez por nome Pero Gomez Dalmeida, criado do mestre de Santiago, com hum grande presente & cartas do Nautoquim principe da ilha Tanixumaa para el Rey dom Ioão o terceyro que santa gloria aja, & toda a sustancia do seu requerimento vinha fundada em lhe pedir quinhentos homens para com elles & com a sua gente conquistar esta ilha Lequia, & ficarlhe por isso tributario em cinco mil quintaes de cobre, & mil de latão em cada hum anno, a qual embaixada não ouue effeito por vir este recado a este reyno no Galeão em

que se perdeu Manoel de Sousa de Sepulueda. Iaz mais ao Nornoroeste desta terra Lequia hum grande arcipelago de ilhas pequenas, donde se traz muyto grande quantidade de prata, as quais, segundo parece, & eu sempre sospeitey pelo que vy em Maluco nos requerimentos que Ruy Lopez de Vilhalobos general dos Castelhanos fez a dom Iorge de Castro capitão que então era da nossa fortaleza Ternate, deuem de ser as de que esta gente tem alguma noticia, as quais nomeauão por islas platarias; ainda que não sey com quanta razão, porque segundo o que temos visto & lido, assi em Ptolomeu como nos mais que escreuerão da geografia, nenhum destes ouue que passasse do reyno de Sião & da ilha Çamatra, senão sós os nossos Cosmographos, os quais do tempo de Afonso Dalbuquerque para câ passarão hum pouco mais adiante, & tratarão ja dos Selebres, Papuaas, Mindanaos, Champaas, China, & Iapão, mas não ainda dos Lequios, nem dos mais arcipelagos que na grandeza deste mar estão ainda por descobrir. Desta breue informação que tenho dado destes Lequios se pode entender, & assi o cuydo eu pelo que vy, que com quaisquer dous mil homens se tomara, & senhareara esta ilha com todas as mais destes arcipelagos, donde resultará muyto mayor proueito que o que se tira da India, & com muyto menos custo, assi de gente como de tudo o mais, porque somente do trato nos afirmarão mercadores com que fallamos, que rendião as tres alfandegas desta ilha Lequia hum conto & meyo douro, a fora a massa de todo o reyno, & as minas de prata, cobre, latão, ferro, aço, chumbo, & estanho, que rendião ainda muyto mais que as alfandegas. Das mais excellencias particulares que pudera dizer desta ilha, não tratarey agora, porque me parece que isto so bastara para espertar & incitar os animos dos Portugueses a huma empresa de tanto seruiço de nosso Senhor, & de tanta honra & proueyto para elles.

[...]

Cap. CXLV, p. 477:

Como chegamos a huma ilha que se dezia Pullo Hinhor, & do que o rey della ahy passou comigo

[...]

p. 479:

E mandando surgir o junco junto da ilha, se fez prestes com todos os seus em

tres embarcações de remo, com hum falcão & cinco berços, & sessenta homens Iaos & Lusões com muyto boas armas, em que auia trinta com espingardas, & os mais com lanças & frechas, & muyta soma de panellas de poluora, & outros artificios de fogo conuenientes a nosso proposito.

[...]

Cap. CXLIX, p. 493:

Da determinação que tomou o Chaubainhaa despois que entendeo que não podia ser socorrido dos portugueses

[...]

p. 496:

E querendo este Rey Bramaa por grandeza de estado festejar esta entrega do Chaubainhaa, mandou que todos os capitães estrangeyros com sua gente armada & vestida de festa se pusessem em duas fileyras a modo de rua para vir por ella o Chaubainhaa, o que logo foy feito, & esta rua tomaua desda porta da cidade até a sua tenda que seria distancia de dous terços de legoa, na qual rua estauão trinta & seys mil estrangeyros, de quarenta & duas nações, em que auia Portugueses, Gregos, Venezeanos, Turcos, Ianiçaros, Iudeus, Armenios, Tartaros, Mogores, Abexins, Raizbutos, Nobins, Corações, Persas, Tuparaas, Gizares, Tanocos da Arabia Felix, Malauares, Iaos, Achens, Mões, Siames, Lusões da ilha Borneo, Chacomaas, Arracões, Predins, Papuaas, Selebres, Mindanaos, Pegùs, Bramàs, Chalões, Iaguesalões, Sauadis, Tanguis, Calaminhãs, Chaleus, Andamoens, Bengalas, Guzarates, Andraguirees, Menancabos, & outros muytos mais a que não soube os nomes. Estas nações todas se puserão na ordem que lhe foy mandado pelo Xemimbrum mestre do campo, o qual pós os Portugueses na dianteyra de todos, que era junto com a porta da cidade por onde o Chaubainhaa auia de sayr, & logo apos elles os Armenios, & logo os Ianiçaros & os Turcos, & todos os mais nos lugares que lhe a elle bem pareceo, & com esta ordem chegaua esta gente estrangeyra, como ja disse até o dopo del Rey, onde estaua a gente Bramaa da guarda do campo.

[...]

Cap. CLXXIII, p. 595:

Como o Pangueyrão de Pate emperador da Jaoa foi com hum grosso exercito contra o Rey de Passaruão, & do que se fez despois que lâ chegou

Partido este Rey da Çunda deste porto de Banta a cinco dias do mês de Ianeyro do anno de 1546. Chegou aos dezanoue à cidade de Iapara, onde o Rey de Demaa Emperador desta ilha Iaoa então se estaua fazendo prestes com hum exercito de oitocentos mil homens, o qual sabendo da vinda deste Rey da Çunda, que era seu cunhado & seu vassallo, o mandou receber á embarcação por el Rey de Panaruca Almirante da frota, o qual leou comsigo cento & sessenta calaluzes de remo, & nouenta lancharas de Lusões da ilha Borneo, & com toda esta companhia o trouxe onde el Rey estaua, do qual foy muyto bem recebido, & com honras muyto auentajadas de todos os outros. Passados quatorze dias despois que chegamos a esta cidade de Iapara, o Rey de Demaa se partio na via do reyno de Passaruão, embarcado em huma frota de duas mil & setecentas vellas, em que entrauão mil juncos dalto bordo, & tudo o mais erão nauios de remo, & aos onze dias de Feuereyro chegou ao rio de Hicanduree que he na entrada da barra.

[...]

Cap. CLXXXVI, p. 639:

Como el Rey do Bramaa deu o primeyro assalto a esta cidade Odiaa, & do successo delle

Avendo já cinco dias que el Rey do Bramaa era chegado a esta cidade, em todos elles ouue assaz de trabalho, assi no preparar das tranqueiras & vallos, como em prouer as mais cousas necessarias a este cerco, & em todo este tempo nunca os de dentro fizerão de sy nenhum mouimento. O que vendo o general do campo Diogo Soarez, & a pouca conta que os Siames fazião de tamanho poder como aly era junto, não sabendo a que o atribuisse, determinou de effectuar o para que aly era vindo, & para isto da mayor parte da gente estrangeira, que podião ser oitenta mil homens, fez dous esquadroens separados por si, em cada hum dos quais auia oito batalhas de cinco mil homens cada huma. E com elles se veyo marchando ao som dos seus instrumentos para as duas pontas que a cidade fazia para a banda do Sul, por lhe parecer entrada por aly mais fácil. E arremetendo huma hora

antemenham (que foy aos dezanoue dias de Junho do mesmo anno de 1548.) com todo este poder aos muros, lhe aruorarão mais de mil escadas; & subindo por ellas acima, os de dentro lhe resistirão com tanto esforço que em menos de meya hora, de huns & outros morrerão mais de dez mil.

[...]

p. 640:

E querendose os Turcos mostrar nisto mais parte que os outros todos, pedirão de merce a el Rey que lhe desse a dianteira, a qual lhe elle deu leuemente por conselho de Diogo Soarez, que desejoso de os ver apoucados, lhes daua sempre estes lugares mais perigosos. Elles contentes & assaz oufanos por esta merce ser feita a elles mais que a outra nenhuma nação das muytas que auia naquelle arrayal, se determinarão em sairem com sua honra naquillo que tinham pedido a el Rey. E formando hum esquadrão de mil & duzentos, em que entrarão alguns Abexins, & Ianiçaros, subirão com grande grita pelas escadas acima ao muro, que já neste tempo estaua, como disse, pelo Rey do Bramaa, & tinha muyta gente encima. E estes Turcos, ou por mais atreuidos, ou por mais mofinos, correndo pelo lanço do muro adiante, se decerão por hum baluarte abaixo ao terreyro de dentro, com fundamento de abrirem huma porta que nelle estaua por onde el Rey entrasse, para que com verdade pudessem dizer que elles sós forão os que lhe derão a cidade principal do reyno Sião, & ganhassem o premio que dahy se esperaua, porque el Rey tinha já dantes prometido de dar a quem lhe desse esta cidade mil biças douro, que na valia da nossa moeda são quinhentos mil cruzados. Sendo os Turcos decidos todos embaixo no terreyro, ordenarão de quebrar as portas com duas vigas ferradas que já para isso leuauão, & estando occupados no effeito desta obra, confiados que elles sós auião de ser os que ganhassem as mil biças douro que el Rey tinha prometidas a quem lhe abrisse as portas, derão nelles tres mil laos amoucos tão determinadamente, que em pouco mais de tres ou quatro credos nem hum só Turco ficou em pé, & não contentes com isto, subindo logo acima ao muro com aquelle feruor com que estauão, como todos hião encarniçados, & cheios do sangue dos Turcos que deixauão mortos, derão na gente do Bramaa que estaua encima tanto sem medo, que nenhum ousou a lhe ter o rosto direito, de maneyra que os que melhor então liurarão forão os que se arremessarão embaixo. Não foy isto parte para que o Rey Bramaa quisesse então desistir daquelle assalto, mas querendoo intentar de nouo, parecendolhe que os elifantes por sy sós bastauão

para lhe fazer liure aquela entrada, se veyo outra vez chegando para o muro. Ao rebate disto o Oyaa Passiloco, capitão general da cidade, acudio com muyta pressa para aquela parte, acompanhado de quinze mil homens que trazia comsigo, de que a mayor parte erão Lusões, Borneos, & Champaas, com alguma mistura de Menancabos, & mandou abrir as portas por onde o Bramaa pretendia fazer a entrada, & lhe mandou dizer, que elle tinha ouuido que sua alteza prometera de dar mil biças douro a quem lhe abrisse aquellas portas, que elle lhas tinha já abertas, que podia entrar cada vez que quisesse, com tanto que cumprisse com elle sua palaura como Rey grandioso que era, com lhe mandar as mil biças, porque estaua esperando aly por ellas para as receber.

[...]

Cap. CCXIV, p. 749:

Da grande tormenta que passamos indo de Japão para a China, & como fomos liures della por orações deste seruo de Deos

Ao outro dia pela menham despois que o nosso santo padre com todos os Portugueses se despedio del Rey, o qual nesta despedida lhe fez as honras & o gasalhado que sempre costumara, nos viemos embarcar, & nos partimos desta cidade Fucheo, & vellejamos por nossa derrota â vista de terra até huma ilha del Rey de Minácoo chamada Meleitor, & atrauessando daquy com ventos de moução tendente, continuamos nosso caminho por espaço de sete dias, no fim dos quais o tempo com a conjunção da luna noua nos saltou ao Sul, & ameaçandonos com chuueyros & mostras de inuerno, veyo em tamanho crescimento que nos foy forçado arribar em fim de roda com a proa ao rumo de Nornordeste por mar incognito, & nunca nauegado de nação nenhuma, sem sabermos por onde hiamos, entregues de todo ao arbitrio da fortuna & do tempo, com huma tão braua & tão excessiua tormenta, qual os homens nunca imaginarão, que nos durou cinco dias: & como em todos elles nunca vimos o Sol para o piloto saber porque altura caminhaua, só pela sua fraca estimatiua, sem conta de graos nem de minutos, pouco mais ou menos foy demandar a paragem das ilhas dos Papuaas, Selebres, & Mindanous que distauão daly seiscentas legoas. No segundo dia desta tormenta já sobre a tarde, foy crescendo o mar de escarceo com vagas tão altas que o impeto da nao as não podia romper, pelo qual se assentou por parecer dos officiais que as obras do chapiteo, & dos castellos dauante se arrasassem até o andar do conuès, para que assi pudesse

a nao ficar mais afrontada, & obedecer aos lanços do leme. Feito isto com toda a presteza possiuel, porque todos sem ficar nenhum se occuparão neste trabalho, se entendeo logo em se segurar o batel, o qual com assaz de trabalho foy atracado a bordo, & lhe guarnecerão logo hum ahuste de duas amarras de cairo nouas. E porque ja quando esta obra se acabou a çarração da noite era muyto grande, não foy possiuel recolherse á nao a gente que estaua nelle, pelo que foy forçado ficarem aquella noite lá todos, que forão quinze, de que os cinco erão Portugueses, & os outros escauos & marinheyros.

DOCUMENT 59

Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação*, ed. Jorge dos Santos Alves, Vol. 2 (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2010), 66, 69–70, 96, 101, 189, 196–197, 471, 477, 479, 493, 496, 595, 639–640, 749.

The Peregrinação is one of the great works of sixteenth-century travel writing, in which Fernão Mendes Pinto gives a first-person account of his experiences and misadventures while travelling through Asia. The author was a soldier, merchant and pirate who travelled to and spent time in numerous places in Southeast Asia, the South China Sea and Japan. The selected excerpts recount the episodes in which he recorded his encounters with the Luções or Mindanaos, almost always in the context of armed confrontations.

Cap. XVI, p. 66:

How the *Bata*¹ King left *Turbão*² for Aceh, and of what he did after that

Shortly after, the King left *Turbão* for Aceh, which was eighteen leagues away, taking in his company fifteen hundred men, of whom only eight hundred were Bataks, the rest being people from Minangkabau,³ *Luções*, Indragiri, Jambi⁴ and Borneans, whom the princes of these nations sent to him in aid, and forty elephants, and twelve wagons of light artillery, falcons and culverin in which they also put two larger cannons, and a bronze half-sphere with the coat-of-arms of France, that is rumoured to be from a ship that in the year 1526, while Lopo Vaz de Sampaio governed the *Estado da Índia*, came there with French men on board.⁵

[...]

¹ Batak, an ethnic group in northern Sumatra. Pinto is the first to use this term (*Bata*) to refer to the people and not the place.

² Unidentified location on the northern coast of Sumatra.

³ See document 5, note 5.

⁴ Sultanates on the northern coast of Sumatra.

⁵ Reference to the French expedition commanded by Pierre Caunay, who left Honfleur in 1526, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and sailed to Sumatra.

Ch. XVII, p. 69:

More on what the Batak King did after the events of this day

The Batak King had surrounded this city for twenty-three days, during which his enemies made two sorties. There was nothing notable to relate in one of these because there were no more than ten or twelve deaths on either side; but as the victories, and the successful actions of wars have by custom given spirit and courage to the victorious, sometimes it happens that the weak will become so daring because of this that they will lose their fear of everything, & they no longer doubt to do things that are arduous and most difficult, and yet take some advantage; though sometimes also they lose.

[...]

p. 70:

And with both sides remaining quiet like this for four more days, one morning there appeared in the *Penacão*⁶ side, a fleet of eighty-six ships, with great sounds of joy and gaiety, and with many banners and flags of silk, that put the Bataks in great confusion, as they did not know who they were. Their spies would by that evening take five fisherman, who were put to torture and confessed that it was the fleet that the King of Aceh had two months ago sent to *Tanaucarim*,⁷ because he was at war with the *Sornau*,⁸ King of Siam, in which they said that five thousand *Luções* and Bornean men returned, men hand-picked, and their captain-major, a Turk by the name of *Hameteção*,⁹ nephew of the Pasha of Cairo.¹⁰ The Batak King putting to his council what these fishermen had said, they advised him to turn back, because there was not time to wait another hour, and the power of the enemy was already much greater than his, and also because [the enemy] was expecting

⁶ Unknown location.

⁷ Tenasserim, on the west coast of the Kra Isthmus, which belonged to Siam in this period.

⁸ *Sornau* is used as one of the designations of Siam (from *Shahr-i-nao*, a Persian expression for 'new city'), applied to Ayutthaya, at the time the Siamese capital city.

⁹ Hamad Khan.

¹⁰ Hadim Sulayman Pasha, Viceroy of Ottoman Egypt between 1525-35 and 1537-38.

reinforcements from *Peedir*¹¹ and from *Paacem*,¹² which was said to include ten ships of foreign people. Having come to this view the king determined to leave that night, very sad and discontent at the poor success of that campaign, and because he took more than three-thousand-five-hundred fewer, outside of those many who were injured, and burned by mines.

[...]

Ch. XXVI, p. 96:

Of the fleet that the [King of] Aceh sent against the King of Aru,¹³ and what happened to him when he arrived at the river *Paneticão*,¹⁴

Once my period of sickness had passed, Pedro de Faria¹⁵ sent for me to come to the fort and asked me what happened with the King of Aru, and how, and where I got lost, and I related to him in full all the events of my journey and getting lost, by which he was thoroughly amazed. But before I address any other thing it appears to me necessary to offer an account of the end of the Aceh war, and what the splendour of their armada achieved, in order to make clear the reason for my prognosis, and of the fears which, many times with groans and sighs, I have indicated with regard to our presence in Malacca, so important to *Estado da Índia*, though, so it appears, it has been forgotten by those who should remember it all the more, because as I understand it by way of reason, one has to happen, either, Aceh must be destroyed, or in this respect we will come to lose all of the southern region, that is Malacca, Banda, the Moluccas, Sunda, Borneo, and Timor, not to mention the north, China, Japan, *Lequios*,¹⁶ and many other lands and ports in which the Portuguese nation, by its treaties and commerce has the most important and most certain way of life than in all the others that have been discovered beyond

¹¹ Pedir or Pidie, on the northern tip of Sumatra.

¹² Pasai, on the northern tip of Sumatra.

¹³ Kingdom on the east coast of Sumatra, in the region of Medan. Its exact location in the sixteenth century is unclear.

¹⁴ Possibly the Deli River, near Medan.

¹⁵ A veteran soldier who served in India, where he was living in 1509. He took part in the conquest of Goa (1510) and Malacca (1511) and was captain of the latter fortress between 1528-29 and 1539-42.

¹⁶ See document 5, note 4.

the Cape of Good Hope, a land so great that it extends along the coast for a distance of more than three thousand leagues, as can be seen in our maps and charts that show it, if we can believe its scale. And also in this loss (an act that God in his infinite mercy never would permit, for all our carelessness and sins) is the risk of losing the customs house of Mandovi¹⁷ in the city of Goa, which is the best thing that we have in India, because the aforementioned ports and islands contribute to the major part of its income, apart from the trade in clove and nutmeg and mace, which are brought to this kingdom [Portugal] from there. And of more that could be said about this, through the testimony of sight, I do not want to here treat more, because this alone seems to me enough to understand the great importance of this business, and without doubt knowledge of it will promote the action that appears necessary. And with this I turn to my proposition. This tyrant King of Aceh was advised by his men, that if he wanted to take Malacca, he could not do so by way of the sea, as they had tried six times in the time of Dom Estêvão da Gama,¹⁸ and of other captains before, but first he should make himself lord of this kingdom of Aru, and strengthen his position along the river *Paneticão*, from where his ships could continue the war he intended to make with Malacca from closer in, because then it would cost him very little to close the Straits of Singapore and of *Sabaom*,¹⁹ and impair the passage of our ships to the sea of China and Sunda, and Banda and the Moluccas. In which respect he could also easily have at hand all the spice trade of that archipelago, whilst keeping to the new contract that through the Pasha of Cairo had been agreed with the Turk. This counsel, that he approved as best and wisest, appeared so good to the King that he prepared to raise a fleet of one hundred and sixty ships, of which the most part were oared lancarans and galliots with some keluluses from Java, and fifteen high-sided ships, with provisions and munitions, and in these craft he put seventeen thousand men, of whom twelve thousand were soldiers, and the rest sappers and crew: and among the soldiers were four thousand foreigners, Turks, Abyssinians, Malabares, Gujaratis, and *Luções* from the island of Borneo, and the field general was one Khair ad-din Muhammad, brother-in-law of the same King, married to one of his sisters and

¹⁷ The Mandovi River that flows through Goa.

¹⁸ See document 17, note 1.

¹⁹ Probably the strait located between Sumatra and the island of Kundur, which the Portuguese called “Sabam” and which was, like the Singapore Strait, one of the principal routes used by Portuguese ships sailing east from Malacca.

governor of the kingdom of *Baarrós*.²⁰ This fleet arrived unharmed at the river of *Puneticão* where the King of Aru was fortifying the palisade, mentioned above, in which he had with him six thousand Aru men, without men from elsewhere, as much because he was very poor, as that the land could not provide nourishment with which they could sustain themselves.

[...]

Ch. XXVIII, p. 101:

Of what happened in the kingdom of Aru after the death of the king, and of how the queen went to Malacca

This unlucky King of Aru died in the manner that I have said, and all of his people were overcome. Soon the city and the kingdom were all taken very easily, and the general of the fleet Khair ad-din Muhammad, repaired and fortified the palisade with all that was necessary to the security of all that he had won. And leaving in it eight hundred of the best men of the fleet, led by one of them, a Moorish *Luçã* by the name of Sapetu de Raja, he left with the majority of the men for Aceh, where it is said that the tyrant king gave him abundant honours, for the good success of that enterprise, because being before (as already has been said) only governor and *Bendahara*²¹ of the kingdom of *Baarrós*, he was given the title of King, and so he was called from then on Sultan of *Baarrós* which is the proper name for the King among the Moors.

[...]

Ch. LVII, p. 189:

How we encountered a small fishing boat at sea in which were eight badly-injured Portuguese, and of the story of their misadventure that they gave to António de Faria

[...]

²⁰ Barus, on the west coast of Sumatra.

²¹ See document 4, note 2.

We spent nine days in this port of *Chincheo*.²² When we left it we took in our company thirty-five more soldiers, from these other five ships, for which [service] António de Faria made them a good offer, and we followed our route to the kingdom of *Liampoo*.²³ And having navigated for five days with contrary winds, tacking from one side to the other, without being able to make headway, one night in the first watch we encountered a small fishermen's proa in which there were eight badly injured Portuguese, two of whom were rich gentlemen. They were called Mem Taborda and António Henriques, and they had great renown in these parts and that is why I named them particularly; and thus both of these as all the others were so broken that it was something pitiful to see. This proa came alongside the junk of António de Faria, on which he then had the eight Portuguese taken aboard, who, when they were on deck and saw him, threw themselves at his feet, and he received them with great affability and warmth accompanied by many tears, on seeing them injured, naked and barefoot, and covered in their own blood. And seeing them in that state he asked them about the cause of their misadventure, and they told him about it with great sentiment, saying, that they had seventeen days ago left *Liampoo* for Malacca, on their way to India, if the monsoon did not fail them, and that having made headway to the island of *Sumbor*²⁴ they encountered a thief from Gujarat, by the name of Khoja Husain,²⁵ with three junks and four *lanteas*,²⁶ in which seven boats were five hundred men, of whom one hundred and fifty were Moorish *Luçôes*, Borneans, Javanese and Chams,²⁷ all the peoples of the other coast of Malaya, and fighting with them from one until four in the afternoon, Khoja Husain overcame them with eighty-two people killed, in which number were eighteen Portuguese, not to mention nearly as many others taken captive, and that from the junk they took a sum worth more than one hundred

²² See document 6, note 22.

²³ The term typically used in Portuguese sources for Ningbo (寧波), the port city in the Zhejiang (浙江) region of China.

²⁴ Port of Songmen (松門), near Taizhou (台州), in the Zhejiang region.

²⁵ Khoja Husain (*Coja Acém*) was an important merchant-pirate, who was originally from Gujarat (possibly from Dabul) and was active in the 1520s and 1530s in various coastal regions of Southeast Asia and the South China Sea.

²⁶ *Lantea*, a small oared vessel, identical to a *fusta* and very common along the coast of China.

²⁷ The inhabitants of Champa, a region in southern Vietnam that was a distinctive kingdom at the time.

thousand taels²⁸ of their goods and those belonging to others. And in addition to this they related other particulars so appalling, that the pain and hurt they felt on their behalf was noticeable in the eyes of some of those listening. António de Faria remained pensive for a long time, thinking on what the men had said, and turning to them he said: “I ask you gentlemen, tell me, if this struggle was as you tell me, how was it possible that you escaped over the others?”. To this they responded: “after a battle of cannon fire, the work of one hour or one hour-and-a-half, the three large junks rammed us five times, and from the large blows we were dealt, a big hole was opened in ours [ship] near the sternpost, and so large, that with it we would go down, which was the primary cause of our perdition, because wanting to fix it, we were forced to shift much cargo for us to get to it, and our men occupied doing this, the enemy squeezed us in such a manner, that for us to defend ourselves we were also forced to leave our task in order to go back up on deck, and our being engaged in this work, with a great many of our men wounded, and some also already dead, one of their junks was set alight, and caught the other that was alongside, they were forced to loosen their grappling irons in order to release one from the other, to no avail no matter how hard they tried, as one of them burned down to the water, and all of her men jumped into the sea, where the majority of them drowned. By now our junk was grounded on the stockade of the fisheries that were on the shoals beyond the mouth of the river where the Siamese pagoda is. And as soon as that dog Khoja Husain, who was the one who grappled us, saw us in that situation, he boarded us with a great number of Moors, all armed with cuirasses and chainmail skirts, and on arriving they felled us, more than fifty, of whom eighteen were Portuguese, and, we in this manner in which your honour sees us thus wounded and burnt, because we had no option, we jumped into a galliot we had tied to the stern of our junk. In which with God’s help only fifteen people escaped, of whom, another two died yesterday. And we thirteen who have miraculously escaped, have come here in the condition in which your honour can see us, eight Portuguese and five of our servants, and fleeing in this galliot between the stockade and the land, we stayed close to the rocks, so that they could not come close to us, and when the *lanteas* had recovered those who were still in the water, they came with great screams and much clamour for our junk in which, caught up in their lust for booty, praise be to Our Lord this was the reason they did not pursue us. And being nearly sunrise, they went upriver in celebration with much music and cheering at their triumph over our misery.” António de Faria then said

²⁸ The *tael* was a unit of weight (see document 8, note 4), in this case cast in silver.

to them, “following this they must be there on this river, being as devastated as you say, and it appears to me that neither your junk, nor the other that was entangled with the one that burnt could serve for anything, and in the other large junk that grappled you, you must have killed and injured some”. They both responded that many men would be dead, and many would be injured. António de Faria then taking off his cap, kneeling on the floor, his hands and eyes raised to the Heavens, said with many tears: “Lord Jesus Christ, as you my God are the true hope of those who in you confide, I the most sinful of all men with much humility ask you in the name of these your servants, whose souls you redeemed with your own precious blood, give us strength and victory against this cruel enemy, murderer of many Portuguese, who I, with your favour and help, and in honour of your sacred name, determine to pursue as I have up to now, so that at the hands of these your servants and faithful soldiers he pays what he has owed us for a long time”, to which, everyone who was present responded in one voice: “after them in the name of Christ, because the dog will pay back ninefold what he owes to us, as to these our poor companions.” And with this fervour they gave a great cry, setting the sails to stern for the port of *Lailoo*,²⁹ eight leagues back, where because of advice he had received António de Faria went to prepare for this battle he hoped to have with this corsair, in the search for whom, as has been mentioned, he had spent so much time, with no news of him in any port he had passed, until now.

Chapter LIX, p. 196

How Antonio de Faria battled with the corsair Khoja Husain, and of what happened to him in this.

We campaigned up river with the wind and tide that Our Lord gave us then, and in less than an hour we arrived at our enemy’s position, who until this time had had no sense of us, but as they were thieves and scared of the people of the land due to the evils and violence that they committed there each day, they were so prepared, and had such good lookouts, that upon seeing us they rang a bell very quickly, to the sound of which was such a noise and uproar of his men from land to sea, that nobody could be heard.

[...]

