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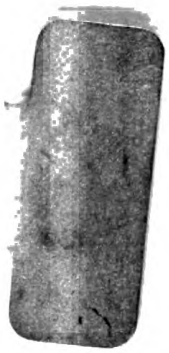



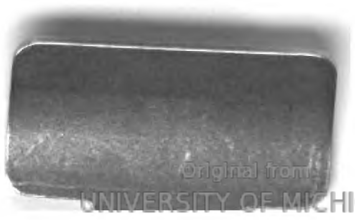

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Volume 134

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Edited and Annotated by
Hubert Jacobs SJ

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(Via dei Penitenzieri, 20 - 00193 Roma)
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PREFACE

This volume of the Jesuit Makasar documents may be termed an unexpected publication. After the publication of three volumes of the Documenta Malucensia *on the Maluku mission, no further documentation of Jesuit missionary work in the whole of Indonesia prior to the nineteenth century was generally known to exist. Indeed, a Jesuit Makasar mission is hardly mentioned by mission historians.*

It is therefore with great pleasure and satisfaction that we offer this collection of Jesuit Makasar documents both to the world of scholars and to the actual missionaries of Indonesia. Furthermore, we hope that these materials will also find some interested and admiring readers among the Catholic population of the archdiocese of Ujung Pandang (Makasar).

The statement, once made in the Maluku collection, that every volume is a one-man work applies equally to this Makasar tome. Nonetheless, as in the earlier volumes, this does not exclude the cooperation of some members of our Jesuit Historical Institute as well as others. I appreciate their assistance, and I would like to thank those who gave me practical advice or encouragement, or who contributed in copying manuscript texts, in polishing my English and in solving some problems in the texts or in the footnotes. In this respect, I want to mention especially Paul Symonds, Robert Gerlich, Juan Ruiz de Medina, Luís Ferreira Leão, and the late Fred Manion. As a matter of fact, my thanks go to all the archivists and librarians who frequently rendered me their unselfish service.

Rome, February 1988. Hubert Jacobs SJ

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

add. = added, adds
Adm. = Admodum
App. = Appendix
app.crit. = apparatus criticus
Arag. = section Aragón in ARSI
ARSI = Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
Baet. = section Baetica in ARSI
Bro. = Brother
corr.fr. = corrected from
corr.to = corrected to
D DD = document(s) of this volume
D. = Dom, Don.
del. deleted, deletes
d.r. = doubtful reading
Epp.NN. = Epistolae Nostrorum
Fr. = (Latin) Frater; (English) Father
Gal. = section Gallia of ARSI
Goa = section Goa of ARSI
Hist.-Soc. = section Historia Societatis in ARSI
IapSin. = section Japan and China in ARSI
ibid. = ibidem
illeg. = illegible
Ill.ma = Illustrissima
ins. = inserted
interl. = interlinear
leg. = legajo
Lugd. = section Lugdunensis (Lyon) in ARSI
Lus. = section Lusitania in ARSI
m. = margin
M.R.P. = Muy Reverendo Padre
ms (MS) = manuscript
N.R.P. = Nosso Reverendo Padre
N.S. = Nosso Senhor
o.c. = opere citato
om. = omitted, omits
op.cit. = opere citato
OP = Ordinis Praedicatorum
OSA = Ordinis Sancti Augustini
P. or P^e = Padre
P.G. = Padre Generale; Padre Geral
P.N. = Padre Nosso
r = recto
RAH = Real Academia de Historia (Madrid)
rep. = repeated
Rom. = section Romana in ARSI
R.P.N. = Reverendo Padre Nosso
RR.PP. = Révérends Pères
SJ = Societatis Iesu
UEd = U Edele
underl. = underlined
v = verso
V.P. = Vossa Paternidade
V.R. = Vossa Paternidade
V.R. = Vossa Reverencia
V.S. = Vossa Senhoria
VOC = Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie
Xto = Christo

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This volume is devoted to the Jesuit missionary activity in the city of Makasar in South Sulawesi (Celebes) and in some of the Lesser Sunda Islands connected with the Makasar mission. The name of the city, the largest and most important of the island, was Makasar (Macassar); but today, in the Republic of Indonesia, it is termed Ujung Pandang. The Jesuit activity developed entirely within the 17th century, and all the documents published here are dated of sixteen hundred odd. In order to interpret them one has to have a clear understanding of Makasar's political and religious history during that period.

I

History of Makasar in the Seventeenth Century

1. *Political History*

The sultanate of Makasar has its roots in the 16th century. It came into being as an influential state with a political and economic dominance in eastern Indonesia in a surprisingly rapid and spectacular process of evolution.

In the first half of that century there were in S. Sulawesi numerous small political units or states. Among them the states of Goa and Tallo became prominent. The relations between them were marked sometimes by wars, sometimes by treaties and agreements. The two states, very near to each other, after a period of warfare, made peace and friendship about 1550, and the ruling houses were united by marriages. The rulers decided to constitute one combined state: *dua raja satuan* (two kings in one); « anyone who brings animosity between Goa and Tallo will be cursed by God ». The rajas of the combined state were taken from the Goa dynasty, their chief-ministers or chancellors from the house of Tallo. As a rule, the former had the royal title and honours; the latter were the actual and effective politi-

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cal rulers[1]. And as the new state developed ever more as a trading centre, it gave rise, beyond the towns of Goa and Tallo, to a new port and settlement that received the name of Makasar, previously the term for the entire coastal region.

The policy of the Goa-Tallo rulers was characterized by a suprising combination of intellectual eminence and political wisdom. It was directed towards a strong development of political power and economic trade, and therefore at first it sought alliances rather than conquests. It recognized the principle of the open-door policy of free trade. As a result, Makasar became an important centre of commerce for all the surrounding Asian nations, above all Malays and Javanese, but also for the Europeans: Portuguese, English, Dutch, Danes and Spaniards from Manila. It grew also in military might and subdued most of the coastal regions all around Sulawesi and some Moluccan and Lesser Sunda islands. By 1636 Makasar had brought under its dominion Butung, Buru, Sula, Banggai, Tambuku and Manado, and received tribute from Salayar, Flores, Sumbawa and Bima.

Three rulers or sultans dominated the period of the Jesuit presence: Alauddin 1593-1639; Mohammed Said 1639-1653; Hasanuddin 1653-1669. Their chancellors were Karaeng (= Prince) Matoaya 1593-1636; Karaeng Pattingalloang 1639-1654; Karaeng Karunrung 1654-1660, and again after 1666; Karaeng Sumana 1660-1666. Matoaya and Pattingalloang excelled thanks to their comprehensive education, wide-ranging interests, broad-mindedness and political wisdom and capability. They conceived and determined Makasar's policy and laid the foundations for its importance[2].

Karaeng Pattingalloang merits a special mention, both on account of his outstanding qualities and influence, and because of the prominent place he occupies in many a document.

He was born in 1600 as a son of Karaeng Matoaya, became governor under the new Sultan Mohammed Said in 1639 and held this office until his death in 1654. A man of a brilliant spirit and character, he started a rich library of Western, especially Portuguese and Spanish, works, and was fluent in these languages. He saw the importance of mathematics for its application in sciences and requested his European visitors to procure for him Western books, maps, atlasses, globes and telescopes.

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[1] Cf. REID, *The Rise* 117-160.
[2] Cf. REID, *A Great* 1-28.

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He repeatedly proved himself a friend of the Portuguese and a defender of their interests. Although a Moslem, he entertained an outspoken preference for Christianity, which he demonstrated on many occasions (See DD 27, 4-14; 62, 6-8; App. 3, 9). Whenever he knew that a Christian planned to shift over to Islam, he warned the Jesuit Father: « See to it that this soul may not be lost ». But he himself felt obliged to stand by Islam for reasons of State. He was the victim of a deep and tragic inner conflict, and therefore qualified by Navarrete « A most unhappy man » (App. 3, 9).

2. *Contact with the Europeans*

We mentioned already that Makasar admitted many European merchants to its harbour. The first European people to make contacts with S. Sulawesi were the Portuguese. They had conquered Malacca in 1511 and erected a fortress in Ternate, Maluku, in 1522. From that time on, they undertook trade voyages to various ports in the archipelago, among which the Makasar region may soon have figured. As early as in the 1530s, two Makasar princes sailed to Ternate to visit Captain António Galvão and to establish commercial relations. In the first half of the 1540s the Portuguese merchant António de Paiva, sailing from Malacca, anchored in the S. Sulawesi ports of Supa and Siang (today a quarter of Pangkajene) to buy sandalwood [3]. In 1548 Manuel Pinto, who had lived in the Makasar region for three years, reported on some rulers and their actions [4].

As the monsoons forced the merchants to stay ashore for some time, a Portuguese quarter with a trading post came into being which, after the fall of Malacca in 1641, grew into a definite town, soon reported to count more than 3,000 inhabitants. These Portuguese benefited the Makasar people in no small measure so as to be called « the mainstay of Macassar's prosperity » and « the key figures in the life of the sultanate » [5]. Forced by the Dutch, the ruler expelled the Portuguese from his country in 1660, though he did so reluctantly and as slowly as possible. The chief exodus took place in 1661 but some managed to stay

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[3] JACOBS, *The First* 251-305.
[4] DI II 419-423.
[5] BASSETT, *English Trade* 2 and 18.

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on until 1668. That was the end of the Portuguese presence.

For the last twenty years, the Portuguese community of Makasar had had the support and the defence of the outstanding merchant Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo [6]. He owned many ships with which he created a large trade enterprise centred first at Nagapatam, India, and from 1642 at Makasar. He enjoyed the confidence of the rulers to whom he could render many excellent services. They held him in high esteem and sometimes made him act as their ambassador in political questions with the Dutch. No less a person than the Viceroy of Goa made use of his diplomatic qualities. Without Vieira the presence of the Portuguese in Makasar would have been much less prosperous. He was not expelled until 1665.

The English were allowed to erect a trading post in Makasar in 1613, and the Danes in 1625.

As early as 1607 the Dutch had their first contacts with Makasar. But from the very beginning they did not fall in with the policy of the rulers for several reasons. Makasar was growing in power, expanding its territories, fighting Ternate and favouring the Portuguese. Soon it chose not to recognize the Dutch claims to a monopoly in the clove trade; rather it participated in the « smuggling » of the Maluku spices and sought friendship with the King of Mataram in Java, an enemy of the Dutch. However, since Makasar represented a mighty political and military power, the Dutch tried, for the first years, to live with it in peace and to profit by its free port. Meanwhile, the policy of Makasar increasingly sought to keep the Dutch at arm's length. Conflicts were not lacking. But the power of the Dutch East Indian Company was growing. The Governor-General Anthony van Diemen ventured to blockade the port in 1637 and forced the sultan to sign a treaty of peace and friendship. The following period of so-called peace often rather looked like war [7]. The war became open in 1660 when a Dutch fleet attacked the city causing much damage to both the Makasar people and the Portuguese. The new peace treaty forced the sultan to yield one of the city's fortresses to the Dutch and to expel all the Portuguese from his realm. When hostilities started again, Makasar was conquered by the Dutch Admiral Cornelius Speelman in 1666 [8]

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[6] BOXER, *Francisco Vieira.*
[7] STAPEL, *Het Bongaais verdrag* 34.
[8] STAPEL, *Speelman.*

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and attacked again in 1668. From that year Makasar ceased being an independent state. Relations had been established by the Bongay treaty of 1667.

3. *Religious History*

In the early 16th century the people of S. Sulawesi were pagans of an animistic stamp. The early meeting with the Portuguese furnished them with a first aquaintance with Christianity. At the same time, the Malay merchants from Johor tried to win them over to Islam. The rulers pursued a wait-and-see policy with a preference for the Christian faith. The two princes who visited Galvão in Ternate had themselves baptized. Not having a priest on board, António de Paiva was forced to baptize the Kings of Supa and Siang. Manuel Pinto recounts that he stayed in the Makasar region with a Malaccan priest, named Vicente Viegas, and that after Viegas left the rajas asked him why the Portuguese did not send other priests.

For sixty years the Makasar rulers refused to take Islam and requested priests from the Malacca civil and ecclesiastical authorities. For inexplicable reasons, after Viegas, no Father was ever sent again. Once, in the 1590s, a small group of Augustinians was dispatched to sail from Goa, India, to Makasar, but once having arrived at Malacca, the mission prospects seemed so unfavourable that they decided not to go there [9].

Finally, out of patience with the Malaccans, the aforesaid Karaeng Matoaya « for reasons of State », decided that the people and the entire country of Makasar would officially take Islam. This happened in 1605 [10]. When in 1617 a priest arrived, the Jesuit Manuel de Azevedo, he was told « You are too late, we already have a religion ». How this decision came about, for what motives, and under whose influence is not exactly known. But the traditional story from *c.* 1620 relates that the Makasar people, wanting to adopt one of the great world religions, sent envoys to both Malacca and Johor (or Aceh) to ask for Catholic and Moslem preachers, with the odd resolution to embrace the faith of those who arrived first. And the first preacher to come was a Moslem from Johor [11].

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[9] See HARTMANN, *Augustinians* 48-49.

[10] See NOORDUYN, *De islamisering van Makasar.*

[11] Some historians have doubted the historical accuracy of this pre-

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However that may be, Matoaya himself became a convinced Moslem (was he already such before he reached his decision?) and, though some rulers like King Alauddin and Karaeng Pattingalloang showed personal sympathy and preference for the Catholic faith, generally the people became confirmed Moslems sometimes verging on fanaticism. It was a political decision and everyone had to obey it. From then on, whoever converted to Christianity was punished by death.

The government's attitude towards the priests was on the one hand negative: they could not make any conversions of the natives. On the other hand, it remained favourable because the priests were an organic part of the Portuguese settlement; moreover, they clearly opposed the « heretical » Dutch, and were often more educated than other Europeans who came visiting Makasar. Christian life in Moslem Makasar is illustrated by the following facts. In 1617 Fr. Azevedo met there one hundred and twenty Catholics [12]. In 1620 twenty to thirty Portuguese families are reported to live there [13]. A church with a priest for the Portuguese is recorded for the years 1617 and 1635 [14]. After the Dutch conquered Malacca in 1641, many Portuguese and other Christians of that town settled in Makasar, among them the chapter of the cathedral guided by the diocesan « Governor » Paulo da Costa (as there was no bishop in Malacca at that time). The main church was entitled cathedral (*Sé* or *Matriz*) and served by a lot of secular priests [15].

This Governor of the diocese of Malacca, *Paulo da Costa*, lived at Makasar for fifteen years, 1645-1661. He was born at Malacca in 1602, joined the Jesuit Order, presumably in India, but, was dismissed after a short time. When the Dutch captured Malacca in 1641, he was a canon of the cathedral and the governor of the bishopric during the vacancy of that see. He remained at his post, contending against the Dutch commander and claiming to retain full jurisdiction over all the Catholics in and around the town, « as if this place were still dominated by the Portuguese nation ». Sent away by the Dutch at the end of the year,

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sentation of the facts, dating it from a later time, or calling it « a more or less legendary tale » (NOORDUYN *art. cit.*), or qualifying it as an « apparently baseless story » (BOXER, *Vieira* 3 note 6). Our documents prove that there is more truth to it than one might have expected.

[12] D 5, 2.

[13] MEILINCK-ROELOFSZ, *Asian Trade* 164.

[14] BOCARRO, *Livro das plantas* 30.

[15] LEITÃO, *Solor e Timor* 225: « Os muitos clérigos que llá estão ».

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he sailed to Goa, India, of which Malacca was a suffragan see, apparently to discuss the situazion of his diocese, and returned to Malacca in 1644. As the Dutch did not want him to stay, he embarked for Batavia and thence for Makasar The Solor missionary Sebastião de S. José OP advised the Goa viceroy to withdraw Costa from Makasar because in his ambition and indiscretion he insulted many people, not even sparing the king. Costa tried to obstruct the building of the Jesuit church in 1646 and took similar action against the Dominicans in 1651, both times in vain. His great victory was the destruction of both churches with the help of the Moslems in 1657-1658. His policy was clear: any pastoral work should be reserved to the diocesan clergy. In 1661 he had to leave Makasar, expelled by the Dutch as he had been twenty years earlier from Malacca. He sailed to Cambodia where there was a small Portuguese colony and where he soon had to deal with the first French Apostolic Vicars, sent by Propaganda Fide. Being ill and no longer able to work, he resigned as governor in December 1665 and sailed to Goa where we find him still in November 1667. There he died. On him, see NAZARETH II 256-258.

Within a few years the Portuguese town, with 3,000 inhabitants (many of whom were mestizos and Asian servants and slaves) had Franciscans who ran a hospital, Jesuits with a residence and a church, and Dominicans likewise with a church and residence. The antagonism of the seculars against the religious resulted in the Dominicans and the Jesuits having their churches pulled down in early 1658. In 1661, under constraint of the Dutch, nearly all the Portuguese had to leave the country, and the remaining Asian Catholics and mestizos lost their only priest in 1665. This was the end of Catholicism in Moslem Makasar.

Of the numerous secular clergy only a few names came down to us:

— *Lopo de Andrade,* « clérigo sacerdote », in Makasar 1641-1643. (D 15, 2; Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Ásia 49-V-13*).
— *António Fernandes,* vicar of the Portuguese church in 1641. Having been appointed by the Bishop of Malacca, he had to defend his position against the claims of Francisco de Faria, nominated by Paulo da Costa. When he was summoned to visit the Archbishop of Goa, he had to yield his post to Faria. (Ajuda, *49-V-13;* TEIXEIRA I 304).
— *Francisco de Faria.* « Vigário da vara », nominated by Costa,

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1641-1644. (D 15, 2; Ajuda, *ibid.* ff. 69-83).
— *António Gonçalves,* one of the many priests, a friend of the Jesuits in 1646 (D 19, 6).
— *Lourenço Fernandes,* « escrivão do eclesiástico » in 1655. Was he a clergyman? (Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Ásia 49-IV-61* f. 764; SCHÜTTE, *Archivo* 394-395).

Some more important non-Jesuit Religious, visitors to Makasar

1626 - LUÍS DE ANDRADE OP. Author of Appendix 1. See there.

1633 - FRANCISCO DONATI OP. An Italian, he was sent by the Propaganda Fide « por missionário de todo o Oriente », travelled by land to India, sailed to Malacca in 1629 and to Solor in 1630. Returning he visited Makasar, staying there for a few months in 1633. Afterwards he was captured and killed by Moslems near Ceylon in 1635. (SÁ V 527-528; STREIT V no. 490).

1640 - SEBASTIÃO MANRIQUE OSA. Author of Appendix 2. See there.

1642 - JUAN DE LOS ANGELES OP. When the Dutch conquered Formosa in 1642, he was captured and carried to Batavia with four more Dominicans. After a month they could sail to Makasar and in June they reached Manila. In Makasar he wrote a report on the conquest of Formosa by the Dutch (STREIT V no. 858). See Pablo FERNÁNDEZ OP, *Domínicos donde nace el sol,* 102-103; *Reseña biográfica...,* Manila 1891.

1648 - FRANCISCO DAS CHAGAS OFM. This Portuguese Franciscan came to visit the Franciscan hospital of Makasar, then sailed to Flores. He died in June 1649. See MEERSMAN 121-122.

6151 - JOÁO DA COSTA and ANTÓNIO DE MACEDO OP. The former founded a monastry and built the Dominican church at Makasar as an intermediate station for their companions voyaging to the Solor mission; the latter served that church until its destruction in 1658.

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1657 - DOMINGO DE NAVARRETE OP. Author of Appendix 3. See there.

1659 - JORGE DE SANTA MARÍA SERSANDERS OFM. This Belgian Franciscan stopped at Makasar in early 1659, coming from Manila and returning there. On him, see MEERSMAN 173-177; *Arch. Franc. Hist.* 29 (1936) 169-214; *Missionalia Hispanica* 34 (1977) 335-337; TORRES Y LANZAS, *Catálogo* IX nos. 20183 and 20240. Cf. D 53.

Having outlined the political and religious background of our documents, we now have to deal more specifically with the history of the Jesuit presence and their activity.

II

THE JESUITS IN MAKASAR

In Asia the Jesuits had their main centre at Goa and their organization was called the Province of Goa. This province erected a number of mission posts not only in other regions of India but also in Malacca, the Maluku islands and in Japan. Japan was separated from Goa as a vice-province in 1581 and became a full province in 1611, from which the China mission was detached as a vice-province in 1623. Likewise southern India and the missions east of it were erected as a separate vice-province in 1601 and became the Cochin or Malabar Province in 1605.

It is to this Cochin Province that Makasar properly belonged, but up to 1615 no Father Provincial concerned himself with it. The history of the Jesuit mission of Makasar is divided into two periods. The first period was very short, from 1617 to 1618; the second was longer, from 1646 to 1668. From 1618 to 1646 no Jesuit was appointed for Makasar or residing there; only a number of Fathers stopped there on their way from India or from Maluku or Macao. We will speak of them later.

1. *First Period*

The prospects of conversion seemed favourable in 1615. At the instance of the Bishop of Malacca, the Cochin Provincial sent

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two Fathers to Makasar, Manuel de Azevedo and Manuel Ferreira. Though welcomed by Sultan Alauddin at their arrival in January 1617, they soon saw that any real mission work was impossible. Therefore Ferreira tried the evangelization of the country of Bima on the island of Sumbawa, not yet islamized. After many adventures, both he and Azevedo were back in Malacca in 1618 without having scored any success.

The first ten documents deal with this period.

2. *Second Period*

Toward 1645, the people of the Portuguese town of Makasar were not at all satisfied with the pastoral care and the way of life of their secular clergy. Many of them remembered the apostolic spirit of the Jesuits once experienced in Malacca, and they started an action to bring them also to Makasar. Some made requests to Fr. Provincial of Cochin, others, knowing that the Jesuits of the Japan Province had been shut out from Japan and were now crowded at Macao, thought of inviting them to their town. They were fortunate that the former Makasar missionary Manuel de Azevedo had meanwhile become Visitor of the Japan Province (1644-1650). They tried to enlist in their design the aid of Karaeng Pattingalloang who in his boyhood had known this Father and who treasured up pleasant memories of him. The Karaeng fell in with the project and at once wrote to Azevedo inviting him to despatch some Fathers to Makasar and promising every sort of assistance (D 27, 9).

So it happened that in 1646 two Jesuits of the Cochin Province, Pero Francisco and Diogo de Oliveira, and likewise two of the Japan Province, Ambrósio de Abreu and Gonçalo da Fonseca, arrived to set up a Jesuit residence. Because of the influence of the unbalanced, headstrong Spanish Father Cebrián who by mere chance had had to stop there, the Cochin Fathers were inclined to look upon those from Japan as intruders. For a short time there were two separate residences, surely a scandal to the Portuguese community (D 19, 2-4). The diocesan Governor Paulo da Costa gave his support to the Cochin Fathers, even forbidding the Fathers from Japan to exercise any ministry. Fathers Abreu, Fonseca and Oliveira left Makasar in 1647. Azevedo, however, at once sent two new ones, Manuel de Miranda and João Monteiro. As the latter died after a few months, only two Fathers remained assigned and stationed there: Pero Fran-

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cisco and Manuel de Miranda. Though of different provinces, they cooperated concordantly. From 1647 on, all Jesuits who worked in Makasar were of the Japan Province.

To fully appreciate the situation one has to bear in mind that this Jesuit province continued to exist after Japan proper had expelled or killed the missionaries and had started a bloody persecution of the Christians after 1614. Its members gathered at Macao and started new missions in Tonkin, Cochin China, Laos, Cambodia and Siam. They were happy to be chosen too for the mission of Makasar although they could not expect to reap large crops of souls there. The place was important for them as a wayside station between Goa and Macao.

Therefore, especially after 1646, we can distinguish two categories of Jesuits in Makasar: those definitely assigned to that residence, and those much more numerous who stopped there temporarily on their voyage elsewhere, foremost to and from Macao.

a) *The Makasar Superiors*

The following Fathers were officially appointed as superiors of the Makasar residence. (We give the dates of residence in Makasar; the appointment may sometimes have been made one or two years earlier).

1. Of the *Cochin* Province:

— Manuel de Azevedo, 1617-1618
— Diogo de Oliveira, 1646-1647 (D 19, 3).
— Pero Francisco, 1647-...? [16]

2. Of the *Japan* Province:

— Ambrósio de Abreu, 1646-1647 (D 27, 1).
— Manuel de Miranda, 1647-1657
— João Nogueira, 1657-1658 (DD 52, 2; 55, 5).

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[16] His jurisdiction finished automatically as soon as it became clear that the Japan Province took over the mission.

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— Manuel de Miranda, 1658-1661 (DD 44, 1; 64, 1)
— António Francisco, 1661-1668 [17]

b) *Character of the Jesuit Apostolate*

The character of the Jesuit ministry in Makasar was rather peculiar and it could not properly be called missionary. The terms « mission » and « missionary » mainly point to the conversion of non-Catholics to the Catholic faith. But Islam, imposed by the authority of the government as a duty upon all the sultan's subjects, limited the work of the Fathers to the inhabitants of the Portuguese town, most of whom were already Catholics, and properly speaking parishioners of the « Cathedral » served by the numerous secular clergy. The first Jesuits of the Japan Province at once started building a church, as they were ordered to do. In this work, they experienced the opposition of the secular priests but enjoyed the most liberal support of the Chancellor Pattingalloang (D 27, 8). But when, in the new church, they began unfurling the pastoral work of preaching and administering the sacraments, they raised again the envious protests of the seculars who saw their own church less visited and who feared, not without reason, that they would lose the fees due to them for their sacred ministry (Append. 3, 5). Strangely, the Moslem rulers, Sultan Mohamed Said and Karaeng Pattingalloang, favoured the Fathers against the diocesan Governor Paulo da Costa. However, this protecting goodwill declined under the new rulers, Sultan Hasanuddin and Karaeng Karunrung after 1654. In late 1657 they ordered the Jesuit church to be destroyed, as was mentioned above. So from early 1658, the Fathers contented themselves with ministering in a less conspicuous house chapel that nevertheless could contain about one hundred people (D 52, 1).

A few times the limiting conditions of the Father's zeal had an exception. In case a native Moslem wanted to become a Christian, which was liable to be punished by death, he or she could only be baptized if willing to leave the country secretly in a ship of a foreign nation.

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[17] D 73, 4. He left Makasar in 1665 but remained the Superior of the Makasar Residence that was cared for by Bro. António de Torres who stayed on there until 1668.

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Another characteristic of the Makasar Jesuit mission was the pastoral care they had to take of the many people that came passing in the ships of several nations, Catholics and sometimes also non-Catholics who wanted, or were induced, to be baptized. A number of these Catholics had not been able to meet a priest for years and were happy finally to go to confession and to Holy Mass.

A third distinctive character of this mission was that the oft frustrating and disappointing situation in which the Fathers were forced to work, prompted them to look for other opportunities outside Makasar in islands where they hoped to enjoy a greater freedom. These enterprises were undertaken from Makasar, directed and approved by the Fr. Superior of Makasar and therefore they belong to the mission history of Makasar.

As early as 1617 Fr. Manuel Ferreira set out to see if the country of Bima in Sumbawa was willing to accept the Gospel. His endeavour remained without result but not entirely without some promising prospects. These prospects gave rise to new attempts of evangelisation on the islands of Roti and Sawu during the next two years (DD 5, 7; 7, 1-7).

The abortive mission enterprise of Fr. Manuel de Azevedo to Bali in 1635 is an exception, in so far as it was not organized in Makasar. But it was undertaken by a former Makasar missionary lest Bali follow the example of Makasar and accept Islam for lack of a Christian preacher. It was inspired by what had happened in Makasar (DD 11-13).

During the Japan Province period, the Fathers endured a new frustration when their church was pulled down in early 1658. This fact caused two of them, Superior João Nogueira and Pero Francisco, to sail to Timor where, according to rumours, the country of Luka was open to the Christian faith (D 52, 5). Hardly having arrived at that island, they died, presumably poisoned by the King of Ade (D 52, 4-7). Two other Fathers, Metello Saccano and Germain Macret, set out to start a mission in the island of Sumba, likewise in 1658. Only Saccano reached Sumba where he stayed and worked for one year and a half. Macret, on the contrary, did not manage to join his companion; he was driven off to Timor and returned from there to Makasar (D 52, 8-11).

In fact every effort undertaken from Makasar to establish a new mission elsewhere ended in failure. The last missionary, António Francisco, forced to leave Makasar in 1665, sailed to

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Larantuka in eastern Flores, where, for about five years, he worked profitably in a mission entrusted to the Dominicans (D 73).

3. *List of the Makasar Jesuits*

From the foregoing it is clear that if we want to list the Makasar Jesuits, we have to make two catalogues: one for those officially appointed to that post, and one for those who only passed through on their way to another destination.

A. The Jesuits assigned to Makasar

1. *Manuel de Azevedo*

DM III 32* no. 81; WESSELS, *Catalogus* 250 no. 64; WICKI, *Liste* no. 598; DEHERGNE, no. 60; MHJ 1134.

He was a Portuguese, born in Viseu in 1581, and entered the Society in Coimbra on May 10, 1597 (*Lus. 44* f. 187*r* no. 416). Just before sailing to India he made his profession on February 11, 1614 (*Lus. 3* f. 272). The next year he was entrusted with the mission of Makasar (D 1), where he arrived in January 1617. On his way, while in Malacca, he took with him Fr. Manuel Ferreira. The first days they met with an unexpected cordial inquisitiveness on the part of Sultan Alauddin. Soon this ruler, pressed by the Moslem divines, changed his disposition and the Fathers saw themselves exposed to acts of open malice. Then Azevedo fell ill and his companion went off to attempt to convert the ruler of Bima, not yet a Moslem. In May or June 1618, at the end of the east monsoon, the Portuguese of the last ship simply brought the diseased Father on board and took him to Malacca. Thus the first missionary effort at Makasar ended within two years (DD 1-10).

After this episode Fr. Azevedo was Visitor and Superior of Maluku, 1620-1624, and then Rector of Malacca until 1635. In this latter year rumours reached him that Makasar tried to introduce Islam into the Hindu kingdom of Bali but that the ruler was rather inclined to accept Christianity. Azevedo was determined that in Bali the same thing should not be repeated as

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in Makasar, i. e. that the absence of Christian missionaries favoured or even caused the acceptance of Islam. He sailed there with a companion, found the favourable behaviour of the king changed into suspicion and hostility, and was not even allowed to disembark. After three weeks he returned to Malacca (DD 11-13). Then he became Provincial of Cochin, 1637-1641, and Visitor of the Japan Province. In Macao, 1644-1650, he died.

He was a man of great qualities, of an ardent zeal for God's kingdom and for the salvation of souls, but his impetuous spirit sometimes made him forget moderation and good sense. Consequently his criticism of persons and actions could be extremely sharp and biting, but he himself was also severely criticised by others. His superiors contrived to moderate him and to use his qualities in some high functions. Whether his failures in Makasar and afterwards in Bali should not be explained also by his impetuosity remains an open question.

He is the author of DD 5, 26; 11; 13.

2. *Manuel Ferreira*

DM III 33* no. 82; WESSELS, *Catalogus* 250 no. 65.

He was born near Viseu, Portugal, in 1586 and became a Jesuit at Cochin in 1609. After his studies of philosophy and theology he was ordained a priest and stationed at Malacca. In late 1616 he had to accompany Fr. Manuel de Azevedo to Makasar where they arrived in January 1617. As soon as the possibilities of converting the people seemed minimal, and Azevedo had fallen ill, Ferreira planned an apostolic voyage to Bima in Sumbawa. However, he was driven to the Solor archipelago where the Dominicans worked and he returned, via Malacca, to Makasar (D 5, 9; 7, 1). In early 1618 he set out again, reached Bima, and had three audiences with the ruler who did not give him an appreciative hearing. Moreover, he met also three Moslem divines who sought to introduce Islam. Ferreira's efforts and proposals had no result. Afterwards he was a companion of Fr. Azevedo for a second time, in Maluku in 1620-1624. He died at sea near Malacca in 1625.

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3. *Diogo de Oliveira*

This Portuguese Father was born at Arraiolos near Évora in 1616, and entered the Society in India in 1637. (He is not to be confused with a namesake who sailed to India in 1614; WICKI, *Liste* no. 607). He belonged to the Cochin Province. He finished the study of theology and was ordained a priest in 1644. Soon after, his Provincial sent him, together with Fr. Pero Francisco, to Malacca to assist the Catholics who had to suffer the hostility of the Dutch. Shortly after he arrived, he was expelled and arrived at Batavia on March 5, 1646. He was not allowed to disembark but was dispatched to Makasar where we find him in June of that year (D 19, 1). There he joined Fr. Cebrián in opposing two Fathers of the Japan Province, Ambrósio de Abreu and Goncalo da Fonseca, who had been sent to establish a residence. Thus he was a party to the short-lived existence of two different Jesuit residences, one of the Cochin and one of the Japan Province. When the Portuguese merchants who had settled at Jambi, Sumatra, requested the visit of a priest, Fr. Oliveira went there (D 24. 3). In a catalogue of 1652 he is said to have been stationed at Makasar for seven years (D 34). This would mean that he stayed there until 1653, and that he returned soon from Jambi, but no document mentions his prolonged presence during those years. It means rather that while working in Jambi or elsewhere his residence was considered to be Makasar. In 1655, he was working in the college of Bengal, India. Of his further activity and his death, the available documents do not seem to reveal anything.

4. *Pedro Francisco Jaca* [18]

SOMMERVOGEL III 928; IX 359; STREIT V no. 380; VISSER 111-112; WICKI, *Liste* no. 857; *Gen. Miss.* III 8.

He was a Spaniard, born at Mallén, Aragón, in 1607, became a Jesuit in 1626 and sailed to Goa in 1637. Having made his profession on May 1, 1644 (*Lus. 6* f. 94) he was sent to Malacca to assist and encourage the Catholics who suffered from the loss

[18] Most documents use the Portuguese form « Pero ». « Francisco » is part of the surname. Therefore my use of the name in DM III 575 590 and 759 has to be corrected.

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of their religious freedom under the Dutch. Soon, in 1645, he had to leave the town but managed to be sent to Batavia with a view of negotiating the lot of the Catholics. He arrived on November 28, 1645, and stayed until May 1646, doing secretly much pastoral work among approximately 3,000 Catholics living there, and it was here that he was joined by the Fathers Oliveira, Rhodes and Torrente. Back in Malacca he wrote a report on his Batavia adventures, dated October 30, 1646. Again he was prohibited from staying on and so he left for Makasar together with two hundred Catholics in the ship of the Portuguese merchant Manuel Jorge in late 1646. Since the first two Japan Province Jesuits, Abreu and Fonseca, had left, Oliveira had sailed to Jambi, and Monteiro had died, Fr. Francisco remained alone with Miranda from 1647 on. He witnessed the death of Sultan Mohamed Said, 1653, and of Karaeng Pattingalloang in the next year, visiting the latter on his death-bed but not being able to baptize him. The new sultan, Hasanuddin, took the Father with him on his enterprise to Butung in 1655. The intention, however, of Fr. Francisco, who had been invited by the Ambon Catholics to come and live with them as their priest, was to continue the voyage to that island, and he may have inspired the ruler to undertake the expedition. When in 1658 the Jesuit church was destroyed, and with apostolic work hampered, Fr. Francisco joined Fr. João Nogueira for a missionary enterprise to the island of Timor. There he died, hardly having arrived, presumably by poison.

5. *Ambrósio de Abreu*

WICKI, *Liste* no. 878; TEIXEIRA II 24; MHJ I 1044.

He was born at Viana, Minho, Portugal, in 1614 and entered the Society in 1632. He studied philosophy and theology at Coimbra, and having been destined for the Japan Province he sailed to India in 1640, already a priest. In the Goa catalogue of 1641 he is listed as finishing his theology and as belonging to the Japan Province. In 1645 he appears to be staying in Macao (MHJ 1044). The next year the Visitor Manuel de Azevedo sent him to Makasar as superior (D 27, 1) togethe rwith Fr. Gonçalo da Fonseca. On account of the opposition of the secular clergy, Abreu sent Fonseca back to Macao and sailed to Goa to put the problem of the Makasar mission before the archbishop. But

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within a few days he died there in January or on February 4, 1648 (*Goa 29* f. 79*r* and *Goa 27* f. 57*r*). He lived at Makasar 1646-1647.

6. *Gonçalo da Fonseca*

DEHERGNE, no. 321; MHJ I 1174; WICKI, *Liste* no. 911; TEIXEIRA II 24.

Born in Vila Real, Trás-os-Montes, Portugal, in 1618 and having become a Jesuit in 1634, he sailed to Goa in 1643 as a priest. We find him at Macao, where they sent him to Makasar with Fr. Ambrósio de Abreu in 1646, but the next year he returned to Macao (see Abreu), where he took the vows of a *coadiutor spiritualis* on August 15, 1649. He was procurator of the China and Japan missions at Goa, and anew at Macao, where he died in October 1662. (*Lus. 44 II* ff. 540 580 612). His stay at Makasar was brief, only 1646-1647.

7. *Manuel de Miranda*

MHJ 1238; BURNAY 200.

He was born in Lisbon probably *c.* 1602-1604, but he entered the Society in Goa. The earlier Goa catalogues and the later ones of Japan put the year of his entry between 1622 (*Goa 25* f. 30) and 1628 (*IapSin 25* f. 147). In both 1622 and 1624 he is said to be a novice (*Goa 27* f. 48). In 1633 he is no longer listed in the catalogues of the Goa Province and we find him as a student of theology in Macao in 1635 (*IapSin 25* f. 141*r*). As Macao was without a bishop in those years, he was sent to Manila to be ordained in April 1638 and he returned as a priest in October (*IapSin 23* f. 98). He is mentioned as still staying in Macao in 1645 being « magister in artibus » (MHJ 1044). Late in that year the Japan Provincial appointed him to the mission of Makasar. He arrived in early 1647 together with João Monteiro, finding there two Fathers of the Cochin Province: Pero Francisco and Diogo de Oliveira. After Monteiro's early death and Oliveira's departure for Jambi, he stayed on with only Pero Francisco. The two Fathers of two Provinces, perhaps both with the title of Superior, apparently worked in harmonious cooper-

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ation for about ten years. Miranda took his vows of profession before Jerónimo de Lobo in the Jesuit church of the Saviour on April 18, 1649 (D 38 note 3). He saw the Dominicans build a church in 1651 and received the Fathers Saccano and companions after their shipwreck in 1655. Meanwhile the situation of the Christians had changed since the death of Sultan Said in 1653 and that of Karaeng Pattingalloang in 1654. The new rulers, Sultan Hasanuddin and Karaeng Karunrung, were never as kindly disposed towards them as their predecessors had been. Miranda had to deal with two large groups of Jesuits passing to Macao: one in 1656, of fifteen men of whom Domenico Gabiani was so ill that he had to stay over for an entire year, and another group of nine in May-June 1658 of whom two, Clément and Dimer, died there and one, Herdtrich, could not continue the voyage until one year later. Meantime Miranda was replaced as Superior by João Nogueira, and Bro. António Simões came to his assistance in financial and trade affairs (D 47, 3 and 5). The Father witnessed the destruction of the Jesuit and Dominican churches in 1657-1658 and saw Nogueira and Pero Francisco leave for Timor where they were killed, and Saccano and Germain Macret sail for Sumba.

Was he again a Superior at once after Nogueira's death became known in Macao? Did he stay on in Makasar? Cause for doubt is raised by two letters written in Macao on November 28 and on December 22, 1659. In the first it is said that, by emergency measure, Joseph Agnes was appointed procurator of the Japan Province after João Cardozo had left [for Siam] until Manuel de Miranda could arrive from Makasar, i. e. for a period of about six months (ARSI, *FG 730 I* f. 38*r*). In the second, Fr. Agnes himself mentions that he will be removed from his procuratorship on the arrival of Miranda from Makasar (*IapSin 19* f. 62*v*). This would imply that Miranda left his post in 1659, but no document confirms this. When in 1661, according to the treaty with the Dutch, the Portuguese had to leave the town, it is Manuel de Miranda who is said to have sailed to Batavia in August, and his companion, Manuel Soares, calls him on that occasion his Superior (*IapSin 22* f. 400*v*). So if Miranda went to Macao, he must have returned shortly thereafter to Makasar. From Batavia he sailed to Siam where we find him still in 1665. He left there in October of that year and he died in Macao on September 26, 1666.

In a certain sense Manuel de Miranda can be said to domi-

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nate over the history of the Makasar mission, since from 1647 to 1661 he was almost continuously Superior. Yet he was not at all a dominating figure; rather he gave the impression of a fairly insignificant person. Not a single letter or report from his hand has come to us. Not one apostolic project or action or enterprise seems ever to have been conceived by him. He is never mentioned as one with whom the rulers sought contact. There is scarcely a reference to his priestly work in the documents, except for D 41, 5. The sharp criticism of Fr. Tissanier (D 57 note 6) may be exaggerated and likewise explicable by the crippling circumstances of both livelihood and apostolate, but it justifies the assumption that Miranda's natural talents and interests were strongly inclined towards trading and commerce.

8. *João Monteiro*

DEHERGNE, no. 562; MHJ 1242; WICKI, *Liste* no. 723.

He was a Portuguese, born at Mesão Frio, Trás-os-Montes, in 1602, and entered the Society at Lisbon in 1620. Five years later he left Portugal for India on April 6, not yet a priest. For some years he lived at Goa, where he completed his theology and was ordained. Destined for the mission of China, he arrived there in 1636 and worked in a few stations. He made his profession in Ham-Cheu on Christmas day of 1640 (*Lus. 6* f. 9). Then we find him in Macao, mentioned as professor of theology (MHJ 1044) and as a member of the consult of the Vice-provincial (*IapSin 161 II* f. 320) in 1645. Lastly he shifted from the China to the Japan Province and was sent to Makasar. He arrived with Manuel de Miranda in early 1647 (D 27 note 14) and died there in August of that year (D 36, 7).

9. *João Nogueira*

MHJ 1255

Born at Braga, Portugal, in 1621 or 1622, he entered the Society in Goa between 1635 and 1638, and made his studies in Goa. In the catalogue of September 1649 he is still « Frater » and is said to be « da Provincia de Japão » (*Goa 25* f. 104*v*). Since he is called « Pater » in the Japan catalogue of 1650 (D 28), and in that of 1654 is said to have heard confessions for six

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years (D 38), he must have been ordained a priest in Goa in late 1649 and is likely to have sailed to Macao in 1650; here he taught humanities in the college. Then he was dispatched to Makasar as Superior to replace Manuel de Miranda in that function. Presumably the appointment was made in 1657 because in 1659 he is said to have been Superior of Makasar for two years (D 47). When shortly after his arrival, late 1657 or early 1658, the Jesuit church was destroyed and pastoral work was frustrated, he and Pero Francisco set out for the island of Timor to try to start a new mission. However, both Fathers were killed, presumably by poison administered by a local raja. The date of João Nogueira's death was February 14 or 15, 1658 (Cf. D 52 note 13).

10. *António Simões*

This Portuguese Brother, of whom we do not know much, was born in São Pedro do Sul near Viseu (but the Japan catalogue of 1648 calls him « lamacensis », of Lamego) between 1607 and 1610. He became a novice of the Society at Goa in 1628, 1629 or 1630. He is found living in the Professed House of Goa until at least 1641; there he took his vows as a *coadiutor formatus* on March 25, 1639. As neither the catalogues of Goa, nor those of Japan are available for every year (*Goa 25, Goa 27, Iap Sin 25 and 27*), there is a gap in our information. In 1648 he is found living in Macao, member of the Japan Province, as assistant of the financial procurator whose function he sometimes performed himself. Beside it, for some time he was also subminister of the Macao college and took care of the rural rest-home. In which year the Superiors sent him to Makasar and when he left it is not known; we find him there in 1658-1659 (DD 46, 6-8; 47, 5). In 1665 he stayed anew in Macao and he died there on March 19, 1666. It was his lot to suffer from chronic bad health.

11. *António Francisco*

WICKI, *Liste* no. 956.

A Portuguese, born at Tomar in 1619 (D 72 note 1), he became a Jesuit in 1640. After the noviciate and studies he sailed to Goa in 1649 and worked in India for seven years. In 1656 he

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reached Macao from where he was sent to Makasar in 1659; he arrived there in early 1660 (D 73, 4). When the Portuguese were forced to leave Makasar in 1661, he stayed on under the pretext that he was the confessor of the influential merchant Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo (D 62, 11). He was officially the Superior of the Jesuit residence and, on account of the absence of a secular priest, the *vicarius foraneus* in the name of the Governor of the Malacca diocese. At the same time he had the title of « Father of the Christians » (D 74). In 1664 he had the joy of welcoming Fr. Martim Coelho before whom he took his vows of solemn profession on May 23 (*Hist. Soc. 147* f. 11*v*). But Vieira was expelled by the Dutch in 1665 and he and António Francisco had to sail to Larantuka in the island of Flores, leaving behind only Bro. António de Torres (D 73,5). For five full years he continued to work at Larantuka. Even after the death of Francisco Vieira in December 1667, he tried to keep peace with the Dominican Fathers who administered that mission. In 1668 he saw Bro. Torres arrive and dispatched him to Siam (D 71). Finally he left the Dominican mission for Macao, presumably summoned back, arriving there with the widow of Francisco Vieira, Catarina de Noronha, on June 29, 1670 (*Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo* II 756). He lived another fifteen years, for twelve of which he was a church prefect, then subsequently for three years he was the secretary (*socius*) of Fr. Provincial (D 74). He died at Macao on August 31, 1685. He was an excellent man, a zealous and generous missionary, a peace-maker in his surroundings; he was interested in anyone whom he believed could and should be helped.

12. *António de Torres*

MHJ 1311

This meritorious lay brother was born at Torres Vedras, Portugal, in 1599 and he entered the Jesuit noviciate, most probably at Macao, in 1622. He was set to work first in the Macao College, then in the mission of Cochin China, subsequently in that of Champa, then again in Macao where he took his last vows on February 5, 1639 (MHJ 1081). He became an assistant of the procurator and was himself procurator of the Chinese Vice-Province. Then his superiors sent him to Makasar where he assisted Fr.

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António Francisco for seven years, 1661-1668, running a school for the Christian children. When, in 1665, Fr. Francisco had to leave Makasar for Larantuka, Bro. Torres managed to stay on, but at the last unsparing Dutch attack in 1668 he fled likewise to Larantuka where Fr. Francisco sent him to Siam. In these new surroundings he was again a very useful companion to the Fathers. His age, however, forced him to return to Macao and there he died on December 12, 1680.

He wrote D 70.

13. *Manuel Soares*

DEHERGNE, no. 797; WICKI, *Liste* no. 983.

He was born at Póvoa e Meadas, diocese of Portalegre, Portugal, in 1614 and entered the Society in 1630 (*Lus. 44 II* f. 500). He made his profession on September 8, 1652 and sailed to India three years later. Being destined for the Japan Province he soon voyaged to Macao. When, in early 1660, he embarked for Makasar, it remains uncertain whether he had been appointed to this mission or if he only stopped here on his way to another mission, e. g. Siam. At any rate, in May 1660 he appears to be staying at Makasar (SCHÜTTE, *Archivo* 391). One year later he is still there until, in August 1661, he accompanies the exiled Fr. Manuel de Miranda on a Dutch ship to Batavia. After a stop of nine days, from August 28 to September 6, they set sail for Siam. Soares is soon dispatched to work in Tenasserim, S. Burma, 1666-1668. He then returns to Siam where he is the Superior of that residence for five years. Very old and as good as blind he died there in the second half of 1692.

He wrote D 64. In Makasar he was for over one year.

14. *Germain Macret*

DEHERGNE, no. 502; WICKI, *Liste* no. 1004.

This French Jesuit was born at Bourg-en-Bresse, Ain, on August 13, 1620, and he became a Jesuit novice at Avignon on September 2, 1637 (*Lugd. 19* f. 219*v*). He sailed to India in 1655 having taken his vows as a *coadiutor spiritualis* at Lyon the year before. The few facts reported about him suggested that he soon

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sailed to Macao, probably in the group of fifteen Jesuits who passing stayed at Makasar in May-June 1656. In Macao he was Rector of the seminary for one year; thereafter he was appointed for Makasar since he was there when the Jesuit church was destroyed in early 1658. He joined Fr. Metello Saccano in an effort to open a mission in the island of Sumba, Lesser Sunda Islands, but was driven off to Timor from where he returned to Makasar. He is found there in 1660 (DD 51; 52 note 16). When the sultan was forced by the Dutch to expel the Portuguese, Macret accompanied a group of those refugees to Cambodia in 1661. Here he was active until 1664 at which time he started working in the China mission; here he died on September 4, 1676. He stayed at Makasar twice: a good month in 1656, and around the years 1657-1661, when he was assigned to the mission.

15. *Metello Saccano*

MHJ 1288 (and 1042); WICKI, *Liste* no. 908.

This man from Messina, Sicily, was born in 1612 and became a Jesuit in 1631. After his studies he sailed to Goa in 1643, already a priest, and soon after to Macao. His Provincial sent him in February 1646 to Cochin China where he worked as the Superior of that mission until he had to attend the Provincial Congregation at Macao in 1654. Meanwhile he had made his profession on September 29, 1648 (D 38, 10). The Congregation elected him procurator of the Japan Province and as such he started sailing for Europe in early 1655. However, he was shipwrecked not far from Makasar on January 16, and although he survived, he lost all his documents (D 41, 2-3). He decided to wait at Makasar until new documents could be sent from Macao before continuing his voyage to Rome. But he waited in vain; Macao appointed another procurator. Why did Saccano not return to Macao? We do not know. We suppose that meanwhile he was appointed to Makasar after being brought there by mischance. We know of several letters written by him from there in the years 1655-1657. They reveal that he was fully communicant with his fellow Jesuits on questions of the Japan and China missions, but unfortunately they do not deal with Makasar itself (except for D 39). With the destruction of the Jesuit church in early 1658, he applied for the foundation of a new mission in the island of Sumba (D 52, 8), clear proof that he was not

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expected back at Macao. For one year and a half he stayed with the Sumba population obviously without any remarkable success. Then he was yet summoned back to Macao; so in October 1659 he left the island. From September 1660 on, we find him as Vice-Rector at Macao. Wanting to be a more active missionary he got permission to sail to Cochin China in March 1662 and there he died in August of that year (*IapSin 25* f. 179*v*). It is very disappointing that no report or account from his hand has been found in the archives, which deals with his work in Makasar and Sumba. In our collection, he wrote D 39.

B. - The Jesuits, Visitors in Makasar

Besides the Fathers and Brothers who were appointed for Makasar and were stationed there, a considerable number of Jesuits visited this harbour passing in route from India to Macao or Maluku or while returning to Malacca or Goa. The list of those Jesuits whose stop-over in Makasar is recorded in an historical document numbers almost forty names. But is seems very possible that there were still more. Some stayed only a few days (some did perhaps not even disembark), others some weeks, but there are cases when a non-appointed Jesuit remained at Makasar for a far longer period. A few of these men were famous for their work or writings, the rest were simply zealous missionaries. If the story of their lives has been written, the landing at Makasar is generally not even mentioned.

We give the list of these Jesuits in chronological order according to their appearance at Makasar, not expatiating on their lives and deeds, indicating where further information on them can be found.

1612 — *Gaspar Monteiro.* Oporto 1580 - Ternate 1612.
Sailing to Ternate from Malacca he had several adventures at Makasar in 1612.
DM III 28* and 243.

1624 — *Girolamo Maiorica.* Naples 1588 - Tonkin 1656.
On him, see D 21 note 3, and D 33, 2.
SOMMERVOGEL V 360; MHJ 1234; AHSI 22 (1953) 203-214.

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1646 — *Stanislao Torrente.* Orvieto 1616 - Hainan 1681.
Author of DD 18 and 19. Stayed in Makasar after March 1646; in 1647 he is already in Tonkin.
SOMMERVOGEL VIII 110; DEHERGNE no. 845; MHJ 1311.

1647 — *Alexandre de Rhodes.* Avignon 1591 - Esfahan (Iran) 1660.
Author of DD 33 48 50. Lived in Makasar from December 1646 to June 1647. Famous for his familiar contacts with Karaeng Pattingalloang.
SOMMERVOGEL VI 1718-1721; DEHERGNE no. 696; MHJ 1279.

1649 — *Jerónimo Lobo.* Lisbon 1595 - Lisbon 1678.
Mentioned in D 38 note 3. Conspicuous and curious Jesuit. Twice procurator of the Goa Province, once vice-provincial, great traveller. His stay at Makasar in 1649 seems completely unknown to the authors.
SOMMERVOGEL IV 1894-1897; FRANCO, *Ano Santo* 42-43; *Varones Ilustres* IX 538-567. To be added to Sommervogel: *Itinerário e outros escritos inéditos,* ed. M. Gonçalves da Costa, Barcelos 1971; *The Itinerário of Jerónimo Lobo,* ed. C. F. Beckingham, London, Hakluyt Soc. 1984.

1652 — *Martino Martini.* Trento 1614 — Hangchow 1661.
Famous missionary, geographer, author of the first atlas of China. Being elected procurator of the China mission, he sailed to Europe *via* the Philippines, Makasar and Batavia where he arrived in May 1652. See also 1658 below.
SOMMERVOGEL V 646-650; DEHERGNE no. 520 (literature); *Gen. Miss.* II 606; METZLER I/2 608-609.

— *Francisco Furtado.* Fayal, Azores 1589 - Macao 1653.
Made the same voyage as Martini *via* Makasar. Fr. Cardim reports his arrival in Batavia from Makasar shortly before August 1652 (FITZLER, *O Cerco de Columbo* 67).
DEHERGNE no. 342.

1655 — *João Cabral.* Celorico da Beira, Portugal 1598 - Goa 1669.
He wrote DD 31 and 40. Sailing to India from Macao, together with Metello Saccano and Baltasar Caldeira, he ended up in Makasar on account of a shipwreck in January 1655. How long he stayed there cannot be deduced

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1628 — *Manuel Ribeiro.* Madeira 1578 - Ternate 1640.
In Makasar on voyage to Cochin from Ternate.
DM III 30*-31*.

1635 — *Manuel Carvalho.* Lisbon 1599 - Siam 1663 (?).
He stopped in Makasar while sailing to Ternate from Malacca.
DM III 35*-36*.

1637 — *Giuseppe Agnes.* Sepino (Naples) 1612 - Tonkin 1660.
When sailing to Macao from India, he was captured by the Dutch and released at Makasar about 1637.
MHJ 1122; MARINI lib. II cap. X.

1644 — *Francisco Rangel.* Oporto 1613 or 1614 - at sea 1660.
In Makasar on his way to Macao from Goa in April-May.
Mentioned in DD 14, 2 and 15,9; MHJ 1277.

— *Mateo Cebrián* (Cipriano). Gandía 1610 - dismissed.
Stayed in Makasar at the same time as the preceding Fr. Rangel in early 1644. And again, but no longer a Jesuit, in 1646 as is noted in D 19.
Mentioned in D 14, 1-2.

— *Juan Rodríguez.* Toledo 1606 - ? after 1648.
In Makasar in May 1644 on his way to India from Ternate.
Mentioned in D 15, 9; see DM III 37*-38* and p. 542 note 7.

— *Joannes Lewicki* (de S. Ignacio). Polonia 1608 - China (shipwrecked) 1646.
In Makasar in May 1644 (D 15, 9). Author of D 15.
MHJ 1194.

1645 — *Joannes Nicolaus Smogulecki.* Kraków 1610 - China 1656.
In Makasar in the first half of 1645. Mentioned in D 16, 2.
SOMMERVOGEL VII 1328; DEHERGNE no. 794.

— *Henricus van Vlierden,* lay brother. Maastricht 1608 - Goa 1649.
Author of D 16. Companion of Fr. Smogulecki. Painter.
DEHERGNE nos. 868 and 906.

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from the sources; his name is listed in the Goa catalogue of 1656 (*Goa 27* f. 67).
DEHERGNE no. 126; MHJ 1144.

— *Baltasar Caldeira.* Macao 1608 - Goa 1678.
He wrote DD 22 and 37. A companion of the preceding Cabral. Both are shipwrecked and sojourn at Makasar.
DEHERGNE no. 129; MHJ 1144.

1656 — *Joseph Tissanier.* Port-Sainte-Marie 1618 — Macao 1688.
He wrote DD 43 45 49 51 and 54. He stayed at Makasar on his way from Goa to Macao from *c.* May 22 until June 7, 1656. He was accompanied by fourteen other Jesuits who all spent a good fortnight with him in Makasar. Of them, we know the following names: *Pierre Albier, Jean Forget, Domenico Fuciti, Giandomenico Gabiani, Louis Gobet* (Gobbé), *Adrien Grelon,* the three brothers *Claude, Jacques* and *Nicole Motel, Gonçalo de Oliveira, Edmont Poncet.* Fr. Gabiani fell ill in Makasar and had to stay there a full year; he did not sail to Macao until in June 1657 (On him, SOMMERVOGEL III 1076). Perhaps *François Baudet* or the already mentioned *Germain Macret* belonged to this group; this could not be verified in the sources (D 43).
DEHERGNE nos. 14 328 341 344 364 390 572-574 595 656 844. (He never gives any particulars of the voyage Goa-Macao).

1658 — *Martino Martini* (second time). With eight other Jesuits.
See under the year 1652. He returned from Europe and conducted with him a group of nine companions, one of whom, however, Giovanni Maria Guicciardi, died at sea shortly before reaching Makasar (DEHERGNE no. 394). The others stayed with Martini in the city from May 21 until June 17, 1658 (See DD 44 and 46). The names of the eight Jesuits are:
François Clément, who died at Makasar on May 24; *Jakob Dimer,* who likewise died there on June 21; *Albert Dorville,* author of D 44; *André Ferrão,* author of D 46; *Christian Wolfgang Herdtrich,* who, being ill, had to remain one year, at least until April 13, 1659, the day he took his vows of profession « in sacello dome-

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stico Residentiae » (*Lus.* 7 ff. 282-283); *Prospero Intorcetta;* Brother *Manuel dos Reis; Ferdinand Verbiest,* the famous Flemish missionary, mathematician and astronomer, who would die in Peking in 1688.
DEHERGNE nos. 182 258 261 296 404 414 264 883.

1659 — *Giovanni Filippo de Marini.* Taggia (Genova) 1608 - Macao 1682.
He is the author of D 55; see the Introduction to it. Sailing to Europe from Macao he stopped at Makasar for three months, June-September 1659.
SOMMERVOGEL V 582; DEHERGNE no. 243; MHJ 1228.

1664 — *Martim Coelho.* Évora 1608 - Macao 1667.
He visited Makasar from Macao to permit Fr. António Francisco to make his solemn profession which took place on May 23, 1664. See D 72, 1 and D 73, 4.
MHJ 1156.

III

THE DOCUMENTS

The collection in this volume consists of seventy-four Jesuit documents, to which, in an Appendix, three non-Jesuit texts are added with a view to illustrate better the situation of Christianity in 17th century Makasar.

Most of the documents are in Portuguese, though Spanish, Italian and Latin documents are also included; one or other letter is in French, and there is even one in Dutch. For Appendix 3 we give an English translation though the original Spanish version is available. (See reasons in the introduction to it).

1. *Nature and Contents*

The *nature* of the Jesuit documents proper causes a certain disappointment. A report written in Makasar by one of the Fathers stationed there and expatiating on the local religious conditions and the true apostolic ministry of the Fathers, is not available (DD 39 and 39 bis not being mission accounts proper). Out of the seventy-four Jesuit documents, only three were writ-

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ten in that city. All the information on the Jesuit ministry comes either from the Society's headquarters of Goa, Cochin and Macao (among them seventeen catalogues), or from some other place where missionaries wrote down their impressions or commentaries while on their way to Makasar or after having become acquainted with that city.

As to the *contents* of the documents, we have already explained that in Makasar there was no question of a real « mission », i. e. of a systematic work of conversion of the native population. Therefore we cannot expect accounts of teaching and preaching the faith, of administering baptisms and other sacraments, of founding new mission stations in outside villages, of constructing churches and chapels, of erecting confraternities, and the like. The documents deal rather with the conflicts of the Christian « mission » with the rulers who professed Islam and whose policy was wholly against the introduction of any other religion. They reveal the pro-Christian sympathies of some rulers, how they showed them unmistakably to some of the Fathers, and how at the same time they sank them for reasons of State. They tell how Makasar came to choose Islam and to reject Christianity, and how, nevertheless, the Christian Portuguese not only frequented the port of the country, but were even badly wanted there for many years. The documents show the policy of free trade and the consequences for Makasar of the fall of Malacca to the Dutch. They reveal the narrow-minded opposition of the secular clergy of the Portuguese quarter to the religious, especially to the Jesuits. We learn of the growing power and influence of the Dutch who because of their claim to the monopoly in the clove trade sought to force the Makasarese to renounce their own trade with Maluku. We read of the frustrating position of the Jesuits, how they tried to find apostolic work in the Lesser Sunda Islands and how finally they were expelled from Makasar under pressure of the Dutch.

Concrete answers to questions such as: in what consisted the daily activity of the Fathers?, and for what reason did the Society maintain the apparently useless Makasar residence?, are not found. Certainly, some missionaries were amply occupied in trading, either for their own sustenance or on behalf of, and in cooperation with, the trade of the Macao Fathers. The necessity of commercial activity of the Jesuits is illustrated by Boxer in these words: « The religious orders often had to temporise with Mammon in order to secure, in whole or in part, the money

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which they required for the support of their missions... The Crown of Portugal was supposed to provide the funds needed for this purpose, but... payments made by the Crown were received either late, in part, or never » (*The Portuguese Seaborne Empire* 77). That some Fathers at times unfolded an uncommon skilfulness and interest in trading cannot be denied but is understandable. Cf. D 57.

The Makasar residence was retained as a safe intermediate station and as a profitable trading post for those who sailed to or from Macao. But the just quoted D 57 shows that also voices were raised in favour of abandoning this and other similar posts.

2. *Provenance, Archives*

Now as to the provenance of the documents, their originals or manuscript copies are found scattered among several archives. We give the list of these archives and of their volumes or codices or sheaves that contain the documents.

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI)

Congr. 73 — D 29A.
Epp. NN. 95 — D 19.
Gal. 103 — DD 48AB 50.
Goa 9 — D 39.
Goa 17 — DD 2 6.
Goa 18 — DD 11 12.
Goa 29 — DD 8 23 34.
Goa 33 II — DD 1CD 4 7B 9B 10.
Goa 34 II — D 25.
Goa 48 — DD 3B 5A.
Goa 55 — DD 1A 3A 5B.
Goa 56 — DD 7C 9A 24 37.
IapSin 19 — DD 40BC 73A.
IapSin 22 — DD 40A 64.
IapSin 25 — DD 21 28 38 47 59 60 61B 63 66 68A 69 71A 72 74.
IapSin 26 — DD 61A 68B 71B.
IapSin 48 — DD 31AB 52 62B 65 67.
IapSin 64 — DD 15A 17 22A 35AB 41A 58A 62A.

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IapSin 65 — D 30.
IapSin 69 — DD 27A 33AB.
IapSin 80 — DD 45 49 51.
IapSin 118 — D 15B.
IapSin 124 — D 70.
IapSin 161 — DD 16A 20.
IapSin 162 — DD 43 44 56 73B.
Section « *Fondo Gesuitico* » *647* — D 18.
F.G. 684 — D 53.
F. G. 730 I — D 57ABC.

Note: Several of our documents are also in *IapSin 106* but only in a 19th century Italian translation; so these texts are of a much less value for the purpose of textual criticism. We neglect them.

BELGIUM

Brussels, Rijksarchief:
MS 1428 — D 5CD.

GERMANY

München, Hauptstaatsarchiv:
Jesuiten 607 — D 14B.

GREAT BRITAIN

London, British Library:
Add. 9853 — DD 1B 7A.

ITALY

Rome, Archives of the Propaganda Fide:
SOCG 189 — Appendix 1.

Rome, Bibliotheca Vallicelliana:
Z 114 — D 27B.

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NETHERLANDS

The Hague, Rijksarchief, Koloniaal Archief:
K. A. 1100 — D 39 bis.

PORTUGAL

Lisbon, Academia das Ciências:
MS of D 36.

Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda:
Jesuítas na Ásia 49-IV-61 — DD 32B 35D 41C 42A.
Jesuítas na Ásia 49-V-13 — DD 26B 29B 31C.
Jesuítas na Ásia 49-V-14 — D 42B.
Jesuítas na Ásia 49-V-15 — D 62D.

Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal:
MS 769 — D 46.

SPAIN

Madrid, Real Academia de Historia:
Jesuitas, tomo 119 — D 13.
Jesuitas, tomo 120 — D 14A.
Jesuitas, legajo 21 — DD 22B 26A 29.
Jesuitas, legajo 22 — DD 32A 35 41B 62C.

Four documents are borrowed from printed texts: DD 54 and 55, Appendices 2 and 3, either because a manuscript text is not known, or because recourse to the manuscript, especially of the Appendices, was beyond the scope of our publication. Of the documents proper, 1-74, a critical edition is given according to the standards of the MHSI. The Appendices, being only non-Jesuit supplements and illustrations, are presented in a less rigorous way.

3. *Earlier Printings of the Manuscripts*

1. *Lettere Annue d'Etiopia, Malabar, Brasil e Goa dall'anno 1620 fin'al 1624*, Roma 1627, 61-62 = D 10.

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2. WESSELS, C. SJ, *Een Portugeesche Missiepoging op Bali in 1635*, Studiën 99, 1923, 433-443 = D 11 (Dutch).
3. JACOBS, H. SJ, *An Abortive Mission Effort; the Island of Bali*, AHSI 53, 1984, 327-328 = D 11; 328-329 = D 12; 322-327 = D 13.
4. VISSER, B. *Onder de Compagnie*, Batavia s. a., 238-239 = D 11 (Dutch).
5. MHJ (*Monumenta Historica Japoniae*), Romae 1975, 1051-1055 = D 20; 1055-1064 = D 21; 1068-1081 = D 28; 1102-1115 = D 38.
6. MARACCI, G. SJ, *Relation de ce qui c'est passé dans les Indes Orientales*, Paris 1651, = D 25.
7. *Divers voyages et missions du Père Alexandre de Rhodes*, Paris 1653 = D 27.
8. DM (*Documenta Malucensia*) III 567-568 = D 29.
9. CARDIM, Francisco SJ, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus na sua gloriosa Provincia do Japão*, Lisboa 1894, 283-286 = D 36.
10. BOSMANS, H. SJ, *Documents sur Albert de Dorville de Bruxelles*, Louvain 1911, 65-78 = D 44.
11. FERREIRA DA CRUZ, A. A., *Notícias do Oriente Português em 1658 segundo uma relação inédita*, Porto 1958, 39-43 = D 46.

4. *The Historians of the Makasar Jesuit Mission*

We intend to record only those authors who explicitly deal with the history of the Makasar Jesuit mission. They are not many.

The first who tried to give a conspectus of that history was C. WESSELS SJ in his *Wat staat geschiedkundig vast over de oude missie in Zuid-Celebes?* (Studiën 103, 1925, 403-441). The article is rich in information. It drew upon many archival manuscripts, unknown to the scholars up to then, but it is deficient in some important aspects. The author had no knowledge of the role of the Japanese Jesuit Province, and so he missed several of its documents. Moreover he took no notice of several missionaries, nor was he aware of the many Fathers who, not being appointed for Makasar, simply passed through. Furthermore, he did not distinguish these two groups. Proceeding in his research, Wessels became more and more conscious of the imperfect condition of

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what he had written. This reflection resulted in a new, more amplified contribution *De Katholieke Missie in Zuid-Celebes, 1525-1668* (Het Missiewerk 28, 1949, 65-83 and 129-144). This second article is an enlarged and bettered exposition of the historical facts; consequently, it makes the former article obsolete. In it the author uses a larger number of documents from the Jesuit and other archives, also from the *IapSin* section of the ARSI.

Yet even this second, improved article remains disappointing. Again the shift of Jesuit Provinces, first of Cochin, afterwards of Japan, is not given any definite attention. Again the difference between Fathers assigned to the mission and those who only passed through is ignored. And again the number of names of Fathers from both groups remains very restricted. Wessels' attention is focused on Makasar as the object of missionary work rather than on the Jesuits as missionaries.

B. J. J. VISSER MSC, in his *Onder de Compagnie, Geschiedenis der Katholieke Missie in Nederlandsch Indië, 1608-1800*, Batavia [1934], pays attention to Makasar on pp. 101-119. He bases his work only on printed sources, including Wessel's first article. He is unacquainted with many of our documents; instead, he often makes use of old Dutch publications. Of course, there is many a gap in the description of the typical Jesuit work of representing the faith in the world of Makasar.

Finally we mention briefly the *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, I (Ende-Flores 1974), whose chief editor, M. MUSKENS, in pp. 318-321, relates a part of the mission history of the 17th century Makasar. He relies mainly on the articles of Wessels.

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1

FR. MANUEL BARRADAS, COMMISSIONED BY FR. PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL

— Annual Letter —

COCHIN, NOVEMBER 20, 1615

I TEXTS: There are four originals, two in Portuguese and two in Latin, all of them in a regular and clear handwriting.

A. ARSI, *Goa 55* ff. 313*r*-320*v*. Original in Portuguese. On the last page, which is blank, a note: « Anua da provincia do Malavar », to which another hand added «1615 ». The Makasar sections are on ff. 313*r* and 315*v*.

B. London, British Library, *Add. 9853* ff. 137-144 (formerly 537-544). Original in Portuguese. The sections on Makasar are on ff. 137*r* and 139*v*.

C. ARSI, *Goa 33 II* ff. 480*r*-485*v*. Original in a concise Latin translation. Title: « Literae annuae Provinciae Malabaricae anni Domini 1615 ad R. admodum Societatis Iesu P. G. Claudium Aquamvivam ». F. 485*r* is blank, its *verso* has a quasi-address: «Annuae litterae Provinciae Coccinensis admodum Rdo P.N. — Romae — 1ª via ». No date. The Makasar sections are on ff. 480*r* and 482*r*.

D. *Ibid.* ff. 486*r*-491*v*. Another original in Latin. Same title as in B. The letter is incomplete; its ending, a date, a signature and an indication of a *via* are lacking. The Makasar sections are on ff. 486*r* and 488*v*.

II THE AUTHOR: Manuel Barradas was *socius*, or secretary, to the Provincial of Malabar, Fr. Gaspar Fernandes. See DM III 256.

III OUR EDITION: We print two small sections in which the new mission of Makasar is expressly mentioned. We borrow them from text A.

Summary

1. *Of the twelve Jesuits who arrived last year, one was destined for the new mission of Makasar.* — 2. *As the Bishop of Malacca requested Fathers for Makasar, Fr. Manuel de Azevedo was appointed to go there and to take with him another Father from Malacca.*

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Carta annua da Provincia do Malabar do anno de 615 pera o N.R.P. Geral Claudio Aguaviva

[...]

1. Neste collegio de Cochim recebemos os doze que V. P. o anno passado mandou pera esta Provincia [1] com as maiores mostras de amor e charidade que nos foi possivel, assi por ser a primeira missão que pera esta Provincia veo, como pollos muitos e bons sogeitos de que ella constava. Os quaes todos ainda que tarde, por a viagem ser vagarosa, chegarão com saude e o ficão ao presente, sendo já dos quatro Padres [2] hum [3] mandado a huma nova missão de Macassâ, e outro applicado a christandade da Serra.

[...315*v*]

2. Com instancia pedio por cartas suas antes de partir de Goa o novo bispo de Malaca Dom Gonçalo da Sylva [4] Padres pera irem em missão a Cochimchina e ao Macassâ. Pera esta, por nella se esperar muito fruito e conversão, se concederão dous Padres, hum dos quaes que daqui partio foi o Padre Manoel d'Azevedo que do reino veo o anno passado e pedio a missão com muito fervor, não lhe faltando competidores. O companheiro ha-de tomar em Malaca [5]. Esperamos em N. Senhor de mandar o anno que vem muito boas e largas novas da nova missão. Pera Cochinchina não forão necessarios Padres porquanto se proveo da China dos que de Jappão vierão lançados.

[...320*r*]

Cochim, 20 de Novembro de 615.

Por commissão do Padre Provincial,

Manoel Barradas.

Lost Letters

1a — *Bishop Gonçalo da Silva of Malacca, Goa, to Fr. Provincial of Cochin, 1615.*

D 1, 2: Pedio por cartas suas... Padres pera irem em missão.

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[1] WICKI, *Liste* 288 nos. 597-608; they sailed from Lisbon on April 8, 1614.
[2] In Wicki's *Liste* all twelve are indicated as P., i. e. Father.
[3] See following paragraph.
[4] Bishop of Malacca 1613-1636. See DM III 9*. Lost Letters, 1a.
[5] This companion was Fr. Manuel Ferreira: DM III 33*.

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2

DOM GONÇALO DA SILVA, BISHOP OF MALACCA, TO FR. GASPAR FERNANDES SJ, PROVINCIAL OF COCHIN

MALACCA, DECEMBER 15, 1616

First *via*

TEXT: ARSI, *Goa 17 ff.* 184*r*-185*v*. Original in Portuguese, written in a neat hand. In addition to the address, the addressee is also mentioned in the margin of f. 184*r*: « Ao P^e^ Gaspar Frs ».

Summary

1. *The Visitor of the Province of Japan wants to maintain his two Fathers in Cochin China. But Fr. Manuel de Azevedo was destined for that mission. The Japan Province Fathers may stay on, but if more of them are needed they have to be of the Cochin Province. — 2. Frs. Azevedo and Ferreira sailed to Makasar for which they were originally intended. But more Fathers for Cochin China shall be taken from the Cochin Province.*

[...]

1. Ao Padre Visitador de Jappão Francisco Vieira [1] pareceo, passando por aqui na monção da China, que os dous Padres que estevão em Cochimchina, que vierão de Machao [2], ficassem ali. E com muitas rezoens me persuadio e pedio viesse nisto, porquanto aquelles Padres estavão já ahi e [a] tinhão conhecimento da terra. Eu, como estava pera hir pera aquella christandade [184*v*] o Padre Manoel d'Azevedo [3], como tinha escrito a V. P. [4], resisti [b] ao Provincial [5]. Porem, como elle instou tanto, desci-me

[a] *corr. fr.* não [b] *corr. fr.* registi

[1] He was Provincial of Goa, 1609-1615, and Visitor of the Japan Province and the China Vice-Province, 1615-1619.

[2] It was Fr. Francesco Buzomi of Naples who founded the Jesuit mission of Cochin China in 1615. His companion in that first year was Fr. Diogo Carvalho, Portuguese.

[3] Fr. Azevedo had been appointed to sail to Makasar. Apparently the bishop had changed this destination, but now he had to return to the original appointment.

[4] Lost letter, 2a.

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do meu parecer e lhe disse que por hora ficassem aquelles Padres, mas que ao diante os que fossem mais necessarios, abrindo-sse aquella mata da gentelidade, avião de hir desta provincia.

2. E assi como a Companhia hé toda huma, e eu consenti por esta rezão que o Padre Provincial Valentim Carvalho [6] mandasse de lá aquelles Padres. E assi o Padre Manoel d'Azevedo e o Padre Manoel Ferreira fizerão a missão pera o Macaça, pera onde de primeiro elle vinha destinado. Mas esté V. P. que os mais obreiros que ouverem de hir ao diante pera Cochimchina, Deos querendo como eu confio, hão-de ser desta provincia.

[... 185*r*] Malaca, em 15 de Dezembro, 616.

[*Autograph*] D. Gonçalo da Sylva, Bispo de Malaca.

[*Address* 185*v*] Ao muito Reverendo Padre Gaspar Fernandes, Provincial da Companhia de Iesus da Provincia do Sul [7]. 1ª via. Do Bispo de Malaca.

Lost Letter

2a — *Gonçalo da Silva, Bishop of Malacca, to Fr. Provincial of Cochin, 1616.*

D 2, 1: Como tinha escrito a V. P.

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[5] This should be *Visitador.*

[6] Provincial of Japan 1611-1617.

[7] The Malabar Province was also called *Provincia de Cochim* after the seat of the Provincial, and *Provincia do Sul* after its geographical position, in opposition to the *Provincia do Norte* or Goa Province from which it had been detached in 1601.

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3

FR. MANUEL BARRADAS S. J.
BY COMMISSION OF FR. PROVINCIAL,
[TO FR. GENERAL, ROME]

— Annual Letter —

COCHIN, DECEMBER 15, 1617

I TEXT:

A. ARSI, *Goa 55* ff. 337*r*-352*v*, formerly 15-30. Original in **Latin,** written in a clear and regular hand signed by Fr. Manuel Barradas. The letter is divided into paragraphs entitled with the names of the Cochin Province residences. Under the title *Collegium Malacense* there is twice a short mention of the Makasar mission.

B. ARSI, *Goa 48* ff. 185*r*-192*v*. Original in Latin; identical but incomplete copy which ends, on f. 192*v*, with the title ***Bengalla Missio,*** while the rest is missing.

II OUR EDITION: We print the two small parts in which the Makasar mission is expressly referred to, and take them from **text A.**

Summary

1. *The number of Jesuits in Malacca college was temporarily increased by others coming from China and Manila, and by two who were on their way to Makasar.* — 2. *These two by this time have left for Makasar.*

Annuae literae Provinciae Malabarensis anno Domini 1617

[341*v*] Collegium Malacense

1. Novem socios ad omnia Societatis munia exercenda hoc collegium continebat. Auxere tamen hoc anno sociorum numerum nonnulli a Sina et insulis Manillis remissi [1], et alii duo Macaçarensem tractum petentes [2]. Qui omnes quatuor supra [a] viginti

[a] et *B*

[1] For instance, some Jesuits were sent to Malacca from Macao in order to be ordained priests (MHJ I 638 650-651 686).

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divinis mediationibus sese obfirmantes [b] in animarum solatio et auxilio multum [c] laboris collocarunt magna utilitate.

[...342*r*]

2. Duo in Macaçarensem expeditionem ex hoc collegio sunt profecti [3], divinum ad multa [352*v*] Deo grata patranda expectantes [d] auxilium.

[352*v*]

In urbe Coccino, decima quinta die Decembris anno Domini 1617.

Authoritate et iussu Patris Provincialis,

Emmanuel Barradas.

4

FR. GASPAR FERNANDES SJ, PROVINCIAL

— Brief Information on the Province —

COCHIN, DECEMBER 23, 1617

Second *via*

I TEXT: ARSI, *Goa 33 II* ff. 598*r*-603*v*. For a description of the document, see DM III 360-361. The Makasar sections are on ff. 598*r* and 600*v*-601*r*.

II OUR EDITION: We print those two parts in which the Makasar mission is explicitly mentioned and its dependence on Malacca is shown.

Summary

1. *The Jesuit Province of Malabar extends over four dioceses. The Maluku islands and Makasar are in the diocese of Malacca.* — 2. *Contribution*

[b] *corr. fr.* offirmantes; *del.* te... *B* [c] *corr. fr.* multorum *B* [d] *corr. fr.* spectantes

[2] Frs. Manuel de Azevedo and Manuel Ferreira.

[3] They sailed from Malacca on December 2, 1616, and arrived at Makasar on January 4, 1617 (D 5, 2).

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of some Malacca Jesuits to a fleet of the Portuguese and in battles conducted by them. — 3. Last year two Fathers sailed for Makasar. Good hopes.

[598*r*] Breve emformação das christandades que estão à conta da Companhia nesta Provincia do Sul, e fruito que nella se faz. Feita em Dezembro de seissentos e dezacete.

1. Está esta provincia, em que há quasi sento e sincoenta da Companhia, espalhada por quatro bispados...[1] No de Malaca, a quem pertence Cochimchina e todas as ilhas Malucas, Macassares e outras daquelle grande arcipellago dos reinos de Maluco.

[...600*v*]

2. Collegio de Malaca

Accudio-se em particular os annos atraz às arrmadas que o Senhor Viso-Rey mandou pera as partes do Sul e em socorro de Maluco não só no esperitual con as confições e amisades que se fizeram, muito mais tambem no temporal, provendo os galleões do capitão-mor Francisquo de Miranda Emrriques de agoa e lenha e outras couzas que lhe hera[m] bem nessesarias, come se pode ver per cer-[601*r*]tidão do mesmo capitão-mor, achando-sse com elle hum Padre na brigua que teve com os achens e olandezes em Malaca, e outro com Almirante Affonço Vaz Coutinho, confessando e animando aos soldados com muita edificação e consolação sua e não sem derramamento de sangue, ficando hum destes Padres com muitas feridas bem mal tratado[2].

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[1] The four dioceses were those of Cochin, Cranganor, São Thomé, and Malacca.

[2] In 1614 the Governor of Manila, Juan de Silva, induced the Viceroy of Goa, Jerónimo de Azevedo, to send a fleet of four galleons to Manila, which would join there a Philippine fleet for a common attack on Maluku with a view of expelling the Dutch. The four galleons left Goa in May 1615, commanded by the *Almirante* Afonso Vaz Coutinho, and with troops under General Francisco de Miranda Henriques. They reached Malacca where they were attacked by a mighty fleet of Aceh, which, however, was beaten. One galleon was lost. While the other three stayed in the port of Malacca to be refitted, they were assaulted and entirely destroyed by eight Dutch ships. It is in these naval battles that some Jesuits were used to encourage and assist the soldiers. See BOCARRO, *Década 13* 384-388 412-416 422-425; COLIN-PASTELLS III 578-580.

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3. Alem destes obreiros o anno passado se mandarão deste collegio dous Padres em missão ao Macassar, donde se espera resultar muito serviço de Deos Noso Senhor e de sua Magestade em proveito de todas aquellas almas.

[...601*v*]

Cochim, vinte tres de Dezembro de seiscentos e dezacete.

Gaspar Fernandez.

Lost Letter

4a — *Fr. Fernandes, Provincial, Cochin, to Fr. Manuel de Azevedo, Makasar, 1618.*

D 5, 1: Ad consolatorias Patris Provincialis.

5

FR. MANUEL DA COSTA SJ, BY COMMISSION OF FR. PROVINCIAL, TO FR. MUZIO VITELLESCHI, GENERAL, ROME

— Annual Letter —

COCHIN, DECEMBER 15, 1618

I TEXT: Only Latin versions are available.