²⁹ Port in the Bay of Xiamen (廈門).

p. 197:

Then the captains of two of our *lorchas*³⁰ (who were Gaspar de Oliveira and Vicente Morosa) seeing the opportunity had come for them to achieve their desires, and each spurring himself on with the honourable desire they both felt, they struck at them jointly, and launching a great number of gunpowder bombs at them, set both alight, so that tangled as they were, they burned down to the waterline. With that the majority of their men threw themselves to the sea, where our men ended up killing them all with lances, with not even one left alive; and in these three *lorchas* over two hundred men would die; and the other that the dead captain commanded could not escape either, because *Quiay Panjão*³¹ was behind it in his sampan, which was the tender to his junk, and he took it when it was close to the shore, though it was now empty, because they had all cast themselves to the sea, the majority of them were also lost against some rocks that were next to the beach. Seeing this the enemies who were still in their junks, who could have been around one hundred and fifty, and all Moorish *Luções* and Borneans, with some mixture of Javanese, began to weaken, and many of them began to cast themselves into the sea. That dog Khoja Husain, who until this time had not been found, came up quickly to the disarray he saw in his men, dressed in a cuirass of strips of crimson satin with a gold fringe that once belonged to the Portuguese, and calling out loudly so all could hear, he said three times: “*lā ’ilāha ’illā -llāhu muhammadur rasūlu -llāh*,³² oh Muslims and just men of the sacred faith of Muhammad, do you allow yourselves to be thus defeated by a people as weak as these dogs are, with less spirit than white hens and bearded women? At them, at them, for we have the certain promise of the *Book of Flowers*, in which the Prophet enriched the dervishes of the house of Mecca with delights. Thus, he will do the same for you and for me if we bathe ourselves in the blood of these infidels without faith.” With these cursed words the devil encouraged them, so they all in one body decided to fight to the death, they came back so powerfully that it was amazing to see as they faced up to our swords. António de Faria then also called out to his

³⁰ The same as *lantea* (see note 26).

³¹ *Kiai Panjang* is an honorific title and not a name. He was a wealthy merchant-pirate from China, probably from the region of Fujian (福建), but who based his operations in Patani, in the Malay Peninsula. The extent of his activity covered this region and extended as far as Ryukyu.

³² The *Shahadah*, one of the 5 Pillars of Islam: “There is no deity but God. Muhammad is the messenger of God”.

men, he said: “Christians and my lords, if they be empowered by the evil faith of the devil, let us empower ourselves in Christ Our Lord who died on a Cross for us, who would never desert us no matter how sinful we are, because in the end we are his, and these dogs are not”. And with this fervour and zeal of faith he lunged at Khoja Husain like someone with great eagerness, with his sword in both hands he dealt him such a great blow to the head, that he cut through the chainmail helmet that he wore; he knocked him to the ground and turning with a reverse strike he severed both legs so that he could no longer get up. Seeing this, Khoja Husain’s men gave a great cry, some five or six with much spirit and courage lunged for António de Faria to fight with him, paying no attention to the thirty Portuguese who surrounded him, and they landed two strikes on him which nearly brought him to the ground. Seeing this, our men soon came up with great speed, and strengthened there by Our Lord, they acted in such a manner that in little more than [the time it takes to say] two Creeds forty-eight of the enemy were dead on top of Khoja Husain, and of ours only fourteen, five of whom were Portuguese, and the rest young slaves who were very good and faithful Christians. By this time those that remained began to weaken, and were retreating in a disorderly manner to the forecastles at the prow, with the intent to reinforce themselves there, at that, twenty soldiers of the thirty who were in the junk of *Quiay Panjão* came with much haste, and tackling them head-on before they could become masters of what they intended, they breached them in such a way, that they forced them all to cast themselves into the sea, in such disorder that they fell onto each other. Our men, filled with spirit in the name of Christ Our Lord to whom they called continually, with the victory which was already theirs, and with the great honour that they had won, finished killing them all there, and dispatching them, with the exception of five who were kept alive, as prisoners and tied by the feet and hands, and they were thrown below deck in order to interrogate them under torture; but they cut each other’s throats by biting, with fear of the deaths they might be given. And their bodies were cut into quarters by our crewmen, and cast to the sea, in the company of that dog Khoja Husain their captain and Chief Imam of the King of Bintang,³³ the “spiller and drinker of Portuguese blood”, as he entitled himself at the start of his letters, and publicly proclaimed to all the Moors, in respect of which, and because of the superstitions of their evil sect, he was greatly venerated by them.

[...]

³³ See document 5, note 7.

Ch. CXLIII, p. 471:

Of what more happened until we arrived at Liampoo, and of the information on this Island *Lequia*³⁴

The inhabitants of all of this land are like the Chinese, they wear linen, cotton, and silk, with some damasks that they bring from *Nanquim*.³⁵ They are gluttonous, and given to the delights of the flesh, little inclined to bear arms, and greatly lacking in them, so it would appear to be very easy to conquer them. In the year 1556, a Portuguese named Pêro Gomes de Almeida, a servant of the Master [of the Order of] Santiago, arrived in Malacca with a great present and letters from the *Nautoquim* prince of the Island of *Tanixumaa*³⁶ for King John III, may he be received in glory, and the substance of his request amounted to an appeal for five hundred men in order with them and his own men to conquer this island *Lequia*, in return for which he would offer tribute of five thousand *quintais* of copper, and one thousand of tin each year. The embassy had no effect because the information was sent in the galleon in which Manuel de Sousa de Sepulveda was lost.³⁷ Further to the north-northwest of this land of *Lequia* there is a large archipelago of small islands, where there is a great deal of silver, which, as it seems, and as I always suspected by what I saw in the Moluccas in the petitions Ruy López de Villalobos, the Spanish general, sent to Dom Jorge de Castro who was then captain of our fortress at Ternate, must be those known by these people, as *Islas Platarias*³⁸; though with how much reason I do not know, because following what we have seen and read in Ptolemy, as well as in the others who have written on geography, none of these is known to have travelled beyond the kingdom of Siam and the island of Sumatra, except our cosmographers, who from the time of Afonso de Albuquerque would travel a little further, and would treat of the *Celebes*, Papuans,

³⁴ Usually called *dos Léquios*. See document 5, note 4

³⁵ Nanjing (南京).

³⁶ Tanegashima (種子島), in Japan. Other Portuguese sources corroborate this episode, essentially the support Pêro Gomes de Almeida gave to a group of Japanese who arrived from Malacca and converted to Catholicism.

³⁷ Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda was captain of the *São João*, a carrack that was shipwrecked off the coast of Kwazulu (in present-day South Africa) in June 1552; The year 1556, mentioned in the text, is likely a mistake for 1550.

³⁸ Imaginary islands known as the *Ilhas da Prata* [Islands of Silver] which were thought to exist somewhere to the north and that the Spaniards sought to find.

Mindanaos, Chams, China, and Japan, but still not of the *Lequios*, nor of most of the archipelagos that in the vastness of this sea are still to be discovered. From this brief information that I have given of these *Lequios*, it can be known, and I know it because of what I saw, that with only two thousand men this island could be taken, and governed with all the others in these archipelagos, which would result in far greater profit than that taken from India, and with much less cost, in men as well as everything else, because the trade alone, as the merchants with whom we spoke will affirm, brought the three customs houses of this island of *Lequia* one *conto* and a half³⁹ of gold, not to mention the gross income of the whole kingdom, and the silver mines, copper, tin, iron, steel, lead, and pewter, that rendered still more than the customs houses. Of the other excellent particulars that could be given of this island, I will not treat now, because it appears to me that this is enough to arouse and incite the spirits of the Portuguese to a business of such service to Our Lord, and of such honour and profit to them.

[...]

Ch. CXLV, p. 477:

As we arrived at an island that is said to be *Pulo Hinhor*⁴⁰ and what happened there between the king and myself.

[...]

p. 479:

He ordered the junk to anchor close to the island, while he made ready with all of his men in three oared boats, with a falcon and five culverins and sixty well-armed Javanese and *Luções*, thirty of whom had muskets, and the rest lances and arrows, and great sum of gunpowder bombs, and other firearms convenient to our purpose.

[...]

³⁹ One million five hundred thousand *reis*.

⁴⁰ Unknown island, located between Malacca and Tenasserim (see note 7).

Ch. CXLIX, p. 493:

Of the decision the Saw Binya⁴¹ made after he had understood that he could not be rescued by the Portuguese

[...]

p. 496:

And this *Bramaa King*,⁴² for the grandeur of the state wishing to celebrate the surrender of the Saw Binya, ordered all the foreign captains with their men-at-arms wearing festive attire to make in two lines a path for the Saw Binya to walk through. That was immediately done, and this path went from the city gate to his tent, which would be the distance of two-thirds of a league. In this path were thirty-six thousand foreigners, from forty-two nations, among whom were Portuguese, Greeks, Venetians, Turkish, Janissaries, Jews, Armenians, Tartars, Mughals, Abyssinians, Rajputs, *Nobins*,⁴³ Khorasanis, Persians, *Tuparaas*,⁴⁴ *Gizares*,⁴⁵ *Tanocos*⁴⁶ from Arabia, Malabars, Javanese, Acehnese, Mons, Siamese, *Luções* from the island of Borneo, *Chacomaas*,⁴⁷ Arakanese, *Predins*,⁴⁸ Papuans, *Celebes*, *Mindanaos*, Pegus,⁴⁹ Burmese, *Chalões*,⁵⁰ *Iaquesalões*,⁵¹ *Sauadis*,⁵²

⁴¹ Title of the governor of Martaban or Mottama, in Lower Myanmar. The episode described by Pinto refers to the local governor's resistance to the southern expansion of the kingdom of Toungoo, for which he hoped to obtain Portuguese military support.

⁴² Tabinshwehti, the founder of the First Toungoo Empire, who was responsible for unifying Burma. *Bramaa* (Mran-ma) is a form commonly used to refer to both Upper Myanmar and the Toungoo dynasty.

⁴³ Unidentified.

⁴⁴ Unidentified.

⁴⁵ People from Mesopotamia.

⁴⁶ Unidentified.

⁴⁷ Probably Chakma from Bengal.

⁴⁸ Possibly people from Pran in Burma.

⁴⁹ See document 56, note 7.

⁵⁰ Unidentified.

⁵¹ Possibly from Junkceylon, an island in Siam, today Phuket.

⁵² Possibly from Saravati in Burma.

Toungoos, *Calaminhās*,⁵³ *Chaleus*,⁵⁴ Andamans, Bengalis, Gujaratis, Indragiris, Minangkabaus, and many others whose names I did not know. All of these foreigners were put in order by the *Xemimbrum*⁵⁵ the maître-de-camp, who placed the Portuguese ahead of all, next to the city gate through which the Saw Binya had to leave, and next to them the Armenians, and then the Janissaries and the Turks, and all of the rest in the order that appeared good to him, and in this order the foreign men were arranged, as I already mentioned, up to the King's dōpo, where the Burmese life guards were.

[...]

Ch. CLXXIII, p. 595:

How the *Pangueyrão de Pate*⁵⁶ Emperor of Java went with a large army against the *King of Passaruão*,⁵⁷ and of what he did after he arrived there.

This King of Sunda⁵⁸ left the port of Banten on the fifth day of the month of January in the year 1546 and arrived on the nineteenth at the city of Japara,⁵⁹ where the King of Demak Emperor of this island Java was staying, poised for war with an army of eight hundred thousand men. When informed of the arrival of the King of Sunda, who was his brother-in-law and vassal, he ordered the King of Panarukan, admiral of the fleet, to receive him at his ship. He took with him one hundred and sixty oared keluluses, and ninety lancarans of *Luções* from the island of Borneo, and with all of this company he came to where the king was, by whom he was very well-received, and with great honours from all the others. Fourteen days after our arrival at this city of Japara had passed when the King of Demak

⁵³ Unidentified.

⁵⁴ Probably people from Salin, in Upper Burma.

⁵⁵ A Burmese captain (*Smin Paru*).

⁵⁶ *Pangeran dipati*, title of the sultan of Demak, Trenggana (c. 1504-1546).

⁵⁷ Historians agree that in this chapter Pinto exchanged the names Pasuruan and Panarukan. Pasuruan (*Passaruão*), a port city on the north coast of East Java, was a Muslim kingdom at this time, in contrast to Panarukan (*Panaruca*), which remained Hindu and was therefore the target of the Islamic offensive described by the author.

⁵⁸ This is the sultan of Banten, a port city in Sunda (region in western Java).

⁵⁹ City on the north coast of Java Central, which was a territory ruled from Demak.

left for the kingdom of Pasuruan. He embarked in a fleet of two thousand seven hundred sails, of which a thousand were high-sided junks, and the rest all oared ships, and on the eleventh day of February he arrived at the river of *Hicanduree*⁶⁰ which is at the entrance to the bar.

[...]

Ch. CLXXVI, p. 639:

How the *King of Bramaa* made the first assault on this city of *Odiaa*⁶¹, and of his success

Five days having passed since the *King of Bramaa* had arrived in the city, with plenty of work in each of them, preparing the stockades and trenches, and in providing everything necessary for the siege, and in all this time those inside the walls made no movement at all. When the field marshal, Diogo Soares⁶², saw this along with the Siamese troops' disregard that such a force was amassed there, not knowing what to attribute it to, he determined to continue with what he had come to do, and by this the majority of the foreign soldiers, who were around eighty thousand men, he split into two squadrons, which had eight battalions of five thousand men in each. He marched them to the sound of their instruments up to the two points of the southerly side of the city, which appeared to offer the easiest points of entry. And striking at the walls one hour before dawn (on the nineteenth day of June of the same year of 1548) with all this power, they erected more than a thousand ladders; and climbing up them to the top, those inside resisted them with such force that in less than a half hour, more than ten thousand were dead between both sides.

[...]

⁶⁰ Unidentified.

⁶¹ Ayutthaya, capital of Siam.

⁶² Diogo Soares de Melo (or de Albergaria), nicknamed "o Galego" [the Galician], was a Portuguese adventurer and mercenary who settled in Pegu (Lower Burma) and whose military skills were noted by Tabinshwehti. He served under him in various military campaigns, in particular the attack on Ayutthaya described in this chapter.

p. 641:

And wanting to show a greater part in this than all the rest, the Turks asked the King for the honour of leading the vanguard, which he gladly granted on the advice of Diogo Soares, who, desirous to see them diminished, always gave them these most dangerous positions. They were content and very proud that this honour be given to them over any other nation of the many that were in that camp, they were determined to execute with honour what they had asked of the King. And forming one squadron of one thousand two hundred men, among which were some Abyssinians, and Janissaries, they climbed with great cries up the ladders to the top of the wall, which was already at this time, as mentioned, held by the *King of Bramaa*, and there were many men on it. And these Turks, either because they were more courageous or unfortunate, ran along a stretch of the wall ahead, descending from a bulwark down to the courtyard inside, with the notion of opening a gate by which the King could enter, because then with truth they could say it was they alone who gave him the most important city of the kingdom of Siam, and they would have won the reward that was to be hoped for from this, because the King had already promised to whoever gave him this city a thousand *biças*⁶³ of gold, that in the value of our coin was five hundred thousand *cruzados*. When the Turks were all gathered in the courtyard below, they ordered that the gates be broken open with two iron battering rams they had brought for this, and being occupied in this work, confident that only they had the chance to win the thousand *biças* of gold that the King had promised to whoever opened the gates for him, three thousand frenzied Javanese fell on them so determinedly, that in little more than three or four Creeds not one Turk remained standing, and not content with this, moving up to the top of the wall in that same frenzied state they were in, since they were red all over and covered in the blood of the Turks they had left dead, they set upon the Burmese men who were up there so fearlessly, that none was brave enough to look at them in the face, and in such a manner, that those who then escaped best were those who threw themselves off [the walls]. This was not enough for the *Bramaa King* to stop that assault, but wanting to try anew, it appeared to him the elephants alone could open that entrance for him, if they

⁶³ *Peittha*, a unit of weight used in South India and Burma and that, according to Portuguese sources, at that time was equal to about 1.150 kg.

went up to the wall once again. To counter this *Oyaa Passiloco*⁶⁴, captain-general of the city, came with great haste to that part, accompanied by the fifteen thousand men he brought with him, of whom the most part were *Luçôes*, Borneans, and Champas⁶⁵, with some Minangkabaus among them, and he ordered the opening of the gates through which the *Bramaa King* wished to make his entry, and he sent word that he had heard that his highness had promised to give a thousand *biças* of gold to whoever opened those gates, and that he had just opened them so that he could enter whenever he wanted, provided he kept his word as the great King that he was, by sending him the thousand *biças* because he was waiting there to receive them.

[...]

Ch. CCXIV

Of the great storm that we endured going from Japan to China, and of how we were freed from it through the prayers of this servant of God

The morning of the next day our blessed father with all the Portuguese went to take leave of the king, who in this dismissal maintained the honour and hospitality that was customary. After this we came to embark, and we left this city *Fucho*,⁶⁶ and we sailed our route in sight of land until an island of the King of *Minâcoo*⁶⁷ called *Meleitor*,⁶⁸ and crossing here with following monsoon winds, we continued our journey for a duration of seven days. At the end of that time the weather, with a conjunction of the new moon, propelled us to the south, and faced with rains and the signs of winter, growing to such a level that we were forced to put about with the prow on a north-northeast rhumb through an unknown sea, never navigated by any nation, without knowing where we were, surrendered to

⁶⁴ In other words, *Ok-ya* (Governor) of Phitsanulok, city of northern Siam, who came to assist the capital against the Burmese offensive.

⁶⁵ See note 27.

⁶⁶ Fuchu or Funai (府内), historic name for the province of Bungo (豊後), in Japan, which is today the city of Oita (大分).

⁶⁷ Unidentified.

⁶⁸ Unidentified.

the whims of fortune and weather, with one wild and excessive storm, such that men could never imagine, which lasted five days. And in all of them we never saw the sun for the pilot to know at which latitude we were, only by his weak estimation, without taking account of the degrees nor of the minutes, he set a course more or less for the islands of the Papuans, *Celebes*, and *Mindanaos* that were six hundred leagues from there. On the second day of this storm just about noon, the sea generated swells of such height that the impetus of the ship could not breach them, by which it was decided according to the opinion of the officers, that the castle works fore and aft, should be razed to the deck, to make the ship more manoeuvrable and more easily steered by the rudder. This was done with all the speed possible because everyone without exception was occupied in this work, it was understood then they had to secure the tender, which with great labour was brought alongside, and made fast with two new ropes of coir. And because just when this work had finished the darkness of the night was great, so it was not possible to regather to the ship the men that were in the tender, so they were all forced to spend that night there, fifteen of them; of which five were Portuguese, and the others slaves and sailors.

[...]

DOCUMENTO 60

Diogo do Couto, *Década Quarta da Ásia*, ed. M. Augusta Lima Cruz, Vol. 1 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1999), 185, 198, 216, 386, 493–495.

Liv. IV, cap. II, p. 185:

Do que passou Dom Jorge capitão de Maluco, com Dom Garcia Anrriquez, sobre certos apontamentos que levava, e de como mandou a Malaca pedir socorro, e prendeo Dom Garcia em ferros

Atras temos dado conta das cousas que em Maluco socederão com a chegada de Dom Jorge, e de como ficou correndo em tregoa com os Castelhanos. Vindo a moução em que Dom Garcia se quis embarcar pera a India, lhe mandou Dom Jorge notificar, que se fosse pella via de Borneo, conforme a hum regimento que levava de Pero Mascarenhas, porque desejava de se fazer sempre aquella derrota, por ser mais apressada, que a que se fazia por via de Banda: que por ser mais apressada, mandou Antonio de Miranda de Brito, sendo capitão de Maluco descobrir o anno de vinte e tres, por Antonio d'Abreu seu parente, que foy o primeiro que por ella navegou, o que Pero Mascarenhas desejava se continuasse, assi por ser mais breve a jornada, como por grangear o commercio, e amisade d'aquelles reys, e senhores das ilhas de Borneo: porque tinha por noticia que avia n'ellas muito ouro, e a principal rezão era, porque queria tolher aquella navegação aos Castelhanos.

[...]

Liv. IV, cap. IV, p. 198:

Este anno indo hum Gomez de Siqueira por mandado de Dom Jorge, buscar mantimentos pellas ilhas de Mindanao, desgarrando com o tempo descobrio muitas ilhas juntas, em nove pera dez graos do norte, que d'elle se chamarão as ilhas de Gomez de Siqueira.

[...]

Liv. IV, cap. VIII, p. 216:

Fernão de la Torre consentio em tudo, somente na restituição da metade da ilha de Maquiem, porque dizia que era ja do Emperador, e sem sua licença o não podia fazer. Jorge Goterres respondeo, que pois assi era, que ficasse como dantes. E despedindose d'elle se foi pera Ternate, ficando a guerra aberta. Vendo Dom Jorge que Fernão de la Torre estava alterado, determinou de lhe fazer toda a que pudesse, em que sobre esteve porque entendeo em Gonçalo Gomez d'Azevedo capitão mor do mar, que mais folgaria de fazer cravo, que guerra: e que pellos poderes que levava o não podia obrigar a cousa algũa. E por se não vir depois achar em faltas, despedio Simão de Vera em hum navio, com as cartas e papeis contra Dom Garcia, que erão os que Vicente da Fonseca tornou a trazer, pedindo assi ao capitão de Malaca, como ao governador da India, que o socorressem com gente, navios, roupas, e monições: dando lhes conta do estado em que aquella fortaleza estava: Simão de Vera se fez a vela, e foi tomar a ilha de Mindanao, pera tomar mantimentos, e ali foi morto pellos da terra, e quantos yão com elle. Fernão de la Torre foi logo avisado do navio que Dom Jorge mandava a pedir socorro pello que tão bem despedio Sayavedra na sua naveta pera a Nova Espanha, escrevendo àquelle visorey, o estado em que ficava, pedindo lhe socorro.

[...]

Liv. VII, cap. VIII, p. 386:

O quarto archypelago he o dos Celebes, que está a loeste de Maluco; ha n'elle muitas ilhas famosas, de que as principaes são Mindanao, e a propria dos Celebes em que ha muitos reys, de quem outra parte fazemos memoria. Tem mais as ilhas Bisaya que tem muito ferro, e Mascaga, Masbate, que ambas tem muito ouro, que tãobem se acha em Mindanao. E a ilha do Sologo, que tem muitas perolas, que não sabem os naturaes tirar. Tem todas estas ilhas, e outras muitas que não nomeamos, muitos mantimentos, sandalo, aguila, canela, canfora, tartaruga, gengivre, pimenta longa e algũas destas obedecem ao rey de Borneo, e outras ao de Ternate, e Tidore: são seus naturaes muito atraídoados, andão nus encachados, e trazem os corpos pintados com muitos labores, usão o cabelo cortado nas fontes ao antigo portugues, e por detras muito comprido, e atado no toutiço. Tem todos as testas muito batidas pera tras por onde lhes ficão os rostos parecendo mayores, trazem os dentes limados e pretos, e as orelhas furadas. São os Celebes tão sujos

e torpes, que tem mancebia de homens; tem pequenas povoações, e em cada casa mora toda hũa geração: e pendurão ao derredor de sua casas as cabelleiras dos que matão na guerra, e quem tem mais he mais honrado. Ha nestas ilhas muitas monstruosidades, de que não falamos, e antre ellas hũa arvore, que quem se poem à sombra do ponente mata logo, se não vão buscar a sombra do levante, que he seu antidoto.

[...]

Liv. IX, cap. IV, p. 493:

Da conjuração que ouue entre os senhores das ilhas de Maluco contra os nossos, e do grande aperto em que os puserão

Pois este he o tempo, em que nos cabem as cousas de Maluco, continuaremos com ellas, que deixamos o anno passado, em aquelle grande escandalo, que todos os reys d'aquelle archypelago tiverão dos nossos, pella grande crueza que usarão com a mão d'elrey Aeiro, e prizão de Tabarija. E carteadose, se ajuntarão todos, tratando de tomar satisfação de caso tão abominavel: ajuntando pera isso em segredo as coisas que lhes parecerão necessarias. E pera mais fazerem odiosos e avorrecidos naquellas ilhas todos os Portugueses, urdio o demonio outro caso tão escandaloso, ou mais a seu modo que os passados. O caso que novamente socedee que nos acabou de fazer avorrecidos foi este: mandou Tristão de Taide nesta mesma conjunção hum foão Pinto a descubrir as ilhas de Mindanao, e as vezinhas a ella, pera se prover de mantimentos, porque em todas as de Maluco lhes tinham tapados os portos, por onde lhes corrião. Partido este homem em hũa naveta, chegou a ilha de Mindanao, a onde desembarcou, e vio aquelle rey, que lhe fez muitos gasalhados, e assentando com elle pazes e amizades, vendeo o que levava, e comprou o que quis muito liberalmente, e a sua vontade. D'ali se passou a ilha de Seriago, onde o rey lhe fez os mesmos gasalhados, e assentou tambem com elle pazes: que celebrarão com hũa cerimonia entre elles guardada tão inviolavelmente, que nunca ja mais se quebrava: que era, beberem os que fazião a amizade o sangue hum do outro como penhor do amor que avião de ter, porque dizem que assi mete cada hum em si a alma do outro: e assi ficarão dali por diante correndo com os nossos em tanto amor e amizade, que yão a sua nao comprar e vender sem receio de engano, porque elles o não tratavão com pessoa algũa depois d'aquella cerimonia celebrada. O capitão do navio vendo quantos concorrião a sua nao, entrando a

cobiça de fazer presa nelles, e de levar hũa boa copia pera vender, depois que fez seu negocio, o dia que se avia de partir forão perto de quarenta poucos e poucos a venderem a nao suas cousas, que assi como entravão os levava abaixo da cuberta, como que lhes ya mostrar algũa cousa, e la os fechava. Mas permitio Deos, que hum dos prezos de baixo quando levavão outros tivesse modo de escapulir, e se lançou ao mar, e foi a terra a dar conta a elrey do que se passava. Elrey cheio de paixão de quebrarem os Portugueses assi aquelle tão firme vinculo de amizade entre elles guardada, como cousa religiosa mandou com muita pressa meter muita gente em algũas embarcações que estavam no mar, e lançar a elle outras que estavam em estaleiro, e mandou cometer a nao que foi rodeada e cometida asperamente. O capitão Pinto andava ja levando ancora, porque tinha visto os navios e a gente em terra, e acodindo as armas com vinte e cinco homens que comsigo levava, pos se em defensão, porque ja o entravão por algũas partes, e os officiaes forão largando as velas, mas os Seriagos ferrados na nao trabalharão pella entrara, e sem duvida o fizerão se não sobreviera hũa serração, descarregando logo hũa trovoadã tão soberba e medonha em força e carrancas, que parecia ira dos ceos. Os Seriagos largarão a nao, e se acolherão a terra: os da nao forão correndo com hum bolso de vela a vontade dos ventos e mares que os comião: e foi lhes necessario alijarem ao mar todas as cousas que por cima levavão, e ainda toda a artelharia, porque se virão muitas vezes alagados, e sosobrados. Durou lhes este castigo alguns dias, deixando os tão destroçados, desbaratados, e medrosos, que como homens que tinhão visto tantas vezes a morte, estavam como alienados, e assi forão ter a Ternate tão cortados do temor, que estando em terra, ainda lhes parecia que corrião as mesmas tormentas, que ainda ali a ira de Deos os ameaçava pello pecado que cometerão em violarem a santa lei do hospicio: cousa tão fea e avorrecida ainda entre tão barbaros como estes.

DOCUMENT 60

Diogo do Couto, *Década Quarta da Ásia*, ed. M. Augusta Lima Cruz, Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1999), 185, 198, 216, 386, 493–495.

Diogo do Couto (c. 1542-1616) was one of the most important sixteenth-century chroniclers of the history of the Portuguese presence in Asia. He was a soldier, a resident in Goa and keeper of the Goan archives. He was commissioned by the King of Portugal to continue João de Barros' Décadas da Ásia. The episodes described in this Década took place in the 1520s and 1530s and include information about the Portuguese presence in the Moluccas, the exploration of islands in the region and the contact made with the Spanish garrison in Tidore.

Book IV, ch. II, p. 185:

About what Dom Jorge, the captain of the Moluccas experienced with Dom Garcia Henriques, regarding certain meetings that he had, and how he sent to Malacca to request assistance and put Dom Garcia in irons

We have given an account above regarding those things which happened in the Moluccas with the arrival of Dom Jorge¹, and of how he ended up agreeing a truce with the Castilians. When the monsoon season came round and Dom Garcia² wanted to set sail to India, Dom Jorge sent word to notify him that he should take the route via Borneo, according to an instruction which he had received from Pêro Mascarenhas, because he wanted them always to take that route because it was faster than the one via Banda. And because it was faster, António de Miranda de Brito³, who was [then] captain of the Moluccas, had ordered it to be discovered in the year twenty-three by António de Abreu, a relative of his, who was the first person to navigate by that route. And Pêro Mascarenhas wanted this to continue, because it meant that voyages were shorter, and also with a view to cultivating the trade and friendship of those kings and lords on the islands of Borneo, and

¹ Dom Jorge de Meneses. See document 52, note 13.