A. ARSI, *Goa 48* ff. 199*r*-210*v*, formerly pp. 1-24. Latin original in a neat hand with very few corrections. Unfortunately, the text is incomplete; the pages dealing with Negapatan, São Tomé, and Madurai are wanting. The Makasar section, contained in the chapter « Collegium Malacense », is on ff. 207*v*-209*r*.

B. ARSI, *Goa 55* ff. 353*r*-367*v*. Another Latin copy, written by an amanuensis evidently not much skilled in that language, and therefore containing many errors and corrections. The Makasar part is on ff. 362*v*-364*r;* it has a number of summaries in the margin in a later hand.

C. Brussels, Rijksarchief *MS 1428* ff. 183*r*-198*v*. Latin copy, same text as A and B. Many parts are either crossed out or replaced by an interlinear or marginal shorter version.

D. *Ibid. MS 1428* ff. 199*r*-213*r*. This text contains only the version as it was corrected and shortened in C.

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II AUTHOR: Manuel da Costa was a young Jesuit who studied theology at Cochin College in 1618-1619 (*Goa 29* f. 23*r*). He was born at Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 1592 and entered the Society in 1608 (*ibid.* f. 12*r*).

III OUR EDITION: We edit text A as being the most perfect and likely the most original one. Only the closing phrase, missing in A, is borrowed from text B.

Summary

1. *In 1616 two Fathers were sent to Makasar from the Malacca college. Their pastoral work, Lenten sermons. Will quote a letter written by them.* — 2. *They arrived on January 4, 1617. Their intention of making converts, though kept secret, appeared generally known. They hired a house and fitted out a chapel to say mass.* — 3. *Just before the celebration the king turned up and attended mass. The Fathers went to pay their respects and to offer some presents to him. On Candlemas the king attended mass again; he praised the candle ceremony and the sermon on Christ, Light to the gentiles.* — 4. *Opposition of the Moslem leaders. They influenced the king, and he stopped visiting the Fathers.* — 5. *Then they resolved to visit the king and to put their cards on the table. The answer was: I am always a friend of the Portuguese, but I will never change religion, and none of my subjects will ever be allowed to convert to Christianity.* — 6. *The Makasar people are so extremely infected with Islam that they waged war on the Bugis for ten years to impose their religion upon them and that they have not only harlots but even men publicly promoting sodomy. So far the letter.* — 7. *As Makasar appeared closed to the Gospel, one Father tried his luck in sailing to Bima but was blown off course to Solor where he gathered information about the Bima king and people.* — 8. *The Solor people were eager to receive the Jesuit and welcomed him with great delight. Instances of pastoral work among them.* — 9. *Sailing back he was overtaken by a violent storm on the vigil of St. Ignatius day; this Saint saved the ship from danger.*

Annuae litterae Provinciae Malabaricae anni Domini 1618 ad Rev. admodum Societatis Iesu P. G. P. Mutium Vitelleschium.

[...207*v*]

1. Anno millessimo sexagessimo decimo sexto duo nostri [1] ex hoc collegio in regnum Macassa missi non vulgarem fructum caeperunt: his enim administris usus est Deus in hominibus quatordecim ab apostasia, aliis ab inveterato odio, a pellicibus

[1] Frs. Manuel de Azevedo and Manuel Ferreira.

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aliquot, cum quibus denos turpissime vixerant annos, revocandis. Quadragessimae conciones magno omnium concursu habitae [2]. Duo iberi a Mindanauis capti et a quodam huius oppidi incola empti, Patrum interventu vigenis supra centenos aureis ab ipso rege collatis redempti. Non abs re opinor fuerit hoc loco, quo degustetur aliquid de adventu nostrorum hospitioque in hoc regno, adscribere particulam litterarum, quas ad consolatorias Patris Provincialis [3] rescripserunt. Quod fideliter faciam, ut de eius statu rectum iuditium fieri possit.

2. Pridie nonas Ianuarii [4] anno millessimo sexagessimo decimo septimo, trigessimo quarto die profectionis nostrae e Malacensi collegio [5] navem in hunc portum intulimus. Et licet praemoniti ut caute sub his initiis procedamus, praecipuum occultantes animi consilium, rem tamen adeo evulgatam invenimus, ut rex ipse [6] caeterique proceres [7] duos Societatis Patres suum in regnum Macassâ ad fidei mysteria propaganda adventitare dicerent. Quae omnia ut potuimus dissimulavimus. lusitanorum vicarii munere fungentes [8]. Domum secus mare, ubi christianorum pauca aliquot domicilia assiduusque omnium fere gentium affluxus est, conduximus. [208*r*]. Statim aram splendidiori quo potuit apparatu ereximus, convocatisque fidelibus, qui viginti supra centum numerabantur [9], primum sacrum celebravimus.

3. Prius tamen quam sacrum initiaretur, rex ipse ut nobis de adventu congratularetur advenit et missae adesse optavit [10] dif-

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[2] The Fathers arrived on January 4, 1617; in that year Lent fell from February 8 to March 26.

[3] Lost letter, 4a. The author of the following letter is doubtless Fr. Manuel de Azevedo.

[4] That is, on January 4.

[5] So they left Malacca on December, 2, 1616.

[6] Sultan Alauddin, ruling from 1593 to 1639.

[7] Outstanding among the prominent men was the kingdom's Governor or Chief-Minister, the Karaeng Matoaya, governing from 1593 to 1636. He was the man who officially introduced Islam for the entire people in 1605-1607. (*Karaeng* means Prince).

[8] This statement implies that the presence of a vicar, i. e. of a secular priest appointed by the Bishop of Malacca for the Portuguese merchants and other Catholics, was already accepted in those days.

[9] The size of the Catholic community is likely to have fluctuated, consisting of Portuguese(-Indian) and Spanish(-Philippine) merchants (pure blood or half-cast) with their crews and slaves, and of converts from Indian, Malay, Maluku, Solor-Timor and perhaps other peoples.

[10] This wish appears rather strange in a ruler who ten years earlier had accepted Islam for his kingdom. It proves that, for many people

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ficilem egressum praeferens, quam ob causam privilegio nostro [11] uti recte duximus. Itaque mansit caeteris exeuntibus. Sacro perfecto, altaris ornatum imaginisque pulchritudinem laudans, se nunquam aliis in sacerdotibus similem mundiciem vidisse affirmavit.

Eodem die sub vesperam regem cum litteris et muneribus, e malacensibus urbisque antistite missis, adivimus. Ingrediendi facta potestate per amplam primo aulam omni armorum genere circumvestitam, in alteram eiusdem magnitudinis intravimus, cuius in medio grandis alebatur focus, quo cibus ad regis mensam decoquebatur. Hinc tertia in aula [12] regem humi sedentem invenimus [a] trecentas inter opinor mulieres quarum duntaxat famulatu domesticoque comitatu utitur.

Litteris et muneribus oblatis iisque perlectis domum absque responso redivimus. Ita enim inter hos in more positum est, ut dona recipiant ne verbo quidem reddito. Sequenti luce domum nostram iterum ingressus, omnia perscrutari, inspicere, pervolvere, et ex his quaecumque placerent deposcere non verebatur. Ita ut calceos ipsos crassos ac rudes petierit, affirmans eos sibi cariores, quo durabiliores quam molles et elegantes lusitanorum esse.

Tandem eo die, qui Virgini Purificatae dicatus est [13] templum iterum revisens, sacro interesse volens de more dispensare coacti fuimus. Peracto candelarum officio, quod curiose contemplabatur, tunc Pater novi auditoris causa ex evangelica lectione, ad ea verba: « Lumen ad revelationem gentium » [14], sermonem arripiens de Christi verae lucis in mundum adventu disseruit. Quo

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and even the sultan, the choice of Islam was mainly a political question and not a question of personal conviction and of the heart, although Matoaya himself was surely a devout Moslem.

[11] « Possunt Nostri in terris infidelium, haereticorum et schismaticorum, vel ubi magnus est talium numerus, quando necessitas urgeret, et periculum esset maioris scandali, conversari cum huusmodi hominibus et missas celebrare, etiam si illi praesentes adsunt in ecclesia, dummodo prohiberi nequeant sine maiori scandalo » (*Compendium Indicum*, Goae 1581, p. xiiij).

[12] The ruler's palace was called Sombaopu. « During the long duumvirate of Sultan Alauddin and Karaeng Matoaya, Sombaopu became the heart of Makassar » (A. REID, *The Rise* 141; See VALENTIJN III b after p. 138, picture no. 23).

[13] February 2, Candlemas.

[14] Luc 2 32.

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peracto rex Deiparae effigiem concionemque collaudans domo exivit.

4. Rebus ita se habentibus humani generis hostis, ut est in concitandis imperitorum animis apprime versatus, ita scelerate ac impie in nos est debacchatus, ut omnes maurorum sacerdotes, qui hoc tantum in oppido mille sunt, ad immane facinus impulerit. Furiale consilium ineunt regis conveniendi, incensumque odio furorem nostro nonnisi sanguine extinguendi. Adducunt facile perditam in sententiam mauros omnes suapte natura ad feritatem propensos, et consilio communicato ad regem intrant.

Quousque tandem, inquiunt, Patres invises eorumque sacrificiis aderis? Parum deest, ut praeter nostros oculos atque ora securi incedentes propriam edocendo legem de nostro Maumeto triumphent, et te ipsum tot fraudulentiis deceptum phalerata potius quam vera sapientia in suam arrogent religionem. His stimulis agitatus regni amissionem metuens, ut maurorum studiis morigeraretur [208v] a nostra consuetudine abstinuit.

5. Quibus perspectis re coram Deo mature considerata, animum nostrum regi duximus aperiendum. Itaque suppeditata facultate et munusculo oblato, facilem ad eum ingressum habuimus, et verbis totius urbanitatis plenis illum ita sumus alloquuti:

Rex, praecipuam adventus nostri causam ad veram tibi Christi Domini legem denuntiandam fuisse pro comperto habes. Cui si attente aures dederis quam solido fundamento nitatur, e contra vero quam falso Maumeti impostura liquido perspicies. Quod bonum lusitani omnes eo gratioribus tibi studiis, ut qui excellentior semper fuit erga illos tui pectoris animus, summis precibus a Deo optimo maximo contendunt, et ut maiori desiderio tui colere beneficia, tantique regis memoriam prosequi possint.

Ad quae decolori vultu aliquantulum suspensus, ita deinde rex respondit: Se lusitanorum amicum semper et fuisse et futurum, legem tamen ut mutaret nunquam futurum, nec verbum quidem amplius de hoc negotio auditurum. Et cum immobilis in hac sententia persisteret, facultatem, ut subditi sui christianam legem libere sponteque amplecti possint saltem faceret addidi. Neutiquam decet, inquit, regem unam legem et subditos aliam amplecti, seque in hoc proposito aeternum permansurum.

6. Hic status Macassaris regni adeo Maumeti coeno infecti, ut Bogisis finitimis populis decem annorum spatio crudele bellum intulerit, marteque subactis non aliud, quam nefandae suae

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sectae pensum imposuerit [15]. Tam licentiose impudicitiis dediti, ut praeter innumeras meretricii quaestus mulierculas, quamplurimi viri ipsius regis consensu muliebribus induti vestibus ad nefandum sodomitarum ministerium parati publice per vicos et plateas incedant [16]. Haec Pater.

7. Ita obseratis evangelicae doctrinae Macassariis foribus, ad regnum Bimae unus e Patribus [17], altero ibi residente iuxta Provincialis Patris iussum, profectus ad Soloremque insulam appellens, opportuni navigii ventorumque defectu de illius regni, gentis regisque dispositione, ut potuit edoctus Malacam rediit [18]. Quam expeditionem Deo duce data temporis opportunitate futurum ut suscipiamus confidimus. Interim fructus paucis illis diebus, quibus Pater in Solore insula resedit, perceptus non est praetereundus.

8. Sunt huius insulae incolae adeo Societatis avidi, ut Patris adventu nuntiato, iam sui se compotes voti existimantes non tacitum continere gaudium potuerint. Excipitur ubique noster magna universorum laetitia, aera pulsantur in gaudii signum, clamoribus gratulationibus, quibusque aliis multitudo solet, eximiam significare laetitiam haud cessabant [19].

Vir erat, qui cum a peccatorum vinculis Qua-[209*r*]dragessimali confessione se eximere recusaret a parocho admonitus, si amplius de illa re verbum loqueretur, se gladio illum interempturum affirmavit. De consilio tamen nostri cum eluisset animum a peccatorum sordibus, inimici odium cuius causa confessionem differebat, penitus restinxit, submissoque animo parocho se subiecit.

Quidam e Sinarum regno venerat, patruelemque interfectum intelligens homicidam quaerens incurrit in eum, sclopoque in-

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[15] The Bugis are a population distinct from the Makasarese and widely spread over SW Sulawesi and even outside it. The most important Bugi states were Boni, Soppeng, and Wayo. The « Islam War » waged by Makasar against these states to make them accept Islam started about 1608-1609. See REID, *A Great* 16.

[16] These were the shaman « priests », called *bissu*. See ENOI III 509; our article *The First Locally Demonstrable Christianity in Celebes* 290. The derivation from Sanskrit *biksu* is no longer held by scholars.

[17] Fr. Manuel Ferreira.

[18] The sentence is not very clear. Fr. Ferreira sailed for Bima (Sumbawa), but adverse wind made him land at Solor, and there he gathered information about Bima and its ruler.

[19] One has to remember that the mission of Solor, Timor, and Flores was committed to the Dominican Fathers.

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tento fugientem insequebatur. Hic vero ab uno patre auxilium implorans, quo iam se reciperet nesciebat, uterque tamen nostri interventu fide optima mutuam in gratiam rediere. Simili modo integra tot annorum confessione conglutinata pax inter quosdam, cuius vincula disruperat dissidium animorum.

Nauclerum ex Arabia oriundus de rebus fidei cum Patre nonnunquam disserens, convictus tandem ad eius pedes provolutus est baptismum suppliciter postulans. Tam piis votis Pater, ipso oppidi duce spiritualis parentis munus obeunte, incredibili laetitia annuere minime repugnavit.

9. Malacam prope rediens tenebat, cum adeo turbulentum tempus procellam minitans undique navem circundedit ut gubernator ipse ad scopulos proxime apparentes fore ut navis allideret certo arbitraretur. Cum tamen Beati Parentis nostri Ignatii pervigilium esset [20], Pater omnes ad litanias recitandas invitavit, quo Deus, qui ex turbulento tempore serenum facit, eius interventu imperaret ventis, et immitteret tranquillitatem. Nec spes irrita. Statim enim sedata tempestate serenus affulsit dies, quo omnes maximas Deo gratias habentes Beato Parenti tantum beneficium acceptum referre haud cessabant.

[*Text B*, 367*v*] Cochimi, decima quinta die mensis decembris anno Domini 1618.

Authoritate et iussu Patris Provincialis,

Emmanuel a Costa.

6

FR. ALBERTO LAERZIO SJ TO FR. MUZIO VITELLESCHI, GENERAL, ROME

COCHIN, DECEMBER 18, 1618

First *via*

I TEXT: ARSI, *Goa 17* ff. 241*r*-242*v*. Autograph in Portuguese, written in the neat hand of Laerzio. The letter closes on f. 242*r*; its *verso* is blank except for the address with a seal, and a summary,

[20] July 30.

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likewise in Portuguese, added later. The Makasar section is on f. 241*r-v* as a subdivision of the report on Malacca College. Cf DM III 386-388.

II AUTHOR: The Italian Father Alberto Laerzio had been Vice-Provincial (1602-1605) and Provincial (1605-1611) of the Malabar Province. When writing this letter he was master of novices at Cochin. Obviously the prospects of the Cochin Fathers were optimistic.

Summary

1. *The mission of Makasar started three years earlier. There were great difficulties, but a good thing was the friendly and benevolent attitude of the king to the Fathers. Moreover they undertook to found a residence on another island.* — 2. *This mission to the pagan people of Bima is of a great promise. If some Fathers could be sent there they would make many conversions. Earlier this was not possible as the former Bishops of Malaka were not interested.* — 3. *Fr. Provincial and his advisers appointed Fr. João de Velasco for that mission.*

Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre Nosso, Pax Christi.

[...]

1. Deste collegio de Malaca agora faz tres annos se começou a missão da ylha do Macaça [1]. E posto que tenha algumas difficuldades grandes, como de forzado tem todas que se fazem em terras e reynos de reys e senhores infieis, comtudo não hé pouco a benevolencia que el-rey mouro mostra aos Padres e o agazalhado que lhes faz e folgar que estejão em suas terras. Quanto mais que daquella ylha ententavão os Padres principiar outra residencia em outra ylha [2] de rey e moradores gentios, cuja conversão sempre hé muito mais facil [3]. [241*v*]

2. Agora este anno se começou a dar principio a outra missão na ylha de Bima, que está alem de Malaca, toda de gentios amigos e de bom natural e que promete de sy muito [4]. E não há duvida que se por aquellas ylhas se espalharem alguns Padres

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[1] Three years, counted from the appointment of Fr. Manuel de Azevedo (D 1).

[2] Bima on the island of Sumbawa.

[3] The raja and the people of Bima had not just yet accepted Islam when Fr. Manuel Ferreira planned to open a mission there, but they would do so within a very short time, impelled also by Makasar.

[4] D 7 shows how idle these hopes were.

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nossos de talentos, fervor, e de muita charidade com desejos de padecer por Christo, que se fará muito serviço do Senhor e grande conversão. O que estes annos passados nunqua se pode ententar nem fazer pollos bispos passados não se aplicarem ao negocio da conversão nem o favorecerem, como este bispo que agora hé[5] faz e pede.

3. E assi pera esta nova impresa pareceo aos Padres Provincial[6] e consultores todos (tirando ao Padre André Machado[7] por seus respeitos e traças particulares e por ser pouco affeçoado às missões e christandades) que armava muito o fervor e charidade do Padre João de Velasco[8], ao que tambem ajudou o fazer elle sobre isso grande instancia, e ser necessario tirarem-no da occupação que tinha dos noviços, por não ser pera ella tanto modo nem acabar de moderar seus rigores e impetos.

[242*r*] Cochim, 18 de Dezembro 618.

De V. P. inutil filho em Christo,

Alberto Laercio.

[*Address* 242*v*]: A Nosso Padre Mutio Vitelleschi, Preposito Geral da Companhia de Iesu — Roma — 1ª via — De Cochim — 2ª.

Lost Letters

6a — *Bishop Gonçalo da Silva of Malacca to the king of Bima, about 1618-1619.*

D 7, 7: O Senhor Bispo de Malaca mandava não só cartas mas prezentes pera o rey de Bima.

6b — *Bishop of Malacca to Francisco Fernandes, Solor, 1618-1619*:

D 7, 8: Aviso que tivera de cartas do Senhor Bispo de Malaca.

6c — *Fr. Jorge Rebello, Rector of Malacca, to Francisco Fernandes, Solor, 1618-1619.*

D 7, 8: Cartas... do P. Reitor.

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[5] Dom Gonçalo da Silva (D 2). The verdict on the former bishops seems too general to be objective.

[6] Fr. Gaspar Fernandes.

[7] He had sailed to India from Lisbon as a priest in 1614 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 597).

[8] On Fr. Juan de Velasco, see DM III 408; BECCARI VII 468. As Bima closed itself to the gospel, the mission enterprise shifted to the island of Sawu, but only for a short period.

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7

FR. MANUEL BARRADAS, SJ, BY COMMISSION OF FR. PROVINCIAL, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

— Annual Letter —

COCHIN, NOVEMBER 20, 1619

I TEXT: There are an original text in Portuguese and two Latin copies, likewise original but somewhat shortened.

A. London, British Library, MSS Department, *Add. 9853* ff. 149-159, formerly 549-559. Portuguese original. This is the most original version, containing many particulars lacking in the Latin texts. The Makasar-Bima section is on ff. 149*v*-152*r*.

B. ARSI, *Goa 33 II* ff. 604*r*-615*v*. Latin version, with shortenings that sometimes make the context less clear. Title: « Coccinensis [sic] litterae anni 1619 ad R. admodum in Christo Patrem Mutium Vitelescum, Praepositum Generalem ». The letter closes on f. 614*v* where the dating « Coccini, Kalendas Decembris 1619 » (which is December 1) proves that the translator finished his work ten days after the author of tex A did. F. 615*r-v* is blank. The Makasar-Bima section is on ff. 608*v*-610*r*; it is the only part of the letter that has some Romam summaries in the margin, likewise in Latin.

C. ARSI, *Goa 56* ff. 369*r*-378*v*. Another Latin copy, identical with text B, written in a different hand and with autograph signature of Fr. Barradas. The Makasar part is on ff. 373*r*-374*v*.

II OUR EDITION: We print text A as being the most original and most complete version. (*By permission of the British Library*).

Summary

1. *Fr. Azevedo, remaining at Makasar after his companion had left for Malacca to organize a mission effort to Bima, fell ill and was confined to his bed without any help for three months. His companion returned after five months and left again for Bima.* — 2. *Agostinho Lobato arrived at Makasar as ambassador of the viceroy. The king, influenced by Moslems of Johor, rejected him, setting impossible anti-Christian conditions.* — 3. *As the king now showed a dislike for the Father, the Moslems began to insult the latter.* — 4. *How the Father was involved without reason in the case of some fugitives from three English ships.* — 5. *As the Father, living there in two years, was impeded from making any contact with the population, the Portuguese urged him to leave.* — 6. *When he fell ill again, the Portuguese brought him on board the last ship and carried*

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him to Malacca. — 7. The reason why the other Father was dispatched to Bima was to restrain that king from accepting Islam, as had been done by the king of Makasar, who told the first Jesuit arriving there: « You are too late; I have got a religion already ». The Bishop of Malacca favoured this mission. — 8. Fr. Ferreira took his way via *Solor where he was received well by Captain Francisco Fernandes and also, after some wavering, by the [Dominican] friars. — 9. Captain Fernandes organized a vessel to carry the Father to Bima. — 10. Fernandes' generosity in rigging the vessel in spite of having lived only with other religious and never with Jesuits. — 11. Likewise other men offered themselves as companions or brought presents for the king [of Bima], so as to astonish the friars. — 12. A Christian community of Ende contrived to kidnap the Father to keep him as their parish priest, but their plan was foiled. Touching farewell of the Father. — 13. Arriving at Bima he met two ambassadors from Java and one of Makasar, all three of whom tried to introduce Islam either by convincing or by threatening force of arms. Captain and crew of a Portuguese vessel from Malacca accompanied him when he went visiting the king. — 14. The Father presented himself as ambassador of the King of heaven, promising salvation of the soul and friendship of the Portuguese. The king kept his eyes steadily fixed on the presents and delayed his answer to the next day. — 15. The answer was: as neither religion could guard him from dying he would neither be a Moslem nor a Christian. In another audience the Father's words fell on deaf ears. — 16. The captain of a Portuguese galliot went to see the king, accompanied by the Father; the king's answer was that his vassals required him to expel the Jesuit from his realm. — 17. The true reason of this determination was the remembrance of the audacious, destructive and murderous action of a galleon of the fleet of André Furtado de Mendonça. — 18. The Father left Bima for Malacca, was shipwrecked and thrown upon the coast of Java where he stayed for two months. — 19. A new effort to sail to Malacca was frustrated by the crew of a Dutch ship lying there. — 20. Hostility of the Javanese; some Japanese Christians defended the Father. — 21. Fraudulent proposal of the Dutch who hoped to make themselves master of the Father as a medium of exchange for prisoners. After the Dutch sailed away the Father left Java and reached Malacca. — 22. How the king of Makasar, knowing of the intentions of Fr. Ferreira, sent a navy to force the king of Bima to accept Islam. — 23. For all these reasons, and for some others, this enterprise was not continued.*

[543*r*] Annua da Provincia de Cochim do anno de 619 pera nosso muito Reverendo [*del.* P.] em Christo Padre Mutio Vitelleschi

[...549*r*] Collegio de Malaca e missões do Macassar e Bima.

[...549*v*] 1. O anno passado deixamos o Padre que foy em missão ao Macassar sem fazer cousa alguma mais que assistir

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lá por causa da defesa do rey, e o companheiro tornado a Malaca pera continuar com a missão do reino de Bima [1]. Tornando agora a elles e começando pello P.e Manoel d'Azevedo que ficou no Macassar, tanto que as embarcaçones partirão, nas quaes se forão todos os purtuguezes e christãos sem ficar hum [2], logo o Padre adoeceo tam gravemente que esteve tres mezes en cama [3], e algumas vezes chegou às portas da morte e ao estremo do desemparo sem aver quem olhasse por elle, porque até o moço que tinha lhe adoeceo, e sem mezinhas humanas. Foy o Senhor servido dar-lhe alguma melhoria, de sorte que quando depois de sinco mezes lhe tornou o companheiro de Malaca, com que muito se alegrou e consolou in utroque homine, e assi se alentou que, ainda que fraquissimo, quis cometer a viagem de Bima. Mas o P.e Manoel Ferreira [550*r*], que era o companheiro, como estava são tomou o trabalho sobre si.

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[1] Cf. D 5, 7.

[2] The monsoon or sailing opportunity for Malacca and India from Makasar was from May/June until October.

[3] This « three months » and a little below « five months », and other indication of time, e. g. the start of the monsoon, are neither frequent nor always clear enough to establish a full and distinct chronology of the moves of both Frs. Azevedo and Ferreira. Yet, in an attempt of combining them with the few of D 5 and also with other facts, we feel able to put at least the main events in their chronological place. The Fathers left Malacca on December 2, 1616, and arrived at Makasar on January 4, 1617. Until the first days of February they enjoyed strongly marked goodwill of the king [Alauddin]; then his feelings changed and became hostile. Shortly after, Fr. Ferreira sailed to Solor, to return to Malacca in August. In the meantime, about May/June, Fr. Azevedo fell ill in Makasar; he kept his bed for three months, i. e. until about September. Probably in November, Fr. Ferreira returned to Makasar, being entrusted with a mission to Bima. In late 1617 or early 1618, i. e. some time before Captain Agostinho Lobato arrived at Makasar (note 4), Ferreira sailed to Solor, and after a good month to Bima, where he may have stayed in March/April 1618 and where his missionary advances met with refusal. Leaving Bima for Malacca he was shipwrecked and he drifted into a Javanese port where he had to stay for two months before he could continue his voyage. Meanwhile Fr. Azevedo fell ill again and, while he was unconscious, he was carried to Malacca by the Portuguese, presumably in June/July 1618. For the history of the missions and of the Jesuit order this chronological scheme only proves that this attempt to evangelize Bima was a failure; but for the question in what year Islam was introduced into the island of Sumbawa and by what means, it is most important to know that in the first half of 1618 the ruler had not yet become a Moslem.

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2. Partindo[a] o Padre pera Bima (de cuja viagem e sucesso falaremos depois), chegou de Goa Agostinho Lobato com huma embaixada do viso-rey D. Jeronimo d'Azevedo[4]. E cuidando todos que com esta embaixada se abrisse caminho à fee, com ella se fechou a tudo, porque o rey indusido dos mouros nem recebeo bem ao embaixador, ainda que os prezentes si, nem lhe concedeo a feitoria que se pertendia[5], levado das rezões do estado que os mouros jores, que o governão[6], lhe meterão em cabeça que era traça pera lhe tomarem o reino. E assi meteo humas condições não só afrontosas mas impossiveis, 1ª, que lhe avião de jurar de[b] nem os Padres nem os purtuguezes falarem ou tratarem em materia de christandade; 2ª, que se algum se fizesse ou quizesse fazer christão lho avião de emtregar, e ainda que fosse ido pera Malaca lho avião de tornar ali pera o matar, e outras a este teor que nunca meteo em concerto aos olandezes nem ingrezes. Tal hé o odio que tem cobrado a nossa sancta fee. Com esta reposta se partio o embaixador pera Maluco.

3. Depois da qual partida ficou o rey alienado do Padre e lhe mandou[c] por vezes dizer se fosse pera Malaca que não tinha ali que fazer. E come os mouros entenderão isto lhe comessarão a fazer muitas afrontas, sendo a principal fazerem muitas cruzes[d] de pao e lançarem-nas no chão ao redor da casa do Padre e dos caminhos por onde hia, e quando alguem pizava alguma o festejavão com rizadas.

4. Acrecentou-sse a isto que chegando a este porto tres naos ingresas pera carregarem de arrôs, e fugindo-lhe alguns chris-

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[a] *corr. fr.* partindo [b] *del. illeg. word* [c] *del.* que [d] *corr. fr.* cruezas

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[4] According to Bocarro, Lobato sailed from Goa on October 3, 1617. That he visited successively Malacca, Makasar, Ternate, again Makasar, again Ternate, meanwhile fighting Dutch ships, and finally arrived at Manila in January 1618, i. e. within three or at most four months, seems scarcely possible (BOCARRO, *Década 13* 719-721). That Lobato's two galliots arrived at Ternate on March 4, 1618, as is recounted by Pérez, is a more concrete and trustworthy information implying that they stopped at Makasar in February, not long after Fr. Ferreira left for Solor-Bima (PÉREZ VII 429).

[5] Bocarro gives a quite different report: Lobato was received with all kindness. The main present, an Arabian horse, was much appreciated by the king.

[6] The king was strongly influenced by Johor Moslems. The Johor people hated the Portuguese who had captured the former seat of their rulers, the town of Malacca, one century earlier.

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tão[s], os ingreses cuidando que o Padre os tinha ou sabia delles, lhe forão por vezes revolver a casa, e huma com mão armada, pera o prenderem e levarem a suas naos até lhes entregar os fugidos de quem não sabia, sem o rey querer acudir a nada. E sempre levarão ao Padre prezo, se o xabandar do rey não achara algun[s] dos fugidos e os entregara. E ainda assi largarão o Padre dizendo-lhe que elle lhe avia de entregar todos os que fugissem, e se não que cativo o avião de levar à Ingalaterra. A que o Padre respondeo que elle se não obrigava a tal nem lhos [e] entregaria, antes persuaderia a todos fugissem da sua má companhia tão perjudicial pera as almas.

5. Considerado tudo isto, e que nem com alguns arrenegados se podia fazer fruito como o anno passado mandando-os pera Malaca [7], porquanto o rey tinha postas muitas vigias e, como sospeitava que algum falava com o Padre, logo lhe mandava tirar com alguma frecha de pessonha e o matava, não avia nenhum que se atrevesse a comunicar com o Padre. E posto que todas estas rezones, e não aver hum macassar que em dous annos que o Padre ali esteve [8] quisesse ouvir as cousas da fee, nem tratar de sua salvação, e outras cousas muy urgentes que não são pera esta carta [9], que todas persuadião ao Padre deixar aquelle posto, elle com as cartas que teve do Reitor de Malaca [10] se determinou a se deixar ficar em tão evidente risco da vida, que todos os purtuguezes o julgavão mais que por temeridade, pois a doença passada se dizia que fora de peçonha que lhe derão, a qual ficando elle refinarião.

6. Sendo pois já partidas todas as embarcaçones e ficando huma soo que avia de partir dali a tres dias, de repente adoeceo o Padre tam gravemente que em breve chegou às portas da morte, mostrando Deos não se servia de sua ficada. Vendo pois os portuguezes o estado do Padre e desemparo em que ficava,

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[e] lhes *ms.*

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[7] The *arrenegados* are likely to be Christians who became Moslems but returned to their former faith, and who, in order to save their lives, were secretly sent to Malacca.

[8] He stayed at Makasar from January 1617 to June/July 1618, so in both these years.

[9] A similar phrase *rezões urgentes... que não são pera esta carta* occurs in no. 23. The wording arouses great curiosity and may give rise to some suspicions, but there is no clarity whatever.

[10] Lost letter, 8a.

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se forão a sua casa e, sem elle [550*v*] dar acordo de nada, lhe embarcarão o fatinho e a elle nos braços, e a derão à vella e se forão. Seis dias caminharão sem o Padre tornar [f] en si, nem saber se hia por mar se por terra, e estiverão quasi pera o lançar ao mar tendo-o por morto, mas milagrosamente escapou. Os seis dias acabados começou a melhorar e chegou a Malaca tal que o não conhecião. Aqui com as charidades do P.[e] Reitor e dos mais Padres convaleceo e quis tornar a seu posto mas não lho concederão, andando ainda bem fraco.

7. As rezões que obrigarão os Padres a que, estando hum delles tão enfermo, partir o outro pera Bima, forão saberem ser aquelle rey muy persiguido de embaixadas cheas de afagos e medos perá que se fizesse mouro, entre os quaes hum vassallo seu, que tinha recebido a ley de Mafamede, pedira ao de Macassar ajuda pera destruir ao de Bima. E parecia rezão ir logo o Padre pera prevenir este pobre rey pera que se não perdesse por tardanças, como este do Macassar que, quando era gentio e pedio Padres, lhos não mandarão, [e depois] respondeo: « Tardastes! Já tenho ley [11]. E tambem porque o Senhor Bispo de Malaca mandava não só cartas, mas prezentes pera o rey de Bima e escrevia [12], tinha assentado com o P.[e] Reitor de Malaca fosse hum ou ambos os Padres àquella missão, pois della se esperava o fruito que não dera a do Macassar, a qual elle proveria de vigario [13].

8. Partido pois o P.[e] Manoel Ferreira em hum sanguicel [14] chegou a Solor, onde já o capitão daquelles [g] mares, Francisco Fernandez [15], o estava esperando por aviso que tivera de cartas

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[f] *corr. fr.* tomar [g] daquellas *ms.*

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[11] The Father to whom the king answered in these words cannot but be Manuel de Azevedo.

[12] Lost letter, 6a.

[13] The Rector of the Malacca college was Fr. Jorge Rebelo (*Goa 29* f. 23*v*). The failure of the Makasar mission had made the bishop and the Jesuits alert.

[14] *Sanguicel* is « a kind of boat or small vessel » (*Hobson-Jobson* 791).

[15] This Francisco Fernandes was a native chief, a born leader, who in the Portuguese sources is called *capitão-mor de Solor* and *de Larantuka*. He accomplished a mission to Malacca in 1613-1614 and was held in great respect by the Christian population. He fought against the Dutch and defended the Portuguese rights in the Solor region. He was still active in 1641, when he was said to be a hundred years of age. On him, see

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do Senhor Bispo de [h] Malaca e do P.e Reitor [16], que lhe encomendavão o ajudasse na passagem. Sabendo pois o capitão que o navio em que o Padre hia era chegado, sahio ao mar em huma embarcassão com muita mosquetaria e o recebeo com huma fermosa salva, significadora da alegria que elle e os mais tinhão da chegada do Padre. Da qual arreceosos os religiosos que ali residem [17], cuidando seria pera fazer assento, que era o que entendião Francisco Fernandez e os mais desejavão e pertendião, forão à praia com intenção de com censuras ou à força de braço lhe impedirem a saida se fosse necessario; mas sabendo que o intento era passar, o receberão bem.

9. Mas como se deteve o Padre em Solor, sem achar embarcação pera Bima, o que vendo Francisco Fernandes, capitão-mor daquellas partes, prometeo ao senhorio de huma que aly estava, levasse o Padre àquelle reino, pois não erão mais que sinco dias de caminho e lhe daria por isso hum bar de sandalo, que montaria cento e cincoenta pardaos. Mas não querendo aceitar o partido, de que depois se arrependeo, o capitão-mor mandou pedir ao da fortaleza, chamado Antonio de Saa [18], huma caracola, que por ser pera obra [i] tam pia lhe deu de muito boa vontade, deixando de a mandar buscar sandalo em que perdeo hum pedaço, dizendo que mais ganhava nesta viagem, pois era pera honra de Deos e, sse fosse necessario, iria elle em pessoa. E pera que não fosse soo o casco, a proveo de algumas cousas necessarias pera o Padre, sem elle nem outrem por elle lhas pedir ou falar nisso.

10. O capitão-mor a negoceou à sua custa pagando soldados e marinheiros, e dizendo ao que hia por capitão della que buscasse os melhores sem reparar em gastos. Se pôs a paga com huma bolça chea de larins [19] e os pagava como elles querião. Gastaria o capitão-mor no apresto da embarcação mais de cem patacões,

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[h] de do *ms.* [i] *corr. fr.* obrado

Documentos remetidos VIII 397; CACEGAS-SOUSA IV 378 and 291; SÁ V 336 344 423; LEITÃO 123-124 134; TIELE, *Europeërs* VIII 340; VISSER 144-145 155.

[16] Lost letters, 6b-6c.

[17] The Dominican Fathers.

[18] António de Sá was appointed captain of the Portuguese fortress of Solor in 1617; finding it occupied by the Dutch he settled down at Larantuka. See LEITÃO 126; SÁ V 334.

[19] *Larim*, ancient Persian coin. « A peculiar kind of money in use on the Persian Gulf and W. Coast of India » (*Hobson-Jobson* 506).

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e o que mais hé de estimar a boa vontade com que os despendeo. E sobretudo o que hé mais [551*r*] de espantar, por este bom[j] homem ser criado com outros religiosos e nunca ter tratado Padres da Companhia, mas soo por lhe parecer que elles trabalhão por fazer bem o serviço de Deos, de que elle hé muy zeloso e do qual obrigado tem escritas muitas [cartas] aos prelados daquellas partes pedindo os da Companhia sem os conhecer, mas soo pello que ouvia a mercadores que da China ali vinhão, pera cultivação daquellas almas, onde Deos o fes grande.

11. Nem elle soo entrou nesta viagem mas tambem outros a quem Deos moveo, huns pera se offerecerem por soldados e outros pera ajudarem com brincos e peeças pera o rey, de sorte que os mesmos religiosos pasmavão de verem os nacidos e criados com elles mostrarem tanto amor ao Padre, confessando que não podia al ser, senão que Deos amava a Companhia e por isso os movia a por elle fazerem aquelles excessos.

12. Tanto que correo a fama que o Padre se hia, certos christão[s] do Ende, que há polla terra dentro[20], determinarão de por força tomar o Padre e levá-lo forçado pera os cultivar. E tinhão traçada a cousa desta maneira. Custumava o Padre todas as tardes ir com outro religioso passear[k] à praia. O que sabendo elles armarão sinco embarcaçones resulutos a por força o meterem nellas, estando com o remo em punho e acolheren-sse. Teve o capitão-mor disto aviso e avisou ao Padre não fosse à praya, e aquietou aquelles christãos prometendo-lhe de antes de poucos annos lhes dar Padres da Companhia pera terem cuidado delles. Na despedida não ouve grande nem pequeno, purtuguês nem[l] da terra que não chorasse e deramasse muitas lagrimas com o Padre, como se elle os criara a todos, pedindo-lhe huns a benção, outros a ropeta pera a beijar e outros abraçando-o pellos pees, de sorte que até os mesmos frades e o proprio Padre se não poderão ter que não chorassem.

13. Quando o Padre chegou a Bima achou já lá tres embaixadores, dous do gauiri da Jaoa, qu'é o casis-mor de todo o sul[21], e a outra do rey do Macassar, todos pera persuadirem ao

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j *interl.* k *corr. fr.* passar l *del.* grande

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[20] Ende, or Endeh, is still the name of a region, a village, a bay, and an islet at the southern coast of Flores (ENOI I 669).

[21] This *gauiri,* a mispelling of *guiri,* points to the *Sunan Giri,* an Islam apostle venerated as a saint, whose tomb is on the Giri hilltop near Gre-

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rey tomasse a ley de Mafamede e, não querendo por bem, o desenganassem que por força o avia de aceitar. Achou tambem o Padre aly hum junco de Malaca, os purtuguezes do qual com todos os que levou na sua caracola, que erão muitos, depois de os confessar e sacramentar, o acompanharão à primeira vista d'el-rey, indo Pero d'Azevedo, capitão da caracola, em forma de embaixador do capitão de Malaca, do Senhor Bispo e de Francisco Fernandez, que por seu esforço hé o mais conhecido e temido naquellas partes.

14. Chegado o Padre diante d'el-rey entregou-lhe [m] as cartas, sendo lingoa o mesmo Pero d'Azevedo, [e] lhe disse: que não soo vinha por embaixador daquellas perssonagens mas tambem e principalmente do Rey do[s] ceos, que lhe mandava offerecer sua divina Ley, e com ella per sua amizade, a [n] salvação pera a alma que em nenhuma outra acharia; e alem disso o favor dos purtuguezes, em espicial o capitão-mor Francisco Fernandez, como mais visinho se obrigava a o defender. A tudo [o] teve sempre os olhos nas mãos dos que levavão os prezentes que lhe avia[m] de offerecer, os quais [p] aceitados deferio a reposta pera o outro dia.

15. E fazendo sobre ella conselho com os seus, sahio delle que nem queria ser mouro nem christão, pois que nenhuma das leis preservava os homens da morte: que tanto por tanto na sua cigueira queria acabar. Pedio-lhe o Padre e alcançou delle audiencia, e por mais que lhe disse da immortalidade da alma e da eterna vida, que soo se acha na ley de Christo, foy trabalhar em vão porque a tudo se fechou.

16. Neste tempo chegou ali D. Pedro de Menezes [22], casado aqui em Cochim, com sua galeota e tornou a visitar o rey com o Padre, prometendo-lhe muitas peças que levava por deixar ali ficar o Padre só por hum anno, pera ver seu procedimento e

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[m] e entregou *ms.* [n] e *ms.* [o] *del.* a tudo [p] quias *ms.*

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sik, E. Java. His successors, the *Sunans* of Giri, enjoyed a wide religious authority, both on Java and outside it and made every effort to propagate Islam. From 1616 onward, the actual Sunan of Giri was Panembahan Agung. (ENOI II 89-90). On the whole of this mission effort at Bima and on the importance of some of its particulars, see NOORDUYN, *Makasar and the Islamization of Bima*, especially pages 334-338.

[22] Dom Pedro de Menezes is known as captain of a ship and as participating in an expedition to the northern parts of India in 1613-1614 (BOCARRO 55 89 205).

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fazer christão aos que de sua vontade o quizessem [551v] ser. Ao que depois de outro conselho respondeo, que elle soo era rey emquanto os seus quizessem, que por si nada podia, e todos seus vaçallos o obrigavão a lançar o Padre fora do seu reino.

17. Mas a principal causa destas tão determindas resoluções foy a lembrança do que ali fes hum galeão dos da companhia de André Furtado de Mendonça quando foy a Maluco, o qual depois de provido de mantimentos, não sabemos por que ocasião, às bombardadas com a artelharia destruio e arrazou tudo, e saindo em terra matarão os que acharão queimando e assolando tudo [23].

18. Vendo o Padre a resolução do rey e dos seus, e que não tinha embarcação pera o Macassar, conforme a ordem que tinha, despedindo a caracola em que fora e os que nella o acompanharão contentes, repartindo por todos o que levava, se embarcou no junco pera Malaca. E aos [o]ito dias da viagem forão varar em humas ilhas desertas, onde o junco fes naufragio com todo o fato, salvando-sse soo sesenta pessoas em tres balões, nos quaes navegarão sinco dias em busca de Jaoa padecendo muita fome e sede, por só salvarem hum saco de arrôs que comião torrado por não terem agoa. E todos acabarão, se não tomarão hum porto de Jaoa, onde acharão alguns purtuguezes que os agasalharão e proverão com muita charidade. Dous mezes estiverão neste porto onde tambem estava huma nao olandeza [24].

19. Vendo os nossos que se chegava a monção, o capitão do junco [q] perdido comprou huma embarcação ligeira pera se ir pera Malaca. O que sabido pollos olandezes lançarão fama que no porto nenhum mal farião; no que seguros os nossos, ao sair forão sobre elles duas lanchas com muitos mosqueteiros e peças, e desparando todas na pequena embarcação que, por estar ainda junto das cazas, teve tempo de virar e lhe escapar sem matarem

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[q] *del.* **ped...**

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[23] This event is related by Fr. Brício Fernandes SJ in his letter to the viceroy of May 1, 1602 (DM II 562 no. 23, and 564 no. 28).

[24] The names of the desert islands and of the Javanese port are not given and cannot be deduced from the facts. And yet some facts are known about the port: both Portuguese and Christian Japanese were living there and a Dutch ship was lying in the roads. Sailing westward from Bima for eight days, and drifting about in a boat for five days, are not likely to result in a voyage farther than eastern Java. This makes one think of the Kangean Islands and of the port of Panarukan.

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nem ferirem a ninguem, furando o navio por muitas partes. Acudirão os portuguezes de terra e varejando as lanchas com a espingardaria as fizerão desaferrar da nossa com que estavão atracados.

20. E como os pelouros dos olandezes, que erravão os nossos, ferissem alguns jaos, elles se tornavão contra os portuguezes por serem causa de os outros tirarem, e saquearão a pobre da embarcação, em que o Padre acabou de perder hum ornamento e hum crucifixo que salvara do naufragio passado, e elle sahio polla agoa. O que vendo huns jappões christãos que alli estavão, lhe acudirão e nos ombros o levarão a terra; mas chegando a ella hum jao lhe fes hum tiro com huma lança, do que Deos o livrou. E outro lhe deu com huma pedra nos peitos, dizendo que não dezembarcasse pellos olandezes lhe não fazerem mal, e sempre os japões, conforme hião amoucos por deffender ao Padre, abalrroarão huma lancha se os portuguezes lhe não forão à mão.

21. Os olandezes ao outro dia mandarão por hum mouro grave ter huma descarga com o Padre, dizendo-lhe sentirão o verem-no ir[r] assi polla agoa, mas que fizerão aquillo pollo capitão da embarcação passar de dia sem respeito por diante da nao do Conde Mauricio[25]. O que o Padre lhe não respondeo, sabendo tinhão prometido trezentas patacas a quem lhe dissesse o dia em que o Padre avia de partir, pera com elle irem fazer resgate de alguns olandezes que estavão cativos na Manilla. E assi esperarão os nossos a que os enimigos se fossem, e então se partirão pera Malaca aonde chegarão a salvamento depois destes e de outros muitos trabalhos, riscos e perigos da vida.

22. Asima toquei como o rey do Macassar, sabendo que o Padre hia pera converter o rey de Bima, mandou contra elle huma armada de soldadesca, a qual lhe entrou a terra e senhoreou tudo, fogindo o pobre rey [552*r*] pera os matos; e o de Macassar celebrou a nova com muitas festas, e logo despedio huma embarcação chea de cassizes pera que lhe pregassem a lei[26], e, querendo-a tomar, os deixassem quietos e amigos em

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[r] *interl.*

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[25] Maurice, Prince of Orange, Captain-General and Stadholder of the Dutch Republic of the United Provinces. The Dutch liked to make a show of him as if he were a mighty king and ruler.

[26] See no. 13: « a outra [embaixada] do rey do Macassar ».

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posse das terras, porem se refusassem os matassem a todos. E assi por força aceitarão o que não quizerão por vontade.

23. Donde se pode ver que fruito faria com hum rei mouro tam zelloso de fazer todos os vezinhos da mesma seita, alem de que não faltavão outras rezões mui urgentes, como acima digo, pera se não continuar esta empreza que não são pera esta carta [27], e algumas ainda por parte de christãos, nascidas todas de interesses e rezões humanas, humas pertencentes a estado, outras a proveitos particulares que podem muito e com que os Padres tiverão bem que sofrer e merecer.

[559*v*] De Cochim, 20 de Novembro de 619.

Por commissão do P. Provincial, filho indigno de V. P.

M. Barradas.

8

SHORT CATALOGUE OF THE COCHIN PROVINCE

COCHIN, DECEMBER 1619

TEXT: ARSI, *Goa 29* ff. 23*r*-24*v*. Original in Latin, written in two columns. F. 24*v* is blank. No dating, no signature.

Summary

The names of four Fathers connected with our issue.

Catalogus Patrum Fratrumque Provinciae Coccinensis, mense Decembri anni 1619

[...23*v*] Collegium Malacense

[...] P. Emmanuel Dazavedius, prof. 4
[...] P. Emmanuel Ferreira, conc.

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[27] Cf. note 9.

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[...] Missio Sabensis [1]

P. Joannes Vellascus, conc. [2]
P. Antonius Perreira, conf. [3]

[...]

Lost Letter

8a — *Fr. Rector of Malacca to Fr. Manuel de Azevedo, Makasar, 1619.* D 7, 5: As cartas que teve do Reitor de Malacca.

9

FR. VALENTIM PINHEIRO SJ, BY COMMISSION OF FR. PROVINCIAL, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

— Annual Letter —

COCHIN, DECEMBER 20, 1620

I TEXT:

A. ARSI, *Goa 56* ff. 379*r*-391*v*, formerly pp. 1-24. Original in Portuguese, written in a minute hand, divided and subtitled with the

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[1] The Portuguese used to speak of *Savo Pequeno*, designating the island of Roti off the southwestern point of Timor, and of *Savo Grande*, using this name for the island of Sawu, situated half-way between Timor and Sumba. Here it remains uncertain which of the two islands is meant. According to Leitão both were visited by the Dominican Friars who, however, did not continue the evangelization (LEITÃO 162). As late as 1626 the Viceroy of Goa informed the King of Portugal that the Bishop of Malacca had dispatched Jesuit Fathers to the islands of Sabo and that the Dominicans got excited over this, being themselves the missionaries of those pagans (NAZARETH, *Mitras* II 234).

[2] Cf. D 6, 3.

[3] He was born at Ourem, Portugal, in 1582 and entered the Society in 1603. He sailed to India in 1611 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 576). Being sent to Malacca he lived for four years as procurator and minister in that college (ca. 1619-1623), and from there he undertook his adventure to Bima-Solor-Sawu (D 9). In 1627 we find him as procurator of the Malabar Province at Goa, where he died on March 21, 1647 (*Goa 25* and *29*).

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names of the residences. A Roman hand made some abstracts in the margins. F. 391*r* is blank; its *verso* has a note « Annua da Provincia do Malavar, 1620 ». The Bima section is on f. 382*v*.

B. ARSI, *Goa 33 II* ff. 640*r*-644*v*. Incomplete original in Latin, less detailed than text A. The Bima part is on f. 641*r*.

II AUTHOR: Fr. Valentim Pinheiro was a Portuguese, born at Lisbon in 1584, who became a Jesuit in India in 1600. At the time of this letter he was living in the college of Cochin (*Goa 29* ff. 21*r* and 23*r*).

III OUR EDITION: We prefer the more circumstantial version of text A.

Summary

1. *Two Fathers left Malacca for Bima in order to gauge the king's disposition to accept the Christian faith. But the vessel could not take the port already controlled by the Dutch.* — 2. *The Fathers continued their voyage to Solor. There they learned of the good disposition of the people of Sawu. One Father stayed back to sail to Sawu in September, the other returned to report at Malacca.*

Annua da Provincia de Cochim do anno de 1620, pera N. muito R. em Christo P. Mutio Vitelleschi

[...382*r*] Collegio de Malaca

[...382*v*]

1. Partirão[1] deste collegio dous Padres[2] a fim de saber a desposição que avia em o rey de Bima pera receber nossa sancta fee[3], cousa que ha annos se tem intentado[4] e se deseja pôr em execução. Mas o navio passando avante com o tempo feito, quando quis tornar a tomar o proprio porto, não foi possivel, o que se atribuio a particular favor do ceo, por starem em Bima os olandezes com feitoria feita e muito senhores da terra[5].

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[1] The Latin version of text B has *iterum hoc anno profecti*: the voyage was a new, a second effort after the one of D 5, 7. The events recounted in this section of the Annual Letter refer to the year 1619.

[2] The Frs. António Pereira and Juan de Velasco. See DM III 408.

[3] One is surprised to see that in 1619 there were still uncertainty and hope after the experience of 1618 (D 7, 13-16).

[4] At most two or three years. The first mention of Bima as a potential mission field goes back to 1617 (D 5, 7).

[5] Tiele reports that Jan Pieterszoon Coen, sailing to Ambon where he would arrive in February 1619, dispatched three ships respectively to

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2. E por não perderem a viagem os do navio fezerão sua derrota a Solor. Onde os nossos Padres acharão fama avia dahi a trinta legoas huma ilha chamada Sabo [6], cujos moradores, que passão de cincoenta mil, desejavão que lhes pregasse a fee. E isto obrigou a hum dos Padres [7] ficar em Solor pera em Setembro [8] partir e ver a desposição daquella gente. O outro se veo a dar conta disto ao Superior de Malaca. Esperamos em o Senhor prospere estas esperanças e lhe dê sucesso desejado abrindo naquella ilha huma grande missão com grande fruito e honra do mesmo Deos.

[...390*v*] Cochim, 20 de Dezembro de 1620.

Por comissão do P. Provincial,

Indigno filho em o Senhor de V. P.
Valentim Pinheiro.

10

JACINTO PEREIRA SJ
[BY COMMISSION OF FR. PROVINCIAL]
TO FR. MUZIO VITELLESCHI, GENERAL, ROME

— Annual Letter —

COCHIN, DECEMBER 27, 1621

I TEXT: ARSI, *Goa 33 II* ff. 659*r*-670*v*. Original in Portuguese, written in a regular and clear hand. F. 670*r-v* is blank but for an archivistic note on the last page « Annua da Provincia do Sul ». The

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Gresik, Solor, and Bima to buy victuals, and that these ships put into Ambon port, one after the other, after March. Maybe the ship meant in our text is this Bima ship. A little earlier, in September 1618, Gillis Seys sailed to Solor with two frigates, by the way calling at Bima and leaving there an agent and a few men (*Europeërs* IX 223 225 238).

[6] See D 8. The distance from Solor to Sawu is near to 250 km, which is almost fifty Portuguese leagues.

[7] Most probably Fr. Juan de Velasco.

[8] September 1619.

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short mention of the Sawu missionaries is on f. 661*r-v* under the title « Collegio de Malaca ».

II AUTHOR: Jacinto Pereira was born at Malacca about 1599 and he entered the Society in 1615 or 1616. He occurs only in catalogues of the Goa Province, in 1620 as an *Irmão*, in 1627 as a *Padre*. Whether he was already a priest at the moment of writing this letter, for lack of catalogues could not be established.

III PRINTED: in an Italian translation in *Lettere Annue d'Etiopia, Malabar, Brasil e Goa, dall'anno 1620 fin'al 1624*, Roma 1627, pp. 61-62.

Summary

In the Malacca college the Fathers who came from Sawu and Maluku fell ill.

[659*r*] Annua da Provincia do Sul de 621 a nosso muito reverendo Padre Geral Mutio Vitteleschi

[...661*r*] Collegio de Malaca

Estiverão este anno nove Padres e 4 Irmãos. Dos Padres leo hum theologia moral, outro a escolla de ler e escrever junta com a classe do latim. Os mais se occuparão [661*v*] com o proximo, e os Irmãos em seus officios. Ouve muitas doenças perigozas e compridas, com que vierão os Padres das missões de Sabo e Maluco [1], aos quaes se acudio com muita charidade como merecião os que em obra de tanta gloria de Deos e honrra da Companhia as ouverão.

[...669*v*] Cochim, 27 de Dezembro de 621.

De V. P. filho em Christo,

Jacinto Pereira.

Lost Letter

10a — *Fr. Miguel de Faria, Cochin, to Fr. Manuel de Azevedo, Malacca, 1634.*

D 11, 1: Tendo ordem de V. R. pera me ir pera esse collegio de Cochim.

D 11, 10: Tinha ordem de meu Provincial pera ir esta monsão pera Cochim.

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[1] According to the preceding document (D 9, 2), only one of the two Fathers (António Pereira) destined for Sawu came to Malacca. But since the catalogue of 1620 no longer mentions the Sawu mission, also the other Father (Juan de Velasco) is likely to have returned from Solor where he waited to sail to Sawu in September 1619. Perhaps neither Father ever actually visited the island. As for the Jesuits coming from Maluku, see DM III 406, D 116, 7.

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11

FR. MANUEL DE AZEVEDO SJ, RECTOR OF MALACCA COLLEGE, [TO FR. MIGUEL DE FARIA SJ, PROVINCIAL OF COCHIN]

MALACCA, JANUARY 8, 1635

I AUTHORS: C. WESSELS SJ, *Een Portugeesche missie-poging op Bali in 1635*, in Studiën 99 (1923) 433-443; H. JACOBS SJ, *An Abortive Mission Effort: the Island of Bali in 1635*, in AHSI 53 (1984) 313-330.

II TEXT: ARSI, *Goa 18* ff. 145*r*-146*v*. Autograph in Portuguese, in a vigorous and clear hand. There is no folio or page with the address.

III ADDRESSEE: From the context and the use of V. R. (and not V. P.) it is clear that Azevedo wrote to his Provincial, who for the time being was Fr. Miguel de Faria. (See DM III 33*).

IV PRINTED: a small part in JACOBS, *An Abortive* 327-328. A part in a Dutch translation in VISSER 238-240.

Summary

1. *Will tell why he cannot obey the order to sail to Cochin.* — 2. *A Portuguese vessel arrived from Bima that had touched at Bali. Description of Bali, its population, its fighting men. People are still heathen; they fiercely resist all efforts of Sunda and Java rulers, and recently of the King of Makasar, to make them accept Islam.* — 3. *Love of pork makes them averse to Islam. They threatened the Makasarese to fight them with lances besmeared with pork-grease.* — 4. *The old syahbandar proved himself a friend of the Portuguese and the Christians, proposing trade relations and giving a letter in the name of the king.* — 5. [The letter] *I want friendship and trade with Malacca. I arrested Captain João Fernandes thinking he was a robber, but herewith I return him to you. Merchandise available in Bali. Send Fathers to instruct those who want to be Christians.* — 6. *The syahbandar recommended that he bring Fathers and showed a place for a church to be built.* — 7. *Enthusiasm at Malacca on receipt of the letter. All agreed that the proposal should be taken up lest Bali would accept Islam as had happened before at Makasar, where Azevedo, twenty years earlier, had been unable to introduce the Christian faith.* — 8. *The civil and church authorities, sitting in a meeting, decided that the Bali mission should be entrusted to the Jesuits, although other religious claimed it for themselves. This decision was written officially in the royal registers and read to the Jesuits in the college.* — 9. *Text of the decision: On October 23, 1634, the civil and diocesan authorities met, and read a letter sent by the Bali ruler. The latter asked for peace and commerce and for Fathers to preach Christianity. All agreed to appoint Fr. Manuel de Azevedo for the Bali mission.* — 10. *Expressed thanks for*

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the honour done to the Society. Could not yet accept his personal appointment, being summoned back to Cochin. But at any rate the Society agreed to take the mission. — 11. *Consultation of the college Fathers; they decided to send two of them to Bali, and left himself free to go if he thought best.* — 12. *Feels strong, zealous and happy to undertake this mission.* — 13. *The Fathers appointed Fr. Manuel Carvalho his companion.* — 14. *Sailing will be in February 1635. Help received from many parts. Appointed Fr. Ignazio Bruno rector of the Malacca college.* — 15. *Recommends himself. Promises to report on the proceedings.* — 16. [Postscript] *Information about a Portuguese married couple.*

Pax Christi.

1. Nesta darei conta a V. R. da causa e rezão [a] de minha ficada em Malaca depois de vinte annos que ja [b] passei a estas partes e gastei em Maccassa, Maluco [1] e Malaca, tendo agora ordem de V. R. pera me ir pera esse collegio de Cochim [2]. Mas Deus nosso Senhor ordenou as cousas da maneira que a ordem de V. R. se não pode comprir, como eu grandemente desejava. E a rezão foy esta:

2. Chegou a esta fortaleza huma embarcação de Portuguezes, que vindo da Bima cargada de sapam [3] por successos do mar foy ter à ilha da Bale, aonde foy bem recebida e os Portuguezes bem agaza[lha]da da gente da terra. Hé este reino de Bale huma ilha grande que está entre a Bima e a Jaoa [4] e se divide della com hum braço de mar; terá 30 legoas de comprido e vinte de largo, mui povoada de gente e que terá passante de tresentas mil almas [5], todas sugeitas a hum rey [6]. E entre elles averá maes de 70 mil homens de peleja, todos de lanças e crizes e alguns de cavalo. E como a terra hé abundante não saem de

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[a] *del.* da causa [b] *interl.*

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[1] He arrived in India in 1615. After his Makasar adventure he was visitor and superior of the Maluku mission where he resided from 1620 to 1623 or 1624.

[2] Lost letter, 10a.

[3] The red sappan-wood (*Hobson-Jobson*, 794).

[4] He overlooks the island of Lombok, situated between Bali and Sumbawa (Bima).

[5] In 1917 the population of the island was estimated « rather accurately » at 800.000 (ENOI I 113).

[6] The so-called Dewa-Agung of Klungkung to whom the rulers of the eight other regions theoretically paid obedience (ENOI I 108).

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ordinario de suas terras a comercear, nem tratão de maes que de a defender e cultivar. E o melhor que tem hé que té agora são gentios [7], nem há remedio pera serem mouros por maes combatidos que são há tantos annos dos Jaos e Sundas [8], ora com embaixadas e rogos, ora com ameaças. E agora de novo os aperta muyto el-rey do Maccassa, pretendendo com suas embaixadas que tome a seita de Mafamede, como fez estes annos atrás tomar aos Bimas estando eu no Maccassa, e os conquistou e obrigou a isso [9].

3. Porem esta gente de Bale está tão resoluta em não deixar de comer porco, e tal aversão tem a Mafamede que com todas estas partes estarem já corruptas com esta peste, elles se conservão gentios. E como a ilha hé defensavel e elles tem muita gente de guerra, não há quem possa com elles per força pera os obrigar. E ultimamente [c] responderão a huma embaixada de el-rei do Maccassa, que os ameaçara com guerra, que viesse embora porque tinhão setenta mil homens de lanças untadas com toucinho de que [d] os Maccassares, por serem mouros, avião de fugir. Tal hé a resolução que tem de não tomarem a seita de Mafamede. Nem tem templos, nem pagodes, nem sacerdotes de idolos [10], senão que vivem como brutos e soo com os vestigios da ley natural.

4. Chegados pois a esta ilha os Portuguezes, quem principalmente os agazalhou e proveo fuy hum velho grave xabandar [11], que hé a 2ª pessoa do reino e que governa tudo com poder de rey, por este ser ainda mancebo. Este velho lhes disse que era amigo de christãos onde os via e achava, porque seu pay lhe dissera que era boa gente, e que sempre os favorecia [145v] no tempo em que tinhão trato e comercio com Malaca, quando aly vinhão os Portuguezes a comprar escravos e outras cousas [12]. E que folgaria que esta amizade e comercio se continuasse. E

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[c] **ultinamente** *ms.* [d] *del.* **ell**

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[7] Up to the present day the Bali people, maintaining their Hindu religion, have always rejected Islam.

[8] People of the Sunda region in W. Java, in all respects different from the Javanese proper.

[9] See D 7. Here we learn that Bima became Moslem in 1618.

[10] Here the information Azevedo had got about Bali appears rather deficient.

[11] *Syahbandar,* harbour-master, but practically the governor or regent of the country.

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em rezão disto escreveo em seu nome e de el-rei huma carta numa ola [13] com suas letras chara [14] Bale, que tresladada em Portugues palavra por palavra dizia o siguinte:

5. Senhor Capitão de Malaca e Senhor Capitão geral [15] e Senhora Cidade: Eu el-rei desta ilha de Bale, por querer sei amigo dessa fortaleza e ter comercio com os Portuguezes, como dantes em vida do meu pay avia, e porque a minha armada tomou a João Fernandes de Araujo [16], cuidando ser ladrão, e depois achei serem Portuguezes mercadores, os larguei e mandei pera essa cidade. Estimarei que de hoje por diante sejamos amigos e venhão a este meu porto a fazerem suas veniagas. E nas minhas terras há panos, escravos, sandalo e outras cousas. E juntamente estimarei que venhão Padres pera quem quiser fazer-se christão, se faça [17]. E eu o xabandar sou [e] a 2ª pessoa nesta ilha, peço ao capitão que mande reposta. Feita em Bale, ettc.

6. E principalmente encomendou ao capitão da embarcação que voltando aly lhe trouxesse Padres porque vivião como brutos, pera que os ensinasse[m] e fizesse[m] christãos os que o quisessem ser, mostrando com a mão o sitio em que os avia de agazalhar e fazer igreja a tê-los sempre junto de sy, ettc.

7. Foy notavel o alvoroço que nesta cidade de Malaca ouve com estas novas e carta de Bale pera os capitães e cidade. E todos communemente dizião que importava acodirem a isto, assy pello proveito temporal como pello bem spiritual de tantas almas [f] que se não perdessem e tomassem a ley dos mouros, como fizerão os Maccassares, que averá 40 annos, sendo gentios, pedirão Padres e, por então lhe não acodirem, se fizerão mouros. E quando eu, averá 20 annos, fuy ao Maccassa com pretensão

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[e] *del.* a pe.. [f] *del.* E

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[12] These words reveal that there had been a period of regular commerce of Malacca with Bali, and that this trade had been interrupted.

[13] *Ola* is a palm-leaf, but especially the leaf as prepared for writing on, and hence often a letter, a written text. (See *Hobson-Jobson*, 636).

[14] The Malay term *cara* (*tjara*) means way, manner, method, custom, style. The Balinese script is cognate to the Javanese.

[15] Captain of Malacca fortress was D. Álvaro de Castro (1633-1636); chief captain of the military forces was António Pinto da Fonseca.

[16] He was the captain of the Portuguese vessel mentioned in no. 2.

[17] Afterwards it became clear that on this point João Fernandes' translation of the letter had been arbitrary and erroneous. This may also apply to next no. 6. Anyhow, D 13 shows that the behaviour of the *syahbandar*, as depicted in nos. 4-6, was changing rapidly.

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de christandade, estavão já tão mouros todos que não ouve remedio pera quererem admitir nem ouvir falar em ser christãos.

8. E finalmente os capitães da fortaleza e geral com o cabido que governa sede vacante, e os vereadores, se ajuntarão em conselho sobre este negocio e sobre escolherem ministros religiosos pera esta empreza. E do conselho, nemine discrepante, sayo que isto se entregasse aos Padres da Companhia (posto que outros religiosos procurarão esta ida com instancia e se derão por agravados de não serem os escolhidos e sinalados). E acabado o conselho e feito assento nos livros reaes pello escrivão deste officio, se vierão todos juntos assy como estavão: o capitão da fortaleza, o capitão geral, o vigairo geral em luguar do cabido, o feitor e alcaide-mor, os vereadores e ouvidor e secretario, e todos juntos me mandarão chamar e fazer ajuntar os Padres neste collegio. E em luguar de todos falou o capitão geral António Pinto da Fonseca, e deu conta do que tinhão assentado em conselho com notaveis louvores da Companhia e de seu zelo em materias de christandade e conversão dos infieis. E lerão o assento que tinhão escrito nos livros reaes, que hé este, tresladado fielmente pello mesmo escrivão.

8. Treslado do assento que os[g] senhores do concelho que sua Magestade aqui tem tomarão sobre os Padres da Companhia de Jesus irem ao reino de Bale a fazer christandade, tirado do proprio original por mim, Simão Rodrigues, escrivão da fazenda e feitoria desta fortaleza de Malaca. — Aos vinte tres dias do mes de Outubro de mil seissentos e trinta e quatro annos, nesta cidade de Malaca nas cazas onde pousa[h] o senhor capitão-geral, Antonio Pinto da Fonsequa, estando presente o senhor D. Alvaro de Castro, capitão e governador desta fortaleza, com o dito senhor capitão-geral Antonio Pinto da Fonseca, e assy maes o reverendo Padre Francisco de Almeida, provisor e vigairo geral deste bispado pello reverendo cabido que governa [146*r*] sede vacante[18], e Lopo de Mello de Britto, vereador maes velho, e o doutor Manoel Coresma de Lacerda, ouvidor com alçada nesta cidade. E logo pellos ditos senhores governador e geral foy dito que elles tinhão huma carta de quem governava o reino de Bale, em a qual pedia ao dito senhor capitão e ao dito senhor

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[g] *del. illeg word;* snres *interl.* [h] *corr. fr.* posa

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[18] Nazareth does not know the name of this vicar-general of the diocese of Malacca (NAZARETH II 232-236 and 255-256).

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geral e aos senhores que governavão esta cidade, que querião ter pazes e comercio com Malaca como dantes teve seu rey velho e seus antessessores, e que mandem lá suas veniagas. E que as que naquella ilha ha são roupas, sandalo e escravagem e outras varias cousas. E que quem lá for leve Padres pera que fação christãos aos que o quissessem ser, e que pera isso darião todo o favor e ajuda. E depois de lida a dita carta pedirão os ditos senhores que vottassem de que religião seria bem que fossem os ditos Padres. E depois de tratarem na materia forão todos de parecer que os Padres fossem da Companhia de Jesus, e em particular fosse o Padre Manoel de Azevedo que agora acabava de ser reitor, pellas muitas partes que concorrem em sua pessoa, assy de exemplo de vida como de letras, que são as partes que maes importão pera quem vay fundar nova christandade. E de como assy forão deste parecer todos os ditos senhores, mandarão a mym, Simão Rodrigues, escrivão da fazenda e feitoria e secretario do conselho, fizesse este assento em que todos se assinarão, no mesmo dia, mez e era atrás declarada.

Simão Rodrigues.

10. A esta proposta respondi com os aggradecimentos devidos ao zelo e christandade que mostravão no serviço de Deus N. S. e do conceito e estimação que fazião de nossa Companhia escolhendo-a e pedindo-a pera cousas tão proprias de seu Instituto, ettc. E que eu daria a reposta a suas merces no que tocava acerqua de minha pessoa ir ao reino de Bale, porquanto tinha ordem de meu provincial pera ir esta monsão pera Cochim e devia consultar com os Padres se era bem deixar de comprir esta ordem e interpretar a vontade do superior maior, por não aver tempo pera se poder ter a elle recurso. Mas que no que tocava aceitar a Companhia esta missão, já o tinha tratado com os Padres e a todos parecera cousa justa e conforme à vontade do superior mayor. Com isto se despedirão satisfeitos, fazendo grandes offerecimentos de ajudarem pera o necessario apresto da ida.

11. Tratei[i] com todos os Padres deste collegio sobre este negocio, e a todos uniformiter pareceo que se devia em todo o caso fazer a missão e que esta seria a vontade de V. R., e o

[i] *corr. fr.* tratarei

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contrario seria escandalo, e que a isto devião de ir dous Padres ainda que fosse com este collegio ficar soo[j] com tres Padres. Pois este tempo não seria maes que de tres ou quatro mezes porquanto na monsão do Mayo seguinte[19] V. R. acodiria com hum par de Padres pera este collegio, e entretanto acudirião[k] às occupações ainda que fosse com maes trabalho. Mas que no que tocava a minha ida, que eu pois era superior e o avia de ser (como V. R. me ordenava) até a monsão de Janeiro, pera a India[20], fizesse nisto o que julgasse; e que parece, pois me pedião em particular, que devia de ir se me sentia com forças pera isso, e que esta devia ser a vontade de V. R.

12. Eu me encomendei a N. S. e me resolvi em, deixada a ida de Cochim, me sacrificar a essa missão. E nosso Senhor me dava impulsos e desejos de lhe fazer algum serviço[l] antes de acabar a vida que já deve ser pouca por causa da muita fraqueza corporal que já sinto, e muitos achaques, e de trazer hum pee coxo [146*v*] e arrastando num pantufo[21]. Mas Deus N. S. dava as forças corporaes e spirituaes necessarias pera esta empreza bem difficultosa, pois hé ir a romper hum mato bravo aonde té agora não ha noticia de salvação nem do Senhor que os criou e remyo com seu sangue. E cada vez sinto em mym aonde té agora não há noticia de salvação nem do Senhor que tenho de idade, e trinto e outo da Companhia[22], nunqua soube servir a este Senhor como devia, neste fim faça alguma cousa por seu amor. E se Deus N. S. for servido de a fee lançar aly raizes (como speramos em sua misericordia), darei a ida e a vida, e muitas vidas se muitas tiver, por bem empregadas.

13. E avendo de levar companheiro que suprisse minha insufficiencia e fraqueza[m], e pudesse maes depressa que eu tomar a lingoa, pareceo a todos os Padres que fosse o Padre Manoel Carvalho que V. R. agora desucupava do officio de procurador

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j *interl.* k *corr. fr.* acudião l lhe ... serviço *interl.* m *del. illeg. numeral* [55?] annos

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[19] The opportunity of sailing eastwards from Goa and Cochin was in April and the ships used to arrive at Malacca in May.

[20] Usually the ships left Malacca in December and arrived at Cochin in January.

[21] When staying in Maluku from 1620 to 1624, he had the misfortune of breaking his leg (DM III 456).

[22] He was born in 1581 and entered the Society in 1597.

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e tinha já aqui successor [23]. Porque está ainda em boa idade e com forças e principalmente porque desd'o primeiro dia que se tratou desta missão se offereceo pera ella e na consulta postrado de joelhos diante dos Padres pedio isto a todos com tanto affecto e lagrimas que parece o chamava Deus.

14. E assi nos partiremos com o favor divino por todo o mez de Fevereiro de 635 [24], pera o que se vay apparelhando huma embarcação. E o capitão geral, que hé vedor da fazenda, nos tem prometido a ordinaria que El-Rei custuma dar aos Padres vigairos das christandades. E diz que assertando nós aly residencia e achando fruito, se confirmará esta ordinaria pello Visorrey. Tambem o capitão da fortaleza, D. Alvaro de Castro, ajudou muito nisso com grande estima que faz da Compamhia. E algumas pessoas, sem nós lhe pedirmos, nos vão ajudando no necessario pera a missão e desta maneira iremos arrezoadamente providos sem fazer gastos ao collegio de Malaca, cujo cuidado e governo entregarei ao Padre Inacio Bruno [25] quando as embarcações partirem pera a India, que hé o tempo em que V. R. me mandava ir pera Cochim, ordenando-me fosse reitor até [o] este tempo.

15. O que resta hé pedir muito a V. R. me faça encomendar nos sacrificios e orações dos Padres e Irmãos dessa Provincia pera que meus peccados, faltas e imperfeições não sejão impedimento ao fruito e serviço de Deus N. S. que nisto se pretende. Levando-nos Deus N. S. a salvamento e escapando destes enemigos olandezes, que tem occupados todos estes estreitos, escreverei e informarei larga e meudamente a V. R. do successo de nossa missão. Em a benção e santos sacrificios ettc.

De Malaca, 8 de Janeiro de 1635.

Servo e filho indigno de V. R.,

Manoel de Azevedo.

16. [*Postscript*] Lopo de Mello de Brito pera quem V. R. mandou [p] huma carta de irmandade dirigida ao Padre Simão

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[n] *del.* par.. [o] *corr. fr.* a [p] *del.* e s...

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[23] On Fr. Manuel Carvalho see DM III 35*. As the new procurator in his stead Fr. André de Gouveia had been appointed (*Goa 29* f. 52*r*).

[24] Actually they left Malacca on March 11, 1635.

[25] The Italian Father Ignazio Bruno was born at Bagnoli Irpino in

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de Figueiredo [26], e sua molher D. Joana de Menezes, correm muito bem com a Companhia e são bemfeitores deste collegio. Aqui se confessão, ettc.

Lost Letters

11a — *Fr. Manuel de Azevedo, Malacca, to Fr. Miguel de Faria, Cochin, 1635.*

D 12,1: Mando a V. P. as cartas do Padre Manuel de Azevedo.

11 b — *Fr. Manuel de Azevedo, Malacca, to Fr. General and Provincial, 2nd half of 1635.*

D 13, introduction, under no. IV: the original report seems lost.

12

FR. MIGUEL DE FARIA SJ, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. MUZIO VITELLESCHI, GENERAL

COCHIN, DECEMBER 12, 1635

First *via*

I AUTHORS: C. WESSELS and H. JACOBS: articles quoted at D 10.

II TEXT: ARSI, *Goa 18* ff. 149*r*-150*v*. Autograph in Portuguese, in a clear handwriting. F. 150*v* is blank but for the address and a Roman abstract likewise in Portuguese. The Bali section is the opening of the letter on f. 149*r*.

III PRINTED: The Bali section by JACOBS, op. cit. 328-329.

Summary

1. *Will report on the mission of Fr. Manuel de Azevedo to Bali and add some questions.* — 2. *Frs. Azevedo and Manuel Carvalho went there, supported by the city authorities who, however, acted more out of self-interest than out of zeal. The Fathers left Malacca on March 11 and ar-*

1576 and entered the Society in 1598 or 1599 (*Goa 29*); he sailed to India in 1603 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 490).

[26] Simão de Figueiredo was born at Seia, Portugal, in 1590 and became a Jesuit in 1606 (*Goa 29*); he sailed to India in 1614 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 605).

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rived safe and sound at Bali. The viceroy fixed an allowance for them. — 3. How he will try to resolve the difficulty of Fr. Azevedo being summoned back to India to be rector of the Cochin college.

Pax Christi.

1. Nesta darey conta a V. P. da missão de Balli que de novo se abrio. E aynda que mando a V. P. as cartas do Padre Manoel d'Azevedo que são a fonte donde sabemos della [1], todavia me pareceo escrever de fora algumas regras e por occasião disto perguntar algumas duvidas que se me offerecem tocantes ao governo [2].

2. A esta missão foy elle e o Padre Manoel Carvalho [3]. Fez muito a cidade de Malaca para que se abrisse. Em alguns seria zelo, nos maes cubiça por lhe parecer que sería pera aquella ilha a navegação de interesse. Queira nosso Senhor que o seja tambem das almas. Já soubemos que chegarão a salvamento [4]. Partirão de Malaca em onze de Março. O Visorey festejou a ida dos Padres, e me escreverão de Goa que lhes assignara ordinaria.

3. Como V. P. mandava por patente que o Padre Manoel d'Azevedo fosse Reitor deste collegio [5], mandey-o chamar [6]. Não lhe mandey logo quem ficasse em seu lugar porque podia soceder bem e mal a missão. E como neste mesmo anno não pode vir maes que a Malaca por causa de que quando ali pode chegar já não há monção para a India, mandei-lhe que viesse e que ali acharia quem lhe fosse suceder. E assi determino de mandar este Mayo [7] algum Padre [8] a Malaca aonde se encontrará com o

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[1] D 11 and one or more other lost letters of the same date (11a). Since Fr. Faria appears not to know yet of the failure of the mission, these letters cannot be Azevedo's report on the occurrences at Bali which had to be at the base of D 13.

[2] In the continuation of this letter, after no. 3, Fr. Faria submits a doubt about what to do in case a Father is summoned back from Malacca or Maluku to an important post in India and cannot arrive there within a year or even longer.

[3] See D 11 note 23.

[4] One wonders how Fr. Faria at Cochin could know of this arrival (on April 30; D 13,4) so early.

[5] Cf. D 11, 10.

[6] Lost letter, 10a.

[7] May 136.

[8] Fr. Manuel Carvalho.

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Padre Manoel d'Azevedo. E se as novas que trouxer da missão forem boas, irá o Padre, e se não forem tão boas e que seja necesario chamar o outro que entre tanto lá fica, mandá-lo-hey chamar. Queira o Senhor que suceda bem e como esperamos.

[... 150*r*]

De Cochim, hoje 12 de Dezembro de 1635.

De V. P. filho indigno em Christo,

Miguel de Faria.

[*Address* 150*v*] A nosso muy Reverendo Padre Mutio Vitelleschi preposito geral da Companhia de Iesu em Roma. 1ª via. De Cochim.

13

[FR. MANUEL DE AZEVEDO SJ (?) TO A JESUIT AUTHORITY] REPORT ON THE MISSION TO BALI

[MALACCA, COCHIN, LATE 1635 OR EARLY 1636]

I AUTHORS: JACOBS, *An Abortive Mission Effort: the Island of Bali in 1635*, AHSI 53 (1984) 313-330.

II TEXT: Madrid, Real Academia de Historia, *Jesuitas tomo 119* no. 11 (in red 12) ff. 106-107. Copy in Portuguese of an abstract (brevissima) of a more extensive report. The last page is blank save for a note « Relação da Missão de Balli ao Padre Francisco Mendes da Companhia de Jesus ». The regular, fluent and close script is not always easy to read and has a fair number of corrections. The text is divided into seven paragraphs and it is neither dated nor signed.

III AUTHOR: As the document is composed in the third person, both of the Fathers who sailed to Bali seem to be excluded as author, but evidently the text must rely on the report given by at least one of them since they were the only ones to know the facts. With good reasons we ascribe it to Azevedo as direct or indirect author.

IV ADDRESSEE: The only Jesuit at that time called Francisco Mendes lived at Évora in Portugal. He is likely to be one of the several Jesuits to whom copies of the abstract were sent. The original report which seems lost (11 b) was certainly directed to some authority, either Fr. Provincial or Fr. General.

V DATE: The document is not dated. However, the whole context

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and the script suggest that it was written not long after the Fathers returned to Malaka in July 1635; therefore in the second half of 1635 or in early 1636.

VI PRINTED: in JACOBS, article mentioned under I.

VII OUR EDITION: For clearness' sake we divide the text into a larger number of paragraphs.

Summary

1. *The voyage took place because João Fernandes de Araújo brought a letter from the syahbandar of Bali to Malacca which he translated as to make it seem that the king asked for Fathers to convert his people.* — 2. *The Malacca authorities requested Fathers Manuel de Azevedo and Manuel Carvalho for the enterprise, and they sent João Fernandes along with them as an ambassador.* — 3. *The Fathers sailed from Malacca in two rowing ships on March 17, 1635, and after 24 days, having suffered much from hunger and thirst, they arrived at Japara, Java.* — 4. *Having been well received at Japara, they left for Bali where they arrived on the last day of April.* — 5. *For two days they did not see anyone. The syahbandar, being aware of the coming of the Fathers, had their ships encircled and forbade anyone to furnish them with provisions. Thereupon the ambassador dispatched a young man as a messenger to the syahbandar.* — 6. *The syahbandar sent his brother with no other purpose than to take stock of the cargo. The next day he sent his grandson to be informed about the intentions of the Fathers.* — 7. *When the Fathers told him they had been invited by te syahbandar's letter, he answered that the letter did not mention Fathers, and that his grandfather had only asked João Fernandes orally to send a physician. Afterwards this proved true.* — 8. *The grandson bade the Fathers to turn back to Malacca, for if the king, still very young, should hear of their arrival and intentions, he would not only kill them but also the syahbandar and his entire family.* — 9. *Since they were short of provisions, the ambassador and the Fathers asked for permission to go ashore. It was given only for the ambassador and Domingos Pereira, but only the latter actually went and met the syahbandar.* — 10. *Domingos Pereira wanted to buy supplies in the town, but he was not allowed to do so. Sheer tricks to make the Portuguese miss the monsoon and to detain them on the spot. The syahbandar, however, gave Pereira fifteen eggs and required some payment for them. This was the first sign of hospitality.* — 11. *While waiting for the syahbandar, who orally had promised to come and see them, the Portuguese were visited by his adult son. He told them that his father allowed them to take in supplies of water and fire-wood, but forbade them to sell anything of the cargo as he himself would buy all of it. The Fathers answered they had come to make conversions, and as they were very short of victuals they would turn back at once with the embassy and the presents if the permit were not given.* — 12. *The son reported to his father, who driven by craving for the presents came to visit the ships, but only asked for ever more sweets and wine.* — 13. *Now the Portuguese determined not to stay any longer for a number of resasons: e. g., the deceit of the letter,*

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the refusal of a permit to make conversions, hostility against the Portuguese who were friends of the Javanese and Makasarese and enemies of the Dutch, the bad treatment received, the delay in receiving the embassy. — 14. Since they had been ordered not to risk any human life, they left for Malacca twenty-one days after their arrival. There they dropped anchor four months after their departure and were well received by the authorities and townspeople.

Relaçam brevissima da viagem que os Padres Manoel de Azevedo e Manoel Carvalho da Companhia de Jesus fizerão ao reino de Balle no anno de 1635

1. A occazião que ouve pera esta viagem e missão se fazer foi que vindo João Fernandez de Arauyo [1] da Bima, com a força dos ventos arribou à ilha de Balle, onde foi bem tratado dos naturaes [2]. E quando se ouve de partir pera Malaca, o xabandar, 2ª pessoa daquelle reino, lhe deu huma ola escrita em letra balle pera os capitães da cidade de Malaca, que elle da lingua bale tresladou em a portugueza [3], e porem muito diversa do original. Na qual dizia que o xabandar em nome de seu rei pedia pazes e Padres aos portugueses pera se fazer christam quem quizese [4].

2. Aprezentada esta ola [a], os Senhores de Malaca em conselho assentarão pedir ao mesmo Padre Reitor do collegio, que era o Padre Manoel de Azevedo, pera esta gloriosa empreza, e assi o fizerão. E o Padre Reitor com os mais Padres vierão na petição, nomeando-lhe por companheiro o Padre [b] Manoel Carvalho. E pera que esta ida fosse mais authorisada se assentou no conselho que fosse acompanhada de huma embaxada e com alguns prezentes pera o rei e xabandar, e juntamente fosse o mesmo João Fernandez que tinha trazida a carta, por [c] embaxador.

3. Providos do necessario, cujo gasto fes o capitão geral, veador da fazenda, e mais cidade, partirão em duas embarcas-

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[a] ola *interl.* [b] Padre *interl.* [c] *del.* ex..

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[1] For João Fernandes de Araújo, see D 11 notes 16-17. Otherwise unknown.

[2] It is surprising that in 1634 Fernandes was treated relatively well, whereas scarcely one year later, in May 1635, he met with only mistrust.

[3] See D 11, 5.

[4] This « translation » and opinion were corrected later on; see no. 7 below.

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soens de remo aos 17[5] de Março de 1635. Gastarão 24 dias até o primeiro porto que tomarão, que foi Xapara[6 d], porto principal da Jaoa, padecendo nestes dias muitas fomes e sedes, por serem as embarcaçoens muito pequenas pera poderem levar mantimentos de tantos dias. E a Deus nosso Senhor lhe não mandar hum chuveiro grande, com que proveram algumas talhas de agoa, todos estalarião à pura sede.

4. Aqui em Japara[e] forão mui bem recebidos do governador da terra[7] com refresco e mostra de benevolencia, a que corresponderão com o que levavão. E sendo na despedida accompanhados delle e de sua gente com muita honrra, se partirão pera Balle, onde chegarão o derradeiro de Abril, 51[f] dias depois que sairão de Malaca.

5. Estiverão dous dias no porto esperando cada hora por recado ou por visita da terra, sem verem pesoa que ao menos por coriosidade procurasse saber que embarcaçoens aquellas erão. Tudo porque, sabendo o xabandar da vinda dos Padres, os pôs já antes de chegarem em cerco, mandando que nenhuma pessoa lhes mandasse, desse ou deixasse tomar couza alguma pera seu [106*v*] provimento. E como as embarcaçoens hião tão faltas de tudo, resolveo-sse o embaxador e Padres em mandar hum mosso pratico na lingua[8] ao[g] xabandar, que lhe fizesse a saber sua chegada, embaxada, prezentes, etc.

6. Movido deste recado ou mais porventura de interesse, mandou ao [o]utro dia o xabandar hum seu irmão a vizitar os portuguezes, ou pera melhor dizer a tomar o rol de tudo quanto vinha nas embarcassoens[h], que esta foi a substancia de sua vi-

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[d] Xaparà *ms.* [e] Japarà *ms.* [f] *del.* hum [g] *del.* E... [h] embracassoens *ms.*

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[5] The text has 17, evidently a copyist's error for 11. Fr. Faria wrote definitely « Partirão de Malaca em onze de Março » (D 12, 2). March 11 corresponds with no. 4 as well: they arrived at Bali on April 30, fifty-one days after they sailed from Malacca.

[6] Japara, a city on the northern coast of Java northeast of Semarang, at that time belonged to the Javanese empire of Mataram, whose mighty ruler was at war with the Dutch (Siege of Batavia, 1618). Therefore the Portuguese, notorious enemies of the Dutch, were most welcome.

[7] In Japara there was a *temenggung*, viz. a governor or regent, of the ruler of Mataram. « A Kyai Demang Leksamana seems still to have been 'governor' of Japara from 1631 to 1636 » (SCHRIEKE, 193).

[8] Presumably the Domingos Pereira of no. 9.

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sita. E ao outro dia mandou hum seu neto a tirar dos Padres o fim e pertenção daquella viagem.

7. E sendo-lhe respondido serem vindos chamados pela ola do xabandar seu avô pera se fazerem christãos naquelle reino aos que quizessem, elle se mostrou mui novo na pratica, dizendo que seu avô só escrevera na ola querer amizades com os portugezes e não pedira Padres, mas só de palavra dissera ao João Fernandez na despedida lhe trouxesse hum padre pandita[9], id est[i] medico, pera curar a seu rei de humas chagas secretas que tinha. (O que tudo era verdade como depois se soube polla mesma ola, tresladada fielmente e não como o fizera João Fernandez em seus particulares intereses).

8. Pollo que podião tornar pera Malaca antes que o rei soubesse da sua vinda e chagada, pois não somente elles, Padres e portugezes, mas o proprio xabandar, com ser a pessoa que governava o reino, por o rei ser inda mosso e se não deixar ver nem tratar mais que de suas molheres que em numero passam de 10.000[10], seria mor[to] com toda sua familia em el-rei tendo noticia das pertençoens dos Padres. Com isto se despedio levando alguns brincos da China, biscouto, doces e outras couzas de que avia provimento pera semelhantes occazioens.

9. Neste tempo com as detenças hia já faltando[j] o arrôs sem aver licença ou ordem pera se poder comprar couza alguma. Pollo que determinarão o embaxador e Padres mandar pedir rezulução ao xabandar. E assi lhe mandarão pedir licença pera se sairem em terra. Consedeo-a[k] só pera o embaxador e Domingos Pereira[11]. Rezeoso porem de alguma treição, João Fernandez de Araujo não quis sair a terra. Offreceo-se a tudo Domingos Pereira; desembarcou e ia-se a solas com o xabandar.

10. Pretendeo trazer resolução, mas o xabandar a não dava

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[i] id est *corr. fr.* ou [j] *del.* ouros [k] *corr. fr.* consedeou

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[9] In Malay *pandita,* also *pendeta,* means a pagan priest, religious minister, or also a wizard and a recluse. In Bali he is called *pedanda.* As a rule those 'priests' had also a medical function. This circumstance may furnish a key to the misapprehension and the deceptive translation (ENOI I 117; *Bali, Studies in Life, Thought, and Ritual,* The Hague-Bandung 1960, 134; James A. BOON, *The Anthropological Romance of Bali, 1597-1972,* Cambridge 1977, 22 42-43).

[10] I fear the copyist was a little too prodigal with the zeros. « The rajas [of Bali] commonly keep from eighty to a hundred or more wives » (BOON 26, quoting Van den Broek who wrote in 1835).

[11] Presumably the « mosso pratico na lingua » of no. 5.

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a couza alguma. Traças tudo pera perderem a monssam e lhes ficarem seguros, faltando-lhe de todo o mantimento [12]. Domingos Pereira, que bem o entendia, lhe pedio licença pera comprar algum refresco na cidade, o que lhe negou, entrando em outra caza e trazendo-lhe nas proprias mãos 15 ovos, recebendo em paga delles meia [l] pataca [13] que Domingos Pereira tinha na mam. E estas forão [m] as primeiras mostras da liberalidade do xabandar pera com os hospedes.

11. Estando entre estas desconfianças esperando pollo comprimento que deu de palavra o xabandar de os hir ver às embarcaçoens, entrou nellas hum filho seu já homem, polo qual se escuzava de não vir em pessoa pollas muitas occupaçoens, mandando-lhe licença pera fazer agoa e lenha, prohibindo que se não vendesse couza alguma das que trazião, que elle queria comprar tudo. Ao que acodirão os Padres [107*r*] que elles vinhão pera pregar e converter à ley de Christo todos quantos quizessem, conforme à ola que seu pai tinha escrito a Malaca, e não tinhão arrôs nem outra couza pera dous dias (como na verdade passava) pera 66 pessoas que naquellas embarcaçoens vinhão. E assi que logo se tornarião com a embaxada e prezente se se lhes não dava a licença que pedião.

12. O que vendo o filho do xabandar se foi de novo à cidade e dando conta da determinação dos portuguezes ao pai, levado da cobiça dos prezentes se veio ter aos navios acompanhado de alguns homens de cavalo, aonde foi recebido com toda a festa possivel [14]. Mas não foi sua vinda de mais proveito que as passadas, despedindo-se pedindo mais doces, mais biscouto, mais vinho pera suas molheres, filhos, netos, etc., do que tudo foi mui bem servido, o que elle pagou mandando ao [o]utro dia de sua caza huma penca de figos de prezente.

13. Considerando devagar os Padres e portuguezes as rezoens

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[l] meia *w. corr., d. r.* [m] E... forão *difficult to read, safe guess*

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[12] Deciphering this short sentence offers great difficulties. *Perderem* could equally well be read *poderem* or *pedirem; monssam* could be read *massam* and perhaps *manssam* (maçã and mansão). Only the reading of « pera perderem a monssam » gives the right sense to « lhes ficarem seguros ». The syahbandar's policy seems to be to use all means to prevent the Portuguese from sailing away with a view to exploiting them; only the Fathers should leave as soon as possible (no. 8).

[13] Unsure reading. The *pataca* or *patacão* was a coin that originally had the value of three hundred réis, but in 1635 probably much less (SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* 561; *Hobson-Jobson* 683).

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que avia pera se não deterem mais, como era: a primeira, o dizerem tantas vezes que não pedirão Padres; a 2ª, o engano das cartas; a 3ª, o não se darem as cartas que levarão a el-rei por tocarem em materia da cristandade; a 4ª, o temerem-se tanto dos portuguezes naquella terra por serem amigos dos jaos [15] e d'el-rei de Macassá [n] que lhes querião tomar o reino; a 5ª, o serem imigos dos olandezes, o que elles chamão seu braço direito contra os jaos e macassares [16]; a 6ª, o mao tratamento com que forão e erão hospedados; a 7ª, dizerem-lhe que não podiam receber a embaxada senão dahy a muitos dias, não tendo elles mantimento mais que pera hum; a 8ª, o mandarem-lhe dizer, estando elles nesta consulta, que mandassem logo a embaxada e prezentes pera casa do xabandar, tambem as tres principaes pessoas sós, não entendendo nellas aos Padres.

14. Ao que se ajuntou a ordem que levavão de se não porem em perigo nem arriscarem huma só pessoa. Pello que visto o manifesto risco de todos, estando as guardas dormindo, despedindo o melhor que puderão esta ultima embaxada, com o remo em punho e as armas nas mãos partirão pera Malaca [o] 21 [p] dias depois da chegada a aquelle porto. Onde chegarão com grandes trabalhos 4 mezes depois da partida [17]. Onde forão recebidos de toda a cidade e dos capitães com benevolencia, dando-se por mui satisfeitos do que nesta hida fizerão por sua petição os Padres. Da qual hida, se não seguio o fruito da converção das almas que se pretendia, não ficarão elles sem o merecimento da boa obra que desejavão [q] e os Padres com as dos trabalhos e perigos que [r] passarão por serviço de Deus nosso Senhor. Etc.

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[n] Macassá *corr. fr.* Malaca [o] Malaca *del. illeg. word* [p] 21 *interl.*
[q] *del.* com a tal hida [r] *del.* se

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[14] Syntactically the subject of *levado* and *se veio* would be *o filho*, but the context clearly shows that it is now the *pai*, viz. the syahbandar himself, who visits the Portuguese.

[15] That is, of the ruler of Mataram.

[16] The Malacca Captain António Pinto da Fonseca wrote « A missão que foi a Bali não teve effeito porque estava aquelle reizinho já confederado com os Olandezes outra vez, e deo por rezão que não pedira Padres portugueses senão gentios » (Lisbon, Torre do Tombo, *Livros das Monções 35*, 299) .

[17] The Fathers left Malacca on March 11, 1635, arrived at Japara on April 4 and at Bali on April 30. On May 21 they left Bali after a stay of twenty-one days, and reached Malacca about July 11, four months after they had sailed from there.

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14

RELATION ON PHILIPPINE EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1644 COPY SENT TO FR. RAFAEL DE PEREIRA SJ, SEVILLE

CAVITE, AUGUST 12, 1644

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHÜTTE, *Tomos* 58 no. 21.

II TEXT: A. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, *Jesuitas, tomo 120* ff. 156*r*-163*v* (formerly no. 21). Account in Spanish, written on Philippine rice paper, badly battered. Dated on f. 163*v* but not signed. It contains mainly political tidings on the Philippines themselves and on Macao, China, Formosa, and Japan.

B. München, Haupt-Staats-Archiv, *Jesuiten 607* (formerly *293*). In this sheaf of many unnumbered letters there is a Latin abstract of a letter of Fr. Josef Zanzini from Manila, July 6, 1645, in which there is a free rendering of no. 2 of the present document. However it does not mention the names of Frs. Cebrián and Rangel.

III AUTHOR: He is not mentioned. Doubtless he was a Jesuit, as appears from many things, e. g. from his quick contact with Fr. Cebrián after the latter's arrival at Cavite, from his interest in Jesuitic particulars (Lenten sermons of two Jesuits), from his addressee (see IV), and from the nature of the document itself. It is only one out of a great number of yearly political and military *Relaciones* that, distinct from the Annual Letters, usually were written by Jesuit authors and sent to Spain. Instances, see DM III DD 151 and 156. These instances suggest that Fr. Juan López may be the author.

IV ADDRESSEE: He is indicated at the top of the first page: « Rafael Pereira en Sevilla ». In the same tome 120 and in other tomes, dozens of letters and relations, written by Jesuits from different places, are directed to this Father. In spite of his Portuguese name he was a Spaniard, born at Seville in 1584 and a Jesuit in 1610, and after his studies and ordination a teacher of Latin at the Seville St. Hermenegildo College for more than thirty years (*Baet. 9* and *Baet. 14*). Perhaps he was entrusted with translating many texts into Latin. So he is likely to be the addressee of only this copy.

Summary

1. *Fr. Cebrián arrived at Cavite from Makasar on June 16 [1644] and brought news. — 2. Insurrection of the Bugis people against the king of Makasar was repressed. This king is well instructed in Spanish and Portuguese; he used a Spanish war manual and, though a Moslem, he attended the Lenten sermons preached by Frs. Cebrián and Rangel.*

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[156*r*]

Relación escrita en Philipinas año de 1644

[157*r*]

1. A 16 de Junio llegó a este puerto el Padre Matheo Francisco Zebrian[1] que partió inmediatamente de [Ma]casar, y dél e sabido algunas nuevas que iré poniendo aqui.

2. Los Buguis de Macasar[2], qu'es la gente de la tierra[a] adentro, se levantaron contra su rey[3] y pusieron según dicen 200 mil h[ombres en el] campo. Acudió el rey apriesa con exército de cien mil hombres, y venciólos y mató m[uchos] mil hombres de los rebeldes. Es el rey hombre entendido en las lenguas castellana y [portu]guesa, y dijo varias vezes al dicho Padre que se ubiera perdido sin duda en esta guerra, sino por un libro de un Castellano, que llevó consigo, que trata de formar esquadrones y modo de pelear[4], que esto le valió. Es moro este rey, y

[a] de la tierra *add. m.*

[1] Fr. Mateo Francisco Cebrián was a Spaniard, born at Gandía in 1610, a Jesuit in 1626, who sailed to India in 1637. Though a member of the Cochin province, he is found at Macao in 1638. Sent back to India in January 1639, he stopped in Bengal and is found at Negapatan and Malacca from where he escaped during the Dutch siege in October 1640. After this he started an independent life of voyaging and trading and was successively in Tanasserim, Siam, Cambodia, Laos, Makasar (1644), Manila (this document), Ternate, again Makasar (1646; D 18). Meanwhile he had been dismissed from the Society by Fr. Gaspar do Amaral, Vice-Provincial of Japan 1641-1645, with the approval of Fr. Antonio Rubino, Visitor of Japan and China, 1639-1643. He returned to India and desappeared from history. He was a false mystic pretending visions and miracles. (WICKI, *Liste* no. 858; SCHÜTTE, *Dokumente zur japanischen Kirchengeschichte*, AHSI 40, 1971, 1-66, especially 39-42; SCHÜTTE, *Tomos* 8-11; TEIXEIRA, *Malacca and Singapore* I 288; ARSI, *Goa 34 I* f. 48*r-v; IapSin 18 I* ff. 191-192; *Arag. 10a* f. 15*v; Arag. 10 II* f. 114*r*).

[2] See D 5 note 15. The Bugis kingdom of Boni and the Makasar kingdom of Goa (Gowa) were in a constant struggle for hegemony in the region of S. Sulawesi (ANDAYA, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka* 9). Makasar conquered Boni in 1640, chasing the ruler (STAPEL F. W., *Het Bongaais verdrag* 37). But as late as 1661 the King of Makasar is recorded to have gained a great victory over the Bugis (*Daghregister 1661* 133).

[3] Sultan Mohamed Said, 1639-1653.

[4] On books of military affairs, either in Spanish or even translated into Makasarese or Bugis, used by the native rulers, see also REID, *A*

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contodo oyó los sermones desta quaresma pasada que predicó el dicho Padre Zebrian y el Padre Francisco Rangel [5].
[... 163*v*] Cavite, 12 de Agosto de 1644.

15

FR. JOÃO DE SANTO IGNACIO SJ TO FR. MUZIO VITELLESCHI, GENERAL

— Relation on a Makasar Martyr —

MACAO, OCTOBER 5, 1644

First *via*

I TEXTS: The original Portuguese text and a copy of an Italian translation have come down to us.

A. ARSI, *IapSin 64* ff. 235*r*-239*v*, in 8°; the last page is blank. Original in Portuguese, written in a graceful and clear amanuensis's hand, that also wrote some other letters of the same period at Macao found in this codex. Folio 235*r* has, in the same hand, only a shortened title, a note on the *via*, and the address; its *verso* is blank. The report proper begins on f. 236*r*.

Great, 22: « A sixteenth century Spanish text on gunnery, allegedly by 'Andreas of Monyona', was summarized in Makassarese in 1635 and translated in full in 1652. ...A number of other translations on gunnery, gunpowder and arms manufacture were translated from Spanish, Portuguese... authorities ».

[5] Fr. Francisco Rangel, born at Porto, Portugal, in 1613 or 1614, a Jesuit in 1629, sailed as a novice to India in 1629. In 1635 he was studying theology at Macao, and to be ordained a priest he sailed to Manila in 1638. Back at Macao he become a professor of theology. He voyaged to Goa in 1643, and it is on his way back to Macao that he stayed at Makasar in April-May 1644. From 1647 on he worked mostly in the Tonkin mission, from which the Jesuits were expelled in 1658. On a second effort to enter this country he was killed by robbers in 1660. (ARSI, *IapSin 161 II* f. 301; WICKI, *Liste* no. 777; SOMMERVOGEL VI 1439; CHAPPOULIE I 200-205; MHJ 1277). During his stay at Makasar he wrote a letter to Fr. Provincial of Portugal on April 2, 1644, offering an account of the martyrdom of Fr. Antonio Rubino and four other Jesuits in Japan, based on a letter of Fr. Gaspar do Amaral, Provincial of Japan, of July 1642. Rangel's letter does not tell anything about Makasar. See STREIT V no. 1559.

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B. ARSI, *IapSin 118* ff. 49*r*-51*v*, in 4°. Italian translation written in beautiful print-writing. It forms part of a collection of four documents that are preceded by a hand-drawn title page (f. 35*r*) running « Relatione d'altre missioni fatte dai Padri della Compagnia di Giesù nell'Oriente, e d'altri casi notabili ivi seguiti. Tradotte dalla lingua portoghese nell'italiana. Al molto Reverendo in Christo Padre Nostro, il P. Vincenzo Carrafa, Preposito Generale della Compagnia di Giesù ». This title suggests that the translation was made in Rome between 1646 and 1649.

II AUTHOR: Fr. João de Santo Ignacio was a Pole properly named Lewicki (in ARSI catalogues Leviskhi, Levischius, Leviskus). He entered the Society in Rome in 1632 (*Rom. 57*, f. 20*v*; *Rom. 80* f. 247*r*) and in 1640 he sailed to India (WICKI, *Liste* no. 882). Being designated for the Japan Province he left India, stayed at Malacca in 1643, was carried to Batavia by the Dutch and sailed from there to Makasar with a view of reaching Macao. He arrived there and wrote this document in October 1644. But already in February 1646 he died in a shipwreck on his way to the mission of Tonkin (MHJ 1046, 1051-1052, 1194; SCHÜTTE, *Introductio* 406).

Summary

1. *Some Jesuits, passing by Makasar, had the opportunity of doing some pastoral work. A mulato boy, making his confession to the author, asked for his help to be rescued from his Malay master who wanted him to be a Moslem.* — 2. *The Portuguese vicar paid half the ransom and took the boy into his employ, giving credit for the other half. But the boy disappeared; his master was suspected to covet both the boy and the money.* — 3. *The Malay master came to see the vicar asking for the other half of the ransom and showing the boy's head shaved in preparation for accepting Islam, which however the boy constantly denied. An outstanding Portuguese paid the remainder and took the boy into his service.* — 4. *For some weeks the boy lived there satisfied and satisfying, but suddenly on Whitsun eve, going errands in the town, he was arrested, brought to the house of a karaeng and killed with creeses by order of the king.* — 5. *A certain Salvador Pereira witnessed the arrest and warned Karaeng Pattingalloang.* — 6. *Next day Pereira learnt that the boy had been killed that night. Some Moslems revealed all the circumstances of the murder.* — 7. *The boy had repeatedly refused to renounce the Christian faith and had invoked the name of Jesus.* — 8. *The wife of the karaeng in whose house he was killed told the merchant António Monteiro all particulars of the killing, and the latter related them to the vicar.* — 9. *The Portuguese population was highly scandalized of the king's order. The vicar, three Jesuit Fathers and three laymen ventured to pay a visit of protest to the king's palace.* — 10. *They were received by the king and several karaengs of the court. First the vicar spoke; and after him all the other members of the group.* — 11. *And as the author had directed the boy's conscience, not finding in him any weakness in the faith, he chose*

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to bear evidence to his fidelity, knowing that Karaeng Pattingalloang was well informed about all things of our faith. — 12. *The king and the karaengs listened patiently and kept silence for some time. Then Pattingalloang promised that a further deliberation would be held in the royal council and that the king would give satisfaction.* 13. *From his words the Fathers deduced that the boy was killed « in odium fidei ». They asked the leaders that the corpse be deliverd to them and they obtained this at once, sure sign that he died a Christian.* — 14. *Any doubt was removed by the answer of the king and his council given through some interpreters. First they wanted to pay a penalty in the name of the king, but the vicar refused to take it. Then they read a justification claiming that the boy's death had not been ordered by the king but by Islamic law because the boy, once being a Moslem, had become a Christian.* — 15. *His martyrdom now being evident, the Fathers induced the vicar and the people to pay public honour to the corpse.* — 16. *Having learnt where he was buried and having prepared a beautiful coffin, they went to the town, half a league away, to remove the corpse.* — 17. *Numerous Portuguese and other Christians accompanied them in exhuming the boy and putting him in the coffin, and they witnessed the strokes made by the creeses.* — 18. *Solemn funeral procession, with candles lighted, through the Moslem town to the shore.* — 19. *Continuation of the procession in boats on the sea to the Portuguese quarter.* — 20. *Solemn reception of the corpse by the vicar and its transfer to the church where it was entombed.* — 21. *The author wrote this Relation by order of Fr. Vice-Provincial.*

[235*r*]

Relação do martir do Macassà anno de 1644

1ª via

A nosso muito Reverendo Padre Mutio Vitteleschy
Preposito Geral da Companhia de Jesus

[236*r*]

Relação do martirio de hum moço por nome Domingos Rebello, natural de Malaca, martirizado por mandado do Sumbanco [1], imperador de Macassar, na sua cidade metropoly Sambopo [2], aos 14 de Mayo, vespora do Spirito Sancto, no anno de 1644.

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[1] The *raja* (king) of Makasar was entitled to the style of *Sombaya* (*Sumbaya*) « The Venerated One »; he should be addressed as *Sumbangku* « My Venerated One ». The author, and many other Europeans, incorrectly take *Sumbangku* for a title, translating it with « Emperor ». See NOORDUYN, *The Bugis Auxiliaries*, 273.

[2] Somba-opu was the name of the royal residence, palace and fortress all in one.

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1. Estando nós alguns religiosos da Companhia de Jesu em Macassar neste anno de 1644, huns pera passar pera Macao e outros pera a India, foi Deos Nosso Senhor servido de dar-nos occaziam de podermos exercitar os custumados ministerios da nossa Companhia com aquella christandade. Nella avia hum christão por nome [a] Domingos Rabelo, moço mulato natural de Malaca. Este [b] depois de se confessar comigo hum dia, me pedio emcarecidamente o ajudasse a livrar do cativeiro de hum malayo mouro, o qual o comprou na perda de Malaca, acrecentando que o fizesse com pressa, porque o malayo seu amo não se avia de deter muito tempo em Macassar.

2. Fiz eu todo o possivel pera lhe ajuntar alguma esmola pollas portas dos christãos da povoação pera seu resgate mas, porque todavia não hera bastante, pedy ao Padre Vigairo Francisco de Faria [3] que elle tomasse o moço pera seu serviço, e que se concertasse no resgate com o malayo, amo do mesmo moço. O P.[e] Vigairo depois de pagar ametade quazi do resgate ao malayo, tomou o moço e o restante do seu resgate à sua conta: quando em poucos dias, desaparecendo o moço, deu ao P.[e] Vigairo bastante motivo de sospeitar algum emgano do malayo, convem a saber, que o malayo se queria ficar com o moço e com o dinheiro juntamente, e já por esta rezão não lhe quis dar o restante do dinheiro, athé que outra vez lhe trouxesse e aprezentasse o moço christão.

3. Passados alguns dias veo o malayo a caza do P.[e] Vigairo em companhia do moço, que trazia já com a cabeça rapada, dizendo delle que era pera se fazer mouro, o que tudo [236*v*] o moço negava constantissimamente e, confessando-sse depois conmigo, achey que tudo era falcidade do malayo. Faltava mais que metade do resgate do moço pera o malayo, o qual não querendo esperar nada, me obrigou a pedir eu emtão logo huma

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[a] Nella...nome *corr. fr.* entre os quais Christãos este
[b] *add. interl.*

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[3] Francisco de Faria was a secular priest, vicar (*vigário da vara e visitador*) of the main church of Makasar. He had been appointed by the « governor » of the Malacca diocese, Paulo da Costa, in early February 1641, shortly after the surrender of Malacca to the Dutch. This appointment was contested by Vicar António Fernandes who had been designated earlier; he had to give way to Faria (Lisbon, Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Ásia 49-V-13*).

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esmola a huma pessoa mais principal da povoação [4], a qual alcancey com esta condiçam, que o moço ficasse algum tempo pera o serviço de caza daquella mesma pessoa.

4. Estando deste modo accomodado o moço na caza deste portuguez, e dando de sy muito boa conta por espaço de algumas somanas, hum dia que era sabado, vespora do Spirito Sancto, indo da povoaçam dos christãos per'a cidade, como custumava a fazer muitas vezes por serviço da caza de seu amo, foi prezo, amarrado e arrastado polla rua a caza de hum carraim [5] (que hé o mesmo que senhor da corte), pera aly o matarem às crizadas [6] conforme ao custume da terra, mandando-o assy o Sumbanco.

5. Foy providencia de Deos que nesta mesma tarde tornava do paço de Carraim Patem Galoa [7], tio do Sumbanco e governador de todo o reino, hum portuguez por nome Salvador Pereira, bem conhecido por suas partes em toda a India [8]. E emcontrando tam novo e lastimozo espectaculo, louvindo bradar o moço que elle era christão e que os macassás por força o queriam fazer mouro, dando-lhe bom animo e confortando-o no seu christão e sancto proposito, virou logo pera o paço do mesmo Carraim Patim Galoa imformando-o do cazo. Perguntando-se-lhe se era com sua ordem e sabendo do carraim que elle té então não sabia nada, mas que acudiria logo ao negocio, o Salvador Pereira tornou pera sua caza não dando lugar a noite pera mais.

6. No outro dia, que foi pascua do Spirito Sancto, teve certa noticia o mesmo Salvador Pereira que o moço aquella [c] mesma noite fora morto às crizadas, e se espalhou depois esta mesma nova por toda a povoaçam. E ainda que nenhum christam assistio a sua morte, porque lha deram escondidamente em caza de hum carraim, grande inimigo de nossa santa fé, todavia não falta-[237*r*]rão os mesmos mouros de caza deste carraim que contarão aos nossos christãos, como testemunhas de vista, todas

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[c] *del.* noite

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[4] This *pessoa principal* may be conjectured to be the merchant-diplomat Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo whose presence at Makasar is evidenced as early as this year of 1644 (*Gen. Miss.* II 238).

[5] *Carraim*, Portuguese rendering of the Makasar title of *Karaeng*, Prince.

[6] That is, strokes with the *keris* or creese, a Malay dagger with wavy blade.

[7] For the Karaeng Pattingalloang, cf. Gen. Introd. I, 3.

[8] Salvador Pereira remains otherwise unknown.

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as particularidades e circunstancias da morte do ditozo moço.

7. A saber: que o bem-avinturado moço nunca quis renegar por mais que foi forçado pera isso, que muitas vezes chamava pollo sanctissimo nome de Jesu e, pedindo-lhe disso a rezão, dizia que este era custume christão, ter refugio no derradeiro transe a este sanctissimo nome de Jesu; que levantava os olhos pera o ceo; que perssuadindo-lhe os crueis algozes que se fizesse mouro, porque fazendo-sse mouro se livraria de tam cruel morte, lhes respondia que emtão elle seria mouro, quando elles todos se fariam christãos, dando a intender com esta reposta que como era impossivel pera elles fazer-sse elles logo todos christãos, assy era couza impossivel pera elle fazer-sse elle mouro.

8. E porque Deos Nosso Senhor queria manifestar o valor com que recebeo este seu servo tão gloriosa morte, inspirou a huma senhora principal desta terra, molher do mesmo carraim aonde padeceo o bem-avinturado moço, que, com occazião de comprar huma peça de seda em caza de Antonio Monteiro, casado na cidade de Macao[9] que então estava com sua fazenda no Macassar, lhe contou em segredo esta mesma senhora todas estas circunstancias deste glorioso martirio assima referidas, passando de tudo isso certidão ao P.e Vigairo o mesmo Antonio Monteyro.

9. Ficou muito escandalizada toda a povoação de tal mandado do Sumbanco e, pera se saber com mais certeza, tomando entre nós conselho, nos pareceo que o P.e Vigairo, juntamente comnosco tres religiosos da Companhia de Jesu com alguns senhores portuguezes, fossemos em pessoa ao paço do Sumbanco; e imformando-nos de tudo, fizessemos em nome de toda a povoaçam a devida demonstraçam de sentimento (e se fosse servido Deos Nosso Senhor) dessemos as nossas mesmas vidas polla protestaçam da nossa sancta fé. O que fizemos [237*v*] logo aos 18 do mesmo mez de Mayo, quarta-feira que foi das oitavas do Spirito Sancto. Depois de dizermos missa emcomendando a Deos o negocio, nós mesmos fomos ao paço do Sumbanco: o P.e Vigairo, o P.e Francisco Rangel, o Padre João Rodriguez e eu[10], religiosos da Companhia de Jesu, Salvador Pereira e Antonio Monteiro, portuguezes acima nomeados, e hum cazado da povoaçam.

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[9] António Monteiro is mentioned in a letter of João de Sousa Pereira written at Macao on December 2, 1651 (*Bol. d. Film.* VII 403).

[10] Of the three Jesuits, Fathers Rangel and S. Ignacio (Lewicki) were

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10. Achamos na sala do Sumbanco o Carraim Patem Galoa tambem e outros muitos carrains. Recebidos com boa cortezia e assentados, começou o P.e Vigairo, como pastor da sua ovelha, zelar o cazo do moço martirizado, e depois cada hum de nós falou da sua parte aquillo que então Deos Nosso Senhor nos inspirava [qui dat os et sapientiam] [11] em tal tempo.

11. E porque eu tratey algumas vezes a conciencia deste moço e nunca achey nelle nemhuma fraqueza na fé, me pareceo dar testimunho disso diante daquelles principes, mayormente sendo Carraim Patem Galoa assy neste particular da confissam, como noutras couzas da nossa sancta fé bem imformado, com lhes acrecentar que tanto estimava a bem-avinturada morte do moço, por não renegar a fé de Christo filho de Deos, que por mais ditoso me teria então ser morto com este mulato que falar agora com suas altezas.

12. Ouvirão [o] Sumbanco com o Patem Galoa todos os nossos arrezoados pacientissimamente, e depois estiverão algum tempo quazi pasmados não respondendo nenhuma palavra às nossas preguntas. Athé que depois das nossas varias e repetidas instancias, respondeo hum pouco emfadado o Carraim Patem Galoa: que a cauza era grave e necessitava de conselho mais maduro, e que o Sumbanco o faria e nos daria a devida satisfaçam.

13. Desta reposta coligimos que o Sumbanco (ainda que sem parecer do Carraim Patem Galoa) mandara matar o moço in odium fidei [12]. Naquelle mesmo tempo pedimos a suas altezas, visto o moço morrer como christão, que [238*r*] nos mandassem entregar o seu corpo pera o enterrar em sagrado como a christão. E logo o alcançamos sem nenhuma repugnancia, com o que mais nos confirmamos na certeza do martirio do moço, porque se morrera mouro em nenhuma maneira se nos ouvera de entregar.

14. Ultimamente nos tirou toda a duvida hum recado do Sumbanco e do seu concelho que veo logo o outro dia pera a povoaçam. O reccado era deste modo. Ajuntou o P.e Vigairo as principais pessoas que então se acharão na povoação e, chegados os jurubaças [13], em nome do Sumbanco e do seu conselho,

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bound for Macao, whereas Fr. Rodrigues was on his way to India returning from Ternate (see *supra* no. 1).

[11] Cf. Lk 21, 15.

[12] I. e., in hatred of the faith.

[13] From the Malay *juru bahasa,* interpreter, expert in the language. In a wider sense: messenger.

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pagaram primeiramente ao P.e Vigairo a sala [14], que hé huma pena conforme ao custume da terra, de huma certa contia de bulais d'ouro [15] e de humas cangas de pannos [16], na qual penna condenou o conselho ao mesmo Sumbanco. E não querendo nada disto aceitar o P.e Vigairo, lerão huma justificação que o Sumbanco fazia à povoaçam, respondendo por escrito aos nossos arrezoados que lhe fizeramos no paço. Entre outros pontos, chegando à morte do moço, dizia o Sumbanco: que elle não mandara matar o moço, mas o mandara matar a ley da sua secta, porque este moço sendo mouro se fizera christão [17].

15. O que tudo considerando pellos que emtão estavamos prezentes com o P.e Vigairo, constando pollas mesmas palavras do tiranno clarissimamente que a ditoza morte foi dada ao moço in odium fidei, e sabendo de outras [d] partes bastantissimamente que elle a recebeo sempre constantissimo na fé, exhortamos ao P.e Vigairo e a toda a christandade da povoação a fazer alguma demonstração publica ao bem-avinturado corpo do martir, e com ella dar animo aos christãos da terra pera em semelhantes occaziõis pelejarem valerozamente e confundir aaquella mourama triumfando com a victoria tão esclarecida deste gloriozo martir in medio nationis pravae [18].

16. Naquele mesmo dia veyo da parte do Carraim Patem Galoa hum juruba-[238*v*]çã com ordem pera nos mostrar o corpo do bem-avinturado moço. Consertamos hum caixão, forrando-o de tafetá e cobrindo-o com hum panno vermelho e huma palma em cima, e com elle fomos aquella mesma tarde à cidade (que estava longe da povoação dos portuguezes quasi meya legua)[19],

[d] *del.* pessoas

[14] *Sala*, in some local languages of East Indonesia and the Philippines, means amends, penalty (VAN HINLOOPEN LABBERTON 631).

[15] *Bulay*, 17th-century rendering of the Makasar word *bulaeng*, which means gold, and it denoted also the currency and the weight usually known as *mas*, a small gold coin. (BOXER *Vieira* 107-108).

[16] *Canga* is a Portuguese word, meaning a kind of yoke or a stick put across the shoulder, with which one carries a load. So it could mean also a certain measure of weight.

[17] The Koran, Sura 2 no. 214 (in other editions no. 218) prescribes this punishment, or at least its text was interpreted in this sense by some Moslem schools.

[18] Cf. Phil 2, 15.

[19] This means that the distance from Somba-opu towards the north to the Portuguese quarter was a good two kilometers, an indication that

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onde estava enterrado o bem-avinturado moço, pera o levarmos à boca da noite com demonstração de grande contentamento e alegria que todos em nossos coraçõis experimentavamos.

17. Foy o numerozo acompanhamento dos senhores portuguezes e dos outros christãos da terra, os quais (principalmente alguns cazados de Macao) nos edificarão muito porque, desenterrando o corpo do bem-avinturado martir já de tres dias sepultado (em tempo de calmas em clima quazi debaxo da Linea), o tornaram a amortalhar com toda a decencia com suas proprias mãos e meter dentro do caixam. Demos então fé de algumas feridas das crizadas do martir, principalmente na lingoa, à qual lhe devião dar aquelles crueis algozes pollos muitos brados que dava pollo nome sanctissimo de Jesu.

18. Concertado o sagrado depozito, a mayor parte dos christãos com as velas acezas nas mãos, à prima noite por meyo de huma grande multidão dos mouros, que a este effeito sairam das suas cazas e cobrirão as ruas e as praças, o levamos os sacerdotes aos ombros in himnis et canticis spiritualibus [20]. E hum Padre dos que acompanhava o caixão levava hum sancto crucifixo patente no peito, triumphando Christus crucifixus entre as tochas ascezas no meyo dos capitais inimigos da sua divina cruz.

19. Depois de ter passado este solemne acompanhamento por boa parte da cidade com este triumpho, spectaculum facti Deo, Angelis et hominibus [21], chegando à praya do mar pozemos o sagro deposito a huma embarcaçam bem esquipada, acompanhado de muitas pessoas, que com as tochas e velas acezas no mar faziam de noite huma agradavel [239*r*] vista aos homens e muito mais agradavel aos Anjos.

20. Entretanto os mais que hiam por terra foram esperar com toda a povoaçam este tão rico prezente que Deos Nosso Senhor àquella christiandade offrecia. No lugar onde avia de desembarcar e depois que foi chegando à praya, o recebo o P.^{e} Vigairo com alegre procisam com repiques e com o Benedictus [22], levando outra vez a nossos ombros sacerdotais este tam grande

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could be of importance for an exact location of these places, for Reid states that « Sombaopu is the best known from contemporary sources and yet the most difficult to locate today » (REID *The Rise*, 142).

[20] Cf. Eph 5, 19.

[21] Cf. 1 Cor 4, 9.

[22] Lk 1, 68-79.

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thezouro athé à igreja. Aonde depois que foi cantada no altar-mor a oração de tempore (que erão as oitavas do Spirito Sancto), aly diante do mesmo altar com aquelle mesmo seu caixão, foi enterrado este ditozo martir à honrra e gloria do Rey dos martires, Christo Jesu Senhor nosso. Amen.

21. E porquanto a tudo o acima referido me achey prezente, me ordenou o P.e Vice-Provincial desta Provincia de Japão [23] o escrevesse pera se mandar a nosso muito Reverendo Padre a Roma, compry com a sancta obediencia.

Macao, 6 de Outubro de 1644 anos.

João de Santo Ignacio.

16

BROTHER HENRICUS VAN VLIERDEN SJ

— Account of Voyage —

BATAVIA, DECEMBER 21, 1644

I AUTHORS: WESSELS, *De Katholieke Missie in Zuid-Celebes* II 134.

II TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 161 II* f. 293*r-v*. Abstract in Latin, made after the lost original whose original language we can only guess. The text is written in a simple and clear hand, which also wrote an abstract — likewise in Latin — from a diary kept by the Dutch at Nagasaki and reporting on some Jesuits in Japan in 1643-1644 (f. 294*r-v*). The Brother reports on his voyage with a Polish Father from Lisbon on a ship bound for Macao without stopping at Goa or at any other port, sailing directly from the Cape of Good Hope to the Strait of Sunda. The passage on Batavia is on f. 293*r-v*.

III AUTHOR: Brother van Vlierden was born at Maastricht, Netherlands, on April 18, 1608, and entered the noviciate of Mechelen of the Flemish-Belgian Province on November 18, 1634. From the beginning he is called a *pictor*, painter, but his official task in the Professed House of Antwerp, after his formation, was sexton, apothecary and attendant to the sick. In October 1643 he left Flanders having been appointed to the mission of China. (ARSI, *Fl.-Belg. 12 14*

[23] Fr. Gaspar do Amaral, Vice-Provincial 1641-1645.

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15 45). In 1648 he is met with as a member of the Vice-Province of China and as *pictor* in the college of Macao under the name of Henricus Xavier (MHJ 1604 no. 56; DEHERGNE nos. 868 and 906); WICKI, *Liste* no. 923). In 1649 he sailed to Goa, where he died in the Professed House on December 5 of that year (*Goa 27* f. 63*r*).

Summary

1. [*After a protracted and exhausting voyage*] *they finally reached the city of Batavia where they were well received by the Dutch. The threat that an embargo would be put on their ship was luckily averted. — 2. After a month the Jesuits began to be in want of money. Then the Vicar of Makasar arrived, met the Polish Father* [*with whom Bro. van Vlierden had made the voyage*], *took him and the Brother into his house and gave them alms. They will sail with the vicar to Makasar, where the Father will cooperate with him in pastoral work and the Brother will paint pictures for the church.*

Ex litteris Henrici van Vlierden, Societatis Iesu Coadiutoris, ex urbe Batavia in India Orientali, 21 decembris 1644

[...]

1. Recreatis ergo paullulum viribus [1], tandem Bataviam tenuimus, patentem olim vicum a solis chinensibus frequentatum, at nunc urbem pulchram et magnam ac frequentem. Exploso tormento missisque litteris, appellendi facultatem petymus. Adfuere illico hollandi qui navem lustrarent. Ii aegros omnes (iam facile 50 mortui erant) ad nosocomium devehi curarunt. Ceteri vectores postridie in urbem ducti una cum sarcinis, ac humaniter excepti a magistratibus. Principio tamen videbantur batavi navim ve'ut iure captam retinendam existimare, quod goani ipsis quoque navim anno superiore eripuissent. Verum utrimque iam omnia restituuntur [2].

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[1] A group of ten Jesuits, six on board a ship bound directly for Macao, and four on another bound for Goa, departed from Lisbon on January 29, 1644, and passed round the Cape of Good Hope after three months. The Macao-bound ship had a very difficult voyage through the Indian Ocean and the Jesuits fell ill after mid-September. In early October they finally landed at Batavia (Preceding part of this letter; Letter of Fr. Smogulecki, Batavia, January 2, 1645, in Brussels, Kon. Bibliotheek, *ms. 4169-71* ff. 114-115: WICKI, *Liste*, nos. 918-926).

[2] The Portuguese confiscated the Dutch ship *De Pauw* near Goa on

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2. Cum mensem hic unum egissemus [3] coepissetque nos pecunia deficere, eo appulit Magnus Vicarius Macassariae [4], provinciae 7 dierum intervallo distantis Amacao, ubi, ut ait, Nostri stabilem sedem habent suntque regi admodum grati. Is, cum in Patrem nostrum polonum [5] incidisset, eum domum suam deduxit atque eleemosynam ei 20 pataconum [6] dedit. Deinde ut in suum hospitium ambo migraremus coegit et benigne lauteque habet. Secum nos in Macassariam deducet, ubi eum Pater in pastoralibus officiis iuvabit. Ego vero ad templa pastorum qui ei subsunt ornanda imagines pingam donec opportunitas Amacaum petendi occurrat.
[...]

17

FR. ANTÓNIO FERREIRA SJ TO FR. MUZIO VITELLESCHI, GENERAL, ROME

— Annual Letter —

MACAO, NOVEMBER 1, 1645

First *via*

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 64* ff. 216*r*-234*v*, *in* 8°. Original in Portuguese written in a beautiful and clear hand. F. 216*r* is only a title page and contains a title identical with that of f. 217*r* and an address:

June 13, 1643 (*Gen. Miss.* II 204). Soon the viceroy returned the ship and the crew with their personal properties to the V.O.C.; thereupon the Dutch of Batavia resolved to confer « gelijke courtoisie ende meer » (the same courtesy and even more) upon their friends and they released two Portuguese ships that they could have sequestered in reprisal for the *De Pauw* (Ibid. 240).

[3] That is, in November 1644.

[4] At that time, the *vigário da vara of* Makasar was Francisco de Faria (D 15(2).

[5] This was Fr. Joannes Nicolaus Smogulecki; born 1610, a mathematician and astronomer, member of the Polish Diet, and from 1636 on, a Jesuit. He was ordained a priest at Rome before being assigned to the mission of China in 1643. See his letter under note 1. He worked for some time at the astronomical observatory of Peking and he died in China in 1656. Cf. SOMMERVOGEL VII 1328; DEHERGNE no. 794; E. KOSIBOWIEZ, *Un missionnaire polonais oublié, le P. Jean Nic. Smogulecki,* Revue d'Hist. des Missions 6 (1929) 335-360.

[6] *Pataca* or *patacão,* cf. D 13 note 13.

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« A nosso muyto R^do P. Mucio Vittelleschi, Prepozito Geral da Companhia de Jesu », with the note « 1ª via »; f. 216*v* is blank. The letter ends on f. 232*v*, ff. 233*r*-234*v* being blank. The section on Makasar is on f. 218*r-v*.

II AUTHOR: Fr. António Ferreira was born at Lisbon in 1606/07 and became a Jesuit in 1621. Already a priest he sailed to India in 1632 and from 1635 on he is found constantly in Macao in various ministries, especially in teaching theology. From 1656 to 1658 he was Vice-Provincial of Japan. Finally he returned to India three years before he died there in 1670. (MHJ 1172; WICKI, *Liste* no. 806; *Iap-Sin 161 II* f. 300*r*).

III NOTE: The letter appears important since mentioning Makasar and two Jesuits who passed there on their way to Macao, it does not yet say a word about the intention of the Japan Province to establish a fixed residence in that place, nor about the appointment of two Fathers for that mission. So this decision must have been taken rather late.

Summary

1. *The Macao college could afford only one Father to be sent to the Tonkin mission because the Dutch of Malacca stopped the missionaries who came sailing from Goa. Only two Jesuits were allowed to continue to Makasar.* — 2. *They passed Lent there being occupied in pastoral work.* — 3. *Description of the Friday processions. Some people converted from Islam; they were carried secretly out of Makasar to escape death-penalty.* — 4. *The two Jesuits were lodged by the vicar who also covered their expenses. At receiving the news of the martyrdom of five Jesuits in Japan he rang the bells of his church in their honour.*

[217*r*] Annua da Provincia de Japão do Anno de 1644

[218*r*] Collegio de Macao

[...] 1. Não pode porem sair delle[1] este anno mais que hum só Padre pera a missão de Tunkim, por estar o collegio falto de Padres que acudissem aos ministerios necessarios. Sendo a cauza disto reterem os Olandezes em Malaca o anno antes os que pera elle partirão de Goa e fazerem que voltassem prezos, pera a seu troco effeituarem o resgate da gente, que os Portuguezes lhe cativarão em Ceilão, por quanto se não tinhão ainda assentado

[1] That is, of the Macao college.

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pazes neste Estado da India com elles [2]. Posto que a esta ordem do Geral de Jacatra [3] (que sua foi) puderão escapar dous Padres [4] que antes della chegar a Malaca se embarcarão pera cá em huma nao das olandezas que partirão. Onde chegados puderão aver licença do Geral pera se passarem ao Ma-[218*v*]caça, terra de mouros, em que os Portuguezes com licença do rey tem sua povoação.

2. Aly passarão ambos a quaresma [5] ouvindo confissões frequentes [6] por se acharem ao todo entre moradores e forasteiros alguns tres mil, sendo mil e quinhentos de comunhão. Pregavão ameude, fazião as doutrinas, sendo as dos domingos de mayor solenidade, por antes della se dar volta à povoação com hum estandarte de Jesu diante acompanhado de gente de toda a sorte, e muzica. O que fazia ser o concurso grande, e não piqueno o fruito.

3. Fizerão-se as procissões das sestas feiras com igual solenidade que devação depois da pregação e paixão com muzica de ladainhas, a que concorria todo o povo com velas acezas, pasmando os mouros que acudião a ver spectaculo tão devoto. Alguns de sua má seita a deixarão e se meterão no rebanho de Christo, aos quaes pera poderem escapar da morte, pena em que por barbara ley daquelle reyno encorrem os que de mouros se tornão christãos, se deu fuga secreta para fora daquelle reyno.

4. Agasalharão-se os Padres por todo o tempo que aly estiverão em caza do Vigairo daquella igreja [7], que com todas as demonstrações de benevolencia os hospedou, fazendo-lhes os gastos à sua custa. E pera mais os certificar do quanto estimava as couzas de nossa Companhia, na occazião em que chegou àquelle porto hum dos navios que a elle forão desta cidade com novas da gloriosa morte que por nossa sancta fé padecerão em Japão o Padre Antonio Rubino, Vizitador da Provincia de Japão e Viceprovincia da China, com mais quatro Padres de nossa

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[2] The peace-treaty of Portugal with the Dutch Republic had been promulgated at Batavia in October 1642 but hostilities had been resumed, notably in Sri Lanka, at the end of 1643. After one more year peace was restored (*Gen. Miss.* II 163 202 240 261).

[3] Antonio van Diemen, Governor-General at Batavia, 1636-1645.

[4] Fr. Nic. Smogulecki and Bro. Henricus van Vlierden (D 16).

[5] In 1645 Lent ran from March 1 to April 15.

[6] Of course only the Father heard confessions.

[7] Francisco da Faria, with whom they had sailed from Batavia (D 16, 2).

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Companhia [8], elle o não quis deixar passar sem que as festejasse com repiques solenes quais fes se dessem na sua igreja.

[...232*v*] Macao, primeiro de Novembro de mil seiscentos quorenta e sinco annos.

Filho indigno de V. P.
António Ferreira.

18

FR. STANISLAO TORRENTE SJ TO FR. GIOVANNI MARACCI SJ, GOA

MALACCA, JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1646

I TEXT: ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico 647* no. 251. Original letter in Portuguese, of four pages of which the third is blank and the fourth contains only the address with traces of a seal, and notes by later Roman secretaries « Malacca » and « Sobre o misero estado da christiandade en Malaca ». The text was written without any division into paragraphs, by an amanuensis who made many mistakes that had to be corrected.

II AUTHOR: Fr. Stanislao Torrente was born at Orvieto, Italy, *c.* 1616, and entered the Society at Rome on May 28, 1633. In March 1640 he sailed to India and arrived at Salsete near Goa in September 1641. After five years, having been assigned to the mission of China, he sailed to Malacca from which he was ousted, together with the other Jesuits, by the Dutch. *Via* Batavia and Makasar he arrived at Tonkin in 1647, starting his missionary activity there. He died on the island of Hainan in 1681 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 881; DEHERGNE, no. 845; SOMMERVOGEL VIII 110).

III DATE: The letter is not dated. From the context it is clear that it was written at Malacca. When Fr. Torrente arrived there, he met Fr. Pero Francisco and saw him leave for Batavia. Fr. Fran-

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[8] Fr. Antonio Rubino from Torino, Italy, entered the Society in 1595 and departed for India in 1602. Having worked in India and Sri Lanka he arrived in Malacca in 1637 and at Macao in 1638. In the next year he was appointed Visitor of Japan and China. Twice he sailed to Manila with a view to entering Japan; he managed to do so in 1642, but was at once captured and put to death at Nagasaki in March 1643 (DEHERGNE, no. 729; MHJ 1287; WICKI, *Liste* no. 445).

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cisco arrived there on November 28, 1645. So Fr. Torrente must have reached Malacca before this date. And in late February 1646 he had to leave it. The words « entre poucos dias iremos desterrados » (no. 2) show that he wrote this letter not long before his departure. Therefore it can be dated: January-February 1646.

IV ADDRESSEE: Fr. Giovanni Maracci was born at Pisa, Italy, in 1603, became a Jesuit in 1623, sailed to India in 1635 where he worked at Baçaim and Goa; he was elected a procurator of the Goa Province and in Rome he presented some memorials to the Propaganda Fide in 1649. He died at Pisa in 1654 (DM III 563; WICKI, *Liste* no. 826; STREIT V no. 394).

Summary

1. *Arrived from Negapatam and, at Malacca, came upon Fathers Pero Francisco and Diogo de Oliveira. Their remarkable pastoral work among the Malacca Christians.* — 2. *Resolved to stay with these Fathers until June. Suffered from a fatal disease. Fr. Pero Francisco sailed to Batavia to negotiate with the Dutch who ordered all the priests to leave the Malacca district. Hopes that Fr. Francisco will return with things well settled.* — 3. *Sad situation of the Malacca Christians under the hard pressure of Dutch rule; the latter make themselves disliked by all neighbouring peoples.* — 4. *The viceroy should send two boats to carry away the Christians. Precarious situation of the Dutch since merchant ships no longer call there. Some of them that arrived were severely controlled and overtaxed.* — 5. *More than eighty people sailed to Makasar. Is awaiting a ship from India in June that will bring him to Macao.*

Pax Christi,

1. Espero terá o meu Padre Marache muy boa e perfeita [a] saude como este seu servo lhe dezeja. Eu tal saude tenho que não posso com propria [b] mão escrever [1]. Parti de Negapatão; em dizaseis [c] dias chegamos a Malaca não sem emcomodos e mares muy grosos. Chegando a Malaca achei ao Padre Pero Francisco [2] e o Padre Diogo de Oliveira [3], seu amigo, os quaes poucos mezes antes tinhão [d] chegado aqui. Porem em tão breve

[a] *corr. fr.* prefeita [b] *corr. fr.* propia [c] *corr. fr.* duzaseis [d] tinha *ms.*

[1] This is the reason that he had the letter written by an amanuensis. His autograph signature is so badly written that the letter, before we found it, was kept in the archive under the name of Stanislao Ferrer.

[2] For Fr. Pero Francisco, see Gen. Introd. II 1 no. 4.

[3] For Fr. Diogo de Oliveira, see Gen. Introd. II 1 no. 3.

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tempo fizerão tanto que, de Olanda que hera, a[e] comverterão em huma primeira christandade, porque renovarão a frequencia dos[g] santissimos sacramentos, comsertarão os cazamentos malfeitos com os olandezes, tirarão amancebamentos, em fim forão dos apostolos[h] que com emcamçavel trabalho tiverão mão nesta gente pera que em tudo não caisse.

2. Eu vinha com determinação[i] pera passar ao Macasar; porem achado[j] aqui os Padres me resolvi ficar com elles athé vir em Junho barco pera passar a Macao. E ainda que tal não detreminara, forçado me fora ficar aqui porque de sorte me apalpou esta cidade que me pus quasi[k] às portas da morte. E no tempo em que partirão os barcos pera o Macasar estava[l] antes pera me embarcar pera [a] sepultura que em[m] outros barcos. O Padre Pero Francisco foi pera Jacatara[4], porque estes olandezes sem ter respeito às capitulaçõis das pazes por seus particulares respeitos, mandarão que todos os Padres saisem fora do destreito de Malaca[5], e assi notificarão pera isso o Padre Governador Paullo da Costa[6] que já foi pera o Macasar, os frades Dominicos que aqui estavão de pasagem, e a nós, ainda que tudo procedeo por não poder sof[r]er o Dominé[7] dos olande-[ze]s o grande fervor do Padre Pero Francisco. E asim nós entre poucos dias iremos desterrados em alguma ilha sinco o[u] seis dias afastada de Malaca pera ahi[n] estar athé a mo[n]ção pera Macao[8], se porem não vier primeiro o Padre Pero Francisco de Jacatara[9] com as couzas comsertadas, que só pera[o] isso lá foi.

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[e] que..a *corr. fr.* quer..[?] [f] *corr. fr.* comverter [g] *corr. fr.* do [h] *corr. fr.* apostollos [i] *corr. fr.* detreminação [j] *corr. fr.* achango [k] *corr. fr.* couz... [l] *corr. fr.* estavão [m] *rep.* [n] ahai *ms.* [o] *interl.*

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[4] He arrived there on November 28, 1645. Cf. TIELE-HEERES, *Bouwstoffen* III 268-270.

[5] The text of the Dutch expulsion decree as Fr. Francisco found it posted in the Streets of Malacca, is given in an Italian translation by Giovanni Maracci SJ in his Memorial for the Propaganda Fide of April 1649 (ARSI, *Goa 34 II* f. 392*r-v*; Cf. TIELE-HEERES loc. cit.; TEIXEIRA, *Malacca and Singapore* I 310-314; *IapSin 22* f. 338.

[6] For Paulo da Costa, see Gen. Introd. I 3.

[7] *Dominee*, Dutch title of a Protestant clergyman. The first Dominee at Malacca was Joannes Loosveld, 1641-1646 (VALENTYN V 354).

[8] The usual sailing opportunity for Macao was in June. The island mentioned was perhaps one of the small islets off Batavia, for sailing from Malacca to Batavia took scarcerly more than five days.

[9] Fr. Francisco stayed at Batavia until the end of May 1646; Frs. Torrente and Oliveira met him there in late February.

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3. Estão estes christãos tão opremidos dos olandezes, que mercê lhe fazem comceder-lhe [p] humas palhotaszinhas aonde poden [q] ir ouvir missa; os emterros hão [r]-de ser sem camdeas, os cazamentos como elles querem, e no que toca ao temporal tamtos são os direitos que lhe puzerão que não sei como poden [s] viver. E asim não aparece neste porto nenhum barco, e estes reis e regulos vezinhos [1v] quazi todos estão mal com os olandezes, e huns negros que chamão Manacabos [10] que forão os que ajudarão os olandezes a tomar Malaca, e estão comtiguos com a mesma Malaca, se alevantarão de sorte contra os olandezes que alem dos negros matarem muitos dos olandezes e dos principaes delles, não são os olandezes nem os moradores de Malaca senhores de pôr hum pé dentro do mato sem receo de ficar cativos delles; e asi lhe falta madeira, frutas, e todo refresco que de lá costumava [t] vir.

4. Eu cuido que fora [u] grande serviço [v] de Deos e de El-Rei se o [w] Senhor Vizo-rei [11] mandar aqui dous barcos só pera levar estes christãos, porque por mais que seja numca podem ser bons christãos com tão maos vezinhos. E alem disto se não estiverem aqui estes christãos que dão todo proveito aos olandezes com pagar direitos [x], comprar e vender, não terão [y] elles nada porque de fora nada vem. E asim se isto podera chegar por via do Senhor Patriarca [12] ás orelhas do Senhor Vizo-rei, não fora má couza. Tãobem os barcos que vierão aqui de Negapatão forão tão mal agazelhados, que alem de lhe fazerem pagar de todo fato que levavão nove por sento de direito, ainda que levavão pera o Macasar, tratarão tãobem de lhe abrirem os fardos. O que fizerão com os que aqui ficarão e pera os despachar os detiverão quanto elles quizerão nenhum cazo fazendo dos purtuguezes, antes opremindo-os quanto elles podem.

5. Este anno forão pera o Macasar mais de oitenta pessoas, e mais forão se ouvera mais lugar nos barcos. E ainda que muitos homens principaes desta terra estejam empenhados com os olandezes por viverem de seu fato, comtudo se vier algum

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[p] *del.* em [q] *corr. fr.* pode [r] *corr. fr.* am [s] *corr. fr.* pode [t] *corr. fr.* custava [u] *corr. fr.* forão [v] *corr. fr.* serviços [w] *corr. fr.* os [x] deireitos *ms.* [y] *corr. fr.* tera

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[10] People of the region of Minangkabau on the island of Sumatra.

[11] The Viceroy of India was D. Felipe Mascarenhas, 1644-1651.

[12] Afonso Mendes SJ, Patriarch of Ethiopia, lived in Goa after his expulsion from that country in 1632 until his death in 1656.

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barco com ordem que todos os vasalos de El-Rei de Purtugal se saem de Malaca, não duvido que muy poucos ho ão-de deixar de fazer porque o [z] que elles comem dos olandezes caro lhe custa. Eu estou aqui ou [a] no desterro esperando barcos de India ou [b] de Cochim em Junho pera passar a Macao se Deos me der saude. V. R. veja no que me manda porque senpre estarei mui prestes no que for do seu serviço [c], e não se esqueça [d] de me emcomendar ao meu glorioso São Francisco Xavier e de ter lembranza [e] de mim nos seus sanctos sacraficios.

[*Autograph*] Stanislao Torrente.

[2*v Address*] Ao Padre João Marache da Companhia de Iesu
[[f]] Goa. de Malaca.

Lost Letter

18a — *Fr. Manuel Carvalho, Ternate, to the Fathers of Makasar, 1646.* D 19, 2: O P. Cipriano vem de Ternate com huma galé... e escreve o P. Manuel Carvalho que emporta muyto passar o P. Cipriano à costa.

19

FR. STANISLAO TORRENTE SJ TO FR. GIOVANNI MARACCI SJ, GOA

MAKASAR, JUNE 16, 1646

I TEXT: ARSI, *Epp. NN. 95* f. 166*r-v*. Autograph in Portuguese, written in a small script. The paper is damaged at the right and lower margins; this makes some words wholly or partly illegible. The last lines (practically no. 6) and the conclusion were written from the top downwards in the left margin of the first page. Page two is blank except for the address, a seal, and an archivist's note « Torrente sopra Cipriano e Macassar ».

II DATE: The conclusion gives clearly 645; this must be an error. For Fr. Torrente arrived at Malacca in 1645, at Batavia on March 5,

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[z] *corr. fr.* os
[a] *add. m.* [b] *corr. fr.* o [c] serviços *ms.* [d] *corr. fr.* esquece
[e] *written first* leça; *corr. to* lembranza [f] *illeg. word*[*s*]

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1646, and sailed from there to Makasar. The two Fathers he met there had arrived in 1646.

III OUR EDITION: We tried to supply the missing words or parts of words. Sometimes these complements, always put between brackets, are merely a guess based on the context.

Summary

1. *Came from Malacca* via *Batavia to Makasar. Met there Frs. Abreu and Fonseca, both dispatched from Macao to erect a residence. They were well received by the king and the population; only the governor of the Malacca diocese, Paulo da Costa, opposed them and found supporters in Frs. Oliveira and Cipriano.* — 2. *The latter arrived from Ternate where he had been dismissed from the Society, but he does not recognize this measure. He has to present himself to the Inquisition* [*at Goa*], *as Fr. Manuel Carvalho wrote. He dresses as a Jesuit but is a merchant owning a galley and sending it to Cambodia.* — 3. *Fr. Oliveira managed to create another residence and to live there with Fr. Cipriano, abandoning the Macao Fathers. Reproached him for this, but he made light of it, pretending to be the Superior.* — 4. *Now the governor of the diocese began to intrigue against the presence and the pastoral work of the Macao Jesuits, whom he publicly and officially termed rebels.* — 5. *The king considered him a madman, and rightly so. To peaceful proposals he answered that the Macao Jesuits were worse than Turks, « Moors », and even devils.* — 6. *Fr. Oliveira does not stand up for the honour of the Society. He merits the same punishment as his companion Fr. Cipriano. The king and the whole population are on the side of the Jesuits, only the secular priests are against them, with the exception of Fr. António Gonçalves. Will sail to Macao with the Jesuits' friend Francisco Vieira.*

P. João Marache

1. Tenha V. R. muy perfeita saude como este seo verdadeiro amigo lhe deseja. Heu de Malaca fui desterrado pera Batavia por não quererem os olandeses religiosos em suas terras[1]. De Batavia vy[m] a este Macassa aonde achei o P. Ambrosio de Abreu[2] e o P. Gonzal[o] de Fonseca[3], que de Macao forão mandados pera fazerem aqui residentia, e forão bem[a] recebidos d'elrey que lhe deo sitio e alguma madeira pera fazerem casas. E todos os moradores são grandes amigos dos Padres. Só o P. Pau-

[1] Cf. D 17, 2.
[2] For Fr. Ambrósio de Abreu, see Gen. Introd. II 1 no. 5.
[3] For Gonçalo da Fonseca, see Gen. Introd. II 1 no. 6.

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lo da Costa, governador de Malaca, com a chegada do P. Di[o]go de Oliveira, seu discipulo [4], trattou de encontrar em tudo e afrontar os da provincia de Macao, só pera que residissen somente aqui os Padres da provincia de Cochin. E logo em chegando, depois de estarmos todos agasalhados em huma casa como a nossa religião manda, com a chegada do P. Cipriano, que com as obras mostra quen hé [5], trattou o [b] P. Governador de fazer em tudo no P. Oliveira e desfazer em tudo em nós.

2. O P. Cipriano vem de Ternate com huma galé e com toda a prata do collegio pera que aqui arecadasse o P. Pero Francisco. E escreve o P. Manuel Carvalho [6] que emporta muyto passar o P. Cipriano à costa seja em qualquer embarcação mas não olandesa, e que o tivessen por despedido, e que hera necessario presentar-se à santa Inquisição. Elle dis que hé da Companhia e que hé da provincia de Cochin, e que o P. Rubino hera visitador intruso [7], e mil outros desbarattes, indo em traje da Companhia. Porem sendo grande mercador que agora manda a Camboja sua galé, e queira Deos não va lá elle, que muyto encomendava o P. Manuel Carvalho não o deixassen lá hir; de sorte que a sua santidade se trocou em vaidade.

3. E como achou tão bom sitio no P. Oliveira começou fazer suas embrulhadas, porque fez humas casas com titulo pera seos moços e, depois de as acabar, fez com o P. Governador que persuadisse ao P. Oliveira quisesse tomar posse da ditta casa por residentia de Cochin. E tal foi o P. Oliveira que a tudo se [prestou] sem nós saber nada, porque fizerão papel publico em que o P. Cipriano se assinava da C[ompanhia]; e o P. Oliveira e o P. Governador como procurador do P. Pero Francisco tomarão posse da ditta casa e o dia segui[nte se re]tirou o P. Oliveira de nossa casa e foi morar com o P. Cipriano. Nem faltou de nossa parte [adverti-]lo da parte da Companhia não quisesse dar esta affronta a toda a religião; que se queria [tomar dela] posse, a tomasse embora, mas que não se affastasse de seos Irmaons pera hir morar co[m um] espulso. Emfim lhe dizemos o que nos dittava o amor que tinhamos a nossa religião, p[orem]

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[a] *corr. fr.* nem [b] o *corr. fr.* de, *d. r.*

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[4] We are not able to see how, where, and when Fr. Oliveira could have been a pupil of Paulo da Costa.

[5] For Fr. Matheo Cebrián, see D 14 note 1.

[6] Superior of Maluku. Cf. DM III 35*. Lost Letter 18a.

[7] See D 17 note 8.

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de nada disto se approveitou, mas dizendo que ninguen o podia empedir, por dizer que h[era] superior, mudou-se outro dia com o P. Cipriano com escandalo de todos os seculares, q[ue] nunca tal se vio na Companhia.

4. Estando já o P. Oliveira da parte do P. Governador, começou às claras a [encon]trar o ditto P. Governador, porque foi logo falar al-rey (ainda que sem frutto) pera que não ficassemos aq[ui]. Mandou-nos requerer por escrivão publico parassemos com as obras das casas que com licentia d'el-rey faziamos. Fez ler na igreja huma escomunhão aos meninos pera não virem mais a nossa escola[8]. Não quer que preguemos, fazamos doutrina, nem confessemos na sua igreja. E prendeo a alguns homens pera virem ouvir missa em nossa casa em dia ferial. E a mim me fez pubblicamente allevantar do confessionario, dizendo que não tinha licentia pera confessar, sendo assim que thé antão não tinha dado alguma ordem. Por rematte veo com todo o clero e meirinhos e justiça a nossa casa a nos notificar saissemos desta terra a esta moção por revoltosos, e por revoltosos duas vezes nos publicou na igreja. E diante dos clerigos todos em nossa casa disse que quantos Padres herão de Macao herão revoltosos, e que parecia clima de Macao.

5. Porem o mesmo rey mouro chegou dizer que já lhe parecia o P. Governador dodo, e muyto sentio que nos fizesse o que nos faz. E certo parece dodo ou muyto apa[ixo]nado, e faltou pouco não ouvesse com seculares algun desastre, mas arrece[o eu] aconteça antes de muyto temp[o], porque os desaforos são grandes dos que havião [de dar] bom exemplo. Heu hum dia fui [a sua] casa a pedir-lhe polas chagas de Christo [estivessemos] em paz e lhe d[isse os pri]vileg[ios que t]inhamos pera esecutar nosso Ins[tituto]. Não com outras palavras me despedio que com dizer que heramos peiores que turcos, mouros e os mesmos demonios: boas palavras pera santa Inquisição, etc[a].

6. E nestas alabanças o reverendo P. Oliveira muy festival excitar tudo quanto quer como que está de vencida, ficando todos os seculares espantados de o ver tão de[scuidado] da honra da Companhia. Mas emfim está com bom companheiro, que hé o P. Cipriano, e o que fez (Deos me perdoe) merece castigo se-

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[c] *d. r.*

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[8] First explicit mention of a Jesuit school in Makasar.

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melhante a seo companheiro[9]. [E isto] digo por o sentimento que tenho de ver que, sem nos querer ouvir, dá tão grande escandalo aos seculares só nesta materia de ser causa destes trabalhos e elle ficar tão sereno. Mas, graças a Deos, el-rey está por nós e toda a povoação, e só os clerigos estão contra nós, ainda que o P. Antonio Gonzalez hé muyto nosso amigo[10]. Alguns dos mais fazen cousas que arreceo não aconteça alguma desaventura. Heu me vou pera Macao com o nosso amigaçço Francisco Vieira. V. R. me encomende a Deos e me mande de miudo suas novas.

Neste[c] Macassa, 16 de Junho 645.

Servo e amigo no Senhor,

Stanislao Torrente.

[*Address* 166*v*] Ao Padre João Marache da Companhia de Jesus, etc.[a], em Goa. Do Macassa.

20

SHORT SURVEY OF THE MISSIONS BELONGING TO THE PROVINCE OF JAPAN AND THE VICE-PROVINCE OF CHINA

[MACAO] 1646

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 161* ff. 327*r*-328*v*. Original in Portuguese, written in a very fluent hand, not always easy to read. F. 328*r-v* is blank, the last page containing only a later note « Relação breve da Provincia de Macao, 1646 ».

II THE AUTHOR, PLACE and DATE: Since the document is not signed, the author is unidentified. Almost certainly it was written in Macao, at the headquarters of the Japan Province; Schütte, however,

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[9] I. e., Oliveira should likewise be dismissed from the Society. Actually he was not sent away; we find him in the catalogues of 1648, 1652 and 1655, in *Goa 29* ff. 77, 91 and 94.

[10] The secular priest António Gonçalves remains unknown. He must have been one of the « muitos clérigos que lá estão » (LEITÃO 224: letter of Sebastião de S. José, Larantuka, May 16, 1647) and of the « infinitos clérigos desocupados » (NAZARETH II 256).

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holds a different view. (MHJ 1046-1050). The year of composition is indicated in the title, although this date was added by another hand.

III PRINTED: MHJ 1051-1055.

Summary

1. *Among the missions belonging to the Japan Province is also Makasar.* — 2. *It was started in 1646 and is served by the Frs. João Monteiro and Manuel de Miranda.*

Catalogo das Missoins e sogeitos que pertencem a Japão e China, 1646

[...]

1. A Japão pertencem as missoins seguientes:

Tunquim, Cochinchina, Camboja, Laos e Macassar, que todos são reinos, e a celebrada ilha de Aynão polla pescaria de perolas, que dista da terra firme da China 10 legoas pouco mais ou menos.

[...327*v*]

2. A missão de Macassar comessarão o anno de 46. Athé agora não sabemos o que tem lá feito. Lá estão os Padres João Monteiro [1] e Manoel de Miranda [2], portuguezes. Há nella grande contrato dos portuguezes, olandezes, ingrezes, castelhanos.

[...]

Lost Letter

20a. — *Fr. Manuel de Azevedo, Visitor, Macao, to Karaeng Pattingalloang, Makasar, 1646.*

D 27, 9: Il Governatore... più volte per lettere n'era stato instantemente richiesto da... Azevedo.

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[1] Cf. Gen. Introd. II 1 no. 8.

[2] Cf. Gen. Introd. II 1 no. 7. These two Fathers were sent to substitute for Frs. Ambrósio de Abreu and Gonçalo da Fonseca who remained at Makasar only for a very short time. See D 18 notes 2 and 3.

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21

« FIRST CATALOGUE » OF THE FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE OF 1648

[MACAO] 1648

First *via*

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 25* ff. 144*r*-148*v*. Original in Latin, written in the small panels made by horizontal and vertical lines. F. 144*r-v* is blank except for a note on the first page « Iapponicae. Catalogus. 1648 ». F. 148*v* contains only the empty panels. A note on f. 145*r* runs « 1ª via ».

II PRINTED: MHJ 1055-1064.

III OUR EDITION: We print the names of four Jesuits who were connected with Makasar.

Summary

Three Fathers (Patres) and one Brother (Frater) who are met with in Makasar at different times.

Primus catalogus Patrum et Fratrum Societatis Iesu qui sunt in Provincia Iaponensi, factus anno 1648

[145*r*]

1. Pater Emanuel de Azevedo, Visitator; Visensis; annum agit 70; valetudo infirma; fuit in Societate annis 53; absolvit studia; in missionibus Maluco, Macassa, Solor [1]; Rector, Praepositus Provincialis, Visitator; Professus 4 votorum.

[...146*r*]

22. P. Hieronymus Mayorica; neapolitanus; 60 [annos aetatis]; bona [valetudo]; 46 [annos Societatis] [2]; absolvit studia; in missionibus cochinchinensi, Macassa [3], Tunquinensi annis 26; professus 4 votorum.

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[1] Fr. Azevedo is not known to have ever gone to Solor. That he tried to start a mission in Bali is not mentioned here. See D 11.

[2] This should be 43.

[3] The present indication of « Macassa » and the account given by Fr. Alexandre de Rhodes (D 33, 2) suggest that Maiorica stayed at Makasar

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[... 147*r*]

37. P. Emanuel de Miranda, in regno Macassa; olisiponensis; 44 [annos aetatis]; robusta [valetudo]; 20 [annos Societatis]; absolvit studia, docuit grammaticam; in missione Macassa annis 2 [4].

[...148*r*]

56. Fr. Henricus Xavier; gallo-belga; 40 [aetatis]; robusta; 16 [Societatis]; pictor [5].

[...]

[*Autograph*] Sebastianus d'Amaia
Provincialis

22

FR. BALTASAR CALDEIRA SJ TO FR. VINCENZO CARAFA, GENERAL, ROME

— Annual Letter of Japan —

MACAO, OCTOBER 15, 1648

Second *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHÜTTE, *Archivo de Japón* 299-300.

II TEXT: A. ARSI, *IapSin 64* ff. 248*r*-269*v* in 8°. Original in Portuguese, written by an amanuensis in a perfectly legible hand. F. 248*r-v*

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for some time in 1624. He was born at Naples, Italy, in 1588 and became a Jesuit on April 17, 1605. His voyage to Goa was in 1619. His first mission was Cochin China, 1622, from where he sailed to Tonkin in 1624 but was blown off course to Makasar. In Tonkin he worked for twenty-five years. From 1653 to his death in 1656 he was Provincial with seat in Tonkin; only in 1654 he sailed to Macao to preside over a Provincial Congregation, after which, however, he returned to Tonkin. He wrote in Tonkinese, or translated into this language, forty-eight books and booklets (ARSI, *IapSin 64* ff. 366*v*-369*r*; SCHURHAMMER, *Gesamm. Studien* II 465; WICKI, *Liste* no. 668; MHJ 1234).

[4] I. e., he was assigned to Makasar in 1646 where he did not arrive until 1647.

[5] This is Brother Henricus van Vlierden, the author of D 16. He was born in Maastricht, Netherlands, and entered the Society in the Flemish-Belgian Province (*flandro-belgica*). So *gallo-belga* is an error.

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is blank except for a first title « Annua da Provincia de Jappão do anno de 1647 até todo o anno de 648. 2ª [*corr. fr.* 1ª] via », and an archvist's note « 47. Giappone ». The letter proper begins on f. 249*r*. The signature on f. 269*r* is autograph, f. 269*v* is blank. The Makasar section is on ff. 257*v*-258*v*.

B. Madrid, RAH, *Jesuitas, leg. 21* ff. 206-227. A note on the first page reads « Já se mandou ao Reyno e a Roma ».

III AUTHOR: Fr. Baltasar Caldeira was minister in the Macao college in 1648. He was a Portuguese, born at Macao in 1608 and he became a Jesuit in 1626. He died at Goa in 1678. Doubtless he was commissioned by Fr. Provincial to write this letter.

IV ADDRESSEE: He is already indicated in an address-note preceding the title on f. 249*r*: « Ao muito Rdo em Christo Pe Vincencio Carafa, Preposito geral da Companhia de Jesus em Roma ».

V OUR EDITION: We print the section on Makasar, but first, as an introduction, a general account of the outer missions of the Japanese Province, among which Makasar. We follow text A.

Summary

1. *Distribution of the Fathers of the Japan Province over Macao and the outer missions.* — 2. *In these missions all the Fathers learn the local language for their ministry.* — 3. *Indications on the sailing opportunities.* — 4. *On Makasar, its king, its religion and the recent expansion of Islam.* — 5. *The king favours the Portuguese, admits trading posts of many nations, and maintains a free-trade policy. After the fall of Malacca the Portuguese quarter grew considerably; there are many priests with their Malacca governor.* — 6. *Fr. Visitor Manuel de Azevedo, having had good relations with the king and with Karaeng Pattingalloang, sent two Fathers there; they were highly advantaged by them with a place and materials for a house.* — 7. *When the house was ready, two Fathers of the Cochin Province arrived and built their own residence. So there are two Jesuit residences until Fr. General decides under which province Makasar will fall.* — 8. *Also Jambi, where about one thousand Christians are living, asked for Fathers. Since one of the Cochin Fathers of Makasar went there, there is no longer need to send a Father of the Japan Province.*

[249*r*] Annua da Provincia de Japão que começa
por Outubro do anno de 1647
até o seguinte em que estamos de 648.

[254*r*] Dos sugeitos da Provincia de Jappão.
Missoins a ella pertencentes.

1. Somos por todos secenta, dos quais trinta e oito são sacerdotes, e destes quinze são professos de quatro vottos. Neste

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collegio de Macao estão corenta, o numero que resta, que todo hé de sacerdotes, pollas missõis em varios reinos por esta ordem, não da antiguidade mas da em que a natureza os foi situando, a saber: a ilha de Ainão, o reino de Tumkim, e Cochinchina, o reino de Camboja, o reino dos Laos, a ilha e reino de Macasá; differentes todos nas cores, feiçõis, custumes, trajos e lingua dos seus naturais.

2. Os nossos Padres em todas estas missõis alem de se fazerem tudo a todos, como diz S. Paullo: omnibus omnia factus sum [1], pera melhor os trazer e ganhar pera Christo, aprendem e sabem, ainda que huns mais outros menos, todos com suficiencia a lingoa da terra pera exercitar os ministerios de pregar, cathequizar, confessar, e as mais; o que não hé de pequena gloria de Deos e honra da nossa minima Companhia de Jesus.

3. A viagem pera estes reinos hé em tempo serto e determinado por cauza dos ventos ou monçõis como cá [254*v*] chamão; o mesmo hé a volta e torna-viagem. Começão a sair os navios de Novembro por diante com os nortes até se elles acabarem quasi por todo o Março. De meado Mayo voltão com os suis que durão até o fim de Agosto; o que tãobem se observa nas idas e vindas das embarcaçõis da India a esta terra. [257*v*]

4. Vamos à ilha do Macasá, que hé huma das mayores que vão semeadas por esse oceano já da outra banda afastadas do continente da Aurea Chersonesso ou promontorio de Malaca, humas mais, outras menos. Macasá tem rey particular que entre os seus se intitula Emperador [2]. A gente quasi toda (tirando as dos matos que vivem sem ley nem rey à maneira de feras) hé moura, sectaria de Mafamede, peste que en tão breve tempo tanto lavrou e devastou muitas nassõis destas, que antes, e ainda muitos annos despois da vinda dos Portuguezes a ellas, erão gentios, mais domesticas e menos maliciosas e pertinazes.