² Dom Garcia Henriques. See document 52, note 17.

³ First captain of the fortress of Ternate (1521-1526).

because he had heard there was a lot of gold there, and the main reason was that he wanted to close that route to the Castilians.

[...]

Book IV, ch. IV, p. 198:

That year⁴, one Gomes de Sequeira⁵ went on the orders of Dom Jorge to seek supplies on the islands of Mindanao and when he went off course owing to adverse weather conditions, he discovered a series of islands clustered together, at nine to ten degrees north, which were named the *Gomes de Sequeira* Islands⁶ after him.

[...]

Book IV, ch. VIII, p. 216:

Fernão de la Torre⁷ agreed to everything, except the restitution of half of the Makian Island, because he said it belonged to the Emperor and without his permission he could not do it. Jorge Guterres⁸ replied that if that was the case, things should remain as they were previously. And taking his leave of him, he went to Ternate, and this put them on a war footing. When Dom Jorge saw that Fernão de la Torre was up in arms, he decided to be as hostile as he could, in which respect he over-reached himself, because he [had] understood from Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo⁹, the captain-major of the Sea, that he [de la Torre] would rather trade cloves than make war: and according to his commission, he could not force him to do anything. And so that he would not subsequently be found at fault, he dispatched Simão de Vera¹⁰ in a ship with the letters and papers against Dom

⁴ Diogo do Couto dates this voyage to 1527 or 1528, but other Portuguese chroniclers date it to 1525.

⁵ See document 53, note 22.

⁶ See document 53, note 22.

⁷ Fernando de la Torre. See document 52, note 14.

⁸ Jorge Guterres was the emissary sent to Tidore by Dom Jorge de Meneses, captain of Ternate, for the purpose of negotiating with the Castilians.

⁹ See document 52, note 15.

¹⁰ See document 52, note 16.

Garcia which [the papers] were the ones Vicente da Fonseca¹¹ later brought [to Malacca and Goa], asking the captain of Malacca, and also the governor of India, therein, to send him assistance with men, ships, clothing, and munitions, giving him an account of the state in which that fortress found itself. Simão de Vera set sail and went to put in at the island of Mindanao to take on supplies, and he was killed by the local people there, as were the others who were travelling with him. Fernão de la Torre was then told about the ship that Dom Jorge was sending to request assistance, so he too dispatched Saavedra¹² to New Spain in his small boat, writing to the viceroy there [about] the state he was in, and requesting assistance.

[...]

Book VII, ch. VIII, p. 386:

The fourth archipelago is that of the Celebes¹³ which is to the West of the Moluccas; there are many famous islands there, of which the main ones are Mindanao and *Celebes* island itself, where there are many kings, who we will place on record elsewhere. There are also the islands of *Bisaya*¹⁴ which have a lot of iron, and *Mascaga*¹⁵ and *Masbate*¹⁶, both of which have large quantities of gold, which is also found on Mindanao. And the island of *Sologo*¹⁷ is rich in pearls which the native people do not know how to extract. All of these islands, and a great many others which we will not name, have plentiful resources of sandalwood, eaglewood, cinnamon, camphor, tortoiseshell, ginger and long pepper, and some of these islands obey the King of Borneo¹⁸ and others [the kings of] Ternate and Tidore: the native people there are treacherous, and they go around naked, displaying

¹¹ See document 53, note 21.

¹² Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón. See document 14 and document 25, note 14.

¹³ See document 7, note 1, and document 56, note 1.

¹⁴ See document 16, note 7.

¹⁵ Identification disputed. See document 13, note 10.

¹⁶ Diogo do Couto's account was based on that of Gabriel Rebelo. In Rebelo's account the island mentioned is Butuan and not Masbate, nor is any reference made to the toponym Masbate in documents written prior to Miguel López de Legazpi's arrival. Therefore, Diogo do Couto's reference to Masbate signals his own geographical knowledge rather than Gabriel Rebelo's.

¹⁷ Jolo.

¹⁸ See document 2, note 1.

themselves to great advantage, and their bodies are very elaborately painted, and they wear their hair cut short over the forehead, resembling the old-fashioned style in Portugal, and very long at the back, tied up at the nape of the neck. They all have foreheads that slope backwards so their faces look much longer and they have dark teeth which they file, and pierced earlobes. The men from the *Celebes* are so dirty and shameless that they practice male concubinage. They have small villages and a whole generation lives in each house. They hang the scalps of those they kill in war around their houses, and the more they have, the more respected they are. There are many monstrous things on these islands, which we will not speak of. One of them concerns a tree which kills anyone who stands in its westward shadow, unless they then go and stand in its eastward shadow which provides the antidote.

[...]

Book IX, ch. IV, p. 493:

About the plot that was hatched between the lords of the Moluccas against our men, and the great pressure they put upon them

Since this is the moment to talk about affairs in the Moluccas, we will continue with those, which we left behind last year, with the outrage which all the kings of that archipelago felt in respect of our men, because of the terrible cruelty with which they treated the hand[s] of the King Ayero¹⁹, and the imprisonment of Tabarija²⁰. And having exchanged letters, they got together and sought ways of obtaining satisfaction for this abominable incident, secretly amassing the means they thought necessary [to achieve this]. And to make all the Portuguese [even] more loathsome and detestable on those islands, the devil contrived another outrageous incident, just as scandalous, or even more so in its way, than the previous ones. The incident which occurred subsequently, and ultimately made us even more hated, was this: At this precise juncture, Tristão de Ataíde²¹ sent someone called Pinto²² to discover the islands of Mindanao and those near to

¹⁹ See document 23, note 1.

²⁰ See document 24, note 11.

²¹ See document 52, note 18.

²² João da Canha Pinto. See document 52, note 29.

them to obtain supplies, because they had closed the ports to them across all of the Moluccas, wherever they went. This man had set sail in a small ship and reached the island of Mindanao where he went ashore and visited the king there, who made him very welcome. And once he had agreed terms of peace and friendship with him, he sold what he had brought, and purchased what he himself wanted, very liberally and at will. From there, he went on to the island of *Seriago*²³, where the king gave him a similarly warm welcome and also made peace with him. They celebrated this with a ceremony which is held to be so sacrosanct among them that it should never be violated: according to this [ceremony], the two parties sealing a pact of friendship must drink each other's blood as a pledge of the love they will have [for each other], because they say that by this means each party is imbibing the soul of the other: and so once they had done this, they [the native people] felt such powerful bonds of love and friendship with our men that they went to their carrack to buy and sell without fear of trickery, because they [themselves] would not attempt such a thing with anybody after this ceremony had taken place. When the captain of the ship saw how many of them were boarding his carrack, he was seized with the impulse to take them prisoner, to get a good quantity of them to sell. [So] after he had concluded business there, on the day of his departure, about forty or so of them went to the carrack to sell their wares and no sooner had they boarded it than he lured them below deck [into the hold] as if he were going to show them something and then locked them in. But when some more of them were being brought down, one of the prisoners held below managed, by the grace of God, to escape and he threw himself into the sea and swam ashore to tell the king what was happening. The king was seized with a fit of rage that the Portuguese had thus broken such a binding pact of friendship which was sacrosanct to them, so he very rapidly ordered a large number of men into some vessels which were in the sea as well as launching some more which were in dry dock, and he ordered an assault on the carrack which was then surrounded and attacked with great ferocity. Pinto, the captain [meanwhile] was already raising anchor because he had seen the vessels and the men onshore. And taking up arms, along with the twenty-five soldiers that he was carrying, he went on the defensive because they were [now] boarding his ship in several places. And the sailors were unfurling the sails, but the men from *Seriago* were clinging to the carrack making every effort to climb aboard and there is no doubt they would have succeeded if a cloud of darkness had not [suddenly] descended, discharging a clap of thunder so fearsome and mighty

²³ Sarangani Island.

in its ferocity and menace that it seemed the wrath of the very heavens. The men from *Seriago* left the carrack and regrouped on shore. The crew on the carrack fled with the belly of their sails at the mercy of wind and sea which devoured them: and they had to hurl everything they were carrying on deck into the sea, including all the artillery, as they were repeatedly flooded and almost upended. Their punishment lasted for several days leaving them so broken, defeated and fearful that, even though they had seen death as many times as they had, they were beside themselves. And in this state they reached Ternate so abjectly terrified that even when they were back on shore, they felt as if they were still sailing through those storms and that even there the wrath of God was hounding them for the sin they had committed in violating the sacred laws of hospitality: [which is] such a hideous, abhorrent thing to do, even among barbarian peoples such as these.

DOCUMENTO 61

Diogo do Couto, *Década Quinta da Ásia*, ed. Marcus de Jong (Coimbra: Biblioteca da Universidade, 1937), 419–423.

Liv. VI, cap. 9, p. 419:

Do q aconteceu este ano em Maluco e de como se descobrirão as Ilhas de Çolebes, Macaça, Bogis y outras y dos Reis e Senhores dellas q se fizerão Cristãos. Y do como Fr.co de Crasto descobrio as Ilhas de Midanão e outr.as

Por não nos descuidarmos das cousas de Maluco em que himos continuado por hordê dos annos, entraremos aqui cõ o que todo este passado acometesseo naquellas ilhas que dexamos em pax e quietassão, e o capitão Antonio Galvão muito respeitado de todos, tratando mais do que compria ao servisso de Ds. E del Rey que a seu proprio particullar. E no mesmo tpõ. Vyerão a Ternatte hũs embaxadores das ilhas do Macaia (que esta ao ponente das de Maluco derredor de sesenta legoas a mais perto), os quais forão mui bẽ recebidos de Antonio Galvão. Estes vierão asentar comerssio e amisade cõ os nossos. Vinhão entre elles dois manssebos nobres, ambos irmãos, cõ os quais Antonio Galvão tomou grãde amizade, e achando lhe desposissão pa. os comvidar cõ a Lei de xpõ. O ffez por meos que caindo na verdade reseberão o baptismo. E a hũ por nome Antonio e a outro Miguel Galvão. E quando se tornarão lhe deu pessos e brincos de que elles forão tão satisfeitos como logo diremos.

Estas ilhas são muito juntas e andão em as cartas de marear lanssadas em hũa sô muito grande pollo rumo ao que os mareantes chamão norte e sul, derredor de cem legoas de comprido, quasi que quer imitar a forma de hũ gafanhoto grosso, cuja cabessa que lanssa para o sul simco grãos e meo são os Celebes que tẽ rei sobre sy. Polla coda que he a p.te mais chegada a Maluco, atravessa a equinosial e inda lanssa quasi hũ grao pa. a banda do norte. São estas ilhas senhoreadas de muitos reis defrentes nas lingoas e nos ritos e costumes. E comessando da p.te da coda tem o reino de Bogis (por cima do qual corta a equinoseal), cuja principal çidade se chama Sávito, grande, de casas sobradadas e fermosas, mas todas de madeira. Aqui queimão os mortos e suas sinzas se recolhẽ em vasos que se enterrão nos

campos e logares soparados, onde fazê suas capellas abertas por todas as p.tes, e todo aquelle anno lhe vão os parentes levar de comer todos os dias e lho dexão em sima das covas, onde os câis, gatos e aves o vão tomar. Não tem templos, fazê suas orassõis holhando pa. os çeos cõ as mãos ergidas, por onde se vê que tẽ conhesim. to do verdadeiro Ds. Os naturais não tẽ mais de hũa molher e o rey tres e quatro.

Tem logo o reino de Macaia; a çidade em que ho rei reside se chama Gôâ. Aqui enterrão seus deffunctos como nõs. Outro reino se chama Diripa; sua çidade prinsipal tẽ o mesmo nome. Estes guardão os costumes e rittos dos Bogises e o rei daqui he parente do outro. Tem outro reino que se chama Chirava, que tambem seguê os boguises. Tem outros regullos muitos, sogeitos a estes. Ha nestas ilhas algodão, cobre, ferro, chumbo; tẽ muito ouro de que as molheres trazê manilhas: tem pedraria vermelha, fazê joias, são muito abastadas d'arros, legumes, frutas, sal; tem cavallos, elefantes, muitas galinhas, carneiros, bufaras, porcos, perdizes, e toda a mais casa do matto, mas não tem vacas. Tem navios de muitas feisõis em que navegão, hũs a que chamam “pêlan”, que se remão e são muito ligeiros; cõ estes fazê guerra; (h)a outros chamados “lôpi” que são de carga; outros mayores que chamão “jonjogâ”. Ha nestas ilhas sandallo, sappão; fazêsse nellas muitos e bons panos de seda de muitas feissõis. São as gentes de côr bassa como os malucos, muito bẽ despostos, todos sujós no viver e mui dados ao peccado nefando. As molheres são bẽ asombradas e algũas, que vão a poder de portugueses, são as que se cativão na gr.^a. Destas levão cada ano a vender a Malaca grande copia dellas.

E tornando aos novos christãos macassas que Antonio Galvão despedio satisfeitos e contentes, chegando a suas tr.as fixerãosse novos pregadores de nossa Lei, do que dixerão tantas cousas que desejosos muitos de os seguirem nella lhe pedirão buscassê modo para virem a ser baptisados; cõ o que os novos christãos, zellosos daquelle bem, se tornarão logo a embarcar para Ternatte, indo em sua companhia algũs manssebos honrrados. E chegando a Ternate forão mui bem ressebidos de Antonio Galvão e elles lhe pediram algũu religioso para ir com elles para comsolarê seus naturais que ficavão esperando com grande alvoroso por quem os baptisasse. Antonio Galvão deu muitos louvores a Ds, por aquella merçe, mandãdo loguo fazer prestes hũ navio em que mandou embarcar Fransisco de Crasto, hũ cavaleiro onrrado e dous saserdottes pa. irem em companhia dos macasas a essersitar aquelle sancto offissio, fazemdo primeiro que se partissê christãos todos os que vierão em companhia daquelles dous mansebos, dando regim.to a Francisco de Crasto pa. asentar pazes e amizades com aquelles reis, aos

quais mandou pessar e brincos. Partido Fr.co de Crasto de Ternatte deu lhe o tpo contrario rijo que foi corredo por onde melhor pode e no cabo de algus dias forão dar com hũas ilhas que não erão sabidas, que estavão ao norte das de Maluco da ventagẽ de çem legoas, e por irem faltos d'agoa as forão tomar, mandando a tr.^a algũas p.as a fallar cõ os naturais com quẽ se não entenderão e souberão chamarsse aquella ilha que tomarão Setigano. E resgatando ali algũas cousas tornarão para a embarcassão, mandando o rei daqla. Terra pedir a Fransisco de Crasto se visse cõ elle, como fez, o qual o agasalhou mui bẽ; e achando domestico e tratavel o conversou mistiquam.te, detendosse ali muitos dias, nos quais o apalpou. E achãdoo fasil o foi comvertendo e emfim o veo a fazer christão com tres irmãos seus, suas casas, molheres e filhos, pondo nome a El Rei Francisco. E logo acodio muito povo a pedir o baptismo que lhe foi dando. E assy se converterão a mor p.te dos moradores daquellas ilhas; e despedindosse daquelle rei com grandes saudades foi tomar outra ilha, chamada Selegano, onde tambẽ converteo aquelle rei, a que pos Antonio Galvão, e o mesmo fez a sua molher e duas filhas e sesenta pessoas de sua casa que todas reseberão a agoa do baptismo. E assi converteo outros tres reis de outras ilhas chamadas Batuano, Pimillarano e Camisuro, aos quais pos nome Joanes ẽ memoria del Rei Dom João de Portugal, em cujo tpo se converterão. Estas ilhas foram depois achadas o anno de corenta e tres por Bernardo de la Torre e lhe pos nome as Phillipinas por amor del Rei Dom Felipe e a elle se da honrra de seu descobrimento, sendo na verdade de Fransisco de Crasto, que depois que por alli ansou fazendo tanto fruito, por ser moussão se tornou para Ternatte. E sabendo Antonio Galvão o que passara na viagẽ, não cansava de dar grassas ao Alto Ds.

DOCUMENT 61

Diogo do Couto, *Década Quinta da Ásia*, ed. Marcus de Jong (Coimbra: Biblioteca da Universidade, 1937), 419–423.

This excerpt from Diogo Couto's Fifth Década addresses the events that took place during the period that António Galvão served as captain in Ternate, namely the peaceful contact established with Makassar and the conversion of its inhabitants to Catholicism that took place as a result.

Book VI, ch. 9, p. 419:

About what happened in this year in the Moluccas and how the Islands of *Celebes*, Makassar, Bugis and others were discovered and about their kings and lords who became Christians. And about the way in which Francisco de Castro discovered the Mindanao islands and others

So that we do not neglect the affairs of the Moluccas which we have been following in chronological order by year, we will now address what happened throughout all of this last year on those islands, which we left in a calm and peaceful state with the captain António Galvão¹ enjoying everybody's profound respect, and performing his duties diligently in the service of God and King rather than in his own. And at this point in time, some ambassadors came to Ternate from the islands of *Macaia*² (which lie west of the Moluccas, about sixty leagues away at their closest point, and they were very well received by António Galvão. These [men] had come to establish trade and friendly relations with our men. Among them were two young noblemen, two brothers, with whom António Galvão struck up a strong friendship and finding them amenable to accepting the Law of Christ, he enabled them to become aware of the truth and to receive baptism. And one took the name of António and the other Miguel Galvão. And when they were going back again, he gave them some items and trinkets which they were very pleased with, as we will recount later. These islands are very close together and

¹ See documents 16 and 57.

² Makassar. See document 6, note 3.

on maritime maps they are often represented as being one very large one, in the direction which seafarers call north-south, around one hundred leagues in length, almost in a shape resembling a giant locust, with the head protruding five and a half degrees south. These are the Celebes³ and they have their own king. The tail [of the locust] which is the part closest to the Moluccas, crosses the equator and extends almost one degree across to the northern side. These islands are ruled by many kings with different languages, rituals and customs. And starting from the land that forms the tail, there is the kingdom of *Bugis*⁴ (with the equinoctial line running just above it), and the principal city there is called *Sâvito*⁵. It is large and has beautiful, two-storey houses but they are made entirely of wood. They burn their dead here and gather their ashes into pots which they bury out in the fields and [they have] separate places where they build their chapels which are open on all sides, and throughout the whole of that year [after the death], the relatives bring food every day and leave it on top of the graves, where the dogs, cats and birds go and take it. They have no temples, as they pray looking upwards to the skies with their hands raised, which shows that they have knowledge of the true God. The [ordinary] native men do not take more than one wife, while the king has three or four. Then there is the kingdom of *Macaia*. The city where the king lives is called *Gôâ*⁶, and they bury their dead there like we do. Another kingdom is called *Diripa*⁷, and its main city has the same name. They observe the same customs and rites as the people from *Bugis*, and the king here is related to the other one [the King of *Bugis*]. There is another kingdom called *Chirava*⁸ which also follows [the customs of] the people from *Bugis*. There are a great many other minor rulers, who are subject to these. These islands have cotton, copper, iron and lead. They have a lot of gold which the women wear in the form of bangles. There are a lot of red precious stones which make jewels, and they are well supplied with rice, vegetables, fruit and salt. They have horses, elephants, lots of chickens, sheep, buffalo, pigs, partridges and every possible kind of plant, but no cattle.

³ See document 7, note 1, and document 56, note 1.

⁴ Bugis refers not to a kingdom, but rather an ethno-linguistic group from South Sulawesi, which at this time continued its traditional animist religious practices. It and only converted to Islam in the early seventeenth century.

⁵ Sawitto, on the western coast of South Sulawesi, north of Makassar.

⁶ Gowa, the capital and the most important city of Makassar during this period.

⁷ Unknown place; some authors identify it as a port called Pirapa, to the south of Makassar.

⁸ Unidentified toponym.

They have many kinds of boat in which they sail. Some of them are called *pêlan*, which are driven by oars and are very light. They go into battle with these. And some others are called *lôpi*, and these are for carrying cargo, and some larger ones are called *jonjogâ*. These islands have sandalwood and soapnut trees. They also make a lot of high-quality silk of many different kinds. They are brown-coloured people like the Moluccans, very good-looking and all of them dirty in their living habits, and much inclined to the unspeakable sin. The women are quite graceful and some who come into the power of the Portuguese are, for the most part, the ones who are captured in war. And of these, a large number are taken to be sold in Malacca each year. And returning now to the new Christians from Makassar, whom António de Galvão had sent away happy and contented, when they got back to their own land they became new preachers of our Law, and they were so eloquent about this that many people wanted to follow them in this respect, and they asked if there was a way for them to be baptised too. So these new Christians, fervently desiring this happy outcome, sailed back to Ternate, and some [other] young men of high rank came with them. And when they reached Ternate, they were made very welcome by António Galvão and they asked him for a cleric to go with them to help the plight of their native people who were waiting anxiously for someone who could baptise them. António Galvão gave great praise to God for this favour, and then ordered a ship to be readied, onboard which he sent Francisco de Castro⁹, a virtuous knight, and two priests to accompany the men from Makassar and exercise that holy office, having first ensured that all those who had accompanied those two young men, also departed as Christians. And he instructed Francisco de Castro to make peace and forge friendly relations with those kings to whom he sent [various] items and trinkets. And when Francisco de Castro had left Ternate, he ran into extremely adverse weather conditions, so he went where best he could, and after a few days he landed on some unknown islands which were to the north of the Moluccas, by about one hundred leagues. And as they were short of water, they put in there, sending some men ashore to speak to the native people whom they could not understand, and they learned that that island where they had put in was called *Setigano*¹⁰. And after they had done some bartering there, they went back to their ship and the king of that land asked Francisco de Castro to come and see him, which he did. And he made him very welcome. And finding him [the king] well-disposed and tractable, he conversed

⁹ See document 20, note 11, and document 52, nota 35.

¹⁰ See document 52, note 36.

with him on mystical matters, remaining there for several days, during which time he sounded him out. And finding him amenable, he proceeded to convert him and in the end he made him a Christian along with three brothers of his, and their households, wives and children, giving the king the name Francisco. And then a whole host of people turned up wanting baptism, which he [then] gave them. And most of the inhabitants of those islands were thus converted. And having taken leave of that king with great regret, he went to another island called *Selegano*¹¹, where he also converted that king, naming him António Galvão, and they did the same for his wife and two daughters and sixty people from his household, all of whom received the waters of baptism. And he also converted another three kings from other islands called *Batuano*, *Pimillarano* and *Camisuro*¹², whom he named *Joanes*, in honour of the King John of Portugal, during whose reign these conversions had occurred. These islands were then found in the year [fifteen] forty-three by Bernardo de la Torre¹³, and he named them *Filipinas*, in tribute to the King Felipe, and he [de la Torre] is given the honour of their discovery when, in truth, it belongs to Francisco de Castro who, after his very fruitful time there, headed back to Ternate because the monsoon season had come round. And when António Galvão learned what had happened on that voyage, he offered ceaseless thanks to God on High.

¹¹ See document 52, note 37.

¹² See document 52, notes 38, 39 and 40.

¹³ See document 55, note 6.

DOCUMENTO 62

Diogo do Couto, *Década Quinta da Ásia*, Pte. 2 (Lisboa: Regia Officina Typografica, 1780), 239–249.

Liv. VIII, cap. X, p. 239:

Da Armada que este anno de 1542 partio da nova Hespanha pera as Ilhas de Maluco, de que era Capitão Ruy Lopes de Villa-Lobos: e do que lhe aconteceu na jornada até à Ilha de Saragão: e do aviso que D. Jorge de Castro, Capitão de Maluco, teve desta Armada: e de hum protesto que mandou fazer ao Capitão Ruy Lopes de Villa-Lobos

Com a cubiça do cravo de Maluco, e com todas as grandezas que daquellas Ilhas contáram os da Armada passada, determinou D. Antonio de Mendoça, Viso-Rey da Nova Hespanha, mandar a ellas huma Armada por sua conta, de que elegeo por Capitão D. João de Alvarado, Adiantado da Província de Gatimala, trezentas leguas do Mexico, que tinha também quinhão na jornada; mas depois das despezas feitas faleceo o D. João de Alvarado de huma queda que deo de hum cavallo, andando na conquista da Nova Galiza, pelo que ficou toda a Armada ao Viso-Rey, que elegeo pera ir nella Ruy Lopes de Villa-Lobos. Esta Armada partio do porto de Natividad dia de Todos os Santos deste anno de quarenta e dous; a Armada era de seis navios, em que iriam trezentos e sincoenta soldados, e quatro Frades da Ordem de Santo Agostinho, de que era maior Fr. Jeronymo de Santo Estevão.

E navegando ao Ponente, no cabo de oito dias viram huma Ilha chamada Santo Thomaz, que está em dezoito grãos e tres quartos, e passáram por algumas despovoadas em dezoito grãos do Norte. Dia de Natal descobriram muitas outras pequenas cheias de arvoredo, e tão alcantilladas, que não ousáram a surgir antre ellas. E dia de Santo Estevão o fizeram em huma, a que puzeram o mesmo nome: alli fizeram agua, e lenha, e Villa-Lobos tomou posse della, e de todas as daquelle Arquipelago, pelo Imperador Carlos V. A este Arquipelago puzeram nome dos Coraes, pelos arrecifes todos serem delles, como os de Maluco: daquí partíram dia dos Reys, e passáram por muitas Ilhas, a que puzeram nome (por frescas) as dos

Jardins, que estão em dez grãos. E navegando por entre ellas, dalli a dezoito dias chegaram a huma Ilha verde, de que lhe saíram alguns paráos com gente da terra baça, como a de Maluco; e chegando junto de huma das náos da conserva, lhe falou hum dos paráos em Portuguez, e lhes disse: Bons dias, matalotes, e voltáram logo, porque víram despedir-se da náo Capitanea o esquife para os ir chamar, e daqui se ficaram estas Ilhas chamando as dos Matalotes, que estão em dez grãos. E logo adiante acháram outra Ilha a que puzeram o nome dos Arrecifes, por ter muitos, que também está em dez grãos. Passada esta Ilha, acháram outra na mesma altura, a que puzeram o nome a Cesarea, por amor do Imperador.

Aqui surgiu a Armada, e se deteve trinta e dous dias, e deixáram de a povoar por não ser a terra boa, e porque levava o Villa-Lobos determinado de o não fazer mais de doze grãos. E passando adiante, foram demandar a Ilha do Mindanáo, que não pudéram dobrar, porque traziam os pilotos da Armada a ponta da Ilha em onze grãos e meio estando ela em onze. E achando alli o vento contrario, corrêram ao Sul, e foram surgir em Saragão, e querendo desembarcar foram mal recebidos da gente da terra, e lhe matáram quatro companheiros, pelo que se tornáram a embarcar. Aqui foi ter com elles huma galeota da sua companhia, que havia dias que se tinha desgarrado com tempo, que foi dar em humas Ilhas muito abastadas de mantimentos, onde se prôveram, e lhes puzeram nome as Filipinas, pelo Principe D. Filippe, herdeiro do Imperador Carlos V. Aqui em Saragão estiveram alguns dias embarcados; e porque lhes faltavam mantimentos, embarcou-se o Villa-Lobos na galeota, e tomou outro navio, e foi demandar outras Ilhas, que estavam á vista, pera ver se achava nellas cousa, de que se provessesse. E chegando a ellas, desembarcou na praia com todos os da sua companhia, e em os vendo os naturaes, despejaram a povoação, e se acolhêram a hum outeiro. Os Castelhanos os foram commeter, e tiveram com elles huma batalha, em que lhes matáram muitos, e perdêram hum só companheiro; e dando busca á povoação, acháram alguns poucos mantimentos, com que se tornáram pera a Armada. E vendo que por alli não tinham onde se provessem, e sabendo como nas Filippinas acháram os da galeota muitos mantimentos, mandou o General hum Bernardo de la Torre por Capitão de hum galeãozinho, chamado S. Joanilho, e a Pero Ortiz de la Rueda na galeota, e lhes deo por regimento, que fossem áquellas Ilhas a buscar mantimentos, com que tornaria a galeota, e o galeão se faria na volta da Nova Hespanha com recado ao Viso-Rey do que lhe tinha succedido naquella jornada, escrevendo-lhe sobre isso largamente. Estes navios foram ter áquellas Ilhas, e a galeota carregou de mantimentos, e tornou a voltar pera a Armada, e o Fernão de la Torre se ficou

negociando, e provendo pera sua jornada, e partio pera a Nova Hespanha entrada de Agosto, e de sua jornada adiante daremos razão.