5. O rey desta [258*r*] ilha de Macasá hé o que melhor que todos estes que tégora nomeamos [3] corresponde com os Portuguezes. Reside em porto do mar, aonde vão juntamente e tem suas feitorias Castelhanos, Ingrezes, Olandezes, Dinamarquezes e outras naçõis aqui circumvizinhas. A mercancia hé muito livre, o trato facil e dezembaraçado sem alfandigas e outras penções que sabemos aver em outras partes. Despois que os Olandezes

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[1] 1 Cor 9 22.

[2] See D 15 note 1.

[3] Speaking of the rulers of Tonkin, Cochin China, Cambodia, and Laos.

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nos tomarão Malaca [4], correo pera ali muita gente perdida com que a pouvoação que chamão dos Portuguezes creceo muito, e estão muitos clerigos com seu governador [5], que hera o de Malaca e se conserva com este titulo por respeito das suas ovelhas.

6. Todas estas couzas moverão aos superiores da nossa provincia a intentar ter caza nella, mandando pera lá dous Padres [6] há tres annos. E como temos a benevolencia do rey e muito em particular de hum tio seu, chamado Carrim Patingaloa, ho nosso Padre Vizitador Manoel de Azevedo aver estado ali tres annos [7], sendo subdito da provincia de Cochim, e muita amizade com o sobredito rey e Carrim Patim que tudo manda e governa, elles lhes derão não só lugar conpetente e a escolha pera caza, mas ainda ajuda de custos, boa madeira e o mais. E assi se fes tudo com muita quietação e alegria, dando-se por muito satisfeitos os christãos de ter ali Padres permanentes pera proveito de suas almas.

7. Despois desta nossa caza feita, entrarão logo dous Padres da provincia de Cochim [8], os quaes tãobem fizerão sua caza, alegando posse antiga da sua provincia naquella terra. E assy estão oje duas residencias e ambas na mesma pouvoação, té nosso P. G. determinar de que provincia hão de ser os que devem continuar e cultivar aquella gente christã que naquelle reino reside [a].

8. De Jambe [9], que hé hum lugar na ilha de Samatra, mandou-se pedir aos superiores de cá algum Padre ou Padres [258v] pera conçolar, ensinar e sacramentar a muitos christãos que ali estão de varias nassõis, e os mais delles desterrados de Malaca; e dizem que passão de mil peçoas. Porem como se soubece [b]

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[a] té... reside *add. m. B* [b] soube *B*

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[4] On January 14, 1641.

[5] Vicar Paulo da Costa.

[6] Frs. Manuel de Miranda and João Monteiro. They were appointed for Makasar in 1646 and actually arrived in 1647.

[7] Actually from January 1617 to 1618.

[8] Frs. Diogo de Oliveira and Mateo Cebrián. Also Fr. Pero Francisco was of the Cochin province, but according to D 19 he did not take part in the setting up of an own Cochin residence; he did not arrive until November 1646.

[9] Jambi (Dutch spelling Djambi), port and region on the eastern coast of Sumatra north of Palembang. In the seventeenth century it was the most important trading centre on that coast, where Portuguese, Dutch, English, and Asian traders came buying pepper. The Dutch had

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que de Macasá pretendia ir hum dos[c] Padres de Cochim[10], e em efeito foi, não foi necessario hir de novo outro deste collegio. [269*r*]

Do collegio de Macao, aos 15 de Outubro de 1648.

[*Autograph*] De V. Paternidade filho e servo indigno,

Baltezar Caldeira.

23

« FIRST CATALOGUE » OF THE COCHIN PROVINCE

[COCHIN], October 1648

TEXT: ARSI, *Goa 29* ff. 70*r*-79*v*. Original in Latin, listing all members of the Cochin Province, numbering them from 1 to 141. Second *via*. F. 79*v* is blank. A list of the deceased during the years 1639-1648 is added to the catalogue proper from f. 77*v* on.

Summary

Information on Frs. Pedro Francisco, Diogo de Oliveira and Ambrósio de Abreu.

Primus catalogus Patrum Fratrumque Provinciae Cochinensis Indiae Orientalis, factus mense Octobris 1648

[...73*r*]

52. Pater Petrus Franciscus Iaca[1], aragonensis ex Male, diaecesis Saragouçae, bonis viribus, annorum 41, Societatis 22, stu-

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[c] dos dous *B*

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a factory there from 1616 on. The present document reveals that there was a considerable Portuguese colony. (ENOI I 610; TIELE, *Europeërs* IX 247; TEIXEIRA, *Malacca and Singapore* I 266).

[10] This was Fr. Diogo de Oliveira (D 36, 7).

[1] Cf. Gen. Introd. II 1 no. 4.

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diis absolutis per annum docuit latinitatem, septem annis docuit theologiam. Egit Rectorem seminarii externorum per aliquot menses, et per totidem egit ministrum collegii cochinensis. Modo iam prope quatuor annis est in missione Malaquensi [2], seu Macassarensi [a], cuius etiam superiorem agit. Professus quatuor votorum.

[...77*r*]

128. Pater Didacus de Oliveira ex Arrayolos diaecesis eborensis, bonis viribus, annorum 32, Societatis 11, studia absolvit. Nunc in conversione versatur annis fere tribus.

[...79*r*] [*Among the deceased*] Pater Ambrosius de Abreu, Goae, ubi erat negotii cuiusdam causa: mense januarii anno 1648.

24

FR. BALTASAR DA COSTA SJ TO FR. VINCENZO CARAFA, GENERAL, ROME

— Annual Letter —

COCHIN, NOVEMBER 28, 1648

First *via*

I TEXT: ARSI, *Goa 56* ff. 536*r*-546*v*. Original in Portuguese, consisting of two parts, the first being the annual letter proper, the second, from f. 543*r* on, entitled « Successos da India do anno de

[a] *corr. fr.* Macarensi

[2] Fr. Francisco must have arrived at Malacca in late 1644 or early 1645 (See 18, 1). He sailed to Batavia in November of the latter year (TIELE-HEERES, *Bouwstoffen* III 268-270), was back at Malacca in May/June of 1646 and had to leave for Makasar in the second half of that year. That the Cochin Fathers had appointed him superior of the Makasar residence shows that they had not yet received any decision from Fr. General as to which province, Japan or Cochin, Makasar would be assigned; so they continued to maintain their claimed rights. Though Fr. Francisco championed his Cochin Province also in later years (see DM III 575), he seems to have cooperated well with his confreres of the Japan Province.

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1648 », dealing with political news. The annual is written in the very legible hand of an amanuensis and signed in autograph by Fr. Costa (f. 542*v*). At the bottom of f. 536*r* an archivist's note runs « 48. Cochim. da Costa ». F. 546*r* is blank; its *verso* has a note « Annua da Provincia de Cochim de 1648. 1ª [*corr. fr.* 2ª] via ». The section on Malacca and Makasar is on ff. 541*v*-542*r*.

II AUTHOR: Fr. Costa was born at Guarda, Portugal, in 1607/1610 and became a Jesuit in 1627. He sailed to India, already a priest, in 1635, worked at Cochin for two years and at Madurai for more than twenty years. In 1667 he became Provincial, then he visited Europe and returned to India in 1673 (WICKI, *Liste* nos. 843 and 1128b), in which year he died.

Summary

1. *Two Fathers are assigned to the residence of Malacca; one of them is stationed at Makasar, the other works at Malacca and other places. Pastoral work performed at Makasar; feasts of S. Ignatius and Francis Xavier celebrated. Conflict with some clerics; protection received from the vicar.* — 2. *Fr. Superior was captured at Malacca by the Dutch for saying mass. Insolence of the Dutch in creating heretical churches and schools and forcing all people to attend them.* — 3. *The Father left Malacca with all the Catholics for Makasar. Opposition against him on the part of some bad Christians; Fr. Governor dealt with them. The Father's companion sailed to Jambi to build a church there.*

[536*r*]

Annua da Provincia de Cochim pera o nosso muito Reverendo Padre Geral Vicencio Carrafa do anno de 1648

[541*v*]

Residencia de Malaca

1. Estão nesta residencia dous Padres[1] com grande imcomodidade, porque, alem dos trabalhos ordinarios, não tem pera sua sustentação mais que a[s] esmollas que lhes dão os Portugueses que naquellas partes residem, os quaes estão tão faltos de comercios por resão[a] das guerras passadas com os olandezes, que

[a] sesão *ms.*

[1] Frs. Pero Francisco and Diogo de Oliveira. The letter is strong, and perhaps somewhat tendentious, in suggesting the missiological unity of Malacca and Makasar. It deals in no. 2 with Fr. Francisco's last stay at Malacca for some months after June 1646, and in nos. 1 and 3 with his subsequent work at Makasar.

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hé forçã sejão mui limitados. Hum Padre destes reside de ordinario no Macassar[2], e outro anda em missão por Malaca e outras partes donde há comercio dos Portugueses. O que reside, alem de ensinar a escola e latim aos mininos, faz todos os domingos sua doutrina, correndo primeiro com os mininos em procissão as ruas da cidade[3] pera se ajuntar gente, e prega todas as festas com grande fructo, de que se seguem muitas confiçõis gerais e reforma nas vidas. Celebrou-se com particular cuidado a festa de nosso Santo Padre[4], em que se publicou o jubileu[5] e ouve muitas confissõis, que posto que o diabo por meio de gente ecclesiastica[6] e de vida[b] pouco regular, quis esfriar os animos do povo, pondo duvidas no valor do jubileu, não pode contudo levar ao cabo su[a] pertenção. O mesmo se fez na festa do Santo Xavier em que o Padre Vigairo da terra[7] mostrou bem sua piedade e liberalidade, sendo mordomo[8] perpetuo desta festa.

2. O Padre superior desta residencia[9] teve muitas occasiõis de merecimento, assy na cidade de Malaca aonde os hereges olandezes, escandalisados da muita guerra que com suas muitas letras e religioso procedimento lhes fasia, o prenderão por diser missa contra sua prohibição, pagando todos os que a ella assistirão pena pecun[i]aria. Não querem estes hereges que em Malaca se exercite acto algum de religião catholica. [542*r*] E assy vão as cousas daquella cidade de mal em pior, chegando a insolencia dos hereges a tanto que já tem levantado quercas[10] ou casas de sua perfidia, e determinão obrigar a hir todos pera ouvirem seus descurços, e levantou escolas pera se ensinarem.

3. O que vendo o Padre procurou sahir-se da terra com todos os catholicos agenciando já huma embarcação em que se em-

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[b] e de vida] adevido *ms.*

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[2] Fr. Francisco.

[3] That is, of the Portuguese quarter of Makasar.

[4] St. Ignatius of Loyola, July 31.

[5] A plenary indulgence granted by the pope for some special solemnity.

[6] See D 19 note 9.

[7] Perhaps still Francisco de Faria, or his successor (D 16 note 4).

[8] Here in the meaning of an organizer or contributor of a religious feast.

[9] Now the letter speaks of Malacca; the superior is Fr. Pero Francisco (D 23 no. 52).

[10] Portuguese rendering of the Dutch word *kerk*, church.

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barcou com todos os catholicos, com os quaes se sahio, padecendo muitas necessidades e imcomedos perto de dous meses que a viagem durou até o Macassar [11]. Aonde tanto que chegou, não esteve ocioso, antes pregou toda a quaresma [12] com grande zelo, apertando tanto com o auditorio e estranhando [c]-se os seus vicios em geral, que exasperados os que se sentião culpados, como freneticos que se tornão contra o medico, chegarão a tanto atrevimento que puserão libelos enfamatorios [d] pelas ruas pera descreditar o Padre. Acodio o Padre governador [13] a isso com muito zelo e charidade, tirando huma devaça pera castigar os culpados, mas o Padre venceo tudo com sua muita pasciencia. Nem foy isso bastante pera afrouxar hum ponto no fervor e zelo com que começou. Pagou-lhe N. Senhor com o copioso fructo de confissões geraes e emenda de vidas que se seguio de suas pregaçõis. Os que hum só Padre ouvio passarão de cento. E acabada a quaresma se partio o Padre companheiro do Superior [14] pera huma terra de mouros, chamada Jambe [15], a fazer huma igreja e acudir a muitos christãos que ali estão, aonde se espera fructo.

[...542*v*] De Cochim, 28 de Novembro de 1648.

Filho de V. P. em Christo,

Balthasar da Costa.

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[c] e estranhando *rep.* [d] *corr. fr.* enfamatoris

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[11] He sailed to Makasar in the ship of Captain Manuel Jorge with a good two hundred Catholics. See VISSER 112.

[12] Of 1647.

[13] Paulo da Costa.

[14] Diogo de Oliveira.

[15] Cf. D 22 note 9.

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25

FR. GIOVANNI MARACCI SJ, PROCURATOR OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCES, TO THE CONGREGATION OF THE PROPAGANDA FIDE

— Report on the Missions —

[ROME], APRIL 1649

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT V no. 394.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *De kath. missie in Z. Celebes* II 134.

III TEXT: ARSI, *Goa 34 II* ff. 377*r*-401*v*. Italian. Perhaps a draft, as the many corrections suggest. Clear calligraphic handwriting. The document consists of two parts, each with its own title: the first on India, the second on Japan and China. The first title is printed here, the second, on f. 393*v*, reads « Breve raguaglio delle Missioni della Compagnia di Giesù della Provincia del Giappone e Cina [del... Cina *corr. fr.* di Macao] nell'India Orientale, apresentado alla Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide ». Only at the end of the latter part, on f. 401*r*, the entire document is dated and signed. F. 401*v* is blank. The section on Makasar is on ff. 392*v*-393*r*.

IV THE AUTHOR: See D 18, Introduction IV. Also DM III 563.

V PRINTED: in a French translation in « Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Indes Orientales en ses trois provinces de Goa, de Malabar, du Japon, de la Chine et autres païs nouvellement descouverts », Paris 1651. (This is the work indicated by Streit and Wessels, above under I and II).

Summary

The Jesuits have a fixed residence in the Portuguese quarter of Makasar which numbers three thousand Catholics, and they perform much pastoral work, assisting the secular clergy.

[377*r*] Breve ragguaglio sopra le missioni della Compagnia di Giesù della Provincia Goana nell'India Orientale: appresentato all'Eminentissima Congregatione de Propaganda Fide dal Padre Giovan Marraci [a], procurator della detta Provincia, in Aprile dell'anno 1649

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[a] *add. m.* della Compagnia di Giesù e, *corr. to* della medesima Compagnia e

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[...392*v*] In Macassar, ch'è un'isola grande con suo re moro, da molti anni in qua è frequentata dalli nostri Padri, li quali ci tengono residentia stabile, particolarmente di poi che si perse Malacca, donde molti malaii christiani, non potendo sopportare il giogo dell'olandesi, si ritirorno a quest'isola. E con licenza del re ci fecero una terra grossa, nella quale vivono più di tremila catolici. Li nostri Padri, ancor che non servino qui di parochi [b], per esservi alcuni preti secolari portoghesi mandati dall'[393*r*] arcivescovo di Goa [1], con tutto ciò l'aiutano molto con le confessioni, communioni e prediche, e particolarmente con reconciliarli nelle differentie che fra di loro nascono [2].

[...401*r*] Data in Aprile 1649.

Dell'Eminentie Vostre Reverendissime humilissimo et obedientissimo servo,

Giovanni Marracci,
della Compagnia di Giesù.

Lost Letters

25a — *Fr. General, Rome, to the Frs. of Japan, 1649/50.*

D 29, 1: Nobis relatum est per litteras ab Urbe datas.

D 39, 1: A Provincia de Japão tem aceitado esta casa de Macassar com Ternate segundo a ordem do N. R. Padre.

25b — *Fr. Provincial of Cochin to Fr. Pero Francisco, Makasar, 1649-1650.*

D 32: Os Padres da Provincia de Cochim o mandão lá ir.

[b] *corr. fr.* parrochi

[1] For lack of a bishop in Malacca, the Archbishop of Goa was entrusted with the government of the bishopric. He had appointed or confirmed Paulo da Costa as Governor or Vicar-General of the diocese.

[2] It is remarkable that Makasar is still listed, exclusively, under the « Provincia Goana », a title that includes the Cochin Province. Where this document enumerates the « missions » of the Japan Province (f. 393*v*), Makasar is not mentioned.

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26

FR. MATIAS DA MAYA SJ
TO FR. VINCENZO CARAFA, GENERAL, ROME

— Annual Letter —

MACAO, JANUARY 26, 1650

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHÜTTE, *Archivo de Japón* 324.

II TEXT: A. Madrid, RAH, *Jesuitas, leg. 21* ff. 943-954. Original in Portuguese, signed in autograph by Fr. Maya.

B. Lisbon, Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Ásia 49-V-13* ff. 641*r*-651*v*. Eighteenth century copy of the Portuguese original in calligraphic handwriting. The Makasar section is on f. 650*r-v*.

III AUTHOR: Matias da Maya, born at Atalaia, Portugal, in 1616, a Jesuit in 1629, sailed to India in 1640. He was in Macao in 1646, became Provincial of Japan and subsequently Vice-Provincial of China, and he died in a shipwreck on January 15, 1667 (DEHERGNE no. 509; WICKI, *Liste* no. 877; SOMMERVOGEL V 771-772).

Summary

1. *Makasar, being a great emporium, is coveted by the Fathers of the Japan Province as a mission residence and as an eventual centre of their future activity.* — 2. *Only one Father is stationed there, together with one of the Cochin Province. How Makasar fell to the Japan Province. Pastoral work performed.*

Annua da Provincia de Japão do anno de 1650.
Ao nosso muito Reverendo em Christo Padre, o Padre Vicentio Caraffa, prepozito geral da Companhia de Jesus

[...] Missão do Reyno de Macassa

1. Hé o reyno de Macassa neste tempo hum emporio de grande comercio entre varias nações de Europa e de Asia. E por esta causa deseja esta Provincia lá huma residencia, assim pera ajudar aos mercadores que ali concorrem, como tambem pera poder dali acodir a todas as mais missões da Provincia em caso

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(o que Deos não permitta) que de Macao o não possa fazer[a] com aperto de guerra ou outro infortunio.

2. Não esteve lá mais que hum só Padre da Provincia de Jappão[1] em companhia de outro da Provincia de Cochim[2], a quem esta missam dantes pertencia. E em huma Congregação Provincial pedio a N. R. P. Geral a quisesse encomendar à Vice-Provincia da China, que por falta de sugeitos a não aceytou. E a Provincia de Jappão, pellas rasões apontadas, a pede[3]. E por isto teve nella, há alguns annos, Padres em missão que se occupão em pregar, confessar, ensinar aos meninos filhos de Portugueses e de outros christãos assim a doutrina christão como as letras e artes liberais de que são capazes, e que costuma ensinar em estas partes nossa Companhia.

[...] Macao, 26 de Janeiro de 1650.

Indigno e minimo filho em Christo de V. P^e^.

Mathias da Maya.

27

FR. ALEXANDRE DE RHODES SJ: RECORD OF HIS VOYAGE FROM MACAO TO ROME

[ROME, c. 1650]

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SOMMERVOGEL VI 1720 nos. 8-9; STREIT V no. 1657.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *De kath. missie in Zuid-Celebes* 137; CHAPPOULIE, 102.

III TEXT: A. ARSI, *IapSin 69* ff. 201*r*-296*v*. Original in Italian. Ff. 201*r*-204*v* are different from all the rest: written in another hand,

[a] o... fazer *interl.*

[1] Fr. Manuel de Miranda.

[2] Fr. Pero Francisco.

[3] Various proposals were made in those years about the question of which province should take care of some remote missions, not easily accessible or otherwise presenting some difficulties, e. g. Maluku and Makasar. Since a decisive answer had to be given by Roman headquarters, the discussions were often protracted. For an example, see DM III 509-512: Cochin Provincial Congregation of 1639. Cf. also D 29.

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not dealing with the voyage proper but with the town of Macao, its foundation, its piety, its martyrs for the faith. The first page has the title; f. 204*v* is blank except for a note « Nihil deest ». Folios 205*r*-295*v* are written in a well-marked, vigorous, and large script, often difficult to read, and showing many corrections, additions, and cancellings, always in the same hand and in the same deep-brown ink as the main text. A. Rouleau (*The first Chinese Priest of the Society of Jesus*, AHSI 28, 1959, 1-50) sees in this manuscript an autograph (p. 9). At the hand of a number of Rhodes' letters, autograph or at least with an autograph signature, we feel inclined to doubt this opinion. He never produced such a « heavy uneven scrawl » of script, albeit he sometimes seems able to change his handwriting. One could rather think of a dictation made to a secretary with whose help he also made the corrections and additions. The Makasar section is on ff. 245*v*-253*r*.

B. Rome, Bibliotheca Vallicelliana, MS *Z 114*. Contemporary Italian copy of both parts of text A, a beautifully written and impeccable rendering of it in which all the corrections are perfectly assimilated. It consists of sixty folios, fifty-eight of which written and two blank, not foliated (only paginated by a later hand in lead pencil), bound together into a booklet. It has the same title as text A; above it a later note reads « Pertinet ad legatum P. Virg. Spada ». (The nucleus of the Vallicelliana is the former library of the Oratorian Fathers; Virgilio Spada, 1596-1662, was a famous Oratorian). Ff. 32*v*-36*v* deal with Makasar.

IV THE AUTHOR: Fr. Alexandre de Rhodes was born at Avignon in 1593 and became a Jesuit at Rome in 1612. He sailed to India from Lisbon in 1619 and arrived at Macao in 1623. We find him in the mission of Cochin China (1624-26), Tonkin (1627-30), at Macao (1630-40), again in Cochin China (1640-45). Being appointed to travel to Europe as a procurator of the Japan Province, he had a protracted voyage Macao-Rome from 1645 to 1649. It is on this voyage that he stopped at Makasar for five months, December 1646 to June 1647. From June 1649 to September 1652 he stayed at Rome, subsequently he travelled to Paris. Finally he went to Persia in 1655 where he died in 1660. His great success was the mission in Vietnam where in a few years he created a church of about 300.000 Christians. This fact inspired him to devote himself to the cause of a native clergy and of bishops residing on the spot. Herewith he strongly influenced the new mission politics of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, the mission enthusiasm of the French Catholics, and, indirectly, the origin of the « Missions Étrangères » of Paris; however, it brought him in conflict with the Portuguese *padroado*. He is one of the greatest missionaries of the seventeenth century. He was fluent in French, Italian, and Latin, perhaps also in Portuguese, not to speak of some Asian languages. Sometimes he seems not wholly free from

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fancying. (SOMMERVOGEL VI 1718-1721; STREIT V many nos. between 1640 and 1666; KOCH 1532-1534).

V PLACE AND TIMEG Fr. de Rhodes wrote the record of his voyage, and some other works, in Rome between 1649 and 1652.

VI PRINTED: As far as I am aware, the Italian original was never printed. But Fr. de Rhodes had scarcely arrived at Paris in late 1652 when he caused or permitted a French translation to be published in a work, entitled « Divers voyages et missions du P. Alexandre de Rhodes en la Chine et autres royaumes de l'Orient, avec son retour en Europe par la Perse et l'Arménie », Paris 1653. It had several reprints in 1666, 1681, 1682, 1854, 1884. All the authors mentioned above under I and II refer themselves to these French editions. However, the translation is far from literal; it is rather free in omitting passages, in embellishing the narrative, in adding devout comments or, sometimes, some new information, revealing that the translator used a different version or some additional text. In rendering Asian, Portuguese, Dutch, and English proper names the French text is often inexact. All of this suggests the importance of the edition of the entire original Italian text.

VII OUR EDITION: We print the section in which Fr. de Rhodes deals with his stay at Makasar.

Summary

1. *Arrives at Makasar on December 20, 1646; celebrates Mass of St. Thomas Apostle on board ship; is welcomed by Fr. Gonçalo da Fonseca.* — 2. *Description of Makasar: it has rice, palms, no pigs, numerous cattle, an infinity of chicken, many kinds of fish, a moderate air. Men go the upper part of the body nude, women are modest.* — 3. *Formerly people were pagans; they decided to take one of the great religions and sent envoys to Malacca for priests and to Aceh for Moslem preachers. The latter came first and so people accepted Islam. When priests arrived they were turned away.* — 4. *The kingdom's governor is Pattingalloang, who knows all about Christian faith and history and possesses a rich library of western books especially on mathematics. He was proclaimed king but he refused this dignity and was content with being the governor of the realm.* — 5. *He saw to it that the Portuguese who were chased away from Malacca got a suitable dwelling-place and the liberty to practise their faith, assisting sometimes at their ceremonies.* — 6. *He always spoke respectfully of the Pope and of the Saints and he could easily be taken for a Portuguese Catholic.* — 7. *He mocked the Protestant Dutch who pretended to have a visible church without acknowledging its visible head. In this way a Moslem put the heretics to shame.* — 8. *To the Fathers who arrived from Japan, the governor gave an appropriate place for a residence and a church. Opposition to these plans on the side of some Catholics who even tried to induce the king and the governor to expel the Jesuits, but in vain.* — 9. *The governor revealed that Fr. Manuel de Azevedo, his acquaintance and friend of many years ago, had written*

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to him and asked him to protect the Fathers. Therefore they might feel safe. — 10. *First endeavour, by the way of mathematics and of an eclipse of the moon, to speak to the governor of the truth of the Catholic faith. The Moslem always evaded the difficulties.* — 11. *Once he corrected Fr. de Rhodes about St. Francis Xavier visiting the region of Tolo, not the one in Sulawesi but the one of Maluku. The governor stood by the opinion that he had to profess the faith that had arrived first, therefore he could not admit that Christianity had been preached earlier.* — 12. *Further efforts to convince him of the superiority of Christendom, since his conversion would entail the conversion of the entire country. He lived as a Christian and had only one wife.* — 13. *Opinion of an outstanding Portuguese: the governor studied Christian books in order to find elements with which he might reform his own imperfect Moslem creed.* — 14. *Last endeavour to convert the governor. He listened hard without interrupting the Father; at the end he answered only: « Very well said! Your Reverence has done his duty ».* — 15. *The governor did not resent the Father's frank words, on the contrary he sent him presents and a letter ordering some European mathematical objects and wishing him a good voyage and happy return.* — 16. *Left Makasar on an English ship in mid-June.*

[201*r*] Viaggio del P. Alessandro di Rhodes della Compagnia di Giesù da Macao a Roma

[...245*v*]

1. Resene [a] lodi a Dio, arrivò la nave [b] al porto di Macassar [c] la vigilia [d] di San Tommaso Apostolo [1] un anno appunto da che partij dalla città di Macao. Il signore capitano [2] pregommi [e] a non smontare [246*r*] perché non essendo i marinari obrigati [f] non harebbero potuto trovarsi in terra alla messa. Mi parve [g] raggionevole e pia la domanda, perciò [h] gli ubidij [i]. Appena havea finita la messa [j] la festa di San Tommaso e rese le gratie al Signore per haverci custoditi sempre [k] salvi e sani [l], che venne per condurmi alla nostra residenza [m] il P. Gonsalvo di Fonseca, mandato dal Superiore [n 3]. Ammirò il capitano [o] e la sua gente la ca-

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[a] *corr. fr.* rese le [b] *del.* fin [c] *corr. fr.* Macassaria [d] la vigilia *corr. fr.* il dia [e] pregomi *B* [f] sbrigati *B* [g] *del.* pia [h] peró *B* [i] perciò gli ubidij *interl., corr. fr. illeg. words* [j] *del.* giorno [k] *om. B* [l] *del.* che vidde [m] *del.* il P. mandato dal P. Superiore [n] mandato dal Superiore *interl.* [o] *del.* e la marinaresca

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[1] Fr. de Rhodes sailed from Jakarta (Batavia) in a Portuguese ship on October 25, 1646, and after an unusually long voyage he arrived at Makasar on December 20, eve of St. Thomas day.

[2] This captain was called Jerónimo Carmelo (MS ff. 241*v* and 244*r*).

[3] For Fr. Gonçalo da Fonseca, see Gen. Introd. II 3 A no. 6 The Fr. Superior was Ambrósio de Abreu.

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rità [p] e l'amore fraterno della nostra [q] Compagnia e sommamente se n'edificò. Passati gl'uffici d'obligo [r] col signore capitano per l'amore mostratomi in tutto il viaggio e per la cura havuta di me, e salutati gli amici, mi posi [s] in filucca [4] ed insieme col P. Fonseca arrivammo [t] a casa nostra che stava in un buon posto datoci dall'istesso Re e fabricata assai bene [u] all'usanza del paese.

2. E' Macassar un'isola illustre nominata [v] nelle carte della geografia Celebes (il cui porto principale sta quattro gradi verso mezzogiorno)[5], abbonda[n]te sopramodo di riso, palme [w] et altre simili [x] frutta indiane. La carne di porco [246*v*] è rarissima perché la gente è mahomettana. I bovi sono in numero, ma le galline infinite [y]. Gode di cielo temperato e sano, e quando il sole sta nel suo zenith, allora più che mai per i venti e per le pioggie gli viene smorzato l'ardore. V'ha parimente in gran copia del pesce che [z] concio e cotto [a] con sale, riso ed acqua [b] è la vivanda ordinaria de' paesani. Perché l'aria è così dolce non sapendosi che cosa sia freddo, tutti gl'huomini [c], anche nobile e 'l Re stesso, vanno nudi dal cinto in sù. Non così [d] le donne le quali escono [e] in publico con una modestia singolare, coperte da capo a piè con un manto assai lungo [f].

3. Pochi anni addietro eran idolatri, ma havendo deliberato di mutar religione, dubbiosi se dovessero [g] appigliarsi a quella de' christiani o a quella di Mahometto, mandarono alcuni ambasciatori, parte in Malaca per invitar i sacerdoti [h] ad insegnarli il rito christiano [i], e parte agli Aceni mahomettani acciò per mezzo di loro cassisi apprendessero [j] la nuova legge [6]. Ma que' di Macassar [k] già s'erano stabiliti nell'animo di seguitar quella religione i cui sacerdoti fussero [247*r*] prima arrivati. Portò il

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[p] *del.* della [q] e... nostra *add. m. and interl.* [r] Passati... obligo *corr. fr. illeg. words* [s] Mi posi *corr. fr. illeg. words* [t] arivamo *B* [u] *del.* alla pa.. [v] *del.* nella descrizione del [w] *m., del.* dateli [?] [x] *interl.* [y] *del.* il cel.. [z] *add. m. and del.* cotto

[a] e cotto *interl.* [b] *del.* pura [c] *del. illeg. word* [d] Non così *corr. fr.* M... [?] [e] *corr. fr. illeg. word* [f] *del.* non largo [?] [g] *del.* appligha.. [h] *corr. fr.* per [i] *corr. to* di chiesa *del.* [j] *del. illeg. words* [k] *corr. fr.* Macassaria; Macassari *B*

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[4] Correctly *feluca*, a small rapid sailing boat.

[5] In fact, a little more than 5° south.

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caso che[l] giunsero[m] molti giorni prima i ministri di Mahometto, permettendolo Iddio in gastigo del loro sciocco decreto[7]. Così il Re et i baroni del regno con tutto il popolo abbraciarono la falsa fede[8]. Fra tanto dalla città de' christiani[n] vennero i sacerdoti[9], e benché si sforzassero di disingannare il regno della falsa fede che preso havea e delle tenebre nelle quali giacevano, pure non fu possibile di ridurlo al vero lume del cielo[o]. Imparin da simil perdita gli operarij vangelici ad esser men lenti e più fervorosi, massime sapendo[p] che ogni momento corrisponde ad una eternità.

4. Trovai fra gli altri mahomettani[q] in Macassaria il Governator di tutto il regno (che chiamano Carrim[r] Patingaloa)[10], molto pratico delle cose di nostra fede e delle storie nostre si sagre come profane. Havea gran quantità de' nostri libri d'ogni scienza e particolarmente di mathematica in cui si era molto avvanzato. Questi foi acclamato da tutto il popolo per Re essendo egli di stirpe reale, e quelli a cui toccava per successione il regno ancor fanciullo et inetto a maneggiare lo scettro[s][11]. Ma con magnanimo rifiuto ricusò [247*v*] la corona che la fortuna gli metteva in capo, dicendo doversi a suo cugino[t] che stimava

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[l] *del. illeg. word* [m] *del. illeg. word* [n] dalla... christiani *m. and interl., corr. fr. illeg. word* [o] al... cielo *corr. fr.* alla fede di Christo [p] massime sapendo *corr. fr.* stimando [q] *interl.* [r] *corr. fr.* Carcim [s] *del. illeg. word* [t] *del. illeg. word*

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[6] It is very remarkable that de Rhodes, being abundantly informed on the spot, recounts this story of the two missions as it is found, in more or less the same terms, in several western authors. See Gen. Introd. I 3.

[7] A rather strange line of thought!

[8] Makasar accepted Islam in 1605.

[9] The sources do not reveal any earlier arrival of missionaries at Makasar than that of the two Jesuits Manuel de Azevedo and Manuel Ferreira in January 1617, i. e. twelve years after the introduction of Islam. See, however, the enigmatic paragraphs of Appendix 1, 76-77.

[10] For Karaeng (= Prince) Pattingalloang, see Gen. Introd. I 1.

[11] A somewhat deceiving information. When in 1639 Sultan Alauddin died, his son and successor, Malikussaid, was thirty-two years old, and Pattingalloang thirty-nine years of age (REID, *A Great...*, 20), According to Sebastião Manrique OSA, who reached Makasar on March 2, 1640, the hereditary prince was under the tutelage of three governors, one of whom was Karaeng Pattingalloang. He calls the prince « Carrin Liquio », a name that corresponds with one of the earlier names of Sultan Malikussaid: Karaeng Lakiung (Appendix 2, 2: ABD. RAZAK DAENG PATUNRU, 151).

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vero Re e colla sua autorità gliela conservò intatta et intiera sin che l'hebbe. Per questo rispetto era dal Re medesimo allora già d'età tanto venerato che tutt'il regno [u] stava in man sua e gli [v] dava leggi, nè cosa alcuna si stabiliva dal Re se non approvata dal suo Governatore.

5. Onde trattatosi in senato se si dovesse dar luoco e libertà a portughesi et agli altri cattolici [w] scacciati da Malaca [x], fu col consenso di costui assegnatogli luoco atto et ampio per fabricarvi e case e chiese, e libertà di poter essercitar in publico gl'essercitij di nostra fede. Anzi lo stesso Governatore [y] per animar i nuovi hospiti favoriva [z] tal'ora le nostre feste col suo corteggio. Vedeva volontieri et approvava le nostre processioni e particolarmente quelle della Settimana Santa; di più le accompagnava co' suoi. Pareva che altro non gli mancasse per esser christiano se non che lo fusse.

6. L'udij più volte parlare delle cose dei cattolici e sempre con grand'honore e con gran concetto. Se mai occoreva [248*r*] nominare il Papa [a], il nominava con grandissima riverenza il Supremo Pontefice [b] de' christiani. Il medesimo osservava nel nominar i Santi. Chiunque invero l'havesse udito parlare senza mirar il volto, non solamente l'harebbe stimato portuguese allevato in corte (sí proprio, e con tal lecio favellava), ma christiano e cattolico.

7. Gli eretici poco gli scherzavan d'attorno perché colle sue raggioni li confondeva e li forzava a tacere. Discorrendo cogli olandesi della sua religione, forte si meravigliò che non riverissero per lor capo il vicario di Christo in terra, dicendogli: è possibile che vi possa esser un corpo visibile e mantenersi senza il suo capo ancora visibile? Assegnatemi dunque un altro capo de' christiani a cui sieno obligati ubidire se non è il Sommo Pontefice Romano? Così parlava un mahomettano col sol lume di raggione, il che basterebbe a confondere la pertinacia [c] el' [d] ignoranza di [e] quell'eretici che non vogliono riconoscere per capo de' christiani il Vicario di Christo in terra, il Pontefice Romano.

8. Col consiglio e coll'opera del medesimo Governatore fu assegnato [f] dal Re a nostri Padri [248*v*] che venivano dal Giappone luoco commodo e sufficiente per fabbricar la chiesa e sta-

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[u] *corr. fr.* governo [v] li *B* [w] *del.* che [x] *del. illeg. word* [y] *del. illeg. word* [z] *del.* le nostre feste di quando [?]

[a] *del.* non lo nominava [b] *corr. fr.* prelato [c] *del.* di [d] e'l *B* [e] e... di *add. m.* [f] *del.* a nostri

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bilirvi la residenza [12]. Ma non manca[va]n [g] di co!oro che invece d'aiutare il servitio di Dio per esser cattolici e religiosi [h], procuravano di disturbarlo, fusse invidia o malevoglienza o zelo, io non so [i] dirlo. Si affatigavano ma per persuadere a cattolici che non venissero da noi a confessarsi e communicarsi et ad udire la parola di Dio. Voletene un'altra più solenne? Andarono per finto zelo dal Re e dal Governatore [j], che alla fin eran mahomettani, per alienarli da noi, anzi per farci scacciare dalla casa e dal regno. Ma quel Signore che sta nei cieli e vede ed osserva i nostri cuori, prese la nostra difesa et accorgendosi il Re e'l Governatore della passione de' nostri emoli, risposero che non potea niun toglier il luoco a Padri della Compagnia venuti di fresco dal Giappone perché era dono del Re et il real decoro [k] non poteva ritogliergliele [l]. Restarono i nostri emoli [13] confusi e noi non [m] burlati [n].

9. Nell'arrivo de' nostri Padri dal Giappone in [o] Macassar [p] n'andai subito dal Re e dal Governatore [14] [249*r*] come procurator di quella provincia [15] per ringratiarlo a nome di tutti, sí pel dono fattoci del sito come per haverci difesi da' nostri emoli. Mi significò allora il Governatore che egli, in gratia del Reverendo P. Emmanuele d'Azevedo, allora provincial del Giappone, suo grand'amico e conosciuto da lui mentre andava alle [q] isole Moluche [16], haveva impetrato dal suo Re stabile la residenza in quella città a' Padri della Compagnia del Giappone e di questo particolare più volte per lettere n'era stato instantemente richie-

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[g] mancano *B* [h] per ... religiosi *add. interl.* [i] o... so *corr. fr. illeg. word(s)* [j] *del.* Ma [k] *del. illeg. words* [l] ritorglielo *B* [m] e noi non *corr. fr.* e Dio non [n] burlato *ms. and B* [o] de'... in *corr. illeg. word* [p] *corr. fr.* Macassaria

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[12] So in no. 5 he speaks of the Portuguese generally, but here of the Jesuits who arrived from Macao in 1646.

[13] Undoubtedly those *emoli* were to be found mainly among the numerous secular clergy. Importance of this no. 8: from 1646 on there was a Jesuit church. (Also TIELE, *Bouwstoffen* III 281.

[14] From this statement we know that Frs. Manuel de Miranda and João Monteiro arrived at Makasar after Fr. de Rhodes had appeared there in late December 1646, so practically in early 1647.

[15] Fr. de Rhodes was on his way to Europe as procurator of the Japan Province.

[16] In 1618, Azevedo was carried back to Malacca from Makasar (D 7, 6). Being appointed Visitor of Maluku, he took the route to Ternate again *via* Makasar (DM III D 116,1, where in note 3 instead of « There », read « In Malacca »).

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sto da[r] sudetto Padre d'Azevedo[17], si che non v'era caggion di temere, perché niun già mai c'harebbe dato fastidio.

10. Di nuovo ne lo ringratiai et accortomi che havea gran diletto delle cose di mathematica m'ingegnava d'affettionarmelo per questa strada. Gli presentai alcuni strumenti da lui non più veduti[s] e gli andava sciogliendo qualche problema che ei del tutto non sapeva. Si avvicinava[t] in quel tempo[u] l'ecclisse della luna[v] e benché egli l'aspettasse havendola letto nelle nostre efemeridi, pur io delineatala come meglio sapeva gliela presentai. Del che fece gran festa [249*v*]. Con queste cosuccie e bagatelle m'apriva il varco a ragionamenti di maggiore rilievo[w], inculcandogli che una era la vera fede[x] e che è l'unica strada che mette in cielo, si come uno è il vero Dio, e l'allontanarsi da questa strada è il medesimo che allontanarsi dal cielo et avvicinarsi all'inferno. M'accorsi però ch'l mahomettano sempre sfuggiva la difficoltà e distornava i raggionamenti con altre domande.

11. Discorrendosi una fiata dell'apostolo dell'Indie, S. Francesco Saverio[y], et affirmandogli che havesse trovato in Macassar[z] la fede di Christo[a] da cento anni professata, quando appunto[b] entrò nel regno di Tolo e vi battezzò da venticinque mila persone, il qual regno[c] sta nel[d] Macassar[e] e non lungi dalla sua[f] città reale, rispose subito il Governatore: Padre[g], V. R[a]. s'inganna; l'ha da sapere che[h] non è stato mai San Saverio in quest' isola. Quel che poi dice del regno di Tolo e de' battezzati è verissimo, ma non è questo[i] vicino al nostro Macassar[j] ma quel dell'isole Molucche. Non replicai per non contrastare, tanto più che mi pareva probabile[18] [250*r*] il suo discorso et ei ostinatamente si era fisso nell'animo che la legge di Mahometto era entrata nel suo regno prima della legge di Christo. E pretendeva che la precedenza del tempo li dovesse scusare a non ricevere la[k] fede cattolica dapoi conosciuta.

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[q] mentre... alle *corr. fr.* nelle [r] dal *B* [s] da... veduti *corr. fr. illeg. words*
[t] si avvicinava *corr. fr.* dava [?] [u] *del. illeg. word* [v] *del. illeg. words*
[w] di... rilievo *corr. fr. illeg. words* [x] *del. illeg. word* [y] *del.* gli dissi
[z] *corr. fr.* Macassaria
[a] *del.* professata [b] *interl.* [c] *del.* è situata [d] *corr. fr.* nella
[e] *corr. fr.* Macassaria [f] *del.* regia [g] *del.* s'inga... [h] *del.* mai... (*illeg.*)
[i] *corr. fr.* il regno di Tolo [j] *corr. fr.* alla nostra Macassaria [k] *del.* legge

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[17] Lost letters, 20a.

[18] In this question the Moslem prince was right and the learned Jesuit was wrong. There is a Tolo, more correct Tallo, near Makasar, and there was a Tolo in N. Halmahera; Xavier visited the latter.

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12. E benché m'accorgeva che'l Governatore [l] era in questo [m] acciecato ed amava meglio starsene nelle tenebre sol perché precedevano la luce del giorno che starsene nella luce sol per questo rifiutava perché gl'era spuntata dopo le tenebre, tuttavolta mentre mi fermai in Macassar [n], che fu più di cinque mesi [o 19], non lasciai d'andarvi e data l'occasione [p] d'inserire qualche cosa della verità di nostra fede [q]. Ma il lesto [r] mahomettano procurava di sfuggire e salvarsi, e quando l'arrivava, humile mi diceva: Padre, io non so tanto di lettere che me la possa prendere con esso voi [s]. Tanto più m'affatigava a convincerlo quanto che ben discerneva che dalla sua [t] conversione [250*v*], come di persona stimata la più savia e la più accorta del regno, dipendeva la conversione del regno tutto [u]. Il suo vivere era molto simile al costume de' christiani, non haveva niente [v] del barbaro, nè essendo mahomettano havea più d'una moglie [20].

13. Vedendomi così sollecito di [w] trattar col Governatore, un nobile portoghese, amico suo [21], che spesso ancora gl'havea trattato di simil materie [x], mi disse che si logorava il tempo indarno, perché il Governatore si era talmente internato nelle superstitioni mahomettane che a questo fine leggeva i nostri libri acciò vi trovasse da riformar la sua setta, che pel suo ingegno conosceva [y] esser imperfetta e manchevole. Toccò il punto il portoghese [z], et io [a] allora feci riflessione perché mi havesse richiesto qual fusse il [b] vero senso della prima petitione del Pater Noster, ed in che maniera si potesse tra[s]portare in un [c] altro linguaggio.

14. Era venuto il tempo di partire per l'India, e vedendo di non haver [251*r*] fatto nulla col Governatore a pro dell'anima sua, mi risolvei per ultimo, col pretesto di ringratiarlo de' favori fattimi [d], di spiegargli alla scoperta e da vero amico i miei sensi, e sì gli favellai: Serenissimo [e] Signore, non posso far di meno prima della mia partenza, di palesargli il dolore che

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[l] *del.* in questo [m] in questo *interl.* [n] *corr. fr.* Macassaria; Macassari *B* [o] *del.* non [?] [p] data gli occasione *B* [q] *del. illeg. words* [r] *corr. fr.* furbo [s] con... voi *corr. fr. illeg. words* [t] *interl.* [u] *del. illeg. word; paper damaged* [v] *add. m.* [w] in *B* [x] materia *B* [y] *del.* di; d' *B* [z] *del. many illeg. words*
[a] *interl.* [b] qual... il *corr. fr.* del [c] *del.* lin.. [d] *del.* e degli oblighi... (*illeg.*) [e] *corr. fr.* Signore Eccellentissimo

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[19] From December 1646 to June 1647.

[20] The more admirable when we consider that his father, Karaeng Matoaya, had ten wives (REID, *A Great...*, 19).

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mi trapassa il cuore, se pur Vostra Altezza[f] si degnerà di darmi l'orecchio. Et egli con grand'amorevolezza: Dite pur, Padre, quel che così vi tormenta. Ed io soggiunsi: Come posso, Signore, non sentir questa spada che mi ferisce il cuore, vedendo Lei, huomo di tanto ingegno e di si raro giuditio, che già col lume della raggione ha cognosciuto la verità della fede di Christo, ch'è l'unica strada che conduce al cielo, perso dietro le favole e le superstitioni di Mahometto e gia in procinto di dannarsi per sempre? E quel che più mi cuoce sí è che non sol V. Altezza[g] ma tutto il suo regno con esso lei precipiterà di primo lancio nell'inferno [251*v*] senza speranza d'uscirne, perché ognuno di quest'isola tien rivoltati in Lei, come in un vivo essempio di prudenza e d'autorità, gli occhi e'l cuore. Onde se si risolvesse ad abbracciare la fede cattolica, senza dubbio condurrebbe col suo essempio tutto il regno all'eterna beatitudine. Queste e somiglianti furono le[h] parole dettatemi dallo spirito del Signore. Mi udì con attento sembiante senza punto interrompermi. Ma finito che ebbi, così riprese: Tutto sta bene[i]; già V. R. ha sodisfatto all'officio suo. Nè più soggiunse. Come quelli che ben sapeva essere obligo del sacerdote cattolico essortare etiamdio gl'infedeli alla sua fede.

15. Per lo che vedendo di non fare profitto, con gran [252*r*] rammarico me ne partij. Nè però[j] S. Altezza[k] si sdegnò meco per haverle[l] parlato così alla libera e dettole[m] tanto male della sua falsa legge e delle pene eterne apparecchiate a' suoi seguaci. Anzi, il giorno appresso mi mandò quel nobile portoghese, suo grande amico, con molti doni ed insieme con un foglio scritto in lingua portoghese e sigillato con l'impronto reale, nel quale mi domandava alcune cose spettanti alla matematica, acciò gliele trovassi in Europa. Aggiungeva al fine queste formate parole: Iddio vi conduca, Padre, felicemente in Europa, e di nuovo salvo e sano vi riconduca da noi. [252*v*] Ne lo ringratiai per mezzo dell'ambasciatore, ed insieme pregai sua divina Maestà che le[n] aprisse con gli occhi il cuore, acciò conoscesse ed abbracciasse la vera fede.

16. Licentiatomi da' nostri ed abbracciateli nel Signore, mi

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[f] *corr. fr.* Eccela [g] *corr. fr.* E.. [h] furono le *corr. fr.* altre [i] *del. illeg. words* [j] *del.* questo [k] *corr. fr. illeg. word* [l] *corr. fr.* havergli; havergli *B* [m] *corr. fr.* dettogli; dettagli *B* [n] *corr. fr.* gli

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[21] Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo?

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posi in nave con gl'inglesi [22]. [...] Partimmo dunque dall'isola Magasar° alla metà [253*r*] del mese di Giugno, havendo con nostri Padri celebrato la festa dello Spirito Santo [23] l'anno di questo secolo 46 [24].

[...]

28

« FIRST CATALOGUE » OF THE JAPAN JESUIT PROVINCE OF THE YEAR 1650

[MACAO, AFTER JULY 31, 1650]

Third *via*

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 25* ff. 151*r*-154*v*. Original in Latin giving of every Father and Brother his name, origin, age, physical condition, number of years in the Society, studies made, functions performed, and eventually vows pronounced. The members of the Province are numbered from 1 to 54. F. 154*v* is blank. The document is neither dated nor signed.

II DATE: The fact that one of the Fathers is said to have made his last vows on July 31, 1650, shows that the catalogue was made after that date.

III PRINTED: MHJ 1068-1081.

IV OUR EDITION: We single out four names of Jesuits who were stationed at Makasar at some time.

Summary

Four Jesuits of the Japan Province who were sent to Makasar.

Primus catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum Societatis Iesu qui sunt in Provincia Iaponensi anno 1650

° *corr. fr.* Magasaria; Magasari *B; del.* nel n...;

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[22] Fr. de Rhodes chose an English ship sailing to Banten and India in order not to lose too much time in waiting.

[23] In the year 1647 Whit Sunday fell on June 9.

[24] A slip of the pen; correctly [16]47.

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[...152*r*]

19. P. Emmanuel de Miranda; lusitanus, ulyssiponensis; annum agit 48; robustus et bonae valetudinis; fuit in Societate annos 23; studuit in Societate philosophiae annos 3, theologiae annos 4; fuit minister Collegii Macaensis annum 1, nunc occupatur in Residentia macazariensi in qua fuit annos 5; professus 4 votorum anno 1649, die 18 [a] aprilis [1].

[...153*r*]

38. P. Joannes Noghera. Lusitanus. Vires habet mediocres. Fuit in Societate annos 13 [2].

[...153*v*]

47. F. Antonius de Torres. Lusitanus de Torres Vedras. Annum agit 50. Robustus sed parum firmae valetudinis. Fuit in Societate annos 28. Fuit in missione cocincinensi. Curam habet villae annos 2. Fuit subminister annos 4. Est [b] socius Provincialis Japoniae [c]. Coadiutor formatus temporalis anno 1639, die 5 Februarii [3]. [...]

49. F. Antonius Simões. Lusitanus de Sancto Petro, pago iuxta Bisaeum. Annum agit 43. Bonis viribus. Fuit in Societate annos 22. Fuit socius Procuratoris Iaponiae annos 8 et aliquando Procurator; fuit subminister annos 2, curam habet villae annos 3. Coadiutor formatus temporalis anno 1639, die 25 Martii [4].

Lost Letter

28a — *Frs. of the Chinese Vice-Province, Macao, to Fr. General, August 1650.*

D 29, 1: Patres Sinenses in hanc sententiam non veniunt propter rationes quas illi V. P. afferent.

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[a] *del.* de [b] *add. interl. h2* [c] *add h2*

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[1] For the doubts about some dates of his life, see his biography in the Gen. Introd., II 3 A no. 7.

[2] These rather meagre indications are completed in the following catalogues, DD 38 47. In 1657 he is superior of the Makasar residence.

[3] In the years 1661-1668 this Brother is met at Makasar. Gen Introd. II 3 A no. 12.

[4] See Gen. Introd. II 3 A no. 10.

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29

PROVINCIAL CONGREGATION OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE

— Postulates —

MACAO, AUGUST 16-29, 1650

I TEXT: A. ARSI, *Congreg. 73* ff. 358*r*-366*v*. Latin original, written in a clear and steady hand by an amanuensis, signed in autograph and sealed by the Congregation's secretary. Folios 358-359 contain the records of the initial proceedings; the subsequent pages are filled with the postulates; ff. 365*v*-366*v*, however, are blank. There are twenty-eight postulates, of which only no. 7 deals with Makasar.

B. Madrid, RAH, *Jesuitas, leg. 21* ff. 353-363; original in Latin (SCHÜTTE, *Archivo* 178 no. 7).

C. Lisbon, Ajuda, *Jesuítas 49-V-13* ff. 661*r*-671*v*. Latin copy. Same text as A, written in an elegant script. No. 7 is on ff. 663*v*-664*r*.

II PRINTED: Cf. DM III 566-568, D 174.

Summary

1. *Since the Fathers of the Chinese Vice-Province declined to take the care of Makasar and Ternate upon themselves, this Congregation requests both residences for the Japan Province.* — 2. *There are four reasons for taking Makasar: 1º its growing number of residents promises rich fruits; 2º they ardently requested Jesuits of the Japan Province; 3º Makasar could replace Macao in case of necessity; 4º it could provide a better rest-home for the aged than Macao.*

[360*r*] Haec a R.P.N. Generali postulanda censuit
Congregatio Iaponica habita
in collegio Amacaensi [a] anno 1650.

[360*v*] 7.

1. Nobis relatum est per litteras ab Urbe datas [1] significatum fuisse Macazariensem sedem ita ad Patres Sinensis missionis posse spectare, ut pariter et Ternatensis suscipiatur [2]. Sed quia

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[1] Lost letters, 25a.

[2] It soon appeared that Ternate, being under Spanish-Philippine control, could not be considered a possibility for the Fathers of China or Japan. See D 38, 4.

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Patres Sinenses in hanc sententiam [b] non veniunt propter rationes quas illi V. P. afferent, ideo Congregatio petit ut utraque domus huic Provinciae excolenda destinetur [3]. Multas rationes Congregati Patres in medium attulerunt cur Macazariensis sedes sibi deposcenda videretur.

2. Prima, quia oppidum illud, in quo christiani immorantur [4], habitantium numero singulis diebus augetur. Macazaria enim insula impraesentiarum percelebre huius Orientis emporium est et mercatoribus omni ex parte confluentibus peropportunum. Hinc fit ut non contemnendus fructus speretur.

2ª, quia Macazarienses cives huius Provinciae operarios ardenter expetant [c].

3ª, quia domus illa huic Provinciae conducit maxime [361*r*]; si enim urbs Amacaensis casu aliquo (ut est in rebus humanis) deperderetur, ecquodnam effugium nobis reliquum esset, ut princeps totius Provinciae sedes poneretur, nisi Macazaria quae ad missionibus omnibus subveniendum peraccomoda est [5].

4ª, quia huic Provinciae praeter missiones nulla alia domus est nisi Amacaensis; quamobrem, quando aliquis semper imbecilla hic utitur valetudine [d], ad illam se poterit conferre insulam, cuius caeli clementia valde confert valetudinariis.

[...365*r*] Dimissa est Congregatio die 29 Augusti anno 1650.

Franciscus Montefuscolus, Secretarius [6].

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[a] *corr. fr.* Amaensi [b] sententium *ms.* [c] expectunt *ms.* [d] *corr. fr.* valetuti..

---

[3] Ternate never came under the Japan Province. After a few years it was taken over by the Philippine Jesuits. In the following paragraphs it is no longer mentioned.

[4] That is, the Portuguese quarter.

[5] For this paragraph, see also D 26, 1.

[6] Born at Taranto, Italy, he became a Jesuit in 1629; he sailed to India in 1643 and continued his voyage to Macao where he is found in 1645. After a few years in the mission of Tonkin, he returned to Macao where he took part in the Provincial Congregation of 1650. He died in a shipwreck in 1651 (MHJ 1241; WICKI, *Liste* no. 910).

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30

SURVEY OF THE MISSIONS OF THE JAPAN JESUIT PROVINCE

[ROME ?, 1650-1651]

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 65* ff. 74*v*-75*r*. Original MS in Italian, presumably made after more than one letter from Macao. The document consists of 76 folios in 8°, bound into a booklet entitled « Missione del Giappone 1649 ». It is neither signed nor dated. Likewise an addressee is lacking.

II AUTHOR: The author is not indicated. Since the text is written in Italian and seems to be composed as an precis for some authorities, and inasmuch as the Italian Fr. Maracci was in Rome about that time as a procurator of the Asian Jesuit provinces (D 18), the presumption seems justified that it was he who wrote this document, using the annual letter of 1649 and some later letters that were sent him from Macao *via* Goa. (Fr. de Rhodes, though also residing at Rome in 1649-1652, cannot be considered the author as he is spoken of, a few times, in the third person).

III DATE: The title says that the *Ragguaglio* was made after the annual letter of 1649. In the text, however, more than once events of the year 1650 are recounted, once April 1650 is specified (f. 32*r*) and once July 1650 (f. 34*v*). Here we have the proof that the author wrote his information certainly not prior to 1650, and probably even still later.

IV NOTE: On f. 1*r*, on top of the page, a later hand noted in Italian: « MS inedito ». A still later archivist put a type-written note at the beginning of the booklet saying « Iure non editum, quandoquidem fabulas non paucas continens, ut videtur ». I do not know on what this suspicion is based. Similar *fabulae*, i.e. somewhat strange stories, are found likewise in the recounts of other reporters on the missions in SE Asia. This author is always anxious to indicate that he writes based on notices received, and more than once he reports that he cannot describe the result of an action or of the arrival of a Father because he has not yet got a notice of it.

Summary

1. *In Makasar, an important mercantile port, two Fathers are stationed. A residence is planned.* — 2. *Second man after the king is Karaeng Pattingalloang, a Moslem, well grounded in religious and profane knowledge, and a friend of the Fathers. Once converted he would attract countless conversions.*

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[1r] Ragguaglio della missione del Giappone, nell'isola Haynam, Camboccia, Macassar etc.[a] tratto dall'ultima lettera annua del 1649, scritta in lingua Portoghese[1]

[74v] Regno di Macassár

1. E' al presente questo regno un emporio di gran commercio fra varie nationi d'Europa e d'Asia. Vi dimoran due Padri[2], scarso aiuto invero di que' [75r] gentili, ma sopratutto d'innumerabili mercatanti, si catolici come heretici, che vi concorrono. Perciò si tratta di fondarvi residenza[3].

2. In questo regno vive il Carim Patingaloa[b], seconda persona[c] dopo il ré. Costui è moro, molto ben versato in eruditione ecclesiastica e profana, affettionato assai a' Padri et amico de' cristiani anzi che no. Se egli si ridurrà, sarà numerosissima la conversione in quel regno. Questo è il Macassar, cotanto mentovato dal Santo Saverio nell'auree sue lettere[4].

[...]

---

[a] nell... etc. *add. h2* [b] Carimpatin galoa *ms.* [c] *add. interl.*

---

[1] The annual letter of 1649 was written on January 26, 1650 (D 26). But the present document by no means repeats, either in the wording or in the contents, the Makasar section of that letter.

[2] Frs. Pero Francisco of the Cochin Province, and Manuel de Miranda of the Japan Province.

[3] The Jesuits of the Japan Province made distinction between sending a Father (or Fathers) to a certain place, and erecting a residence in that place. The first step entailed no definite commitment, the second had a more definite and juridical character. The foundation of a residence at Makasar, however, had taken place already (D 27, 8); perhaps Fr. Maracci did not know if its project had come off well.

[4] See EX I 298.

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31

FR. JOÃO CABRAL SJ: BRIEF INFORMATION ON THE STATE OF THE JAPAN JESUIT PROVINCE

MACAO, 1650

I TEXT: A. ARSI, *IapSin 48* ff. 1*r*-4*v*. Original in Latin, divided into chapters on Macao, Cochin China, Tonkin, Cambodia, Laos, Hainan, Makasar, and Malacca. It is signed in autograph and sealed by the Provincial João Cabral on f. 4*v*. On f. 4*v* two notes: « Informationes Provinciae Japonicae », and « 1650 ». The Makasar section is on f. 4*r-v*.

B. *Ibid.* ff. 5*r*-8*v*. Another Latin original, probably another *via*, written in a different hand. Same text. Likewise signed and sealed by Fr. Cabral on f. 7*v*. F. 8*r* is blank; its *verso* contains two later notes « Macao. 1650. Informatio Provinciae Japonicae a P. Provinciali Joanne Cabral », and « Informatio Provinciae Japonicae anni 1650 ». The Makasar section is on f. 7*v*.

C. Lisbon, Ajuda, *Jesuitas na Asia 49-V-13* ff. 653*r*-656*v*. Copy in Latin, containing some errors.

II THE AUTHOR: Fr. João Cabral was a Portuguese who became a Jesuit in 1615 and sailed to India in 1624. Only after twenty years he left India for Macao. From 1649 to 1652 he was a Provincial of Japan. The last fifteen years of his life, until his death in 1669, he lived again in India (MHJ 1144; DEHERGNE, no. 126; WICKI, *Liste* no. 711).

III NOTE: The first sentence of the present document clearly distinguishes it from the annual letters. To whom it was addressed remains uncertain.

Summary

1. *Refers to the annual letters for further information. Number of members of the Japan Province and regions where they are working.* — 2. *In Makasar, one Father is stationed, along with one of the Malabar Province; his ministry is on behalf of the many merchants trading there.*

Brevis informatio de statu Provinciae Iaponicae Anno ª 1650

[1*r*] 1. Huius Provinciae status ex annuis literis [1] manifestius constare poterit, quare aliqua tantum breviter perstringentur.

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Habet Iaponica Provincia domicilia et missiones in disjunctissimis octo regnis: in iaponico, scilicet, cinico, cocicinensi, tunscinensi [b], cambojensi [c], Laorum, macassariensi et malayco. Continet autem tota provincia tres supra quinquaginta socios, ex quibus unus et quadraginta sacerdotes. Duodecim reliqui coadjutores sunt. [...4*r*]

2. Missio ad Macassariense Regnum et Malacam

[...4*v*] In Macassariensi regno unus ex hac provincia sacerdos [2], cum alio ex provincia Malabarica [3], solitis Societatis nostrae ministeriis plurimos excolit mercatores, qui ad celeberrimum et ditissimum huius Orientis emporium cum integra saepe familia confluunt.

[...]

[*Autograph*] Joannes Cabral.

32

FR. MATIAS DA MAYA SJ: ANNUAL LETTER OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE

MACAO, NOVEMBER 28, 1651

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHÜTTE, *Archivo de Japón* 404 no. 10.

II TEXT: A. Madrid, RAH, *Jesuitas, leg. 22bis* ff. 72*r*-93*v*, earlier 225*r*-246*v*. Original in Potruguese. F. 72*r*. has a preceding title « Annua da Provincia de Jappão 1651 ». The folios 72*v*-73*v* and 90*r*-93*v* are blank. The signature is in autograph. The Makasar section is on f. 81*v*.

B. Lisbon, Ajuda, *Jesuitas na Asia 49-IV-61* ff. 456*r*-469*r*. Eighteenth century copy in Portuguese in an elegant handwriting. The Makasar paragraph is on f. 462*r*-*v*.

III THE AUTHOR: See D 26, Introd. II. At the time Fr. Matias da Maya was the secretary of Fr. Visitor Francisco Furtado.

---

[a] *corr. fr.* anni; anni *B* [b] tunkinensi *B* [c] camboiensi *B*

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[1] The letter from which our D 26 is borrowed.
[2] Fr. Manuel de Miranda.
[3] Fr. Pero Francisco.

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Summary

In Makasar one Father is of the Japan, another of the Cochin Province. The latter is the older one, so he will write the annual report to his own province. The mission was now given to the Japan Province.

[74*r*] Annua da Provincia de Jappão do anno de 1651.

[...81*v*] Missão dos Reynos dos Laos e de Macassa.
[...]

Em o Macassa está hum só Padre desta Provincia, e outro da [a] de Cochim, que por ser mais antigo parece que remeteria à [b] annua daquella Privincia as couzas da edificação que ali socederão. Os Padres da Provincia [c] de Cochin o mandão lá ir [1] e largão à de Jappão a missão, que lhe fica muito acomodada para o fim das mais missões, como já o anno passado se escreveo [2].

[...89*v*] Macao, vinte e oito de Novembro de 1651.

Mínimo filho em Christo de V. P.,

Mathias da Maya.

33

FR. ALEXANDRE DE RHODES SJ: REPORT ON THE MISSION OF COCHIN CHINA

[ROME, *c.* 1651-1652]

I TEXT: A. ARSI, *IapSin 69* f. 97*v*. Autograph in Latin. This is a part of a lengthy account of the author's apostolic voyages and occupations in the SE Asian countries, and especially in Cochin China The account runs from f. 95*r* to f. 140*v*. On f. 95*r* the author entitles his work « Alexandri de Rhodes e Societate Iesu terra marique decem annorum Itinerarium », but in the middle of the page he reveals his intention to write first of the Cochin China mission. Twice he

[a] *om. B* [b] outra *B* [c] as couzas... Provincia *om. B*

[1] As the post of Makasar would be entrusted to the Fathers of the Japan Province, Fr. Pero Francisco had been ordered to return to Cochin. See D 29, 1; DM III 575, D 179, 3.

[2] Cf. D 29, 2.

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starts to do this, first on f. 95*r*, whose lower half and *verso* are crossed out, and (f. 96*r-v* remaining blank) again on f. 97*r*. The first line reads « Antequam igitur ad praesentem Christianae Religionis in Cocincinae Regno statum describendum accedam, operae pretium mihi visum est quid praeteritis temporibus in ea regione actum sit circa Christianam fidem ». It is in this preceding mission history of Cochin China, in chapter 1, that de Rhodes makes mention of Fr. Girolamo Maiorica's stay at Makasar.

B. *Ibid.* ff. 141*r*-148*v*. Italian translation of the first chapter and of a part of the second. The paragraph on Fr. Maiorica is on f. 145*r-v*.

II DATE and PLACE: Fr. de Rhodes, once back from the Orient, lived at Rome from June 1649 to September 1652, and at Paris from late 1652 to November 1654. His works on his voyages and on the Cochinchina mission were printed in French at Paris in 1652, so they must have been written and translated before. The fact that these works in their original Latin or Italian versions can only be found in Rome, strongly suggests that they were written there. Since the author himself mentions that his account of the mission of Tonkin was printed at Rome in 1650 (« anno quinquagesimo huius saeculi », f. 97*r*) he reveals that he is writing after that year. So we think it to be a well-founded guess that the MS was composed at Rome in the years 1651 or 1652.

III NOTE: The works of Fr. de Rhodes were printed only in French adaptations and with some omissions and shortenings. The printed (*Divers*) *Voyages et Missions* do not contain the paragraph on Fr. Maiorica at Makasar.

Summary

1. *Mission activity, performed by Fr.* [*Francisco*] *Buzomi in Cochin China, forbidden and then again allowed.* — 2. *Fr. Girolamo Maiorca, who was given him as a companion, had a protracted voyage in which a storm drove him to Makasar. There he did pastoral work on behalf of both the Portuguese and some natives, shielding the latter against the country's governor lest they should become Moslems.* — 3. *Finally he arrived in Cochinchina, learned the language and worked there for almost thirty years.*

[...97*v*]

1. Sequenti vero [anno] vigesimo tertio, ex occasione navis lusitanae, quae iuxta confinia regni inter Ciampa[1] et Cocinci-

[1] *Ciampa* or *Champa*, ancient kingdom in Vietnam, covering the southern part of Annam, south of Cape Varella and north of the present-day Cochin China.

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nam [2] in syrtes impegerat, Provinciae Ranran [3] gubernator Patrem Busomium [4] vocat ut naufragis opituletur. Hac ansa Pater arrepta etiam fidei christianae mysteria in illis confinibus declaravit, et multi fidem cum baptismo ibi susceperunt. Fama tamen ad regem perveniente, vetat rex ethnicus ne in illis confiniis christiana fides propagetur. Sed eunte ad regem Patre Busomio rationemque reddente, res ad pristinum statum revocantur, et Pater in suam Provinciam Qui Nhin [5] pacifice redire permittitur.

2. Illique paulo post, anno scilicet huius saeculi vigesimo quarto, Pater Hieronymus Mayorica [6], Neapolitanus, gnavus admodum operarius [a], comes additur, post diuturnam navigationem, qua cum lusitanis vi procellae in Macassariam seu Celebes insulas abreptus est, non sine speciali Dei providentia. Ibi enim praeclaram et lusitanis operam navavit illos ad omnem pietatem dirigendo, et indigenis quibusdam, quos egregie in fide instituebat confirmabatque, atque ab illius regni gubernatore, mahometicae pestis sectatore [7], valide tuebatur ne in eiusdem sectae barathrum inciderent.

3. Tandem ab iisdem lusitanis in Cocincinam delatus, in Provincia Qui Nhin proficiscitur egregiamque annamiticae linguae addiscendae navavit operam, illaque iam per triginta ferme annos [8] in bonum totius annamiticae nationis usus est.

[...]

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[a] gnavus... operarius *add. m.*

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[2] CHAPPOULIE (9 note 3) cautions us that « Ce qu'il nous faut appeler Cochinchine à la suite de Rhodes et de tous les missionnaires jusqu'à la conquête française n'est pas la Cochinchine dont la capitale est Saïgon, mais l'Annam dont la capitale est Hué, plus exactement le Centre-Annam ». The entire country south of Tonkin was called Cochin China.

[3] *Ran Ran*, name of an ancient province of Annam, just north of Cape Varella.

[4] Fr. Francesco Buzoni was born in Naples in 1576, became a Jesuit in 1592 and sailed to India from Lisbon in 1609 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 548). He came to Macao from where he founded the mission of Cochin China in 1615. Having returned to Macao to take part in the Provincial Congregation of September 1638, he died there in the next year (MHJ 1143).

[5] This is the town called on modern maps Qui Nhon. Fr. de Rhodes' map has to the north of Cape Varella first « Province de RanRam » and then « Province de Quihin ou Pulocambi » (CHAPPOULIE, map after p. 444).

[6] See D 21 note 3.

[7] This was Karaeng Matoaya, Governor of Makasar (Goa-Tallo) during the reign of King-Sultan Alauddin.

[8] From his arrival in 1622 to the time in which Fr. de Rhodes was writing in 1651 or 1652. Maiorica died in Tonkin on January 27, 1656.

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34

« FIRST CATALOGUE » OF THE COCHIN PROVINCE OF DECEMBER

[COCHIN] DECEMBER 1652

Second *via*

TEXT: ARSI, *Goa 29* ff. 84*r*-92*v*. Original in Latin, written in different hands. F. 84*r* has a marginal note « Missus in Urbem initio anni 1653 », which is repeated on f. 92*v*, to which is joined the note « 2ª via ».

Summary

Information on two Makasar missionaries.

Primus cathalogus PP. Fratrumque Provintiae Cochinensis Indiae Orientalis, factus mense Desembris 1652

[...89*r*] Pater Petrus Franciscus [1], aragonensis ex Male, diaecesis Syracusensis [2], bonis viribus, annorum 45, Societatis 26, studiis absolutis per annum docuit latinitatem, 7 annos docuit theologiam, egit ministrum collegii Cochinensis, missus ad missionem Malacensem ab Olandis expulsus [3] Macassarium appulit [4], ubi cum ingenti animarum fructu in conversione versatur. Professus quatuor votorum.

[...91*v*] P. Didacus de Oliveira [5], diaecesis Eborensis, ex Arraiolos. Bonis viribus. Annorum 36, Societatis 15. Studia absolvit. In missione Machassarensi versatus annis fere septem [6], nunc in conversione versatur [7].

[...]

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[1] Cfr. Gen. Introd. II 3 A no. 4.

[2] Sic! The diocese was Zaragoza in Spain.

[3] Malacca was captured by the Dutch in January 1641; Fr. Francisco was expelled from the town in 1645.

[4] He arrived at Makasar in 1646 after October.

[5] Cf. Gen. Introd. II 3 A no. 3.

[6] We find him at Malacca in 1645 and at Makasar already in 1646 (DD 18 and 19).

[7] He sailed to Jambi in Sumatra (D 24, 3).

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35

FR. MATIAS DA MAYA SJ
BY COMMISSION OF FR. PROVINCIAL,
TO FR. GENERAL FRANCESCO PICCOLOMINI, ROME

— Annual Letter —

MACAO, DECEMBER 28, 1652

First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHÜTTE, *Archivo de Japón* 408 no. 16.

II TEXT: A. ARSI, *Iap.Sin 64* ff. 269[1]*r*-269[20]*v*, in 8°. Original in Portuguese, written subsequently in two hands in a small and clear script. F. 269[1]*r* has only a title « Annua da Provincia de Jappão do anno de 652. 1ª via »; its *verso* is blank. The ff. 269[17-20] are blank. After the signature on f. 269[16]*v* there is a note « Vay conforme o oreginal que veio de Macao e fica nesta Procuratura da Provincia de Jappão. Goa, 4 de Janeiro de 656. Heitor Pereira ». The section on Laos, Makasar, and Malacca is on ff. 269[15]*v*-269[16]*r*.

B. *Ibid.* ff. 270*r*-293*v*. Portuguese original, written entirely in one fluent and clear hand. F. 270*r* has only a title and an addressee « Annua da Provincia de Jappão do anno de 1652. Ao muito Rev. em Christo P. N. o Padre Francesco Picolomini, Preposito Geral da Companhia de Iesus, em Roma », and a note « Unica via ». The ff. 270*v*-271*v* and 292*v*-293*v* are blank. The text opens in f. 272*r* and closes in f. 293*r*. This latter page contains likewise the note « Vay conforme com seu original, que veyo de Macao, e fica nesta procuratura em Goa, 25 de Janeiro 654. Heitor Pereira ». Only in the paragraphs on « Camboja » and « Laos » the text is not identical with A but shows some significant modifications. The identical Makasar section is on f. 291*v*. This text B may appear to be a later version, a second edition. Fr. Heitor Pereira was procurator of the Japan Province at Goa.

C. Madrid, RAH, *Jesuitas, leg. 22* ff. 388-403. Another original in Portuguese. At the end, a few lines, the dating and the signature seem to be autograph of Fr. Maya. The date is January 20, 1653.

D. Lisbon, Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Ásia 49-IV-61* f. 589*v*. Eighteenth century copy in Portuguese, dated, however, January 20, 1653.

E. *Ibid.* f. 629*v*. Another copy, a repetition of text D.

Summary

1. *In Makasar, one Father* [*of the Japan Province*] *was taking care of the many Christian merchants. There is no news to be reported as another*

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Father, an older one of the Cochin Province, will recount the edifying things in the Annual Letter of that province. — 2. Two Fathers were stationed at Malacca. Now the Cochin Province will take care of that enterprise and the two Fathers were ordered to sail to Makasar.

[269²*r*]

A annua da Provincia de Jappão do anno de 1652
ao muito Reverendo em Christo Padre Nosso, o Padre Francisco Picolomini [1], Preposito Geral da Companhia de Iesu.

[269¹⁶*r*]

1. Em Macassa esteve [2] hum Padre cultivando muitos christãos que alli há. Conforme afirma peçoa que lá esteve serão mais do que os que morão em Macao, principalmente em tenpo que alli se achão os navios de Purtuguezes, Castelhanos e Ingrezes, que todos comerceão naquelle reino. Porem não tivemos couza particular que se posa [a] escrever nesta annua porcoanto em companhia do Padre está outro da provincia de Cochim [3], e por mais antigo o que ouvesse de edificação goardaria pera a anua daquella provincia.

2. Em Malaca, como ao principio disse, estavão dous Padres desta provincia em missam [4]. Porem como naquella cidade avia dantes collegio pertencente [b] à provincia de Cochim, ella quer tomar à sua conta acodir àquella empreza. E por isso os Padres erão mandados passar ao Macaça [5].

[269¹⁶*v*]

De Macao, 28 de Dezembro de 652 [c].

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[a] *corr. fr.* pode, podesse *B* [b] *corr. fr.* pertencentes [c] 31 de Janeiro de 1653 *B*

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[1] Fr. Francesco Piccolomini, elected on December 21, 1649, had already died on June 17 of 1651.

[2] Why this perfect tense? Can it be that Fr. Manuel de Miranda, who had arrived in early 1647 (D 27 note 14) and whom we find in Makasar up to the year 1661, had one or more periods of absence, returning e. g. to Macao?

[3] Fr. Pero Francisco.

[4] Frs. Pero de Mesquita and Manuel Henriques. They had arrived at Malacca on January 16, 1651 (Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Asia 49-IV-61*, ff. 22-29).

[5] Any document witnessing that they really arrived at Makasar is

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Por commissão do Padre Provincial, minimo em Christo filho de V. P.,

Mathias de Maia.

36

FR. ANTÓNIO FRANCISCO CARDIM SJ

— Report on Makasar —

GOA, BETWEEN 1650 AND 1652

I TEXT: The manuscript text is in the library of the *Academia das Ciências* at Lisbon. The work is entitled *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus na sua gloriosa Provincia do Japão*, and it is divided into 42 chapters. It deals with the Jesuit missionary apostolate in the countries that belonged to the Japan Jesuit Province up to the year 1649. It remained forgotten and unknown until Luciano Cordeiro finally published it in 1894. Chapter 41 is entitled *Missão da Ilha do Macassa*, and it is this chapter that we edit here.

II THE AUTHOR: António Francisco Cardim was a Portuguese, born at Viana de Alentejo in 1596, a Jesuit in 1611, who sailed to India in 1618 and arrived in Macao in 1623. Having worked in various places, he was appointed procurator of the province. In this capacity he sailed to Europe in 1638. He stayed at Rome and at Lisbon, and after a long and grave illness set sail back to India 1649. After being shipwrecked near Mozambique, he arrived at Goa in May 1650. It is here that he studied many letters and reports in the Jesuit archives, and then wrote his work *Batalhas*. When, in 1652, he tried to reach Macao again, he was captured by the Dutch who kept him in Ceylon until 1655. After arriving in Macao, he died there on April 30, 1659. Some of his works on the Japan mission were printed in Europe in the 17th century. He also made himself a name as a cartographer. See SOMMERVOGEL II 738-741; MHJ 1146.

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wanting. In 1652 they were arrested by the Dutch and, after many troubles, carried to Goa where they regained freedom in early 1655 (MHJ 1189 and 1236).

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Summary

1. *The island of Makasar, its products, trade, kings; the Sumbanku is the most powerful, has his seat and court at Sambopo. Importance of Pattingalloang who practically is ruling. The latter's erudition and friendship with the Portuguese.* — 2. *Around 1620 the Bishop of Malaca was invited to send a Jesuit to introduce Christianity. When Fr. Manuel de Azevedo, appointed to this task, arrived, he was told that he came too late and that meanwhile they had accepted Islam.* — 3. *After the loss of Malacca to the Dutch many Christians moved to Makasar. Pattingalloang allowed them to build a church in the town. On account of the opposition of the Moslems they settled at Borrobos, outside Sambopo, where they created their own quarter with a church and a vicar appointed by the Archbishop of Goa.* — 4. *As people were not satisfied with the secular priest, they asked Pattingalloang to demand from Fr. Azevedo to send Jesuits from Macao.* — 5. *Two Fathers, Ambrósio de Abreu and Gonçalo da Fonseca, were sent and well received, getting dwellings and a church in the Portuguese quarter.* — 6. *The vicar could not bear the favours bestowed on the Jesuits and took action against them. Fr. Abreu went to Goa to complain to the Archbishop and Fr. Fonseca returned to Macao. Two Fathers of the Cochin Province, Pero Francisco and Diogo de Oliveira, remained at Makasar.* — 7. *Pattingalloang insisted that other Jesuits should be sent, and in 1647 the Frs. João Monteiro and Manuel de Miranda arrived. As Monteiro soon died and Oliveira had to sail to Jambi, only Miranda and Pero Francisco continued there.* — 8. *The Fathers can only work for the about 3,000 Christians dwelling there and for those touching at this free port from everywhere. Between Sambopo and the Portuguese quarter there are the trading posts of the English, Dutch and Danes. Therefore the Father residing there should be well versed in languages, also in Malay, and in controversial theology.*

Capitulo XLI. Missão da Ilha do Macassa

1. A ilha de Macassa está lançada no gran-[285*r*]de arcipelago do sul. Os naturais lhe dão de circuito trezentas legoas. A terra hé abundante de todos os mantimentos, o trato grosso de todas as roupas da costa de Choromandel, drogas do sul, riquezas da China, muitas couzas de Europa com variedade de todas as nações que frequentão aquelle porto. Dentro na ilha vivem quinze reys ou regulos, todos sugeitos ao Sumbanco, que hé como emperador e senhor desses reys [1]. Sambopo hé a metropoli de toda a ilha e corte do Sumbanco [2], onde tambem reside hum tio seu, bem nomeado e conhecido dos portugueses, por nome

[1] On this title, see D 15 note 1.
[2] *Ibid.* note 2.

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Carraim Patim Galoa, a quem por direito vinha o reyno todo, mas elle se descarregou delle no sobrinho Sumbanco, que se bem tem o titulo de emperador, o principe Carraim Patim Galoa tudo governa. Hé este principe de grande juizo e prudencia, muito lido nas historias não só da India mas de Europa, sabe ler a lingoa portugueza e fas aos portugueses tantas honras e mercês como se fosse de sua nação e principe seu. [285*v*]

2. Pellos annos de 620[3] tratou este principe de tomar nova ley, sendo gentio, vendo que na sua não havia certeza nem verdade. Mandou a Malaca pedir ao Bispo e capitão da fortaleza lhe mandassem hum religioso da Companhia de Jesus. Foi o Padre Manoel de Azevedo, que em fevereiro de 650 faleceo depois em Macao, sendo visitador da provincia de Jappão e vice da China. Quando o Padre chegou ao Macassa, já os mouros, a quem o principe tinha tambem mandado[a] chamar, o tinhão feito mouro, porque mandando o principe chamar huns e outros, disse que os que primeiro chegassem serião seus mestres e tomaria sua ley. E assi disse ao Padre Manoel de Azevedo que chegara tarde[4]. Podera-me estender em louvores deste principe no amor e affeição que tem aos portugueses em casos muito particulares, se esta relação o permittira, que só trata do estado da provincia de Jappam e suas missoens.

3. Com occasião dos portugueses que sahirão de Malaca, tomada pellos olandezes, [286*r*] e perda do trato de Macao, forão muitos christãos, assi portuguezes como gente da India, morar no Macassa à sombra do principe Carraim Patim Galoa. Deu-lhe sitio pera igreja dentro na cidade, mas porque os mouros o sofrião mal e em huma noite lhe puzerão fogo[5], pedirão os portuguezes outro sitio fora de sua cidade de Sambopo em hum lugar chamado Borrobos[6], onde fizerão huma grande povoação, na qual tem igreja e vigairo della hum clerigo provido pello arcebispo primás da India em falta de bispo de Malaca.

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[a] namdado *ms.*

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[3] This year may be only a guess, at any rate it is not correct. Makasar accepted Islam already in 1605-1606; Fr. Azevedo, mentioned here, stayed in that city in the years 1617-1618; Pattingalloang did not begin reigning until 1639 and he was by no means the initiator of Islam.

[4] Cf. D 7, 7.