Alli ficaram os Hespanhoes comendo alguns mantimentos que tinham, que se lhes acabáram logo, e começaram a passar fomes, e necessidades de feição, que entráram por cousas immundas, e nojentas, como cães, gatos, ratos, cobras, lagartos, e outras cousas semelhantes.

A nova desta Armada chegou a Maluco a D. Jorge de Castro; e porque sentio na gente da terra algum alvoroço, despedio logo hum Antonio de Almeida, que diziam que era filho bastardo do Contador mór do Reyno, com duas corocoras, e lhe deo por regimento, que fosse á Ilha de Saragão, e soubesse a certeza daquella Armada, e que achando-a, dsse hum carta, que levava ao Capitão mór della.

Partidas estas corocoras, foram com muito trabalho á Ilha de Saragão, e achando a Armada, mandou Antonio de Almeida pela corocora da companhia, hum soldado a pedir ao General licença pera se ver com elle, pedindo-lhe refens pera sua segurança. Chegada a corocora á Armada, poz a novidade daquella embarcação alvoroço em todos os della, e entrando na Capitanea, lhe deo o recado de Antonio de Almeida. Ruy Lopes de Villa-Lobos o recebeu com muita honra, e lhe entregou hum daquelles Capitães pera ficar na outra corocora em refens, em quanto vinha fallar com elle. Com esta segurança foi Antonio de Almeida ao galeão, e o Capitão mór o recebeu a bordo; e recolhidos pera a varanda, lhe deo a carta de D. Jorge, que continha o seguinte:

“Senhor, por algumas pessoas da terra soube da chegada de V. m. a essas Ilhas; se foi com tempo fortuito, não tenho que fazer mais, que pedir-lhe se venha pera esta fortaleza, onde o servirei, e proverei de tudo o necessário; mas se sua vinda he a outra cousa, e por outro respeito, faço-lhe a saber, que estas Ilhas são d’El Rey de Portugal, e que pelo contrato que está feito antre elle, e o Imperador seu cunhado, nenhuma Armada sua póde passar das Ilhas das Vélas, que estam em dezeseite grãos escassos, e que elle estava dos limites pera dentro naquellas Ilhas em que estava. Que lhe requeria da parte d’El Rey de Portugal, e do Imperador, que logo se tornasse, e não quizesse quebrantar as pazes, que antre elles estavam feitas.”

Ruy Lopes leo a carta, e logo lhe respondeo, dizendo assim de palavra a Antonio de Almeida, como por carta a Dom Jorge: “Que elle não vinha alli a deservir El Rey

de Portugal em cousa alguma, nem quebrava as pazes, porque aquellas Ilhas, em que estava, eram do Imperador;” e com isto lhe escreveo muitos cumprimentos, de que os Hespanhoes nada são avaros, e teve com Antonio de Almeida outros. Elle se despedio do Villa-Lobos, sem poder notar a gente que os navios tinham, nem o modo de como estavam, nem elle quiz perguntar cousa alguma, porque lho não haviam de dizer. E voltando pera Maluco, deo conta a D. Jorge do que passava, e pela carta vio a resposta. E não faltou quem murmurasse de Antonio de Almeida, havendo que vinha peitado dos Castelhanos, porque trazia peças, e brincos, que lhe elles deram.

Vendo D. Jorge a resposta do Villa-Lobos, despedio logo Belchior Fernandes Correa em tres corocoras, e com elle hum Tabellião, por quem lhe mandou fazer grandes protestos, e requerimentos, pera que se sahisse daquellas Ilhas; e deo por regimento a Belchior Fernandes, que se mandasse huma corocora com a resposta, e que com as outras se fosse pôr a Taguima, pera dar á náó da carreira, ou á Armada, se o Governador a mandasse, de tudo o que era passado.

Belchior Fernandes foi sua derrota e achou já os Castelhanos em Mindanáó com muito menos, porque lhe morrêram muitos de doença, e fomes em Saragão, e foi demandar o porto de Camarião, onde a Armada estava; e entrando no galeão do Capitão mór, que o recebeo bem, lhe mandou notificar o protesto, e requerimento que levava, que continha o mesmo que por Antonio de Almeida lhes escreveo. O Villa-Lobos lhe respondeo tambem por outro protesto, feito pelo mesmo Tabellião: “Que elle não estava nos limites do Serenissimo Rey de Portugal, nem entraria nelles por lhe ser muito defezo, mas que estava nos do Imperador seu Senhor. E que lhe requeria, que não perturbasse a paz, porque elle estava muito prestes pera a cumprir em tudo.” Com isto se despedio Belchior Fernandes, e os Castelhanos ficáram naquelle lugar esperando pela galeota, que era nas Filippinas, e huns poucos delles sahíram hum dia em terra pera tomarem mantimentos, e deram os negros nelles, e matáram alguns, ao que acudio Francisco Marinho, Mestre do campo, com alguma gente, e também o matáram com muitos de sua companhia, e o Ruy Lopes de Villa-Lobos imaginou sempre que fora ardil do Belchior Fernandes Correa, e que deixara peitados os da terra pera darem nos Hespanhoes, se fossem a ella. Neste mesmo tempo chegou a galeota das Filippinas com muitos mantimentos, e deo por novas, que o galeão São Joanillo era partido pera a Nova Hespanha, e que aquella terra era muito boa, e fertil, e que os naturaes os desejavam lá muito. Com estas novas tornou o Villa-Lobos a mandar a galeota,

e hum bargantim, em que foio mesmo Pero Ortiz, pera que se confederasse com os da terra, e lhe trouxessem mantimentos.

Partidos estes navios, dahi a oito dias o fez tambem o Villa-Lobos na sua náó, e dous bergantins que fez, (porque outro navio dos da sua companhia era perdido,) e tomou a derrota das Filippinas, e tendo navegado cincoenta leguas, lhe deram os brinzas, com que não pode pasar, e despedio os bergantins pera as Filippinas, e nelles Fr. Jeronymo de Santo Estevão, Prior dos Agostinhos, e elle se foi metter e huma bahia da Ilha de Cesarea, chamada Blancai, onde se deixou ficar mais de hum mez esperando pelos bergantins, e alli lhe vendiam os da terra algum pouco mantimento. A galeota que hia pera as Filippinas, achou ventos contrarios, por onde não pode passar, e tomou huma Ilha, chamada Hunaco, onde lhe matáram doze soldados. E voltando pera Mindanáó, foi tomar a enceeda, onde estava o seu General tão falto de tudo, e em tanto aperto de fome, que dava a cada pessoa quatro onças de arroz por dia, sem mais outra cousa.

E deixando-os agora pera seu tempo, tornaremos a Belchior Fernandes Correa, (que foi com o protesto ao Villa-Lobos.) Chegado a D. Jorge com o recado, e protesto, que lhe o outro mandava fazer, temendo-se de alguma novidade, fortificou-se muito bem, e fez hum baluarte de pedra, e cal no canto do muro, que ficava sobre o mar, e forrou o muro com vigas muito grossas, e com seus entulhos. E temendo-se que os Castelhanos fossem ao Moro, determinou de mandar lá huma Armada; e porque não tinha mais que duas fustas, pedio a El Rey algumas corocoras, que lhe elle não quiz dar, com bem ruins escusas, porque não quiz anojár o Rei de Geilolo, e o de Tidore, que favoreciam os Castelhanos, por pertender seu favor, se o quizessem tirar do Reyno, porque esperava todos os annos que tornasse de Goa o irmão Tabarija.

Vendo D. Jorge que todos eram contra elle, tratou de prender El Rey; mas deixou de o fazer por não quebrar com todos, e pelos não ter declaradamente contra si. Quasi no mesmo tempo a dezoito de Outubro, chegou ao porto de Talangame o galeão da carreira em que hia Gil de Castro, que succedia naquella Capitanía a Fernão de Castro, que falecêra em Malaca; e por huma Provisão que levava do Viso-Rey, nomeou em seu lugar a Gil de Castro, que devia de ser ou irmão, ou primo. D. Jorge foi logo avisado de sua chagada, e o mandou visitar, e pedir-lhe suas Provisões. Gil de Castro lhas levou, e D. Jorge o recebeo bem, e o levou por seu hospede. Ao outro dia presentes os Officiaes, lhe pedio D. Jorge

a carta de guia pera lhe entregar a fortaleza, e elle a apresentou, e abrindo-se, se achou fallar só em Fernão de Castro, pelo que lhe não podia entregar a fortaleza, porque não havia cousa, por onde ficasse desobrigado da menagem della. Gil de Castro fez seus protestos; mas em fim o negocio se calou, porque D. Jorge o satisfez, e lhe comprou muito bem sua fazenda, e ficaram amigos.

DOCUMENT 62

Diogo do Couto, *Década Quinta da Ásia*, Part 2 (Lisbon: Regia Officina Typografica, 1780), 239–249.

Diogo do Couto devotes this chapter of the Fifth Década to the expedition led by Ruy López de Villalobos and its arrival in the Philippines. He describes the contact made with the Portuguese who had settled in the Moluccas and the emissaries sent by the captain of Ternate with the intention of convincing him to return to Mexico.

Book VIII, ch. X, p. 239:

Of the fleet which left New Spain in the year 1542 to go to the Moluccas, captained by Ruy López de Villalobos: and of what happened to him on the expedition to Saragão Island: and of the news that Dom Jorge de Castro, the captain of the Moluccas, received of this fleet: and of the protest he ordered sent to Captain Ruy López de Villalobos

Because he was very keen to obtain the cloves from the Moluccas and all the other wonderful things which those [men] on the previous fleet had told him about on those islands, the viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza¹, decided to send a fleet there on his own account. And for this he chose as his captain, Don Juan de Alvarado², the governor general of the Province of Guatemala, three hundred leagues from Mexico, who also had a share in the expedition. But after the money had already been committed, Don Juan de Alvarado died following a fall from a horse during the conquest of Nueva Galicia. As a result of this, the whole fleet fell to [the responsibility of] the viceroy, who chose Ruy López de Villalobos³ to carry it out. This fleet left the port of Navidad⁴, on All Saints' Day, of this year [fifteen hundred and] forty-two. The fleet consisted of six ships carrying three

¹ See document 19, note 11.

² Error, instead of Pedro de Alvarado. See document 19, note 8, and document 20, note 22.

³ See document 19, note 2.

⁴ In New Spain.

hundred and fifty soldiers and four friars of the Order of St. Augustine, whose prior was Friar Jerónimo de Santisteban⁵.

And at the end of eight days sailing west, they came to an island called *Santo Thomaz*⁶, which sits at eighteen and three quarter degrees and [then] they passed some uninhabited islands at eighteen degrees north. On Christmas Day, they discovered many other small ones [islands] which were heavily wooded and so steep and sheer that they did not dare to anchor between them. And on St. Stephen's Day [26 December] they did anchor at one, and that is the name they gave it: and there they took on water and wood, and Villalobos took possession of it and of all the islands in that archipelago, on behalf of the Emperor Charles V. And they called this archipelago *Dos Corais* [Corals]⁷, because the reefs were all made of coral, like the ones in the Moluccas. And they left here on the Epiphany [6 January] and passed through a large number of islands which they named the *Jardins* [Gardens] (because they were very fertile and these are at ten degrees. And sailing between these, they came to a very verdant island eighteen days later, from which a few proas emerged, with local people who are brown coloured, like the people in the Moluccas; and as they drew close to one of the carracks in the convoy, [the men in] one of the proas addressed them in Portuguese, and said to them: "Good day, fellow travellers!" and then they turned and left, because they saw the skiff leaving the flagship, to go after them, and these islands were thenceforth known as the *Matalotes*, and they are at ten degrees⁸. And then further on, they found another island which they named the *Arrecifes* [Reefs], because there are a great many of them there, and this one sits at ten degrees too. Having gone past this island, they found another one, at the same latitude, to which they gave the name of *Cesaria*, in tribute to the Emperor⁹.

Here the fleet dropped anchor and remained for thirty-two days, and they did not settle it because the land was not good, and because Villalobos had decided

⁵ See document 26, note 1.

⁶ See document 57, note 33.

⁷ Probably various islands in the Revillagigedo Archipelago. See document 29, note 2, and document 57, note 34.

⁸ See document 57, note 37.

⁹ While composing his account from the sources available to him, Couto did not realize that Cesaria and Mindanao were one and the same island. See document 25, note 8.

not to settle above twelve degrees. And sailing further on, they went to seek the Island of Mindanao, which they were not able to sail round because the pilots of the fleet believed the [northernmost] point of the island to be at eleven and a half degrees, when it was [in fact] at eleven. And since they ran into a contrary wind there, they headed southwards, and went to anchor on *Saragão*¹⁰. And when they tried to disembark, they met with a hostile reception from the people of that land, and four of their company were killed, so they went back onboard. And here they were joined by a galliot from their company which had been driven off course by the weather a few days earlier. It had gone to some islands where there were plenty of supplies, where they took on provisions and which they named the *Filipinas*¹¹, after the Prince Don Felipe, the heir to the Emperor Charles V. They remained onboard ship in *Saragão* for a few days; and then because they were short of supplies, Villalobos boarded the galliot and took another ship [with him] and went on to seek some other islands which were visible in the distance, to see if he could find anything there by way of supplies for them. And when he got there, he went ashore with all the men of his company, and when the native people saw them they vacated the village and gathered on some high ground. The Castilians went after them, and engaged them in a battle, in which they killed a considerable number of them and lost only one of their own company; and when they searched the village, they found a few meagre provisions with which they returned to the fleet. And when they realised that there was no way of getting provisions there and they learned that the men on the galliot had found plentiful supplies in the *Filipinas*, the General sent one Bernardo de la Torre¹² as the captain of a small galleon called the *San Juan de Letrán*, and Pedro Ortiz de la Rueda¹³, in the galliot, and instructed them to go to those islands and look for supplies, with which the galliot was to return, while the galleon was to sail back to New Spain with a message for the viceroy, recounting what had happened on that expedition and writing a detailed account of this for him. And these [two] ships headed for those islands, and then the galliot loaded up with supplies, and went back to the fleet and Fernando de la Torre remained behind negotiating and taking on provisions for his voyage. And

¹⁰ Sarangani.

¹¹ See document 19, note 20.

¹² Bernardo de la Torre was captain of the galleon *San Jorge*, but this particular vessel was deemed unfit to undertake the voyage. The *San Juan de Letrán* was chosen instead and the command entrusted to De la Torre. See document 55, note 6.

¹³ See document 55, note 7.

he set sail for New Spain at the beginning of August, and we shall give an account of his expedition, further on.

And the Spaniards remained there eating the few supplies that they had, which then ran out, and they began to suffer such starvation and need, that they had to resort to [eating] vile, nauseating things such as dogs, cats, rats, snakes, lizards and other such.

News of this fleet reached Dom Jorge de Castro¹⁴ in the Moluccas and because he sensed a certain unrest in the native people of that land, he immediately dispatched one António de Almeida¹⁵ (who was said to be the bastard son of the [Portuguese] kingdom's chief accountant), with two *korakoras*, and instructed him to head for the Island of *Saragão*, and find out if the fleet was indeed there, and if he did find it, he was to hand their captain-major a letter he had brought with him.

Once these *korakoras* had left, they sailed with great difficulty to the island of *Saragão*, and when they found the fleet [there], António de Almeida sent a soldier in the company's *korakora*, to ask the General for permission to meet him, requesting that he supply hostages in order to guarantee his [own] security. Once the *korakora* had reached the fleet, the news of that vessel caused a considerable stir among the men onboard and he boarded the flagship, and gave them the message from António de Almeida. Ruy López de Villalobos received him with great ceremony and gave him one of his captains to remain in the other *korakora* as a hostage, whilst he [Almeida] came to speak to him. With this security, António de Almeida went to the galleon and the captain-major received him onboard; and once they had withdrawn to the quarter gallery, he gave him the letter from Dom Jorge, the contents of which were as follows:

“Sire, I have learned through some local people of Your Honour's arrival on those islands; if the reason for this is the vagaries of the weather, all that remains for me to do is ask you to come to this fortress where I will be at your service and provide you with everything that you need; but if your arrival is due to another reason and has a different purpose, I am hereby making known to you that these islands belong to the King of Portugal and according to the agreement which

¹⁴ See document 19, note 1.

¹⁵ See document 19, note 6.

exists between him and his brother-in-law, the Emperor, no fleet of the Emperor's may pass beyond the *Ilha das Velas*¹⁶ which lie at barely seventeen degrees, and he [Villalobos] was within these limits, at those islands where he [presently] found himself. He [Castro] was [therefore] requesting him on behalf of the King of Portugal and the Emperor, to turn back immediately and not seek to violate the peace [treaty] that had been signed between them."

Ruy López read the letter and then he replied, both verbally to António de Almeida, and also in a letter to Dom Jorge: "that he had not come there to render any disservice to the King of Portugal in any respect, nor was he violating the peace, because those islands where he found himself belonged to the Emperor". And having said this, he also wrote sending him [Castro] every possible compliment, such as the Spanish have a tendency to bestow liberally, and he exchanged yet more with António de Almeida. He [Almeida] took his leave of Villalobos without being able to get an impression of the men that the ships had, nor of the condition they were in, nor did he want to ask [them], because they would not have told him anyway. And when he returned to the Moluccas, he gave Dom Jorge an account of what had happened, and he [Dom Jorge] read the reply in the letter. And there was much gossip about António de Almeida [saying] that he had been bought off by the Spanish, because he was bringing back pieces and trinkets that they had given him.

Once Dom Jorge had read Villalobos's reply, he then dispatched Belchior Fernandes Correia¹⁷ with three *korakoras* and a notary, via whom he ordered that lengthy protests be issued to Villalobos along with requests that he leave those islands. And he instructed Belchior Fernandes to dispatch one *korakora* with the reply, and to go with the others and put in at *Taguima*,¹⁸ to give news of everything that had happened to the trading carrack or to the fleet if the governor had sent it.

Belchior Fernandes sailed as instructed and found the Castilians on Mindanao, already with far fewer [men], because many of them had died of disease and starvation on *Saragão*, and he sailed into the port of *Camarião*¹⁹, where the fleet

¹⁶ See document 13, note 4.

¹⁷ See document 19, note 13.

¹⁸ Basilan.

¹⁹ Unclear location.

was; and after he had boarded the galleon of the captain-major, who made him welcome, he notified him of the protest and the request that he was bringing, which contained the same [information] as those which had been delivered to them via António de Almeida. Villalobos responded likewise with another protest, drawn up by the same notary: “That he was not within the limits of the most serene King of Portugal, nor would he be entering them because it was strictly prohibited, but he was within those [limits] of the Emperor, his lord. And that he was requesting him [Castro] not to disturb the peace, because he was entirely willing to uphold it in every particular.” And with this, Belchior Fernandes took his leave. And the Castilians remained in that place on the *Filipinas*, waiting for the galliot and a few of them came ashore for a day to gather supplies, and the black men set upon them and killed some of them, so Francisco Mariño, the maître-de-camp, came to assist with some [more] men and they killed him too along with many of the men from his company. And Ruy López de Villalobos always imagined that this was some dirty trick of Belchior Fernandes Correia’s and that he had bribed the locals of that land to attack the Spaniards if they went there. At this very point in time, the galliot arrived from the *Filipinas* with a large load of supplies and the news it brought was that the galleon *San Juan Letrán* had sailed for New Spain, and that that land [the *Filipinas*] was very good and fertile, and the native people there were very favourably inclined towards them. With this news, Villalobos sent the galliot back [there], along with a brigantine in which Pedro Ortiz himself sailed, so that they could reach some form of agreement with the local people and bring him supplies.

Eight days after these ships had departed, Villalobos also set sail in his carrack, as did two brigantines (another ship from his company having been lost). He headed in the direction of the *Filipinas*, and after he had sailed fifty leagues, he was assailed by very strong winds, so he could not go any further. And he dispatched the brigantines to the *Filipinas*, carrying Friar Jerónimo de Santisteban, the Prior of the Augustinians, while he [himself] took shelter in a bay on the island of *Cesaria*, called *Blancai*²⁰, where he remained for over a month waiting for the brigantines, and the local people there sold him a few supplies. The galliot that had headed for the *Filipinas* ran into contrary winds, and could not sail on any further, and [so] it

²⁰ It is mentioned in the documents from Villalobos’s expedition as Baía de Blacayan or Lacayan, and as being around 40 leagues from Sarangani. Uncertain location.

put it at an island called *Hunaco* where they killed twelve of the soldiers onboard. And when it returned to Mindanao, it went to the inlet where their General was so short of everything and so desperately hungry that he was giving each man four ounces of rice a day, and nothing else.

And we shall now leave them for a while and return to Belchior Fernandes Correia, (who had delivered the protest to Villalobos). Once he had reached Dom Jorge with the message and the protest which Villalobos had ordered him to make, it was feared that events might take a turn [for the worse] and the fortifications were reinforced. He had a bulwark of stone and lime built on the seaward facet of the wall, and he had the walls lined with very thick beams and rubble. And since it was feared that the Castilians might head for *Moro*²¹, he decided to send a fleet there; and because he had only two foists, he asked the king²² for some *korakoras*, which he refused to give him, making very weak excuses, [saying] that he did not want to upset the kings of Jailolo and Tidore (both of whom favoured the Castilians so that he could lay claim to their support in the event of any attempt to overthrow him in his [own] kingdom, because never a year went by that he did not expect his brother Tabarija to return from Goa.

And when Dom Jorge realised that everyone was against him, he tried to take the king prisoner; but he did not do so in the end, as he did not want to alienate everyone and have them against him as [his] declared enemies. At almost the same time as this, on the eighteenth of October, the galleon from the *carreira*²³ arrived in the port of *Talangame*²⁴ carrying Gil de Castro. He was going to be the successor in that captaincy of Fernão de Castro, who had died in Malacca. It was carrying an order from the viceroy who appointed in his place, Gil de Castro, who must have been his [Fernão's] brother or cousin. Dom Jorge was then informed of his arrival, [so he] ordered him to come and see him and asked him for his decrees. Gil de Castro brought them to him and Dom Jorge made him welcome and treated him as his guest. On the next day, in the presence of the officials, Dom Jorge asked him for his warrant so that he could hand the fortress over to him. He submitted this,

²¹ The northwest coast of the island of Halmahera.

²² Sultan Hairun Jamilu of Ternate. See document 23, note 1.

²³ This is the ship that made the regular voyage (*carreira*) between Goa and the Moluccas, via Malacca.

²⁴ Port on the island of Ternate.

and when it was opened, it was found that it only mentioned Fernão de Castro, so he [Dom Jorge] could not give him the fortress, because it contained nothing to state that he had been released from his oath of tenure in relation to it. Gil de Castro made his protests, but the issue settled down in the end because Dom Jorge satisfied him and bought his goods at a very decent price, and they made their peace.

DOCUMENTO 63

Diogo do Couto, *Década Oitava da Ásia*, ed. M. Augusta Lima Cruz, Vol. 1 (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses/ Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1993), 309–310, 313–315, 322–333.

Liv. IV, cap. I, p. 309:

Do que aconteceo a Gonçalo Pereyra Marramaque dipois que partio de Malaca

Partido Gonçalo Pereyra de Malaca com sua armada junta foi seguindo sua derrota pella via de Borneo por onde então se fazião as viagens que se depois mudarão pella via de Amboino pellos muitos baixos que avia pella outra derrota chegando à barra de Borneo pera se prover dalgũas cousas foi logo avisado como na ilha de Cebũ estava hũa armada de Hespanha de que era capitam mor Lopez de Lagaspas biscainho homem esperto e diligente, com as quais novas todos se alvoroçarão, e fiserão requerimentos a Gonçalo Pereyra que fosse contra os castelhanos por entrarem dos limites del rey de Portugal pera dentro e posto que elle não levava por regimento isso parecendo-lhe que importava assi ao bem daquellas ilhas negoceou-se pera a jornada tomando pilotos e cousas necessarias e foi seguindo a derrota de Cibum; e como era já fora de tempo, e os pilotos pouco correntes andou às palpadellas (como la dizem) mais de quatro meses por entre aquelles canais e ilhas com que lhe morrerão infinita gente de fome e sede; pello que desistindo da jornada voltou pera Maluco: estava aquelle rey ja avisado da ida de Gonçalo Pereyra por hum navio que foi diante do que era capitão Pero da Cunha; o qual não quis seguir o capitão mor a Cebũ e foi direito a Maluco;

[...]

p. 313:

Dipois do capitão mor prover em algũas cousas ordenou de tornar contra os castelhanos pera o que se fez prestes, e despedio diante hum Antonio Rombo de sua obrigação com duas caracoras pera ir a Cebũ a visitar o Miguel Lopez de Lagaspa; e a voltas disso se enteirar do poder que tinha, e se lhe viera de Nova Espanha mais

socorro e se tinha descoberto o caminho da volta pera lá; mas como este homem era (segundo diz Graviel Rabello que o tratou) tão rombo do engenho, como da alcunha nem soube apalpar as cousas como convinha, nem preguntar com a dissimulação devida por algũas antes em vez de aproveitar prejudicou porque inconsideradamente mostrou aos pilotos castelhanos hũa carta de marear que elles estimarão muito porque por ella alcançarão o caminho da China e Japão e de todo aquelle arcepelago cousa que elles não sabião e que comprarão por muito que tudo lhe o Rombo deu por tam pouco como foi o de sua ignorancia e por aqui se verá quanto dana buscarem os visorreys e capitães homens seus validos e sem as partes que convem pera os negocios que mandão tratar só a fim de os honrarem, e elles ficão os deshonorados; e o rey desacreditado; emfim este homem que negoceou tam rombamente tudo tornou-se pera Maluco, e não informou a Gonçalo Pereyra do que foi buscar nem de nada; e assi se partio este fidalgo sem informação nenhũa outra vez pera Cebú; como ja era tarde tornou arribar a Bachão.

Tinha Gonçalo Pereyra Marramaque escrito a Dom Lionis Pereyra do sucesso de Cebu e de como cumpria ao serviço del rey tornar là pera o que lhe pedio ajuda e socorro pera aquella jornada; e como Dom Lionis estava victorioso e com a mão folgada do sucesso do Achem negoceou logo com muita pressa os provimentos e munições que avia de mandar e porque em Malaca estava Simão de Mendonça que tinha vindo de fazer a viagem de Japão do governador João de Mendoça da que tinha com a fortaleza de Malaca e viera rico lhe pedio que quisesse ir àquelle socorro por ser muito serviço del rey que elle aceitou e se começou a fazer prestes e o capitão a juntar gente, e ainda achou duzentos e sincoenta soldados que embarcou no galião de Simão de Mendonça, e hum fustarão do capitão de Chaul, e hum junco de que foi por capitão Gonçalo de Sousa e do fustarão Pantalião de Freitas, e o Simão de Mendonça deu de sua casa a 70 ou 80 soldados que levava no galeão a vinte e a trinta pardaos a cada hum; embarcados os provimentos derão à vella pella via de Borneo e naquelle porto tomarão mais alguns provimentos e levou Simão de Mendonça consigo hum Francisco Garces feitor de Dom Diego de Meneses, e hum filho seu e seguindo sua derrota foram ter a Ternate, onde souberam que o capitão mor estava em Bachao pera onde logo foram e o capitão mor estimou muito o socorro e como foi tempo de partirem pera Amboino deu à vella pera là por ser avisado estarem la seis juncos de jaos em que avia seiscentos delles muy determinados;

[...]

Liv. IV, cap. II, p. 322:

De como Gonçalo Pereyra tornou pera Maluco e foi terceira vez sobre os espanhoes que estavam em Cebú e do que lhe succedeo com elles.

Tornado Gonçalo Pereyra a Maluco acabados de reduzir à obediencia alguns alevantados, e quietar muitas cousas fez-se prestes o capitão mor pera voltar pera Maluco, e tornar à demanda dos castelhanos pera o que despedio Balthesar Correa com recado na galeota de Simão de Mello aos reys de Bachão e Tidore a pedir-lhe estivessem prestes pera o acompanharem naquella jornada pois erão amigos do Estado ao que elles deferirão logo porque prepararão suas armadas pera tanto que o capitão mor chegasse o seguirem o qual não tardou mais que vinte dias depois de despedir Balthesar Correa, deixando o Sancho de Vasconcellos por capitão mor do mar; chegando o capitão mor a Ternate com sua armada começou-se a negociar pera a jornada dos castelhanos, achando ja os dous reys de Tidore e Bachão prestes e pedio ao rey de Ternate seu filho Babu pera ir com elle o qual lhe elle concedeo, e lhe armou quinze caracoras: e tudo prestes deu o capitão mor à vella com toda esta armada que era fantastica porque não levava nella mais de trezentos homens e seguindo sua derota logo aos primeiros dias se desviou o Babu filho do rey de Ternate e foi-se na volta do Macasa a roubar porque todos estes malucos são grandissimos ladrões; mas não lhe succedeo bem na viagem porque por là lhe mataram mais de trezentos homens com o que lhe foi forçado recolher-se outra vez a Ternate.

O capitão mor foi seguindo sua jornada com monção tentende [*sic*], e em breves duas foi surgir com toda a armada na baya de Cebú onde os castelhanos tinham hum arresoado forte em forma triangular muy bem ordenado com muito boa artilharia. Ao tempo que Gonçalo Pereyra chegou aly não tinha o biscainho cem soldados, porque os mais andavão espalhados pella terra; e se o capitão mor cometera logo o forte sem duvida o ganhara e ouvera às mãos o de Lagaspa o qual vendo-se perdido e sem remedio valeo-se do seu artificio, e mandou visitar o capitão mor e fazer-lhe muitos offercimentos e a se lhe offercer pera tudo o que quisesse, porque todos eram hunos e vassallos de dous reys tantas vezes primos cunhados sogros e genros. Com estes recados foi entretendo o Gonçalo Pereyra que era bom fidalgo, e cuidou que o biscainho tinha o coração tam limpo e singello como o seu dando-lhe a entender que faria quanto quisesse e mandando-lhe muitos mimos e presentes; e destas demonstrações tantas que ouve Gonçalo

Pereyra que tinha aquelle negocio concluido, e que o biscainho se lhe entregaria com toda a armada; e emquanto durarão visitações se foi ajuntando a gente que andava espalhada e tanto que o biscainho se vio com poder fez-se noutro bordo e começou a galantear e a mudar o proposito o que visto por Gonçalo Pereyra achou-se enganado e arrependido a tempo que ja lhe não aproveitava; e querendo tomar conclusão no negocio lhe mandou hum requerimento por escrito, o qual lhe foi notificar o ouvidor da armada cuja sustancia era que aquellas ilhas e as de Maluco eram da conquista e demarcação del rey de Portugal e que se fizesse prestes com todos os seus pera se embarcarem na sua armada pera a India, e que là lhe dariam embarcações pera passarem ao Reyno e que não o querendo fazer faria elle capitão mor o que fosse serviço de seu rey. O biscainho lhe mandou dizer que estava enganado com elle que não avia de largar aquellas ilhas, que eram del rey de Castella senão dipois que largasse a vida; mas que como vassallo que era de hum rey tam conjunto em parentesco om o seu lhe daria duzentos espanhois pera o ajudarem nas cousas das ilhas de Amboino pera onde viria [*sic*] comtanto que lhe avia de dar embarcações pera irem separados dos portugueses por escusarem desavenças, pella antiga emulação que estas nações tinham, huns com os outros. O capitão mor vendo o desengano, e entendendo que debaixo daquelle comprimento vinha a malicia encuberta que era tratar de se alevantar com as embarcações que lhe desse e com ellas dar nos nossos e desbarata-los, e inda fazer-se senhor de todas as ilhas de Maluco cayo nos erros que tinha feito em se deixar enganar dos primeiros afagos e cumprimentos do biscainho. Cousa muy estranhada nos capitães que devem de imaginar sempre malicia e engano no peito do imigo; e vencer mais com cautelas que com armas; pello que sofreo o capitão mor sua magoa, e começou a tratar do que lhe convinha.

Estando assi as cousas em dissimulação de ambas as partes succedeo fugirem alguns espanhoes pera a nossa armada pello que receando o biscainho que se lhe fossem poucos a poucos, qui-los atemorizar com mandar lançar pregões que tanto que se achassem dous espanhoes apartados falando logo lhe dessem garrotes, e assi se executou isto em alguns sem piedade algũa. O mestre de campo que tambem era biscainho e mal inclinado determinou de armar aos nosso por esta maneira. Os castelhanos que se querião passar para a armada hião dissimuladamente pella praya atee se meterem entre hum arvoredado donde capeavão com hũa toalha para que os fossem tomar como logo hião os nossos bateis dos galeões. Isto soube o mestre de campo e quis armar aos nosnos [*sic*] com a mesma negaça, e fes meter cem escopeteiros entre aquelle arvoredado donde os outros fazião o sinal e mandou

a hum que fosse capear pera o irem tomar, e em o vendo da armada arrancou dum galeão hum batel e chegando à praya foram salteados dos emboscados e com a arcabuzaria matarão dous homens do mar portugueses, e alguns marinheiros arabios os quais [sic] estão no batel afastarão-se e se recolherão pera a armada e não se contentando o biscainho com isto quis segundar e pera lhe ficar tudo favorecível succedeo dahi a poucos dias hir o batel do galeão de D. Duarte de Meneses a fazer agoada, e a lavarem os marinheyros roupa em hũa parte desviada e como os espanhois são mais vigilantes que nós deu o mestre do campo sobre elles, e matou a todos e tomou o batel e lhe mandou pòr fogo à vista da armada. Isto sentio Gonçalo Pereyra e extremo pella perda da gente e marinheiros. Succedeo dahi a poucos dias hirem hũas fregatas dos castelhanos da ilha Panay pera a outra e dando as nosas fustas nellas as tomaram e os castelhanos foram levados vivos ao capitão mor que sem lhes fazer mal os mandou pòr a bom recado. A nossa gente hia adoecendo da doença que chamão berebere que he hinchção de barriga e pernas, de que em poucos dias morrem como morreram muytos e chegou o dia de dez e doze, o que visto pello capitão mor assentou de se ir, mas quis bater [?] o forte primeiro como fez as succedeo-lhe mal porque mais dano receberão os nossos galeões da sua artelharia do que elles receberão e vendo o capitão mor o pouco que fizera naquella jornada, e ver-se enganado e arrependido se fez à vela pera Maluco com trezentos portugueses menos dos que levou e segundo me contarão alguns homens bem praticos nisto que se acharam com Gonçalo Pereyra nestas jornadas todas as tres vezes que foi contra os castelhanos errou o alvo, porque se entendeo que ouvera de mandar fazer aquelles requerimentos por hum official que fosse em duas e tres caracoras, e a pessoa que a isso avia de ir devia de ser mais agudo que o Rombo que soubesse notar o modo de como os espanhois estavam, quantos erão e se tinha vindo socorro e tendo-o ja dissimular com o negocio; e sabendo que estava em estado de o poder cometer ir lá em pessoa e poderia ser que com a vista daquella armada se movessem os seus a aconselharem ao biscainho a entrar em algum bom partido; mas sempre fora o melhor não passar lá nem arriscar a honra a vida, e inda a alma; porque naquela jornada tomou muita fazenda às partes que sempre pedirão justiça a Deos que pode ser que os ouvisse, porque toda aquella armada se acabou por lá sem fructo e o capitão mor falleceo miseravelmente ficando devendo às partes mais de sessenta mil cruzados que nunca se lhe pagarão. Bem folgou el rey de Ternate de ver o capitão mor tam inhabilitado como veo daquella jornada porque se receava delle, e todavia não deixou de o ir visitar algũas vezes; o qual não estava com o pensamento fora de o prender o que nunca pode fazer com segurança e com esta dissimulação se começou a fazer prestes pera

tornar pera Amboino e pedio àquelle rey ajuda de gente e caracoras o qual não so lhe prometeo, mas offereceo-se a lhe fazer hũa fortaleza na ilha de Ito de pedra e cal à sua custa com condição que lhe avião de ficar as ilhas Varenula, Lasside e Cabello que sempre foram suas e tinha dellas provisão del rey de Portugal, com isto dissimulou o capitão mor andando-se negoceando pera esta jornada determinou de prender el rey e foi-lhe forçado comunicar aquelle negocio com alguns casados antiguos que lhe louvarão aquelle proposito e como o capitão mor determinava prende-lo com os filhos juntos ordenou de lhe dar hum banquete antes de se partir, no qual faria aquella execução. Encontrando-se com el rey hum dia lhe disse que desejava primeiro que se embarcasse festejar sua hida com hum regosijo de laranjadas no mar em caracoras e que dahi irião merendar, o que lhe el rey louvou e agradeceo e ao dia emprazado pera a festa estando o capitão mor esperando por el rey se lhe mandou desculpar que se achara aquella noite muito mal tratado que lhe perdoase ao que lhe elle mandou dizer que lhe pezava muito e que pois não podia ir e a festa estava aparelhada, mandasse seus filhos em seu nome; e entendendo el rey a tenção do capitão mor, porque de cossario a cossario não se perdem mais que os bares como lá dizem, lhe mandou dizer que todos erão fora desdo dia atras com o que o capitão mor ficou atalhado e triste porque entendeo que el rey o entendia; mas foi-lhe necessario dissimular, e lhe mandou pedir o socorro porque se queria partir, e que ja el rey de Bachao era chegado com suas caracoras pera o acompanhar; ao que lhe tornou a mandar dizer que lhe daria o socorro que lhe prometera comtanto que lhe avia de deixar aquellas tres ilhas que lhe ja pedira. Enfadado o capitão mor lhe mandou dizer que aquellas avião de ser as primeiras que sojugasse pera a Coroa de Portugal, e assi ficarão de todo desavindos e o capitão mor fez vella pera Amboino acompanhado del rey de Tidore e do de Bachao que eram christãos.

DOCUMENT 63

Diogo do Couto, *Década Oitava da Ásia*, ed. M. Augusta Lima Cruz, Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses/Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1993), 309–310, 313–315, 322–333.

This excerpt from the Eight Década by Diogo do Couto is devoted to the expedition led by Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque to the Moluccas. It describes how his mission was altered having been informed of the presence of a Castilian fleet in the Philippines and how contact was made with Miguel López de Legazpi.

Book IV, ch. I, p. 309:

Of what happened to Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque¹ after he left Malacca

Once Gonçalo Pereira had left Malacca with his fleet, taking the route via Borneo, (which was where the voyages were being made at that time, and which was subsequently changed to via Ambon because of the many shoals on the other route) he reached Borneo harbour where he took on some things as provisions, and he was informed that a fleet from Spain had come to the island of Cebu. The captain-major [of this fleet] was Miguel López de Legazpi², a man from the Basque country who was smart and industrious. And everyone became very agitated at this news, and sent requests to Gonçalo Pereira to confront the Castilians because they had entered the King of Portugal's demarcation zone. And although this did not form part of Pereira's instructions, he felt that it was important for the good of those islands, so he made arrangements to undertake that expedition, taking on pilots and things that he needed and following a route to Cebu. And as it was already past the sailing season, and the pilots were not very experienced, he advanced tentatively groping around (as they say), [taking] more than four months between those channels and islands, so an endless succession of men died of hunger and

¹ Gonçalo Pereira (*Marramaque* was the family epithet) departed to India in 1550 and provided a range of services to the Portuguese fleets until he was appointed for this mission in 1566. He died in the Moluccas in 1571.

² See document 32, note 1.

thirst. So he abandoned the voyage and returned to the Moluccas. The king there had already been forewarned of Gonçalo Pereira's departure by a ship that had gone on ahead of him, captained by Pero da Cunha, who had not wanted to go with the captain-major to Cebu and had headed directly to the Moluccas.

[...]

p. 313:

After the captain-major had taken on some supplies, he ordered that they go and confront the Castilians again, to which end he readied himself and sent one António Rombo, a man under his personal service, ahead of him with two *korakorras*, to go to Cebu and visit Miguel López de Legazpi. And in this process, [he was] to find out what forces he had, whether he had received more assistance from New Spain, and whether he had discovered the return route there. But as this man was (according to Gabriel Rebelo, who wrote about him) as dull [*rombo*] by name as he was by nature, he was not able to extract information in the way he needed to, nor to ask questions with the appropriate degree of cunning. Indeed, instead of being useful he actually harmed their cause, as he inadvertently showed the Castilian pilots a navigation chart which they were very interested in, because they came to learn the route to China and Japan and all that archipelago [the Philippines], which is something they were unaware of, and which they would have paid for very dearly and Rombo gave it to them for so little, so great was his own ignorance. And this shows the harm that viceroys and captains do when, purely to do them personal honour, they choose men who are their favourites but do not have the abilities needed for the negotiations they are sent to conduct. They themselves end up dishonoured as a result, and the king is discredited. So in the end, this man who negotiated the whole affair so stupidly [*rombamente*], went back to the Moluccas and did not report back to Gonçalo Pereira on what he had gone to find out nor on anything else. And so this nobleman set sail for Cebu once again, without any information at all. And as it was already getting late [in the sailing season] he put in at Bacan³.

³ See document 52, note 19.

Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque had written to Dom Leonis Pereira⁴ about what had happened in Cebu and how it would be in the King's interest for him to return there, for which reason he was requesting help and [military] reinforcements from him for that expedition. And as Dom Leonis had been victorious, with his hand [power] greatly strengthened by his success with Aceh, he very rapidly supplied the munitions and provisions that he needed to send. And because Simão de Mendonça was in Malacca, and he had just come back from [undertaking] the voyage of Japan for the Governor [of India], João de Mendonça⁵ (from the time he had served as captain of the fortress of Malacca), and he had returned rich, he asked him if he would go as part of those reinforcements, in order to be of service to the king. This he agreed to do, and he began to make his preparations, and the captain [began] to muster men. And he found a further two hundred and fifty soldiers, whom he embarked on Simão de Mendonça's galleon and a foist which belonged to the captain of Chaul, and a junk which was captained by Gonçalo de Sousa, while the foist was captained by Pantaleão de Freitas, and Simão de Mendonça contributed 70 or 80 soldiers from his own household and he brought them in the galleon for 20 and 30 *pardaus* each. Once the supplies had been loaded they set sail on the Borneo route and in that port they took on some more supplies, and Simão de Mendonça brought with him one Francisco Garcês, the factor of Dom Diogo de Meneses⁶, and a son of his, and following their route they reached Ternate, where they learned that the captain-major was in Bacan. So then they went there and the captain-major was very pleased with this assistance and since the time had come to depart for Ambon, he sailed there because he had been told there were six junks of Javanese there, carrying six hundred of them who were very resolute.

Book IV, ch. II, p. 322:

On how Gonçalo Pereira returned to the Moluccas and confronted the Spaniards

⁴ Dom Leonis Pereira was a member of an important Portuguese noble family and served as captain of Malacca between 1567 and 1570. It was while serving in this post that he successfully led the defensive efforts against the siege and attack on the city undertaken by the forces of the sultanate of Aceh, in 1568.

⁵ João de Mendonça was governor of India in 1564, and he was the brother of Simão de Mendonça, who is also referred to this text.

⁶ Captain of Malacca between 1564 and 1567 and governor of India between 1576 and 1578.

who were in Cebu for the third time, and what occurred between them.

Once Gonçalo Pereira was back in the Moluccas, having just brought some rebels to heel and resolved various issues, the captain-major got ready to sail around the Moluccas, in preparation for seeking out the Castilians once again. To this end he dispatched Baltasar Correia in Simão de Melo's galliot, with messages for the kings of Bacan and Tidore, to ask them to prepare to accompany him on that expedition because they were friends of the *Estado* [*da Índia*], and they acquiesced immediately, readying their fleets so that they could follow the captain-major as soon as he arrived. And the latter [the captain-major] took no more than twenty days [to arrive] after he had dispatched Baltasar Correia, leaving Sancho de Vasconcelos⁷ as captain-major of the sea. When the captain-major reached Ternate with his fleet he began to make arrangements for the expedition against the Castilians, and finding the two kings of Tidore and Bacan already prepared, he asked the King of Ternate if his son Babu⁸ could come with him, to which he agreed and he equipped him with fifteen *korakor*s. And now that everything was ready, the captain-major set sail with all of this fleet which was a fantastical notion, because it was carrying no more than three hundred men. And while it was sailing its course, the King of Ternate's son, Babu, absconded right at the outset and headed to Makassar⁹ robbing and stealing, because all of these Moluccans are terrible thieves; but the voyage did not turn out well for him because more than three hundred of his men were killed there, so he had to go back to Ternate again.

The captain-major continued his expedition with favourable monsoon winds and in a few days he and his fleet went to anchor in the Bay of Cebu, where the Castilians had a well-designed triangular fort, which was very well defended and had a lot of good artillery. When Gonçalo Pereira got there, the Basque [Legazpi] had with him fewer than a hundred soldiers, because the remaining were dispersed across the territory; and if the captain-major had attacked the fortress then and there he would certainly have captured it and would have held Legazpi in his hands. The latter saw that he had been caught out and had no option but to rely on

⁷ Sancho de Vasconcelos had previously served as captain of Goa and (in 1572) he went on to become the first captain of the fort of Ambon, whose construction he oversaw. He was also responsible for the construction of a fort in Tidore, in 1578.

⁸ Baab Ullah, son of the Sultan Hairun Jamilu of Ternate, who succeeded him as ruler between 1570 and 1583. See document 23, note 1.

⁹ See document 6, note 3.

his wits, so he summoned the captain-major to come and see him; and he gave him lots of gifts and offered to do anything he wanted for him, because they were all one and the same [in union] and vassals of two kings who were cousins, brothers-in-law, fathers-in-law and sons-in-law so many times over. And with these messages he kept Gonçalo Pereira entertained, and being the good gentleman he was, he believed that the Basque had a heart as pure and simple as his own, as he gave him to believe that he would do whatever he wanted and sent him lots of gifts and enticements. And [judging] from all of these outward displays, Gonçalo Pereira believed that the matter was concluded and that the Basque would surrender along with his entire fleet. And while these visitations were going on, the men who were dispersed were being assembled, and as soon as the Basque saw that he was in a position of power, he took a different tack and started to talk him round and express different intentions. And when Gonçalo Pereira saw this, he realised he had been tricked and regretted the time that he had wasted. And as he wanted to draw negotiations to a close, he sent him a written demand of which he was notified by the magistrate of the fleet. And the gist of it was that those islands and the Moluccas were part of the area of conquest and demarcation of the King of Portugal and that he and all his men should prepare themselves to embark with his [Gonçalo Pereira's] fleet to India, and there they would be provided with vessels to take them back to the Kingdom [of Portugal]. And that if he did not wish to do this he, the captain-major, would do whatever was in the best interests of his king. The Basque sent word that he was mistaken about him, and that he was not going to let those islands go as long as he himself had breath, since they belonged to the King of Castile. But since he was the vassal of a king so closely related to his, he would give him two hundred Spanish men to help him with matters on the Ambon islands, where he [Legazpi] would go, on condition that he [Gonçalo Pereira] give them ships in which they could sail separately from the Portuguese, so that no disagreements would arise from the ancient rivalry that existed between those two nations. The captain-major saw through this deceit and realised that this [apparent] act of courtesy was concealing an evil plan, namely that he would use the ships he gave him to attempt an uprising, attack and defeat our men, and even make himself [Legazpi] master of all the Moluccas. He realised the mistakes he had made in allowing himself to be deceived by the friendly overtures and civilities with which the Basque had initially greeted him. This is a very surprising thing to happen to a captain, who should always foresee malice and deceit in the heart of an enemy and defeat him with caution rather than arms. So this distressed the captain-major greatly and he began to think about what he needed to do next.

As a state of mutual distrust set in between both parties, one thing that happened was that some of the Spaniards started running away to our fleet. And as the Basque feared that his men would gradually desert him, he decided to put fear into them by issuing some public edicts according to which any two Spaniards caught holding a private conversation with each other would be immediately garrotted, and this was indeed carried out in some cases, with no mercy whatsoever. The maître-de-camp who was also Basque¹⁰ and of decidedly evil disposition, decided to use this to lay a trap for our men. Any Castilians who wanted to go over to the [Portuguese] fleet would go down to the beach in secret and hide among the trees and signal with a piece of cloth to be picked up, so our men would then head out from the galleons in longboats. The maître-de-camp realised this and decided to entrap our men by using this procedure as a lure, and he positioned a hundred musketeers in among the trees where the others would usually signal from, and he sent one of them to go and wave for them to come and pick him up. And when they saw him from the [Portuguese] fleet they launched a longboat from a galleon and when they reached the shore they were ambushed by the hidden men and the arquebus fire killed two Portuguese seamen, and some Arab sailors who were in the longboat retreated and headed back to the fleet. And the Basque was not content with this and decided to follow it up with a second one. And everything fell into place for him, [as] it chanced that a few days later, the longboat from D. Duarte de Meneses' galleon was heading out to take on water and the sailors were washing their clothes, in an out-of-the-way spot and as the Spaniards are more vigilant than we are, the maître-de-camp attacked them and killed them all and stole the longboat and had it burned within sight of the fleet. Gonçalo Pereira was furious and much aggrieved at this, at the loss of sailors and men. It happened that a few days later some Castilian frigates were going from the Island of Panay to the other island, and when our foists encountered them, they captured them, and the Castilians were taken alive to the captain-major and he did them no harm and ordered them to be guarded safely. Our men were falling sick from an illness that is called beriberi which makes the legs and belly swell up and they die in a matter of days, as many did indeed die, and the day came when it reached ten or twelve [a day]. When the captain-major saw this, he decided to leave, but he wanted to bombard the fort before doing so. But the way he did this turned out badly for him, because our galleons sustained more damage from their [the Castilians'] artillery than they did from us, and when the

¹⁰ Martín de Goiti. See document 31, note 20.

captain-major realised how little he had achieved on that expedition, and that he had made mistakes and had much to regret, he set sail for the Moluccas with three hundred fewer Portuguese than the number he had come with. And from what I have been told by some very experienced men who had been with Gonçalo Pereira on those expeditions, on all three occasions when he confronted the Castilians, he misjudged his target because it was thought that those messages of request should have been conveyed by an officer sailing with two or three *korakor*s, and the person tasked with doing this should have been much sharper than Rombo [dull-witted], someone who would have been able to observe what state the Spaniards were in, how many of them there were and whether or not reinforcements had reached them and who, once he knew this, [would have been] able to proceed with sufficient cunning; and once he [Gonçalo Pereira] was informed that he [Legazpi] was there, then he would go there in person, and it might then have happened that the Basque's own men would have been moved by the sight of that fleet to counsel that he strike a suitable deal. But it would always have been best of all not to have gone there at all and not to have risked his honour, his life and even his soul, because on that expedition he [Gonçalo Pereira] diverted a lot of funds from people who afterwards always sought justice from God, who might [in fact] have heard their prayers, because none of that fleet gained any benefit in the end and the captain-major died in penury, owing the various people more than sixty thousand *cruzados* which they were never paid. And the King of Ternate rejoiced when he saw the captain-major as weakened as he was when he returned from that expedition, because he feared him, and yet he did not fail to pay a series of visits. And never far from his [Gonçalo Pereira's] mind was the thought of taking him [the king] prisoner, which he was never sure how to do and with this act of deception [in mind], he began to make preparations to return to Ambon, and he asked that king for help with men and *korakor*s, and not only did he promise [to give] them to him, but he also offered to build him a fortress of stone and lime on the island of Hitu¹¹, at his own expense, on condition that he [be allowed to] keep the islands of *Veranula*, *Lasside* and *Cabello*¹², which had always been his, and he had a decree to that effect from the King of Portugal. In response to this, the captain-major pretended to play along and continued to make arrangements

¹¹ Ambon.

¹² Veranula is the peninsula of Hoamoal, in the southwest coast of the island of Seram. The other two names probably refer to places nearby, but are incorrectly identified as islands here.

for this expedition. He had decided to take the king prisoner and he was obliged to share this with some long-established *casados*¹³ who praised him for what he intended to do. And since the captain-major had decided to take him prisoner along with his sons, he ordered that he [the king] be given a banquet before they left, at which he would execute his plan. One day, when he met the king, he told him that, before he left, he wanted them to go out in *korakorás* to celebrate his departure in festive style and then they would go and feast together. The king thanked and praised him for this and on the day of the feast, while the captain-major was waiting for the king, he sent his excuses, [saying] that he was feeling particularly indisposed that evening and to forgive him, to which Pereira sent the reply that he was very sorry and since he himself could not come and the feast had already been prepared, he should send his sons in his place. And the king saw through the captain-major's intentions because (as the saying goes) 'nothing but the merchandise is lost between privateers' [it takes a thief to catch a thief] so he sent word that they had all gone away the previous day, which left the captain-major feeling frustrated and annoyed because he realised that the king understood [his intentions]. But he still had to keep up the pretence and so he asked him for [military] assistance because he wanted to leave and the King of Bacan had already arrived with his *korakorás* to accompany him; to which the reply came back again that he would give him the assistance he had promised him on condition that he be left those three islands that he had already asked him for. The captain-major became angry and sent word that those three islands would be the first he would subjugate to the Crown of Portugal. And that put them on totally bad terms and the captain-major set sail for Ambon accompanied by the Kings of Tidore and Bacan who were Christians.

¹³ Portuguese settlers (mostly ex-soldiers) often married to local women.

DOCUMENTO 64

Frei João dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental e vária história de cousas notáveis do Oriente*, ed. Manuel Lobato; notas Eduardo Medeiros; coord. Maria do Carmo Guerreiro Vieira, Célia Nunes Carvalho, Maria Amélia Rodrigues Coelho (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999), 99.

p. 99:

Junto das ilhas Filipinas estão outras ilhas povoadas de gentios, chamados ilocos, os quais adoram o Diabo, fazendo-lhe muitos sacrificios, nem têm outro deus a quem adorem; de modo que os mais do gentio têm trato, e comércio com o Diabo, uns embuçadamente, como fazem os cafres nas suas exéquias, cuidando que são almas dos defuntos; outros, clara e descobertamente, sabendo que são demónios, como fazem os chinas, e ilocos, e outros muitos, que aqui não refiro por abreviar.

DOCUMENT 64

Frei João dos Santos, *Etiópia Oriental e vária história de cousas notáveis do Oriente*, ed. Manuel Lobato; notes Eduardo Medeiros; coord. Maria do Carmo Guerreiro Vieira, Célia Nunes Carvalho, Maria Amélia Rodrigues Coelho (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999), 99.

João dos Santos (b. Évora, c. 1560) was a missionary of the Dominican Order who was active for the East African coast (Mozambique, Sofala, the Zambezi Valley) and in Goa. The Etiópia Oriental (published in 1609) compiles geographical, historical and missionary information concerning the kingdom's and communities of that region, as well as the presence and deeds of the Portuguese. He also includes a variety of meat information about a range of Asian regions. This excerpt is from a chapter in which he describes the "methods used by the devil to speak to the Gentiles/heathen", and he compares Africa, China and the Philippines.

p. 99:

Next to the Philippine islands there are some other islands inhabited by heathens called *Ilocos*¹ who worship the Devil, making many sacrifices to him. Nor do they have any other god to worship, so most of these heathens conduct trade and commerce with the Devil, some of them in secret as pagans do at their funeral rites, believing that they are the souls of the departed; while others [do this] quite openly and in plain sight, knowing that they are demons, as the Chinese do, as well as the Ilocans and many other peoples who, for the sake of brevity, I will not list here.

¹ The author is unaware of the geography of the Philippines, which explains why he uses the term *Ilocos* to refer to the people and not the region to the north of Luzon. He probably obtained this information from the work by Friar Juan González de Mendoza, who he cites in the same chapter when speaking about China.