[5] The *Daghregister 1640-1641* (p. 432) reports that the Portuguese quarter and church were set on fire on August 4, 1641.

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4. Não contentes os portugueses com o vigairo que tinhão, pedirão ao principe Carraim Patim Galoa escrevesse a Macao ao Padre Manoel de Azevedo, seu conhecido antigu[7], visitador da provincia de Jappão e vice da China, lhe mandasse Padres da Companhia de Jesus pera os doutrinar. Escreveo o principe ao Padre Visitador pedindo-lhe Padres pera seu reyno, prometendo daria aos Padres sitio, cazas e todo seu favor.

5. Aceitou o Padre Visitador Manoel de Azevedo a promessa, acodio ao chamamento, [286*v*] mandando no anno de 1646 os Padres Ambrosio de Abreu e o Padre Gonçalo da Fonsequa[8], ambos portugueses, que fossem ao Macassa fazer huma residencia da Companhia[9]. Forão os Padres bem recebidos do principe e rey; deu-lhes sitio e cazas entre os portugueses a gosto dos mesmos Padres, onde fizerão sua igreja[10] e accomodarão as cazas no melhor modo possivel ao costume da terra.

6. O vigairo da vara sofreo mal tantos favores que o principe e rey fazião aos Padres; prohibião aos christãos confessarem-se com os Padres, receberem delles a Sagrada Eucharistia e pregarem a palavra de Deos[11]. Com que o Padre Ambrosio de Abreu se veyo pera esta cidade de Goa fazer queixas ao arcebispo primás, onde faleceo em breves dias[12]. E o Padre Gonçalo da Fonsequa tornou pera Macao. Porem, ficavão ainda no Macassa os Padres Pero Francisco, valenciano, e o Padre Diogo de Oliveira, portugues, mas da provincia de Cochim.

7. Tornou o principe Carraim Patim Galoa fazer nova instancia ao Padre Manoel[b] de Azevedo mandasse outros Padres de Macao, não obs-[287*r*]tante os dous que estavão de Cochim

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[b] *add. m.*

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[6] The *Daghregister 1664*, under August 22, calls the Portuguese quarter « Borrebos ». It was situated between the fortresses of Somba-opu in the south and of Ujung Pandang in the north. (Cf. ANDAYA 1981, Map 4).

[7] Pattingalloang, born in 1600, must have known Fr. Azevedo when a youngster of about seventeen.

[8] For these two Fathers, see Gen. Introd. II 3 A nos. 5 and 6. They were the first Jesuits in Makasar sent by the Japan Province.

[9] The words « fazer uma residencia » show that the Fathers were dispatched not for a provisional examination of the mission's chances but for a fixed settlement.

[10] See TIELE, *Bouwstoffen* III 281, a notice of December 12, 1646: the Jesuits are building a church in Makasar.

[11] Cf. D 27, 8.

[12] Fr. Abreu died in Goa in January 1648 (D 23).

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porquanto os de Macao ficavão mais perto de seus superiores e donde facilmente podião ser socorridos em rezão das embarcaçoins dos portuguezes, que todos os annos vão àquelle porto de Macassa e passão pera Solor, ficando os da provincia de Cochim muito remontados de seu provincial e fora[c] de mão. Mandou o Padre Visitador Manoel de Azevedo no anno de 1647 os Padres João Monteiro, que lera filosofia e theologia em Macao e estivera alguns annos dentro na China, e o Padre Manoel de Miranda, ambos portugueses[13], dos quais se promettia o Padre Manoel de Azevedo ficaria assentada a residencia e tudo quieto pella auzencia que fez o vigairo da vara. Porem o Padre João Monteiro falleceo em agosto do mesmo anno de 1647, ficando o Padre Manoel de Miranda com o Padre Pero Francisco, por o Padre Diogo de Oliveira ter ido a Jambe[14], chamado dos portugueses pera os confessar e sacramentar. Este foi o principio e estado da missão da ilha do Macassa.

8. O fruito que de presente se fas no Macassa [287*v*] hé só a cultivação daquelles tres mil christãos, moradores naquella ilha que, por o porto ser franco e liberto, sem pagarem os moradores couza alguma de direitos, são muitas as embarcaçoens que concorrem de todas as partes, fazendo huma feira perpetua, e hé hoje o melhor emporio e escalla de todas as mercadorias que tem o sul. Porque os ingleses, olandezes e dinamarcas tem todos suas feitorias junto da cidade Sambopo, ficando entre a mesma cidade e bandel[15] a povoação dos portugueses. Por este respeito hé necessario estar sempre hum Padre versado nas controversias pera nas occasiões disputar com os hereges e juntamente saber a lingoa da terra que hé a malaya pera os naturais, dos quais temos grandes esperanças venhão ao conhecimento de nossa sancta fee por não estarem satisfeitos da ley dos mouros.

Lost Letter

36a. — *Fr. Pero Francisco, Makasar, to Fr. Provincial of Cochin, 1654.* D 37, 1: De machasarensi socio litteris solum constat..

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[c] *corr. fr.* forão

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[13] For them, see D 27 note 14.

[14] Jambi, a region on the island of Sumatra. A report of his arrival and work there seems missing.

[15] *Bandel* is a corruption of *bandar,* watercourse, harbour, port. The name was applied by the Portuguese to many places where they had a trading post. (*Hobson-Jobson* 58).

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37

SCHOL. JOÃO CALDEIRA SJ
[BY COMMISSION OF FR. PROVINCIAL]
TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

— Annual Letter —

COCHIN, DECEMBER 15, 1654

I TEXT: ARSI, *Goa 56* ff. 549*r*-556*v*. Original in Latin, written in a steadfast and fluent script, and divided into chapters according to the houses of the Province. A brief mention of Makasar is to be found at the close of the letter on f. 556*v*.

II THE AUTHOR: João Caldeira was a scholastic who just two years earlier had arrived, as « Irmão », from Lisbon (WICKI, *Liste* no. 969). This fact makes it clear that, though not stated so expressly, it is by commission of Fr. Provincial that he wrote the definitive text of this official Annual Letter.

Summary

The Father, stationed at Makasar, wrote that he transferred himself to Ambon at the request of that population.

[549*r*] Litterae annuae Provinciae Coccinensis

[...556*v*]

De Machasarensi socio [1] litteris [2] solum constat ad Ambonienses transmigrasse [3], ut illorum precibus satisfaceret, qui similem suo Xaverio, qui primus hanc vineam coluit [4], Patrem exoptabant. Faxit Deus ut huic felici spei respondeat felicior eventus. Quod a Vestrae Paternitatis precibus ac sacrificiis apud Deum firmiter speramus.

Coccini, 15 decembris, anno 1654.

Humilimus in Christo Vestrae Paternitatis filius,

Jo[a]nnes Caldeira.

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[1] Fr. Pero Francisco.
[2] Lost letter, 36a.
[3] Cf. D 39, 2. Fr. Pero Francisco never reached Ambon.
[4] See DM I 5-22.

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38

CATALOGUE OF THE JAPAN JESUIT PROVINCE OF THE YEAR 1654

[MACAO, 1654]

Second *via*

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 25* ff. 160*r*-168*v*. Original in Latin, consisting successively of the *primus, secundus*, and *tertius catalogus*, all of them written in the same neat and firm hand. The *primus* is preceded by an index of the proper names, called *Syllabus alphabeticus*, and it is followed by a list of eight more Fathers who were living outside the Province. The second catalogue is signed in autograph by Fr. Provincial Girolamo Maiorica on f. 167*r*, and this signature is repeated after the third catalogue on f. 168*v*. On top of the first page of the third catalogue, a note reads « 2 via ».

II PRINTED: MHJ 1102-1115.

III OUR EDITION: From the first catalogue we select the names of four Jesuits whom we find, now or later, assigned to Makasar, and from the third a notice on the staffing and financing of that mission post.

Summary

Personal notes on the Fathers Metello Saccano, Manuel de Miranda, João Nogueira, and Bros. António Torres and António Simões; staffing and financing of the Makasar mission post.

Primus catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum Societatis Iesu qui sunt in Provincia Iapponica anno Domini 1654

[...160*v*]

10. P. Metellus Saccanus, Italus Siculus Messanensis, Annum agit 43, Mediocriter sanus, Fuit in Societate annos 23, Studuit in Societate litt. hum. ann. 1, Philosophiae ann. 3, Theologiae ann. 4, Docuit hum. litt. ann. 3, fuit substitutus theologiae an. 1, Superior missionis Cocicinensis ann. 9, Nunc procurator Romam [1], Professus 4 votorum anno 1648, die 29 septembris.

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[1] That is to say, he had been elected procurator of the province;

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[...]

12. P. Emmanuel de Miranda, Lusitanus, Ulyssiponensis, Annum agit 52, Robustus et bonae valetudinis, Fuit in Societate annos 27, Studuit in Societate Phil. annos 3, Theol. annos 4, Fuit minister Collegii Amacaensis ann. 1, Nunc occupatur in residentia Macassariae in qua fuit annos 9 [2], Professus 4 votorum anno 1649, die 18 aprilis [3].

[...161*r*]

23. P. Joannes Nogueira, Lusitanus Braccarensis, Annum agit 33, Vires habet mediocres, Fuit in Societate annos 17, Studuit in Societate hum. litt. annos 5, Phil. annos 3, Theol. annos 3. Docuit hum. litt. annos 4, conciones aliquas habuit, fuit confessarius annos 6, fuit praefectus Congregationis Scholasticorum annum 1.

[...162*r*]

39. F. Antonius Torres, Lusitanus de Torres Vedras, Annum agit 54, Robustus et bonae valetudinis, Fuit in Societate annos 32, Fuit in missione Cocicinae an. 2, Curam habuit villae an. 2, Fuit subminister an. 4, socius provincialis et emptor an. 5, Fuit in missione Ciampa an. 2, Nunc est Procurator Vice-Provinciae Sinensis. Coadiutor formatus temporalis anno 1639 die 5 Februarii [a].

40. Antonius Simõis, Lusitanus de Sto Petro pago iuxta Visseum, annum agit [*year is lacking*], Infirmae admodum valetu-

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[a] 5 Februarii *corr. fr.* 25 Martii

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however, sailing from Macao bound for Europe, he suffered shipwreck near Makasar and, having lost all his documents, landed up at that place in January 1655.

[2] Nine years reckoned from the date of his assignment in 1645, but he did not arrive at Makasar until early 1647.

[3] In his autograph formula of vows he states that he takes them in Makasar « in Ecclesia Salvatoris » and « coram R^o P^e Hieronymo Lobo » (*Lus.* 6 ff. 229*r*-230*r*). This is so far the only mention of the title of the Jesuit church of Makasar. Fr. Jerónimo Lobo belonged to the Goa Province. On account of differences with the viceroy, he had been expelled from India, and apparently he used the occasion to visit Makasar.

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dinis, Fuit in Societate ann. 26, Fuit socius procuratoris Japoniae an. 8, et aliquando procurator, fuit subminister ann. 2, curam habuit villae ann. 7, coadiutor formatus temporalis anno 1639 die 25 martis.

[...168*r*] Tertius Catalogus Provinciae Iaponicae

Sunt intra Provinciam Iaponicam de Societate omnino 44: in Collegio Amacaensi 36; sitne quis nostrum in Iaponia non constat. In missione Tunkinica quinque, in Cocicinica, Macasarica, Cambogensi unus in singulis, in Haynanica [4] nemo. Ab anno 1650 inclusive, usque in hanc diem admissi in Societatem 19, dimissi 7, vita functi 14.

[...168*v*] Missiones Reliquae [5]

Haynanica, Cambogensis et Macazarica missio Provinciae aluntur impensis, quod hactenus careant fundatione. Primam nemo obtinet. Reliquarum singulas unus duntaxat excolit operarius.

Hieronymus Mayorica.

Lost Letter

38a. — *Fr. Provincial of Cochin to Fr. Pero Francisco, Makasar, 1654-1655.*

D 39, 3: Seus superiores... resolutamente lhe tem escrito que se recolha a Cochim.

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[4] The island of Hainan.

[5] « Reliquae », i. e. after he spoke of Macao, Japan, Cochin China, and Tonkin.

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39

FR. METELLO SACCANO SJ
TO FR. ASSISTANT OF PORTUGAL, ROME

MAKASAR, JUNE 30, 1655

First *via*

I TEXT: DM III 573-576, taken from ARSI, *Goa* 9 ff. 199*r*-200*v*; autograph in Portuguese.

II THE ADDRESSEE: The Portuguese Assistant of Fr. General at Rome was Fr. Francisco de Távora, 1654-1661.

Summary

1. *Fr. General assigned Makasar to the Japan Province. High hopes are held for the Ambon people who cling to the faith brought by St. Francis Xavier, and want to get rid of the Dutch with the help of the King of Makasar.* — 2. *This king, sailing in March and accompanied by Fr. Pero Francisco, expelled the Dutch from the island of Butung. Then he returned home with the intention of sailing against Ambon in the next November.* — 3. *Though expressly summoned back to Cochin, Fr. Pero Francisco intends to attach the mission of Ambon to that province. But Cochin cannot take care of Ambon unless by way of Makasar. And Makasar is worthless without other islands where some fruit may be won.* — 4. *Fr. Francisco did not answer the proposal of joining the Japan Province. The Governor of the Philippines does not permit the Fathers of the Japan Province to go to Ternate, which is taken care of by those of Manila.*

[... 199*v*]

1. A Provincia de Japão tem aceitado esta casa do Macasar com Ternate segundo a ordem do N. R. Padre [1]. Esperamos que se abra Amboino, aonde está fresca a memoria do gloriosissimo Apostolo S. Francisco Xavier nos christãos que lá vivem. E são tam constantes na fé que nem os olandeses nem os mouros os poderão nunca perverter. Desejão Padres como a vida, e temos boa ocasião [200*r*] ao presente, porque o rei do Maçassar pre-

[1] Cf. D 29. Ternate remained practically excluded from this decision, as is explained in no. 4.

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tende lançar fora os olandeses daquella ilha à petição dos naturaes que já não podem sofrer o jugo olandês[2], e os christãos prometen de se levantarem indo lá hun Padre. O rei se contenta, visto não ter esperança dos reduzir à sua seita.

2. Dia dos Ramos[3] sahio o mesmo rei em pessoa, acompanhado de outros regulos a elle sogeitos, com huma armada de 60 mil homens. Com elle foi o Padre Pero Francisco. Chegou a huma ilha que chamão Butum e fica no caminho, a qual quiz sogeitar, pois estava levantada e se tinha lançado pola banda dos olandeses, os quaes estavão de presidio em hum baloarte com 30 homens europeos e 29 ternates. Derão os macassares o assalto ao baloarte, que se defendeo bravamente. E não podendo mais resistir os de dentro poderão fogo à polvora e voarão todos pelos ares com outros 45 macassares. Arrazou-se o baloarte e a ilha toda se rendeo, pagando ao rei do Macassar 14 mil pardaos. Acabada esta empresa voltou o rei pera casa por ser já passada a monção pera hir a Amboino, mas determina em Novembro mandar a armada antes de lhe hir socorro de Batavia.

3. O Padre Pero Francisco tambem voltou e pretende tornar a acometter a empresa. E ao que entendo, deseja tomar posse daquella missão por parte da Provincia de Cochim. Não já que tenha ordem dos seus superiores, que resolutamente lhe tem escrito que se recolha a Cochim e largue o posto[4], conforme à ordem do P. Provincial de Goa a quem foi cometida esta causa do N. R. Padre. Nem vejo como possa isto ser, pois de Cochim se não pode prover Amboino sem vir ao Macassar; e por esta rezão não quizerão aquelles Padres Ternate. E o Macassar sem as ilhas adjacentes nas quaes se pode esperar algum fruito, de que serve?

4. Eu dissi ao Padre Pero Francisco que se sua Reverencia gostava destas missões, eu escreveria ao N. R. Padre pera que o aplicasse à Provincia de Japão, visto ter Cochim alguns sogeitos da nossa Provincia sem troca, que esta foi huma das caridades que nos fizerão os Padres daquella Provincia que governarão estes dez annos Japão. Mas elle me não respondeo nem si nem não. Nesta conformidade escrevo ao N. R. Padre pera que

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[2] The rebellion of the Ambon people against the Dutch in the sixteen-fifties is described by L. Bor in his *Amboinsche oorlogen* (Delft 1663). See also Valentyn I b 285-325; De Graaf, *De geschiedenis van Ambon* 114-124.

[3] March 21, 1655.

[4] Lost letter, 38a.

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ordene como melhor lhe parecer em o Senhor[5]. A Ternate não podemos por agora mandar sogeitos, porque o governador das Filipinas os não consente. De Manila provem os Padres aquelle lugar.

[...200*v*]

Macasar, 30 de Junho de 1655.
De V. R. servo em Christo.

Metello Saccano.

[*Address*] Ao Padre Assistente de Portugal da Companhia de de Jesus. Roma. 1ª via.

Lost Letter

39a. — *Fr. Metello Saccano, Makasar, to Fr. General, Rome, June 1655.* D 39,4: Escreveo a N. R. Padre pera que ordene como melhor lhe parecer.

39 bis

FR. PERO FRANCISCO SJ TO JOAN MAETSUYKER, GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE *VOC*, BATAVIA

MAKASAR, SEPTEMBER 5, 1655

I TEXT: The Hague, Rijksarchief, Collection *Koloniaal Archief, vol. 1100* ff. 178*r*-182*v*. Copy of the Dutch translation of an originally Portuguese letter that we did not come upon F. 182*v* is blank. Regular and graceful handwriting.

II ADDRESSEE: Joan Maetsuyker was the Governor General of the Dutch VOC from 1653 to 1678. See ENOI II 641.

III NOTE: This letter is accompanied in the *Koloniaal Archief vol. 1100* by another one, written by Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo on September 4, 1655 (ff. 184-185), and mentioned by Maetsuyker in his report of December 24 of that year (*Gen. Miss.* III 8). It deals with the same questions, sometimes in almost the same words,

[5] Lost letter, 39a.

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which proves that Vieira and Fr. Francisco worked closely together. His addressee was an elderly influential lady, Monica da Costa (Cf. BOXER, *Vieira* 64), whom he permits to show his letter to the Governor General.

Summary

1. *Out of a sense of friendship and goodwill to the governor, will write on the condition of the State of Makasar and on the disposition of the king.* — 2. *In the year in which Vieira's ship was seized by the Dutch, the Kimelaha Majira arrived in Makasar asking for military assistance against the Dutch; likewise Vieira arrived who, hearing of the seizure of his ship, resolved to give any possible succour to Majira.* — 3. *Noting this, the governor sent an envoy to the harbour of Makasar who, by letters, insisted that friendship be made and the troops be withdrawn from Ambon. Though invited by the king to disembark for negotiations, the envoy, De Vlamingh, did not dare to make an appearance. If only he had done so!* — 4. *Finally Daniel Brouwerius arrived as a messenger of De Vlamingh; he found the king and the prince deceased and succeeded by their respective sons. They continued the policy of their predecessors; they were enraged by Brouwerius' conditions: that Majira be handed over, that the king should pay all the expenses of the war.* — 5. *Told the king he need not grant more than he wanted to do. His conditions are: Majira shall be forgiven, Vieira's ship shall be restored, a part of Seram shall remain possessed by Makasar.* — 6. *Brouwerius agreed with these demands but he could not decide without De Vlamingh. He promised to see him and to return soon or otherwise in the next April.* — 7. *Since he did not return and nothing was heard of him, the king planned to sail to Butung and Ambon.* — 8. *The king wanted Fr. Francisco to accompany him with a view of using him as a proxy in eventual discussions with De Vlamingh.* — 9. *Because of goodwill towards De Vlamingh he did not refuse the troubles and dangers of this enterprise. The new fleet consists of one thousand vessels and the soldiers number more than fifty thousand.* — 10. *The king came to Butung to reduce the rebels to his will. When, from a fortress, the Dutch began to shoot at the royal galleon, the king assailed and captured the fortress in which the Dutch soldiers were killed. The ruler of Butung submitted again to Makasar.* — 11. *Although the king had intended to proceed to Ambon, he returned home, not because of the winds as some people say, but because he heard that the queen was in danger of death. If the agreement made with Brouwerius is not confirmed, he will sail again with the fleet.* — 12. *The rumour that the king wanted to send a messenger to the governor was false. Brouwerius seems to keep his promise and De Vlamingh is expected to arrive to make the peace. Also Vieira is active for that purpose.* — 13. *Fr. Francisco's own opinion: the Makasar rulers want a deputy to be sent with whom they can make an agreement that satisfies both parties. Their conditions are: forgiveness for Majira, restoration of Vieira's ship, a compromise about the island of Seram.* — 14. *Being obedient to their ancestors, the Makasarese will not renounce these conditions.* — 15. *These are only trifles compared with the total expenses of the war. If De Vlamingh had earlier listened to him, there would be peace now.*

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He himself is not moved by pursuit of gain. — 16. The deputy should be sent as soon as possible, i. e. before the fleet might sail again. For Karaeng Sumana already offered himself to lead the expedition to Ambon. — 17. The deputy should not demand impossible conditions, e. g. about paying the war expenses. — 18. Offers his apologies for this long letter. Asks the governor not to manifest to the Makasarese that he wrote it.

Den Doorluchtichsten Gouverneur zij vrede in Christo

1. Ick hadde al langh verlanght desen brief aen UEd. te schrijven soo om te vernieuwen de oude vruntschap die ick ontfangen hebbe doen ick UEd. sach te Coetchin en te Batavia [1], als voornamentlijck opdat ick UEd. mach verstaen dat ick allerwegens danckbaer zij over de goetgunsticheijt van UEd. aen mij betoont; en dat ick altijt wensche nae gelegentheijt waer in ick eenyge gehoorsaemheijt soude connen bethoonen tot een pandt van onse onderlinge liefde en wedersijtse [a] vrundtschap [2]. Dewijle dan de gelegentheijt sich nu aenbiedt bij welche ick moet belijdenisse doen van een getrouw vrundt, soo heb ick oock niet gewilt dat deze mijnne getrouwicheijt en vaste vrundtschap voor UEd. verborgen soude blijven, gevende UEd. kondtschap van de staet van dit rijck en van den wille van den Coninck van Macasser, opdat UEd [b]. met sijne Raden mach beraetslaegen t'geene streckt tot eere en goede naem van UEd. en tot behoudenisse van de Heer Arnold de Vlamingh [3].

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[a] *corr. fr.* wij.. [b] *del.* kondtschap

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[1] It escapes us how Fr. Francisco had known Maetsuyker in Cochin. The latter was stationed in India only in the years 1644-1645, and from 1646 to 1650 he was Governor of Ceylon. Fr. Francisco stayed at Batavia from November 1645 to May 1646; he may have met Maetsuyker, not yet Governor General, at that time.

[2] These expressions of *love* and *friendship* are surprising. But Maetsuyker was a Catholic, native of Brussels, and in spite of his unbreakable fidelity to the VOC policy, even in so far as it was anti-Catholic, he always treated the priests with respect and benevolence. His opponents reproached him with this friendliness and even sometimes called him a camouflaged Jesuit! (VALENTYN IV 298 306).

[3] Arnold de Vlamingh van Outshoorn was Governor of Malacca 1645-1646. (VALENTYN V 312 348). He met there Fr. Francisco, permitted him to sail to Batavia to negotiate the position of the Catholics, and after his return, sent him to Makasar. When this letter was written, De Vla-

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2. In dat jaer als het schip van den Capiteijn Franciscus de Viera de Figueredo van uw volck genomen wierd[4], die als afgesante met brieven van credentie aen UEd. gesonden wierd, is in dit rijck aengecomen Guimalla Magira, den roervink van de Ambonse beroerten[5], met dat voornemen, soo de Coninck van Macasser hem wilde bijsetten eenige hulpe van soldaten tegens de Hollanders, en hem en [178*v*] der zijnen onder sijn bescherminge aenneemen, dat zij alsdan onderdanen souden blijven van zijn rijck. Op dese tijt nu is van Java gecomen den Capiteyn Franciscus Viera, de welcke van den Coninck gehoort hebbende dat zijn schip van de Hollanders genomen was ende dat zij zijn gesante met gansch geen beleeftheijt gehandelt hadden, heeft[6] den Ambonesen die hulpe toegestaen en heeft haer belooft niet alleen als een beschermheer maer als een Coninck met al zijn macht te beschutten en bij te staen, gelijck hij haer oock een groote troup soldaten en galeijen toegesonden heeft.

3. Als dit nu ter kennisse van UEd. gecomen was, hebt ghij een bode gesonden, en de Heer Vlamingh is in dese haven gearriveert, instantelijck begeerende, door schrijvens, datter noch te vriendschap gemaeckt worden en dat de soldaten, die tot secours in Amboina gesonden waeren, mochten te rugh ontboden werden[7]. Den Coninck als den Prins Carim Batingaloa heeft daer weder op ge[zegd?], dat zij uijt het schip aen landt treeden zouden om mondeling met den anderen te handelen van vriendtschap tot wedersijts genoegen. Maer noch den bode noch de Heer Vlamingh hebben te voorschijn derven comen. En ick twijfel niet, soo een van haer aen 't hoff van den Coninck hadde gecomen of daer soude een vereeningh gemaeckt zijn geworden.

4. Ten lesten is gecomen Doctor Daniel Brouwerius, afgeson-

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mingh was Governor of Ambon, 1646-1656. Here he had to deal with the Ambonese resistance to the Dutch and with the Makasar troops that sustained the rebels. Fr. Francisco seems to suggest that an open war with Makasar could be charged to De Vlamingh as a failure of his policy.

[4] This happened in 1652.

[5] Kimelaha (title of a chief of a kampong) Majira was the leader of the rebellion in and around Ambon. He started projects of opposition in 1646 and, in 1652, he sailed to Makasar to request military help against the Dutch (RUMPHIUS II 36; VALENTYN I b 298 301).

[6] The subject of this *heeft* is likely to be the *Coninck* and not Vieira.

[7] De Vlamingh's arrival at Makasar in October 1653 is recounted quite succinctly by both RUMPHIUS (II 62-63) and VALENTYN (plagiarizing Rumphius, I b 307). De Vlamingh had, in his ship, a meeting with two Portuguese priests, one of whom was Fr. Francisco (no. 15).

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den van de Heer Vlamingh [179*r*] en heeft soo wel den Coninck als de Prins Carin Batingaloa doot gevonden[8], zijnde haere soonen gesuccedeert in hare regieringe en waerdicheden[9]. En gelijck als die natie en het Macassaerse volck seer hangen aen de bevelen en traditien van haer voorouders, soo hebben sij op een nieuw voorgenomen de behulpsame handt te bieden aen de Ambonese en hare soldaten, die alrede met haer generael Danivulecan een gedeelte van het eijlandt Seram in hadden[10]. Doctor Brouwerius hadt al begonnen te tracteren van vriendtschap en vreede eer de Coninck noch hulpe gesonden had, en wierde oock met seer goede gunst en gewillicheijt aengenomen van den Coninck en de prinsen, maer hij eijschte sooveel en zulcke groote dingen, en voornamentlijck dat Guinella Magiera soude overgelevert worden, en dat de Coninck betalen soude de costen die om desen oorlogh degaen waren, dat zij daerover in toorn ontsteecken sijn, hem niet meer hooren wilde.

5. Ick heb haere gemoederen gestilt, haer voorhoudende dat zij met sulcx te eijschen den Coninck geen ongelijck aendeden, want soo hij 't niet wilden toestaen, dat hij daerom niet behoefde haer meer te vergunnen als hem goet dochte. Oversulcx heeft den Coninck van den selven afgesonden Brouwerius begeert eenige conditien, en voornamentlijk drie, te weeten: dat de heeren Hollanders voor dese reijse Guimela Magiera souden door de vinger zien [179*v*], dat het schip van den Capiteijn Francisco Viera de Feguerdo met sijne waeren soude wedergegeven worden, en dat dat deel van het eijlandt Ceram, dat zij nu besitten, voor den Coninck van Macasser blijven soude.

6. Doctor Daniel Brouwerius heeft het alles toegestaen en daerbij gedaen dat hij niet conde teenemael sluijten off most de Heer Vlamingh daer eerst van verwittijgen, dien hij zeijde daer niet veer vandaen te sijn, en dat hij hem aentreffen soude ten minsten eer hij in Buton soude gecomen sijn, en dat hij als

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[8] The Protestant minister (Dominee) Daniel Brouwerius sailed with De Vlamingh from Batavia and stayed with him in Butung in December 1654. It is from there that he was sent to Makasar (VALENTYN I b 312-313; *Gen.-Miss.* II 482). King Malikussaid (Said) had died in November 1653, and Karaeng Pattingalloang in September 1654.

[9] King Hasanuddin and Karaeng Karunrung.

[10] Dain Bulekan was one of the commanders of the Makasar troops that operated in the Ambon region, especially on the island of Seram. He died on August 24, 1655 (RUMPHIUS II 53 69 89 94; VALENTYN I b 304 317, III b 147).

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hij coste en het de tijd soude toelaten, wederom op Macassar soude comen om den paijs vast te maken. En soo hij nu niet en coste, dat hij sonder twijffel in de maendt van april comen soude [11].

7. Met dese beloften is den afgesonden vertrocken, den welcken, en oock den Heer Vlamingh, de Conick wederom verwachte. Welcke nochtans, als sij vertoefden en dat hij niet van haer quam te verneemen, heeft hij gesamentlijck de grooten van 't rijck voorgenomen met een groote macht van soldaten na Bouton te trecken, om die van Buton die tegens hem waeren opgestaen, tonder te brengen en van daer nae Ambon te gaen, soo hij de Heer Vlamingh niet en vond [12].

8. De Coninck begeerden op mij dat ick hem soude vergeselschappen teneijnde of hij de Heer Vlamingh mochte gemoetten, of in Buton of in Ambon off op een anderen oort, en dat hij siende de vredevaen wilde vruntschap en [180*r*] pays maecken, ick als gemachtichde soude wesen om te tracteren over 'tgeene alsdan soude voorcome [13]. Gelijck de Coninck alreede ge[zegd?] hadde met Doctor Brouwerius aen de Heer Vlamingh beloovende, soo hij in Macassar quaem en dat hij vreesde aen landt te comen, dat hij mij zoude senden als volmachtichde in het schip, en dat hij voor goet soude kennen al wat ick doen zoude.

9. De wijle ick nu de Heer Vlamingh seer veel estimeerde en dat ick oock deselve vruntschap wenschte die hij wenste, en heb ick die moeijten off perijckelen niet geweijgert, achtende daermede zoo veel aen UEd. als aen den Coninck mijn gehoorsaemheijt te bewijsen. Hij heeft een vloot geordonneert die ten naestenbij bestaet uijt duijsent galeijen en schier alle de havens van zijn rijck doorloopen en hebben begeert, geformeert van meer[c] als vijftich duijsent soldaten [14]. T'is bellickeuse natie, sonder vreese, stout, vermetel, loopende in alle perijckelen door sweert en door 't geschut.

10. Hij was gecomen te Buton met meeninge om de rebellen te stillen en onder sijn gebiet te brengen. Nu soo leijt daer in

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[c] maer *ms.*

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[11] In April 1655.

[12] The Makasar fleet sailed to Butung on March 21, 1655 (DM III 575).

[13] My suspicion, expressed at the end of note 6 on that page of DM III, is confirmed by these words of Fr. Francisco himself.

[14] For this expedition, see the different Dutch version in RUMPHIUS II 95 and VALENTYN I b 321.

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't incomen van de straet van Buton een casteel van de Hollanders beset met negen en veertich soldaten, de welcke siende de coninckklijcke vloot van soo veel galeijen en soo veel volckx, hebben met een seer los bestaen [180*v*] met haer geschut in de conicklijcke galeij geschooten, en zonder ophouden hem geduijrich ophitst tot den oorloch. Waerover den Coninck gestoort zijnde en siende dat hij tot den strijd geterght wierd, is tot den slach gecomen, heeft haer overvallen, ondergebracht, en al die daer vochten sijn omgecomen; daer van des Conincks soldaten vijf en veertich gebleven zijn sonder de gequetste die tot hondert toe sijn geweest sonder 't perikel [15]. Dit gesien zijnde van de Coninck van Buton, zijn sij alle wederom onder de ouwe gehoorsaemheijt des Coninckx van Macassar gecomen.

11. Hiervandaen nu meenden de Coninck en de grooten van het rijck te vertrecken naer Amboina, maer wierd genootsaeckt werderom te keeren, niet omdat de windt niet diende, gelijck sommige willen zeggen, want het was noch tijts genoech [16], maer omdat de oudste Coningin, die de dochter was van den Prins Batingaloa en dien hij seer lief hadt, op haer sterven lagh. En hebbende brieven dat de Coningin perickel liep, is tegen wil en danck van de grooten en schier van de geheele vloodt te rugh gekeert met de resolutie van wederom te comen soo de vreede, soo als hij die met Doctor Daniel Brouwerius hadde begonnen te tracteeren, niet geconfirmeert wierd.

12. En door die reeden gingh den mompelingh dat de Coninck een ambassadeur wilde afzenden aen UEd. of UEd. sijn vriendtschap [181*r*] begeerde op die conditien die hij Doctor Daniel Brouwerius hadde voorgehouden, maer 't is een valsch gerucht geweest. Want het siet daerop off Doctor Brouwerius zijn beloften houden zal, en datter de Heer Vlamingh of een ander ambassadeur come van UEd. met volle macht om de vrientschap vast te sluijten. Wegens dese saeck en raet dunckt mij dat den Capiteijn Francisco Viera de Feguerdo seer arbeijt opdat doch de voorzegde [?] vruntschap mochte getroffen worden. Heb oock in verscheijde gelegentheeden gehoort dat hij hetselve den Prinse Carim Patuigaloa oock raedt [17].

13. Soo nu UEd. hooren wil wat ick gevoel: ick salt recht uytseggen. Die Coningen staen daerop datter haest een gedepu-

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[15] The meaning of these last three words remains obscure.

[16] Even Fr. Metello Saccano wrote « Voltou o rej pera casa por ser já passada a monção pera hir a Amboino » (D 39, 2).

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teerde overcome van UEds wegen om een accordt te maecken daer beijde de partijen mede te vreeden zijn [18]. De conditien die de coningen zullen voorstellen duncken mij dese te sijn: dat Guinella Magiera met zijn gevolch voor dese reijse vergiffenisse mach becomen omdat sij sijn onder de bescherminge en voochdije van den Coningh, en dat het schip van den Capiteijn Franciscus Viera Figuerdo met sijn goederen wederom gegeven worde, ten lesten dat men een compositie maecke in het eijlant Ceram.

14. Dese duncken mij de voornaemste conditien, waervan ick oordeele dat zij niet desisteren sullen omdat zij dat voor een bevel houden van haer voorsaeten en van den [181*v*] Coninck en van den Prins Batingaloa.

15. Mijn Heer Gouverneur, dit zijn immers cleijnicheeden ten opsichte van soo veel oncosten die alreede gedaen zijn en noch spruijten zullen uijt den oorlogh. En soo de Heer Vlamingh nae mijn hadt willen luijsteren doen ick in het schip met hem sprack [19], alles had nu al in ruste en stilte geweest. Ick worde tot dit werck niet beweeght door eenige winst off eergiericheijt, maer alleen, gelijck ick voorgeseijt hebbe, om aen UEd. eenijgen dienst te doen voor de goetgunsticheijt en vrundschap die tusschen ons gecomen is.

16. Waeromme, soo UEd. voorgenomen heeft een ambassadeur te zenden, dat het doch geschiede soo haest als doenlijck is en dat met de eerste gelegentheijt, opdat off zij vertoeffden de Coningen met een groote bijstandt en souden nae Ambon [gaan], waertoe de voornaemste van de oude vorsten, met namen Carim Samana [20], sich alreede heeft aengeboden. Is een voorsichtigh man en ervaren in de ooorlogh, denwelcken ten minsten meer als twintichduijsent man volgen zullen. En soo de vloot dan vertrocken is, soo zal men beswaerlijk connen overeencomen in de conditien.

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[17] Pattingalloang had already died. Either Karunrung was meant, or Vieira inspired Pattingalloang to make peace before the latter's death.

[18] The Dutch view of the situation was much different, and Fr. Francisco must at first have been quite disillusioned. On October 1, De Vlamingh turned up before Makasar and shelled the city, especially the Portuguese quarter (VALENTYN I b 321). Maetsuyker sent an envoy, Willem Verbeeck, who managed to conclude peace with Makasar in December 1655. The peace treaty proved very advantageous for Makasar but unprofitable for the Dutch and it did not satisfy De Vlamingh (*ibid.* 322; RUMPHIUS II 99; Cf. *Gen. Miss.* III 8 88). Bilateral relations remained tense. Hostilities reopened in 1660.

[19] Cf. Note 7.

[20] Cf. D 40 note 14.

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17. Ick waerschouw UEd. dat den comende ambassadeur geen conditie eijsche die men qualijck soude connen toestaen, gelijck als de costen die om desen oorloch wil gedaen zijn [182*r*] of diergelijcke, daer sij lichtelijck om tot gramschap verweckt worden als sij die comen te hooren. Wat in mijn macht is wil geerne alle vlijdt aenwenden, hoe groot sij oock zouden mogen sijn, om dese vrundtschap te maken en vast te leggen.

18. Ick bidt UEd. dat hij mij believe te ontschuldigen wegen desen langen brief. Och off ick dezen brief zelfs had mogen zijn! Doch om desen te schrijven heeft mij alleen bewoogen mijn goet gemoet om UEd. eenigen dienst te doen, om de liefde en goede genegentheijt die ick van UEd. ende de Heer Vlamingh altijt gehadt hebbe en altijt hebben sal. Als de ambassadeur sal gecomen zijn, versoecke dat de Macassaeren doch niet en verneemen dat ick aen UEd. geschreven hebbe, opdat ick in geen moeijten en in haet en geraecke, waervan UEd. believe te waerschouwen alle diegeene die UEd. desen brief mochten laten leesen. Leeft langh en vaert wel.

In Macassar, den vijfden September des jaers 1655.

[*Onder stond*:] UEds vriend van harten,

Petrus Franciscus.

[*Lager stond het opschrift. Was*:] Aen den doorluchtichsten WelEdelen Heer Joan Maetsuijker, Generael en seer waerdige Gouverneur, in 't Casteel Batavia, geluck. Ofte die in zijn plaets mochte sijn.

40

FR. JOÃO CABRAL SJ, EX-PROVINCIAL OF JAPAN TO THE PATRIARCH OF ETHIOPIA

[GOA, PRIOR TO NOVEMBER] 1655

I TEXT: There are three identical original Portuguese texts, neither dated nor signed, but all three written on the same paper with the same watermark.

A. ARSI, *IapSin 22* ff. 334*r*-337*v*, written in a bold calligraphy and well divided into paragraphs. The author and the addressee are

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indicated in the title. The Makasar section opens on f. 335*v*.

B. *IapSin 19* ff. 26*r*-29*v*. Identical copy in a fluent script. Folio 29*r-v* is blank. The paragraphs on Makasar begin on f. 27*r*.

C. *IapSin 19*, ff. 22*r*-25*v*. Third identical copy in a regular handwriting. The text closes on f. 25*r* whose *verso* is blank. Makasar starts on f. 27*r*.

II THE AUTHOR: See D 31, Introduction.

III DATE and PLACE: The first line of this letter reads: « Mandou-me V. S. Ill.ma que fizesse huma relação clara e distinta do que passa nas partes do Sul...este anno e o passado de 1654 ». The events described confirm that its year of origin was 1655. (Incorrectly text A has here 1644 instead of 1654, and so an archivist's annotation at the top of the first page « Iaponica 1644 », created confusion). As Fr. Cabral left Macao for India probably in 1654, he may be met in Goa in 1655. It is in Goa that the Patriarch of Ethiopia, Fr. Afonso Mendes SJ, lived (See D 18 note 12). Therefore it is as good as certain that it was in that place, or near it, that Fr. Cabral, at Mendes' request composed this relation. From D 38,2 the King of Makasar is known to have started the expedition to Butung in March 1655 and, having returned prematurely, to have had in mind to take it up again in November. Since Fr. Cabral states that the king is busy preparing the fleet for this second enterprise (here nos. 4-6), he manifestly wrote the letter before November.

Summary

1. *For four or fives years the King of Makasar has been at war with the Dutch. The Ambon people rebelled against Dutch rule and asked for help from Makasar. The king sent three thousand soldiers, who in combination with the natives reduced the enemy's position to merely their principal fortress.* — 2. *The capture of two Dutch sloops, and some Dutch losses in Maluku made him decide to sail in person to Ambon and to drive the Dutch away. With his allies, the kings of Tolo and Bima, he gathered a fleet of nearly one thousand vessels with sixty thousand men.* — 3. *They swore either to die or to gain the victory. The young queen prevented Francisco Vieira from taking part in the expedition.* — 4. *Conquest of the Dutch fortress on the island of Butung. Having spent too much time on it, the king returned to Makasar.* — 5. *Unsuccessful attack on the town of Makasar by two Dutch ships.* — 6. *The king prepares the fleet for November; Karaeng Sumana will be in charge of it; also Fr. Pero Francisco will sail in it.* — 7. *The Ambon Christians invited this Father to visit them, protesting that they were Catholics and did not want to accept the errors of the dominees. And such after fifty years of Dutch rule!* — 8. *Two villages on the island of Seram rebelled against the Dutch and seized thirteen of their vessels, killing the crews.* — 9. *By means of Francisco Vieira, Fr. Cabral asked the king if he intended to make peace with the Dutch. The answer was: I cannot do so because my religious*

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law forbids it. The reason: in 1654 divines of Mecca exhorted the Moslem rulers of Aceh, Johr, Java, Banten, and Makasar to inflict all possible losses on the Dutch. — 10. *The King of Banten informed the King of Makasar that the ruler of Mataram behaved indolently in this question, but that the King of Aceh intended to make war on the Dutch.* — 11. *Critical position of the Dutch forces in Maluku. Good hopes that they will be overcome in November. They try by all means to keep peace with Makasar, whereas Francisco Vieira urges the king to wage war upon them, and to chase them away from Ambon.*

[334*r*] Carta do Padre João Cabral da Companhia de Iesus que em Macao foi Provincial do Japão, pera o Senhor Patriarca de Ethiopia

[335*v*]

1. Vindo agora ao Macassâ, o rei daquella ilha está em guerra viva com os Ollandezes há quatro ou sinco annos[1]. A occasião della foi porque as ilhas de Amboino, não podendo já sofrer as tiranias dos Ollandezes, se levantarão contra elles, e para lhes poderem resistir se valerão do dito rei, prometendo-lhe de se fazerem seus vassalos e dar todo o proveito do cravo que os Ollandezes daly tiravão, que são ao menos tres mil bares delle. E o rei os tomou debaixo de sua protecção e lhes mandou em socorro tres mil Macassares, que juntos com os naturaes lhe tem feito muita guerra, morta muita gente, tomadas sete feitorias com todas as fazendas que nellas tinhão, cortadas infinitas arvores de cravo polla beira do mar para que os Ollandezes se não possão aproveitar dellas[2], e os tem redusido a estado que não tem hoje por si mais que a ilha onde tem a fortaleza principal, a qual sustentão com trese embarcações de alto bordo sem poderem fazer mais.

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[1] King Alauddin had made a peace treaty with the VOC on June 26, 1637, and thus opened a period of peace which lasted until 1654. But actually the situation often suggested a state of war rather than peace (STAPEL, *Het Bongaais Verdrag* 33-34).

[2] This scandalous and cruel practice of cutting down the clove trees, so often used by the Dutch against the natives of Ternate and Tidore and of other islands, is now applied against themselves in and around Ambon.

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2. [336*r*] Antes de eu chegar ao Macassâ [3] lhes tinha el-rei tomado duas chalupas, cada huma com trinta Ollandezes [4], dos quaes sete que escaparão com a vida estavão aly cativos e bem miseraveis. E logo vierão novas que os de Amboino lhes tinhão tomadas outras algumas carocoas [5] de Ternates que ajudavão aos Ollandezes. Com estas novas, a instancia de Francisco Vieira de Figueredo [6] (ao qual os Ollandezes chamão Francisco de guerra, e disem que só os dous Vieiras lha fasem, hum no Brasil [7], outro na India) se resolveo o rei a passar em pessoa às ilhas de Amboino para aly de huma ves lançar os Ollandezes fora dellas. E convidou para a inpresa aos reis de Tolo [8] e da Bima, seus aliados. Ajuntarão todos huma armada de pouco menos de mil embarcações, em que entravão algumas gallés grandes, como a do mesmo rei de Macassâ que era de [a] 300 remos em tres ordens; hião nellas até secento [b] mil homens da peleja [9].

3. Antes de partir se ajuramentarão os tres reis e todos os capitães de ou vencerem ou morerem na demanda. Eu assistii

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[a] *add. interl.* [b] *corr. fr.* sececenta; 60 *B*

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[3] Here Fr. Cabral is revealed to have sailed to India from Macao *via* Makasar. He was shipwrecked near this place together with Frs. Metello Saccano and Baltasar Caldeira (D 38 note 1; D 41, 2) in January 1655. He saw the king sail to Butung and was still present when the fleet returned home, probably in May or June.

[4] In December 1654 (RUMPHIUS, II 85).

[5] *Korakora,* Maluku war vessel with outriggers, Cf. *Treatise* 370.

[6] Cf. Gen. Introd. I 2.

[7] The Vieira who opposed the Dutch in Brazil was the well-known Portuguese Jesuit António Vieira, missionary, preacher, writer, and politician (1608-1697). See VAN DEN BESSELAAR, *António Vieira: o Homem, a Obra, as Ideias,* Lisboa 1981.

[8] Does Fr. Cabral mean a ruler of the Tolo region on the eastern coast of Sulawesi along the Bay of Tolo? I never saw a King of Tolo mentioned. Or does he mean the King of Tallo, the twin-state that together with Goa formed the kingdom of Makasar?

[9] These numbers, nearly 1,000 vessels and 60,000 men, may seem exaggerated, as Boxer suggests (*Vieira* 12 note 26). On the other hand, Fr. Cabral was present at Makasar and may be supposed to have had at his disposal rather exact information, although as a matter of fact both parties tended, in their reports, to augment their own forces and victories, and to minimize their losses. (After all, in this note Boxer compares two accounts, one of Vieira and the other taken from a printed *Sumária Relação,* apparently not aware that while the former refers to the expedition of November 1652, the latter bears upon the one of March 1655).

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tambem ao juramento com outros Padres e Portuguezes, o qual foi muito pera ver e o fervor e a raiva com que todos juravão. Francisco Vieira de Figueredo hia tambem em huma sua gallé, acompanhado de quantos Portuguezes quiserão aceitar seu quartel. Porem a rainha, que ainda hé menina e tem o mesmo Francisco Vieira por pai [10], requereo a el-rei que ou a levasse consigo à guerra ou a deixasse entregue a elle. E assy por mais que fes por accompanhar ao rei, não pode ser. Mandou comtudo dizer a todos os Portuguezes que a quem quizesse ir na armada, dava de quartel 25 bulaise de ouro [11], que são 50 pardaos, e de comer. E alguns o aceitarão, ainda que menos dos [c] que Francisco Vieira queria.

4. Chegou el-rei a Butum, que hé hum estreito por onde necessariamente avia de passar. Aly tinhão os Ollandezes duas naos e hum forte de pedra e cal com 50 de prisidio, alem de toda a gente da terra com seu rei, o qual estava rebelado contra o do Macassâ em favor dos mesmos Ollandezes. As naos vendo a armada não esperarão. Os do forte com a gente da terra [d], quiserão inpedir a passagem, mas os [e] Macassâs, depois de o sitiarem e baterem por dous ou tres dias, amouca [f] aremetendo a olhos fechados com perda de 40 escalarão o forte e às chrisadas matarão todos os Ollandezes, sem lhe valer lançarem alguns bandeira branca [12]. Os da terra se sogeitarão logo, e porque el-rei de Macassâ lhe não quis aceitar a sogeição sem lhe entregarem seu rey, elles lhe cortarão a cabeça e com ella se forão apresentar [13]. Levou-lhe então o Macassâ de pena 15 mil bulais, e pôs rei de sua mão, e logo arazou o forte e recolheo a artelharia e mais armas. E porque gastou nisto mais dias do que cuidava e passou a monção de Amboino, voltou para o Macassâ.

5. As duas naos de Butum, tanto que souberão o que [336*v*] passava, furtarão a volta a el-rei e lhe vierão esbombardear a

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[c] do *B* [d] *del.* que [e] *del.* de [f] à mouca *B*, *corr .fr.* a Macassà

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[10] That the young queen regarded Francisco Vieira like a father, excellently illustrates the latter's familiarity with the court.

[11] *Bulais*, probably the Portuguese rendering of *bulaeng*, in plural, which in some languages of Sulawesi means 'gold'. It was also used for denoting a golden currency (Cf. BOXER, *Vieira* 107; STELLER-AEBERSOLD 73).

[12] For a different Dutch account at this and some following paragraphs, see RUMPHIUS, II 95-96; VALENTYN I b 320-321.

[13] The Dutch accounts do not mention these cruel actions.

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cidade, entrando para isso na bahia e dando caça a huma embarcação de Macao que nella acharão; mas sem effeito porque das forças del-rey lhe fizerão tam bons tiros que não puderão chegar à nossa embarcação. As mais das ballas que tirarão forão à casa de Francisco Vieira que fica na praya, se bem nenhuma a acertou por tirarem de longe. Isto, e [g] lançarem bandeiras vermelhas, foi sinal de não quererem pazes com os Macassâs; e queira nosso Senhor que nunca as tenhão porque andando por lá divertidos e embaraçados, não poderão meter por cá tanto poder.

6. Ficava agora el-rey aprestando a armada toda para ir em Novembro, e nella Carrim Samana que hé o milhor capitam que tem e o mayor inimigo dos Ollandezes [14]. Em sua companhia há-de ir tambem o Padre Pero Francisco, o qual se achou tambem com el-rey e foi grande parte do bom sucesso de Butum por el-rey lhe defirir muito e o ter por Padre de grande conselho.

7. A causa deste Padre pretender tanto passar a Amboino hé porque os christãos daquellas ilhas o pedem todos estes annos, alegando para isso que são catholicos e nunca quiserão admitir erro algum dos Ollandezes nem seus Domines ou demones predicantes. O que [h] certo hé [i] muito para louvar a nosso Senhor, pois há perto de 50 annos que lhe estão sogeitos e não tem Padres que os cultivem.

8. Alem do referido de Butum me escreveo Francisco Vieira, estando eu já embarcado tres dias de caminho de Macassâ, que avia chegado novo recado de Amboino com novas certas que estando os Ollandezes com treze embarcações, entre tingões [15] e chalupas, na cabeça de huma das ilhas de Amboino chamada Seirão, fasendo sagû, que hé o mantimento ordinario daquellas terras e responde à farinha de pao de Brasil, duas povuações que ainda estavão por elles, tendo novas da hida do rei de Macassâ, se levantarão de repente e dando nelles os matarão todos

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[g] *corr. fr.* **he** [h] *del.* he [i] *corr. fr.* **e**

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[14] This is Karaeng Sumana. In 1660 he will succeed Karaeng Karunrung in the chancellorship. Then he is reported to be less anti-Dutch than his predecessor (*Daghregister 1661*, 18). The project of a second expedition to Ambon in November of 1655 did not materialize. The Dutch meanwhile negotiated a treaty with Makasar, which finally was concluded on December 28.

[15] *Tinggang* or *tenggang*, an Indonesian cargo vessel (ENOI V 124).

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e lhes tomarão todas as treze embarcações; e me pedia que desse estas novas com as mais ao senhor Viso-Rey.

9. Este hé o estado em que fica o rey de Macassâ com os Ollandezes. E porque eu vinha dar conta delle ao senhor Viso-Rey para que fomentasse esta guerra como tão inportante ao Estado, quis primeiro saber se[j] aquelle rei determinava de fazer pazes ou tregoas com elles, porque nos não empenhassemos de balde com descredito e pouco proveito nosso, e fis com Francisco Vieira lhe perguntasse. O rei respondeo que não podia fazer pazes com os Ollandezes porque sua lei lho prohibia, e que assy o escrevia ao senhor Viso-Rei, ao qual mandava seu sagoate[16], ettc[a]. A causa do o rei dizer que sua lei lhe phohibia fazer pazes com os Ollandezes foi porque o anno passado mandarão os chassizes da Meca hum modo de bulas aos reis mouros do sul, a saber ao[k] Achen, ao de Jor, ao da Java, ao de Bantão[l], a este de Macassâ, em que lhe roga-[337*r*]vão e mandavão que fizessem aos Ollandezes os malles que pudessem, pellos muitos agra[v]os que delles tinhão os mouros recebido.

10. Este rei do Macassâ teve carta do de Bantão mandada pollo propio cassis que de Meca lhe trazia a bula, na qual lhe disia que o Matarão, rei de Java, se mostrava[m] frio naquelle negocio. Porem o Achen lhes escrevia que lhes faria guerra por Malacca, e elle a determinava[n] fazer a Jacatarâ, e sua Alteza a continuasse e apertasse[o] por Amboino.

11. Entende-sse que se o rei de Macassâ passara a aquellas ilhas, lançara de todo dellas aos Ollandezes, elles mesmo o confessão, sem embargo de terem lá 13 naos e a mayor parte da sua gente da guerra, reforçando sempre o campo com a que lhe vem de Ollanda. E tudo lhe hé necessario para resistir a tres mil Macassâs que lá andão ajudando os naturaes. Mas se em Novembro passar a armada, esperamos este mesmo sucesso, e que perca o inimigo a mayor mina que tem por estas partes, que são tres mil bares de cravo que daquellas ilhas tirão todos os annos. E por isso fasem tanto polla conservar e ter pazes com o rei do Macassâ, que já prometião por ellas pagar em dobro duas naos muito ricas que tomarão, ha tres annos, ao dito

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j *del.* â k ao do *B* l ao de Bantão] e *B* m mostrara *B* n *corr. fr.* adterminava o *corr. fr.* aprestasse *B*

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16 *Saguate*, a present, gift, especially a diplomatic one (DALGADO II 271).

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Francisco Vieira [17], e outras muitas couzas em grande proveito del-rei. Mas ategora as não poderão alcançar porque Francisco Vieira tem mão e dis a el-rey que não quer naos nem fasenda, mas só que faça guerra com os Ollandezes e os lance de Amboino e Maluco.

[...]

41

FR. JOÃO NUNES SJ TO FR. GOSWIN NICKEL, GENERAL, ROME

— Annual Letter of the Japan Province —

MACAO, DECEMBER 16, 1655

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHÜTTE, *Archivo* 411-412.

II TEXT: Three texts are available:

A. ARSI *Iap Sin 64* ff. 294-315, formerly 1-21, in 8°. Original entirely written in one hand. It could seem an autograph, but the many corrections, especially of the proper names, rather suggest an unschoooled amanuensis. The Makasar section is on ff. 312*v*-313*v*.

B. Madrid, RAH, *Jesuitas, leg. 22bis*, ff. 576-595, in 4°. Another original, written in different hands; the Makasar part, however, in the same hand as text A.

C. Lisbon, Ajuda, *Jesuitas na Asia 49-IV-61* ff. 737-757. Eighteenth-century copy. The Makasar section is on ff. 755*v*-756*r*.

III THE AUTHOR: João Nunes, a Portuguese, a Jesuit from 1633, sailed to India in 1640 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 895) and worked in the Far East from 1645-1656 (MHJ 1257). Evidently he was commissioned by Fr. Provincial to compose this letter.

IV ADDRESSEE: Fr. Goswin Nickel was General from 1652 to 1664.

V OUR EDITION: We print text A.

Summary

1. *The year 1655 was fatal for many ships sailing southward. One of them shipwrecked on the Makasar shoals.* — 2. *Rescue in a sloop of the three Jesuits who had embarked on it; troublesome voyage to Makasar;*

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[17] On the two ships of Vieira, intercepted by the Dutch in July 1652, see BOXER, *Vieira* 9; *Gen. Miss.* II 598.

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help given them by a generous lady. — 3. Fr. Manuel de Miranda, residing there, gave them hospitality and received pastoral assistance from them, since Fr. Pero Francisco had sailed with the king against the Dutch. — 4. The Moslem king wanted to carry with him a relic of the Holy Cross and a picture of Saint Anthony, and he conquered a Dutch fortress. The Father hoped to visit the Catholics on the island of Ambon. — 5. Work of Fr. Manuel de Miranda: keeping a school, preaching in several churches, converting some Moslem women; these, after conversion, have to take refuge in Macao.

[294*r*] Annua da Provincia de Jappão do anno de 655.
Ao muito Reverendo P. N. Gosuvino Nickel,
Preposito Geral da Companhia de Jesus.

[312*v*] Missão de Macassar

1. Fatal anno foi o de 55 pera os barcos que navegarão o [a] arcipelago de norte a sul. Porque afirmão os Chinas da provincia de Chincheo [1], vezinha a esta de Cantão, que partirão pera varios portos cento e tantos barcos, e que de nenhum se sabe que fim tivessem. E sete, de que tiverão noticia que se perderão, herão da invernada do anno passado. Desta barra partirão [b] nove, e só tres voltarão; os demais ou invernarão ou arribarão a [c] diversos portos. E hum fes [d] miseravel naufragio nos baxos [e] de Macasar aos 16 de Janeiro do presente. E sendo que navegou desta costa pera o sul com vento prospero, tanto que teve [f] en huma madrugada sinais dos baxos de Taquerabate [g 2], acalmou o vento e [h] com os balanços comessou a embarcação a se encostar [i] nas restingas. E foi tanta a confuzão que pera lançarem o batel ao mar se gastaram perto de tres horas. E quando qui-

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[a] *interl.*; este *C* [b] *del.* em diversos *B* [c] *corr. fr.* em *AB*, ao *C* [d] fez demais digo *C* [e] *corr. fr.* baixos [f] *corr. fr.* tivera [g] *corr. fr.* Taquerabata [h] *ins.* [i] encontrar *C*

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[1] Chincheo, on modern maps Changchou, name used by the Portuguese for the province of Fukien generally and for some ports on its coast particularly. See BOXER, *South-China* 313-326 (« The Bay of Amoy and its hinterland »).

[2] The shoals of Taka Rewataya are situated southwest of Makasar at a distance of about one hundred km or eighteen Portuguese leagues (no. 2). The Dutch name was De Bril Bank.

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serão acudir lançando espias, já o navio fasia muita agoa e pouco a pouco se hia abrindo de todo.

2. O capitão, vendo o perigo, a primeira cousa que fes foi lançar mão dos Padres que nella hião embarcados, a saber o Padre João Cabral[3], e o Padre Balthezar Caldeira[j 4], cada qual pera sua provincia, e o Padre Metello Sacano[k] por procurador eleyto a[l] Roma, os quais todos andavão occupados en confessar e animar aos mariantes. No batel tãobem se meterão alguns Portugueses, salvando [313*r*] o ouro de partes, ficando os demais lutando com as ondas, dando-lhe agoa pello pescoso até que chegando alguns barcos malayos à pilhagem do naufragio os salvarão, escapando outros en jangadas e os mais que passavão de sento tragou o mar. Nas[m] desoito legoas que dali vão até o Macassar estiverão muitas veses perdidos os do batel, e sen comer bocado, contra vento e maré chegarão finalmente ao porto desejado. A[n] nobre matrona, molher de senhorio do barco perdido, movida a compaxão[o] da pobresa en que se achavão os Padres, logo lhe preparou a roupa[p] necessaria, mandou-lhe primeiro huma loba nova pera a[q] cada hum vestir, não fallando no refresco com que os regalou.

3. Sentindo estranhamente[r] ver os Padres naquelle estado, o Padre Manoel de Miranda, ali residente, exercitou sua caridade costumada na hospedagem que lhes[s] fes, ficando da[t] chegada dos Padres algum tanto aliviado do trabalho das confissoens e pregaçoens que tomarão sobre ssi estes novos hospedes, visto o Padre Pero Francisco da provincia de Cochim que ainda ali está en sua companhia, ter ido acompanhar o rey de Macassar[u] que hia socorrer a Amboyno[v] contra os Olandeses.

4. E antes de partir pedio o rey ao dito Padre que levasse comsigo huma reliquia do santo lenho e huma imagem de vulto de Santo Antonio. Com ser mouro quis levar o escudo sagrado da Crus pera sua defença e Santo Antonio por capitão pera pe-

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j Caldr[a] *ms., corr. fr.* Cardr[a] k *w. corr.* l *corr. fr.* de; *corr. fr.* da *B* m *corr. fr.* mas; mas *C* n *preceded by opening bracket to which no other corresponds* o movida a compaxão *add. m.*; sentida *BC* p *corr. fr.* ropa q *om. B* r Finalmente *C* s *interl. AB* t *corr. fr.* com a; com *BC* u *del.* a v *corr. fr.* Ambono

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[3] Fr. João Cabral returned to India from Macao. Cf. D 31 Introduction II.

[4] On Fr. Baltasar Caldeira, who after a fifteen year presence in the Far East returned to India, see MHJ 1144. See also D 22 Introd. II.

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lejar contra os enimigos hereges, dos quais teve huma assinalada vitoria, levando à escala vista huma fortaleza muito bem guarnicida de gente[w] e reforçada artelharia, ficando pellas custas quarenta Olandeses[5]. O Padre foi a esta empresa não só por lho pedir Sua Alteza, mas pera ver se podia de caminho visitar a alguns christãos que ainda vivem naquella ilha de Amboyno[x], por terem insinuado que[y] desejão ter hum Padre pera se confessarem[6].

5. O Padre Manoel de Miranda tem huma escola[z] en que ensina não só os meninos a ler e escrever, mas tãobem gramatica aos estudantes. Alem das pregaçoins da quaresma e festas solennes [313*v*] se fasem outras na ssé e na igreja de Sam Domingos[7]; destas se segue muito fruito nas almas[a] com a mudança de vida destregada que alguns fasem, largando as occasioens más[b] en que vivião. Notaveis[c] são as traças que tem o dito Padre pera que as mouras[d], que querem receber nossa santa ley, venha a ter effeito fora do Macassar, porque dentro hé sob pena de morte[8]. E todos os annos se colhe algum fruito, o qual se vem lograr a Macao pera honde de ordinario são mandadas depois de bautizadas pera viverem como christans.

[314*r*] Macao, oje 16[e] de Desembro de 1655.
De V. Paternidade filho indigno,

João Nunes.

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[w] *corr. fr.* grande; grande *C* [x] *corr. fr.* Ambono [y] insinuado...ter *with several corrections;* insinuado que] significado *BC* [z] esmola *C* [a] se... almas *add m.;* se ve fruito *BC* [b] ruins *corr. fr.* mas *B;* roins *C* [c] *corr. fr.* notavel [d] *corr. fr.* moras [e] 26 *C*

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[5] See D 40, 4.
[6] Cf. D 39, 3.
[7] These are the two churches of the Portuguese quarter besides the Jesuit church.
[8] For this Moslem law, see D 15, and note 17.

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42

ANNUAL LETTER OF THE PROVINCE OF JAPAN OF THE YEAR 1656 TO FR. GOSWIN NICKEL, GENERAL

[MACAO, LATE 1656 - EARLY 1657]

I TEXT: Two texts are known, both eighteenth century copies, and both lacking dating and signature.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-IV-61* ff. 773-810. Portuguese; in a beautiful and clear handwriting. The Makasar section in on f. 806*r-v*.

B. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-V-14* ff. 96-106. Similar copy in Portuguese, in a graceful hand. Makasar is on ff. 99*v*-100*r*.

II PLACE and DATE: With great certainty one may suppose that the letter was written at Macao in the end of 1656 or in early 1657.

III OUR EDITION: We print text A, accounting in the critical Apparatus for the variations of text B.

Summary

1. *The Makasar residence, started by the Japan Province by order of Fr. General, is kept in high esteem. Fr. Manuel de Miranda sees to it. The missionaries prefer applying themselves to the work to much reporting on it.* — 2. *Different ways of apostolic work, of which making converts among the natives is the most difficult as being severely prohibited by the kings.* — 3. *The missionary has to work chiefly by the exemplariness of his personal life, and has to proceed with the greatest caution.*

[773] Carta annua da Provincia de Japam, anno de 1656. Ao nosso muito Reverendo em Christo Padre Gossuino Nichel, Preposito Geral da Companhia de Jezus em Roma.

[...806*r*] Missão de Macassar

1. Fazem os vezinhos desta terra grande estimação da Residencia que no reino de Macasar por ordem de V. P.[1] tem feito esta Provincia naquella missão, a qual teve sempre à sua conta

[1] Cf. D 39, 1.

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o Padre Manoel de Miranda. Porem [a] os filhos de V. P. estimão mais nestas partes o que obrão com o proximo do que apontá-lo pera que se escreva ou repeti-lo para que se sayba [2].

2. Muito está ditto do Macassar, mas tudo o que dallí se diz hé pouco para o muito que alli se faz: acudinho a mesquinhos que allí chegão, compondo desavenças entre os que alli residem, obrigando para os que dallí [b] navegão que vivão christaons entre mouros, fazendo-lhe entender que se devem confessar tanto que chegão e antes que se embarquem, pertendendo [c] os [d] que alli tratão restituão o mal levado, acabando com os que [e] chegão a surgir perdoem injurias ou dittas no mar ou feitas na [f] terra, recolhendo os muitos que allí arribão ou perdidos em naufragios ou derrotados de outros portos, amparando [g] orfaons, defendendo christaons, sustentando cathecumenos, fazendo as conversões possiveis onde ficão mais trabalhosas por respeito do muito rigor com que os reys daquellas ilhas prohibem pregar-se a ley de Deos a seus vasallos, alem de que a peste de [h] mourama tem instado naquella [i] gente de tal sorte que escasamente se pode achar [806v] con [j] que[m] o evangello fassa fruito.

3. Pera que hé necessario viver no exemplar de sua pessoa com a [k] cautela que necessita quem está à vista de mouros, de Malayos, de Chinas, de Castelhanos, de Ingleses, de Olandeses e de outras muitas nasçoens que naquelle imperio [l] comerceão. Tudo isto tem à sua conta o mission[ar]io que alli há de estar. Tudo teve athegora com boa edifficação o que [m] alli tivemos. Porem como no particolar não se apontou nada, com se lhes ter pedido, não posso dizer nada em particular do que se tem obrado que seja com averiguação na certeza que a este papel se deve. Tudo o que se puder saber se fará em vias o anno que vem a V. Pat. [n].

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[a] pois *B* [b] para...dallí] aos que para allí *B* [c] persuadindo *B* [d] aos *B* [e] que aly *B* [f] em *B* [g] emparando *B* [h] da *B* [i] aquella *B* [j] em *B* [k] om. *B* [l] emporio *B* [m] o que *B* [n] a V. P. o anno que vem *B*

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[2] Manifestly, Fr. Manuel de Miranda was none too diligent in reporting to the provincial headquarters at Macao; see also here no. 3. This behaviour may account for the fact that not even one letter of his hand has come to us.

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43

FR. JOSEPH TISSANIER SJ
TO FR. PIERRE LE CAZRE SJ, FRENCH ASSISTANT, ROME

MACAO, FEBRUARY 2, 1657

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 162* f. 31*r-v*. Autograph in French in a small script. Fol. 31*v* is blank except for the address and a red seal, to which an archivist noted « Macao, P. Joseph Tissanier, 2 feb. 1657 » and a second hand « China ».

II AUTHOR: He was a Frenchman, born in 1618. A Jesuit in 1634, he sailed to Goa from Lisbon in 1655, worked in Tonkin and in Siam, and in later years became Provincial of Japan, and Visitor of China and Japan. He died at Macao in 1688. He had a larger account of his voyage printed at Paris in 1663; see D 54.

III ADDRESSEE: Fr. Le Cazre was the French Assistant of Fr. General from 1652 to 1661.

IV OUR EDITION: We print the lines dealing with Makasar.

Summary

Sailing from Goa on January 28, 1656, after a voyage of three or four months they arrived at Makasar, having been able to escape the Dutch who were waiting to ambush them. They left Makasar on June 7, 1656.

[...]

Nous partimes de Goa le 28 de Janvier de l'année 1656 dans trois vaisseaux, ssavoir dix Fransois, deux Italiens et trois Portuguez [1]. Et après un voyage de trois ou quatre mois, durant lesquels nous souffrimes la soif, la faim et le chaud, nous arrivames à Macassar [2]. Les Hollandois nous avoient attendus longtemps a ces destroiets que l'on trouve apres la Jave [3]. Mais Dieu

---

[1] For the ten French Fathers see Gen. Introd. II 3 B, 1656. The two Italians were Giovanni Domenico Gabiani and Domenico Fuciti. Of the three Portuguese we know only Gonçalo de Oliveira, and presumably Manuel Soares.

[2] They arrived at Makasar in the second half of May 1656.

[3] In order to avoid the Dutch, the Portuguese ships took the route along the southern coast of Java and through one of the straits between some Lesser Sunda Islands.

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permit que nos pilotes s'aveuglassent et passassent par ou ils ne vouloient pas. Et principalement nostre pilote s'esgara, et nous tombions entre les mains des Hollandois si Dieu ne les eust aveuglez, car n'estants esloignez de nous que de deux ou trois lieues, ils ne nous virent pas.

De Macassar nous partimes pour Macao dans 4 vaisseaux le 7e Juin 1656. [...] Nous arrivames icy le 8 de Juillet de la mesme année.

[...]

Joseph Tissanier.

[31*v Address*] A mon Reverend Pere en Christ Le Pere Pierre Le Cazre, Assistent de la Compagnie de Jesus pour la France. A Rome. 1. Via.

44

FR. ALBERT DORVILLE SJ TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

MACAO, OCTOBER 30, 1658

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT V no. 2273; SOMMERVOGEL XII 438.

II TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 162* ff. 36*r*-37*v*. Autograph in Latin in a very small but neat and clear handwriting. Fol. 37*v* contains only the address, traces of a seal, and an Assistant's note « Macai, 30 Octob. 1658. P. Albertus de Dorville. Offert V. P. brevem relatiunculam sui itineris versus Macaum ». A later hand added « R[esponsum] 24 jan. 1661 ».

III AUTHOR: Fr. Dorville was born at Brussels, Belgium, in 1621, entered the noviciate in 1646, sailed from Lisbon in 1657. For his life and writings, see BOSMANS (hereafter) and DEHERGNE 79 no. 261.

IV PRINTED: The entire letter, by H. BOSMANS SJ, *Documents sur Albert de Dorville de Bruxelles*, Louvain 1911, pp. 65-78, our section p. 70.

V. OUR EDITION: From the ample description of the voyage from Goa to Macao, we single out the lines dealing with the arrival and stay at Makasar.

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Summary

1. *They arrived at Makasar where they met Fr. Miranda. Found the Jesuit church demolished by instigation of the Dominicans who, however, likewise lost their own church. Only the cathedral remains, to the satisfaction of the secular clergy. The King of Ende [Flores] invited the Jesuits to his country. — 2. Within a few days after his arrival Fr. François Clément died. — 3. On the day of embarkation all of them were sick; two Frs., Christian Herdtrich and Jakob Dimer, had to be left behind. They put to sea in four ships on June 17 and resolved to sail together for fear of the Dutch who shortly before had been forbidden to trade at Makasar.*

[...36*v*]

1. In Macassariam post duodecim dierum [1] tetricam navigationem appulsis [2], singulari nos charitate excepit P. Miranda, residentiae superior [3]. Magno animi sensu invenimus templum nostrum funditus dirutum, idque mandato regis, occasionem praebentibus aemulis nostris Domi[ni]canis, quibus prorsus idem contigit, ita ut praeter cathedrale templum aliud ibi non existat, quo non parum gaudent clerici [4]. Verum tantam stragem consolatae sunt literae reguli insulae Endem [5] ad lusitanos datae, quibus illos invitat ut in sua ditione colonias exstruant, libere negotientur, adducantque secum Patres Societatis Iesu qui illic veram fidem praedicent, quibus omnem facultatem faciebat erecturumque se ecclesias promittebat.

2. Paucis post adventum diebus mortalem vitam cum immortali commutavit P. Franciscus Clement, natione gallus, quatuor votorum professus, de cuius laudibus melius est tacere quam pauca dicere [6].

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[1] That is, twelve days after they left Solor.

[2] They arrived on May 21.

[3] For this group see Gen. Introd. II 3 B, 1658.

[4] The destruction of the churches of the Dominicans and the Jesuits must have taken place in the first half of 1658, at any rate prior to May 21 (D 46 note 9). For the motivation of this action different opinions are ventilated by the authors: emulation of the Dominicans, jealousy of the secular clergy, fanaticism of a Moslem Karaeng, and probably all of them converged in influencing the ruler to take this drastic measure.

[5] I. e. the island of Flores whose southern central part is called Ende. (Cf. D 7 note 20).

[6] DEHERGNE (no. 182) gives as date of Fr. Clément's death May 4, STREIT (V no. 412) May 14; most likely it has to be May 24. For his life, see DEHERGNE l. c.

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3. Porro imminente solutionis tempore denuo aegri omnes nos navi commisimus, ibi relictis P. Christiano Henriques, cui aperta fuerat parotidis admodum periculosa [7], et P. Jacobo Dimer, qui ad extrema deductus exiguam supervivendi spem de se dabat [8]. Solvimus portu 17 junii veloces omnino quatuor, conventione facta navigandi simul Macaum usque ob metum hollandorum, qui nuperrime Macassaria ab ipsomet rege amandati fuerant, omne comerciorum genus illis in suis terris interdicente [9].

[...37*r*] Macai, 30 Octob. 1658.

Adm. R. P. indignissimus obedientissimus filius ac servus in Xto ,

Albertus de Dorville S. J.

[37*v*] Admodum Reverendo Patri in Xto P. Gosvvino Nickel, Societatis Jesu Praeposito Generali. Romam.

45

FR. JOSEPH TISSANIER SJ TO FR. PIERRE LE CAZRE, FRENCH ASSISTANT, ROME

TONKIN, NOVEMBER 15, 1658

First *via*

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 80* f. 129*r*-130*v*. Autograph in French. The last page is blank save for the address and traces of a seal. A Roman hand noted « RP Josefus Tissanier, du Tunquin, 15 Novembre 1658 ».

II NOTE: After two years of residence in Asia, Fr. Tissanier had

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[7] The name of this German Father was Christian Wolfgang Herdtrich. He had to stay on in Makasar for at least one year. On April 13, 1659 he made his last vows in the residence of Makasar before Fr. Superior Manuel de Miranda (*Lus.* 7 f. 282); in 1660 he was already in Macao. His illness may have been mumps. See DEHERGNE no. 404.

[8] Fr. Jakob Dimer, a Tirolese, died at Makasar on June 21, a few days after his companions had put again to sea.

[9] In 1657 the Dutch Governor General of Batavia sent a commissary to Makasar with a number of demands, that were, however, not complied with. See STAPEL, *Geschiedkundige Atlas* II 34; *Gen. Miss.* III 153.

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arrived at a rather critical attitude toward the Portuguese way of running the mission work. This attitude reveals itself in disdainful judgments in this document and repeated in some following ones.

Summary

Besides Tonkin, the Japan Jesuit Province has no true mission, so e. g. [the church of] Makasar consists of only some Portuguese, well provided with many secular priests and several Dominicans. Siam and Cambodia are still worse.

Au Tunquin ce 15 Novembre 1658

[129*r*] Mon Reverend Pere

[...130*r*] Hors du Tunquin je ne vois icy rien qui merite le nom de mission[1]. Macassar n'est qu'une colonie de quelques Portuguez, lesquels ont quantité de Prestres seculiers et plusieurs Dominicains[2]. Sian est encore moins. Camboya est quelque chose de pire et n'a que quelques apostats et mauvais chretiens. La Cochinchine ne peut pas beaucoup reussir à cause de la persecution du Prince. Haynan a quatre Peres sans avoir matiere pour un. Et Macao a presque plus de confesseurs que de penitents[3]. [...]

M. R. P. tres humble et tres obligé serviteur,

Joseph Tissanier

[130*v Address*] A mon Reverend Pere en N. S., le Pere Pierre le Cazre, Assistent de la Compagnie de Jesus pour la France a Rome. 1ª via.

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[1] If « mission » means making a great number of conversions among pagans and Muslims, Tissanier's comment is not wide of the mark.

[2] The suggestion is: they need no Jesuits, we should not waste our personnel on such a place.

[3] Fr. Tissanier's standpoint may be somewhat extreme, yet it illustrates the problem of the position of the Makasar Jesuit residence in the whole of the administration of the Japan Province.

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46

FR. ANDRÉ FERRÃO SJ TO THE JESUITS OF THE COLLEGE OF COIMBRA, PORTUGAL

— Report of the Voyage from Goa to Macao —

MACAO, SECOND HALF OF 1658

I TEXT: Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, *MS 769* ff. 302*r*-307*v*. Copy in Portuguese, written in a fluent but dense script, well divided into paragraphs. But the text is incomplete as the last page is lacking. The section that describes the arrival of the group of Jesuits at Makasar and their stay there is on ff. 306*v*-307*r*.

II THE AUTHOR: André Ferrão was born at Seia, Portugal, in 1625, became a Jesuit in 1640 and sailed to India in 1657. Having arrived at Macao in the next year, he enjoyed only a short time of mission work in China where he died in 1661 (Gen. Intr. II 3 B, 1658; DEHERGNE no. 296).

III PLACE: The place of writing is revealed by the author who at the beginning declares « Agora escreverei a 2ª viagem, de Goa a Machao, onde por hora fico » (302*r*).

IV TIME: Since the group arrived at Macao on July 17, 1658 (307*v*), the account must have been written after this date.

V PRINTED: The MS was edited with an introduction, but not free of a few errors, by António Augusto FERREIRA DA CRUZ, *Notícias do Oriente Português em 1658 segundo uma relação inédita,* Porto 1958 (46 pp.; the Relação from p. 17 onward; the Makasar section on pp. 39-43).

Summary

1. *Arrived at Makasar on May 21 [1658]. Being ill, had no personal experience of it, but gathered a great deal of information. Makasar has many good foodstuffs, a very healthy climate and a much frequented port. — 2. St. Francis Xavier wanted to visit it. Some contend that he did so, but good reasons show that he did not. — 3. Desiring to take a better religion, the Makasar people sent envoys to the Moslems and the Portuguese, determined to take the religion of the first arriving. As Malacca lingered in sending priests, they took Islam. They are to be blamed for making such an important decision depend on a casual happening. — 4. They allowed the Portuguese to have a quarter of their own where the cathedral chapter of Malacca was transferred. At the instigation of a Karaeng the churches of the Dominicans and of the Jesuits recently were*

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pulled down. — 5. The king's grandfather is reported to have derided Mohamed's food prescriptions and to have preferred the Portuguese who acknowledge the Vicar of Christ to the Dutch who don't do so. On the verge of dying he asked for a priest, but his entourage did not admit one. — 6. Met in Makasar with one Father and one Brother, living in a bambu house as stone buldings are not allowed. — 7. All the seven Fathers just arriving were sick. The Brother who came with them could not nurse them, being occupied with the ship's load. — 8. The residing Brother could not be induced to leave his room, and Fr. Manuel de Miranda took care of the sick but had many other occupations. — 9. When the day of departure approached, two Fathers had to stay behind. The other ones should sail on St. Anthony's day [June 13]; on account of the presence of a Dutch ship the date was postponed to June 17. — 10. Four ships sailed from Makasar, at first united by agreement for fear of the Dutch, but soon two captains went their own way; Ferrão's vessel kept sailing with the one of Francisco Vieira.

Relação da viagem que fizerão de Goa a Machao os Missionarios da China o anno de 658, aos Padres e Irmãos da Comphania de Jesu do Collegio de Coimbra pello Padre André Ferrão da mesma Companhia.

[...306*v*]

1. Temos concluido com Solor, segue-se o Macaçar onde chegamos aos 21 de Maio [1]. Daqui posso eu dizer pouco como testemunha de vista porque não vi mais que a rua por onde entrei e saí [2]. Não deixei contudo de me informar. E assi direi o que me disserão. Hé o Macassar huma das grandes e boas ilhas deste archipelago, muto abundante de mantimentos e, com estar quasi debaixo da linha em altura de sinco graos para o sul, hé sobre maneira sadia. Aqui concorrem com suas mercadorias portuguezes, castelhanos da Manilla, ingrezes, olandezes e outras mutas naçons desta Asia. De sorte que com não ter

[1] A group of ten Jesuits, nine Fathers and one Brother, set sail from Goa on January 30, 1658, and got sight of the western point of Java on March 9. They passed the island by the southern coast, such for fear of the Dutch (Cf. D 43 note 3), and after many dangers and troubles arrived at Larantuka, East Flores, on March 30. This island world (« Solor » or « Solor and Timor »), mission of the Dominicans, gave them hospitality until they set sail again on May 10. In eleven days they reached Makasar.

[2] The author had fallen ill in Larantuka on May 2 and remained such during the entire further voyage until Macao.

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dentro de si droga de preço, hé hoje hum dos maiores emporios da India.

2. Desejou muito S. Francisco Xavier ir a esta ilha que naquelle tempo era de gentios. Paresce que via o Santo nella bom campo para a seara do Evangelho. Alguns affirmão que de facto esteve nella o Santo Padre. Eu tenho para mim que não, por dous principios: 1° porque ouvera de constar das suas cartas, onde se não acha tal cousa, sendo costume do Santo dar conta das terras a que chegava; 2° porque em todas as terras onde esteve este grande apostolo deixou memorias e monumentos indeleveis de sua presença, os quais se não acha no Macassar [3].

3. O que de certo se sabe hé que os macassares, sendo inda gentios, querendo-se melhorar de religião, despacharão dous embaixadores, hum aos mouros, outro aos christãos, asentado entre si que tomarião aquella lei cujos pregadores chegassem primeiro. Foi a Malaca hum destes embaixadores e parescendo aos portuguezes que aquelle negocio era de maior alçada quiserão 1° dar conta ao vice-rei e arcebispo de Goa, como se S. Paulo, ou Deus por elle, não tivesse dada já a licença quando disse: verbum Dei non est alligatum [4]. Mais acertados andarão ao intento do demonio os mahometanos, despachando logo seos cacizes, com cuja entrada os macassares fecharão as portas a Christo, abrindo-as a Mafoma. Que podemos dizer aqui se não: Judicia Dei abyssus multa? [5] Paresce que se poderão escuzar os macassares no dia do juizo e dizer a Deus: Senhor, os portuguezes tem a culpa de nos irmos atraz de Mafoma. Se elles nos mandassem a tempo seos pregadores, nós aparelhados estavamos para receber vossa lei. Se Deus á-de pedir conta aos portuguezes de sua dilação, não me meto nisso. Mas sei que á-de condenar justissimamente aos macassares por librarem o negocio de sua salvação de huma mera contingencia, governando-se por hum cazo fortuito como brutos e não pello lume da rezão como rationais. Lançou esta infernal seita tão fundas raizes naquella terra que os mesmos Carrins [6] (assi chamão elles os seus titulares) se fazem cacizes.

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[a] *del.* sé

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[3] St Francis Xavier never visited Makasar indeed.
[4] 2 Tim 2, 9.
[5] Ps 35 (36), 7.
[6] The Karaeng or Prince; see D 5 note 7.

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4. Contudo nunca perderão o amor aos portuguezes. Derão-lhe sitio, e bom sitio para huma povoação. Quando se tomou Malaca[7], passou para ali a [a] cathedral daquella cidade com sua cleresia e muta parte dos christãos. Á hoje duas residencias [b] no Macassar, huma de Frades Dominicos[8], outra da nossa Companhia pertencente à provincia de Jappão. Poucos dias ou mezes antes da nossa chegada tinha o rei mouro mandado pôr por terra as duas igrejas, nossa e dos Dominicos [c 9]. Não procedeo isto de má vontade que tenha aos portuguezes, mas induzido de hum Carrim tio seo, grão zelador da seita de Mafamede.

5. Contão do avô deste rei[10] que entrava pellas cazas dos portuguezes a comer e beber com elles. A primeira cousa que pedia quando lhe não davam, era vinho e carne de porco. E perguntado porque comia e bebia o que a sua lei com tanto rigor lhe vedava, respondia: Andai, que Mafamede ou estava bebado ou quis zombar de nós quando nos poz este preceito. Tinha este mouro grande juizo, posto que não se soube aproveitar delle. Em sua presença se moveo hum dia certa questão entre portuguezes e olandezes. Era a questão: supposto que huns e outros confessavão a Cristo, quais fazião melhor, os portuguezes em reconhescer por cabeça o Vigario de Cristo ou os olandezes que se eximen della? Depois de largas rezons por huma e outra parte perguntarão ao rei quais seguiria antes? Eu (disse) seguiria antes os que tem cabeça que os que a não tem. Enfim o mouro não se perdeo por ignorancia, elle mesmo confessava que só na lei de Cristo avia salvação. Mas na hora (dizia) em que eu deixar de ser mouro, nessa mesma ei de deixar de ser rei. Como se não valesse mais o reino do Ceo que todos os da terra. À hora da morte mandou chamar hum Padre e cuda-sse que era para receber o sagrado bautismo. Mas os seus que lhe assistião não quiserão dar entrada. Justo juizo de Deus que faltasse na morte o meio unico da salvação, a quem tendo tantos em vida se não quis aproveitar delles.

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[b] *del.* neste [c] *del.* não sei por que rezão politica

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[7] The Dutch captured Malacca on January 14, 1641.

[8] In 1651 the Dominican João da Costa, passing by Makasar on his way to Solor, started building the church of St Dominic and appointed António de Macedo OP as its vicar (SÁ V 531-533). This Dominican residence was intended as an intermediate station for the Friars sailing to or from Solor. (Gen. Introd. II 4, 1651).

[9] We deduce from this statement that the churches were pulled down in early 1658.

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6. Não achamos na residencia do Macassar mais que hum Padre e hum Irmão [11]. Outros tres que ali estavão, com o desgosto da igreja arruinada erão idos para humas ilhas de gentios não muito distantes a fundar outras igrejas [12]. As cazas da residencia se fossem de pedra, assi como são de bambú, bastavão. Mas os [307*r*] mouros que não querem nas suas terras quem se levante a maiores, não consentem aos portuguezes pôr pedra sobre pedra. Até Francisco Vieira [13], que porventura hé o mais rico homem de toda a India, vive em humas palhaças, que isso vem a ser cazas de bambú.

7. Todos nos vinhamos de Solor a qual peior [14]. O Padre Martino quase tolhido dos braços com humas dores de colica tão continuas e agudas que nem dormia nem nos deixava dormir. O Padre Dimer com huma febre maligna, o Padre Christiano [15] com huma parotide, os Padres Intorcetta, Dorville e Verbist febrecitantes, eu com humas cezons dobres e tal fastio que não appetescia cousa deste mundo. O Irmão que veio comnosco de Goa, se bem não lhe faltava vontade e diligencia, todo o dia era pouco para os negocios de fora; porque o pataixo avia de deixar a carga que trouxera da India e tomar outra para a China, e duas partes de todo este trafego corrião por sua conta [16].

8. O outro Irmão que ali achamos era muito bom, mas não prestava pera nada. Pera [d] Cartuxo estremado porque não avia arrancá-lo do cubiculo, e por mais que lhe dizião era malhar em ferro frio. O Padre Manoel de Miranda, superior da caza [17], fazia

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[d] *del.* capucho

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[10] The reigning sultan was Hasanuddin (1653-1669), his father was Sultan Malikussaid, shortly Said (1639-1653), his grandfather Alauddin (1593-1639).

[11] The Father was Manuel de Miranda who had arrived in 1647; the Brother was António Simões (D 47).

[12] Fathers João Nogueira, who had recently arrived as Superior of the Makasar residence, and Pero Francisco, had sailed to Timor (D 52, 5); whereas two other Fathers, Metello Saccano and Germain Macret, were making an attempt to found a mission on the island of Sumba (DD 47, 1; 52, 8).

[13] Cf. Gen. Introd. II 2.

[14] For this paragraph consult Gen. Introd. II 3 B, 1658.

[15] Christian Herdtrich.

[16] An eloquent sample of the trade of the Jesuits, forced upon them by their need to see to their livelihood. (CHAPPOULIE 155-156).

[17] Supposedly Superior again after Nogueira had left.

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quanto podia, mas tambem não podia muito por causa das muitas ocupaçons. Emfim que o desemparo no Macassar era o mesmo que em Solor, só tinhamos de melhoria estarmos em nossa caza. Nesses poucos catres que avia se acomodarão os Padres mais necessitados. Tambem eu tinha necessidade de hum, mas escusei-o compondo-me com a minha esteira sobre os bambús. Eu seguro aos Irmãos cursistas [18] que se tivessem tal cama, que os acharião levantados ò quarto, porque eu mal me podia ter em pé e mais não me tomara o sol na cama.

9. Era chegado o tempo da partida e o Padre Martino sem acabar de se resolver se aviamos de ir ou se aviamos de ficar. De dous não avia questão por estarem mais de caminho para a outra vida que para continuar no da China [19]. Eu tambem tive votos que ficasse; eu não deixei de entrar em [e] escrupulos se era temeridade meter-me ao mar, porque tinha chegado ao extremo da fraqueza. Como o Padre Martino me pusesse em minha mão a escolha, escolhi proseguir a viagem por não ficar ali perdendo hum anno. Estava posto ponto e termo da partida em dia de Santo Antonio [20], e não era cedo porque o bom partir hé até os oito de Junho, e quem daqui passa já não vai livre de tufão que hé mui ordinario na lua de Julho. Para que nunca nos faltassem embaraços, chegou neste tempo ao Macassar huma nao olandeza [f] que levava o capitão-mor de Amboino para [g] Betavia ou Surrate. Não sei que tinha contra os olandezes o rei mouro que lhe mandou despejassem a feitoria que ali tinhão e que não tornassem mais àquelle porto. Sahio o olandez, e como sabia estavamos para partir, era mui verosimil que nos fosse esperar. Por esta causa se dilatou a partida até os desasete de Junho.

10. Alem do nosso pataixo hião mais outros tres, hum de Francisco Vieira e dous de Machao. E com serem quatro as nossas embarcaçons, inda não tinhão partido com a nao olandeza que jugava 35 peças grossas, não passando as nossas por todas de vinte, asentarão em terra os capitans de ir juntos para assi

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[e] *add. interl.* [f] *corr. fr.* gelandeza [g] *del. illeg. word*

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[18] Of Coimbra, his addressees.

[19] That is, Fr. François Clément had meanwhile died in Makasar, and the Fathers Jakob Dimer and Christian Herdtrich were too ill to undertake the voyage. The former died on June 21, the latter sailed to China in the next year (D 44 notes 7 and 8).

[20] June 13.

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melhor ressistir a qualquer encontro. E nós mais que todos hiamos interessados na conserva por não ter feito a tal viagem o nosso piloto. Mas que cousa são portuguezes? No 2º dia cada hum foi para seo cabo, o qual avia de chegar primeiro como se por isso ouvesse de levar alguma amenda. Adiantados pois e perdidos já de vista os dous navios de Machao, não porque fossem melhores de vela que o nosso mas porque nos furtarão a volta por entre humas ilhas, forão todos de parescer que esperassemos pelo navio S. Miguel, que era o de Francisco Vieira [h], algum tanto zorreiro, para saber do capitão se nos queria fazer companhia; visto terem-nos deixado os outros, deo elle sua palavra e goardou-a puntualmente [21].
[...]

Lost Letter

46a. — *Fr. Germain Macret* [*Makasar?*] *to the Frs. of the Lyon Province in France, 1658.*

D 55, 6: Cosa ricuperata... che poi perdé in una borasca de mare, come egli scrisse ai Padri della Provincia di Lione...

47

CATALOGUE OF THE FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE

[MACAO 1659]

First *via*

TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 25* ff. 169*r*-172*v*. Original in Latin of a « first » catalogue, followed by a second without much importance. The names are not numbered. At the top of f. 169*r* is the note « 1ª via ».

[h] *del. illeg. word*

[21] See D 44 note 9. Their voyage route was along the southern coast of Borneo, then northwards passing the islet of « Santa Barbara » (which is Pejantan) and skirting the eastern coasts of Malaysia and of Vietnam. They arrived at Macao on July 17 (f. 307*v*).

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Summary

Personal notes on the Fathers — 1. Metello Saccano — 2. Manuel de Miranda — 3. João Nogueira — 4. Germain Macret, and — 5. Bro. António Simões.

Primus catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum Societatis Iesu qui sunt in Provincia Iapponica anno Domini 1659

1. [169*v*] P. Metellus Saccanus; Italus Sicculus Messanensis; annos agit 47; mediocriter sanus; fuit in Societate annos 27; studuit in Societate litt. hum. an. 1, philos. ann. 3, theol. ann. 4; docuit litt. hum. annos 3, fuit substitutus theol. an. 1, superior missionis cocincinensis ann. 9, fuit electus procurator ad Urbem, nunc est in missione Zumbae [1]; professus 4 votorum anno 1648, die 29 septembris.

2. P. Emmanuel de Miranda; lusitanus, ulyssiponensis; annos agit 56; robustus et bonae valetudinis; fuit in Societate annos 31; studuit in Societate philos. ann. 3, theolog. ann. 4; fuit minister collegii Amacai annum 1, nunc occupatur in residentia Macassariae in qua fuit annos 13; professus 4 votorum anno 1649, die 18 aprilis [2].

3. [170*v*] P. Joannes Nogueira; Lusitanus, Bracharensis; annos agit 37; vires habet mediocres; fuit in Societate annos 21; studuit in Societate litt. hum. ann. 5, philos. ann. 3, theolog. ann. 4; docuit hum. litt. annos 6, conciones aliquas habuit, fuit confessarius annos 6, fuit praefectus Congregationis scholasticorum annum 1, in missione Macassarensi annos 2, in qua est superior [3].

[...]

4. P. Germanus Macret; Gallus Lugdunensis; annos agit 38; integris viribus; fuit in Societate annos 17 [4]; studuit in Societate

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[1] First notice of the attempt of a mission on the island of Sumba (Lesser Sunda Islands).

[2] Cf. D 38 note 3.

[3] We deduce that in 1657, while living in Macao, João Nogueira was destined to the mission of Makasar and appointed its superior, replacing Manuel de Miranda in that function. In a list of members of the Japan Province of 1659 he is called « Superior missionis Macassarensis » (f. 173*r*). He may have arrived in 1657 or 1658.

[4] Seems to be an error. Macret entered the Society on September 3, 1637, so in 1659 he had been a Jesuit for more than twenty years (*Lugd. 19* f 219*v* no. 12).

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philos. ann. 3, theolog. ann. 3; docuit rhetoricam annum 1, fuit minister aliquot menses, rector seminarii Amacai annum 1, nunc est in missione Zumbae [5]; coadiutor formatus.

5. [171*v*] F. Antonius Simo[n]is; Lusitanus de S. Petro pago iuxta Visseum [6]; annos agit 52; infirmae admodum valetudinis [7]; fuit in Societate annos 30; fuit socius procuratoris Iapp. annos 8, et aliquando procurator, fuit subminister annos 2, curam habuit villae annos 10, nunc procurator Provinciae Iapponicae in residensia Macassaris; coadiutor formatus temporalis anno 1639 [a], die [b] 25 martii.

48

FR. ALEXANDRE DE RHODES SJ TO FR. GOSWIN NICKEL, GENERAL, ROME

ISFAHAN, MAY 30, 1659

First *via*

I TEXT:

A. ARSI, *Gal. 103 I* ff. 53*r*-54*v*. Autograph in Latin. The last page has the address and a Roman summary likewise in Latin.

B. ARSI, *Gal. 103 II* ff. 271*r*-272*v*. Autograph in Latin, second *via*. Also here three pages are filled with the text, the last page exhibiting the address and a summary.

II OUR EDITION: We print two fragments that inform us about what happened in Makasar.

Summary

1. *Arrival at Macao of some Fathers. Fr. François Clément died in Makasar.* — 2. *The churches of the Dominicans and of the Jesuits in Ma-*

[a] *corr. fr.* 1647 [b] *del.* Decembris

[5] At least this was the intended destination. D 52, 9, however, reports that actually Macret could not accompany Saccano to the island of Sumba.

[6] São Pedro do Sul on the river Sul.

[7] This may explain the strange behaviour of Bro. Simões described in D 46, 8.

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kasar were pulled down by order of the king instigated by the Christians who regretted seeing the main church less frequented.

[...53*v*]

1. Recens accepi Macao et ex Indiis Orientalibus literas [1] pro Paternitate Vestra quas nunc mitto, e quibus procul dubio accipiet notitiam status missionum nostrarum orientaliorum [2]. Addo tamen quod ad me scriptum est. Pater Bernardus Diestel cum socio Patre Joanne Grueber Macaum sospes appulit [3]; Pater quoque Martinus Martinius, sed cum quinque tantum sociis [4]; alii enim variis in locis substiterunt ob aegritudinem [5]; aliqui etiam defuncti sunt, inter quos Pater Franciscus Clemens qui in Macassaria obiit anno superiori [6].

[...54*r*]

2. In Macassaria templum Dominicanorum et nostrum eversum est [7] iubente illo rege, ad instantiam ut creditur ipsorum christianorum [8] qui dolebant aedem maximam non ita frequentari a populo ut nostras.

[...] Aspaham, 30 maii 1659.

Paternitatis Vestrae minimus in Christo filius et servus,

Alexander de Rhodes.

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[1] In several letters written in Isfahan, Persia, where he arrived in 1655 and died in 1660, De Rhodes showed that he frequently received letters from his French confreres of Macao and other places of the Far East, either for himself or to be forwarded to Fr. General. So he sometimes happens to be a source of otherwise unknown events of those missions. (Examples: this document and D 50).

[2] This Latin comparative of the term « orientalis » is perhaps an original creation of Fr. de Rhodes. He often uses it.

[3] The Austrian Fathers Bernard Diestel and Johann Grüber belonged to the group of Jesuits that started making their way to East Asia by land, and not by sea from Lisbon. They left Rome in 1656, passed by Smyrna and Isfahan to Surat; then they sailed from Ormuz (Hormoz) to Macao where they arrived in July 1658 (DEHERGNE nos. 257 and 393).

[4] The Frs. Martino Martini, Prospero Intorcetta, Ferdinand Verbiest, Albert Dorville and André Ferrão.

[5] Among others, Frs. Jakob Dimer and Christian Herdtrich in Makasar.

[6] Cf. D 46 note 19.

[7] Cf. D 44 note 4; D 46 note 9.

[8] That is, by Vicar Paulo da Costa and his partisans.

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[*Address* 54*v*] Admodum Reverendo Patri Nostro in Christo, Patri Gosuuino Nickel, Preposito Generali Societatis Iesu, Romam. 1ª via.

Lost Letter

48a. — *Fr. Metello Saccano, Island of Sumba, to the Frs. of Makasar, prior to June 1659.*

D 55, 7: Vidi una lettera del Padre M. Saccano in cui dando conto di sé...

49

FR. JOSEPH TISSANIER SJ TO FR. GOSWIN NICKEL, GENERAL, ROME

KETCHO, OCTOBER 25, 1659

First *via*

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 80* ff. 149*r*-150*v*. Autograph in Latin. Fol. 150*r* is blank, its *verso* has the address and traces of a seal. The Makasar section is on f. 149*v*.

II PLACE: Ketcho is an ancient name of the city of Hanoi in Tonkin. (CHAPPOULIE, 19: « Hanoï ou Kecio »).

Summary

The Japan Province has only two true missions: Tonkin and Cochin China. Hainan and Siam number rather few Christians. Makasar has many secular priests, moreover Dominicans and Jesuits, for a small number of mostly bad Christians.

[149*r*] Admodum Reverende in Christo Pater,
Pax Christi.

[149*v*] Atque ut verum fatear, praeter Tunquinum et Cocincinam haec Provincia Japonensis non tam habet Missiones quam umbras et nomina vacua Missionum. Nam Insula Haynan iam qua-

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tuor operarios habet, Christianos autem vix quinquaginta [1], eosque in rebus christianis tam frigidos, ut nihil magis. Regnum Sionis vix numerat christianos ducentos, eosque magis de pecuniis augendis quam de animae salute sollicitos, cum tamen in eo regno sint Patres e Societate duo, multique Patres Dominicani. Macassarum regnum abundat sacerdotibus externis et Dominicanis et nostris, cum paucos habeat christianos, eosque prope omnes Lusitanos ac parum christiano nomine dignos. Nam populi regnorum illorum tam sunt a religione christiana aversi, ut ad fidem nostram traduci vix posse videantur [2].

[...] Ketcho in Regno Tunquini, die Octobris 29, anno 1659.

Vestrae Paternitatis filius in Christo minimus et obsequentissimus,

Josephus Tissanier [3].

[150*v Address*] Admodum Reverendo in Christo Patri, P. Goswino Nickel, Praeposito Generali Societatis Jesu. Romam. 1ª via.

50

FR. ALEXANDRE DE RHODES SJ TO FR. GOSWIN NICKEL, GENERAL, ROME

ISFAHAN, FEBRUARY 21, 1660

I TEXT: ARSI, *Gal. 103 I* ff. 66*r*-67*v*. Autograph in Latin. Fol. 67*r* is blank; the *verso* contains the address, trace of a seal and a Roman

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[1] Numbers given for 1650: after five Fathers had been sent to Hainan, of whom two were shipwrecked before they could arrive and three had to return to Macao on account of the Tartar irruption and war tumults, finally only one Father took care of the Christians who numbered hardly four hundred and were badly instructed in the faith (*IapSin 48*, 4*r*).

[2] For this « aversion » of the Moslem native population, see D 15, 14.

[3] For Tissanier's person and critical attitude, see the introduction to D 45.

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summary with the note « R[esponsum] 10 jan. 1661 ».

II OUR EDITION: We publish the paragraph in which Makasar is mentioned, which is on f. 66*v*.

Summary

Received a letter from Fr. Christophe de Tornai, reporting that of six Jesuits sailing from Lisbon three died on the way, and that moreover another Father died in Goa and Fr. François Clément at Makasar. Consequently of twenty Jesuits he gathered for the Asian missions already six young Frenchmen died.

[...]

Quae de nostris missionibus orientalioribus acceperam anno praeterito iam scripsi ad Paternitatem Vestram [1]. Hoc anno nondum accepi nisi epistolam Patris Christophori de Tornai [2] qui e Gallia in Lusitaniam et inde Goam appulit post 14 menses, quia navis in qua vehebatur hybernare coacta est Mosambici et e sex nostris qui in eadem navi vehebantur [3], ut puto tres in celestem patriam, uti speramus, appulerunt; nomina illorum non notat [a]. Nihil aliud novi scribit Goa nisi quod P. Joannes Brandi [4], qui ante iam Goam appulerat cum Patre Francisco Clemente, ibi requieverit in Domino, et ipse Pater Franciscus Clemens in Macassaria, atque ita e 20 missionariis quos Vestra Paternitas mihi dignata fuit concedere pro Tunchino, Cocincina et Sinis iam sex desiderantur, scilicet P. Paulus Gobert et P Petrus Pieronenc qui in mari sunt defuncti antequam ad Indias pervenirent [5], et P. Christophorus Cloche [6] qui Goae diem obiit, illumque ibidem secutus est P. Joannes Brandi, denique P. Nicolaus

[a] nomina...notat *add. m.*

[1] Cf. D 48.

[2] Christophe de Tornai (WICKI, *Liste* no. 1053: Torne) left Lisbon in early 1658.

[3] Cf. WICKI, *Liste* nos. 1048-1053.

[4] He belonged to the group that sailed to Goa in 1657 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 1032: Jean Brand).

[5] The Frs. Gobert and Pieronenc (also written, and perhaps better, Peyrronenc) belonged to the small number of Fathers who travelled by land to Persia and from there sailed to Goa in 1653.

[6] WICKI, *Liste* no. 1006 (Clauche); he set sail at Lisbon in 1655.

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Motel[7] in ipso ad Sinas ingressu prope Nankinum et P. Franciscus Clemens, puto ultimus in Macassaria cum Macaum destinaret proficisci; omnes sex galli et iuvenes. [...]

Aspaham, 21 febr. 1660.

Paternitatis Vestrae minimus in Christo filius et servus,

Alexander de Rhodes.

[67*v Address*] Admodum Reverendo Patri Nostro in Christo, Patri Gosuuino Nickel, Preposito Generali Societatis Iesu, Romam.

51

FR. JOSEPH TISSANIER SJ TO FR. PIERRE LE CAZRE, FRENCH ASSISTANT, ROME

TONKIN, NOVEMBER 20, 1660

Third *via*

TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 80* f. 151*r-v*. Autograph in French. Only the *recto* contains the letter; the *verso* has the address, traces of a seal and a Roman French secretary's note « P. Joseph Tissanier, Tunquin 20 Novembre 1660. Rendu le 27 Aoust 1662, Resp. le 18 decembre suivant ».

Summary

The Dutch seized Makasar and apparently also Timor and Macao. The only mission posts of the [Japan] Province are Siam, Hainan, Cochin China and Tonkin. The first three, though numbering few Christians, are well provided with Fathers. Tonkin, with three hundred and twenty thousand Christians, has only two missionaries.

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[7] WICKI, *Liste* no. 987 (1655).

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Au Tunquin ce 20 Novembre 1660

[...]

Desja les Hollandois ont pris presque toute l'Inde; ils ont pris le Macassar [1] ou estoient les PP. Poncet et Macret [2]; ils ont envoyé une flotte à Timor afin de prendre cette isle [3], et l'on dit qu'ils ont desja pris Macao [4]. Il ne reste plus à la Province que Sion et Haynan, la Cochinchine et le Tunquin. Haynan n'a pas d'emplois pour un missionnaire et en a cependant quatre, si desja la faim ne les a obligez d'en sortir. Sion n'est qu'une petite colonie de Portuguez et a cependant quatre ouvriers de nostre Compagnie avec quelques religieux de S. Dominique. La Cochinchine a quatre missionnaires dans un temps ou le Roy ne laisse pas travailler beaucoup nos Pères. Et le Tunquin pour plus de trois cents vingt mille Chrestiens [5] a deux missionnaires, mais le Roy n'en veut pas souffrir davantage.

[...]

Tres humble, tres obligé et tres obeissant serviteur,

Joseph Tissanier.

[151*v* *Address*] Au reverend Pere, le P. Pierre Le Cazre Assistent de la Compagnie de Jesus pour la France. A Rome. 3ª Via.

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[1] I. e., in May 1660 the Dutch started a war against Makasar which finished with a treaty in August. Makasar had to submit in some points to the Dutch pretentions, e. g. it had to expel all the Portuguese.

[2] Fr. Poncet had stopped at Makasar, in the group conducted by Tissanier, in May-June 1656. Fr. Macret may have stayed in the town at the time of the Dutch attack. See D 52, 8.

[3] For Dutch proceedings concerning Timor in those years, see *Gen. Miss.* III 253-255.

[4] This seems to be only a rumour. In a letter of November 12, 1661, Tissanier had written « Les Portuguez ont été bannis de Macassar, et Macao est perdu » (*IapSin 80* f. 152*r*).

[5] Fr. Matias de Maya, Provincial, wrote on January 1, 1666, that in Tonkin, from 1627 to his days, a good three hundred and fifty thousand people had been baptized (*IapSin 48* f. 63*r-v*).

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52

FR. MATIAS DA MAYA SJ, PROVINCIAL OF JAPAN, TO FR. GOSWIN NICKEL, GENERAL, ROME

— Annual Letter —

MACAO, FEBRUARY 18, 1661

I AUTHORS: WESSELS, *De Katholieke Missie in Zuid-Celebes* II 139.

II TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 48* ff. 26*r*-37*v*. Original in Portuguese. Clear and regular handwriting; division into chapters according to the different missions and stations. Under the title « Residencias do Reino de Siam e do Reino de Macassar » (f. 30*r*) one finds the paragraphs on Makasar on ff. 30*v*-32*v*.

III AUTHOR: On Fr. Matias de Maya, see D 26, introduction. In the years 1658-1661 he was Provincial of Japan.

Summary

1. *In Makasar is a residence of the Society, normally consisting of two Fathers and one Brother. The king had the churches of the Jesuits and the Dominicans pulled down. Nevertheless, the Fathers continue their ministry in a house chapel that can hold one hundred people. With the Moslem native population they cannot achieve much.* — 2. *When once those natives wanted to take another religion, they planned to take the one of the first arriving preacher. The first coming was a Moslem. When Fr. Manuel de Azevedo arrived, people were already rigid Mohamedans. One should not let the opportunity slip!* — 3. *The Makasar Fathers did not neglect such opportunities. The first was on the island of Sawu. Formerly Fr. João Velasco had worked there, but other religious prevented the continuation, although they did not do anything themselves there. People want Jesuits.* — 4. *There is Great Sawu and Little Sawu; the latter nearer to the Dutch fortress of Kupang. Frs. Metello Saccano and João Nogueira planned to sail there, but the notice that it was under Dutch control made them renounce the project.* — 5. *When the country of Luka in Timor seemed open to Christianity, Frs. João Nogueira and Pero Francisco resolved to go there.* — 6. *Their enterprise was not successful. The winds drove them to the country of Ade where the king invited them and the captain of their vessel to dinner. The next day they fell ill and within a few months all three died.* — 7. *The king of Ade is suspected of having mixed poison in the food, and the queen of Luka complained of this, but how it all happened is not certain.* — 8. *Another enterprise was to the island of Sumba. In two vessels two Fathers sailed thither, Metello Saccano and Germain Macret. The former expected in vain his companion, fell dangerously ill and, after one year and a half, returned*

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to Makasar from where he was summoned back to Macao. — 9. The vessel of Fr. Macret was led away to Timor where he managed to recover some goods and boys of the two Fathers who had died there. — 10. Arriving at a port he was told by a boy of their death. He found the grave of Fr. Nogueira. Other boys came to see him, all very miserable. He saved part of the books and clothes of the two Fathers. — 11. Moreover, he could baptize some children in the country of Moutael, whose king had required help from the Portuguese against the Moslems and pagans of Manatuto. People were astonished to see that the Father did not claim any reward for his ministry, this in contrast with other religious.

[26*r*] Annua da Provincia de Jappam dos annos de 1659 e 1660 ao nosso muito reverendo Padre, o Padre Gosuuino Nickel, Praeposito Geral da Companhia de Jesus

[...30*v*]

1. Em o reino de Macassar tem a Companhia huma caza ou residencia perto da povoação em que mora o rey que se intitula Sumbanco [1] que quer dizer emperador, por ter muitos regulos que lhe obedecem. Ouve variedade em o numero de sogeitos que ali estiverão estes dous annos, por ser lugar onde se encontrão os que vão de Macao pera a India e vem da India pera Macao. O mais ordinario hé residirem dous Padres e hum Irmão [2]. O anno de 1659 mandou o Emperador, que hé mouro, derrubar as igrejas que na povoação tinhão os nossos religiozos e os de São Domingos [3], permitindo que ficasse somente em pee a igreja matrix ou da see. Nem por isto faltarão os Padres nos ministerios da Companhia, confessando em nossa caza e ministrando os sacramentos em huma capella que dentro tinhão, capaz de recolher 100 pessoas. Emsinão huma classe ou eschola conforme o uzo que nestas partes da India Oriental teve sempre a Companhia. Com os infieis naturais do Macassar pouco se pode fazer por seguirem a maldita seita de Mafamede, permitindo Deos por seus occultos juizos que não tivessem effeito os bons dezejos com que, sendo gentios, no tempo de São Francisco Xavier mostrarão e procurarão Padres que lhes ensinassem nossa san-[31*r*]ta fee,

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[1] For the sultan and his residence, see D 15, notes 1-2.

[2] In early 1661 they were Frs. Manuel de Miranda, Germain Macret (note 16), António Francisco (D 73, 1) and Bro. António Simões.

[3] It happened in early 1658.

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não lhes podendo por então o Santo acodir por outras emprezas de Maluco e Jappam que se lhe offerecerão.

2. E depois em tempos mais modernos pretendendo os Macassares gentios, que somente adoravão o sol, tomar outra seita das que avia nestas partes, se resolverão a aceitar aquella que primeiro se lhe pregasse. Pera isto mandarão no mesmo tempo convidar os mouros de Jor e os Padres de Malaca. Permitio Deos por seus occultos juizos chegasse primeiro hum lascar mouro que foi o pregador e apostolo de tam infame lei, a qual admittirão logo o rei com os principaes de sua corte. E quando o Padre Manoel de Azavedo (que naquelle tempo era da provincia de Cochim, e depois morreo Vizitador de Jappam e China) depois chegou a Macassar, por mais que com pregações e exhortações procurou persuadir se fizessem christãos, achou os animos empedernidos e obstinados na seita de Mafamede, que como disse aceitarão por falta de Padres que primeiro lhes pregassem. Tanto importa não perder occazião quando se offerece de huma missam em terra onde a seara está madura et alba ad messem [4].

3. Esta não perderão nestes ultimos annos os Padres da provincia de Jappam em varias que se abrirão em Haynam, Cantam e Siam, e o mesmo intentarão com os reinos e ilhas pera onde avia comercio e passagem do reyno e residencia de Macassar. A primeira em que puserão os olhos foi no reyno de Sabo, em que já esteve em tempos passados o Padre João Velasco [5], religioso de nossa Companhia, de grande virtude e fervor, vindo pera ali da cidade de Goa, em que fez alguns christãos, e voltou pera buscar operarios que o ajudassem a trabalhar na conversão da gente desta ilha, em a qual deixou de penhor o ornamento da missa e altar e huma capelinha, assegurando-os que voltaría com companheiros. O que não teve effeito porque os religiozos de certa religião [6] por via do governo secular o impedirão na India, ficando de todo desemparada a ilha sem até agora lhe acodirem com remedio, dezejando-o os naturaes. Posto que pella affeição e amor com que ficarão ao seu primeiro apostolo, só querem admittir pregadores de sua religião [7], declarando-se com dizerem que não querião outros senão os que trouxessem barrete redondo como aquelle que elles mostravão,

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[4] Cf. John 4, 35.
[5] D 6, 3 and D 9, 2-3.
[6] The Dominicans, to whom the mission of Solor-Timor was entrusted.
[7] I. e. the Jesuits.

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que era o do Padre João Velasco, que tambem lhes deixou em seu poder.

4. Esta ilha de Sabo não tem sandalo nem droga alguma de consideração, e está à vista de Timor, e em poucas horas se vai de huma a outra, cujos naturaes huns com outros tem entre si contrato. Há Sabo grande e Sabo pequeno [8]; aquelle está hum pouco mais distante da ilha de Timor que este, o qual fica perto da fortaleza que os Olandezes tem em Cupam, que hé chave de Timor [9]. Tinhão concertado já o modo com que avião de entrar na missam desta ilha de Sabo o Padre Metello Saccano e o Padre João Nogueira, quando hum Olandez que estava em Macassar reduzido à nossa santa fee, deu por novas que esta ilha era sogeita aos Olandezes [10], com que lhes pareceo aos Padres difficultozo ou quasi impossivel poderem entrar nella e fazer christandade e exercitar nossos ministerios; e assi disistirão do intento. Posto que o mais certo hé que esta ilha não hé verdadeira-[31*v*]mente sogeita aos Olandezes, mas só está vezinha à fortaleza acima referida e só nella lhes vendem alguns escravos que os Olandezes ali vão comprar ou, como piratas, lhes vão furtar, ainda que com risquo dos que os ylhenos nestes furtos colhem às mãos ou alcanção com suas frechas, que não escapão com vida. Mas de qualquer modo que seja, não pareceo aos Padres estavão as couzas de prezente em termos que ouvessem de emprender aquella missam no prezente tempo.

5. Tiverão emformação que em hum lugar que está no cabo da ilha de Timor se podia fazer huma boa christandade. Este hé o reino de Luca [11], povoado de muita e boa gente de boa indole, cujas terras são as melhores e mais sadias de toda a ilha de Timor, e sua rainha sempre pedio Padres. E em tres occaziões que acazo ali forão dous religiozos de São Domingos e hum clerigo de Macao, forão bem recebidos da rainha e baptizarão alguns de seus vassallos. Mas depois não tratarão ou não poderão tratar de continuar missam naquelle reyno. Pello que

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[8] See DM III 408 note 1. According to LEITÃO 161, Sabo Pequeno was the Portuguese name of Roti, whereas the smaller island of Sawu was called Sabo Grande on account of the longer distance from Kupang.

[9] The Dutch built a fortress at Kupang in 1653.

[10] In those years the Dutch were deliberating moving the fortress of Kupang to Roti; in 1660 they made a contract with one of the chiefs of the island for supplying slaves (STAPEL, *De archipel en het Maleische schiereiland in 1684*, 53-54).

[11] LEITÃO mentions a country and a King of Luka several times (149-

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se resolveo o Padre João Nogueira, que era superior da residencia de Macassar, em fazer esta missão, a quem se offereceo por companheiro o Padre Pero Francisco em quanto não tinha occazião pera a provincia de Cochim aonde pertencia e donde era chamado.

6. Porem a viagem que fizerão pera este fim não teve o successo dezejado porque depois de padecerem muito no mar com tempos e ventos contrarios, estando já pera dobrar huma ponta da terra distante do porto da Luca sete legoas, nunca o poderão fazer por lhe dar o vento muito furioso por proa, e arribando às outras ilhas vierão dar a Ade [12], porto parte de gentios, parte de mouros, donde se podia ir por terra a Luca ainda que com grande trabalho por se averem de subir montes altissimos, e com grande perigo da vida por averem de passar por terras de inimigos. Pedirão os Padres ao rey de Ade lhes desse alguma gente pera que em sua companhia podessem com menos perigo passar a Luca. Mas o rey se escuzou por então em rezão de andar sua gente occupada em suas sementeiras. Veio porem visitar os Padres e o capitão do navio e os convidou pera hirem comer com elle a seus pastos. Donde voltando ao dia seguinte se acharão ambos os Padres gravemente doentes, e pouco depois o mesmo capitão, em forma que todos tres vierão a morrer hum após outro, hum mez hum depois de outro. O Padre João Nogueira a 14 de Abril de 1657 em o mesmo porto em cuja praia ficou sepultado com huma cruz na sepultura. O Padre Pero Francisco em 15 de Março em o mar à vista do reyno da Luca e sua costa, em cujas praias foi enterrado sete ou oito legoas distante da cova do Padre João Nogueira. O capitão Affonço de Oliveira morreo aos 14 de Abril em outro porto daquellas ilhas [13].

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151), and his map shows it situated on the southern shore of Timor between 126° and 127°.

[12] Ade or Adem was the name of a country on the northeastern tip of Timor (LEITÃO o. c. 151 and 163; *Gen. Miss.* III 620; STAPEL 55).

[13] We have our doubts about the three dates given in the last lines of this no. 6. As the Fathers sailed to other islands with a view to founding a mission there after their church of Makasar had been destroyed (D 46, 6), and as this latter event took place in early 1658, the whole enterprise must be ascribed, at the earliest, to the year 1658. Also the parallel expedition, of Frs. Saccano and Macret, was in 1658 (no. 8). Moreover, since the three men died « hum após outro, hum mez hum depois de outro », the first date, 14 April, must be an error for February. According to ARSI, *Hist. Soc. 48* f. 75*v*, Fr. João Nogueira died in Timor on February 15, 1658.

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7. Ouve sospeita que a todos tres deu peçonha aquelle rey infiel de Ade que os convidara, e que a rainha de Luca, tendo noticia da morte dos Padres dissera que os de Ade lho avião de pagar e mostrara tanto sentimento que rompera nestas palavras: Triste e desgraciada rainha pois vindo pera teu reyno dous Padres, a nenhum tiveste ventura de ver com teus olhos pera con-[32*r*]solação tua e de teus vassallos! Deu occazião a se cuidar fora a morte dos Padres de peçonha que el-rey de Ade lhes dera no comer por ser infiel e socceder a doença logo depois de sairem de sua caza. Porem nisto não há certeza porque hum cazado de Macassar affirmou ao Padre Metello Saccano comera en caza do rey das mesmas iguarias de que os Padres comerão e mais não adoecera nem morrera. O certo hé que os Padres que a estas e semelhantes missõens se offerecem polla salvação das almas e dilatação da fee catholica a estes e maiores perigos sacrificão a vida.

8. Da mesma residencia de Macassar se intentou outra missam pera a ilha de Sumba, distante algumas nove legoas por banda do sul, na qual se esperava serem os nossos Padres bem ouvidos e bem recebidos por não ser infestada de mouros e ser huma parte della sogeita a hum rey amigo dos Portuguezes. Os quaes em 20 de Março de 1658 partirão com duas embarcações em demanda desta ilha, em que hião repartidos dous Padres: em huma o Padre Metello Saccano que chegou lá com muito trabalho e foi bem recebido da gente da terra e convidado a ficar nella; deteve-se aqui o Padre hum anno e sete mezes [14] com hum só moço Tumkim [15] que levava consigo esperando o companheiro que era o Padre Germano Macret [16]. Ese derrotou à ilha de Timor como logo direi. E como em todo este tempo não chegasse o dito companheiro nem algum outro soccorro, antes lhe adoeceo o moço unico que tinha, e sobre isso o mesmo Pa-

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[14] Fr. Saccano must have left Sumba for Makasar in October 1659.

[15] He had been superior of the mission of Cochin China 1646-1654; apparently he had brought from there a faithful servant.

[16] Fr. Macret sailed to India in 1655 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 1004), and had been rector of the Macao seminary for one year (D 47, 4). The fact that he stayed at Makasar in 1658 reveals that he had been appointed to this residence. After his voyage to Timor he remained in Makasar where he met Francisco Vieira (BOXER, *Vieira* 75), and which he left to Cambodia with a group of Catholic refugees in 1661 (Ajuda, *Jes. na Asia 49-IV-66* f. 78*r*).

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dre se vio em huma doença gravissima às portas da morte sem a sustentação necessaria e sem esperança de a ter de outra parte, se resolveo a voltar a Macassar, e dahi foi chamado a Macao pello Padre Provincial com o qual tratou do modo que se poderia continuar e conseguir a missam naquella ilha, que esperamos em Deos tenha o effeito desejado em o seguinte anno, pera o que já o anno passado estavão designados novos missionarios.

9. O Padre Germano Macret, que como disse hia por companheiro do Padre Metello Saccano, ou fosse porque o capitão do seu barquo tinha pouca vontade de ir a Sumba e maior de ir a Timor, se derrotou pera estas ilhas e padeceo na viagem muitos trabalhos e perigos, assim com tempestades como com doenças. Porem destes trabalhos e viagem inda colheo algum fruito, o primeiro recolher algum fato e moços dos dous Padres que morrerão em o porto de Ade.

10. Chegou o Padre a este porto com grande dezejo de saber do successo da viagem que tinhão feito os dous Padres pera o reyno de Luca, por lhe terem dado novas que se detiverão neste porto. Em chegando a elle vio na praia hum moço que muito triste veio correndo e chorando a lhe dar as tristes novas. E a primeira couza que lhe mostrou foi hum montezinho ao pee de hum monte de Tambaga[17], onde estava enterrado o Padre João Nogueira, já sem cruz porque os mouros a tinhão derrubada, dizendo que era cauza das doenças que reinavão então. E apertavão com os Timores pera que desenterrassem o corpo do dito Padre e o lançassem no mar aos peixes ou no matto aos animaes, que doutro modo a terra nunca estaria sem doenças. Estas novas cortarão o coração do Padre Macret, vendo o lastimozo successo [32*v*] que tivera o Padre João Nogueira em huma jornada emprendida com tanto zello da salvação das almas e gloria de Deos. Concorrerão logo outros moços que farião numero de onze, huns doentes e miseraveis, outros fugidos pellos mattos e todos

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[17] The MS writes it with majuscule T as if it were a geographic name. But *tambaga* or *tambaca* means an alloy of copper and zinc (English and French *tombac*) and was used for some kinds of copper. LEITÃO 156 states that Timor was known for its copper mines (« cobre e tambaca »), but in p. 160 he adds correcting « O cobre tambem aparece em alguns pontos, mas não em grande abundância ». And on p. 163 he mentions « uma serra de Tambaca » just in the country of Ade. See also p. 204. Cf. *Gen. Miss.* III 320.

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como perdidos. O fato dos Padres, à descripção de hum mulato, o qual depois de fazer e dispor delle à sua vontade pretendia fugir ao outro dia com o melhor[18]. E foi providencia divina chegar o Padre a tempo porque inda recolheo alguma boa parte de livros, vestidos e outras couzas de devação com algumas canastras e escritorios, posto que os mais delles abertos. E reconhecendo o que pertencia ao Padre Pero Francisco o tomou a rol pera lhe mandar à sua provincia de Cochim aonde pertencia. E este hé o primeiro fruito que se seguio desta derrota.

11. O segundo hé mais principal e de maior estima, e foi o baptismo de muitas crianças que estavão a risco de se perderem por não averem quem as baptizasse. Foi o cazo que chegando o Padre ao reyno de Moutael[19], achou que o seu Rey fora pedir soccorro ao nosso capitão-mor de Timor contra os mouros e os gentios de Manatuto[20], inimigos dos Portuguezes e confederados tambem com os mouros. E estava naquelle tempo já em Moutael huma companhia de soldados christãos vindos de Larantuca[21], cujo capitão veio logo vizitar o Padre, e depois lhe mandou dizer por terceira pessoa se queria baptizar algumas crianças de seu serviço, as quaes por não serem acostumadas aos ares daquella terra morrião a meude sem ninguem se atrever a baptizá-las. Sentio o Padre muito a ignorancia e simplicidade daquella gente e deu muitas graças a Deos de o ter levado a aquella terra contra sua vontade e com tantos trabalhos, que dava todos por bem empregados, inda que não tirasse delles outro fruito mais que abrir a hum só daquelles innocentes a porta do ceo por meio do santo baptismo; que todos chegarão a numero de 19, e os mais de quatro até sinco ou seis annos. Fez-se o baptismo com toda a solemnidade, da qual ficarão pasmados os gentios Timores e a rainha que se deu por muito honrrada de ver o Padre em sua terra. O capitão e soldados christãos tambem ficarão pasmados de ver que o Padre não quizera aceitar couza alguma em recompensa do trabalho que tivera no baptismo dos meninos, na pregação que fizera e missa que celebrara, porque lhes pareceo couza rara e muito nova porquanto via o contrario em

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[18] Incomplete sentence.

[19] Region on the northern coast near Dili. LEITÃO 150-151: Mutael, Motahel.

[20] Manatutu, still today a port on the northern shore, east of Dili.

[21] Port in eastern Flores. In the early 1640s the Portuguese transferred the centre of their control from Solor to Larantuka.

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outros religiozos que conforme sua regra e instituto lhes não hé prohibido.
[...37*v*]
Macao, 18 de Fevereiro de 1661.
De V. P. minimo em Christo filho,

Matthias da Maia.

53

FR. MIGUEL SOLANA SJ TO FR. GOSWIN NICKEL, GENERAL, ROME

MANILA, JUNE 24, 1661

Second *via*

I TEXT: ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico 684*, 13. Original in Spanish. Loose letter of four pages on rice paper, heavily damaged at the outer margin. At the bottom of the first page is the note « 2ª via ». The fourth page has the address, a seal and a very short summary in Latin. Many words in the margin have to be completed or even to be guessed.

II AUTHOR: Fr. Miguel Solana was an outstanding Spanish Jesuit in the Philippines. From 1647 to 1653 he had been a procurator of the Province to Europe, and in 1654-1657 Provincial (Cf. COSTA 617).

III NOTE: The first half of the letter (the part we edit here) deals with a Flemish Franciscan Friar, called Georges de Stª Maria, of the Gent family T'Sersanders de Luna. He was a man of an unquiet nature who, maybe with the best intentions, managed to be sent and to travel over half the world without achieving any striking purpose. Having taken the frock at Goa in 1633 and been ordained a priest in 1639, he visited Ceylon, Batavia, Ambon, Ternate. Back in Goa he left it again for Macao, Manila, Makasar and Malacca. Once more he set out from Goa for Surate, Agra, Damascus, Jerusalem, Egypt and Rome where he stayed in 1653-1654. From there he travelled to Jerusalem, Damascus, Goa, the Coromandel Coast, Makasar (1658) and Manila. Here the civil authorities and the Inquisition did not trust him, imprisoned him as a spy until, in 1663, he was sent to Madrid, in which voyage he disappeared from history. (VAN DEN WIJNGAERT, *Notes sur le P. Georges de S. Marie*, in Archivum

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Franciscanum Historicum 29, 1936, 169-214; MEERSMAN, *The Franciscans in the Indonesian Archipelago* 173-177; TORMO, *Un franciscano embajador en Java*, in Missionalia Hispanica 34, 1977, 335-337).

Summary

1. *About three years ago a Franciscan Friar arrived from Makasar in civil dress and with a broad beard. He collected alms for the Franciscans of Jerusalem. He had travelled to Makasar with English heretics and perhaps he is one of them himself. He produced commissions of the Roman court and of the Propaganda Fide. Solana was required to verify the signature of Cardinal Antonio Barberini but he was unable to do so. — 2. The Friar was entrusted by the Propaganda to inspect all the Christian churches of the Orient, also of the Philippines, which seems incredible for such a young priest. But he proved to know Rome and Roman affairs. The authorities impounded his documents to send them to the Royal Counsel and confined him within his own monastery. — 3. The Commissary of the Inquisition recently cooped him in the monastery of the Dominicans. When staying in Makasar where there are houses of the Dominicans and Jesuits and a Portuguese parish, he lived and took his meals with the heretical English with whom he had arrived.*

M. R. Padre Nuestro General.

Pax Xri.

1. En esta me ha parecido dar quenta a V. P. de algunas cosas que han sucedido [en] estas islas. Y sea la primera que avrá poco menos de tres años que por vía de Mac[assar] llegó a esta ciudad en hávito de seglar un religioso de San Francisco, que luego se [vis]tió al modo de los religiosos de estas islas, aunque dexándose las barbas m[uy lar]gas y sus melenas. Dixo venía a pedir limosna para los religiosos de San F[rancisco] que están en Gerusalen [1]. Vino hasta Macassar con herejes ingleses, y el pa[dre] lo es, o cerca de allí. Luego començó a descubrir comissiones que traýa de ess[a corte] Romana, en particular de la Congregación de Propaganda Fide, que enseña[ba] [2]. Y aviéndoselas pedido de parte del govierno, se me remetieron por el Señor F[iscal] del Rey para que yo dixesse si conocía las firmas, en particular la del E[minentíssimo] Cardenal Antonio

[1] He had visited Jerusalem twice, in 1653 and in 1655, on his way to Rome and on his return to Goa.

[2] See the instruction given to him by Cardinal Barberini of the Propaganda (VAN DEN WIJNGAERT o. c. 187-189 no. IX).

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Barberino[3]. Y después de leydas, las volví, affirmando [ni poder tes]tificar en pro ni en contra por no aver visto letra de su Eminencia.

2. En un b[reve?] le encomendava que reconociesse el estado de las cristiandades del Oriente [p.....] destas islas Filipinas, y del modo de proceder de todos, assi religiosos como [seculares] para informar de todo a la Congregación de Propaganda. A mi se me hizo cosa d[....] increible que a un religioso moço se le diesse tan gran comisión, no obstante [por lo?] que me comunicó conocí que avía estado en Roma y tenía noticia de [cosas] de allá. El fin que hasta aora ha tenido esto es que el govierno parece que rec[ogió los] despachos para embiarlos al Consejo de Indias. Y al religioso se dio orden r[estar] en clausura en su religión, quitada la barba larga. Lo que es cierto es que [del] Consejo no ha llegado hasta aora respuesta.

3. Estando esto assí, el comisario de la Inquisición de M[anila], por orden que tubo del tribunal de la Inquisición de Nueva Esp[aña], le prendió un mes ha, y está en el combento de Santo Domingo en car[cel] secreta para remitirle a México en estas naos. No sé otra cosa de que avisar acerca deste caso, exsepto que el tiempo que este dicho religioso vivió en Macasar[4], aviendo allí entonces casas de Santo Domingo y de la Compañía y parroquia de Portugueses[5], pareció mal que viviesse y comiesse con los herejes ingleses con quienes avía venido.

[*Autograph*] Llámase este religioso F. Jorge de Luna.

[...]

Manila y Junio 24 de 1661.

[*Autograph*] Miguel Solana.

[*Address*] A nuestro muy Reverendo Padre Gosuino Nikel, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesú. Roma. 2ª vía.

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[3] Antonio Barberini, Capuchin, made a cardinal in 1624 by his brother Pope Urban VIII, and Prefect of the Propaganda Fide.

[4] He had arrived at Makasar about May 1658, where Paulo da Costa, governor of the bishop of Malacca, informed him about the Christians of the town and of Solor (VAN DEN WIJNGAERT 203-204 no. 31). In December of that year he had arrived in Manila (Ibid. 193 no. XIV).

[5] It is strange that in this enumeration just the residence (hospital) of the Franciscans is lacking. MEERSMAN (o. c. 120) is uncertain about the year in which they left; maybe they did so some time prior to 1658.

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54

FR. JOSEPH TISSANIER SJ
RECORD OF VOYAGE

TONKIN, ABOUT 1661-1662

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SOMMERVOGEL VIII 52-53; STREIT V no. 1695; Alexandre CIORANESCU, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du dix-septième siècle*, III (Paris 1966) 1913 no. 64688 (Incorrectly Tissandier).

II AUTHORS: H. CHAPPOULIE, *Rome et les missions d'Indochine* I 67-68.

III TEXT: No MS text is available, the text that came to us being the report printed in Paris in 1663 *Relation du voyage du P. Joseph Tissanier de la Compagnie de Jésus depuis la France jusqu'au Royaume de Tunquin. Avec ce qui s'est passé de plus mémorable dans cette Mission durant les années 1658, 1659 et 1660*, Paris 1663. Chapters XII-XIV deal with the arrival of Fr. Tissanier and his group at Makasar and with their stay in that place. Chapter XIII, however, is only a pious reflexion on God's benevolent providence experienced during the voyage from Goa to Makasar, and does not contain new historical facts or events on this latter port.

IV The AUTHOR: For Fr. Tissanier and his group, see Gen. Introd. II 3 B, 1656.

V TIME: As the work was printed at Paris in 1663, it had to be dispatched from Macao at least one year earlier, consequently it must be supposed to have been written about 1661-1662. As Fr. Tissanier did not return to France, he had to entrust the printing to some other French Jesuit.

VI OUR EDITION: We edit the French text in the spelling as printed in the book, taking, however, the liberty, for clearness' sake, of changing the *u* into *v* (vivres and not viures), the *i* into *j* (conjoncture and not conioncture) and the *accent aigu* (') into an accent grave (`) (troisième and not troisiéme) according to the pronunciation.

Summary

1. *The ship's pilot missed the third strait and resolved to take the fourth. Meanwhile people suffered much from lack of drinking-water, but they dared not go ashore to take it in.* — 2. *Fortunately some rain fell; the fourth strait did not appear.* — 3. *The pilot had to return and to look for the third strait. Sufferings from hunger, thirst and heat.* — 4. *The passengers made a novena in honour of St. Francis Xavier, in which also the Dominican Fathers participated. God seemed pleased givin a favour-*

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able wind, and on May 10 they passed through the third strait. — 5. The joy of attaining their end was troubled by the presence of a large enemy ship. They changed route and the whole crew armed themselves. The captain declared he would blow up the ship rather than surrender to the enemy. — 6. Not being able to escape, they dropped anchor near an island. As the large ship did not come nearer, they continued their voyage and, the next day, they saw the ship fire a salute to the royal fortress. — 7. It was a Dutch ship coming from Ambon. They arrived two or three hours after the Dutch and were welcomed with joy by the Fathers who had disembarked three weeks earlier. — 8. Position of Makasar; its good air; the days are hot but the nights very cool and detrimental to sick people as can be seen by the instance of Fr. François Clément who died there. People are Moslem and yet interested in Christianity. Custom of running amuck. — 9. Makasar is a free port; houses are like bird-cages. The king had the churches of the Jesuits and of the Dominicans pulled down. Yet he is not a barbarian; with a captain he spoke in Portuguese and proved interested in the French-Spanish war. — 10. Tissanier stayed at Makasar only a fortnight. Feeling weak he went to see the psysician who, however, knew only two things: blood-letting and a meagre diet. Just needing forces, the Father did not follow the treatment; Fr. Gabiani did and could not sail to Macao until one year later. — 11. Four ships sailed to Macao; the missionaries were divided between them. He embarked on the smallest ship with Fr. António Francisco. They left Makasar on June 7, 1656, and soon passed the shoals where Fr. Saccano was shipwrecked one year earlier.

[49] Chapitre XII

Continuation de mon voyage jusques au Macassar

1. Nostre pilote chercha longtemps le troisième détroit[1], mais comme il reconnut qu'il s'en estoit éloigné, il se résolut de chercher le quatrième. Cependant nos vivres se diminuoient beaucoup et le peu d'eau qui nous restoit nous faisoit craindre que tous ceux du vaisseau[2] ne fussent enfin reduits à cette ex-

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[1] In the preceding chapter the author described the vicissitudes of the voyage from Goa, where they set sail on January 28, 1656, until they saw the western tip of Java on March 16 and next sailed along its southern coast. They reached the end of Java on April 9. These dates show eloquently that the sailing was full of ill-luck. In the following account mention is made of four straits or channels between the islands as fairways to Makasar: the first is the one between Java and Bali (*Selat Bali*), the second between Bali and Lombok (*Selat Lombok*), the third between Lombok and Sumbawa (*Selat Alas*) and the fourth at the eastern end of Sumbawa (*Selat Sape*).

[2] A group of fifteen Jesuits sailed from Goa in three ships: six Fa-

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trémité que de mourir de soif. Car encore bien que souvent nous fussions proches des costes, neantmoins comme toutes ces terres nous estoient entierement inconnues et que d'ailleurs les Barbares ne font pas scrupule de tuer les Estrangers quand ils les peuvent surprendre, l'on n'osa pas aller à terre pour y prendre de l'eau.

2. Dans cette funeste conjoncture, ce qui nous eût fait horreur en France devint l'objet de nos delices: nous recevions l'eau de la pluye qui couloit quelquefois par les ouvertures de nostre petite chambre comme une rosée precieuse que [50] nous partagions avec mesure de peur d'estre enfin obligez à imiter plusieurs qui cuisoient leur ris avec de l'eau salée. L'esperance que nous avions d'arriver bien-tost à nostre quatrième détroit nous encourageoit à souffrir tous ces grands travaux. Mais ce détroit ne paroissoit point et il sembloit que toutes les embouchures du Macassar se fermoient à nostre arrivée.

3. Le pilote vid bien qu'il s'étoit écarté et qu'il faloit retourner sur nos pas afin de chercher encore le troisième détroit. Mais ces grandes promenades sur mer ne pouvoient pas estre beaucoup agreables à ceux qui souffroient depuis si long temps la faim, la soif et les chaleurs de la Zone Torride. Après avoir donc fait en vain plus de deux cens lieues nous fumes obligez de tourner la proue du costé d'ou nous estions venus, sans sçavoir où nous allions, avec cette persuasion que si Dieu ne nous conduisoit comme par la main afin de nous faire entrer dans le Royaume de Macassar, il nous seroit impossible d'y arriver cette année.

4. Alors nous voyant au milieu de tant [51] de dangers sans pouvoir rien attendre des hommes, nous eûmes recours au Ciel, et fîmes une neufvaine de messes et de prières à l'honneur du glorieux Saint François Xavier, avec la satisfaction de tous ceux du vaisseau et principalement des Peres de Saint Dominique, lesquels eurent tousjours bonne part dans toutes les devotions que l'on fit pour honorer ce Saint. Et il semble que Dieu prit un particulier plaisir à l'honneur que l'on rendoit aux merites de son serviteur; dautant qu'il nous donna un vent si favorable

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thers in the *Santa Teresa*, five in the *São Miguel*, and Tissanier with three other Fathers in the small *Santo António* in which likewise seven Dominicans embarked. The first two vessels managed to pass through the Strait of Bali and arrived at Makasar three weeks prior to the third one.

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que lorsque nous y pensions le moins, nous arrivâmes au troisième détroit, que nous passâmes heureusement le dixième du mois de May.

5. La joye que nous eûmes alors en nous voyant si proches du port fut bien grande. Mais elle fut bien-tost troublée par l'apprehension que nous eûmes de tomber entre les mains des ennemis. Car comme nous allions passer la pointe de quelques isles, on découvrit un gros vaisseau, lequel sembloit venir à nous à pleines voiles afin de nous combatre. A la veue de ce vaisseau inconnu nous changeâmes d'abord de route pour mieux [52] fuir. Neantmoins comme nous pensions que l'ennemi nous poursuivoit, tout le vaisseau se mit en armes, quoyque sans apparence de luy pouvoir resister, dautant que la pluspart de nos soldats étoient Caffres [3] ou Canarins [4] et que toute nostre artillerie consistoit en deux petites pieces de fer. Toutefois nostre Capitaine pour obliger ceux du vaisseau à bien combatre, disoit tout hautement qu'il estoit resolu de mettre le feu aux poudres avant que de se rendre à l'ennemi.

6. Cependant comme nous estions hors d'esperance d'échaper, nous fûmes obligez de mouiller l'anchre proche d'une isle. Mais comme l'ennemi n'approchoit point, on crût que c'estoit un vaisseau qui nous craignoit. Ainsi nous prîmes courage et continuant nostre voyage nous passâmes par le milieu de quelques isles par où l'on croyoit qu'il estoit impossible de passer. Nous pouvions ce jour là arriver au port de Macassar, mais nostre pilote, voyant que l'autre vaisseau avoit mouillé l'anchre, voulut aussi s'arrester et passer la nuit sans danger. Le lendemain dès la pointe du jour le Capi-[53]taine fit armer tous ceux du vaisseau pour ne se pas laisser surprendre, et en mesme temps ce navire inconnu leva l'anchre et quelques heures après salua avec trois coups de canon la forteresse Royale.

7. Alors les Portugais s'imaginerent que c'estoit un vaisseau ami, dautant qu'ils ne sçavoient pas encore la paix faite entre les Hollandois et le Roy de Macassar [5]. Neantmoins c'estoit un gros vaisseau Hollandois qui venoit d'Amboyn et avec lequel nous

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[3] People of the eastern coast of Africa, mostly Negroes and presumably Moslems.

[4] People of the region of Goa in West India.

[5] A peace treaty had been made between the Dutch and the King of Makasar in December 1655, and it had been ratified in February 1656 (*Gen. Miss.* III 88 and 147-148; BOXER, *Vieira* 25).

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ne pouvions pas fort long-temps combatre. Nous arrivâmes donc deux ou trois heures après luy au port de Macassar [6] où nos Peres qui y estoient arrivez trois semaines auparavant nous receurent avec une joye et une charité admirable; et comparant nos accidens avec leurs avantures, nous eûmes raison d'attribuer le succès de tout nostre voyage à une providence particuliere de Dieu.

[54] Chapitre XIII

Reflexions sur la Providence de Dieu dans ce voyage

[58] Chapitre XIV

Mon sejour au Macassar

8. Le Royaume de Macassar est à cinq degrez de la Ligne du costé du Midy; l'air y est fort bon, mais les chaleurs y sont fort grandes pendant le jour, encore bien que les nuits y soient extremément fraîches et dangereuses aux malades, comme l'on vid en la personne du R. P. François Clement [7] de nostre Compagnie, lequel estant venu de France au Macassar deux ans après moy et estant desja beaucoup épuisé par les travaux d'une longue navigation, y mourut saintement et acheva tous ses voyages [59] dans ce Royaume d'infidelles afin d'aller jouir du repos des Saints. Ceux du païs suivent la secte de Mahomet, mais ils sont fort doux et prennent un extrème plaisir d'entendre parler de nos mysteres et de voir les eglises ornées. Quand quelqu'un du pais est condamné à mort on luy permet de courir par les rues et de tuer ceux qu'il rencontre, mais il est aussi permis à tout le monde de le tuer et d'executer sur luy la sentence de mort [8].

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[6] As they left Makasar on June 7 (no. 11) after a stay of a fortnight (no. 10), they must have arrived about May 24.

[7] See D 46 note 19.

[8] The custom of running amuck is also described in the next document. See *Hobson-Jobson* 18-23; A. WALLACE, *The Malay Archipelago* (ed. 1890) 134: « Macassar is the most celebrated place in the East for 'running amuck'. There are said to be one or two a month on the average, and five, ten or twenty persons are sometimes killed or wounded at

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9. Le port y est aussi libre qu'on pourroit desirer, car les vaisseaux y entrent et en sortent quand ils veulent sans qu'on leur demande ni argent ni compte des marchandises. Les campagnes y paroissent fort agreables, mais la pluspart des maisons sont semblables à de grandes cages d'oiseaux où l'on ne peut faire un pas sans se faire entendre de tous costez. Nos Peres y avoient une assez belle eglise lorsque nous y arrivâmes, mais depuis nostre depart le Roy la fit renverser avec celle des Religieux de Saint Dominique, ne laissant que celle des Prestres seculieurs pour les marchands Portugais qui trafiquent dans ce Royaume. Le Roy n'est pas si barbare qu'il ne prenne plai-[60] sir de sçavoir l'estat des Royaumes d'Europe, si bien que quand il donna audience au Capitaine du vaisseau Sainte Therese [9], lequel estoit comme Ambassadeur du Vice-Roy des Indes pour le Macassar, il luy parla en langue Portugaise et luy demanda des nouvelles touchant la guerre de France et d'Espagne [10]. L'Ambassadeur parla si bien des victoires et de la grandeur du Roy de France [11], que ce Prince infidelle en témoigna beaucoup de joye.

10. Je ne demeurai au Macassar que quinze jours [12] afin de recouvrer un peu mes forces pour continuer mon voyage jusqu'à la Chine. Comme nous avions souffert sur mer l'espace de trois mois et vingt et trois jours [13], nous estions si affoiblis et si défigurez que nos Peres qui estoient arrivez avant nous eurent au commencement de la peine à nous reconnoistre. Je croyois que le medecin du païs me donneroit quelque favorable remede afin de me fortifier; ainsi je me mis entre ses mains, mais ce ne fut pas pour longtemps. Car comme je vis qu'il ne songeoit qu'à me tirer du sang et qu'il me condamnoit à manger seulement un peu de [61] ris et quelques herbes mal cuites, je craignis que cette grande abstinence, jointe à tant de saignées, ne

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one of them. It is the national and therefore the honourable mode of committing suicide among the natives of Celebes, and is the fashionable way of escaping from their difficulties ».

[9] One of the two ships that arrived three weeks earlier: see note 2.

[10] Richelieu had started open war against Spain in 1635; France won victories at Lens in 1648 and in the battle of the Dunes in 1658; peace was made in 1659 (Peace of the Pyrenees).

[11] Louis XIV.

[12] May 24/25 to June 7.

[13] The months of February, March and April, and 23 days of May. See note 6.

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me mît au tombeau, dautant que ma plus grande maladie venoit d'épuisement et de faim. Ainsi avec la permission de mes Superieurs je me servis des remedes contraires à ceux que ce severe medecin m'avoit auparavant ordonnez et je m'en trouvai fort bien. Le R. P. Dominique Gabiani [14] fut plus obeïssant au medecin que moy, mais il s'en trouva si mal qu'il fut longtemps en danger de mourir et ne pût faire le voyage de Macao qu'un an après nous.

Chapitre XV

Mon depart de Macassar et mon voyage à Macao

11. Si les travaux ne nous manquerent pas au Macassar, les vaisseaux ne nous y manquerent pas pour aller à Macao, dautant que quatre firent en mesme temps ce voyage. Tous les Missionaires qui estoient venus de Goa furent partagez dans ces quatre vaisseaux, excepté le R. P. Dominique Gabiani que la maladie [62] arresta pendant un an au Macassar. Je m'embarquai avec le R. P. Antoine François [15] Portugais dans le plus petit vaisseau; et nous partîmes tous de compagnie le septième jour de Juin mil six cens cinquante-six à huit heures du soir avec un vent fort doux, lequel fut bientost suivi d'un orage durant lequel nous fûmes obligez de passer proche d'un écueil où un an auparavant le R. P. Metelle Saccano, Italien, avoit fait naufrage avec les RR. PP. Jean Cabral et Balthasar Caldeyra, Portugais [16].

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[14] See D 43 note 1. Fr. Gabiani, Italian, born 1623, a Jesuit in 1639, sailed to India 1655. See DEHERGNE no. 344. He did not leave Makasar until in 1657 and worked in China till his death in 1694.

[15] Fr. António Francisco was a Portuguese Jesuit who in 1649 had sailed to India (WICKI, *Liste* no. 956), manifestly not yet ascribed to the Japan Province. First he worked around Goa (Rachol). Not until 1656 did he leave India for Macao embarking with the group of French Fathers. He will be met again in Makasar later on.

[16] D 41, 1-2.

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FR. GIOVANNI FILIPPO DE MARINI SJ
REPORT ON MAKASAR

ROME, ABOUT 1662

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SOMMERVOGEL V 582-583; STREIT V no. 1694.

II TEXT: This Italian document is a Chapter (Libro II, Capitolo IX) in the work *Delle missioni de' Padri della Compagnia di Giesu nella Provincia del Giappone e particolarmente di quella di Tumkino,* printed in Rome in 1663, in 8°. There is another edition in an entirely identical printing but with a different title and by another publisher, Rome 1665. A third edition was made in Venice, likewise in 1665, in two volumes in 12°.

III THE AUTHOR: Fr. Giovanni Filippo de Marini (16081682) sailed to India in 1640 and arrived at Macao in 1643. After several missionary labours in Siam and Tonkin, being rector of the Macao college, he was elected procurator of the Japan Province and set sail for Europe, *via* Makasar, in 1659. In late 1661 he reached Rome and he made his return to Asia in 1666. 1670-1673 he was Provincial of Japan, after which he worked again in Siam. He died at Macao in 1682.

IV TIME: When Marini arrived in Rome in 1661, he may have brought with him many annotations on several subjects concerning his Province. As the first edition of his book appeared in Rome in 1663, it must be supposed that he put the finishing touches to it in the meantime, i. e. about the year 1662.

V OUR EDITION: We print the text after the first Roman edition of 1663.

Summary

1. *Description of the island of Makasar, otherwise called Celebes. Its climate. Its soil is neither productive nor fertile, but it is very accessible for merchant ships to which the most powerful king, the one of Makasar, opens his port. He is a Moslem; formerly people were heathens.* — 2. *The Portuguese brought Christianity there. From 1646 on, the Jesuits* [*of the Japan Province*] *worked there hoping to bear fruit under the protection of Pattingalloang and the king who favoured the Portuguese.* — 3. *But the king and Pattingalloang died, and the new king proved rather ill-disposed, secretly ordering that the* [*Jesuit*] *church be set on fire; however, it was saved.* — 4. *Shortly after, he ordered that church to be pulled down and forbade any pastoral ministry.* — 5. *The then Superior, Fr. João Nogueira, seeing himself doomed to idleness, sailed, together*

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with Fr. Pero Francisco, to another nearby island to start a mission there. The kinglet received them in a friendy manner and invited them to dinner, but he had poison mixed with the spices of which both the Fathers and the captain of the ship died. — 6. The Fathers Metello Saccano and Germain Macret sailed from Makasar to find their graves and to recover the vestments and other liturgical equipment. — 7. When Marini himself stopped at Makasar in June 1659, he saw a letter of Saccano stating there were no prospects of missionary work in that other island and that he watched for an opportunity to return to Makasar, although also there one could not spread the faith. — 8. As long as he himself stayed at Makasar [three months], nobody asked to be baptized, whereas ninety Christians denied the faith. And if one is reclaimed from his apostasy, the king, as soon as he knows of it, condemns him to death. He has him stabbed with a poisoned dagger (keris) and enjoys looking at the poison's slow or swift effect. — 9. As long as there is not a more compliant and responsive king, Makasar can only be of use as a trade centre for the sandalwood from Solor and for the spices from Maluku. Finally describes the custom of running amuck as practised by a criminal.

Della Missione dell'Isola di Macassar

1. È il Macassar, con altro nome detta Celebes, una dalle celebri e grandi isole nell'Oceano Orientale, cinta d'ogni intorno da altre isole maggiori di lei, quali minori. Sotto il suo cielo poco variano le stagioni, ma gran variamento vi ha di giorno a notte, per esser queste assai fresche, quegli in eccesso caldo. Quest'isola per se medesima non è molto ricca nè molto ferace, ma la sua postura è si commoda a trafichi e il porto, ancorché sia seno di mare, si facile a potersi prendere da naviganti, ch'invita la gente attorno a far quivi scala, che franca mantiene a tutte le nationi con suo grande utile quel re. È diviso il suo dominio a quatro o cinque re, ma il maggiore e più [421] potente è quello di Macassar, e perch'egli è il più conosciuto e a cagione del porto il più rinominato. Egli è di setta moro Mahomettano. Prima erano tutti di culto gentilesco e idolatri gl'habitatori. Ma il frequente commercio de' Mori, e le ragioni di stato vi hanno introdotta con gran ruina di quelle anime la legge di Mahometto, addentro, dove non penetrano, almeno attorno le città di mare ove usano con loro merci.

2. Entrò in molte parti di essa la luce dell'Evangelio portatavi da' Portoghesi, i quali poi a loro commodi prendendo quivi loco e piantando casa, vollero alcuno ch'havesse cura delle lor anime e altre ne guadagnasse. Nell'anno 1646 i nostri Padri, che prima più volte colà erano scorsi (e poi apertavi residenza) ha-

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vevano ritrovato sempre il paese scarso e di poche speranze, vi furono mandati di Macao, quando parea promettere molto frutto. Perché i Superiori havendo inteso che il Patingaloa [1], zio del re, quanto mai fosse stato altri per lo passato favorevole e molto ben inclinato inverso la natione portoghese, entrarono in speranze che sotto l'ombra sua potessero i ministri evangelici con libertà attendere alla predicatione della nostra santa legge, e la sterilità patita per molti anni con que' delle città maritime, che erano Mahomettani, si sarebbe compensata con frutto di benedittione che havrebbero raccolto entrando più dentro a terra ove si adoravano idoli. Non permette il re ch'alcuno vi penetri.

3. Ma non essendo da tanto l'humano conseglio, nè sapendo i disegni di Dio, il Patingaloa, come anche il re, in breve spatio si morirono ambidue [2]. Succedè il figliuolo del re alla corona [3]. E quanto di quelli era peggiore, tanto più un tristo giorno portò a' Christiani e alla legge di Christo. Poco indugiò a darne certi e barbari inditii con l'asprezza de trattamento e con l'haver posta mano a sacrileghi ordini. Poiché nel 1658 comandò a ministri suoi che fossero di notte a metter fuoco nella chiesa, se bene la vigilanza di chi haveva preveduto il colpo fu più presta a ripararlo; così quella volta non sortì il divamparla poiché pronti furono quei di casa a spegnerlo.

4. Ma perché quel tiranno, dominato da passione, ciò che non ottenne con artificio, volle conseguirlo con violenza, non passarono giorni che mandò intimarci ch'egli non voleva nel regno suo chiesa de' Christiani, se non fosse quella che vi havevano i preti portoghesi. Solo ci dava licenza di havervi casa, la chiesa tosto si disfacesse, più non si predicasse nè ad altre opere di christiana pietà si attendesse.

5. Era all'hora ivi Superiore il Padre Giovanni Nogheira [4], che molto afflitto per l'ordine barbaro di quel re moro, vedendosi senza riparo perder tempo, cedendo per [422] all'hora alla forza, fece tragitto ad un'isola pochi giorni indi lontana [5] in compagnia del Padre Pietro Francesco che, Procuratore del collegio di Coccino, colà si era portato per negotii della sua Pro-

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[1] On Karaeng Pattingalloang, see Gen. Introd. I 1.

[2] Sultan Mohamed Said (Malikussaid) died on November 16, 1653. Karaeng Patttingalloang expired in September 1654.

[3] Hasanuddin, 1653-1669.

[4] On Fr. Nogueira, see Gen. Introd. II 3 A no. 9.

[5] The island of Timor.

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vincia. Imbarcatisi ambidue furono dal regolo, subito che pigliaron terra, invitati con lieto simbiante. Ma il ladrone volle sotto volto di finta festa ricoprire l'animo fraudolento, e cupido di farli poveri con ispogliarli di quello che seco portavano, disegnò fare il medesimo col capitano della nave. A questo fine li invitò a mangiar seco, e mescolò veleno ne' cibi per mandare occulto il tradimento [6]. Il primo a sentirne gl'effetti fu il Padre Giovanni Nogheira, che finito di mangiare perdendo con certa nausea l'appetito, ne fu poi indi appresso svogliato, e lavorando intanto il veleno condottolo ad una estrema languidezza e totale sfinimento di cuore, n'estinse la vita. Lo seguì in breve col medesimo periodo de' sintomi il capitano. E l'ultimo a cedere alla forza del male e più a patirne il travaglio fu il Padre Pietro Francesco [7]. E chi sà non permettesse Iddio tal disavventura per la poca cautela di quei Padri in imprendere quella missione senza cercar prima il conseglio de' prattici, e molto più senza aspettarne l'ordine de' loro Superiori, necessariissimo in simili imprese, che senza un tale indrizzo non pure non le benedice Dio che nè per poco le cura.

6. Furon dolenti i Padri in risapere di tal sciagura e obligò la carità del Padre Metello Saccano e del Padre Germano Macret ad inviarsi a quell'isola, sì per far diligenza del luogo ove fossero stati sepeliti i cadaveri, come per usar diligenza in ricuperar l'apparato del sacrificio e gl'ornamenti de' quali stavano i Padri ben proveduti nel Macassar. Alcuna cosa par' che ricuperasse il Padre Germano Macret, che poi perdé in una borasca di mare, come egli scrisse a' Padri della Provincia di Lione in Francia [8], con fare anco ivi racconto di alcuna cosa delle vedute e sapute in occasione di tal viaggio.

7. Ultimamente ritrovandomi io in quell'isola, attendendo in giugno del 1659 occasione di passaggio in Europa, vidi una lettera del Padre Metello Saccano [9], in cui dando conto di sé esponeva quanto poche fossero le speranze di profittar nella fede in quell'altra isola ove dal regolo di essa era stato invitato, lontana da ogni commercio e da non dovervisi consumare l'opera di un Padre più necessaria e di più frutto in altra parte, in modo

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[6] Fr. Matias da Maya is more prudent in charging the king with the crime of poisoning (D 52, 7).

[7] In D 52, 6 the sequence is: Fr. Nogueira, Fr. Francisco, the captain.

[8] Lost letter 46 a.

[9] Lost letter 48 a.

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che egli aspettava commodità di tornarsene al Macassar con barca che lo levasse, ritrovandosi già al verde non più che con cinque misere scudelle di riso per suo sostentamento. Sentiva, e non poco, haver a ritornar in quell'isola nella quale all'hora non ci era più che fare per il bando che di fresco ha-[423]veva fatto il re [10]. E si doleva del mal vivere de' Christiani ogn'hora più dati alla dissolutione di notabile impedimento alle conversioni, se non anche di sovversione a molti, come con mio cordoglio in tre mesi, che quivi fui costretto a fermarmi, io stesso vidi.

8. In tutto il qual tempo non vi fu veruno, nè de' mori, che è da non prenderne maraviglia, ma nè meno de' gentili, il quale chiedesse il battesimo. Furono bensí novanta di que' Christiani che rinegarono per timor della morte che loro minacciava il tiranno. E se pur con molta fatica e stento se ne riduce alcuno, pentito del fallo, solo tanto ch'il re lo sappia, lo condanna a morte. Lo chiama alla sua presenza, con dolci parole l'induce a primi errori, e promette doni non che perdono. E quei miseri poco forniti di spirito, per riparare a' colpi e di rispetto e di timore, si danno vinti e rinegano. All'hora il barbaro senza più dà ordine ad un de' suoi ministri ivi pronto per questo affare, che ferisca il rinegato con un'arma, di cui sopra habbiam detto chiamarsi cris [11] ed è a guisa di pugnale crespa e serpeggiante di lama, di cui quivi e nell'isole della Giava e di Borneo è l'officina e l'arte di si efficace e mortifero veleno. Il re bugiardo e inhumano sta crudelmente a suo diletto osservando la forza di quel veleno, se lenta o prestamente opera sua virtù. Quell'arma poi tiene in maggior pregio, che con ferir poco prestamente uccide.

9. Da che potiamo intendere che cotal paese, tutta volta che non vi habbia re di costumi più comportabili e arrendevoli, a poco più servirà il dimorar ivi de' christiani che di metter magazzino a' mercanti per conservarvi e mantenervi il trafico del sandalo, legno pretioso e odoroso che dalle vicine isole di Solor così detto è proprio frutto. Se bene crederei io che non è solo l'odore di quel legno che tiri le navi a quest'isola, perché di esso la virtù e l'uso a che vale sanno ben l'Indiani e i Cinesi. Alla noce moscata, a garofani e altri aromi che dalle isole Ma-

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[10] Fr. Saccano shrinks from returning to Makasar where the sultan's prohibition makes all apostolic work impossible.

[11] The Malay *keris*, a sharp dagger with a serpentine blade.

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luche sono quivi portate corrono i vascelli di quell'Oriente e del nostro Occidente, per la commodità che vi trovano nel luogo assai opportuno per farvi scala. Non ha quest'isola per se medesima cosa alcuna che sia in preggio, nè per hora altro di essa mi rimane che dire se non il barbaro costume ch'ancor hoggi conserva quella gente, ed è che conoscendosi alcuno colto in qualche delitto, prima che si lasci prendere dalla giustitia si piglia egli licenza di uccidere chi esso può. E misero quello a cui sopragiunga improviso. Da tutti si difende, a niuno perdona, che perciò da tutti può esser ucciso. Ond'è ch'in veder un di questi che come tigre infuriata corre per le vie, chi non può occiderlo lo fugge, e chi può gli va addosso e gli [424] dà nella maniera che più vuole alla vita, se bene nel morir crede d'haver un tal conforto ch'è farla (diremmo noi) da Sansone, che non vuol andar all'altra vita senza compagni [12].

56

FR. TOMMASO VALGUARNERA SJ TO FR. GIOVANNI PAOLO OLIVA, VICAR GENERAL, ROME

[AYUTHIA] SIAM, DECEMBER 3, 1664

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 162* ff. 95*r*-96*v*. Autograph in Italian. The letter closes on the third page, the fourth containing only the address and an archivist's note « Ex Siano. 3 Dec. 1664. P. Valgarnera ».

II THE AUTHOR: Fr. Valguarnera was an Italian Jesuit, born at Palermo, Sicily, who joined the Society in 1626 and sailed to India in 1640. He worked in Macao and from 1655 to 1669 in Siam. After having been a Visitor of China and Japan he returned to Siam where he died in 1677. On him, see STREIT V p. 679; MHJ I 1317; DEHERGNE, no. 860.

III ADDRESSEE: Fr. Oliva was elected Vicar General « cum iure successionis » in 1661, and at the death of Fr. Goswin Nickel in July 1664 he became the eleventh General of the Society of Jesus, 1664-1681. So when Fr. Valguarnera wrote this letter, Oliva was already General.

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[12] Cf. Judges 16, 29-30.

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Summary

The Siam mission post has seven Jesuits: two on their way to Macao, two chased away from Makasar, two banned from Tonkin, and two resident Fathers. At least one of the former ones should stay on.

[...]

Al presente in questa casa[1] stiamo sette[2] della Compagnia: due di passaggio per Macano, due desterrati dalla Residenza del Macassar[3], due desterrati dalla Missione di Tunquino[4] e due operari di questa casa[5]. Però restarà qui almeno un'altro perque così lo richiedono i ministeri.

[...96*r*] Siano, a 3 di Decembre 1664.
De V. P. servo nel Signore,

Thomasso Valguarnera.

[96*v* *Address*] Al molto Reverendo in Christo Padre, il Padre Gioan Paulo Oliva, Vigario General, Roma. Di Sião.

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[1] The Jesuits had their residence in the strangers' quarter, situated on the southeastern side of the capital Ayuthia, where Chinese, Cochinchinese, Japanese and Portuguese had their own quarters.

[2] *Seven*, but in the following text *eight* Fathers are touched upon.