DOCUMENTO 65

António Pinto Pereira, *História da Índia no tempo em que a governou o visorei Dom Luís de Ataíde*, introd. Manuel Marques Duarte, ([Lisboa]: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987), 261–262, 266, 268-278.

p. 261:

E prosseguindo sua jornada cõ muyto animo, & autoridade, [Fernão de Magalhães] nauegou tanto de leste a oeste, que (presumindo ter entrado muyto pelos limites de Portugal) mudou aderota para o norte, até hir dar na ilha de Cebu, em dez graos dessa banda, pouuada de gentio, de corbaça, e de facil natureza, onde achou o Rrey da terra em guerras com vezinhos chegados mais poderosos, & (com lhe prometer de o ajudar nella) o moueo a outorgar fazer se vassallo do Emperador, & bautizar se com toda sua familia. Pollas quaes razões Fernão de Magalhães o foy ajudar na guerra, em que foy morto em hũa ilha chamada Metão, a tiro de berço de Cebu, perdendo a vida, como a empregaua em alheas, & estranhas empresas, contra sua verdadeyra, & natural obrigação, ficando lhe por premio della, & dos trabalhos em que a perdeo, a eterna infamia, & deshonda da memoria de seu nome. Porem ao tempo que morreo, já tinha perdido duas naos das sinco que leuara, hũa que se lhe perdera no descobrimento de hũ rio, & outra que lhe tinha fugido para Hespanha, dando lhe occasião a podello fazer, achar se apartada de Fernão de Magalhães, que a consentio apartar desi na entrada do estreyto, que descobrio, porque (têdo duas bocas) para poder aueriguar qual conuinha seguir, mandou entrar por hũa dellas, aquella nao em que andaua por capitão Alvaro de Mesquita Portugues, seu primo cõ irmão, de que elle fiaua tudo, dãdo lhe regimêto para se tornarẽ a juntar no mesmo lugar em têpo certo. Mas os castelhanos tâto que se virão desassóbrados de Fernão de Magalhães, logo se leuantarã, & perdendo Alvaro de Mesquita, se tornarão a Seuilha, dizêdo delle que era idiota desatinado, que não governaua, nem sabia onde os leuava. E o mesmo quiserão fazer as outras tres naos como elle morreo, & sã duuida se tornarão logo, se não fora hũ Ioão Carualho pilloto Portvgues, que (tomando a empresa sobre si) cõ mais animo, que sufficiencia, esforçou os Castelhanos, & os confirmou, & persuadio a não desistirẽ logo da jornada, allegando lhe a grande obrigação, em que o Emperador lhe ficaria, se morto Fernão de Magalhães, recebesse delles tamanho

seruiço, & a honra, & proueito que ganharião em lho fazer, & quanto perderião em se tornar. Porem estando ja, por estas admoestações de João Carualho, mouidos a proseguir sua jornada com as tres naos que tinhão, lhe cõprio não partir com mais de duas, & queimaram ally a outra por falta de gente, que não tinhão para todas, porque o Rey de Cebu (ameaçado doutros Reys comarcaõs) lhe tinha morto algũa pertreição em hũ banquete que muytos forão tomar contra parecer de João Carualho, estando lá determinado de os matarẽ todos, & então se leuntarão todos de Cebu, governãdosse por João Carualho, que buscando Maluco mais acaso, que acintemête, topou no mar algũs nauios que vinhão de Malaca de gente cõ que se não entêderam, posto que per sinais alcançarão que conuinha tornar atraz, & asi o fezerão, tendo tomados pillotos que os poserão em Tidore, hũa das ilhas de Maluco, no fim do anno de mil & quinhêtos, & vinte, & hũ, & ally enganando o Rey da terra com grandes presentes, & mores promessas, trabalhando por lhe fazer mau conceito dos Portugueses, & grandes esperanças de si, ouueram delle carga de crauo para duas naos, comprando muyto largo, & depressa, com medo de serem topados de Portugueses, cuja era a maior parte do crauo, que carregarão, por auer muytos dias que o tinhão junto, esperando embarcação.

[...]

p. 266:

Capitulo XXVII. Do que aconteceo em Maluco antigamente à alguns capitães da fortaleza com os castelhanos, que là foram ter na segunda armada, & da clareza do direito de Portugal no senhorio das Ilhas de Maluco

[...]

p. 268:

Desta maneyra succederão sempre as cousas neste tempo contra os Mouros em Maluco, & aos Castelhanos se deu embarcação para a India, & de là para Portugal, aos que a quiserão, com todo bom tratamêto, mas muytos delles se cõtentaram de ficar por aquelas, onde o tempo, & a terra os gastarão, como fizeram a outros algũs que aportarão lá, sem fazerem mayor effeito do que temos dito, nem terem razão de o fazer como agora claramente se tem alcançado per experiencia, que cada vez manifesta mais estarem as ilhas de Maluco muyto adentro dos limites, & de

marcações de Portugal, polla distancia certa que a experiencia foy aueriguando em cousa, que se auia de julgar por estimatiua, tendo a mesma experiencia descubertos grandissimos erros, & differenças nos padrõis, & cartas acostumadas, onde algũs Castelhanos enganados, ou cudando que podião enganar os Portugueses tem lançado Maluco em seus padrõis nouos, & sessenta legoas mais ao Oriente, do que na verdade jaz, como se ve claramente na distancia que ha de Maluco, a Malaca, estando a ilha de Ternate (onde a fortaleza de Portugal está) em dous terços de grao da mesma banda, na qual distancia elles acrescentão as cento, & sessenta legoas, dizendo que distão quinhentas, & sessenta, não distando na verdade mais de quatrocentas, cortãdo per linha direyta màr, & terra, & desta maneyra vem a meter Maluco erradamente dentro de suas demarcações, á mesma quantidade. O qual erro tambem se manifesta na distancia, & altura da ilha dos Cafures, que jaz ao Occidente vinte legoas de Ternate na mesma sua altura, a qual ilha dos Cafures, como a de Cebu, que jãz da mesma banda em dez graos, se demora hũa com outra em rumo de norte sul, per linha direyta, cortando màr, & terra, por onde o porto de Cebu fica na verdade metido pella demarcação de Portugal, vinte legoas mais que Maluco, & não cento, e oitenta para o leuante, como elles a lanção nestes seus nouos padrões, com o mesmo erro das cento, & sessenta legoas, que acrescentão em quatrocentas de viagem, tam cursada, como he de Maluco a Malaca, nem ha á razam algũa para isto se poder negar, ou deixar de ter entendido, como a principio, que não se tinha disso a experiencia que agora se tem, pela estimação dos pillotos, & nauegantes, que tantas vezes tem conformado, achando sempre a distancia conrespondête ao direyto, & demarçam de portugal, & posto que algũs o neguẽ, não he com certo, nem aparente fundamento, senão de quererem sustentar essa parte confusamente, affirmãdo aquillo que desejam que seja, sem procurarem de o prouar per razões, as quaes sabem que não ha, senão a pura força de perfia, fundada em não auer medida certa nas distancias, polla cõfusam da altura. E com esta pretençam (de que procederam as armadas de castelhanos que dissemos terẽ vindo a estas partes nos tẽpos atraz) veio outra no anno de mil & quinhẽtos, & sessenta e sinco de duas naos, & dous pataxos, de que desembarcaram seiscentos delles na Ilha de Cebu, onde fizeram assento, a qual está em dez graos da banda do norte, duzentas legoas de Maluco, terra pouoada de gentio fraco, & desarmado, pouco fructifera, & sem comercio, nem trato proueytoso. Era opiniam dos que procurauam descobrir a volta destas Ilhas para a noua Hespanha, que por falta de Nauios grãdes que podessem payrar, ou inuernar, deixaua de ser descuberta, pollo que ordenaram fazer estas duas naos, em parte que se affirma custarẽ seiscentos mil pesos de prata, de moeda da noua Hespanha, que sam da nossa quinhentos,

& quarenta mil cruzados, & gastarão sete annos em as fazer, polla grande falta de madeyra, em cujo carroto he fama que morreram quatro mil escrauos, trazendo per terra quatrocentas legoas, foraõ feytas na costa do Mexico no porto de Capulco, que jaz em desasseis graos da banda do norte no mar do Sul, donde partiram estes quatro nauios, duas naos, & dous pataxos, dos quaes nas primeyras jornadas se apartaram hũ dos pataxos, de que era capitam hũ Dom Alonso, & piloto Felipe martinz Portuges mulato natural do Algarue, que seguindo sua viagem foy tomar a Ilha de Mindanao em sete graos da bãda do norte entre Cebu, & Maluco, sessenta legoas da fortaleza de Portugal, & tomando ally agoa, & mostra de canella (que a ally he pouca) se tornou a cometer o descobrimento da volta, fazendo seu caminho ao noroeste ate se por em quarenta & tres graos da bãda do norte, & ahi se tornou a fazer na volta do sueste por onde foy a tomar a costa de Calafurna, pella qual correo de seis para setecentas legoas, ate dar no porto de Capulco donde partira, & as outras duas naos, em que hia por capitam hũ Miguel Lopez de Gaspe, foram tomar a Ilha dos ladroẽs em treze graos da banda do norte, distante de Capulco mil, & nouecentas legoas de derrota, & dahi foram ter a Cebu, que dista della trezentas legoas para o ponente. Mas os negros da terra com toda sua franqueza se poseram em não os receber, & se lhe defenderam quatro meses, no fim dos quaes assentaram pazes, não podendo resistir aos atiradores & artelharia dos castelhanos, & tanto que Miguel Lopez os teue constringidos & lhe foy licito desembarcar, & fazer assento em terra, começou logo a hir sujigando negros pouco poderosos de poucos pequenos, & lingoas, & nações diferentes que obrigou a lhe trazerem mantimentos, por as terras serem tais que não dam de si outros proueitos. E como se vio com assento em terra, espedio logo na sua nao capitayna Pero de Sauzedo seu genro ao descubrimento da volta, o qual fazendo viagem pella derrota que dissemos do pataxo não se pos em tanta altura, porque não passando de trinta & noue graos, se fez na outra volta por onde foy tomar o mesmo porto de Capulco, dous meses depouys do pataxo, & em poucos dias foy despachado para tornar na mesma nao a Miguel Lopez em noua & diferente monçam, porque costumãdo partir em nouembro, partio emtam Pero de Sauzedo meado Agosto de Capulco, & chegou ao porto de Cebu sete dias ante natal, pondo na viagem quatro meses, sem trabalhos nem perigos, por aquelle mar do Sul, por onde nauegam, ser tam manso, & tanto sem alteraçõis do vento, & mares, que ha nas outras partes, que Fernão de Magalhães por essa razão lhe pos nome mar pacifico. Porem agora requere a ordem da historia dizermos de Gonçallo Pereyra que, indo a outro effeyto com armada grossa para Maluco no anno de sessenta & seis por mandado do Visorey Dom Antão de Noronha soube no porto de Borneo da estada destes Castelhanos

em Cebu, & porque neste tempo aconteceu achar se, & interuir nestes trabalhos, conuem que digamos o modo com que veio a elles.

Capitolo XXVIII. De como Gonçallo Pereyra indo por capitão mor para Amboyno, soube de outra armada de Castelhanos que estauão na ilha de Cebu, & do que lhe aconteceu per duas vezes, que l foy com armada.

Da estada desta gente dos Castelhanos em Cebu, soube primeiramente Gõçallo Pereyra no porto de Borneo, no anno de mil & quinhentos & sessenta & seis, indo a Maluco por capitão môr de hũa armada grossa, com a qual o Visorey Dom Antão de Noronha, determinou mandar conquistar as ilhas de Amboyno, que jazem ao sul de Maluco oitenta legoas, onde per meo dos padres da companhia de Iesu, se tinha conuertido grandissima multidão de Mouros, & gentios, & se conuertião cada dia, indo a conuerção em tanto crescimento, que prometia fundar se naquellas partes hũ estado, & christandade firme, com tanto serviço de nosso Senhor, como resultaua de se ganharem tantas almas, sem faltarem esperanças de proueytos temporaes, com que a gente profana mais se moue, estimando em menos os espirituaes, fazendo mais caso de interesses, os quais a conquista prometia muyto grandes, por hua falsa opinião, que no principio se concebeo, de auer naquellas ilhas tanta copia de crauo, que se poderia tirar dellas igual, ou mayor quantida de da que se tiraua das de Maluco, sendo isto tam desuiado da verdade, como custuma ser, o que soa das cousas na primeyra fama dellas, em que todas costumaõ ser excessiuamente acrescentadas, & engrandecidas, sem a certeza, que depois a experiencia vai mostrãdo, como acõteceo aqui, porque na verdade as Ilhas de Amboyno (ainda que dam crauo) h tam pouco, que na mayor monção, não passam todas de duzentos bàres, os quaes se hão de ajuntar de partes muyto remotas hũas das outras, per muytas partidas de quantidades pequenas, & ainda esse he imperfeyto, & de menos substancia, muyto differente na cor, a qual tẽ brancenta, & deslauada. Porẽ (a fama & o que desta materia se fez entẽder ao Visorey Dõ Antão) foram cousas tão differetes, & affirmadas cõ tãtos encarecimẽtos, que derão desi muyto proueytosas esperanças cõ que se moueo a mandar a isso Gonçallo Pereyra, que naquelle tẽpo era hũ capitaõ, de quem (pello ser de sua pessoa, & grande amizade do Visorey) estaua muyto aueriguado que se não mandaria seruir, se não nas mayores, & mais importantes empresas, & por esta ser tida nesta cõta, o mandou a ella, com doze nauios escolhidos, quatro de alto bordo, galleões muyto poderosos, & a nao da carreyra, & tres galleotas, & sinco fustas, em que leuaua oitocentos Portugueses da frol dos soldados da India, com capitães de

muyta reputação, & grande copia de munições, & de todas as cousas que ao effeyto, & execução da jornada podiam ser necessarias. O capitam mor foy no galleão Sam Francisco, & os outros capitães dos galleões foram Dom Duarte de Meneses, & Manoel de Brito, Gomes Barreto na nao da carreyra, & Antonio Lopes de Sequeyra, Simão de Mello em duas galleotas, & Bastiam Machado em outra, em que o capitam mòr auia de andar depois là. Nas fustas Francisco de Mello de Sampayo, Lourenço Furtado de Mendonça, Pero da Cunha, Mem de Ornellas, Cosmo Faya, dos quais Francisco de Mello arribou de Ceylão com hũa grande tormenta, & a Cosmo Faya mandou o capitaõ mór de Borneo ao Visorey com a noua dos Castelhanos, que lhe deu ally hum feytor de Dom Diogo de Meneses capitão de Malaca, & (determinando Gonçallo Pereyra hir logo de rota batida em busca delles) porque os seus pilotos não tinham muyta noticias daquellas partes, não passou da ponta de hũa ilha que chamam terra dos negros, vinte & cinco legoas atras de Cebu, onde ficou bordejando em noue graos da banda do norte, mandando dally nauios a descobrir por todas as partes, dos quaes dous tomarão Cebu, que forão as fustas dos capitães Simão de Mello, & Mem de Ornellas, & tornando a Gonçallo pereyra em tempo que a monçam era gastada, foy lhe forçado recolher se com toda a armada a Maluco. Porem Simão de Mello, & Mem de Ornellas vieram a falla, com os Castelhanos, na qual elles então trabalharam dar lhe a entender serem ally vindos a caso, lançados da tormenta, fazendo muytos comprimêtos aos Portugueses com que falaram, mostrando não pertender, nem entender em al, se não em esperar ally recado do seu Rey. Porem Gonçallo Pereyra não deixando feyto mais, nem lhe sendo possivel pellas faltas que dissemos de monção, & pillotos, tornou se a Maluco em fim de Ianeyro do anno de mil & quinhêtos e sessêta & sete, & têdo gastado ahi mais de quatro meses, que auia de esperar a monção, apercebeo Coracoras que lhe para isso deu a armada, & equipadas de sua gente o Rey Guichil Aeiro, de cuja morte dissemos, nas quaes mandou Antonio Lobo, & Balthasar de Sousa no mes de Junho seguinte de mil & quinhentos & sessenta & sete, com cartas a Miguel Lopez para verem a disposição em que o achauão, sendo delle muyto bem recebidos, & tratados cõ todo o comprimento, & mostras de amizade, tornarão a Gonçallo Pereyra, na entrada de Outubro do mesmo anno, com cartas de Miguel Lopez muyto cheas de cortesia, com grandissimos cumprimentos, sem substancia, nem conclusão, determinando satisfazer com elles para grangear com branduras, & largueza de palauras, ser consentido estar ally, para onde Gonçallo Pereyra estaua já de caminho com sua armada, & quando chegarão Antonio Lobo, & Balthasar de Sousa, tambem a monção era gastada, pello que partindo Gonçallo Pereyra para lá, sendo já

passados perto de vinte dias do mes, não lhe foy possiuel passar a ponta dos Celebes, que fica daquella banda em grao & meo, quarenta legoas de Maluco, sendo a Cebu duzentas, & tendo gastado ally dous meses, bordejando de fronte da ponta sem a passar, nem se apartar della sinco legoas, se tornou, & foy ter em fim de Dezembro a Bachão, onde se refez de mantimentos, & partindo para Amboyno em fim de Febreyro seguinte do anno de mil & quinhentos, & sessenta & oito, cõ pouco mais de trezentos Portugueses, quasi todos arcabuzeyros, leuando consigo elRey de Tidore (que nouamente se tinha então mostrado amigo, posto que simulado, como depois se vio) com quinhentos Mouros dos seus, & outros soccoros em que se podia ter mòr confiança, (ainda que erão mais pequenos) do Rey de Bachão. E porque os de Amboyno tinhão feyto hũa tranqueyra com artelharia sobre o porto defronte da desembarcação, foy Gonçallo Pereyra desembarcar com a gente toda em outro porto, hũ tiro de falcão daquelle, de longo da praia, donde logo espedio Manoel de Brito Cabral, com a dianteyra em que lauaria poucos mais de sincoenta Portugueses, deyxando de traz na retaguarda Dom Duarte de Meneses com oitenta, & elRey de Tidore com todos os seus, & elle no meo com a bandeyra real, em outro esquadram, que teria bem a metade da gente. Os Mouros teriam consigo setenta Iaõs, gente muyto mais guereyra, & melhor armada, com os quaes deceriam ao redor de dous mil Amboynos, em tres batalhões, armados de espadas, lanças, & dardos, com hũs pauses chamados solauacos, que sam os escudos de Maluco. E abalroando Manoel de Brito a tranqueyra muy esforçadamente trauou a pelleja, que de ambas as partes foy muy animosamente sustentada perto de mea hora, em que o capitão mòr, que deu logo Santiago nas costas de Manoel de Brito, ganhou logo a tranqueyra dos Mouros, com morte de muytos delles, assim no rompimento da batalha, & ganhar da tranqueyra, em que muytos foram derribados com as espingardas, como depois na pelleja, que com muyto animo começaram sustentar, pellejando á espada sem a retaguarda entrar na batalha, que por ficar algũ tanto traseyra, não chegou se não a tempo que o capitão mór tinha vencido, com muyta honra sua, & dos fidalgos, & soldados que o seguiuão, dos quaes todauia lhe matarão treze, & lhe ficaram feridos mais de trinta. Mas ganhando com esta vittoria os fortes de Amboyno, & a principal pouoaçam daquellas ilhas chamada Ito, & a outra chamada, Tua, com que logo as mais se renderão porque sam terras pequenas, & muyto vizinhas, onde sempre as gentes viuem diuisas em continuas differenças de hũas com outras, por serem pouco liures gouernados por regedores, mas de pouco poder, & sem cabeça, nem principe, ou pessoa suprema que tenha o poder, & autoridade que para ter as gentes vnidas se requere. E tendo assi Gonçallo Pereyra sojigado Amboyno,

esperando ahi monçam para Cebu, como ella chegou, logo se partio para là com toda sua armada, entrando o Agosto seguinte, no fim do qual partio de Maluco, tendo se ahi refeyto de algũas cousas, & fazendo a viagem mais prospera que as passadas, porque a experiencia lhe tinha ensinado a nauegação, & chegando ao porto de Cebu nos primeyros dias de Setembro, veio ahi ter com elle Ioam Rodrigues de Beja em hũ galleão, em que de Malaca lho mandaram Dom Leonis Pereyra capitão da fortaleza, & o seu capitam mór Dom Fernando de Monroy, em cuja companhia tinha vindo a socorro do cerco de Mallaca, que achou leuantado, de que ao diante diremos. E sendo Gonçallo Pereyra visitado de Miguel Lopez capitão mór dos Castelhanos em chegando per dous capitães seus, que a isso mandou, com muytos offercimentos, & recados humildes, nascidos de se sentir menos poderoso do que quisera, & podera estar, & do que para taes cõtêdedores lhe pareceo que cõpria, por a esse tẽpo acertar de trazer espalhada pellas ilhas a mór parte de sua gẽte, occupada em recolher mãtimetos. Porẽ como Gonçallo Pereyra chegou, logo espedio recados muyto apressados a toda a parte onde andaua gẽte sua, para que desistindo de tudo se recolhessẽ a elle, como fizerão, em que se gastará quinze dias nos quaes trabalhou sempre por entreter Gonçallo Pereyra com palauras cheas de todo respeyto, & humildade, não cessando de trabalhar muy continuamente, na obra de hũa fortaleza, que tinha começado a fazer de troncos de palmeyras, com entulho de terra, & faxina em hũa ponta de area sobre o mar, onde prათou sincoenta peças de artelharia de bronze, com boa guarnição, & muytas munições. E passados quinze dias em que fez esta obra, & acabou de recolher sua gente, que somou quatrocentos & sincoenta soldados, dous terços arcabuzeyros, começou logo a mudar a lingoajem, faltando nas cortesias, & obediencias com que soia falar, mandando assentar dous cestões de terra em hũ alto sobre o porto, em que a armada de Gonçallo Pereyrã estaua surta, prათou nelles duas peças de artelharia sobre os nauios, a qual obra Gonçallo Pereyra lhe quis estoruar cõ os nauios de remo, que mandou chegar a ella (atirando lhe muytas bombardadas que não forão bastantes para impedir, acabar se aquella noite, ate as dez horas do outro dia, & dellas ate anoitecer, não cessarão de atirar com estas duas peças a Gonçallo Pereyra, que (por estar em parte para receber, & não fazer danno) se leuou de noyte, retirando sse ao socayro de hũa ponta, mea legoa dally, ficando em rotura declarados, para se damarem como podessem, succedendo dahi a poucos dias tomarem os Castellanos em hũa agoada mea legoa delle, o batel de Gonçallo Pereyra com sinco Portugueses de pouca conta, & muytos escrauos, com roupa que hiam lauar á terra, & repartindo entre si os escrauos, & a roupa, & pondo fogo ao batel, lhe mandarão dally a quatro dias os Portugueses bem

agasalhados, mas desta maneyra per ciladas lhe tomarão mais algũs soldados, & escrauos que topauam descudados em terra, & lhe mataram o mestre do galleão de Gonçallo Pereyra de hũa arcabuzada, & tambem em retorno destas offensas lhe tomaram os Portugueses a elles hum batel, que lhe vinha carregado de arroz com certos negros, & quatro Castelhanos de baixa sorte, dos quaes era hum Benauides, que os annos passados veio a este Reyno. Tinha nestes dias Gonçallo Pereyra (estando com os galleões a socayro daquella ponta) mandado todos os nauios de remodar em terra, por detraz da Ilha com a môr parte da gente que todo não eram trezentos homens. E sabendo Miguel Lopes, quão sos deuiam ficar os nauios de alto bordo, desejoso de os fazer leuâtár, mandou trazer outras duas peças de artelharia, que prâtou de noite na pôta da enseada, com que começou em amanhecendo dar bateria aos galleões, que naquelle surgidouro estauão sogeytos a ella, tam perto que logo no quarto da prima sentiram andar ally gente, posto que se não entendeu seu fundamento, senão no fim do quarto da lua, pouco mais de hũa hora ante manhã, & tanto que sua determinação foy entendida, o capitão mór mandou logo recado a Ioam Rodrigues de Beja, que por ser o seu galleão forte, alteroso, & a ponta rasa se leuasse, & chegasse bem a ella parecendo que ficaria sobranceiro, & que poderia lançar dally os quisessem gouernar, ou guardar aquellas peças. Mas isto não foy possiuel por falta de gente, que não auia no galleão, & de tempo que não bastaua para se poder leuar, & surgir antes da manhã, que já sobreuinha, pollo que o capitão mór (por parecer de Pero da Cunha, que foy o primeyro neste voto como em outros de muyto esforço, & cõselho que sempre se achou nelle para muytas cousas da guerra, & seruiço delRey) mandou afastar mais da bateria o galleão de Dom Duarte, & a nao de Simão de Mendonça por estarem mais a terra, e serem nauios velhos, & fracos, & que se posessem ao màr da bateria, como estaua o galleão de Ioam Rodrigues de Beja, o qual pollos impedimentos que dissemos pareceo bem que se não bolisse. Mas o capitão mór no seu galleão capitayna, que era mais forte, se deixou ficar defronte da ponta, para sustentar a bateria, com a estâcia onde sentião prantar aquellas peças, & de tres amarras que tinham ao mar se leuou a melhor, por não ficar desaparelhado se as bõbardadas acertassem de lhe quebrar algũa, ou porque poderia succeder cousa por onde fosse melhor te lla recolhida. Paresceo bem ao capitão mór este parecer de Pero da Cunha, cujo conselho era mais para tomar, porque allem de nelle auer muyto esforço, & experiencia das cousas da guerra, & do màr, tinha particular noticia destas partes, onde seruira muytos annos de capitão mór, & na bateria que da terra se deu ao galleão, naquelle dia muy continua, elle andou sempre descuberto no conuez, exercitando não sómente as partes de bom soldado, senão as de bombardeyro, &

homê do màr, com tanta sufficiencia, como se cada hũa dellas fora sua propria, & particular profissam, mandando os bombardeyros, & fazendo per si tam bõs tiros, que os não fez melhores algũ delles, tam conhecido da terra, que faziam aluo de hũa turca de Graá, que trazia na cabeça, tirando muytas vezes á ella por onde muytos dos seus companheyros lhe aconselhauão, que atirasse, o que elle não quis fazer, têdo por fraqueza tirar insignia. Durou esta bataria o dia todo em peso, começando da parte dos Castelhanos logo em amanhescendo, a tempo que o capitão môr estaua com toda sua gente sobre cuberta. Passauão muytos pellouros o costado do Galleão, o qual se vingaua com tão furiosa reposta, que as peças da terra forão desencaualgadas com tiros, quebrando lhe os reparos com muyto danno, & fezera se lhe muyto mais, e o capitão môr per vezes os não mandara cessar, por não despender poluora em cousa que tam pouco importaua, contentando sse de lhe mostrar que bastaua hũ dos seus nauios, para lhe resistir, & soster a bataria, & porque a monção era gastada, & Gonçallo Pereyra não tinha poder, nẽ oportunidade para fazer mais, recolhendo seus nauios de remos, & gente que trazia per outras partes ao redor da ilha, sobre ter gastado ally desta vez perto de quatro meses, se fez na volta de Maluco, tendo perdido algũa gente que a môr parte que lhe ficaua enferma, & mal tratada, deixãdo em Cebu os Castelhanos sem nao, por terem na sua chegada queimado hũa das duas que fizeram em Capulco, a qual tinhão varada no porto, & por ser desbaratada, & podre lhe derão fogo, ficando lhe sòmente no mar a socayro da fortaleza hũ pataxo, & tres fragatas, porque a outra nao grande companheyra da que queymarão, tinha neste tempo mandado á noua Hespanha, onde já fizera duas viagens, fazendo escala mais vagarosa na ilha dos ladrões, trezentas legoas ao leuante de Maluco, distancia que os Castelhanos confessão sem a diminuir, como fazem na que há desta ilha dos ladrões a Capulco, a qual querem que seja de mil & seiscentas legoas derrota direyta, sendo na verdade mil & nouecentas, segundo se tem alcançado per confissão dos seus mesmos pillotos, & nauegantes, os quaes per suas nauegações, & estimatiuas o comprehendem assim, posto que a lanção em seus padrões com diminuição de trezentas legoas, mas por muyto que o procurão encobrir, não deixa de se manifestar por muytos delles, assi, de algũs que se tẽ vindo para os Portugueses, como doutros com que tẽ comunicado, de que se tem sabido, que os seus mais sufficientes pillotos, & marinheyros entre si cõformão todos na estimatiua das mil, & nouecêtas legoas, & assim o praticaua claramête hũ muyto bõ marinheyro seu, chamado Catellão, que fugio de Cebu, para os Portugueses, o qual affirmaua que têdo passado aquella carreyra per duas vezes, assim elle como todos os outros de que se presumia, que poderião fazer mais certa estimação da

viagem, tinhão assentado em auer nella duas mil & duzentas legoas, & asi se alcãçauão nas palauras para o não poderem negar muytos outros Castelhanos, com quẽ Portugueses falauão, & hũ padre Agostinho que là trazem chamado frey Martinho, auido delles por muyto douto em astrologia, & geografia, tratãdo desta materia com o padre Marcos Brancudo da Companhia de Iesu, que foy com Gonçallo Pereyra, & costumaua hir a terra dizer Missa com os seus padres, & procuraua tirar delle o que disse confessaria, não lhe negou auer de Capulco a Cebu, as duas mil & quinhentas legoas de viagem. Porem que não erão derrota direyta, se não per rodeos que se fazião na volta, em hir buscar trinta, ou trinta e tantos graos de altura da banda do norte, para segurarem sua viagem, dizendo que deuião Reys tão catholicos, & tao amigos, ainda que cada hũ cudasse que cortaua por suas demarcações, lançar hũa linha por onde acabassem de ficar diuididas, para não auer duuidas, nem altercações. Isto praticaua o padre frey Martinho, de maneyra que daua bem a entender a verdade do que sentia, posto que a não manifestaua de todo, não querendo que por sua confissão se aueriguasse. Porem o que ainda mais importa he bastar o que os mesmos Castelhanos geralmente confessão desta distancia, para fazer certa demonstração da falta de seu deryto, porque (com não auer mais que mil e seiscentas legoas, que os que mais encurtam esta viagem, querem que aja de Capulco a esta ilha dos ladrões, que nos contratos per outro nome, se chama ilha das vellas. Porem os geografos, & matematicos Castelhanos posto que sabem a verdade não consentem que seja mais que mil e seiscentas de Capulco a Cebu, encurtando esta derrota por meterem as partes do sul mais ao leuante.