[3] Meanwhile the Dutch had forced the Sultan of Makasar to expel all the Portuguese in 1660 (D 51 note 1). Actually most of the Portuguese did not leave the city until 1661, among them the Fathers de Miranda and Manuel Soares who arrived at Batavia on August 28 and set sail to Siam on September 6 (*Daghregister 1661* 266 and 289. N. B. Here the companion of Fr. Miranda is called Francisco Rodrigues, which must be an error as there was no Father of that name in the Japan Province at that time. The catalogue of 1635 shows a Francisco Rodrigues (*IapSin* 25 f. 141*v*), but he is a lay-brother and is lacking in all subsequent catalogues. Fr. Manuel Soares himself reports that he and Fr. Miranda left Makasar on August 16 and arrived at Batavia on August 28, where they made a stop of nine days (D 64). A secular priest travelled with them; his name may have been Francisco Rodrigues).

[4] The King of Tonkin expelled the missionaries in 1663 and on November 12 three Fathers went on board a Dutch ship that carried them to Batavia. One of them died there, the other two, Frs. Tissanier and Albier, found a refuge with Fr. Valguarnera in Siam (CHAPPOULIE 211).

[5] They were Fr. Valguarnera and Fr. Giovanni Cardoso (MARINI 419).

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57

FR. LUÍS DA GAMA SJ, VISITOR TO FR. GIOVANNI PAOLO OLIVA, VICAR GENERAL, ROME

MACAO, DECEMBER 15, 1664

Sixth *via*

I TEXT: There are three identical copies in Portuguese in ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico 730 I.*

A. ff. 54*r*-57*v*: Regular and clear handwriting; text divided into 31 numbered paragraphs. At the top of f. 54*r* « 11ª via » (but at the address « 6ª via »). F. 57*v* has only the address and trace of a seal.

B. *Ibid.* ff. 58*r*-61*v*: In a different but likewise clear hand. At the top of the first page « 5ª via, 9ª carta ».

C. *Ibid.* ff. 62*r*-65*v*: In the same hand as text A. On the first page at the top « 7ª via. A 6ª via desta carta foi pola Manila ». — All three texts show the autograph signature of Fr. Gama.

II THE AUTHOR: Fr. Luís da Gama (1610-1672) was a Portuguese who sailed to Goa in 1630, worked in Tibet and Goa, had been the Visitor of East Africa, and 1664-1670 was the Visitor of China and Japan. In this quality he wrote this letter.

III NOTE: The letter was written by request of Fr. Vicar General Oliva of September 8, 1662, to explain the reasons why the Japan Province was given the permission of carrying on trade and business.

IV OUR EDITION: We follow text A and choose two paragraphs illustrating the state of financial emergency of the Province and of Makasar in the Province.

Summary

29. [*In financial respect*] *the situation greatly changed after 1640. The trade with Japan stopped and the expenses for the new missions increased. Several allowances are either suspended or used for other things. The upkeep of Macao college and church eats up much money and the Province suffered heavy losses. The superiors were forced to change the agreements with the outer stations, among them Makasar.* — 31. *Occasion for this was given by some Fathers in those stations. It is to be preferred that all* [*financial questions*] *should be dealt with by the Province procurator. The most efficient remedy would be to suppress most of those stations.*

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[...57*r*]

29. Variarão-se totalmente as couzas de 640 pouco mais ou menos a esta parte, porque faltou o comercio de Japão, e as missõis daquelles reynos não deminuirão, antes cresserão os gastos desta Provincia com as missõis que em defeito de Japão se abrirão em Tumquim, Cochinchina, Cantão, Haynão e outras partes [1]. Faltou a renda de Malaca, a esmola que dava o Pontifice [2], e as muitas que davão os Portugueses. A renda que há em Portugal lá se gasta em aviar os missionarios, e muitas vezes como dizem não basta. A da India se consome em provimentos e outras despezas extraordinarias da Provincia. Despende o collegio de Macao todos os annos arriba de quatro mil patacas em seu sustento e repairo, não falando na igreja que já começa a correr por conta do collegio por falta de esmolas. E porque os annos passados ouve muitas perdas, assim por causa de inimigos olandezes como das muitas mudanças de procuradores de pouco talento [3], se individou a Provincia em 22 mil patacas [4] e se empenharão calices, coroas e alampadas, e forão forçados os superiores a mudar o contrato pera o Macassá, Sião, Camboja, Solor e Manila, fundados na carta do M. R. P. Mutio alegada no n. 13 [5]. [...]

31. A occazião que se tem dado e dá com rezão, hé por alguns Padres particulares que residem em Sião, Camboja, Tenassarim e Macassà [6]; se tudo correra pello procurador da Provincia

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[1] To these « outras partes » belonged Makasar.

[2] For the several mission posts that once existed in Japan, for the allowance due to the Japan Province by the Malacca customs, and for the Pope's contribution, consult MHJ I 142-145 and 187-189.

[3] During the provincialate of Fr. Matias da Maya (1658-1661) six Province procurators succeeded each other within three years.

[4] Cf. D 13 note 13.

[5] In nos. 12 and 13 of this document, Fr. Gama explains how, in 1621, Fr. General Muzio Vitelleschi, wanting to defend the dignity of the missionaries and to prevent scandal and murmuring against them because of the eventual indecent impression that they were traders, took some practical measures governing trading and the goods involved in it. But as there was no alternative, a limited form of trading remained allowed. (f. 55*v*).

[6] This last consideration may be highly applicable to Makasar. After Fr. Miranda, the chief and longest lasting resident of the Makasar mission post, had left it in 1661 and found refuge with the Fathers of Siam, Fr. Tissanier judged him in this way: « Le Père Miranda... scandalise par son trafic les Catholiques et les infidèles... entretien beaucoup de

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não tivera tanto lugar a murmuração. Tem-se posto o remedio conveniente nesta parte, se bem o mais efficaz era largarem-se os ditos postos (tirando Sião polla rezão que em outra digo a V. P.), pois como me dizem não serve de outra couza mais que de ociosidade e darem semelhantes motivos aos seculares de murmurar. [...]

Macao, 15 de Dezembro de 664.

[*Autograph*] Subdito e filho indigno
Luis da Gama.

[57*v Address*] Ao muito Reverendo em Christo Padre nosso, o Padre João Paulo Oliva, Vicario Geral da Companhia de Jesus, Roma.

De Macao. 6ª via.

58

FR. PEDRO DE MESQUITA SJ TO THE PORTUGUESE ASSISTANT, ROME

— Short notice on the Japan province —

GOA, DECEMBER 20, 1664

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 64* ff. 396*r*-401*v*. Original copy in Portuguese. The first two pages are blank; on f. 396*r* three brief notes: « Para o Padre Assistente », « Jappon. 1664 », « Pedro de Mesq. ». The document consists of the *Breve Noticia* (ff. 397*r*-399*v*) and of a *Cathalogo dos Relligiosos da Provincia de Jappão* (400*r-v*); f. 401*r-v* is blank.

II THE AUTHOR: Fr. Pedro de Mesquita was a Portuguese from Lisbon, entered the Society in 1636, sailed to India in 1643, worked there till 1650; arrived in Macao in 1650, sailed to Malacca in 1651,

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valets... a beaucoup d'argent dont il dispose à sa fantaisie. Il ne garde aucune règle et n'a jamais fait dans la Compagnie que l'office de marchand » (Letter of January 15, 1665, ARSI, *IapSin 162* f. 167*r*). Miranda's behaviour, likely depicted too negatively, is somewhat justified by the absence of the possibility of doing true apostolic work of conversion of the Moslem natives of Makasar. There was certainly occasion for « ociosidade ».

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was imprisoned by the Dutch 1652-1655; was finally a procurator of the Japan Province at Goa up to his death in 1665. (Cf. D 35 notes 4-5).

III ADDRESSEE: The Portuguese Assistant was Fr. Gaspar de Gouvea, 1661-1672.

IV NOTE: It is surprising that Bro. António de Torres, stationed at Makasar from 1661 on, is lacking altogether in this catalogue.

Summary

1. *Usually three Jesuits are stationed in Makasar. They work among the merchants who come trading there. Conversion of a Moslem is punishable by death. Once a Father was denounced to the king's uncle who, nevertheless, for his friendship with the Fathers did not take the matter up.* — 2. *Some Fathers went out for mission work to nearby islands. This cost two of them their lives; they were poisoned by a Moslem king at a meal.* — 3. *Fr. António Francisco is the Superior of Makasar.*

[397*r*]

Breve noticia do estado presente da Provincia de Jappão da Companhia de Iesu e das missões em que occupa seos rellegiosos

[399*r*]

1. No reino de Macassâ tem a provincia de Jappão de ordinario tres rellegiosos [1], que ali fazem grandes serviços a Deos, exercitando os ministerios da nossa Companhia com os mercadores que ali vão de Macao, Manilha e outras partes da India. E ainda que não podem pregar nossa santa fee publicamente por serem mouros os naturais e o rey o não premetir, comtudo todos os annos comvertem alguns e os mandão logo pera fora da terra, porque se ficarem e o rey o souber, tem penna de morte, à qual estão expostos os mesmos Padres, se o rey souber que os bautizarão. E já hum foi acusado ao tio del-rey, que por ser muito [399*v*] amigo dos Padres e dos Portuguezes, dessimilou por então.

2. Deste reino tem hido varias vezes alguns Padres em missão a varias ilhas de regulos vesinhas, e custou já a vida a dous, comvidados por hum regulo destes mouro, o qual os recebeo

[1] See D 52, 1.

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com mostras de benevolencia, e em hum comvite os matou ambos com peçonha em odio de nossa santa fee, como se cuida, durando hum menos de vinte e quatro horas, e outro menos de tres dias depois que lhes deo a peçonha [2].

[...400*r*]

3. Padre Antonio Francisco, superior da residencia de Macassâ.

[...400*v*]

Goa, 20 de Dezembro de 1664.
Pello procurator desta provincia, assistente em Goa,

[*Autograph*:] Pedro de Misquita.

59

CATALOGUE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE AND OF THE COUNTRIES WHERE THEY ARE WORKING

[MACAO, BETWEEN AUGUST 1664 AND AUGUST 1665]

I TEXT: ARSI, *Iap.Sin* 25 f. 179*r-v*, in 8°. Original copy, written in two columns and divided into four sections: « No collegio de Macao estão os seguentes », « Os que estão fora de Macao », « Os mortos da Provincia de Japão », « Despedidos... ». The document is not dated.

II TIME: On top of the first page another hand noted « 1660 », which a much later hand cancelled and substituted with « 1665 ». Fr. Giovanni Maria Leria is listed no longer as Provincial but still as one of the living members of the Province. As this Fr. was Provincial until August 26, 1664, and died at Macao on August 21, 1665, the catalogue must have been made between these two dates.

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[2] Described in D 52, 3-11. These indications of time agree in no way with those given in D 52, 6.

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Summary

One of the missionaries residing in Siam is Fr. Manuel de Miranda. In Makasar two Jesuits are stationed: Fr. António Francisco and Bro. António de Torres.

Catalogo dos sujeitos da Provincia de Japão
e lugares aonde estão.

[...179*r*] Em Sião:

o Padre Manoel de Miranda

[...]

No Macassar:

o Padre Antonio Francisco e
o Irmão Antonio de Torres

[...179*v*] [*Autograph*] Luis da Gama.

Lost Letters

59a — *Fr. António Francisco, Makasar, to his superiors in Macao, before 1665.*

D 73, 6: Rationes [i. e. for leaving Makasar and sailing to Solor] scripsi superioribus.

59b — *Superiors of Macao to Fr. António Francisco, Larantuka, prior to 1665.*

D 73, 6: Rationes scripsi superioribus qui omnes semel et iterum approbaverunt.

60

CATALOGUE OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE

[MACAO, PRIOR TO AUGUST 21, 1665]

Second *via*

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 25* f. 180*r-v*. Original in Latin, neither dated nor signed. At the top of the first page « 2ª via », and in another later hand « 1664 ». The text is written in two columns and the names are

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numbered: 29 of those living in Macao, and 23 of those working in other places, of whom two, the nos. 17 and 18, in Makasar.

II TIME: Fr. Leria (Cf. D 59) is still listed; as he died in Macao on August 21, 1665, the catalogue was made earlier.

Summary

The two Jesuits stationed in the mission of Makasar.

Catalogus Provinciae Iapponicae
Sunt in Iapponica Provincia de Societate 52,
in Collegio Macaensi 29.

[...]

In missione Macassaensi sunt e Nostris 2:

17. P. Antonius Franciscus, professus
18. Frater Antonius de Torres, coadiutor temporalis

61

CATALOGUE OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE

MACAO, OCTOBER 16, 1665

Sixth *via*

I TEXT: There are two versions, the first and the sixth *via*, both dated and signed in autograph by Fr. Gama, Visitor.

A. ARSI, *IapSin 26* ff. 32*r*-33*v*, in 8°. Original in Portuguese, written in two columns; f. 33*v* is blank. Fr. Gama made a few corrections which appear to have been observed in the sixth *via*. At the top of the first page a note « 1ª via ».

B. ARSI, *IapSin 25* ff. 181*r*-182*v*, in 8°. Identical original text. At the top of page 1 « 6ª via. A 5ª via foi pola Manila ».

II OUR EDITION: We prefer text B as being the corrected one (although this does not infuence our small Makasar passage).

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Summary

The two Jesuits living in Makasar.

Catalogo dos sogeitos da Provincia de Japão
e lugares aonde estão

[181...181*v*] No Macassar

o Padre António Francisco e
o Irmão António de Torres

[...182*r*]

[*Autograph*] Macao, 16 de Outubro de 665.
Luis da Gama.

Lost Letters

61a — *Superiors of Macao to Fr. António Francisco, Makasar and Larantuka, about 1665.*

D 73, 5: [Reports on his work in Makasar and in Solor to his Superiors] ab illis postulatus.

62

FR. MATIAS DA MAYA SJ, BY COMMISSION OF FR. VISITOR LUIS DA GAMA, TO FR. GIOVANNI PAOLO OLIVA, VICAR-GENERAL, ROME

— Annual Letter —

MACAO, JANUARY 1, 1666

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHÜTTE, *El Archivo de Japón* 339.

II TEXT: Several copies are available.

A. ARSI, *IapSin 64* ff. 402*r*-455*v*, in 8°. Original in Portuguese with autograph signature of Fr. Maya; written in a vigorous, regular and clear script. The extensive Makasar section is on ff. 439*v*-445*r*.

B. ARSI, *IapSin 48* ff. 48*v*-73*v*, in 4°. Another original in Portu-

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guese in a quite different, likewise well legible hand. The Makasar mission is dealt with on ff. 65*v*-68*r*.

C. Madrid, RAH *Jesuitas leg. 22* ff. 130*r*-160*v*. Original in Portuguese with autograph signature.

D. Lisbon, Ajuda *Jesuítas na Asia 49-V-15* ff. 222*r*-264*v*. Eighteenth century copy in Portuguese. Makasar section: ff. 251*v*-255*v*.

TEXTS B and C are followed by an *Appendix* reporting on thirty Christians of Cochin China who died for their faith.

III THE AUTHOR: See D 26, introduction.

IV THE ADDRESSEE: Cf. D 56, introduction. In early 1666, the Fathers of Macao appear not yet to know that Fr. Oliva had become General in July 1664.

V OUR EDITION: We publish the Makasar report of text A.

Summary

1. *In the past years Makasar, being a free port, was one of the most frequented emporia of the Orient. There was a Portuguese town of seven thousand adult inhabitants, irrespective of many Catholics sailing in the ships.* — 2. *There was a church acting as cathedral of the Malacca diocese; of four religious orders only the Dominicans and the Jesuits had their own church; the latter belonged first to the Cochin Province, afterwards to that of Japan.* — 3. *As people were Moslems, not many conversions could be made. When at the time of St Francis Xavier they were still pagans and asked for Fathers, they could not be served. Much later they invited both the Moslems of Johore and the Fathers of Malacca and they took Islam because the former arrived first.* — 4. *When then Fr. Manuel de Azevedo arrived, people were already entrenched in Islam. How important it is not to lose the opportunity!* — 5. *The king of Makasar is called emperor, Sumbanku. But the actual work of governing is done by a royal prince.* — 6. *For a long time this post was filled by Prince Pattingalloang, a friend of the Portuguese and very much interested in the Christian faith. Once passing by the church he said: Today the Gospel is so-and-so, the Father will preach on that theme.* — 7. *Many endeavours were made by the Fathers to convert this prince, and he did not take it ill. But he stated that many statesmen go to hell for reasons of state. He had only one wife and rumour goes that he baptized her at the moment of death; he had earlier wanted to be instructed on the validity of baptism administered by a Moslem.* — 8. *He favoured the Christians, especially the Portuguese, and showed the greatest respect for their churches and liturgy.* — 9. *After his death the position of the Fathers and Portuguese became worse. The Sumbanku ordered the churches of the Jesuits and Dominicans to be demolished, only leaving the cathedral uninjured.* — 10. *The Dutch made war on Makasar in 1660 and stipulated in the peace treaty that all Christians that in any way were or had been subjects of the king of Portugal should be expelled. Captain Francisco Vieira, entitled ambassador of the king of Makasar, caused this condition to be put into execution slowly.* — 11. *Then most of the Christians left Makasar; only a few remained with the vicar at the instance of the*

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Christian secretary of the Sumbanku. Also the Jesuits left, only Fr. António Francisco staying behind as Vieira's confessor. With him likewise Bro. António de Torres remained there. Will now tell of their ministry. — 12. *Conversion of a Moslem is punished by death; this applies also to repentant apostates; some of them died a glorious death in this way. But even Pattingalloang applied this cruel law. On the other hand he tried to avert apostasy of Christians. Some Moslems who became Christians were secretly embarked in Portuguese ships to escape from Makasar.* — 13. *Fr. António Francisco had the care of one thousand souls and of the coming and going merchants, and he kept school for the children. Moreover he was officially « Father of Christians ».* — 14. *He baptized about thirty persons and kept others from becoming Moslems.* — 15. *Other Christians who had been prisoners of Moslems, pagans and heretics, found spiritual support with the Father. An old man, a captive of Moslems, who for fourteen years had not met a priest, took refuge to Makasar and made his confession.* — 16. *A Chinese from Solor, having been a captive among Moslems for three years, made a surprisingly edifying confession.* — 17. *As a « Father of Christians » the Father prevented many persons from losing chastity and the faith. Instance of one who resented such an attempt.* — 18. *The Father's fruitful work of educating children; one of them proved a zealous teacher at home.* — 19. *His principal apostolate was hearing confessions, sometimes for twenty-four hours on end. Once he was so tired and suffering that he spat blood. of over twenty or even sixty years. The confessants were both inhabitants and foreigners coming in the ships.* — 21. *Then Francisco Vieira, under whose protection the Father stayed on in Makasar, was expelled; consequently the latter had to follow him to Larantuka.* — 22. *In Solor he was well received by the people and likewise by the Dominicans, who made him preach during Holy Week and gave him a house near their church.*

[402*r*] Annua da Provincia de Japão do anno de 1665
Ao nosso muito Reverendo em Christo Padre,
o Padre João Paulo Oliva, Vigario Geral
da Companhia de Jesus

[439*v*] Missão do Reyno de Macassar

1. Em estes annos passados foi o reyno de Macassar hum dos mais frequentados emporios[a] de todo este Oriente. Era porto livre a que acodião varias nações: Portuguezes, Castelhanos, Ingrezes, Dinamarcas, Olandezes, como à escala das mercadorias que alli concorrião da China, de Macao, de banda[b] da India, Iacatra[c], Iava, Bantão, Amboyno, Maluco, Timor, Sollor, e muitas outras terras circumvesinhas. Tinhão alli os Portugueses

[a] *corr. fr.* emperios [b] *corr. fr.* demanda [c] Iacatara *B*

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huma grande povoação, em que averia só de moradores [440*r*] numero de sette mil almas de confissão, alem dos muitos que se ajuntavão com a vinda dos navios, não só dos christãos mas ainda dos mouros e hereges, que trazião consigo muitos cativos, prizioneiros e officiaes catholicos.

2. Avia na mesma povoação huma igreja matrix com titulo de sé, por rezidir nella o governador do bispado de Malaca[1] a quem esta povoação e sua christandade pertencia. Em varios annos e occaziões estiverão tambem religiosos de todas as 4 religiões: S. Agostinho[2], S. Domingos, S. Francisco[3] e de nossa Companhia. Porem os que tiverão caza e igreja forão os de S. Domingos e os nossos Padres, ao principio da provincia de Cochim, depois N. R. P. Geral applicou à provincia de Japão esta missão e sua residencia.

3. Em todo o tempo foi pouco o que se pode fazer de conversão e fructo com os naturaes do reino por seguirem a maldita seita de Mafamede, permitindo Deus que não tivessem effeito os bons dezejos com que no tempo de S. Francisco Xav'er, sendo inda gentios, procurarão Padres que lhes pregassem nossa santa fee, não lhes podendo por então o Sancto acodir por outras emprezas de Maluco e Japão que se[d] offrecerão. Depois em tempos mais modernos, pretendendo os mesmos Macassares ainda gentios tomar outra seita e religião das que avia nestas partes, se rezolverão aceitar aquella que primeiro se lhe pregasse. Pera isto mandarão no mesmo tempo convidar os mouros de Jor e os Padres de Malaca. Permittio Deus por seus occultos juisos chegasse primeiro hum lascar [440*v*] mouro, e com ser tam vil por seu officio, foi bastante que pregando e emsinando a seita vil de Mafamede, a recebesse logo o rey do Macassar com[e] o povo e fidalgos de sua corte.

4. De maneira que quando depois chegou o Padre Manoel de Azevedo, que então era da provincia de Cochim e depois morreo Visitador da China e Japão, por mais que pregou e exhortou os Macassares e o rey (que lhe era muito benevolo e bene affecto) a seguir e abraçar a ley de Christo nosso Senhor,

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[d] *del.* elle [e] *corr. fr.* Macassà

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[1] Paulo da Costa; cf. Gen. Introd. I 3.

[2] Some Augustinians passed by Makasar, but they never had a fixed residence in the town.

[3] The Franciscans had the care of a hospital.

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tudo foi sem effeito por estarem já cegos em as trevas da seita de Mafamede que a olhos fechados abraçarão sem mais outra rezão que de lhe ter chegado primeiro do que a lux[f] que os Padres lhe levarão. E bastou tão pequena tardança pera fazer tam notavel mudança. Tanto importa não perder occasião, quando se offerece, de huma boa missão.

5. O rey de Macassar entre os nossos se chama Emperador por ter muitos regulos subditos e tributarios; os naturaes lhe chamão Sumbanco[4]. O governo porem anda nhum[g] principe do sangue real, que em falta de herdeiro mais chegado pode soceder no imperio. Este hé o que administra[h] e faz tudo com jurisdição amplissima, ficando o Emperador descansando[i] e levando boa vida com pouco mais que o titulo e honra, quasi do mesmo modo que o Dairi em Japão[5] e em Tunkim o Buà[6].

6. Teve muito tempo este governo hum principe muito generoso e prudente, chamado Carrim Patingaloa[j], muito amigo dos Portugueses, cuja lingoa falava tam bem como se fosse nascido em Portugal; sabia ler nossos livros, de que tinha huma fermo-[441*r*]sa livraria. Era muito bene affecto a nossa sancta ley, e tam intelligente nas cousas della que vinha ouvir as pregações dos Padres, e sabia louvar e ponderar as cousas que o pregador dizia com tanto juizo como se fosse hum bom theologo. Contou-me hum Portugues grave que passando este principe por junto da igreja onde elle estava com outros christãos em dia que avia pregação, perguntou o principe quem pregava. Responderão-lhe: o Padre Fulano. Tornou elle: o evangelho deste dia trata de tal materia; a pregação por ahi deve ir pouco mais ou menos.

7. Muitas batarias derão os nossos Padres a este principe pera que com a vontade abrace a ley que com o entendimento alcansava ser verdadeira. Conselhos que elle ouvia[k] com bom

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[f] lua *B* [g] em hum *B* [h] *corr. fr.* administrão [i] descansado *B*
[j] Carrimpatingaloa *ms. and B* [k] ouvião *B*

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[4] **Cf. D 15 note 1.**

[5] *Dairi,* a palace title meaning « what is occult ». It was applied to its occupant, the emperor, « The Hidden One », who still had much of his former moral prestige, but no longer any temporal power (Cf. BOXER, *The Christian Century in Japan* 42).

[6] *Bua,* title of the Kings of Tonkin who of royal sovereignty had nothing else except this title; the real and actual ruler was called *chua* (CHAPPOULIE 10).

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rosto. E huma vez que certo Padre[7] mais apertou com elle, lembrando-lhe que avia de ser isso causa de sua mayor condenação, respondeo: bem sabe o Padre que na sua terra muitos principes e senhores christãos se vão ao inferno por rezão de estado. E esta parece fechou a este principe a porta do ceo, porque era o mayor ou o unico impedimento que tinha pera receber o sancto baptismo. Dos outros estava muito livre e desembarassado, não tendo mais que huma molher unica, cousa rara e quasi unica entre os mouros e principes gentios desta Asia. E algumas pessoas nossas tem pera sy que este principe baptizou a sobredita sua molher, estando ella[kk] pera morrer. E o fundamento que tem pera isso hé do conhecimento que mostrara ter de aver salvação em a nossa sancta ley e perguntar muito de preposito se em cazo de necessidade podia hum mouro dar o sancto baptis-[441*v*]mo, sabendo a forma delle, e se neste cazo seria valioso e salvar-se[l] o que o recebese.

8. Emquanto viveo este principe, posto que se não fes christão, honrou e favoreceo muito os christãos, principalmente os Padres e os Portugueses. Não permittia que a elles ou às igrejas se fizesse alguma injuria e irreverencia; antes, muitas veses no anno, em especial na Somana Sancta e quinta-feira mayor as visitava, conciliando-lhe[m] com isto tam grande respeito que se tinha toda a noite o Senhor exposto e desencerrado sem perigo de no meyo de tantos mouros, hereges, e outros infieis soceder algum desacato, como de facto nunca socedeo.

9. Porem depois da morte deste principe[8], que era colunna em que estribava toda a machina do edificio que os Padres e Portugueses em Macassá levantarão, começou a ir arruinando[n] e caindo. Mandou o Emperador Sumbanco em o anno de 1657 desfazer a nossa igreja e a dos Padres de S. Domingos, consentindo que ficasse somente a see matrix[9].

10. Depois os Olandezes vierão fazer guerra a Macassar em o anno de 1660[10], e o Emperador tratou de concerto de pazes,

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[kk] elle *ms.* [l] *corr. fr.* salvase [m] -lhe *corr. fr.* -se [n] arruindando *ms.*, arruinhando *B*

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[7] Probably Fr. Alexandre de Rhodes, but in his report (D 27) the significant answer of the governor does not occur.

[8] Cf. D 55 note 2.

[9] The order may have been issued in late 1657, its execution presumably was in early 1658.

[10] The action of Johan van Dam, sent by Governor General Maetsuyker (See e. g. BASSETT, *English Trade* 29-31).

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que se lhe concederão [11] com condição que avia de lançar de suas terras todos os christãos de qualquer nação que fossem, se pertencessem de algum modo a el-rey de Portugal por terem morado em suas terras e sido algum tempo seus vassalos. O que se foi executando com alguns vagares [12] por causa de hum capitão portugues, chamado Francisco Vieira, que ally morava com titulo de embaixador do rey de Macassá, a quem mostrava muita affeição e respeito pellos grandes [442*r*] serviços que lhe tinha feito.

11. Forão nestes annos saindo de Macassar pera outros portos os mais dos christãos que alli avia [13], ficando alguns poucos com o clerigo vigario da povoação a instancia do secretario do Emperador Sumbanco [14], que era christão. Sahirão tambem os nossos Padres [15] e se desfez a rezidencia que alli tinhamos, ficando só o Padre Antonio Francisco [16] a petição e com pretexto de confessor de Francisco Vieira de Figueredo, capitão-mor de todas aquellas ilhas e povoações em que morão Portugueses, e embaixador do mesmo Emperador Sumbanco. A quem foi depois por companheiro o Irmão Antonio de Torres [17]. Os serviços de Deos que por meyo do Padre neste tempo se fizerão iremos brevemente relatando.

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[11] The treaty was made in August and signed in December 1660; article 12 forced the King of Makasar to expel the Portuguese.

[12] « There was little indication by September 1661 that any such move [of the Portuguese from Makasar] was being undertaken » (ANDAYA, *The Heritage* 60).

[13] Many of them sailed to Cambodia. Fr. Maya in this same letter noted (f. 451*r-v*) « Os christãos que alli [i. e. in Cambodia] vivem, idos de Macao e Macassar, tem tambem muita necessidade de Padre que os doutrine e emcaminhe, porque as occasiões de se perderem são muitas ». Others sailed to Macao, Timor, Siam or India, often by way of Batavia. (See *Dagh-Register 1661* 172 266).

[14] The sultan's secretary for European affairs was Francisco Mendes, « cousin and secretary », « a good Christian and akin to the sumbane », « knight of the Order of Christ ». See BOXER, *Vieira* 17 and 116).

[15] That is to say, Fr. Manuel de Miranda left Makasar in the Dutch vessel « Wakendeboey » and arrived at Batavia on August 28, 1661. He was accompanied by another Father, Manuel Soares (See D 56 note 3). They left Batavia for Siam in the Dutch ship « Enkhuizen » on September 6 (*Dagh-Register 1661* 266 289). On another Father who left, Fr. Macret, see D 52 note 16.

[16] Fr. António Francisco is the author of D 73, where he reports on those years and events.

[17] Afterwards, Bro. António de Torres will recount the final Dutch çapture of Makasar in D 70.

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12. Na conversão dos mouros, como já está dito, há muito pouco, porque não só fazendo-se algum mouro christão, se for descuberto há-de ser inffallivelmente morto por isso. Mas tãobem arrenegando [o] algum christão e fazendo-se mouro, se depois arrependido torna à nossa sancta fee, tem a mesma pena de morte. E ouve alguns que neste Macassá por esta causa perderão gloriosamente a vida, restaurando com tão ditosa retractação a perda da culpa passada. E hé isto com tanto rigor que nem aquelle principe, de que já fizemos menção, Carrim Patingaloa [p], tam amigo dos Portugueses e da fee catholica, deixava de executar ley tão cruel. Posto que quando algum christão hia ter com elle dizendo se queria fazer mouro, não aceitava [q] logo o offerecimento, mas [442*v*] mandava chamar hum nosso Padre e lhe dezia: Padre, acuda àquella alma que se vem perder. E perguntando o Padre a causa de sua perdição, respondia que vir fazer-se mouro. Comtudo, se o triste persistia e tomava as ceremonias e insignias da seita de Mafamede, não avia remedio senão continuar ou morrer. Comtudo inda ouve alguns mouros [s] nestes annos que com evidente perigo de vida se fizerão christãos, buscando os Padres modo e traça pera sahirem do Macassar [t] escondidos [u] em os nossos navios e hirem a [v] terras em que livremente podessem viver em nossa sancta fee.

13. Depois que o Padre Antonio Francisco ficou em companhia do capitão e embaixador Francisco Vieira em o Macassar [w], averia numero de mil almas de confissão, alem de muitas que, como temos dito, costumão vir de outras partes em os navios de comercio a este porto. Exercitou o Padre com todos os ordinarios ministerios da Companhia, pregando, confessando, ensinando com os primeiros [x] elementos das letras aos meninos que na terra avia a doutrina e piedade christãa e bons costumes; cousa muito importante àquella idade tenra em toda a parte, e muito mais nestas de mouros e infieis. Exercitava alem disto o officio de Pay dos christãos, particular ministerio que na India Oriental fazem os da Companhia na forma que expliquei no principio desta annua [18].

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[o] arrenegado *B* [p] Carrimpatingaloa *ms. and B* [q] *del.* lingoa [s] algumas mouras *B* [t] *corr. fr.* Macassà [u] escondidas *B* [v] as *B* [w] *corr. fr.* Macassà [x] primeitos *ms.*, principios e *B*

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[18] « Father of Christians » was a title used by the Jesuits all over SE Asia; it implied special functions that Fr. Maya described on f. 404*r*

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14. E começando por este ultimo a referir alguma cousa do fructo que o Padre fez nesta terra, inda que dos mouros, pellas rezõens já apontadas, não ouve conversões que se [443*r*] possão relatar, comtudo de outros infieis e gentios chegarão a numero de 30 os que o Padre baptizou, dous dos quaes pouco depois morrerão e se forão pera o ceo com a graça baptismal, como piamente se pode crer. Com estas poucas ovelhas acrecentou o Padre o rebanho de Christo nosso Senhor, e juntamente o conservou tirando quasi da garganta do lobo a outros que de christãos se querião fazer mouros, ou emfadados das molestias e maos tratamentos de seus amos, ou instigados do inimigo que tamquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret [18a]. Os quaes o Padre aquietava e reduzia ou com exhortações a isto accomodadas ou com os livrar das vexaçoens que lhes erão occasião de semelhantes tentaçoens.

15. Nem foi menor o serviço de Deus que se fez em outros christãos que andando muitos annos cativos entre mouros, gentios, e hereges, vindo ao Macassar acharão em o Padre o remedio e consolação spiritual de suas almas, de que avia tanto tempo careciam. Apontarei disto alguns casos mais particulares e notaveis. Seja o primeiro de hum velho natural de Malaca, que desde o tempo do ultimo cerco daquella cidade, que passa já de 20 annos, andava cativo entre mouros e avia 14 que nunca tinha emcontrado sacerdote; finalmente fugindo pera o Macassar se veyo confessar com o Padre que, por soceder em dia de Sancto Antonio [19], avogado das cousas perdidas, attribuíu-ho à intercessão do Sancto deparar-lhe aquella ovelha perdida, que depois de hum anno [443*v*] morreo com sinaes de ter marca dos predestinados [y].

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[y] de predestinado *B*

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of this letter « Ha hum officio e ministerio particular destas provincias da India Oriental, com que corre hum Padre pera isso particularmente deputado e applicado, e se chama Pai dos Christãos; o qual, alem de mais particularmente acodir a visitar os carceres e hospitaes, acode aos christãos neophitos e pobres, defendendo-os de algumas semrezoens e injustos cativeiros com que algumas vezes os querem opprimir alguns mais poderosos e menos pios. Tem tambem à sua conta o procurar a conversão dos gentios desta cidade, cathekizar e baptizar os que se convertem ». See DI XVI 3*.

[18a] I Pet 5 8.

[19] June 13.

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16. Outro christão de nação China, que fora cazado em Solor, andou cativo entre os mouros 3 annos, onde lhe quebrarão os dentes pera que por [z] força renegasse da fee, porem elle não só nunca [a] veyo nisto mas viveo entre aquelles barbaros com tanta pureza e tam observante nas obrigações da religiam christãa, que afirma o Padre ser a confissão que com elle fez de 3 annos tal como se fosse de 3 dias. Exemplo na verdade notavel de hum China que pode ser confuzão a muitos christãos de Europa não só quando vivem entre infieis mas no meyo de naçoins catholicas com menos christandade e pureza do que o fez este christão China tantos annos entre mouros, vencendo a superabundancia da graça a natural fraqueza [20] que de ordinario nesta nação [b] se acha.

17. Outros serviços de Deos fez o Padre com occasião do officio de Pay dos christãos de muita importancia, que forão livrar varias pessoas do perigo proximo de sua perdição, tirando muitas occasioens das portas adentro aos catholicos e impedindo não metessem outras entre os hereges, vendendo-lhe ou dando-lhe pera seu serviço molheres christãas, pois corrião evidente perigo ou da honestidade ou da fee, servindo a semelhantes amos e senhoras. Não faltarão porem por esta causa ao Padre muitas molestias e emfadamentos. Ouve hum que era christão e catholico, mas andava mal encaminhado, e porque o Padre o quiz pôr a caminho, elle [444*r*] tamquam febre phraeneticus insaniens in medicum [21], o ameaçou que lhe levantaria hum falço com que o lançaria a perder, porem indo pera casa de repente perdeo a falla e morreo sem confissão.

18. O ministerio de que a Companhia faz tanto emprego circa puerorum educationem [22] exercitou o Padre com grande fructo, posto que em pequeno numero, que era de ordinario de 20 discipulos por não aver na terra capacidade pera outro mayor. Argumento pode ser da boa criação que o Padre lhe dava, hum menino entre outros que de discipulo de scola se

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[z] *om. B*

[a] só nunca] somente não *B* [b] nação] não *B*

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[20] Cf. Rom 5, 15-20.

[21] St. Augustin, *Tractatus super psalmos*, ps. 63 vers. 2: « tamquam multa febre phrenetici, insanientes in medicum ».

[22] « Ego... promitto... specialem curam circa puerorum eruditionem » (MI *Constitutiones* III 168), words met with in the solemn vow of the professed Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

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fez mestre de spirito de sua caza, emsinando aos que nella vivião o que do Padre aprendera, de ter todos os dias seu tempo determinado pera liçam spiritual, algum modo de oração mental, e exame quotidiano de consciencia.

19. Mas sobretudo o em que o Padre teve mayor trabalho com mayor fructo foi o ministerio das confissões. Dia ouve em que entrando o Padre no confissionario pellas duas horas da tarde, esteve nelle espaço de mais de 24 horas, confessando de dia e de noite, sem se levantar mais que pera rezar vesporas e completas, dizer missa e fazer pregação ou pratica da festa. E ouve nisto huma particular circunstancia digna de se ponderar, que entrando neste trabalho muito mal tratado e achacado, com o muito que suou por ser em dia calmoso e com a rigorosa dieta e abstinencia de 24 horas, em lugar de sair mais [444*v*] doente, sahio mais são e melhorado. Verdade hé que outra vez fez este trabalho differente effeito porque da muita continuação de estar inclinado e applicado às confissoens, se lhe rompeo huma veia do peito e no mesmo confissionario deitou logo grande copia de sangue pella boca, que supposto parou algum tempo com o parar das occazioens das confissoens mais frequentes, tornando depois à mesma continuação e frequencia, tornou a continuar com a mesma e igual força.

20. Acha o Padre que feitas bem as [c] contas do numero das confissoens e reconciliaçoens que ouvio [d] em espaço de hum anno, chegarão a doze mil. E as confissões geraes que ouvio em todo o tempo que esteve no Macassar chegarião a 300, quaes de dous, quaes de 14, quaes de 20, quaes de 60 annos, e de toda a vida. Porque alem dos moradores ordinarios que há na povoação concorrem àquelle porto muitos christãos de outras partes como de Macao, de Manilha, Maluco, Solor e Sião. E entre elles muitos que estiverão alguns annos cativos entre mouros e gentios, outros prezioneiros entre os Olandezes, e outros catholicos embarcados em naos de hereges Dinamarcas e Ingrezes, que muito tempo não se poderão emcontrar com sacerdote que os confessasse; pello que há muitas occazioens forçosas pera o

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[c] *corr. fr.* a [d] *corr. fr.* o navio [e] e] em *B*

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[23] According to D 73 his departure must have been in February 1665.
[24] Larantuka is in Flores, called also Solor by the Portoguese.

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Padre que alli está ter muito que trabalhar e [e] ouvir confissões de muitos annos e geraes de toda a vida.

21. Estando o Padre Antonio Francisco occupado em estes e semelhantes trabalhos [445*r*] de ajudar as almas em o Macassar conforme o concerto das pazes feitas entre o Sumbanco e os Olandeses, foi obrigado a sair daquelle reino com toda sua caza o capitão Francisco Vieira [f][23], à sombra do qual se tinha permitido ficar alli o Padre Antonio Francisco. E assim foi necessario sair-se com elle pera Larantuca[24], porto muito celebre e frequentado na ilha de Solor.

22. Nesta ilha de Solor foi muito festejado dos Christãos chegar a ella Padre de nossa Companhia que há muito tempo dezejam[25], como tambem os das ilhas de Timor. Porem, como os religiosos de S. Domingos há muitos annos forão os que só estiverão naquellas ilhas, temia-se muito que levassem mal irem outros entrar nellas e ouvesse alguma occasião de discordias. Mas até agora não socedeo nada do que se temia, antes os religiosos convidarão ao Padre Antonio Francisco por occasião de chegar na quaresma[26] pera huma pregação da paixão, outra do mandato[27], dando-lhe depois os agradecimentos com muita honra, dizendo que o sermão fora tal qual esperavão dos Padres que em tudo reconhecião por seus mestres. Nem os sinaes de charidade e benevolencia forão só de palavras; a mesma mostrarão por obras offerecendo e dando ao Padre junto da sua igreja caza em que morrasse.

[...455*v*]

De Macao, 1° de Janeiro de 1666.

[*Autograph*] Por commissão do Padre Visitador, de V. P. minimo en Christo filho,

Mathias da Maya.

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[f] Vieira *add.* de Figueiredo *B*

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[25] Cf. D 44, 1.

[26] In 1665 Ash Wednesday, beginning of Lent, was on February 18.

[27] This is the *maundy* (mandatum) of Maundy Thursday.

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63

CATALOGUE OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE

[MACAO, LATE 1666]

I TEXT: ARSI *IapSin 25* ff. 183*r-v*, in 8°. Original in Portuguese, written in two columns, not dated, signed in autograph by Fr. Visitor, Luís da Gama.

II DATE: From the place in the codex, from a second hand note on top of f. 183*r* «1666» and from the date of the decease of Fr. Miranda we infer that the catalogue was made in late 1666.

Catalogo dos sogeitos da Provincia de Japão
e lugares aonde estão.

[183*r* . . .]

No Macassar

Padre Antonio Francisco
Irmão Antonio de Torres

[183*v* . . .]

Os mortos da Provincia

[. . .] Irmão Antonio Simoins em Macao a 19 de Março de 666.
Padre Manoel de Miranda a 26 de Septembro de 666.

[. . .]

[*Autograph*] Luis da Gama.

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64

FR. MANUEL SOARES SJ
TO FR. GIOVANNI PAOLO OLIVA, GENERAL, ROME

— Relation of pastoral ministry —

TENASSERIM, DECEMBER 18, 1666

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 22* ff. 398*r*-407*v*. Autograph original in Portuguese. The last page is blank, except for an archivistic note « Japp. Relaçam do que o P.e Manoel Soares vindo do Macassar com o P.e Manoel de Miranda obraram passando por Jacatra o anno de 1666 ».

II PLACE: Fr. Soares, leaving Jakarta on September 6, sailed to Siam from where he was soon removed to the mission post of Tenasserim in S. Burma.

III OUR EDITION: We print only the first page in which two Fathers are recounted leaving Makasar and arriving at Jakarta.

Summary

1. *They left Makasar with many other Catholics in a Dutch vessel on August 16 [1661] and arrived at Jakarta on St. Augustine's day [August 28].* — 2. *They feared that, being three priests (two Jesuits and a secular priest) they would not be allowed to disembark. But as they were passengers rather than prisoners, they were to be treated well in accordance with the treaty.* — 3. *And so in Jakarta, as soon as the General knew of their arrival, he had them disembark and stay in a beautiful house, but on condition that, when going into the city, they be accompanied by a Dutch guard.*

Relação dalgumas cousas que do serviço de Deos se fiserão em Jacatrá no anno de 1661 [a] por occasião de huma breve passagem que por ali fiserão o P.e Manoel de Miranda e o P.e Manoel Soares [1], religiosos da Companhia de Jesus, pera o nosso muito

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[a] *corr. fr.* 1662

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[1] See D 56 note 3; D 62 note 15. The present document expels any doubt with respect to the presence of Fr. Soares in Makasar.

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reverendo em Christo Padre Geral da minima Companhia de Jesus Paulo Oliva [b].

1. Sahimos do Macaçar em 16 de Agosto do presente anno [2], e nos embarcamos numa charrua olandesa que de Amboyno [c] tinha vindo pera tomar a gente christam que nella quisesse ir, por ser toda obrigada a sair segundo as capitulações que os olandeses tinhão feito com o rei do Macaçar. E em 12 dias chegamos a Jacatrá em dia do glorioso padre S. Agostinho [3], dia bem assinalado na verdade e que podiamos confiar muito no Santo, que nos alcançaria de Deos muito [d] favor pera lhe faseremos na conversão e salvação das almas em Jacatrá alguns serviços.

2. E posto que hiamos e chegamos com temor e arreceo os que eramos sacerdotes, que vinhamos a ser tres por ir mais connosco hum clerigo do Macaçar [4] natural de Malaca, posto que timiamos que por seremos sacerdotes nos não deixarião desembarcar, por não faltar exemplos doutros nossos Padres que, levados de Malaca e doutras partes a Jacatrá, lhes derão por prisão as naos sem os deixarem sair em terra [5], do mesmo modo pois cuidavamos nós que se usaria tambem connosco. Mas quis Deos que não usassem connosco estes rigores e apertos, o que parece fiserão por verem ou saberem que não eramos prisioneiros senão passageiros, a quem pellas capitulações que com o rei do Macaçar fiserão estavão obrigados a dar boa passagem e bom trato, o que na verdade fiserão do Macaçar até Jacatrá.

3. E em Jacatrá ainda muito milhor, porque logo que constou ao General [6] de nossa chegada àquelle porto, nos mandou sair em terra e agasalhar em humas grandes e fermosas casas que ficavão quasi no meio da cidade, mas com obrigação que todos tres ali morassemos e que quando saissemos fora polla cidade não fossemos se não acompanhados com hum de dous

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[b] da... Oliva *corr. fr.* Gosuino Nichel [c] *corr. fr.* Amboino [d] *del.* de seu [?]

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[2] Understand the year mentioned in the title: 1661.

[3] I. e. August 28.

[4] Perhaps his name was Francisco Rodrigues (D 56 note 3).

[5] E. g. the two Fathers Diogo de Oliveira and Stanislao Torrente who with Fr. Alexandre de Rhodes arrived on March 5, 1646, had not been allowed to go ashore (*Voyages et Missions du Père A. de Rhodes*, Lille 1884, 257).

[6] Joan Maetsuyker, Governor General at Batavia, 1653-1678.

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olandeses que pera isso forão nomeados, os quais moravão perto de nós afim de estarem prestes pera nos acompanharem todas as veses que algum de nós queria ir fora pella cidade a algum negocio.

[...407*r*] Tanaçarim, e 18 de Desembro 1666.

Indignissimus in Christo filius V. Rever. Paternitatis,
Emmanuel Soares.

Lost Letter

64a — *Fr. António Francisco, Larantuka, to Fr. Provincial of Macao, 1667.*

D 65, 9: Estes e outros muitos cazos refere o Padre em huma sua...

65

ANNUAL LETTER OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE BY COMMISSION OF FR. VICE-PROVINCIAL TO FR. GIAMPAOLO OLIVA, GENERAL

MACAO, SEPTEMBER 29, 1667

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 48* ff. 92*r*-98*v*. Original in Portuguese, written entirely in one clear hand. It is not signed, either by the Vice-Provincial André Gomes or by his secretary. The report on Makasar is on ff. 97*v*-98*r*.

II OUR EDITION: We print a fragment in which Fr. Visitor [Luís da Gama] is said to take care of the Makasar mission, sending two Fathers there; and further the section that explicitly deals with that mission.

Summary

1. *Fr. Visitor sent two Jesuits to Makasar in a pinnace bound for Timor that in returning would touch at Makasar. They were the Fathers Matias da Maya as a Visitor who had to return to Macao, and António Lopes who should stay on as a companion of Fr. António Francisco. They left Macao on January 11* [*1667*]. — 2. *In Makasar Fr. António Francisco and Brother António de Torres were stationed under the safe protection of Francisco Vieira. As the latter had to leave Makasar, Fr. Francisco saw himself forced to follow him to Larantuka. Bro. Torres stayed*

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on in Makasar keeping school for the children. — 3. In Larantuka, both the population and the Dominicans welcomed Fr. Francisco with joy. Soon people went to confession with him in such great numbers that he did not have an hour of rest. — 4. Earthquake on the feast day of St. Ignatius, interpreted as a sign that the Jesuits should convert those islands. One declared: if there were ten or twelve Fathers of the Society of Jesus, all the mountaineers would soon be Christians. Illness and recovery of Fr. Francisco. — 5. Conversion of an obstinate chief. When the Father was called to his death-bed he just suffered from a fever attack; therefore he asked the vicar to assist the man. But the vicar excused himself. So the Father, though feverous, got up, visited and baptized him; returning home he got rid of the fever. — 6. Fr. Francisco's apostolic work: less in making conversions of the natives, much more in hearing confessions and in delivering sermons. Some came even from Batavia to make their confession with him, being a Jesuit. — 7. Conversion of two Dutch heretics. — 8. Confessions of two sick persons in a bark bound for Makasar. — 9. Conversion of a sinner who for thirty years had not gone to confession.

[92*r*] Ao muito Reverendo em Christo Padre João Paulo Oliva
Preposito Geral da Companhia de Jesus
Annua da Provincia de Japão começa do principio de
Novembro de 1666 até o fim de Setembro de 1667
Por comissão do Padre Vice-Provincial

[...94*r*] Do naufragio do barco de Timor

1. Como este anno não ouve barco algum de Macao en deiretura do Macassar, onde está huma residencia desta provincia, e só se ofereceo hum pataxo pera Timor, que à vinda avia de voltar pello Macassar, pareceo ao Padre Visitador [1] aproveitar-se desta ocasião pera mandar visitar e prover a dita residencia. Por isso no dito pataxo mandou ao Padre Mathias da [a] Maya [2], e com elle o Padre António Lopes [3], aquelle por visitador en seu lugar, e acabada a visita pera voltar logo a Macao, e este pera ficar por companheiro do Padre Antonio Francisco, que hé o superior daquella residencia. Embarcados pois os dous Padres

[a] *corr. fr.* de

[1] Fr. Luís da Gama, Visitor of Japan and China, 1664-1670.

[2] On Fr. Matias da Maya, see D 26, introduction. He had been Provincial of Japan, 1658-1661. A *curriculum vitae* can be seen in the present letter *IapSin 48* ff. 94*v*-95*r*. See also *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo* I 114; II 695.

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Mathias da [b] Maya e António Lopes, se fes o barco à vella aos 11 de Janeiro [4].

[...97*v*] Da Residencia do [c] Macassar

2. No Macassar assistia o Padre Antonio Francisco por superior da residencia que ali temos en companhia do Irmão Antonio de Torres; e à sombra do capitão-mor do sul, o senhor Francisco Vieira de Figueredo, estavão com segurança. Como por força dos contratos que se fizerão entre os Olandeses e o rey do Macassar foi obrigado o dito senhor a sair daquelle reino e passar-se a Larantuca, porto principal da ilha do Solor [5], não pode o Padre Antonio Francisco deixar de o acompanhar por satisfazermos a seu grande dezejo, e às instancias que pera isso fes, e nossa obrigação que tinhamos de o guardar [6]. O Irmão Antonio de Torres ficou no Macassar com o exercicio do ensino dos meninos da escola, dando muito exemplo com seu bom proceder.

3. Chegado o Padre Antonio Francisco a Larantuca foi grande alegria que com [d] sua presença receberão os moradores daquella ilha, assi Portugueses como naturais, e não foi menos [e] a que mostrarão os Reverendos Padres da sagrada ordem dos Pregadores, que tem a seu cargo a cultivação spiritual daquellas ilhas. Do fruito que o Padre começou logo a fazer naquella terra se fes já menção na Annua do anno passado [7]. Foi continuando igualmente en companhia do senhor capitão-mor nos exer-

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[b] *corr. fr.* de [c] *corr. fr.* de [d] *corr. fr.* tem [e] foi menos *w. corr.*

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[3] Fr. António Lopes was a Portuguese who joined the Jesuits in India in 1642 and who lived at Macao from 1650 on, and two years on the island of Hainan. See MHJ 1217.

[4] When sailing along the coast of Vietnam they were overtaken by a heavy storm and shipwrecked; Fr. Maya lost his life, and Fr. Lopes managed to come ashore. He never arrived at Makasar. There is an extensive account of this disaster in *IapSin 48* ff. 103*r*-105*r*; a second copy is in *IapSin 22* ff. 408*r*-409*v*.

[5] Understand in Flores, at the easternmost end, very near the island of Solor.

[6] Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo always proved a staunch friend and supporter of the Jesuits, and a severe critic of the Dominicans. He would have liked to see the Blackfriars of the Solor Archipelago replaced by Jesuits.

[7] D 62, 21-22.

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cicios de nossos ministerios pregando e confessando, e com tão grande numero de confissoins que afirma[f] o mesmo Padre lhe não dão huma hora de descanço.

4. Dia do nosso santo Patriarcha Santo Ignacio[8] fes o senhor capitão-mor huma solemne festa, e estando o Padre pregando tremeo a terra com tão grande excesso que foi necessario acudir às cousas e ornamentos do altar pera que não cahisse em terra. Parece que o demonio, ouvindo louvar a Santo Ignacio, nunca ali nomeado, mostrou com o tremor da terra o sentimento que lhe causara. Muitos dos portugueses lançarão a bom pronostico este tremor da terra nesta ocazião, dizendo que aquelle tremor era sinal de que aquellas ilhas se avião de converter por meyo dos filhos de Santo Ignacio, e que aquelle tremor era rebate com que o Santo nos convidava à conquista. Hum fidalgo daquella ilha, Dom Domingos, altercando este ponto em huma converçação, disse aos circunstantes senhores, en resolução: se aqui estivesse[m] dez ou doze Padres da Companhia, em poucos annos aviamos de ver todos estes gunos[9] christãos. Durou o tremor da terra toda a oitava do Santo e acabada ella acabou tambem, com que se confirmarão todos em sua openião. Passados alguns dias adoeceo o Padre gravemente e chegou ao extremo da vida, e era[g] geral o sentimento, e ouve muitos que choravão por elle dizendo que não tinhão ventura, pois avendo tantos annos que desejavão hum Padre da Companhia, e agora hum que ali tinhão o levava Deos pera sy. Mas foi o Senhor servido dar-lhe saude pera lhe fazer ali tantos serviços quantos vem publicando os que de lá vierão. [98*r*]

5. Avia muitos annos que se lidava com hum gentio dos principais da ilha pera que se fizesse[h] christão. Nunca quis dar ouvidos a isso, antes quando lhe falavão en se fazer christão respondia galanteando que se[i] seus pais estavão no inferno por não serem christãos, elle os queria lá ir acompanhar. Depois de chegar o Padre travou[j] com elle amisade e tantas vezes lhe falou em nossa santa fee; até que hum dia movido de suas praticas lhe disse que queria fazer-se christão. Ficarão todos maravilhados desta repentina mudança, que conhecião tão obstinado e contumás en seus erros. Foi-o[k] cathequisa[n]do o Padre,

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[f] afirmão *ms.* [g] *w. corr., d.r.* [h] *corr. fr.* fizessem [i] *ins.* [j] *corr. fr.* tratou [k] *ins.*

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[8] July 31.

[9] Malay *gunung,* mountain.

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e antes de receber agoa do bautismo adoeceu[l] gravemente, e sintindo que a morte se apressava, mandou chamar o Padre que o fosse bautizar. Quando lhe chegou este avizo, estava autualmente com huma cezão. E por este respeito mandou pedir ao Padre Vigario que acudisse a salvar aquella ouvelha con toda a pressa antes que se perdesse. Escuzou-se o Padre Vigario com cauza que pera isso teria. Pello perigo que avia na tardança foi[m] o Padre Antonio Francisco obrigado a se levantar e ir logo assi como estava com a cezão, e quis Deos quando chegou o achasse ainda vivo. Bautizou-o e dahi a poucas horas morreo com grandes sinais de sua salvação. Veio o Padre pera caza e foi-se lhe a febre no caminho e dahi por diante nunca mais lhe tornou, avendo muitos dias que a padecia. Quis logo Deos pagar-lhe o trabalho que por sua gloria tomara.

6. Ainda que o Padre Antonio Francisco se não pode ali empregar na converção dos gentios tanto quanto elle dezejava[10], nas confissoins e pregaçoins da povoação donde residia fes grande fruito. De todas as partes vinhão só pera se confessar com elle. De Batavia[n] vierão varios que avia muitos annos se não confessão por andarem emtre hereges olandezes. E por andar o Padre muito emfermo, os mandava se fossem confessar com os outros religiosos, mas elles repondião que não vierão de Batavia mais que por se confessarem com hum Padre da Companhia e não o avião de[o] fazer com outro Padre. Os ouvia com bem de trabalho e os mandava consolados.

7. Dous Olandeses, hereges de profissão, adoecerão gravemente em Larantuca; soube o Padre e foi visitá-los[p], e apertando com elles que deixassem seus erros e se reduzissem à fee catholica, de tal sorte lhe moveo Deos os coraçoins que com muitas lagrimas e publicamente fizerão protestação da fee e absoltos dahi a poucos dias morrerão com mostras de sua predestinação.

8. Partio de Timor hum barco pera Macassar. Soube o Padre como nelle hião dous homens emfermos sem se confessarem. Embarcou-se logo em huma chalupa e foi alcançar o barco antes de sair da barra pera fora. Entrando dentro, perguntou pellos enfermos; foi ò[q] lugar onde estavão, confessou-os, e hum

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[l] *corr. fr.* adoeceo [m] *del.* obrigado [n] *corr. fr.* Betavia [o] avia *ms.* [p] *w. corr.* [q] a *ins.*

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[10] Obviously impeded by the Dominicans.

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delles avia muitos annos se não confessava. Recolheo-se o Padre consolado [r] por ter remediado aquellas duas almas, que depois soube morrerão ambos na viagem.

9. Outro peccador que avia 30 annos se não confessava, tão relapso en todo de vicios que, como elle depois dizia, nem conta fazia de se salvar porque em vida lhe parecia estava já condenado. Este ouvindo hum dia pregar o Padre, o tocou Deos no coração e logo o foi [s] buscar e fes com elle huma confição geral em que gastou oito dias, e dahi por diante perseverou em seus bons propositos, com grande resolução frequentando muitas veses o sacramento da penitencia. Estes e outros muitos cazos refere o Padre em huma sua [11], que eu deixo por não ser identico [t] e demasiadamente extenso [u].

[...98*v*] Macao, 29 de Septembro de 1667.

66

CATALOGUE OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE

Macao, September 30, 1667

Fifth *via*

Text: ARSI, *IapSin 25* ff. 190*r*-191*v*, in 8°. Original in Portuguese with autograph dating and signature of Fr. Visitor Luís da Gama; written in two columns. F. 191*v* is blank.

Summary

The names of two Jesuits stationed at Makasar and of two others who had been so earlier.

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[r] *corr. fr.* consolando [s] fui *ms.* [t] *w. corr.* [u] *corr. fr.* estenso

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[11] Lost letter, 64a.

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Catalogo dos sogeitos da Provincia de Japão
e lugares aonde estão

[...]

No Macassar

Padre Antonio Francisco [1]
Irmão Antonio de Torres

[...]

Os mortos da Provincia de Japão

[191*r*] O Irmão Antonio Simões [2] a 19 de Março de 666 em Macao. O Padre Manoel de Miranda em Macao aos 26 de Setembro de 666.

67

FR. JEAN-BAPTISTE MALDONADO SJ TO FR. GIAMPAOLO OLIVA, GENERAL, ROME

— Annual Letter —

MACAO, DECEMBER 1, 1668

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 48* ff. 106*r*-109*v*. Original in Latin in a fluent script. In f. 109*v*, after the signature, two later notes in two different hands: « Literae annuae Provinciae Japponiae an. 1668 » and « 1668. Latine ». The section on Makasar, or rather on Captain Francisco Vieira, is on f. 108*r*.

II THE AUTHOR: Fr. Jean-Baptiste Maldonado, Belgian, born in 1634 at Mons (Bergen), a Jesuit in 1653, sailed to Asia in 1666 and arrived at Macao the next year, being appointed to the mission of China. Actually he worked mainly in Siam and Cambodia where he died in 1699. (H. BOSMANS, *Correspondance de J.-B. M.;* WICKI, *Liste* no. 1085; DEHERGNE, no. 512).

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[1] The Macao Fathers knew that Fr. António Francisco had taken refuge in Larantuka (D 65), but officially he remained applied to Makasar and perhaps he was expected soon to return to his post.

[2] See D 47,5.

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Summary

1. *Bro. António de Torres left Makasar and sailed to Siam. A few years earlier, Francisco Vieira had already left it. His sympathy and generosity for the Jesuits. Fr. António Francisco lives at Larantuka together with Francisco Vieira who chose him as spiritual director.* — 2. *This man's pious life, his love of the poor and of his enemies; his devotion to St. Francis Xavier.* — 3. *He disposed by will of a sum for the foundation of a college.*

[106*r*] Litterae Provinciae Iaponicae anni 1668 ad R.A.P.N. Joannem Paulum Oliva, Societatis Iesu Praepositum Generalem

[108*r*] 1. Iam quae de aliis huius Provinciae partibus accepimus subiungam.

Ex Macasaria insula, quam proxime occupatam Hollandi vastavere [1], Frater noster Antonius de Torres in Siamum se recepit [2]. Eadem insula ab aliquot iam annis discesserat D. Franciscus Vieira, meridionalium insularum Gubernator. Societati ut fuit amicissimus, ita sub mortem maxime ostendit, data ad promovendas huius Provinciae missiones fundatione collegii sub Divi Xaverii nomine erigendi. Et Societas vicissim quantum ipsi deberet quibus potuit officiis ostendit. Degebat in Larantuca, insulae Soloris portu, Pater Antonius Franciscus, et ibidem inter missionis ministeria Domino Vieira iussus esse a sacris, sua consuetudine eius animum Deo et Societati conciliabat. Fecit haec familiaris cohabitatio ut suam Patri conscientiam aperiret, eique ad caelestia dirigendum se instar filii committeret. Ea caelestium tractatione plurimum profecit vir ceteroqui negotiorum mole occupatus.

2. Solemne illi fuit sub extremos vitae annos duo sacra quotidie de genibus audire, orationem pene continuam habere, quot hebdomadis sacram synaxim recipere. Porro caritatem non solum in egenos, quorum pater audiebat, sed in ipsosmet inimicos tum parcendo tum benefaciendo hilariter ostendebat, se ipsum

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[1] After the Dutch General Speelman had forced Sultan Hasanuddin of Makasar to sign the treaty of Bongaya in November 1667, and the latter had restarted the war, the Dutch destroyed the city in April 1668.

[2] Bro. Torres first escaped to Larantuka (D 68) from where rather soon he sailed to Siam (D 70).

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ad tolerantiam adversorum animans his verbis: sit nomen Domini benedictum, et hoc ob Dei amorem toleremus. Sed praecipue ad virtutis studium excitabatur vita et miraculis Divi Xaverii, quibus cum animum suaviter pasceret, tum nostris in missionum cultura laboribus multum delectabatur. Forte accidit ut in eius manus veniret libellus de nova in Sanctum pietate per decem sextas ferias producenda. Illico cum sua uxore [3] pietatem illam suscepit et exsolvit.

3. Inter haec volvebat animo fundationem collegii ad missionum propagationem, et hanc voluntatem suis officiis fovebat Pater Antonius Franciscus quando supervenit morbus, isque tam acer ut nihil de testamento agi posse videretur. Caeterum susceptis omnibus sacramentis, ad aeternitatem accinctus, et iam fortior, notario acciri iusso, ipsemet dictat testamentum quo dotem collegio fundando assignat. His peractis, admodum quietus inter nobilissimos virtutum actus, iuvante ad extremum spiritum Patre, in caelum uti speramus migravit [4].

[109*v*] Macai, 1ª Decembri 1668.

Reverendae admodum Paternitatis Vestrae servus et filius in Christo minimus,

Joannes Baptista Maldonado.

68

CATALOGUE OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE

MACAO, DECEMBER 10, 1668

Third *via*

TEXT: A. ARSI, *IapSin 25* f. 192*r-v*, in 8°. Original in Portuguese with autograph dating and signature of Fr. Luís da Gama, Visitor.

B. *IapSin 26* ff. 34*r*-35*v*. Another original in 8°, second *via*, identical with text A.

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[3] Her name was Catarina de Noronha (D 73, 17; BOXER, *Vieira* 48).

[4] On the circumstances and the date of his death, see D 73, 15.

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In this and some further catalogues, under the title « Os mortos da Provincia de Japão », the names of the deceased are the same as in the catalogue of one year earlier: D 66.

Summary

Makasar was again destroyed by the Dutch. This was the end of the Jesuit residence. Bro. Torres escaped to Larantuka.

Catalogo dos sogeitos da Provincia de Japão e lugares aonde estão

[192*v*] O Macassar foi de novo destruido polos Olandezes em Abril de 668 e a nossa residencia se acabou [1]. O Irmão Antonio de Torres escapou com vida e se foi pera Larantuca [2], aonde estava o Padre Antonio Francisco. Em carta particular falarey de hum e outro [3].

[...*Autograph*] Macao, 10 de Dezembro de 668.

Luis da Gama.

Lost Letter

68a — *Fr. Visitor Luís da Gama, Macao, to Fr. General, Rome, December 10, 1668.*

D 68: Em carta particular falarei de hum e outro.

68b — *Fr. António Francisco, Makasar/Larantuka, to his superiors in Macao, before 1670.*

D 73, 5: De aliquibus quae hic [Macassariae] operatus sum et de aliquibus aliis quae etiam in insula Solor... egi, superiores macaenses... admonui per epistulas.

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[1] Fr. Visitor Luís da Gama had the useful custom of interrupting the catalogue list of names with short but important notices on persons and residences. In this case he made an official statement on the end of the Makasar Jesuit residence and of the mission there.

[2] With a view to sail to Macao as soon as possible (D 70, 21).

[3] Lost letter, 68a. The codex *IapSin 162* contains two letters of Fr. Gama, called *4ª carta* and *6ª carta*, both of December 10, 1668, but they do not speak of the two Jesuits of Larantuka; a letter dealing with them is lacking.

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69

CATALOGUE OF THE FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE

[MACAO, 1668]

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 25* f. 195*r-v*. Original in Latin, signed in autograph by Fr. André Gomes, Vice-Provincial. Only one page is filled with the text which is written in two columns; f. 194*v* has only an archivist's note « Catalogus sociorum Provinciae Iapponiae, an 1668 ».

II THE AUTHOR, or at least the Father who officially despatched the catalogue and therefore signed it, was the Vice-Provincial of Japan, André Gomes. Born at Alandroal, Portugal, in 1622, he became a Jesuit in 1639 and sailed to India in 1656. He worked in Cambodia and Siam, and at Macao, was Vice-Provincial 1667-1670, was again stationed in Cambodia and returned to Macao where he died in 1681. (DEHERGNE, no. 369; WICKI, *Liste* no. 1012; BURNAY 191-193).

Summary

Names of the two Jesuits staying at Larantuka.

Cathalogus Patrum Fratrumque Provinciae Iaponis

[...]

Larantuca [1]

P. Antonius Franciscus
P. Antonius de Torres

[... *Autograph*] Andreas Gomes.

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[1] This is the only time that Larantuka is listed in a catalogue as if it were a residence or mission post of the Society of Jesus. Fr. António Francisco stayed there for five years, 1665-1670; Bro. António de Torres for only one year, 1668-1669.

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70

[BRO. ANTÓNIO DE TORRES SJ] TO FR. PEDRO DE ESPINAR SJ, POCURATOR, MANILA

SIAM, JULY 23, 1669

I TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 124* ff. 79*r*-80*v*. Copy in Spanish, a part of a more extensive *Relación*. This document contains an extensive report on the Chinese mission of Canton, written by Fr. Francisco de Rougemont to Fr. Rafael de Bonafé in Manila, of January 8, 1669; further letters written by the Jesuits of Peking in April and May of 1668 and some others of 1669; moreover a lengthy report of the Peking Jesuits to their fellow-men at Canton and to the entire Society, of January 2, 1669; a letter of Visitor Luís da Gama to Fr. Provincial of the Philippines of March 10, 1669; a report on the city of Macao and on a Dutch embassy to the Emperor of China; then the present letter; and finally a few lines on Cochin China. The whole of it is a collection of letters received in Manila in 1669 and translated from Portuguese into Spanish. It is on ff. 71*r*-80*v*; the folios are numbered at the top 1-10; the quires (of four pages each) at the bottom 1-5.

II AUTHOR: He is not called by name but the context, confronted with some other documents, especially with DD 68 and 69, clearly reveals that it is Bro. António de Torres who wrote the account; nobody else could have written it. Presumably he wrote it in Portuguese.

III ADDRESSEE: Fr. Pedro de Espinar was a Spanish Jesuit, born at Toledo in 1630, who entered the Society in 1645. He had arrived in the Philippines in 1653 and he died in Madrid in 1695. In mid-1669 he was the procurator of the Philippine Jesuit Province at Manila. In this quality he may have been known to Bro. Torres who had acted as procurator and as assistant-procurator at Macao for several years.

Summary

1. *A Jesuit who was present at the events reports on the disaster of Makasar.* — 2. *Had received a letter from his addressee, wanted to answer it, but lost all his papers in the war of the Dutch against Makasar.* — 3. *They first sailed to Butung where they destroyed a Makasar fleet. Then, together with people of Ternate and Banda, they took position near Makasar in front of Sambopo castle.* — 4. *After seven days the king ordered the Sambopo artillery to be fired off to the Dutch ships which, however, shot back for the entire day.* — 5. *The English had fortified their factory; they were fired upon and they pounded back.* — 6. *The next days the fleet lined up in front of the Portuguese quarter; subsequently it sailed to a*

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Makasar fortress and put some people ashore. — 7. The king followed the Dutch and made some incursions against them. The Dutch demanded a two day armistice; they contacted three karaengs who were dissatisfied with the king. — 8. A sudden Dutch attack on the principal points, in which these karaengs sided with them, forced the king to enter into parleys; within three days he had to decide. — 9. Conditions of the treaty: payment of 500,000 bulays in five years, many arms, and, for some time to come, the fortress of Jumpandang under certain conditions. — 10. But the Dutch did the contrary: they occupied, fortified and garrisoned it entirely. — 11. The Portuguese and the English should be expelled. The latter were captured and carried away to Batavia; the Portuguese should leave not later than July 1668. The first rate of 100,000 bulays had already been paid. — 12. The Dutch general took up his residence in the fortress and was much visited and celebrated, also by the king. He named the fortress Rotterdam. — 13. The general proved friendly toward the Portuguese. As he daily asked for new things so as to annoy the Makasar king and people, the war restarted. — 14. The Portuguese lived in their quarter and were not involved in the war. — 15. On April 14, 1668, the general started an attack on the Sambopo fortress. A division of Malay people assaulted them and drove them back into their fortress. This happened near the Portuguese quarter. The Malays reproached the Portuguese for not taking part in the action against the Dutch. — 16. Next day, some Makasar and Malay people fell upon the Portuguese town, plundering and destroying everything. People fled into the houses of Pedro de Faria and of Francisco Mendes, the king's secretary. He [Torres] carried his personal effects to Faria's house. — 17. That same evening, however, the rabble ransacked this house. Seeing this, took his properties to the house of Francisco Mendes, kinsman of the king. — 18. The next day, the mob plundered and set on fire likewise Mendes' house. So lost all his things. — 19. He and other Portuguese were left with nothing but the clothes they wore, some with even less. — 20. The king gave some straw houses to these miserable Portuguese and something to eat. — 21. Took the opportunity to go to Larantuka in Solor to stay with Fr. António Francisco or to sail to Macao, but the Father found it wiser that he left for Siam.

[71*r*] †

Relación del estado de la christiandad de[l] gran Imperio de la China y de otros sucesos destos reynos de la última Asia

[...79*r*]

Del reyno de Macazar y sujeción al olandés

1. La desdicha que sobrevino a Macazar y traición que usaron los olandeses para sugetar a su rey, la escrivió uno de la

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Compañía de Jesús que se halló allí al P.e Pedro de Espinar, procurador general de la misma Compañía en Phelipinas, por el tenor siguiente. Su fecha: Siam, 23 de Julio de 1669.

2. Holgaréme halle esta a V. R. con buena salud para hazer a nuestro Señor muchos servicios, la qual io gozo a N. Señor. Él nos dé gracia emplearla bien en su santo servicio. En Febrero de 1667 receví una de V. R., que estimara tener aora para responderla, mas en la destrucción del pueblo de christianos [1] y de la casa, pereció con todo lo que avía assí en mi poder como en todo el pueblo en 14, 15 y 16 de Abril del mismo año, en el qual fue el olandés sobre aquel reyno [2] para castigar algunos agravios que avían recevido de los macazares.

3. Lo primero que hicieron [fue] ir sobre Botun, tierra de Amboino, a destruir una gruessa armada que el rey de Macazar avía embiado a aquella tierra para castigar alguna gente que favorecía a los olandeses; a la qual armada la tomaron y destruieron toda, matando y cautibando a todos los que no pudieron escaparse [3]. Y de buelta para Macazar [4] fue haciéndosse gente [5] ternates, bandaneses, oceguices [6] y otras naciones, con los quales y con muchas caracoas vino sobre Macazar, y se puso con toda la armada enfrente de la fortaleza de Sambopo [7] casi a tiro

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[1] What is called here « town of the Christians », is likewise termed « town of the Portuguese » in the following pages. After the withdrawal of the Portuguese in 1661 many Christian people of mixed blood and of Portuguese education remained and continued living in what was known as the Portuguese town or quarter.

[2] The year 1668.

[3] The Dutch Admiral (always called General in this document), Cornelis Speelman, arrived at the island of Butung, off the southeastern tip of Sulawesi, on January 1, 1667 (STAPEL, *Speelman* 37).

[4] After a three month inspection voyage to the Maluku region: Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, Banda and Ambon, he reached Makasar on July 13, 1667 (*ibid.* 41).

[5] *Hacer gente*, old phrase, « reclutar hombres para la milicia » (*Enciclopedia del Idioma* II 2132, *s. v.* gente).

[6] I surmise that this is a deformation, made either by Bro. Torres or by the translator, of the name of the dominant race of S. W. Sulawesi known as *Bugis*. See e. g. « Thereupon the Hollanders resolved to unite their forces with the *Bouquises* that were in rebellion against their Sovereign » (*Hobson-Jobson* 124). The Bugis of the kingdom of Boni, led by their ruler Arung Palakka, actively supported the Dutch in their war against Makasar.

[7] Somba-opu, fortress and residence of the King of Makasar; see D 15, title and note 19.

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de pieça, y assí se estuvo siete días sin bullirse ni disparar pieça.

4. Lo mismo hizo el Macazar que, o por miedo o por ver lo que pretendía, no disparó pieça. Solamente estavan mucho en vela, con las plazas llenas de gente y muchos fuegos de noche. Hasta que passados los siete días se salió el rey con algunos de sus carnizes [8] fuera de la fortaleza, y se fue a lo lexos a trecho donde no pudiessen llegar las balas, dexando orden que la artillería de la fortaleza de Sambopo fuesse disparando en la armada [9], como se hiço con mucha furia. Con que las naos de los olandeses, puestos [en] orden, fueron también disparando a la fortaleza por aquella parte todo el día sin zessar, porque, como eran más de veinte naos sin las chalupas, siempre estava disparando aora unas [aora] otras. [79*v*]

5. El fator inglés avía echo enfrente de su fatoría un baluarte en la playa, en quien avía assesta[do] seis pieças. Y viendo que también a su fatoría disparaban las naos, comenzó también a jugar las pieças de su baluarte que, como estavan a la lengua de la agua, hizieron mucho estrago en las naos por tener un buen artillero que echava la carga necessaria, con que las balas alcançaban a las naos y las destroçaron mucho, de que eran señales las tablas quebradas que venían a la playa con otras señas de gente muerta. Y algunas naos se alexaron por no poder sufrir más la carga, aunque otras les sucedieron, y así con este tesón se gastó todo aquel día hasta después de las avemarías.

6. La mañana siguiente [10] apareció la armada toda a lo largo fuera de tiro de pieça y fue a surgir enfrente de la población de los portugueses, donde estuvo desde el sábado por la tarde hasta todo el domingo [11], mas no disparó sino es una pieça a unos mancebos que estavan en la plaia con sus casacas de escarlata, con lo qual se recogieron y el olandés no disparó más pieça. La mañana [12] siguiente se fue la armada para una punta en que estava una fortaleza de los macazares, y luego passó a un lugar allí cerca donde hechó gente en tierra [13], la qual hizo algunas trincheras donde pusieron algunos tiros de artillería.

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[8] Probably a misspelling for what in the subsequent text is often called *carris*, i. e. *karaengs*, princes.

[9] The shelling started on July 19, 1667 (STAPEL o. c. 42).

[10] Friday, July 20.

[11] July 21 and 22.

[12] July 23.

[13] This fortified place was called Glisson or Galesong (STAPEL, *ibid.*).

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7. A la armada siguió el rey de Macazar por tierra con toda su gente hasta llegar a vista del enemigo, donde hizo también sus trincheras y dellas hacían unos y otros sus correrías, en que siempre avía muchas muertes de ambas partes. Hasta que después de muchos días salió una banda de las trincheras de los olandeses de paz y pidió dos días de treguas, con que los dos campos se comunicaban [14]. En este tiempo tuvo el enemigo intelligencia con alguna negociación de hacer bolver contra el rey a tres carris, que eran muy poderosos y tenían mucha gente, los quales estavan desabridos con el rey, por averles él reprehendido mucho el aver consentido que el enemigo saliesse a tierra [15].

8. Estando assí las cosas, dió una noche el olandés sobre los principales puestos de los macaçares, donde eran capitanes los que se bolvieron contra el rey; y lo mismo fue llegar el enemigo, que hacerse de aquellos puestos y declararse los carris por levantados con toda su gente. La qual se puso toda de parte del olandés, que con aquel subsidio fue apretando con el rey, el qual hallándose con poquíssima gente para resistir al poder del enemigo, se fue forçoso pedir al enemigo treguas por algunos días para tratar de conciertos, y concediéronle solamente tres.

9. Viniéronse a concertar [16] que le pagarían al olandés quinientos mill bulais [17] en cinco años para las despensas de la armada, y al general 40 mill; y que si no tubiessen d[e]recho [18], tomarían en descuento pieças de artillería, pólbora, balas y otras armas. Y assí recogieron muchas pieças, pólvora, balas y otras armas. Con que lo que les quitaban a los macazares para que no les ofendiesen, poblaron los olandeses una fortaleza; que l'aprestarían la fortaleza de Jumpanda [19] hasta hacer ellos su fatoría

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[14] Negotiations began on October 29 (*ibid.* 44).

[15] Also STAPEL (l. c.) mentions that some karaengs of King Hasanuddin deserted him and went over to the Dutch.

[16] This is the well-known Treaty of Bongaya of November 18, 1667. Text in VALENTYN III b 160-164. Cf. F. W. STAPEL, *Het Bongaais Verdrag* [1922].

[17] For *bulais,* see D 40 note 11.

[18] Written *drecho;* here used in the meaning of satisfaction, compensation.

[19] Jumpandang, more completely Ujungpandang. It was situated at about six km. north of Somba-opu; the Portuguese quarter was halfway between the two. Whereas Somba-opu disappeared wholly and is the most difficult to locate today (REID, *The Rise* 142), Jumpandang is still in existence; the modern city of Makasar took again the name of Ujungpandang.

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por avérsela destruído en Sambopo los macazares en su ausensia, con condición que en ella no po[n]drían artillería ninguna, salvo las pieças que tenía, y que la soldadesca que en ella huviese de estar sería la mitad olandezes y la mitad macazares [20].

10. Assí lo prometieron los olandeses mas hicieron lo contrario, porque no admitieron ningún macaçar dentro, y en breve proveyeron toda la fortaleza, que tenía 4 baluartes, dos a la mar sobre [l]a baia y dos para la tierra, por parte donde se descubría una grande llanura. Cada baluarte tenía nuebe freturas [21], todas las proveió de pieças y con sus oficiales [80*r*] con cuerda encendida y a punto por lo que puede suceder. En la puerta assetaron 7 pieças de artillería, y en ella hicieron cuerpo de guardia con sus hileras de arcabuces y otras armas, y con soldados de posta. La fortaleza en rueda [a] estava cercada con un fosso de piedra lleno de agua; la baia de baço la fortaleza occupada con sus naos y otros barcos menores.

11. También capitularon que el rey echaría los portugueses y ingleses fuera del reyno; que todas las fortalezas se desharían si no es la de Sambopo. Estas y otras capitulaciones acceptó el rey, que fue cumpliendo todas como yo vi, porque los inglesses no solo fueron echados sino que también los llevaron prisioneros a Batavia [b] y su hacienda dellos la llevaron los olandeses a sus naos, y las armas a la fortaleza que dixe. A los portugueses se les avía ia intimado que desamparassen la tierra por todo el mes de Julio de 68. Avían también pagado ya los macazares los cien mill bulais por el primer año.

12. Estava el general olandés Cornelio Vespan [22] muy contento en la fortaleza que dixe, cercado de su soldadesca que estava alozada en casas dentro de la fortaleza. Era mui visitado de toda la gente del reyno, de los carris y de todos los forasteros, offreciéndole todos muchos regalos. Salía a las visitas con un acompañamiento real de sus europeus y de los que le aiudaron en la conquista. Era banqueteado de los macazares y aun del propio rey, y él hacía lo mismo en su fortaleza, a la qual

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[a] ruida *ms.* [b] Datavia *ms.*

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[20] I do not find these limiting conditions in the treaty. All fortresses should be destroyed except two: Somba-opu for the king, and Jumpandang for the Dutch.

[21] Perhaps the author wanted to say *fracturas*, loop-holes.

[22] His name was Cornelis Speelman.

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puso nombre Rotadam en memoria de la ciudad en que nació. Fue festejado el dicho nombre el 1° de Enero de 68 con muchos tiros de artillería de las naos y fortaleza con muchas dançaș, balles y con mucho bever.

13. En todo este tiempo estuvo el general olandés mui amigo de los portugueses de quienes era vissitado y [a quie]nes [23] él visitaba también. No se dió el general por contento con tan buenos sucessos, sino que cada día iba pidiendo al rey nuevas cosas, hasta que este y sus principales se venieron a enfadar y se resolvieron en no concederle otra cosa. Lo qual visto por el general olandés les amenazó con guerra que el macazar acceptó [24], arrepentido ya de averle concedido tantas cosas.

14. Estavan los portuguezes en nuestra población cada uno con su familia en sus casas, porque no nos metíamos en aquellas bullas, ni los macazares convidaron a los portugueses a pelear, sino que velássemos sobre nuestro pueblo, como se hiço por muchos meses con plazer del rey y de los suyos. El general olandés avía pedido que, pues antes entre ellos y los portugueses avía paces, que no tomassen en aquella occasión las armas ni por ellos ni contra ellos.

15. A los 14 de Abril de 68 salió el general olandés de su fortaleza con su gente en campo formado para ir marchando hasta la fortaleza de Sambopo para hacerse señor della y del mismo rey que en ella assistía. A trecho igual a la población de los portugueses, que está en el medio de Sambopo y de la fortaleza de los olandeses, se salieron los malayos [25] al encuentro con algunos macazares y fueron da[n]do en los olandeses y su gente con tan buen sucesso, que hicieron recoger a los olandeses más que de passo a su fortaleza con muchos heridos y muertos. Fue esto a vista de los portugueses y debaxo de sus ventanas. Lo qual viendo los malayos, en el mismo fervor de la pelea los amenazaron por no aver salido a pelear contra los olandeses.

16. Recogidos los olandezes, quedaron macazares y malayos muy sobervios y decían mil maldades de los christianos. A los 15 fueron los malayos y macazares dando sobre el pueblo de los [80*v*] portugueses a escala vista, poniendo fuego y entrando vio-

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[23] Here the paper is holed, but the text can easily be completed.

[24] Hostilities began anew in April 1668 (STAPEL o. c. 49).

[25] The numerous Malay people in Makasar had been won over to the king's side by the vehemently anti-Dutch governor Karaeng Karunrung (*ibid.*).

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lentamente por las casas, robando todo lo que avía. Avíase ya mucha gente recogido con lo que tenían en algunas casas, las más fuertes, en quienes avía mucha gente, como la de Pedro de Faria [26] y de Francisco Mendez, secretario de estado del rey de Macazar [27]. Viendo yo que con effecto avía guerra, me passé con todo lo que tenía a la dicha casa de Pedro de Faria por tener yo mi casa mui apartada del pueblo de los portugueses.

17. Como la chusma de la gente fue gustando de los hurtos, acudieron como enhambres de mosquitos y abejas, y a las 4 horas de la tarde de los 15 de Abril envistieron con la casa de Pedro del Faria y la fueron saqueando. Yo viendo este acometemiento, me pasé con lo que puede a casa de Francisco Mendez con otra mucha gente, en que nos dimos todos por muy seguros con todo lo que teníamos, porque a más del cargo que tenía, era hermano de un carris muy grave y era también pariente del rey de Macazar.

18. Y el día antecedente, después del robo de toda la población y de la casa de Faria, como he contado, corrió voz que sola la casa del dicho secretario era assenta del fuego y de los ladrones. Mas fue al contrario, porque, en 16 de Abril, se hinchó la dicha casa de los ladrones, y no pararon hasta hazer en ella lo que avían hecho en las demás. Y lo peor fue que le pegaron fuego estando la casa llena de gente, que llegaron las mugeres a echarse de las ventanas abaxo, y fueron los ladrones [armando] escándalo y robándolo todo. Y aquí pereció mi caxón con los dichos depósitos.

19. Señor, bien sabeis vos que esto que he dicho es la verdad. A más de ser a todos pública esta pérdida general que todos tuvieron, que quedamos sólo con lo que teníamos sobre nosotros, y yo quedé aún [en] cuerpo, porque hasta la ropa tenía con las demás cosas. Las mugeres quedaron aun de peor condición, que hasta los paños interiores les quitaron, y a algunas [c]

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[c] algunos *ms.*

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[26] Pedro de Faria of Malabar is mentioned as one of the Portuguese that remained in Makasar in 1661 (*Daghregister 1661* 266: Phrarya!).

[27] See D 62 note 14.

[28] Another hole in the paper. The supplement is a guess.

[29] The Karaeng Karunrung of note 25. He had succeeded Karaeng Pattingalloang as governor in 1654. In the early 1660s he had been substituted by Karaeng Sumana, at whose death, however, he resumed his former office, 1666.

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las desnudaron y de las más graves; y a los hombres, si vehían que tenían sobre si algo de que se contentaban, se le robavan.

20. Después deste fracaso se f[ueron desp]ués [28] los christianos a quexarse al rey, el qual por su governador Carrim Carroru [29] mandó que los portugueses se recogiessen en unas casas de paja, pobres y abiertas. Aquí passados algunos días, yéndole a pedir [li]mosna, dióles 10 saquillos de arroz y otros tantos de sagu, y 20 paños. Aquí passavan los pobres hombres miserias, porque los moros no saben dar limosna.

21. Yo con una occasión que hubo me passé a Larantuca, puerto de Solor, para estar con el P.e Antonio Francisco o irme a Macao, mas a su reverencia le pareció que era servicio de Nuestro Señor venirme acá a Siao [30]. Sea el Señor bendito! Él quiera que aquí le sirva y se haga algún agradable servicio en este quartel último de mi vida.

[...]

71

CATALOGUE OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE

MACAO, OCTOBER 30, 1669

First *via*

TEXT: A. ARSI, *IapSin 25* ff. 195*r*-196*v* in 8°. Original in Portuguese, dated and signed in autograph by Fr. Visitor Luís da Gama.

B. *IapSin 26* ff. 36*r*-37*v* in 8°., identical original, likewise signed in autograph; fourth *via*.

Both texts have the identical list of deceased as in D 66.

Summary

Makasar was destroyed by the Dutch in April 1668. Bro. Torres sailed to Fr. António Francisco in Larantuka and from there to Siam.

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[30] Where he wrote this letter.

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Catalogo dos sogeitos da Provincia de Japão
e lugares aonde estão

[...]

O Macassar foi de novo destruido polos Olandezes em Abril [195*v*] de 668, e a nossa residencia se acabou. O Irmão Antonio de Torres escapou com vida e se foi pera Larantuca, aonde estava o Padre Antonio Francisco. De Larantuca foi pera Sião o Irmão Torres; e o Padre Antonio Francisco ainda está em Larantuca.

[... 196*r Autograph*] Macao, 30 de Outubro de 669.

Luis da Gama

72

« FIRST CATALOGUE » OF THE FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE

[MACAO] 1669

TEXT: ARSI, *IapSin 25* ff. 197*r*-199*v*. Original in Latin, dated only roughly in the title, not signed.

Summary

Course of life of Fr. António Francisco under the heading « Solor », and of Bro. António de Torres under the heading « Siam ».

Primus catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum Societatis Iesu
qui sunt in Provincia Iapponica anno Domini 1669

[... 198*v*] Solor

1. Pater Antonius Franciscus; Lusitanus Nabantinus[1]; annos agit 50; vires habet mediocres; fuit in Societate 29; studuit in

[1] I. e. born in Tomar, Portugal. (After an ancient town Nabancia, no longer existent, near which Tomar sprang up).

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Societate lit. hum. 3 annos, phil. et theol. 4 annos; docuit lit. hum. annos 4, minister fuit 6 menses, et Macai totidem, in missione Solor annos 8; professus 4 votorum [2]. [... 199*v*]

Siam

2. F. Antonius de Torres; Lusitanus ex Torres Vedras; annos agit 70; bonae valetudinis; fuit in Societate 48; fuit subminister annos 5, socius procuratoris iap. et sinen. 7 annos; in missione Macasariae 6 annos; coadiutor formatus temporalis.

Lost Letter

72a — *The Chiefs of Amarassi, Timor, to Fr. António Francisco, Larantuka, between 1665 and 1670.*

D 73, 8: mihique scripserunt.

72b — *The Chiefs of Amarassi, Timor, to the Viceroy of India, prior to 1670.*

D 73, 8: Quidam litteras scribunt Indiae Proregi, nos postulando.

73

FR. ANTÓNIO FRANCISCO SJ TO FR. GIAMPAOLO OLIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MACAO, DECEMBER 5, 1670

I TEXT: A. ARSI, *IapSin 19* ff. 67*r*-70*v*. Original in Latin, with autograph signature on f. 69*r*; ff. 69*v*-70*v* are blank. Small but clear handwriting.

B. ARSI, *IapSin 162* ff. 316*r*-319*v*. Original in Latin, signed in autograph on f. 319*r*, the *verso* being blank. Fluent script, not always easy to read. This copy was written three weeks after text A as can be seen by its dating: December 26.

II OUR EDITION: We print text A, giving the more important variants of text B in the *app. crit.* (where *ms.* means always text A). Only small variants of orthography are omitted and, as the Latin

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[2] Fr. Francisco made his solemn profession in Makasar on May 23, 1664 (*Hist. Soc. 147* f. 11*v*).

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is not always irreproachable, some strange cases are pointed out in the footnotes.

III NOTE: This somewhat lengthy letter makes a worthy conclusion of the Makasar documents. Though not flattering to the Dominicans, it is full of interesting news on Makasar, the Solor archipelago, and especially on Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo and his second wife Catarina de Noronha. Therefore it makes a precious supplement to Boxer's reflexions on the last years and the character of this outstanding man (BOXER, *Vieira* pp. 46-53).

Summary

1. *Explains why he did not often write to Fr. General.* — 2. *Arrived at Macao, sailing from Solor in June. On the voyage the pilot died, nobody else knew how to guide the vessel. Uncertainty and storm.* — 3. *One hundred and thirty Christians on board were sure they would die. Made a vow to St. Francis Xavier; the storm calmed down and next day their ultimate object became visible. Managed to reach Macao.* — 4. *Had left it for Makasar, sent by Fr. Provincial da Maya, a good ten years earlier, just when the war with Holland started. All Catholics should be expelled from the country; the Governor of the Malacca diocese left for Cambodia, others sailed to Siam, others to elsewhere. By order of Francisco Vieira remained there, for the time being also as* vicarius foraneus. *Exercised this jurisdiction for three years until his profession for which Fr. Martino Coelho came over from Macao.* — 5. *After five years Francisco Vieira had to leave Makasar and to sail to Solor; his financial losses.* — 6. *Was demanded to accompany him. So left Bro. Torres to keep the Jesuit residence and the boys' school, and came to Solor where the Dominicans feared he planned to take over the mission.* — 7. *Lasting friendship made with the Dominicans who from lions became lambs. Preached on their Founder's feast day. People would like to have Jesuits there.* — 8. *Some chiefs came to see him by night for that purpose, and those of Amarassi planned to kidnap him.* — 9. *Some good Christian kings; the sister of one of them is an extraordinarily wise and pious woman; she came to make her confession.* — 10. *The Dominicans' sorrow at this. Afterwards joined her in marriage with a noble Portuguese over the head of the Dominicans but without hurting them.* — 11. *King Rodericus, sixty years of age, from his youth up a Christian, came to make a life confession. As he does not know Portuguese and the Dominicans do not learn the native language, he was glad to find a Father who taught him the faith in his own tongue.* — 12. *After an edifying confession he returned home full of praise for the Jesuits. People want Fathers « in black robes and with a round hat ».* — 13. *The death of Vieira was a heavy set-back. As he devoted himself to the introduction of the Jesuits, especially into Timor, certain people roused an opposition against him and against Portuguese rule. Vieira quieted it with sums of money and had the Dominican Fr. Visitor expel two seditious religious.* — 14. *As the Jesuit's life contrasted favourably with that of the Dominicans and as any action against Vieira was of no use, knowing of the influence of his letters to the king and the vice-*

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roy, they decided to kill him. Suddenly he fell ill by poison. — 15. His saintly death three days after the feast of St. Francis Xavier. — 16. He bequeathed thirty thousand xerafims for the foundation [of a college]. — 17. His diamonds and jewels profited his wife Catarina de Noronha. — 18. The way in which they escaped from Solor was surprising. Their greedy enemies, by force of arms, stole a boat full of merchandise besides many precious things from Catarina's house to a value of good fifty thousand patacas. — 19. With great difficulty caused them to restore all the stolen goods, spending five hundred patacas to recuperate fifty thousand. Catarina was said to owe her life and possessions to him. — 20. Before sailing, was visited by an important chief and his son, his good friends, who insisted he should stay on with them. Therefore embarked by night, thus making his own and Catarina's departure possible. — 21. Two kings wrote to the viceroy and to the representative of the vacant diocese demanding Jesuits. — 22. People of the island of Lamalara for eighty years invited the Dominicans to baptize them, always in vain. Its chief visited him by night soliciting him. Comforted him with promises for the future. Only a measure of the King of Portugal, approved by the Pope, can change things. — 23. The viceroy asked Vieira if he saw a possibility of introducing missionaries into that island. As all these things regard personal defects, will not write more about them. — 24. The Dominicans live there for good hundred years but refuse to learn the native language, to great detriment of people's salvation. — 25. They do not prevent Moslem preachers from islamizing the heathens, but they would expel other missionaries. They are steadily occupied in building ships for their commerce and in making profit, leaving the souls uncared-for. — 26. The Solor island world is bigger than Japan. People worship the Lord of Heaven, Creator of heaven and earth; therefore they easily want to be Christians.

†

Reverende admodum in Christo Pater

Pax Christi.

1. Licet in quocumque tempore et semper, ut indignissimus in Christo filius, Paternitati Vestrae scribendi obligatio mihi incumbat, nunquam tamen hanc executus fui obligationem et propter maximas distantias insularum in quibus per decem ad undecim annos sum diversatus [1] et propter reverentiam, ne forte ex mea parte molestus per scripturas Vestrae Paternitati fierem, cui potius requiem quam paenam addere cupio. Consolor autem epistularum mearum defectum commutando in quotidianam Paternitatis Vestrae memoriam coram Deo, praecipue dum

[1] From 1660 to 1670.

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inter indignissimas manus Deum illum vitae au]c]thorem habeo quotidie, qui Paternitati Vestrae vitam et valetudinem cum gratiarum augmentis quae sibi Paternitas Vestra desiderare queat, ad bonum animae suae totiusque Societatis et eius filiorum consolationem, impertiatur.

2. Reverende admodum Pater. His Macaensibus appuli oris ex insula nomine Solor [2] hoc iunio proxime praeterito [3] miraculose; nam quasi nobis mediam navigationem facientibus [4] nauclerus decessit e vita [5], nec alius aderat qui gubernare sciret inter plurimos scopulos et maxima maris pericula, praeter contrarium ventum et tempestatem, quam per duos ad tres dies passi sumus. Cum, inquam, non haberemus qui navem gubernaret, nullum terrae auxilium apparebat; sed nobis ignorantibus ubi essemus, e caelo via et gubernatio pervenit. Nam cum necesse esset insulam quandam navigationis metam [6] videre, et iam plurimos dies illam quaerendo consumpserimus, omnes exanimati cadebant animo, urgebat enim tempestas valde.

3. Centum fere et triginta christianae personae erant, iamque omnes per sacram confessionem purgatas habebant animas, nemo tamen a morte evadere iudicabat. Illa ergo nocte postquam ad contritionem et alia ad salutem necessaria omnes exhortatus sum [a], votum S. Francisco Xaverio emisi, ut nos tanto periculo liberaret et metam navigationi necessariam ostenderet. Post emissum votum paucis horis tempestas in tranquilitatem versa est, et sequenti die mane ad horas octo [b], nobis meta feliciter apparuit, quo eventu Deo et Sancto Xaverio gratias laeti [c] persolvimus, votumque reddidi Sancto meo Xaverio. Itaque ad reliquam omnem navigationis partem licet pericula multa [d] habuerimus propter scopulos et vada multa, adeo ut navis semel tetigerit in illis, tamen per quoddam viaculum [7] nos gubernavimus usque ad hanc civitatem. Benedictus Deus optimus [e] maximus.

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[a] exhortatus sum omnes *B* [b] ad...octo] optata *B* [c] Xaverio...laeti] suo laeti **gratias** ***B*** [d] periculos multos *ms.* -a -a *B* [e] *add.* et *B*

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[2] The name of Solor here is always used for the island of Flores or, more particularly, for the port of Larantuka.

[3] The Father arrived in Macao on June 29, 1670 (*Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo* II 756).

[4] I. e. near Pulu Laor, the islet of Aur along the eastern coast of Johor in southern Malaysia, southeast of Tioman.

[5] This steersman was Diogo Monteiro (*ibid.*; BOXER, *Vieira* 48-49).

[6] Probably one of the islands near S. Vietnam.

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4. Spatium decem annorum et aliquorum mensium transierat, ex quo ego ab hac civitate ad Macassaris regnum profectus fueram [8], missus a Patre Provinciali [f] Mathia de Maya. Et in eodemmet anno Olandica bella cum Macassaribus coeperunt [g], qui post variam et maximam sui regni devastationem in capitulationes [h] venerunt [9], statutumque fuit ut catholici christiani ab illo regno exiissent. Gubernator ergo episcopatus [i] malaquensis [j 10] multa cum gente sociatus in Cambojam profectus est [11], alii vero in Siam [12], et in alias partes alii. Relictus autem ego a gubernatore suo loco pro vicario foraneo [13] mansi, de licencia mei superioris qui tunc erat Pater Emmanuel de Miranda, cuius etiam ordine remansi ad petitionem iudicis supremi totius Austri [14], Francisci Vieira de Figueiredo, qui semper magnus nostrae Societatis pater fuit. Mansi tandem cum illo in Macassar, ibique

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[f] Provinciale *ms.*, **Provinciali** *B* [g] coepit *ms.*, **coeperunt** *B* [h] **capitulatione** *ms.*, **-es** *B* [i] episcupatus *ms.*, episcopatus *B* [j] *corr. fr.* Malquensis

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[7] Manifestly the author wants to say they found a way out or an escape through all the shoals and banks, but *viaculum* is not an approved Latin word.

[8] So he arrived in the course of 1660.

[9] Hostilities started in May 1660; the treaty was made, i. e. imposed by the Dutch, on August 19, and signed officially in December. See HEERES II no. ccxliij.

[10] The Rev. Paulo da Costa.

[11] Where we find him living in a Portuguese quarter or camp near Phnom-Penh: « Le camp des Portugais, où vivait le gouverneur, comptait environ quatre cents personnes, presque tous des fugitifs de Macassar » (CHAPPOULIE I 187). The Visitor Luís da Gama SJ wrote on October 16, 1665, that in the absence of the two bishops of Malacca and Macao, the whole of SE Asia was under the jurisdiction of two diocesan governors. The Malacca governor lived in Cambodia and took care of the Christians through *vicarii foranei* stationed at Makasar, Timor, Solor, Siam and Cochin China (*IapSin 162* f. 102*r*).

[12] Among others, Frs. Miranda and Macret (D 62 note 15). The Italian Jesuit Tommaso Valguarnera wrote in Siam on March 3, 1664, that he met there two other Fathers « desterrati dalla residenza del Macassar » (*IapSin 162* f. 95*v*).

[13] See note 11.

[14] One of the many more or less official titles of this outstanding man: Resident-Ambassador of the Viceroy of Goa, Ambassador of the King of Makasar, Major-Captain of the South, Governor of the southern Islands, Supreme Judge of the South, Knight of the Order of Christ.

[15] Again a clear proof that, when the Portuguese had to leave Makasar in 1660, many Catholics stayed on. The boys' school was kept especially by Bro. António de Torres (no. 6).

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pro gloria Dei et animarum fructu, quantum in me fuit, laboravi praedicando, contionando, confitendo et puerorum scholam faciendo [15]. Numquam labori peperci sive in nostris ministeriis, sive in [k] exercendo iurisdictionem vicarii foranei, cum qua multum operatu difficilimum in finem reddidi; quam iurisdictionem per triennium exercui [l] usque ad professionem meam quam in manus Patris Martini Coelho, qui de Macao ad hoc venerat, emisi [16].

5. De aliquibus quae iuvante Deo hic operatus sum et de aliquibus aliis quae etiam in insula Solor eodem modo egi, superiores macaenses ab [67*v*] illis postulatus admonui per epistulas [17], non quantum debebam feci, deerat enim mihi spiritus, licet secundum meas paucas spirituales et corporales vires numquam oblitus fuerim laborandi. Postquam in Macassar quinque annis fui demoratus, viri olandi secundum capitulationes factas coegerunt Macassares servare illas, ex quibus una principalis erat ut iudicem supremum Franciscum Vieira de Figueiredo a regno expellerent [18]. Non enim poterant Olandis resistere et ideo ita factum est contra eorum voluntatem. Dominus ergo Franciscus Vieira intra quatuor dies coactus fuit exire, et habitare in insula nomine Solor, ad quam profectus est in suis navibus cum sua magna, gravi et decora domo, perditque propter istam mutationem plusquam sexaginta mille patacas [19]. Et per omne tempus octo annorum, incipiendo a principio belli usque ad obitum suum in Solor perdidit plusquam sexcenti mille patacas. Ex illo enim portu tres ad quatuor annos sui adventus [20] plenus meritis migravit in coelum.

6. Cum autem dominus hic coactus fuerit exire a Macassar, et tanto nostrae religionis flag[r]aret amore, vivere non aude-

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[k] *om. B* [l] exercuit *B*

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[16] See D 72,2. Fr. Martim Coelho, born at Évora in 1608, a Jesuit in 1625, sailed to Goa in 1629 and is met at Macao in 1635. For eighteen years he was a missionary in Tonkin, thereafter rector and secretary to Fr. Visitor in Macao where he died in 1667. Obviously he came to Makasar only for this occasion.

[17] Lost letters, 61a; 68b.

[18] This happened in early 1665 (BOXER, *Vieira* 45).

[19] *Pataca,* a silver coin of *c.* 360 réis, practically equivalent to the gold *pardau.*

[20] Between Vieira's arrival in Larantuka in early 1665 and his death in December 1667, only two years and a half elapsed.

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bat absque Societatis religioso. Quare me maximis precibus rogavit ut illum sociarem. Quod feci, prius ante Deum mature considerando qualis esset Dei et superiorum voluntas. Intellexi quod magis praeponderaret [m] cum illo ire (omnibus consideratis) [n] quam manere in Macassar superior residentiae illius, ut postea demonstravit eventus [o]. Rationes scripsi [p] superioribus qui omnes semel et iterum maxime approbaverunt [21]. Itaque relinquens in domo residentiae Fratrem Antonium de Torres, vir[um] [q] approbati exempli agendo procuraturam et scholam puerorum docendo [22], et advertendo illum de rebus quae mihi in futurum convenientes occurerunt, profectus sum in Solor, ubi dominicanos religiosos inveni assistentes in illis insulis, valde timidos quod nos cogitaremus de capiendis missionibus insularum illarum.

7. At [r] vero ad paucos dies mecum erant valde uniti et amici socii, et omni [s] spatio quinque annorum et amplius [23], quo in insula illa, eorum consensu, continuo nostra ministeria exercui (excepta publica schola) nunquam inter me et illos nec opere nec verbo minimum charitatis [t] offendiculum fuit. Imo ex leonibus facti sunt agni cum ostentionibus maximi affectus nostrae religionis, praedicando ego eorum Patriarchae [24] festum per duos annos, et illi nostri [u] Sancti [v] Patriarchae [25] festum similiter [w], summa utriusque partis laude et honore [x]. Gentes omnes naturales insularum Solor, Timor et aliarum adiacentium, ita affecti nostrae Societatis amore manent ut illarum dynastae, si propter metum non esset quod religiosi illi in nos et illos commotionem facerent, nos a nostris superioribus statim peterent, nam omnes maxime nos diligunt ubique locorum pervenit nomen nostrum.

8. Plurimi illorum regum nocte colloqui mecum venerunt: nocte ne praedicti religiosi suspicarentur et ex his quidam litteras scribunt Indiae Proregi nos postulando [25a]. Reges regni Amar-

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[m] *corr. fr.* praeponderet, praeponderet *B* [n] *no brackets B* [o] ut...eventus *in brackets B* [p] scripti *ms.*, scripsi *B* [q] virum *B* [r] *corr. fr.* ad *B* [s] in omni *B* [t] charitis *B* [u] *corr. fr.* nostrae [v] *om. B* [w] siliter *B* [x] laeti degimus *add. m. B*

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[21] Lost letters, 59a-b. It is clear that the possibility of Fr. Francisco's voyage with Vieira to Larantuka had amply been foreseen.

[22] Bro. António de Torres lived as the only Jesuit in Makasar for three years, a clear indication how much he was trusted by his superiors.

[23] From early 1665 to mid-1670.

[24] I. e. their Founder St. Dominic; feast on August 8.

[25] The Founder of the Jesuits, St. Ignatius, July 31.

[25a] Lost letter, 72b.

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rassi in insula Timor [26] statuerunt se quadam nocte repente venturos, ut me raperent et illac ferrent, quin dominicani casum praesentirent [y], quod tamen non sunt executi ne gubernatori Francisco Vieira molestiam inferrent; mi[hi]que [z] scripserunt [27] et, si non esset augere litteras, illas mitterem ut erga nos videret Paternitas Vestra affectum antequam nos videant.

9. Sunt reges hi valde christiani, scilicet, Dominus Thomas, Dominus Augustinus, Dominus Rodericus, Dominus Antonius da Veiga, cuius soror virgo, nomine Dona Maria [28], faemina prudentissima, alebabatur [29] in portu hoc de Solor, domina admirabilis silentii, clausurae et solitudinis, maximaeque inclinationis ad res christianitatis; loquitur lusitane ac si naturalis esset. Ex quo ego hic perveni mecum veniebat confiteri faemina ista in viciniori ecclesia plurimis sociata clientibus et utriusque sexus domesticis et servis, etc.

10. Satis de hoc dolebant Patres dominicani, at propter maximum faeminae respectum tacebant. Semel solum questi sunt interrogantes, qua de causa non cum ipsis confitebatur? Quibus illa adeo prudenter tantoque nostrae Societatis decoro respondit, ut in posterum nec verbum quidem illi amplius interrogaverint [a]. Postea vero, labente tempore, per ordinem quem habui [b] a regibus isti faeminae sanguinis necessitudine coninuctis [c], illam nobili et ingenuo lusitano in matrimonio adiu[n]xi [d], secreto tamen per medium gubernatoris Francisci Vieira, quod omnes maxime stimaverunt et mihi gratulati sunt. Hoc autem tali modo egi ut nunquam dominicani cogitarent me de tali negotio tractasse. Huic faeminae directe pertinet ius regni et tanquam regina fruitur regni vectigalibus ut sibi placet, [68*r*] licet pro regni securitate patruis et fratri gubernationem relinquit [e].

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[y] praesentiisent *ms. and B* [z] mihique *B*
[a] interrogare ausi sint *B* [b] habuit *ms.*, habui *B* [c] *corr. fr.* coniuntis
[d] in...adiunxi] per matrimonium coniunxi *B* [e] reliquerit *B*

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[26] Amarassi in the southwestern corner of Timor (ENOI IV 340; LEITÃO 164 map).

[27] Lost letter, 72a.

[28] Dom Agostinho was the first Catholic King of Amarassi; he was baptized by Rafael da Veiga OP and is mentioned also (Dom Augusto) in SÁ V 428. See LEITÃO 169. As far as I am aware, the other names of members of the royal family of Amarassi are not given elsewhere. Dona Maria was a sister of Dom António and, according to no. 11, a cousin of Dom Rodrigo.

[29] Bad Latinity. Did he mean to say *alebatur* or *levabatur?*

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11. Rex Dominus Rodericus supradictus, non attendendo ad navigationem decem dierum et saepe magis, me invisere venit et totius vitae mecum confessionem facere nam, cum esset sexaginta annorum senex et a prima aetate christianus, nunquam tota vita confessus fuerat, quoniam lusitanam linguam nesciebat nec aliam quam propriam, quam Patres dominicani nesciunt nec cum illius studio defatigantur. Hic autem rex solum fidei principia dediscerat [30] a regibus Domino Augustino et Domino Antonio, qui lusitanum idioma et loqui et legere dediscerunt. Commoratus tandem rex Dominus Rodericus ibi in Solor domi Dominae Mariae sobrinae suae (de qua supra) et inde ad me saepe veniebat negotium animae tractare, laetus se invenisse qui linguam suam sciret et in illa fidei praecepta doceret [31].

12. Denique mecum confessus est totius vitae rationem patefaciendo maxima cum contritione et claritate et non pauca mea confusione, quam etiam causare posset plurimis europeis christianis, si bonam vitam et Dei timorem laudabilesque mores viri huius agnovissent. Hinc ad quindecim dies profectus est in domum et regnum suum summam cordis et animae alacritatem et consolationem [f] praebens, et ibit Patrum Societatis miracula praedicando quos antea ignorando maxime videre cupiebat. Usque adeo reges hi nunquam Patres dominicanos in suo regno consentire voluerunt magis quam obiter. Volunt, inquiunt, patres nigri vestitus et rotundi pilei, ita se explicant maximo cum lepore.

13. Aversa nobis sors fuit in eo quod iudex supremus et postea totius Austri gubernator [32], dignissimus Franciscus Vieira de Figueiredo, noster magnus pater et defensor, e vita decesserit. Erat enim quidam honoris Societatis praedicator et hoc illi mortem attulit [33]. Nam gens certae conditionis ac status, quia

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[f] et consolationem *om. B*

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[30] He should have written *didicerat*, and in the next line *didicerunt*.

[31] The language of SW Timor is called *timorese*, whereas in the eastern part of the island the *tetum* language is dominant. But many other languages and dialects are in vogue. See ENOI IV 346 and 351.

[32] See note 14.

[33] It was not only this predilection for the Society that made him unpopular with some people, but also his outspoken position in a local political conflict, for which see e. g. BOXER, *Vieira* 92-97; LEITÃO 196-199. This political choice won him the opposition of some (many?) Dominicans

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noverant viri conatus pro mittendis patribus Societatis in missiones illarum insularum, praecipue illius quae est Timor, magna commotione dynastas et populum in gubernatorem Franciscum Vieira et regalem iurisdictionem concitaverunt: qua in placanda alteratione ingentem mille patacarum numerum consumpsit et in parte sedavit, duosque seditiosos religiosos deteriorisque exempli, rerum capita, per dominicanum [g] visitatorem [34] fecit exulare.

14. At [h] cum fomes inter cineres maneret, iterum suscitavit incendium; persistebat enim causa, metus, scilicet, nostri ingressus in missiones. Verebantur enim exemplum nostrum eo quod religiosorum illorum et saecularium deteriori exemplo adversabatur, et haec erat radix malorum praecipua. Cum ergo in zelum gubernatoris nihil proficere intelligerent, mortem machinati sunt [35]. Sciebant enim quanti ponderis et valoris essent domini gubernatoris litterae [i] erga lusitanum Regem et Proregem Indiarum. Tandem cum bene valeret Dominus Franciscus Vieira repente cecidit aegrotus, tali modo ut omnes fere venenum esse iudicaverint, contra quod nulla [j] contravenena profuere [k], cum pretiosa haberet [l].

15. Tandem remedium mors fuit, quae licet repentina, per tres dies animam praeparavit. Omnibus sacramentis receptis, a multis iam annis mori paratus, ut angelus limpidissimus praesentem vitam mutavit in meliorem. Iam supra octo in componenda anima consumpserat annos in quibus deteriores iuventutis et anteactae vitae mores continuis deflebat lachrymis; quos deinceps [m] assidua oratione, ieiuniis, mortificatione, cum voluntate Dei conformitate, erga omnes charitate et maxima humilitate assidue castigabat et componebat, omnibusque diebus dominicis

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[g] dominicanorum *B* [h] ad *ms.*, at *B* [i] incrita, *corr. to* litterae *h2*, merita *B* [j] nulla prorsus *B* [k] proficere *ms.*, profuere *B* [l] heret *ms.*, haberet *B* [m] deinde *B*

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who afterwards could not do anything right to his mind. See LEITÃO 253-254 no. V.

[34] Is the author pointing to Frei João do Rosário who sided with Vieira, and to Frei Francisco da Conceição who opposed him? (BOXER 94-95).

[35] Vieira wrote in Solor to the King of Portugal on May 26, 1667, half a year before his death: [The Dominicans] « em outras occasiões botarão daqui capitães-mores querendo matá-llos; o mesmo pretendem fazer a mim » (BOXER 96).

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et festis confessione et sacra communione animam recreabat. Itaque die tertia post S. Francisci Xaverii diem [36] obiit in Domino, quo etiam die Beatissimae Virginis Rosarii, cuius devotissimus erat [n], festum celebrabatur.

16. Ter domus contremuit cum [ex]spiravit, post devotissimum colloquium cum Christo factum, et nostrae Societatis Sanctorum invocationem, praecipue Sancti [o] Xaverii, cuius devotionem semper in corde gerebat. Licet autem triginta millia xerafinorum [37] ad eius [38] fundationem reliquerit, non tamen secundum animum fuit, sed secundum tempus, ut mihi significavit. Nam plusquam quingenti mille pardaos [39] quos (praeter supra relatos) [p] in manibus suorum contrariorum [q] habebat et [r] ab eis nunquam avelli posse iudicabat ut satis experimento visum est. [68*v*] Solum pro tunc nixus erat in aliquibus bonis quae in nostro Macaensi collegio habere se confidebat. Multus essem si tanti viri amorem erga nostram Societatem dixissem.

17. Dominae Donae Catharinae de Noronha, huius nostri magni et rari amici coniugi [40], multum profuere adamantes, monilia atque huiuscemodi [s] pretiosa quaeque, ex quibus septuaginta mille pardaos extraxit ad legata aliqua et debita solvenda, adque sumptus usque ad hanc civitatem faciendos.

18. Ab illo portu Solor miraculose evasimus: nec facile dici possunt tantorum laborum et periculorum genera quae pro contrariorum ambitione passi sumus. Deus autem ostendere voluit nos per suam misericordiam et Sanctorum intercessionem e [t] tantis periculis evasisse. Nam terra marique viri illi pessimi obarmata manu divitiarum huius decorae faeminae cupiditate lati venerunt navimque mercibus oneratam et alia auri pretio

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[n] *add. interl. h2* [o] Sancti Francisci *B* [p] *no brackets B* [q] contrario *corr. to* contrariorum *ms.* [r] *ins., om. B* [s] huiusmodi *B* [t] *om. ms.*, e *B*

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[36] That is, on December 5, 1667.

[37] The *xerafim* was a Portuguese-Indian silver coin, worth 300 to 360 réis (*Hobson-Jobson* 974).

[38] To what is this *eius* referring? Vieira wanted to found a *college* in honour of St. Francis (D 67, 3). Fr. Sebastião de Almeida SJ wrote ten years later « Mostra-se por parte da Provincia de Jappão que a dita Provincia não recebeo até agora, ou em todo ou em parte, o legado de trinta mil xerafins » (Macao, November 20, 1677, in *IapSin 19* ff. 71-78).

[39] Portuguese Latinity! repeated several times in the paragraphs that follow. The following *quos* would better be suppressed.

[40] Dona Catarina de Noronha was Vieira's second wife; his first wife had been Dona Jacinta da Costa (SÁ V 532).

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[ae]stimabilia ex domo vi rapuerunt, in quibus saltem quinquaginta [u] millia patacarum [41] numerabantur. At faemina prudens magis stimans suum decorem quam divitias, ubi haec imminere praesensit in aliam domum se contulit dum haec fiebant, ne sibi aliquid indecorum contingeret, quo facto iterum rediit in domum.

19. Deus vero me ita iuvabit [42], ut absque ullo illarum rerum detrimento, licet maximo cum labore, omnia fecerim restituere, quo negotio in componendo solum quingenti patacas distribui, quibus quinquaginta mille recuperavi. Tantae aedifficationis actiones meae istae fuerunt, ut me inscio, non solum saeculares, verum [v] etiam religiosi meis superioribus de me laudabiliter scripserint. Et qui in Timor inde navigarunt illac dixerint Donam Catharinam de Noronha Patri Antonio Francisco vitam, honorem et divitias debere, nec minus gratulatur Domina ipsa. Gloria sit maximo Deo, nam mansit haec decora faemina inter tam diabolicas gentes sicut sol integra et decorata fama, de quo tam religiosi quam saeculares laudes nostrae Societatis praedicarunt, ut multi qui [ad] hanc civitatem ex illis locis perveneruntlibenter testificantur.

20. Priusquam in Solor navim ascenderem ad navigandum, ipso die vespere venerunt ad me visitationem facientes Dominus Sebastiam Telles et Dominus Joam [w] Telles [43], qui rex uti imperatoris istarum insularum personali fungitur munere, et cum illo eius primogenitus Dominus Luis Telles regni successor, et omnes mihi intimi amici. Nolebant enim me demittere, sed multum manere me cupientes, quibus consolationem faciens spem dedi me forte iterum eventurum; comitatusque illos fui usque [x] prope eorum domos. At quia timui futurum esse ut postea cogerent me manere, ipsa nocte latenter [y] in navim me contuli. Et ita evenit, nam nocte ex navi lucernas vidimus illorum qui, ut manerem, me quaerebant, ut mane certifficati fuimus. Dominus Deus in illa me gubernavit actione quippe, si in domo me invenissent, maximum Donae Catharinae oriebatur impedimentum ad navigandum; id enim reges volebant.

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[u] quinquaginta *corr.fr.* quinginta [v] sed *B* [w] Sebastianus *and* Joannes *B* [x] usque ad *B*

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[41] *Pataca*, see note 9.

[42] Sic! Entanglement of *iuvit* and *iuvabat*.

[43] « Dom João Teles e Dom Sebastião Teles, régulos da ilha de Larantuca » (LEITÃO 196-197).

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21. Dominus Dominicus Leal, rex Lyci, et Dominus Antonius, rex Mohalar [44], viri maximae venerationis inter omnes hos naturales et affinitate propinqui cum regibus supradictis, maximi nostrae Societatis amantes et cupidissimi nos habendi in suis terris, scribunt ad Indiae Proregem et ad sedevacantem nostros petendo religiosos, quae litterae hic sunt in manu patrui Donae Catharinae de Noronha ad illas mittendas. Hi reges potentes sunt inter omnes et ingenui ad nos defendendos, sed quid iuvat si quocumque modo cum dominicanis litem habuerimus?

22. Ethnici [z] cuiusdam insulae, itinere sex horarum a Solor portu [a], nomine Lamalarraa [b 45], octoginta iam anni transacti sunt ex quo tempore usque ad praesens a dominicanis patribus baptismum fervidi petunt, et cum tam prope sint usque adeo illos baptisare neglexerunt! Rex [c] autem huius insulae nocte me petiit rogando si illos possem baptisare? Quos ego consolatus sum, spemque dedi in posterum. Super quae, loquente me hic cum meis praesentibus superioribus [d], bene de omnibus et de resistentia dominicanorum informati, statuerunt quod solum de manu et potestate Portugalliae regis, cum licencia Summi Pontificis dominicanis superioribus communicata, id posse fieri in hac et in aliis insulis adiacentibus. Hi tamen ethnici perseverant patres Societatis petendo, et pro certo habent nos illos baptisaturos.

23. Iamque guber-[69*r*]natore [e] Francisco Vieira vita functo litterae pervenerunt quibus Prorex Ioannes da Cunha [46] illum secreto rogabat ut videret, possetne operarios fidei in eandem insulam introducere? Quod mors vitavit. At quia haec omnia vel fere omnia tangunt personarum defectus, mihi non visum fuit illa pro annua publica deliniare, et ideo ea Paternitati Vestrae propono, de quibus, quod sibi visum fuerit, si vellit, admonebit. Aliqua tamen ordine superiorum Patri annuam scribenti tradidi [47], quorum si circunstantias omnes referret, audire mihi vi-

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[y] latentur *ms.* [z] *B has* Octoginta... praesens ethnici... Lamalarcaa, a dominicanis... [a] portu Solor *B* [b] Lamalarcaa *B* [c] Rey *B* [d] *del.* qui, qui *B*

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[44] Neither the kings nor their countries could be identified. Does *Lyci* refer to the *Luca* in Timor of D 52, 5?

[45] Lamalara or Lamalerap is a village on the southern coast of the island of Lomblen. See ENOI II 506 and 615; VISSER 148 and 150.

[46] João Nunes da Cunha was viceroy in Goa 1666-1669.

[47] Lost letter, 73a.

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detur gratum fore: audire, inquam, rerum ambages et quae mihi in operando oppositae fuerunt difficultates, quas tamen [f] Deus vicit et pro me operatus est. Illa vero pro annua, ne personas tangat vel dominicanos pungat, brevissime et per summa capita [g] scribenti tractare licebit.

24. Solum pro temporis occasione praetermittere nequeo Paternitati Vestrae significare quantum mihi molestiae infert videre quod religiosi illi annos centum et amplius habeant habitationis in illis insulis [48], quin ethnicis naturalibus in illorum idiomate fidem praedicare vellint, nec studium nec codicem quidem idiomatis habeant; solum tantum sciunt quantum ad emendum et vendendum cum illis sufficit. Tali miseria seu fato, ut propter bella et alia vitae pericula quotannis in infernum millia millium animarum incidant [h], quae si christianae essent salutem forsitan consequerentur.

25. Si alii ministri non impedirentur esset minus malum, sed dolor, heu! Veniunt enim Mafomae ministri et ethnicos mauros faciunt, quin impediant dominicani, et si Christi [i] operarii venissent illos expellere conarentur; sanguinis lacrymis ploratu dignum! Si illic pauci religiosi essent, minor esset culpa, at vero non desunt sed tempus consumunt alii naves fabricando ad mercaturas faciendas et aurum iungendum [j], alii in aliquibus aliis minoris momenti se occupando. Quanti christiani moribundi sacramenta petentes pro parrochi negligentia sine illis decedunt! Quanti si ibi non essem sine confessione decessuri! At cum haec omnia in Paternitatis Vestrae pectore sepulta permaneant, illa proscribo. Deus optimus maximus auxilietur animabus illis [49].

26. Insulae illae Solor et Timor sunt considerabilis magnitu-

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[e] gubernatori *B* [f] *om. B*

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[48] They started the mission of Solor in 1562.

[49] Fr. Francisco's view at the Dominicans may seem somewhat one-sided. For an objective judgement we should take into account that the circumstances often forced them into political, military and mercantile activity. The viceroys of Goa were not much interested in the Solor islands: the Dominicans built a fortress privately in 1566 to have at least a minimum of protection, but not until 1696 did Portugal appoint a captain-governor. Portuguese rule was largely nominal and moreover limited to a small area. The local chiefs were often at war with each other and easily sought confederates among the Moslems and the Dutch. The missionaries were forced to take sides and it happened that some of them sided with the Dutch against the Portuguese. So they were sometimes dividied among themselves, and Dominican authorities had to deal firmly

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dinis. Solum Timor habet quatuordecim provincias seu regna. Solor maior est. Has circum sunt insulae prope viginti, qualis minoris, qualis maioris magnitudinis, sed nulla aequalis Solor et Timor; omnes multitudinem gentis habentes. Mihi videtur omnium illarum magnitudinem totius Iapponis magnitudinem superare [50]; omnibus rebus vitae necessariis abundantes sunt, dempto tritico quod non habent, at super omnes excellentias ethnicorum illorum, unam habent Timores quod non cognoscunt nec adorant nisi Dominum caeli: hunc autem recognoscunt pro caeli et terrae Creatore [51], proindeque omnes fere christianos esse cupiunt. Dominus illis succurrat et me adiuvet sibi inservire, ad quod Paternitatis Vestrae benedictionem humiliter [k] peto, in qua me maxime commendo.

Macao [l] 5 Decembris 1670 [m].

[*Autograph*] Paternitatis Vestrae [n] humilimus semper [o] in Christo filius,

P. Antonius Franciscus.

Lost Letter

73a — *Fr. António Francisco, Solor or Macao, to the Macao writer of the Annual Letters, c. 1670.*

D 73, 23: Aliqua Patri annuam scribenti tradidi.

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[g] capitum *ms.*, capita *B* [h] *add. interl. h2;* decidant *B* [i] christiani *B* [j] ungendum *ms.*, iungendum *B* [k] humi *ms., add. interl. h2* -liter [l] Macai *B* [m] 26 Decembris a. 1670 *B* [n] Vestrae admodum Reverendae *B* [o] *om. B*

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with their own subjects. More than once they, or some of them, were blamed for not limiting themselves to spiritual and pastoral work, but they found reasons enough to accuse other persons for not giving them the opportunity. This complicated and confused situation may have been highly strange to Fr. Francisco. On the other hand there were certainly reasons for leveling a criticism against the Solor Dominicans; see e. g. LEITÃO 178-180; see also note 35.

[50] A quick glance at a map suffices to see the untenable nature of this view.

[51] « The Timorese believe in a Supreme Being... who is Master of heaven and earth and who created the universe » (ENOI IV 344-345).

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74

« FIRST CATALOGUE » OF THE JAPAN PROVINCE OF THE YEAR 1682

[MACAO, LATE 1682]

TEXT: *IapSin 25* ff. 215*r*-219*v*; f. 218*r* is blank, f. 219*r* contains a list of the names in a different hand, f. 219*v* is blank. This *primus catalogus* is followed by a *secundus catalogus* on ff. 220-221. Neither catalogue is dated or signed.

Summary

Information on the life of Fr. António Francisco.

1us Catalogus Provinciae Japponiae anni 1682

[...]

Pater Antonius Franciscus.

Patria: Lusitanus / Aetas: 65 / Tempus Societatis: 42 / Vires: Mediocris valetudinis / Tempus Studiorum: studuit in Societate litteris humanis, annos 2, Philosophiae annos 4, Theologiae annos 4 / Ministeria: Docuit litteras humanas annos 4, curam habuit unius parochiae annum 1, minister Collegii Rachol menses 3, in seminario Goensi menses 9, Minister Collegii Macaensis annum 1, Vice-rector eiusdem Collegii prope annos 2, Fuit in missione in Macasar et Solor annos 10, et Superior eiusdem missionis annos 8, ibidem vicarius foraneus et Pater Christianorum annos 3, Praefectus Ecclesiae Macaensis annos 12, et nunc Socius Provincialis Japoniae. / Gradus: Professus 4 votorum, 1664, 23 Maij.

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APPENDICES

Documents of non-Jesuits on Makasar

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APPENDIX 1

LUIS DE ANDRADE OP TO THE SACRED CONGREGATION « DE PROPAGANDA FIDE ». REPORT ON THE ASIAN MISSIONS

ROME, FIRST HALF OF 1629

INTRODUCTION

Luís de Andrade OP was born in India and made his profession in Goa. In 1616 he became appointed Visitor of the Dominican mission in the Solor islands, and the Bishop of Malacca created him Vicar General and diocesan Visitor for that region; moreover he was Commissary of the Holy Office. In early 1617 he reached the field of his activity; he remained there until 1626, proving a zealous and effective missionary. Returning to Goa, where we find him in 1627, he made a stop of eleven months at Makasar. Having arrived in Goa he was despatched to Rome. It is there that, in 1629, he wrote for the Propaganda Fide his *Breve Relatione* on all the missions of the Asian world. He returned to Goa where we meet him still in 1634. After that year he seems to disappear from history.

The manuscript of the *Breve Relatione* is in the Archives of the Propaganda Fide in Rome in two copies: *SOCG 189* ff. 431-442 (formerly 318-328) and ff. 608-626. Both are Italian translations of an original Portuguese text which did not turn up in the archives. The former translation is in poor Italian and in slovenly style. The latter is written in correct language but the translation appears rather free and at places somewhat shortened. It omits the paragraph numbering of the former version. We prefer the first text as being more complete and likely more faithful to the original, although imperfect in the language. A note to the first text reveals that the report was discussed at the Congregation's meeting of June 22, 1629, whereas at the end of the other text this one is said to have been made in May of that year. Plausibly the author had already written pieces of his report earlier during his travels. As far as I am aware, the *Relatione* was never printed. — On Andrade and his *Breve Relatione*, see Benno M. BIERMANN in ZMW 14 (1924) 12-48 and ZMRW 43 (1959) 176-187 and 261-275. In this last part he gives the paragraphs on Makasar and Solor in a German translation.

Summary

74. *Distance from Malacca and extent of Sulawesi; it is governed by an emperor.* — 75. *The emperor's favour for the Portuguese, his know-*

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ledge of the Portuguese language and of the Christian faith. Wanting to become a Christian, he often requested religious and priests from the Malacca authorities, but these were negligent in sending them. The King of Johor, on the other hand, sent Moslem preachers, and in 1604 Makasar embraced Islam. — 76. Then Malacca sent only one priest who, however, proved a merchant rather than a preacher. — 77. Seeing this, the king prescribed Islam to all the people; they obeyed, but reluctantly. — 78. Many of these new Moslems know all of Christianity in the Portuguese language. The king declared he did not take Christianity lest other kings would say he changed religion every day. — 79. Seeing a picture of the Holy Trinity, the king commented: Here are three persons but only one God. A priest sent by the bishop of Malacca comes attending to the Portuguese merchants only from December to May. Seeing a Christmas manger made by this priest, the king said: Here God is born; and looking at a crucifix: And here God is dead. — 80. This king often visits the churches, has Masses said for himself, and was pleased with the ceremonies of baptism and marriage. — 81. The author preached and instructed in the faith many Catholics of Sambopo. — 82. A bishop should be appointed to Makasar; the entire population would become Christians. As Sulawesi is not under the authority of the Catholic King, bishop and priests would not be chargeable to him.

Breve relatione delle cose dell'Indie Orientali circa la conversione degl'infedeli et quanti vescovati vi sonno ivi

[437*v*]

74. L'isola di Macassà o Celebes, facendo il viaggio verso l'euro, dista da Malaca 325 o più legue. E' molto grande, tiene in circuitto quasi 300 legue, se non più. Il re di questa è Imperatore et tiene molti re sotto il suo commando che sono suoi vassalli, tutti nella medema isola.

75. Questo re ha per nome Sumbanco [1]. E' grand'amico delli portoghezzi et castigliani, et ogn'anno vanno al suo regno molti vascelli portoghezzi per rispetto del trafico. Parla detto re molto bene, lege et scrive in lingua portoghezze, et si bene come se tale fusse natto; et sa meglio la nostra santa fede et che è meglio de tutte. Scrisse molte volte a Malaca alli Vescovi et Governatori passati che voleva pigliare lege et farsi christiano (perché era gentile), che gli mandassero religiosi et sacerdotti et che sariano anco christiani tutti li suoi. Vi fu in ciò gran trascura-[438*r*]gine et passorno molti anni in questa dimanda. Et haven-

[1] Cf. D 15 note 1.

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do il re di Jor (mahomettano) [2] notitia della resolutione del gentile, perché quello era all'hora nemico de portoghezzi et vicino a Malaca, per haver detto re gentile dalla sua [parte] et facendolo mahomettano, divertirlo della amicitia con li portoghezzi et che non si facesse christiano, gli mandò suoi ambasciatori con duoi e tre 'hebês', che in quella lingua suona 'padri' [3], acciò detto re diventasse mahomettano. Et se in detto tempo havessero mandato da Malaca religiosi, non si sarebbe persa senz'altro si buona occasione di propagare la fede in quell'isola. Con tale imbasciata et tali 'hebês', che instruirno detto re gentile nella falsa mahomettana seta, diventò mahomettano con alcuni suoi l'anno del 1604 [4].

76. Saputto in Malaca che detto re era diventato mahomettano, vi mandorno uno prette et pottendo mandare molti religiosi, ciò non feccero. Il prette arrivatto a Macassà attese più a fare il mercante che il predicatore del re et di quelle genti et visse con si mal essempio che più presto ha discreditata la lege nostra ivi che datto occasione che el re diventasse christiano [5].

77. Visto dal re il modo de vivere del prette, comandò li suoi che andassero abraciando la seta mahomettana, il che essi mal volentieri fecero per non lasciar di mangiare la carne di porco; et molti di essi più per compiacer al re che per volontà l'hanno fatto, et vi sono anco più delle quatro parti dell'isola gentili che non vogliono amettere la setta mahometica [6].

78. Molti di questi mahomettani, homini et done, sanno tutta la dottrina christiana in lingua portoghezze, et io di persona gliela intesi recitare et a molti predicai et gliela insegnai in un-

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[2] The Sultan of Johor. The syntax of this sentence is far from correct but the sense is clear: the King of Johor tries to convert the King of Makasar to Islam and to make him in this way his friend against the Portuguese.

[3] Most probably the plural of *aba*, from the Armenian *abba*, in Syriac *âbâh*, in Chaldean *âbûh*, a title with which those peoples addressed a priest; therefore « Father ».

[4] Rather 1605. It is interesting that Andrade firstly does not speak of a simultaneous sending of two envoys to Malacca and to a Moslem centre and secondly ascribes the conversion to Islam not to Aceh or Siam but to Johor; this seems more plausible.

[5] Andrade reveals here a quite remarkable fact. This unedifying priest is not mentioned in any of our documents. His name and the date of his sojourn in Makasar remain unknown.

[6] *Quatro partes* is a Latin expression meaning four fifths.

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deci mesi che quivi fui. Et come questo re sa benissimo che la nostra lege è santa, me disse molte volte discorrendo con me, come mio amico che è, che non pigliava la nostra lege repudiando quella che haveva, perché gl'altri re non si faccessero beffe di esso, havendolo per homo inconstante che ogni dì pigliava nova lege.

79. Intrando una volta questo re in casa nostra vide in uno quadro depinta la Santissima Trinità, et guardandolo disse: 'Quivi stano tre persone ma uno solo Dio' [438*v*], cosa che c'ha meravigliato assai. Il Vescovo di Malaca[7] invia qualche volta uno prette alla città di Sambopo[8] per capellano delli mercanti portoghezzi che vi vanno trattenendovissi da Decembre sino a Magio, quale gl'aministra li sacramenti et nel mese sudetto se ne ritorna in Malaca lasciando in quel paese molti christiani senza alcun sacerdotte, che è di grande scrupolo perché molti moronno senza li sacramenti. Uno di questi pretti fecce una volta nella festa di Natale un picciol presepio nel quale stava il Bambino Giesù natto et la Sacratissima Vergine sua Madre. V'intrò el re et guardò detto presepio et l'altare dove stava Christo crocifisso, et ciò vedendo, mostrando verso il presepio disse 'Quivi sta Dio natto' et verso l'altare disse 'Qui sta Dio morto'.

80. Visita questo re molte volte le chiese[9] et [a] alcune ha datto limosina che gli si dicanno messe. Ha intravenutto anco nella celebratione de battesimo et del sacramento del matrimonio, piacendogli in questi vedere li ritti della santa Chiesa.

81. In detta città di Sambopo di detto re, si come ho detto, predicai undeci mesi et insegnai la dottrina christiana a molti christiani indiani quivi habitanti, si del paese come forastieri, et a alcuni portoghezzi che sempre vi sono per rispetto del trafico.

82. E' situata quest'isola vicino a quelle di Solor (delle quali dirò a suo loco)[10] et per colpa nostra si sono perse et perdono ivi tante anime per transcuragine del Vescovo di Malaca. Ma vi saria ancora il rimedio se vi si mandasse a detta isola uno Vescovo che attendesse et havesse pratica della lingua del paese, che senz'altro li ridurria et diverriano tutti christiani per essere la gente docile, benigna, di bon trattare et di bona natura[11]. Et

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[7] Dom Gonçalo da Silva.

[8] Cf. D 15 note 2.

[9] A notice suggesting that, in the 1620s, there was in Makasar already more than one church.

[10] The author deals with the Solor mission in nos. 83-95.

[11] This proposal of a bishop for Makasar was echoed as early as

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l'isola non è del Re Catholico nè tiene ivi cosa alcuna, si che non me pare che ci sia inconveniente per il quale non si debba mandare detto Vescovo, quale con li Padri che vi anderanno sostentarà il medemo re, si come ha sostentato me abondantissimamente li detti undeci mesi [439*r*] che ivi fui, si come suol fare ad ogni nostro religioso che vi capita per passo. Et ancorché detto Vescovo non habbia niente del re, haverà bonissime regaglie.

[441*v*] Fr. Luigi d'Andrade.

APPENDIX 2

SEBASTIÃO MANRIQUE OSA « ITINERARIO », CHAPTER XLVII ROME, BEFORE 1649

INTRODUCTION

The Augustinian Sebastião Manrique, born at Oporto, Portugal, made his profession at Goa in 1604. His superiors sent him to Bengal in 1628 from where he returned to southern India, Cochin, in 1636. After 1637 he voyaged to Pegu, Mogor, Malacca, the Philippines, Macao and Makasar. Having visited likewise many regions and towns of the Mogor Empire in India, he continued his travels via Isfahan, Bagdad and Damascus to Rome where he arrived in July 1643. There he lived for more than twenty-five years as a procurator and general

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August 1, 1629, in a petition of Frei Augustin de Plagis (= de Chagas) in which he suggested several dioceses under an archdiocese of Malacca, among others one of Solor and one of Makasar: « .. Solor ubi P. Ludovicus de Andrade OP per novem continuos annos fructuose laboravit et amicitiam cum vicino rege de Macassá gentili contraxit. Qui rex bene lusitanam linguam callet et ad veram fidem suscipiendam pronus videtur. Et potest nominari pro Solor civitate quae est caput omnium insularum in solidum ad Dominicanos pertinentium. Habebit iurisdictionis destrictum 1200 milliaria. Potest creari Dominicanus. Secundum pro insula de Macassá. Et potest nominari pro civitate de Sambopo quae est caput totius insulae et regnorum in illa contentorum gentilium. Habebit destrictum 800 milliaria. Potest creari Dominicanus eadem ratione ut supra » (Arch. Prop. Fide, *SOCG 189* 269*r-v*).

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definitor of the Portuguese Augustinian Province. When, in 1669, he travelled to London, he was killed in that city by one of his servants.

He wrote an extensive relation on his voyages: *Itinerario de las Missiones del India Oriental,* printed in Rome in 1649 and again in 1653. (Hakluyt Society: *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique,* 2 vols. Oxford 1927). Although a Portuguese, he perhaps wrote, and certainly published, his work in Spanish. Luís Silveira made a re-edition in 2 vols.: *Itinerario de Sebastião Manrique,* Lisbon 1946.

Manrique visited Makasar from March 2 to April 19, 1640. We print the chapter on Makasar after the edition made in Lisbon in 1946. (II 151-156).

Summary

1. *Chose [in Macao] a vessel for Makasar to sail from there to Banten where he hoped to find a shipping opportunity to Europe. Got a letter of recommendation for the English factor of Banten. Left Macao on January 29, 1640, had to seek shelter in the bay of André Feo, and continued his voyage on February 2.* — 2. *Arrived at Makasar on March 2. Learned that the Sumbangku had died, that the hereditary prince was under the regency of three governors, principally of Karaeng Pattingalloang, who could have been a Portuguese if he had not been born at Makasar. The late Sumbangku was a great supporter of the Portuguese.* — 3. *The people were pagans. They learned about Christianity from the Portuguese, and likewise about Islam from the Moslem crews of Portuguese ships who sowed the seeds of their false religion among the Christian crop.* — 4. *Under the cloak of God's mercy the Moslems teach an implicit licence to commit all abominable sins. The Makasarese preferred this wide way to the narrow path of the Gospel.* — 5. *They sent ambassadors to Malacca to request priests, and to Aceh to invite Moslem preachers, resolving to take the religion of those who came first. The first to come were the Moslems. When the Catholics arrived, they could not achieve anything.* — 6. *Extent and products of Sulawesi.* — 7. *Arriving at Makasar, presented his letters of credence to Pattingalloang. This man did not need an interpreter, read the letters, and promised to embark him on the first ship for Banten.* — 8. *Preached and heard confessions during Lent. Meantime a Danish ship arrived bound for India* via *Banten. The governor arranged passage for him on this ship and paid a Chinese golden ingot for his voyage and security.* — 9. *Explains the meaning of « Carrim » [Karaeng]: kinglet with full authority over his vassals, but himself subject to the Sumbangku.*

Capítulo XLVII: De como me partí de la China[1] para la Isla de Macassar y de lo más que me sucedió hasta me partir della.

1. Passado el invierno, quando en aquellas partes empeçam las embarcaciones a navegar, se pusieron en orden algunas para

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varias partes, entre las quales se puso un pataxe para Macassar. Y pareciendo camino más conviniente para el intento que se pretendía, pues dende allí podría passar a la Sunda y puerto de Bantam y hallar embarcación para Europa. Asentada esta determinación, recibiendo los despachos necessarios y cartas para el Presidente Inglés de Bantam [2], me hiziesse embarcar. Con esto me fui a embarcar, para que en la primera ocasión de nave que se offreciesse para partiendo del puerto de Macan a los veynte nueve de Enero del año de 1640 con vientos poco favorables, y ansí nos fue forçado fugirmos en la enseada que llaman de André Feo [3], quatro leguas distante de adonde avíamos salido. Porque creciendo el tiempo no nos atrevíamos a passar al terrible y peligroso Golfo de Aynam, hasta que al quarto día concertado el tiempo partimos de la dicha ensenada a los dos de Hebrero.

2. [...152] Fuimos siguiendo nuestro viage con vientos bonancibles y favorables; y aunque flacos, finalmente con el favor divino llegamos con buen viage a los dos de Março al puerto de Macassar. Adonde desembarcando supimos que [153] el Sumbanco, supremo Rey de las Macassares Islas, era muerto [4], y que el Príncipe eredero Carrain Liquio [5] quedara en tutela de tres Governadores, y el principal era el Carrin Patingaloa [6], que no le faltava para Portugués más que el aver nacido en Macassar [7] y ser pagano maometano. Porque en el efecto y en desear el augmento y lustre del nombre portugués podía competir con los más azelantes y deseosos del bien común y augmento de la patria. Con todo esto todos sentimos muchíssimo la muerte del Sumbanco, porque verdaderamente avía sido Padre de todos los Portugueses, que llegavan menesterosos a sus tierras, ayudando y favoreciendo a todos con afectos paternales.

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[1] Macao.

[2] The text has again the word Europa after this Bantam, apparently without any good sense.

[3] See VISCONDE DE LAGOA, *Glossário toponímico* I 2 p. 45: he knows this name only from this text of Manrique. It occurs a few times in *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo* (I/1 37-38 and 40; I/2 695). BOXER (*Fidalgos* 41) locates this *enceada* « near Macao ».

[4] Sultan Alauddin died in June 1639.

[5] Karaeng Lakiung, who as king of Makasar called himself Sultan Muhammad Said, and also Malikkussaid (RAZAK DAENG PATUNRU 31).

[6] Karaeng Pattingalloang.

[7] Logically one would expect « el aver nacido en Lisboa », because this is what failed to make him a true Portuguese.

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3. Seguía esta nación, como las más Orientales, el rito gentílico. Después con la comunicación y trato de los Portugueses y de los ministros evangélicos que llevavan en su compañía, tuvieron noticia de nuestra verdadera religión, y también de la abominable y perversa seta maometana por vía de los lascares o marineros de los Portugueses, que por la mayor parte son sequaces del torpe Alcorán. Estos pues como ministros infernales, la buena semilla que los ministros evangélicos y siervos de Dios avían seminado en los áridos coraçones de aquellos bárbaros, venían después y sobre ellas echavan la zizania de las falsedades de su falsa secta, y estas cubiertas y paleadas con las ridículas promessas de gozaren en la otra vida de caudalosos ríos de miel y mantecas, y de otros disparates semejantes, permitiéndoles en esta vida todos los deleites y torpezas de la carne.

4. Y con la capa de la infinita misericordia divina facilitan el pecar, de manera que vienen a dar una licencia tácita a todo genero de pecados y abominaciones. Pues enseñan que todos los perdona Dios por la virtud meritoria de sus Nimasas [8] y lavatorios; fácil y suave satisfación por cierto, si fuera verdadera. Con esto los Macassares llevados de las aéreas promessas y de la ancha estrada, por donde podrían a su parecer ir al cielo, les pareció mejor [154] seguir este ancho camino que el estrecho del evangelio. Con todo algunos más capazes considerando sobre la ley christiana, o de los Portugueses, como ellos entonces la llamavan, y sobre la secta maometana, vinieron a poner en consejo, qual dellas recibirían. Y aviendo varios pareceres, a la mayor parte del conclave les pareció bien las libertades maometanas, ansí por conformaren más con sus costumbres como también por les parecer muy duro el yugo christiano; con todo, como los que siguien este parecer, era gente de menos porte, no pudieron luego concluir su deseo.

5. Y ansí vinieron unos y los otros a tomaren un medio, el qual fue que embiassen embaxadores a Malaca a pediren ministros christianos, y al Achen a pediren ministros maumetanos, y aquellos que llegassen primero tubiessen por cierto que essos quería el misericordioso Dios que siguiessen. Quisieron nuestros pecados o los ocultos juizios de Dios que los ministros maume-

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[8] *Nimasas*: most likely used here as a plural of *namāz*, which in Persian Arabic means a Moslem ritual prayer. (By friendly communication of Prof. A. Roest Crollius).

[9] In 1640, Lent fell from February 22 to April 8.

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tanos llegassen primero. Y empeçando luego a seminar su falsa y licenciosa secta, la radicaron de manera que, quando llegaron los ministros católicos, ya no pudieron hazer ningun efecto.

6. Está esta isla distante de Malaca trezientas leguas, y de Macán setencientas. Tendrá de largo de levante a poniente dozientas leguas. Es abundante de arrozes, carnes, pescados, sal, algodón; tiene también algún oro.

7. Ya queda dicho que quando llegamos al Macassar, luego supimos la muerte del Sumbanco, con lo que me fue forçado ir a demandar al principal governador, el Carrim Patingaloa, al qual entregué ansí las cartas que traýa para él, como también para el defunto Rey. Y como tan plático en la lengua y vulgar portugués, no teniendo necessidad de intérprete, las leyó luego. Y después de leýdas, me hizo muchos offrecimientos de todo lo que me fuesse necessario, diziéndome que en quanto al essencial de las cartas, descansasse, que él me haría embarcar seguramente en la primera embarcación que se offreciesse para el puerto de Bantan en el reyno de [155] Sunda. Con lo que concluido el negocio de la primera visita me despidió. Al otro día me mandó Patingaloa visitar con un presente de arrozes, gallinas y varias frutas de la tierra. A este le repliqué en la segunda visita que le hize con algunas curiosidades de la China.

8. Y seguro de que se me negocearía puntualíssimamente el passage, me ocupé lo restante de aquella Quaresma [9] en predicar algunos sermones y ayudar a confessar algunos christianos, ansí de los habitantes como de los mercaderes forasteros que alli estavan de passage. En este entermedio se offreció ocasión de una nave de Dinamarcas, que con passaporte del Virrey de la India, Pedro da Silva, navegava livremente por todos aquellos mares, la qual se puso a la larga para la India, y allá primero de entrar en los puertos de Iapará en la Iava mayor y en el puerto de Bantan. En esta nave determinó el Carrim Governador que me embarcasse yo. Para lo que mandó llamar el capitán y esquipre [10], y tratando con ellos les hizo passar fiança, ansí para la seguridad de mi persona y compañero como también para lo más que llevasse; y por el passage y sustento que se les daría, un pan de oro de la China, que de nuestra moneda eran entonces por estar el oro subido, ciento y veinte cinco pesos. Desta sum-

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[10] *Esquipre* is not a Spanish word, but the rendering of the Danish term *skipper,* boatman, as Manrique may have heard it pronounced by the Danish captain and crew.

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ma se hizo luego pagamiento delante del mismo Governador, y dello passaron quietança.

9. Estoy viendo que me culpa el curioso lector a descuido, repitiendo algunas vezes en este presente capítulo el nombre de Carrim, sin declarar lo que significa en el idioma que voy siguiendo. Para lo que será necessario saber que ansí la isla de Macassar, como las demás sugetas a su dominio, tienen varios Carrines, que son como régulos, los quales no obstante que tienen plena autoridad sobre sus vassalos, con todo están sugetos a un supremo monarca que, como tengo dicho, llaman Sumbanco. A este pues están obligados acompañárenlo en las guerras y a venir a sus llamamientos.

APPENDIX 3

DOMINGO FERNÁNDEZ DE NAVARRETE OP TRATADO VI, CHAPTERS VII-VIII

MADRID 1675

INTRODUCTION

Domingo Fernández de Navarrete was born in Spain in 1618, entered the Dominican Order in 1634 and solicited the Philippine mission in 1646. Not until 1648 did he arrive at Manila, having had to stop in Mexico for about two years. Owing to bad health he was ordered to return to Europe in 1657, and, on his way, he stayed at Makasar from November 1657 to June 1658. Seeing no opportunity to sail to Spain, he decided for the China mission and voyaged to Macao, becoming a sturdy opponent of the Jesuits in the question of the Chinese rites. Then he was sent to Rome in 1669 where, after a long stop in Portugal and Spain, he arrived in early 1673. Appointed procurator of the Philippine Province, he had to reside at Madrid. It is there that, in 1674-1676, he wrote his works, the *Tratados* and the printed but never published *Controversias*. Finally, in 1677, he was appointed archbishop of Santo Domingo, and there he died in 1686.

As to the *Tratados históricos, políticos, éthicos y religiosos de la Monarchía de China*, they were written in 1675 and printed at Madrid by June 1676. The work consists of seven *Tratados*, the sixth of which recounts the author's travels. His stay in the kingdom of Ma-

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kasar is dealt with in its chapter eight. But sometimes references to Makasar are made likewise in other places of Navarrete's writings.

Recently, i. e. in 1962, J. S. Cummins edited *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete* (Hakluyt Society and Cambridge University Press). It contains the sixth *Tratado* with occasional additions borrowed from other chapters or even from the *Controversias*. The edition is not in the original Spanish but in the English translation of the two brothers Churchill of 1704. For clearness' sake and to avoid difficulties in collecting Spanish fragments, we give here Navarrete's commentary on Makasar after Cummins' edition.

Summary

1. *Arrived at Makasar nine months and three days after leaving Manila; felt like coming into a paradise; met two other Dominicans.* — 2. *The Sumbane (Emperor) has several kings under him. Makasar developped into a rich and mighty country by means of trade. Knowledge of God was brought by the Portuguese, that of Islam came from Siam.* — 3. *People, being pagans, resolved to take one of the two religions; therefore they used an « extravagant expedient », sending envoys to Malacca for priests and to Siam for Moslem preachers, deciding to admit the religion of the first to come. The Moslems came first; people received Islam; conversion to Christianity is afterwards impeded.* — 4. *Growth of the Portuguese town after the fall of Malacca; presence of many Malays; no ship had to pay anchorage.* — 5. *Was kindly received by Karaeng Karunrung, son of Pattingalloang, that « renowned and unfortunate Prince ». Karunrung avoided coming to the Dominican monastery because, shortly before, he and the Sumbane had ordered the Dominican and Jesuit churches to be pulled down. This had happened by instigation of the diocesan Governor Paulo da Costa and the secular curate who saw with regret both people and alms go to the religious. Not even all the Moslems consented to this destruction.* — 6. *Went to see the Prince in his palace who showed him his father's library. Discussion about Mohamed.* — 7. *A beaututiful palm-trees avenue. Was more often visited by the Prince, once accompanied by the Sumbane himself. The ridiculous way they were dressed.* — 8. *Was invited to assist at the reception of a Dutch ambassador from Jakatra. This man had to present himself uncovered; his present, consisting of pieces of silk, was not accepted; nor was his excuse admitted for two ships the Dutch had taken. The reception ended in a declaration of war. It had been better for Makasar to choose peace.* — 9. *Preached during Lent of 1658. Karunrung's father read all the works of Luis de Granada, was convinced of the truth of Catholicism, said he would go to hell for reasons of State, and wanted to be baptized in his last hour, but Fr. Pero Francisco, who attended him, did not get the opportunity.* — 10. *Arrival of a group of Jesuits; among them Fr. Martino Martini, who carried with him a papal decree on the question of Chinese rites. Managed to get a copy of it, first in Makasar and later on in Macao.* — 11. *Decided to sail to Macao and to spend the rest of his life in the China mission. Sailed on St. Anthony's day [13 June].* — 12.

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Miserable state of the Portuguese in Asia, due to their own faults. In Makasar they lived not having any authority, wholly subject to the Moslems. Disrespectful behaviour of Moslem people in the Makasar church on Maundy Thursday without any Portuguese protest.

[Chapter VII... p. 111]

1. The nearer we drew to Macasar, which is the capital of the Island, the more civilized we found the people. It pleased God in his mercy that I arrived at Macasar nine months and three days after I set out of Manila [1], that voyage being never reckoned above 40 days. I thought I was come into a paradise, for I found two friers of my Order there [2], who to me seemed two angels; and so they [112] proved to be, for they made as much of me as their poverty would permit. The truth is, nothing was so pleasing to me as being off the sea among my own brethren and in a place where I might once more say Mass.

[Chapter VIII, p. 113]

Of my stay in the Kingdom of Macasar

2. The island of Macasar (or rather Celebes) is very large. The Sumbane, which in their language is the same as Emperor, lives in the most southern part of all the island, which lies in about six or seven degrees of south latitude. He has several petty kings under him. The country abounds in rice. Fourscore years ago it was an inconsiderable country but since then throve mightily by reason of the fairs kept there, for ships met there from Manila, Goa, Macao, English and Dutch, so that abundance of rich commodities were brought thither from all parts of that archipelago, and trade enriched the country, making its sovereign powerful. Before this trade, the knowledge of the law of God was brought thither by means of the Portuguese then at Malaca, and that of Mahomet came from Siam.

3. At that time they in Macasar were all gentiles, but thinking it good to receive one of the two religions, they resolved to make

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[1] He left Manila on February 14, 1657, and he arrived at Makasar on November 17 (CUMMINS 103 and 111).

[2] One of them was Fr. António de Macedo (SILVA REGO VII 542-543).

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use of an extravagant expedient, which was at one and the same time to send away a vessel to Siam for Mahometans, and another for religious to Malaca, resolving to admit the religion of those that should come first. This was their decision to give a true solution to that question and not to err in so essential a matter! The Mahometans came first through the fault of those at Malaca, as I heard it often from grave Portugueses, as well clergy as laymen. So the people of Macasar received them and their law, which they have since observed most strictly, and it has obstructed the conversion to Christianity of those people.

4. When the Dutch [114] took Malaca, most of the Portugueses, the mungrels, and all others who served them, retired to this country. The king received and assigned them a place to live so that in my time there was a great town of them there, and with the help of these Portugueses the trade daily increased. Many Malayes also repaired thither, and I have seen an ambassador there from the great Nababo [3], that is of Golocondar [4]. No man paid anchorage or any other duty there and saving the presents that captains of ships and merchants of note made to the Sumbane, all the trade was free. This made it the universal mart of those parts of the world.

5. The very day I arrived, Prince Carrin Carroro [5], a man very well versed in ours and the Portuguese language, sent me a message. He was the son of that renowned tho' unfortunate Prince, our great friend Carrin Patin Galoa. He sent me word he would see me in the house of a rich and considerable man [6], who lived by our residence. He would not go to the monastery because a little before the Sumbane and he had ordered our Dominican church, and that of the Jesuit Fathers, to be thrown down at the request of the Governour of the Bishoprick of Malaca [7], then living there, and of the secular curate [8], either be-

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[3] Nabób, from Nawab, a deputy, governor or viceroy of a province. (*Hobson-Jobson* 610).

[4] Golconda, a 17th century State in India, situated along the northern part of the Coromandel Coast; it had extensive commercial relations in SE Asia. Its nabób had trade relations with Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo; with him and with the King of Makasar he protested against the Dutch for having taken two of Vieira's ships. See BOXER, *Vieira* 8-11; *Gen. Miss.* II 658-659).

[5] Karaeng Karunrung.

[6] Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo (no. 6).

[7] Paulo da Costa (no. 12).

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cause the faithful all frequented the monasteries, or else because there was not so much alms given to the secular parish since the religious shared in them. This is the original of all fallings out of this sort and will [115] ever be so. They made the Sumbane and Prince some good presents to gain their consent. The churches were demolished by the Moors, but even all of them did not approve of the action. Insomuch that there being great want of rain that year I was there, Carrin Samana[9], a Moor of great repute and a rational man, used to say: « How should God send rain when they destroy and burn his churches? » I went that afternoon to see the Prince and he received me kindly, asking several questions concerning Spain and Manila.

6. I had no thoughts of repaying his visits as believing those people did not take notice of such things. I learned the Prince had complained of my neglect, so I desired Captain Francis Viera, in whose house Crain Sumana had visited me, to bear me company. We went together three quarters of a league to the palace which was very good, and the Prince kept us till one of the clock and showed us some European maps and books, for he had kept his father's library which was considerable, and also had an excellent striking clock. We talked of Mahomet, and the Portuguese who was a very zealous Catholick, flatly told him he was in hell. « Do not say so, captain » quoth Carroro. I commended this man's resolution, another would have called it folly. If he had dyed on this account, he had been a martyr.

7. We returned home through a row of palm-trees, the finest and beautifullest in the world. The sun's rays could not pierce it, and it was above a league long, tho' we did not go the whole length. How it would be valued among us, and with good cause! The Prince repeated his visits oftner than I would have wished. As soon as I took his hand, which was the way of paying him respect, he would say: « Our Lord be with your Reverence ». He one day brought the Sumbane to Viera's house [116] along with him, and I, being presently called, came, and in truth they both did me too much honour and courtesy. Their garb was the most ridiculous that can be expressed; they were both in their gay dress, had European cloth coats over their bare skins,

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[8] The parish priest of the *Matriz*, which served as the cathedral of the Malacca diocese.

[9] Karaeng Sumana, who in 1660 became the successor of Karunrung.

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their arms naked, the sleeves hanging down, and their bellies uncovered after their fashion. [...118]

8. At this time an ambassador came from Jacatra [10]; they received him in the house of the secretary Antony Mendez [11], Knight of the Order of Christ, son to the last Sumbane and a black woman. I was called to attend. The Sumbane and Prince sat upon chairs raised high under a canopy, and the Prince, who had a large sparkling diamond on his finger, placed me by his side and asked me some questions. The ambassador came upon a stately horse, 6000 Moors with lances attending him. Having made his obeisance, the ambassador sat down and was covered. They commanded him to be uncovered. The interpreter urged that ambassadors used to be covered. They told him it was true, ambassadors from kings did use to be so, but that was not for [119] him who came but from the Governour of Jacatra. He obeyed and held his tongue. He offered the present he carryed, which consisted of several pieces of silk, but it was not received. His letters were read and not being satisfyed with the excuses that were made concerning two ships the Dutch had taken from them, the Sumbane and Crain Cronron resolved to remit the business to force of arms. It had been better for them to continue in peace and lose the two ships. The ambassador went aboard his ship and his men removed what they had in the factory by night after that then he declared war, cannonading the place. [...120]

9. I preached at Macasar in Lent the year 1658. Carroro every day said he would hear me, but never performed it. His father, who was a great lover of sermons and constantly heard them, had read all the Reverend Frier Lewis de Granada's works [12]. He was convinced ours was the true faith and was wont to say that many went to hell out of reason of state, and that he was one of them (this is barbarity in earnest). It was supposed by his words that he intended to be baptized at the last hour of his life, and therefore Father Peter Francisco, a

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[10] On the embassy of Commissary Willem Bastingh to the ruler of Makasar, see *Gen. Miss.* III 252-253.

[11] The correct name is Francisco Mendes. On him see D 62 note 14; BOXER *Vieira* 17.

[12] Luis de Granada, Spanish Dominican (1504-1588), wrote many books on the spiritual life that were widely spread and translated into other languages.

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Jesuit, attended him in his last sickness, having water ready to use it upon any sign he might give. But he having neglected so many calls, God [121] slighted him as it is written: « Because I have called you and you refused, at your death I will laugh », etc [13]. He who had so much good sense did lose it all and so dyed. A most unhappy man! [...124]

10. About May 1658, a pink arrived there from Goa, having fortunately escaped the Dutch. It had on board some Franciscans and some Jesuits [14]. Among these latter was Father Martini with the decree of Pope Alexander VII of 1656 [15]. I was able to get hold of a copy of this decree, though it was not a certified nor authorized copy. I saw it and that very same day sent off a copy under cover to Manila. Later in Macao, waiting to enter China, I tried to get and take in with me another copy of that decree. I got Father Marquez, Governor of the Bishoprick of Macao [16], to act as a go-between betwixt Father Martini and me. But Father Martini refused flatly to give him a copy. A second time he tried, but Fr. Martini answered: « Reverend Father Governor, I do not wish to publish any document of His Holiness in China, nor have I anything of His Holiness with me ». The Governor returned to me cold, and told me what had happened. Later Fryer Dominick Coronado, a member of my own Order [17], got a copy from Fr. Martini, similar to that which I had managed to get hold of in Macasar. Fryer Coronado asked Fr. Martini why he did not publish that decree and he answered: « Our Father General does not wish it published: we are satisfyed simply to have the decree ». [...125]

11. I, being by then quite out of conceit with the sea and unprovided of all the necessaries to bring me back to Europe, resolved to go over with these Portugueses to Macao, and thence,

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[13] Prov 1 24-26.

[14] The group of D 46. Incorrectly CUMMINS 124 corrects Franciscans into Capuchins.

[15] Cf. METZLER I/2 605-609. The decree of Alexander VII was an approval of the Jesuits' standpoint in the question of the Chinese rites against the opinion of the Dominicans.

[16] Here Fr. Pero Marquez SJ must be intended. See for him MHJ 1048-1050 and 1229; DEHERGNE no. 518. After 1658 he lived sometimes in Macao but he is not mentioned as a governor of the Macao diocese. See NAZARETH 285 and 390.

[17] He is mentioned by METZLER (I/2 601) for the year 1668, to be apostolic prefect of the Dominicans in China, but meanwhile he had died.

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if I could, to enter China where those of my Order were working, and to end my days there among them. I met with good conveniency and company, for four small vessels were then ready to sail, though all were fearful because a great Dutch ship lay in sight. [...] Upon St. Anthony's day we set sail [18], rather trusting to God and the assistance of the Saint than to our own strength. What happened to us I will set down in the following chapter [19].

[... Chapter XVII, p. 267]

12. The miserable state and wretched condition the Portugueses do now and have lived for some years in those parts, might make them sensible, if prejudice did not blind them, that their own sins, and not those of others, have brought all these misfortunes upon them. They lived some years at Macasar, in great subjection to the Mahometans, neither the laity nor clergy had the least authority, so the Governor of the Bishoprick of Malaca who resided there told me; his name was Paul da Costa. Upon Maunday Thursday, when I was in the church, a company of Moors came into the church and went up to the sepulcher to see what was in the monstrance, nobody stirring to oppose them. There being present the Governor of the bishoprick, the parish priest, prelates and other Portugueses, including Francisco de Vieira, of the Order of Christ, it did not become me to set up to oppose such disrespect.

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[18] For this date, cf. D 46, 9.
[19] Chapter IX is titled: My Voyage from Macassar to Macao.

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(M. = Makasar)

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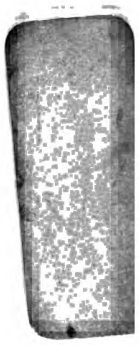

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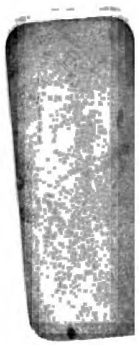

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