Capitolo XXX de como Gonçallo Pereyra se tornou de Cebu a conquistar Amboyno, & dos grandes trabalhos, & necessidades que nella passou, & de como ganhou os fortes aos Amboynos

Deyxando Gõçallo Pereyra em Cebu as cousas no estado que cõtamos, tornou a Maluco em Ianeyro seguinte do anno de mil & quinhêtos & sessenta & noue, dõde logo na entrada de Febereyro se foy para Amboyno que achou todo alleuantado.

DOCUMENT 65

António Pinto Pereira, *História da Índia no tempo em que a governou o visorei Dom Luís de Ataíde*, introd. Manuel Marques Duarte ([Lisbon]: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987), 261–262, 266, 268–278.

António Pinto Pereira is an obscure figure, and little is known about his life or motives for writing this book. What is known is that he was born in Mogadouro and he wrote his História da Índia between 1572 and 1578, although it was only published in 1616. The work recounts the principal events that took place in Portuguese Asia during the first viceroyalty of Dom Luís de Ataíde, between 1568 and 1571.

p. 261:

And continuing his voyage with great enthusiasm and authority, he [Fernão de Magalhães] sailed from east to west (believing that he had entered deep into Portugal's limits) and changed his route to the north until he arrived at the island of Cebu, at ten degrees of latitude, populated by dark-skinned and good-natured heathen. There he found the king of the land at war with more powerful neighbours, and by promising to help him in these wars he persuaded him to become the Emperor's vassal,¹ and be baptised with all of his family. For these reasons Fernão de Magalhães went to his assistance in war, but was killed on an island called *Metão*², a cannon shot away from Cebu. He lost his life because he got involved in strange undertakings for other people, [going] against his true and natural obligation, and his reward for this and the troubles in which he lost [his life] was eternal infamy and the dishonouring of the memory of his name. Indeed, at the time when he died, he had already lost two of the five ships he was taking: one was lost when exploring a river, the other had fled from him to Spain, when the opportunity arose. It became separated from Fernão de Magalhães, who allowed it to move away from him at the entry to the strait, which he discovered.

¹ Charles V. He was not yet Emperor at the time Magellan began his voyage, though.

² Mactan.

Because it had two mouths, in order to find out which was the best one to follow, he ordered the ship captained by Álvaro de Mesquita, a Portuguese and his first cousin, in whom he trusted completely, to enter one of them, giving him instructions to meet up with him again in the same place at a particular time. But the Castilians, as soon as they saw themselves free of Fernão de Magalhães, immediately rose up and, getting rid of Álvaro de Mesquita, returned to Seville, saying that he [Magalhães] was an idiot and a madman, that he was not steering the right course, he did not even know where he was taking them. And when he died, the other three ships wanted to follow suit, and doubtless would then have returned, were it not for one João Carvalho³, a Portuguese pilot, who (taking charge of the whole business) with more enthusiasm than competence, pressed the Castilians and urged them and persuaded them not to give up on the voyage, arguing that the Emperor would be under a great obligation if, after Fernão de Magalhães had died, he received such a service from them, and they would earn great honour and profit in doing him this service, and they would lose a great deal in returning. Once they had been persuaded by João Carvalho's admonitions to continue their voyage with the three ships they had, it did not suit them to set out with more than two, so they burned the other one there because there were not enough men [to crew] all three. The King of Cebu (threatened and pressed by other neighbouring kings) had killed some of Magalhães' men by treachery in a banquet that many attended against João Carvalho's advice, [the King] being there and determined to kill them all. Then they all sailed from Cebu with João Carvalho navigating and seeking the Moluccas, when more by chance than deliberately, they met with some ships at sea coming from Malacca with people who they could not understand. Because they gathered from sign language that they should turn back, this they did, having taken on pilots who landed them in Tidore, one of the Moluccas Islands, at the end of the year 1521. There, they deceived the king of the land with big presents and bigger promises, and working to make him think badly of the Portuguese and have great hopes for himself, they received from him a cargo of enough clove to fill two ships, buying in bulk and quickly for fear of being caught by the Portuguese who owned most of the clove, which they loaded, because it had been collected many days previously, awaiting embarkation.

[...]

³ See document 11, note 10.

p. 266:

Chapter XXVII. On past events in the Moluccas concerning certain captains of the fortress and the Castilians, who went there with a second fleet, and the clarity of Portugal's right to rule over the archipelago of the Moluccas

[...]

p. 268:

Things always happened this way, at the time, [when going] against the Moors in the Moluccas. The Castilians were embarked for India, and those who wanted to [sail] from there to Portugal were treated very well. But many of them were happy to remain in those [islands], where the climate and the land wore them out, as they did others who made landfall there, without having any greater purpose than we have said, because the Castilians have no good reason to be in the Moluccas as experience has shown, and it is increasingly clear that the Islands are well within Portugal's limits and demarcations, because the correct distance in question has been ascertained and the same experience has uncovered enormous errors and differences in the charts and maps in use, where some Castilians, either misled or thinking they could deceive the Portuguese, have placed the Moluccas in their new standard maps 60 leagues further to the east [closer to New Spain] from where they actually lie, as can be seen quite clearly in the distance from the Moluccas to Malacca; the island of Ternate (where the fortress of Portugal is located is at two thirds of a degree of latitude, to which distance they add the 160 leagues, saying there is a distance of 560 [from Malacca to the Moluccas] when in fact the distance is no more than 400, as the crow flies. In this way they mistakenly place the Moluccas inside their demarcations, by the same amount. The very same error can be seen in the distance and latitude of *Cafures* Island,⁴ which lies 20 leagues to the West from Ternate at the same latitude. *Cafures* Island, and Cebu Island, which is at 10 degrees latitude, lie one above the other in a north-south direction, as the crow flies, whereby the port of Cebu is actually inside Portugal's demarcation, twenty leagues more than the Moluccas and not 180 to the east, as they place it in

⁴ It is not possible to identify this island; there is no island located at the coordinates described in the text.

their new standard maps, with the same error of 160 leagues, which they add to the 400 of such a well-trying voyage, as the one from the Moluccas to Malacca. Nor is there any reason to deny this, or for it not to be understood, as in the beginning, when we did not have the experience that we now have, though the calculations of the pilots and navigators who have so often agreed, always finding that the distance corresponds to Portugal's rights and demarcation. Although some people deny this, it is not certain and has no basis in fact, but they want to make vague arguments for this, affirming what they would like to be the case, without seeking to prove it with reasons, because they know there are no reasons, only the pure strength of their obstinacy, which they base on there not being any sure measurements in the distances, because of the confusion about the latitude. And with this same claim that drove the fleets of Castilians that we have said came to these parts in times past, in 1565 there came another fleet, [consisting of] two carracks and two pinnaces, from which six hundred men disembarked onto Cebu Island, where they set up their base, which is ten degrees on the northern side, two hundred leagues from the Moluccas, in a land populated by a weak, unarmed rabble. It is not fruitful and there is no trade nor any useful dealings to be had. This was the opinion of those who sought to discover the return from these islands to New Spain, which for lack of big ships that could lie to or winter, went undiscovered. For this reason, orders were given to build these two ships, which are said to have cost 600,000 silver pesos, in the currency of New Spain, which are 540,000 *cruzados* in ours, and it took seven years to build them, because of the great scarcity of wood. It is reputed that four thousand slaves died transporting the wood, bringing it four hundred leagues overland. They were built on the Mexican coast in the port of Acapulco, that lies sixteen degrees on the northern side of the Southern sea, from which these four ships set out, two carracks and two pinnaces. In the first days of the voyage one of the pinnaces separated [from the others]. Its captain was one Don Alonso⁵, and the pilot Filipe Martins,⁶ a Portuguese mulatto from the Algarve. Continuing its voyage [the pinnace] went to make landfall on the island of Mindanao at seven degrees on the northern latitude between Cebu and the Moluccas, sixty leagues from the fortress of Portugal. After taking on water there, and samples of cinnamon (of which there is very little there), they went exploring the way back. From there

⁵ Don Alonso de Arellano.

⁶ In fact, the name was Lope Martín in Castilian sources. His Portuguese name would probably be Lopo Martins. See document 31, note 2.

they made their way to the northeast until arriving at forty-three degrees on the northern latitude. There they doubled back to the southwest then made landfall on the coast of California, along which they sailed for 600 to 700 leagues, until they reached the port of Acapulco from which they had set out. The other two ships, whose captain was Miguel López de Legazpi⁷, made for the *Ilha dos Ladrões*⁸ at thirteen degrees of latitude northward, a journey of 1,900 leagues from Acapulco. From there they went to Cebu, which is 300 leagues to the west from there. But the black people of that land openly refused to receive them and held out against them for four months, at the end of which they made peace as they could not resist the Castilians' gunners and artillery. As soon as Miguel López had subdued them and it was permissible for him to disembark and make a base on land, he then went about subjugating black people who were not powerful, from small villages and different languages and nations, who he forced to bring him provisions because the land was not bountiful. And as soon as he had a base on land, he then sent his flagship in the hands of his son-in-law, Pedro de Salcedo⁹, to explore the return [trip] route. The latter, following the voyage along the route we said was taken by the pinnace, did not go to such a high latitude, since he did not pass thirty-nine degrees, and he took the other gyre whereby he arrived at the same port of Acapulco, two months after the pinnace. In a few days he was sent back in the same ship to Miguel López in a new and different monsoon, because they usually left in November. Pedro de Salcedo then left Acapulco in mid-August and reached the port of Cebu seven days before Christmas. His voyage took four months and was without difficulties or dangers, because the Southern Sea through which they sail is very calm without the variations in the winds and tides that are found in other parts. This is why Fernão de Magalhães named it the Pacific Sea. Now the chronological order requires us to speak of Gonçalo Pereira¹⁰, who, sailing for other reasons to the Moluccas with a large fleet in the year of 1566 on the order of the Viceroy Dom Antão de Noronha¹¹, learned in the port of Borneo about the Castilian presence in Cebu. Because he happened at this time to find himself in these ordeals and intervened in them, we should explain how he tackled them.

⁷ See document 32, note 1.

⁸ See document 13, note 4.

⁹ This is in fact Felipe de Salcedo, the grandson (and not son-in-law) of Legazpi.

¹⁰ See document 63, note 1.

¹¹ D. Antão de Noronha, Viceroy of India between 1564 and 1568.

Chapter XXVIII. How Gonçalo Pereira, going as captain-major to Ambon, learned of another fleet of Castilians that was on the island of Cebu, and what happened to him twice, when he went there with a fleet

Gonçalo Pereira first learned of the Castilian presence in Cebu [when he was] in the port of Borneo, in the year 1566, on his way to the Moluccas as captain-major of a large fleet, which the Viceroy Dom Antão de Noronha intended to send for the purpose of conquering the Ambon Islands, that lie eighty leagues to the south of the Moluccas. Here, through the Jesuit Fathers, a considerable number of Moors and heathens had been converted [to Christianity], and they were being converted every day, with so many conversions that there was the promise of founding a state and firmly Christianity in these parts, thereby rendering great service to Our Lord as the result of saving so many souls, [but] with great hope of temporal gains as well. This spurs profane people all the more, attributing less value to spiritual matters, paying more attention to [material] interests. And the conquest promised very significant interests, because of a false notion conceived in the beginning that there was such an abundance of cloves in those islands that the same or an even greater quantity, could be taken from there as was taken from the Moluccas. This was far from true, as is usually the case: when things are noised abroad, everything is usually exaggerated and enlarged, with no basis in fact, then afterwards experience shows [the reality], as happened here. For to tell the truth, even if the Ambon Islands do yield cloves, [the quantity] is so small that in the big monsoon [season], they do not harvest more than two hundred *bahars*, which have to be gathered from very remote places, in very small quantities, and even that is imperfect and of less substance, very different in colour, which is whitish and washed out. However, there is a big difference between this and its reputation, and what was explained to the Viceroy Dom Antão on this subject, stated with so much exaggeration that very high expectations were raised. This led to Gonçalo Pereira being sent. At that time he was a captain, and because of his person and his great friendship with the viceroy, it was a known fact that he would not be sent to serve except in the greatest and most important endeavours. Because this was judged to be such, he sent him on this [mission] with twelve chosen ships, four of them very powerful high-seas galleons and the carrack of the *carreira*¹² and three galliots and five foists, in which he carried eight hundred Portuguese, the best of the soldiery of India, with captains of great renown and an abundance of munitions,

¹² See document 62, note 23.

and everything that might be needed for the purpose and execution of the voyage. The captain-major went in the galleon *São Francisco*, and the other captains of the galleons were Dom Duarte de Meneses and Manuel de Brito; Gomes Barreto in the carrack from the *carreira*; António Lopes de Sequeira and Simão de Melo in two of the galliots; and Sebastião Machado in the other galliot, in which the captain-major would then go. In the foists went Francisco de Melo de Sampaio, Lourenço Furtado de Mendonça, Pero da Cunha, Mem de Ornellas, Cosme Faia. Of these [men], Francisco de Melo was shipwrecked in Ceylon in a great storm, and while in Borneo the captain-major of Borneo sent Cosme Faia to the viceroy with news about the Castilians that a factor of Dom Diogo de Meneses,¹³ captain of Malacca, had given him there. Gonçalo Pereira then decided to swiftly go in search of them. Because his pilots did not have much information about those parts he did not get any further than the tip of an island called *Terra dos Negros* [Land of the Black People],¹⁴ twenty-five leagues behind Cebu, where he kept to a course at nine degrees of the northern latitude, tacking frequently. From there he sent out ships to explore all over. Of these, two landed on Cebu, the foists of captains Simão de Melo and Mem de Ornellas. Gonçalo Pereira returned when the monsoon had blown over, and was forced to retreat with the whole fleet to the Moluccas. However, Simão de Melo and Mem de Ornellas went to talk with the Castilians, who made every effort to explain that they had come there by chance, driven by the storm, paying many compliments to the Portuguese they were addressing, showing that they intended nothing more than to wait there for a message from their king. However, Gonçalo Pereira could not do anything more, it was impossible for him without the monsoon and pilots, so he returned to the Moluccas at the end of January 1567. Having spent more than four months there, because he had to wait for the [proper] monsoon, he fitted out *korakor*s for this purpose that the King Cachil Ayero,¹⁵ whose death we have mentioned, gave him from his fleet, equipped with his men, in which he sent António Lobo and Baltasar de Sousa, in the following month of June of 1567, with letters for Miguel López, to see how he was inclined. They were very well received by him, and treated with all possible courtesy and displays of friendship. At the beginning of October of the same year, they went back to Gonçalo Pereira with letters from Miguel López full of courtesy

¹³ See document 63, note 6.

¹⁴ Negros Island.

¹⁵ Sultan Hairun Jamilu of Ternate. See document 23, note 1 and document 52, note 20.

and very great compliments, but no substance or any conclusion, intended to satisfy them and win them over with soft words and effusiveness, so he would be allowed to stay there, where Gonçalo Pereira was already heading with his fleet. When António Lobo and Baltasar de Sousa arrived, the monsoon was over. For this reason, when Gonçalo Pereira set out for there, after the twentieth of the month [October], he could not go beyond the tip of the *Celebes*,¹⁶ which is located on that latitude at a degree and a half, forty leagues from the Moluccas, Cebu being two hundred leagues from there. Having spent two months there, laying to in front of the point without advancing beyond it, moving no further away than five leagues from it, he turned round and at the end of December he went to Bacan¹⁷ where he stocked up on provisions. Leaving for Ambon at the end of the following February in 1568, with little more than three hundred Portuguese, almost all of them arquebusiers, taking with them the King of Tidore (who had again shown himself to be a friend, though this was a pretence, as was later seen), with five hundred of his Moors and other assistance which was more reliable (even if there were fewer of them) from the King of Bacan. Because the men of Ambon had built a stockade with artillery above the port opposite the dock, Gonçalo Pereira went to disembark with all the men in another port, a cannon shot away from that one, along the beach, where he then sent Manuel de Brito Cabral with the vanguard, in which there were more than fifty Portuguese, leaving behind in the rear-guard Dom Duarte de Meneses, with eighty, and the King of Tidore with all his men and himself in the middle with the royal flag in another squadron, that consisted of at least half the men. The Moors had with them seventy Javanese, very warlike men and better armed, with whom there would be around two thousand Ambons, in three battalions, armed with swords, lances and javelins, with pavises called *solavacos*, which are the shields of the Moluccans. And storming the stockade with a great effort, Manuel de Brito started the battle, which was sustained with great spirit by both sides for nearly half an hour, in which the captain-major who called out [the rallying cry] “St James!” behind Manuel de Brito, soon took the Moors’ fortification, with the death of many of them, in the beginning of the battle and the taking of the fortification, in which many were felled by arquebuses, as afterwards in the battle that they began to keep up with great spirit, fighting with swords without the rear-guard entering the battle. Because some of them were so far in the

¹⁶ On the northern coast of the island of Sulawesi, in the region that is today called Manado.

¹⁷ Its king had converted to Christianity in 1557. See document 52, note 19.

rear, they did not arrive at the moment when the captain-major won [the battle], to his great honour and that of the noblemen and soldiers who were following him. Of these, thirteen were killed and more than thirty were wounded. But with this victory they won the fortresses of Ambon and the main village on the island named Hitu¹⁸ and another named *Tua*.¹⁹ The remaining villages then surrendered because they were small and very close to one another, where the people always live divided by continuous differences with one another. They enjoy little freedom, governed by local chiefs who have little power, [and there is] no head or prince or supreme person with the power and authority that is required to keep the people united. Having subjugated Ambon, Gonçalo Pereira waited there for the monsoon to [go to] Cebu. When it arrived he then set out for there with all of his fleet, leaving [Cebu] the following August, and by the end of [August] he had left the Moluccas, where he took on supplies, thereby making the voyage more efficient than the previous ones because experience had taught him the route. When he [Gonçalo Pereira] reached the port of Cebu in the first days of September, João Rodrigues de Beja went there to meet him in a galleon in which he had been sent from Malacca by Dom Leonis Pereira,²⁰ captain of the fortress, and his captain-major Dom Fernando de Monroy. [João Rodrigues de Beja] came in their company to assist in the siege of Malacca,²¹ which he found had been raised, as we shall explain below. On his arrival Gonçalo Pereira was visited by two captains sent by Miguel López, captain-major of the Castilians, with many gifts and humble messages, the result of his feeling less powerful than he would wish, and could be, and what he thought necessary with such adversaries, because at this time he happened to have most of his men scattered across the islands, busy gathering provisions. However, as soon as Gonçalo Pereira arrived, he sent hasty messages to wherever his people were, to cease all activity and gather to him, which they did. Fifteen days were spent working continuously to fob Gonçalo Pereira off with respectful and humble words, but they did not stop building a fortress, that he had begun to make out of palm trunks, filled out with earth and bundles of rods at a sand point above the sea, where he placed fifty pieces of bronze artillery with a good garrison and many munitions. After working on this for fifteen days, having gathered in all his men, four hundred and fifty soldiers, two thirds of them

¹⁸ Ambon.

¹⁹ Unidentified.

²⁰ See document 63, note 4.

²¹ Reference to the siege of Malacca by the sultan of Aceh in 1568.

arquebusiers, he then began to change his language, no longer expressing the courtesy and obedience with which he had been used to speak. He had two large gabions filled with earth placed on a hill above the port in which Gonçalo Pereira's fleet was lying at anchor, and positioned two pieces of artillery [on the gabions] overlooking the ships. Gonçalo Pereira wished to block this manoeuvre with the oared ships, which he sent against it [the artillery], which hurled many bombards against it, but not enough to prevent the preparations [for the artillery placements]. From that night until ten o'clock on the following day, and from then until nightfall they did not cease firing these two pieces against Gonçalo Pereira, who (because he was in a position to receive damage but not inflict it) sailed away at night, retreating to the shelter of a headland half league from there, where they maintained a hostile presence. A few days later, at a watering place half league away, the Castilians happened to capture Gonçalo Pereira's longboat with five Portuguese who were not of much account and many slaves, with clothes that they were going to wash on land. They divided the slaves and the clothing among themselves and set fire to the boat, and four days later they sent him the Portuguese, well treated, but in this way, through traps, they captured more soldiers and slaves who they came across unprotected on land, and they killed the master boatswain of Gonçalo Pereira's galleon with a shot from an arquebus. To pay back these attacks the Portuguese took from them a ship loaded with rice with some black men and four Castilians of little worth, one of whom was called Benavides, who came to this kingdom [Portugal] in past years. In those days Gonçalo Pereira (who was with the galleons sheltering at that headland) had sent all the ships to wait behind the island with most of the men, who did not add up to three hundred. Because Miguel López knew how empty the high-seas ships must be, wanting to make them put to sea, he sent for two more cannons which he placed at night at the edge of the inlet. When dawn came, they began to fire on the galleons that were caught in the anchoring place, so close that in the first watch they heard men moving there, although they did not understand the reasons, except at the end of the middle watch, little more than an hour before morning. As soon as their intentions were understood, the captain-major immediately sent word to João Rodrigues de Beja because his galleon was strong and tall and could manoeuvre at the shallow end, and could come close to it [the battery] and tower over it and he could aim from there the ones [cannon shots] he wanted to fire, or stymie the artillery. But this was not possible because there were not enough men on board the galleon, and there was not enough wind to set sail and anchor before the morning, which was due to dawn. Because of this, the captain-major, following Pêro da Cunha's advice

(because he was the first in this decision as in others of great importance and he always gave advice in many matters of war and the service of the king), ordered them to move Dom Duarte's galleon and Simão de Mendonça's²² carrack further away from the battery, because they were closer to the shore and were old, weak ships, and be placed in the sea away from the battery, as was João Rodrigues de Beja's, which because of the obstacles we mentioned it seemed best not to move. But the captain-major in his flagship, which was stronger, remained opposite the headland, to sustain the battery at the site where they believed those pieces to be placed, and of the three mooring cables they had in the sea the best was raised so [the galleon] would not to be disabled if the bombards hit their marks and broke one of them, or because something might happen whereby it was better to have it drawn back. The captain-major accepted this opinion from Pêro da Cunha, whose advice was best taken, because as well as having great courage and experience in matters of war and the sea, he had particular information about these parts, where he had served as captain-major. In the battery that was fired from land at the galleon, throughout that day, he was always exposed on the deck, not only carrying out the duties of a good soldier, but those of bombardier and seaman, with enormous competence, as if each of them was his own special profession, commanding the gunners and himself firing such good shots that none of them could take better ones, he was so easily recognised from the land, that they [the Castilians] made a target of the colored cloth that he wore on his head, firing at it so often that many of his companions advised him to take it off, which he refused to do, considering it a [sign of] weakness to remove this distinctive mark. This battery lasted all day and was very heavy, begun by the Castilians as soon as it dawned, the time when the captain-general was with all his men on deck. Many cannon-shots passed through the side of the galleon, which responded with such fury that the [artillery] pieces on land were dismantled [from their carriage] with shots, breaking their gun carriages with much damage, and much more would have been done to them if from time to time the captain-major had not ordered them to stop, so as not to use up gunpowder on something so unimportant, contenting himself with showing them that one of his ships was sufficient to resist them and stand up to the battery. Because the monsoon was over and Gonçalo Pereira had no power or opportunity to do any more, he withdrew with his oared ships and the people he brought from other parts around the island, having spent nearly four months there this time round. He went back to the Moluccas, having

²² See document 63, note 5.

lost some men because most of them were ill and badly treated, leaving the Castilians in Cebu without a ship because on their arrival they burned one of the two that were made in Acapulco, which had run aground in the port. Because it was rotten and in disrepair they set fire to it. All they had left in the sea in the shelter of the fortress was a pinnace and three frigates, because the other big carrack, sister ship of the one they burned, had at this time been sent to New Spain, where it had already made two voyages, making a lengthy stop at the *Ilha dos Ladrões* three hundred leagues to the east of the Moluccas, a distance that the Castilians admit to without reducing it, as they do with the distance between the *Ilha dos Ladrões* and Acapulco, which they want to be 1,600 leagues of direct route, when in fact it is 1,900, according to what has been admitted by their own pilots and navigators. They understand this from their navigations and estimates, although they put it into their charts reduced by 300 leagues, but no matter how much they try to conceal this, it is shown by many of them, and by some who have come to the Portuguese as well as others with whom they have communicated, from whom it has been learned that their most competent pilots and mariners are all agreed among themselves about the estimate of 1,900 leagues. So a very good mariner of theirs, Catellão by name, who fled from Cebu to the Portuguese, said very clearly, and stated that having sailed that route twice, he like all the others with whom he was acquainted, could make a more accurate estimate of the voyage, had agreed that it entailed 2,200 leagues. So they gathered from the words, which many other Castilians with whom the Portuguese spoke could not deny. An Augustinian friar who they brought with them, Friar Martinho²³, held by many to be very learned in astrology and geography, discussed this matter with Father Marcos Brancudo²⁴ of the Society of Jesus, who was with Gonçalo Pereira and used to go ashore to say Mass with his priests, and tried to get information about this. He [Friar Martinho] did not deny that it was a 2,500 league voyage from Acapulco to Cebu. However, it was not a direct route, but involved detours made in the gyre, moving up to thirty or more degrees on the northern latitude, to ensure a

²³ Martín de Rada (1533-1578) was an Augustinian friar who had studied at the University of Salamanca. His contemporaries referred to him as being “a great eminence in Mathematics and Astrology”, and he joined the expedition led by Miguel López de Legazpi in 1564.

²⁴ In fact, Marcos Prancudo (c. 1531-1578). Having been born in Valencia, Prancudo joined the Society of Jesus in Coimbra. In 1561, he sailed for the Moluccas as the superior of the mission that had been established there, and he was later substituted by Luís de Góis in 1566.

[successful] voyage, saying that such [devoutly] Catholic and friendly monarchs, although each one worried that it would cut through their demarcations, should draw a line dividing them, in order to eliminate doubts and altercations. This is what Friar Martinho said, in such a way as to make clear the truth of what he felt, although he did not show it all, not wanting to give [the truth away] through his admission. However, what is really important is that enough of the same Castilians generally admit to this distance, in order to demonstrate that they are not in their rights, because those people who shorten this voyage most, want there to be no more than 1,600 leagues from Acapulco to this *Ilha dos Ladrões*, which in the contracts is known by another name, the *Ilha das Velas*²⁵. However, although they know the truth, the Spanish geographers and mathematicians do not allow that there are more than 1,600 [leagues] from Acapulco to Cebu, shortening this voyage by placing the southern parts more to the east.

Chapter XXX on how Gonçalo Pereira returned from Cebu to conquer Ambon, and the great troubles and necessities he underwent, and how he won the forts from the Ambons

Gonçalo Pereira left things in Cebu in the state we have described, returning to the Moluccas in January 1569. Then, at the beginning of February, he went to Ambon where he found everything in an uproar.

²⁵ See document 13, note 4.

DOCUMENTO 66

“Relação dos feitos eroicos em armas, que Sancho de Vasconcelos fez nas partes de Amboyno e Maluco, sendo capitão em ellas, vinte annos, pouco mais ou menos”. Publicado em Artur Basílio de Sá, ed., *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, Vol. 4 (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1956), 164–454 (174–180, 389–391). Original conservado na Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, *Fundo Geral* n°. 474.

p. 174:

Partio Gonçalo Pereira de Goa com toda a armada que asima diguo, e levou-o Deus a salvamento a Malaca, em a qual estava por capitão della o Governador Dom Diogo de Menezes, o qual agasalhou, como muito seu parente; e, alem do parentesco, era Dom Fernando de Menezes o morgado irmão de Dom Diogo de Menezes, casado com huma irmã do Capitão-mor Gomçallo Pereira; e porvendo-o a elle e a toda a sua armada de todo o neçesario, fes o capitão-mor sua derrota por Borneo, no mes de Agosto, da era de mil e quinhemtos e secemta e oito annos.

Surgindo na barra de Borneo, foi avisado da gemte da terra, como os espanhois era [*sic*] chegados as ilhas de Scebuu, com seu General Miguel Lopes de la Gaspe, biscainho.

Tomou o capitão-mor pillotos, para o levarem as ilhas de Çebu, deixamdo seu caminho, e quebrando seu regimento, que era hir a Maluco e Amboino, a socorrer tanta emfenita christandade que avia nas ilhas de Maluco e Amboino, bautizada pellos padres da Companhia de Iesus; porquamto aquella comquista he sua; e a castigar tambem os gramdes emsultos e ofemças que erão feitas aos portuguezes e moradores de Ternate, e aos christãos de Amboino, e as igrejas de Noso Senhor Iesus Christo.

E na real verdade, parece que este fidalgo he digno de muita culpa, per não cumprir o Regimento que lhe foi dado pelo vice-rei, pois tanto inportava sua hida aquellas partes, pera o serviço de Deus e del-rei de Portugal, e credito e homrra de

seus vasallos, e a christandade que avia naquellas partes; porque se pode lementar, [sic], e não com pouco sentimento de coração, a grande perda e destruição que sobreveo nas partes de Maluco e Amboino, por causa deste fidalgo não pasar la, com sua armada iumta, e deixar os espanhois, que nenhuma molestia lhe davão.

Cap. 3.º - De como Gomçallo Pereira Marramaque partio de Borneo para Scebuu, deixando seu caminho

Este nobre fidalgo e capitão, quamto se podia achar na redomdeza, não obedecendo ao Regimento que trazia do vice-rey, se foi a Scebuu, na qual viagem gastou quatro mezes, morremdo-lhe toda a gente que levava, a fome e a cede, sem numca acertar com a bahia de Scebuu; o que vemdo, se foi caminho de Ternate. E chegando a nosa fortaleza, e como el-Rey de Ternate sabia o que pasava, porque não faltou quem lho disese, o que lhe ajudava ser avisado e discreto, e os proprios portuguezes e os prencipais o avisavão de tudo o que avia de fazer; mas erão poucos, que não paçavão de quatro; os quais avisos causou hum fusta de hum Pero da Cunha hir direito de Ternate e não ir com o capitão-mor; e, chegando a Ternate, deu comta a hum Emrrique de Lima, que era da sua terra, e outros mais casados, que erão muito amigos del-rei de Ternate, e elles lhe derão a ordem de como se avia de aver com o capitão-mor.

Em el-rei de Ternate vemdo a armada, se embarcou numa caracola, com todos seus filhos, e se foi direito do galeão do capitão-mor, e as primeiras palavras que dise, forão que elle, com todos seus filhos, se lhe vinhão emtregar em suas mãos; que fisesse delle o que quisesse, e de seus filhos, mas que tambem lhe pedia muito, que Sua Merce se informase dos homens honrrados, que lhe derião a verdade.

Fez-lhe o capitão-mor muitos gasalhados e homrras, assim a elle, como a seus filhos, e os bamqueteou com muitos gostos e regosios [sic], e se tornarão para suas cazas.

Como na fortaleza de Ternate os prencipais homens portuguezes, que avia naquelle tempo, erão muito amiguos del-rey, dos quais hum delles era hum Emrrique de Lima e hum Manoel da Silva, e outros portuguezes casados, que avia na fortaleza, informou-se o capitão-mor destes; tais cousas lhe diserão em louvor do rey mouro, que o capitão-mor se quietou, e se fez muito seu amiguo.

Tornou o capitão-mor dai tentar ir a Scebuu [*sic*] a ver se podia trazer os espanhóis comsigo, e tirallos daquellas ilhas; pera que pedio a el-rey de Ternate ajuda de caracolas. Ao que el-rei respomdeo, que de mui boa vomtade lhe daria ajuda de quinze caracolas, e seu filho, o Principe, hiria nellas, por nome Babu. O capitão-mor lho agradeseo, cuidando que lhe falava verdade, e o mouro não queria outra cousa, senão ver o capitão-mor metido em alguma maranha, pera nella quebrar suas forças.

Cap. 4.º - De como o capitão-mor se fes prestes para tornar a Scebuu [*sic*], que numca fora

Partiose o capitão-mor de Ternate, que he a ilha domde estava nosa fortaleza, levando comsigo alguns portugueses della. E como levava pilotos que sabiam as ilhas de Scebu, e as conhecião, foi emtrar dentro da bahia, aonde os espanhóis tinham feito hum forte de triangulo.

Ao tempo que o capitão-mor entrou na bahia, não tinha o seu e geral Miguel Lopes de la Gaspe, no forte, (nem sem soldados); desimulou o biscainho, e fes a boca boa ao capitão-mor, fazendo-lhe muitas homrras e agasalhados; e fazemdo-lhe tudo facil, e tudo o que Sua Merce quisesse faria; isto com a boca, que a outra cousa lhe ficava no coração.

E com muita brevidade e segredo, o Migel Lopes de la Gaspe mandou recolher os espanhóis que amdavão derramados pela ilha de Panai e mais ilhas. Neste entrevalo tudo era visitaçõis, convites e folgedos. Como teve todos os espanhóis iuntos, o biscainho começou a galemtear com o capitão-mor, e o capitão-mor não queria desestir de sua openião, senão que se avia de ir com elle para a Imdia, e deixar aquellas ilhas, que erão do commercio do reino de Portugal, e não de Castella.

Em fim de resõis, veio o negocio a tais termos, que o biscainho descubrio o seu coração ao capitão-mor, disemdo-lhe que Sua Merce se desemganase, que não avia largar a dita fortaleza, senão com a vida, e os demais que em sua companhia estavão; mas que, como vasalo que era de Sua Magestade, tam parente e amiguo del-rei de Portugal, lhe daria dusemtos espanhóis, para ajuda das guerras de Maluco e Amboino, com tanto que lhe dese embarcaçõis, pera hirem sobre seu prezidio; o que o capitão-mor lhe não quis açoitár, por se temer que se lhe alevantasem com as embarcaçõis.

Vemdo-se o capitão-mor burlado, ficou muito emfadado, porque na real verdade, se o capitão-mor não fora tam bom fidalgo e tam bom christão, bem emclinado, e amiguo de Deus, quamdo logo chegou ao porto, bem pudera (cometer) o forte e toma-lo, e por todos debaxo de sua mão, ou boa emclinação, o que não quis fazer, parecendo-lhe que os avia levar comsiquo.

Cap. 5.º - De como emtre os espanhois e portuguezes ouve discordias e mortes.

Não se comonicavão ia os portuguezes com os espanhois, avia alguns dias; e como o mestre-de-campo tambem era biscainho e mal emclinado, não desejava outra cousa, para se mostrar querer ir comtra christãos; determinou de romper a pas com hum motivo que ordio, que foi este: como alguns espanhois se hiam fugidos para a armada do capitão-mor, fes com o seu Geral, que se lamçase hum bamdo, que, como dous espanhois amdasem iuntos, falando, logo lhe desem guarrote, e o [sic] dava por rezão, que se queriam acolher para a armada; e asim executava o pregão, sem piedade alguma; e pera melhor efeituar seu mandado, e ficase seguro, fes o mestre-do-campo logo sua cilada, que foi a primeira.

Tinhão os espanhois por costume que, quamdo algum queria fugir para a armada, vinha-se polla praia, desemuladamente, e metiam-se por emtre as arvores, que erão hums manges, e dalli chamavão com huma toalha, que os fosse tomar; do que o capitão-mor levava asas gosto e comtemtamento.

O que sabendo o mestre-do-campo, por desemmaginar estas fogidas, tomou simcoenta arcabuseiros, e ambarnhou-os na praia, entre os manges, e mandou a hum espanhol que ficese [sic] hum sinal, para que os portuguezes o fosse buscar. O que vemdo osportuguezes, lamçarão depreça huma embarcação, cudamdo que era verdade, como lhe tinha acomtecido per algumas vezes. Os quais, em chegamdo a praia, forão salteados da emboscada, e com a arcabusaria matarão dois portuguezes, homens darmas, e alguns mais lascares. e os outros se recolherão pera a armada.

Não (se con)tentarão com esta cilada, mas amtes quiserão segumdar. A qual foi que, estamdo em terra o batel do Almiramte Dom Duarte de Menezes, com alguns soldados, fazemdo aguada e lavamdo roupa, deu nelle o mestre-do-campo e matou os portuguezes e os lascares, e tomou o batel e lhe pos o fogo, tomando tudo quanto acharão.

Sentia muito o capitão-mor estas afrontas, principalmente a morte dos portugueses e dos lascars, de que tinha tanta necessidade. Determinou também fazer o mesmo em humas fregatas, que vinhão da ilha de Panay; as quais tomou, mas não consentio que matassem espanhol algum, mas, antes, a todos tratava mui honrradamente. Todos os dias do mundo morria muita gente ao capitão-mor, de bere-bere; era tanta que punha espanto na armada; dia de dez e de quimze.

O que vendo o capitão-mor, que sua estada não porveitava cousa alguma, determinou de se por a bateria com o forte; mas do forte o tratavão, os espanhóis, muito mal, com a artilharia, porquanto lhe varravão [sic] os galeões duma parte a outra, tirando somente o seu galeão, por nome São Francisco. E como de prudente he mudar comcelho, assim o fez; deixando Scebú, se tornou caminho de Ternate, asas agravado contra el-rei de Ternate, porquanto as caracolas que lhe pormetera, com seu filho, em vez de o acompanharem, se forão caminho de Butum e do Macassar.

Chegou o capitão-mor a Ternate, com trezentos portugueses menos dos que levou, afora gente do mar e lascars; e os provimentos gastados.

[...]

p. 389:

Cap.º 76.º - Do desastre que aconteceu a Guaro Lamo, primo del rey de Ternate, estando nomeado pera paçar a Veranula

Vendo el-rey e os seus o petitorio dos Amboinos acordarão de lhe darem armada bastante, pera fazerem alguma cousa de nome em Amboino; e pera esta armada nomearão hum primo del-rey, per nome Chechil Garo Lamo, mancebo robusto, de grandes forças, e de grandes espiritus [sic], e muy grande cavaleiro, e sem medo algum; o qual avia de vir em seis caracolas muy grandes e de boa gente, e avia de vir pella Xula, e trazer a armada della, também toda a da costa de Luçabata, e estando ja negoçado com toda a gente, quis-lhe el-rey dar hum banquete, e matar-lhe hum bufara, porque tem el-rey muitas em hum luguar que se chama o Malayo, e pera isto era neçario cortar-lhe as pernas, pera lhe fazerem o seu bismale, porque doutro modo não comem nenhuma cousa de carne, por serem mouros.

E como o Chechil Garo Lamo prezumia de valente homem, disse que elle lhe cortaria as pernas, e nesta prezença estava el-rey e todos os seus Chechis. E sahindo a bufara fora do rebanho, posse o Garo Lamo diante della, dizendo que pellas mãos a avia de desepar; e indo pera lhe dar o golpe, levou-o a bufara nos cornos, e deu-lhe tamanho pincho, que o lançou sobre huma arvore, a qual tinha huns esgalhos. Como cahio com a barriga, e cahio sem as tripas, em baixo, morto.

Tomarão todos elles isto por ruim agouro e desfezse a armada, e ja o Sancho de Vasconçellos estava avizado de como esta armada estava negoçada, e tãobem loguo foi avizado de sua morte, de que todos os nossos amiguos todos folguaão. Isto são segredos de Nosso Senhor e seus juizos, como ao diante, em seu luar, se dira.

Vendo os embaixadores do arçepelaguo de Amboino o dezastre acontecido, e que a armada era desfeita tomarão por emparo e valedor ao Rebhongue [sic], que estava em Ternate; e como quer que elle era a primeira peçoia do conselho, e com muita rezão, e el-rey lhe não chamava senão Pay, foi-se o Rebohongue ter com el-rey o quanto lhe importava socorrer aquelles luguares, e que tambem que desenganava a Sua Alteza, que quantos capitães mandaçe a Amboino, mancebos, que todos le lhe avião de correr com a guerra naquellas partes; que para aquellas partes não avia mister forças varonis, senão comçelho muito maduro, e de grande prudencia e saber; e que elle somente podia la premanecer, e que entendeçe Sua Alteza que tudo Deos fazia: que se la fora Guaro Lamo, la ouvera de acabar, com todos quantos levara consiguio. E foi-lhe nomeando, cada hum por sy, que elle mandara a Amboino, todos os homens de muito ser e forças, e todos o fim que la ouverão; que tomaçe seu conçelho bem. E o Rebohongue dizia toda a verdade.

Ao outro dia chamou el-rey a conselho e acordouçe que fosse o Rebohongue com sua caza e molher e filhos, somentes com sua gente, porquanto el-rey tinha por notiça que mandava o governador de Manilhas sobre elle.

Mandou chamar o Rebohingue, e disse-lhe que se fosse caminho de Veranula, com sua molher e filhos e casa, e la estiveçe toda a sua vida; e o Rebohongue não quis mais, e aquilo era o que pretendia.

O Rebohongue era senhor de vaçallos; negoçeou huma joanga muy grande e de muita gente, e assy mais huma caracola e champanas, em que levou toda a sua

caza; e indosse despedir del-rey, outra lhe emcomendou mais que a vingança dos Burros, e que não tinha mais que lhe dizer, que elle em Veranula; e assy o fez o Rebohongue.

Partiosse de Ternate com toda sua caza, e foiçe pera hum seu luguar, que esta na ilha do Burro, que se chama Tomao, e aly se deixou estar alguns mezes, aonde fez mais huma caracola pera levar em sua companhia.

Deixemos aqui o Rebohongue, e vamos nos a Ito.

DOCUMENT 66

“Relação dos feitos eroicos em armas, que Sancho de Vasconcelos fez nas partes de Amboyno e Maluco, sendo capitão em ellas, vinte annos, pouco mais ou menos”. Published in Artur Basílio de Sá, ed., *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, Vol. 4 (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1956), 164–454 (174–180, 389–391). Original manuscript in Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, *Fundo Geral* no. 474.

This document – its author and date are unknown – was transcribed and sent to Portugal in 1636 by António Bocarro (1594-1642), Chronicler and Keeper of the Archives at Goa. Bocarro gave it the title História de Maluco no tempo de Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque e Sancho de Vasconcelos [History of the Moluccas at the time of Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque and Sancho de Vasconcelos] and he dedicated it to King Philip III. It comprises a detailed description of the deeds of these two Portuguese captains in the Moluccas and Ambon during the 1560s and 1570s, and also recounts various encounters and skirmishes that took place between Gonçalo Pereira’s fleet and the forces of Miguel López de Legazpi in Cebu.

p. 174:

Gonçalo Pereira¹ left Goa with all the fleet that I have mentioned above, and God guided him safely to Malacca, where Dom Diogo de Meneses² was serving as captain, and he made him very welcome as one would a close relative. Apart from the fact that they were relatives, Dom Fernando de Meneses, the *morgado* brother of Dom Diogo de Meneses, was married to a sister of the captain-major, Gonçalo Pereira. And once he had provided him and the whole fleet with what they needed, the captain-major continued on his journey via Borneo in the month of August, in the year 1568.

Once he had anchored in the bar of Borneo, he was informed by the local people that the Spanish had come to the Cebu Islands with their general, Miguel

¹ See document 63, note 1.

² See document 63, note 6.

López de Legazpi,³ a Basque.

The captain-major [then] took on some pilots who were to guide them to the Cebu islands, thus departing from his itinerary and disobeying his instruction which was to go to the Moluccas and Ambon to lend assistance to the infinite Christians that there were on the Molucca Islands and Ambon, [who had been] baptised by the fathers of the Society of Jesus, since that particular conquest was theirs. And also to punish the insults and offences which had been committed against the Portuguese and the residents of Ternate, and the Christians of Ambon and the churches of Our Lord, Jesus Christ.

And in all truth, it would appear this nobleman is very much to blame for not carrying out the instruction that was given to him by the viceroy, because it was so important that he travel to those lands in the service of God and the King of Portugal, and for the honour and credit of his vassals, and the Christian community that existed in those lands. Because one may feel no little sorrow and regret at the significant harm and loss which overtook those lands of the Moluccas and Ambon because this nobleman did not go there with his fleet and [did not] leave the Spanish, who were giving him no trouble, entirely alone.

Chapter 3 – On how Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque left Borneo for Cebu, and departed from his itinerary

All things considered, this nobleman and captain did not obey the instruction he was carrying from the viceroy.⁴ He travelled to Cebu instead, spending four months on that journey, with all the men he had onboard dying of starvation and thirst without ever actually finding the Bay of Cebu. And when he realised this he headed for Ternate. And when he reached our fortress, the King of Ternate⁵ knew what was happening because plenty of people had [already] told him, and it served him well to be both prudent and discreet. And the Portuguese themselves and their leading officials had told him everything he needed to do. But they were not numerous, as there were no more than four of them. And these advices were brought by a foist under one Pêro da Cunha that headed directly to Ternate, rather

³ See document 32, note 1.

⁴ Dom Antão de Noronha. See document 65, note 11.

⁵ Sultan Hairun.

than going with the captain-major [Pereira]. And when he [da Cunha] reached Ternate, he reported to one Henrique de Lima⁶ who came from his own native region, and to some other *casados*⁷ who were on very friendly terms with the King of Ternate, and they instructed him on how best to deal with the captain-major.

When the King of Ternate saw the fleet, he boarded a *korakora* with all of his children and went straight to the captain-major's galleon, and the first words he said were these: that he and all his children were coming to surrender themselves into his hands; that he was to do with him as he wished, and his children likewise, but he was also asking His Honour in the strongest terms to seek his information [only] from honourable men who would tell him the truth.

The captain-major offered both him and his children great hospitality and honour, and he gave them a feast with great pleasure and rejoicing, and then they returned home.

The most important Portuguese in the fortress of Ternate at that time, were very close to the King [of Ternate]. Henrique de Lima was one of them, Manuel da Silva was another and there were other *casados* in the fortress, and the captain-major obtained his information from them. They told him such things in praise of the Moorish king that the captain-major felt reassured and established very friendly relations with him.

As a result, the captain-major made another attempt to get to Cebu, to see if he could bring the Spanish with him and expel them from those islands. To this end, he asked the King of Ternate to help him with some *korakoras*. To which the king replied that he would gladly give him fifteen *korakoras* to assist him, and his son the Prince, who was called Babu,⁸ would go with them. The captain-major thanked him for this, believing that he was telling the truth, while in reality the Moor wanted nothing more than to see the captain-major embroiled in some intrigue that would sap his energies.

⁶ At that time Henrique de Lima was the wealthiest and most influential Portuguese *casado* in Ternate.

⁷ See document 63, note 13.

⁸ See document 63, note 8.

Chapter 4 – On how the captain-major prepared once again to go to Cebu, which he had not yet managed to do

The captain-major left Ternate which is the island where our fortress was situated, taking some Portuguese men with him. And as he was carrying pilots who knew where the Cebu Islands were and had previous experience of them, he was able to get right into the bay where the Spanish had built a triangular fort.

At the point when the captain-major entered the bay, the general in the fort, Miguel López Legazpi, had scarcely a hundred soldiers. The Basque [Legazpi] therefore put on an act and spoke nicely to the captain-major offering him great honour and hospitality, easing his path in every way and [saying that] he would do everything that His Honour wanted; that is what his lips said, but in his heart was something entirely different.

And Miguel López de Legazpi secretly and very rapidly mustered those Spaniards who were dispersed across the island of Panay and other islands. During this time, there was nothing but [formal] visitations, invitations and entertainments. Once he had all the Spaniards assembled, the Basque began to try and talk the captain-major round, but the captain-major was resolute, [insisting rather] that he should go with him to India, and leave those islands, whose trade belonged to the kingdom of Portugal, not that Castile.

At the end of their discussions, the negotiations reached a point where the Basque revealed what was in his heart to the captain-major, telling him that His Honour should be under no illusion, that he would surrender the aforesaid fortress only with his own life and the lives of those who were there in his company. Rather, since he was a vassal of His Majesty, who was such a close relative and friend of the King of Portugal, he would give him two hundred Spanish men to assist with his wars in the Moluccas and Ambon, on condition that he [Pereira] provide the ships for them so that they could go as his [separate] garrison. And the captain-major did not want to do this for him, because he feared that they would use these ships to mutiny against him.

And when the captain-major realised that he had been tricked, he became very angry because in all truth, if the captain-major had not been the good gentleman and good Christian that he was, both well-intentioned and a friend of God, he could

have moved to attack and capture the fort the moment he entered the harbour and subjected all of them to the rule of his hand and his personal will, which he did not attempt to do because he thought he should bring them with him instead.

Chapter 5 – On how disputes and death ensued between the Spanish and the Portuguese

The Portuguese had exchanged no communications with the Spanish for several days. And as the maître-de-camp⁹ was also Basque and harboured evil intentions, he did not need anything further to show himself willing to confront Christians. He decided to disturb the peace by hatching a plot and it was as follows. Since some Spaniards had fled to join the captain-major's [Pereira's] fleet, he arranged with his General that a public edict would be put out stating that if any two Spaniards were [seen] walking around talking to each other, they would be garrotted immediately and the reason given would be that they had been plotting to join the [Portuguese] fleet. And this edict was carried out mercilessly. And to bolster his command even further, and make himself even more secure, the maître-de-camp then prepared a trap which was to be the first [of two].

What the Spaniards tended to do, when one of them wanted to run away to the [Portuguese] fleet, was come down to the beach in secret and hide among the trees which were mango trees, and from there [they would] signal by waving a piece of cloth that they were ready to be picked up, which the captain-major was only too pleased and delighted to do.

And when the maître-de-camp learned this, in order to discourage these escapes, he took fifty arquebusiers and ensconced them on the beach amidst the mango trees and then ordered one of the Spaniards to go and signal for the Portuguese to come and pick him up. And when the Portuguese saw this, they quickly launched a vessel thinking it was for real, as it had been on previous occasions. And when they reached the beach, they were ambushed and attacked and the arquebus fire killed two Portuguese men-at-arms, as well as some Lascars¹⁰ and the rest headed back to the fleet.

⁹ Martín de Goiti. See document 31, note 20.

¹⁰ Generic term for sailors born in India, who were employed as crew members in the Portuguese fleets in Asia.

And trapping them once was not enough for them. They decided to follow up by doing it again. And this was what happened this time: while the longboat belonging to the Admiral Dom Duarte de Meneses was ashore, with some soldiers who were taking on water and washing their clothes, the *matre-de-camp* attacked it and killed the Portuguese and the Lascars, and took the longboat and burned it, stealing everything they found in it.

The captain-major was very angry at these affronts, particularly the killing of the Portuguese and the Lascars, whom he so badly needed. He decided to retaliate against some frigates which were coming from the island of Panay. He captured them but did not allow any Spaniards to be killed, preferring rather to treat them all honourably. Every single day, a large number of the captain-major's men were dying of beriberi. They were so many that the fleet became fearful; ten or fifteen a day.

And when the captain-major saw this and realised that it was serving no purpose for him to be there, he decided to engage in a full-scale battery attack on the fort. But the Spaniards punished him very severely with their artillery fire from the fort, raking his galleons from one end to the other, and his own galleon, which was called *São Francisco*, was the only one that escaped. And because it is [sometimes] wise to pursue a different course of action, that is what he did. He left Cebu and returned to Ternate, extremely annoyed with the King of Ternate because the *korakor*s which he had promised him along with his son, had diverted to *Butum*¹¹ and Makassar,¹² instead of going with him.

The captain-major reached Ternate, with three hundred fewer Portuguese men than the total he had brought, not counting common seamen and Lascars, and with all his supplies used up.

[...]

p. 389:

Chapter 76 – On the disaster that befell Guaro Lamo, the King of Ternate's cousin,

¹¹ The island of Buton, which lies southeast of Sulawesi.

¹² See document 6, note 3.

who had been chosen to go to Veranula¹³

When the king¹⁴ and his advisors had read the petition of the people on Ambon, they decided to grant them a fleet large enough that it could achieve something of renown in Ambon. And to lead this fleet, they appointed a cousin of the king's called Kaicil¹⁵ Garo Lamo, a robust young man of great strength and high spirits, a very fine horseman who was totally fearless. He was to travel [from Ternate to Ambon] in six very large *korakor*s carrying sound men, and he would go via *Xula*,¹⁶ and bring their fleet as well, and also the whole fleet of the *Luçabata*¹⁷ coast. And once this had been agreed with everybody, the king wanted to give him a banquet and kill a buffalo for him, because the king had a large number of them in a place called *Malayo*. And in order to do this they would [first] have to cut its legs off so that they could say their *bismale*,¹⁸ since they do not eat anything that is meat without doing this because they are Moors.

And since Kaicil Garo Lamo considered himself to be a man of great valour he said he would be the one to cut off its legs, and the king and all his *Chechis*¹⁹ were there watching. And when the buffalo ran out from the herd, Garo Lamo confronted it saying that he would slaughter it with his [bare] hands; and when he moved to strike it, the buffalo lifted him up with its horns and tossed him so hard that he was thrown onto a tree which had some very sharp spines. And he landed on his belly, and his guts were ripped out and he fell down dead.

Everyone took this as a very bad omen and the fleet was disbanded. And Sancho de Vasconcelos²⁰ was aware of how this fleet had been put together and he was then [also] informed of his [Garo Lamo's] death, at which all those who

¹³ See document 63, note 12.

¹⁴ Baab Ullah of Ternate. See document 63, note 8.

¹⁵ Title used by members of the royal families in the Moluccas. See document 52, note 20.

¹⁶ Sula Islands, the archipelago formed by the islands of Taliabu, Mangoli and Sulabes, in the Moluccan Sea.

¹⁷ The region of Lisabata, on the north coast of Seram Island.

¹⁸ Ritual invocation used during an animal sacrifice, prior to its flesh being consumed, from the Arabic Bismillah ("In the name of God").

¹⁹ The plural of *Kaicil* (see note 15 above).

²⁰ See document 63, note 7.

were on friendly terms with us rejoiced. These are secrets of Our Lord and his judgement, of which more will be said further down in the proper place.

When the ambassadors from the archipelago of Ambon saw the disaster that had happened and the disbanding of the fleet, they took as their protector and defender the Rubuhongi²¹ who was in Ternate. And since it happened that he was the most senior figure in the council, and was very wise, and the king only ever addressed him as ‘Father’, the Rubuhongi went to meet the king to tell him how important it was for him to provide reinforcements in those lands, and also that he was making His Highness aware that, whenever he sent captains to Ambon who were very young men, all they would do was start wars in those lands; that what was needed in those lands was not masculine displays of strength, but rather mature counsel along with great wisdom and prudence, and that he alone could go there and remain there, and that His Highness should understand that God would take care of everything. And that if Guaro Lamo had gone there, he would have died there, along with everyone he had brought with him. And he began to list by name individually, all the men that he had sent to Ambon, all the men of great vitality and strength, and the end that they had all met with. And [he said] that he should heed his advice well. And the Rubuhongi was speaking the whole truth.

The next day, the king called the council together, and it was agreed that the Rubuhongi should go with his household, wife and children, only with his [own] people, since the king had had news that the governor of Manila²² was going there [Ambon].

He summoned the Rubuhongi and told him to head for Veranula with his wife, children and household, and remain there for the rest of his life. And the Rubuhongi wanted nothing more and that is what he wished to do.

The Rubuhongi was a lord who had vassals. He acquired a very large *joanga*²³ which could hold a lot of people and also another *korakora* and some sampans

²¹ A prince of Ternate, son of Kaicil Darwes and grandson of Sultan Abu Lais (r. 1501-1521).

²² The governor of the Philippines was at that time Francisco de Sande (1575-1580).

²³ A vessel.

in which he took his whole household. And when he went to say goodbye to the king, he made no other recommendation than to take revenge on the Burus, and he had nothing further to say to him [and] he was going to Veranula. And that is what the Rubuhongi did.

He left Ternate with all of his household and went to one of his estates which is on the Island of Buru which is called Tomao, and he remained there for a few months, where he built another *korakora* to take in his company.

Let us leave the Rubuhongi there and go to Hitu.

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